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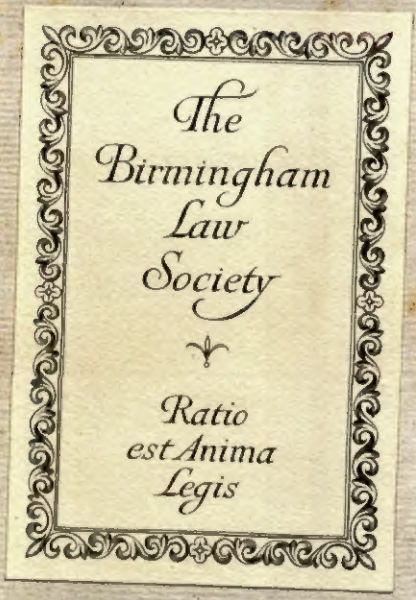

THE

DICTIONARY

Hiſtorical and Critical

OF

MR PETER BAYLE.

THE SECOND EDITION,

BIRMINGHAM LAW SOCIETY

Carefully collated with the ſeveral Editions of the Original; in which many Paſſages are reſtored, and the whole greatly augmented, particularly with a Tranſlation of the Quotations from eminent Writers in various Languages.

To which is prefixed,

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED.

BY

MR DES MAIZEAUX,

Fellow of the Royal Society.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

Bi——E.

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Printed for J. J. and P. KNAPTON; D. MIDWINTER; J. BROTHERTON; A. BETTESWORTH and C. HITCH; J. HAZARD; J. TONSON; W. INNYS and R. MANBY; T. WARD and E. WICKSTEED; W. MEADOWS; T. WOODWARD; B. MOTTE; W. HINCHLIFFE; J. WALTHOE, *jun.* E. SYMON; T. COX; A. WARD; D. BROWNE; T. LONGMAN; S. BIRT; W. BICKERTON; T. ASTLEY; S. AUSTEN; L. GILLIVER; H. LINTOT; H. WHITRIDGE; R. WILLOCK.

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MDCCXXXI.

Mr BAYLE's

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B.

BYBLIS, Daughter of *Miletus*, and the Nymph *Cyanea* [*A*], fell in Love with her Twin-Brother *Caunus*, and endeavoured to inspire him with the same Passion; but, not succeeding in it, she was so distracted with Grief, that she hanged herself (*a*). *Ovid*, who tells us this, in one of his Poems (*b*), says, in another, that she ran after *Caunus*, 'till she was quite tired. He adds, that, her Strength being wasted, she fell down, and obstinately lay on the Ground, and cried abundantly, notwithstanding all the Care the Nymphs took to comfort her; and that she consumed herself in Tears, and was metamorphosed into a Fountain (*c*). He admirably describes the Progress and Symptoms of This Incestuous Passion [*B*], and, had he wrote no other Verses, would have sufficiently

(*a*) *See Remark* [*D*].

(*b*) Ovid de Arte Amandi, lib. i.

(*c*) Id. Metam. lib. ix, fab. xi.

[*A*] *She was Daughter of* Miletus, *and of the Nymph* Cyanea.] This *Cyanea* was Daughter of the River *Mæander* (1); but some Authors say, that *Miletus* married *Eidothea*, Daughter of *Eurytus*, King of *Caria*, and that *Caunus* and *Byblis* were born of This Marriage (2). Others affirm, that the Name of the Mother of These two Children was *Aria* (3); others call her *Tragasia* (4). Authors differ likewise as to their Paternal Grandmother's Name; for some say, that *Miletus* was the Son of *Deïone* (5); others say, that *Acacallis*, the Daughter of *Minos*, was his Mother (6). They agree better in This, that *Miletus* left the Isle of *Crete*, and built a City in *Asia*, which was called by his Name. *Minos* was the Cause of This Retreat. He thereby designed to prevent the Violence of his Ambition, or of his Love. *Ovid* represents *Minos* as very uneasy at finding himself old, and seeing *Miletus* in the Flower of his Age: This Disquiet, too common to Those, who reign, made him look upon *Miletus* as a Man capable of dethroning him.

(1) Ovid. Metam. lib. ix. ver. 450.

(2) Anton. Liberal. cap. 30. pag. 155.

(3) Scholiast. Theocriti ad Idyll. vii.

(4) Nicænetus apud Parthen. de Amator. Affect. cap. 11.

(5) Ovid. ubi supra, ver. 444.

(6) Anton. Liber. ibid.

Tunc erat invalidus, Deionidenque juventæ
Robore Miletum, Phœboque parente superbum
Pertimuit, credensque suis insurgere regnis,
Haud tamen est patriis arcere penatibus ausus.
Sponte fugis, Milete, tua —— (7).

(7) Ovid. lib. ix. pag. 443.

Infirm with Age, Miletus *now he fears,*
Vain of his Birth, and in the Strength of Years;
And now regarding all his Realm as lost,
He durst not force him from his native Coast.
But you, by Choice, Miletus, *fled his Reign,* &c.
GAY.

You will find, no doubt, in the *Greek* Words, I am going to quote, an amorous Prince, who made himself dreaded: Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ παῖς ἤυξετο, καὶ ἐγένετο καλὸς, καὶ δραστήριος, καὶ ὁ Μίνως κατὰ πόθον ἐνεχείρει βιάζεσθαι, τότε νυκτὸς ὁ Μίλητος ἐμβὰς εἰς ἄκατον, βουλῇ Σαρπηδόνος, εἰς Καρίαν ἀποδιδράσκει (8). *As he grew up, he became beautiful, and strong; and* Minos, *falling in Love with him, offerred Violence to him. Upon This,* Miletus, *by the Advice of* Sarpedon, *taking Ship by Night, fled into* Caria.

(8) Anton. Liberal. ibid.

[*B*] *He admirably describes the Progress and Symptoms of This incestuous Passion.*] *Byblis*, at first, was ignorant of her own Passion. To kiss her Brother often, and fall about his Neck, seemed to her a good Action; She confounded This with the lawful Affection which is due to a Brother. She continued in This State of Ignorance, even when she perceived how careful she was to make herself fine, and how desirous to appear handsome, when she was to see *Caunus*.

Paulatim declinat amor, visuraque fratrem
Culta venit, nimiumque cupit formosa videri.
Et, si qua est illic formosior, invidet illi;
Sed nondum manifesta sibi est; nullumque sub illo
Igne facit votum, veruntamen æstuat intus (9).

(9) Ovid. ibid. ver. 462.

ſufficiently ſhewed his great Skill in the Deſcription of Love. *Antonius Liberalis* relates

But Love (too ſoon from Piety declin'd)
Inſenſibly depray'd her yielding Mind.
Dreſs'd ſhe appears, with niceſt Art adorn'd,
And ev'ry Youth, but her low'd Brother, ſcorn'd.
For him alone ſhe labour'd to be fair,
And curſt all Charms, that might with her's compare.
'Twas She, and only She, muſt Caunus *pleaſe;*
Sick at her Heart, yet knew not her Diſeaſe.
STEPHEN HARVEY, Eſq;

Neither This, nor the Grief ſhe conceived againſt the Fair Ones of the Neighbourhood, opened her Eyes. Her Fire burnt without caſting a Light; It did not yet inſpire her with a Wiſh for the Cure. She went ſo far, as to be pleaſed with giving *Caunus* the Title of *Sir*, rather than That of Brother; and choſe rather that he ſhould call her by the Name of *Byblis*, than That of Siſter.

Jam Dominum appellat, jam nomina ſanguinis odit,
(10) Id. ver. 467. Byblida jam mavult, quam ſe vocet ille ſororem (10).

She call'd him Lord; for Brother was a Name
Too cold, and dull, for her aſpiring Flame;
And, when he ſpoke, if Siſter he reply'd,
For Byblis *change That frozen Word, ſhe cried.*
Ibid.

And yet, whilſt ſhe was awake, ſhe had not the Boldneſs to hope for any thing: It was in her Sleep that ſhe began to be familiar with Thoſe impure Imaginations; She dreamt often of her Brother, and thought once ſhe enjoyed him.

---- placidâ reſoluta quiete
Sæpe videt quod amat, viſa eſt quoque jungere fratri
(11) Ib. ver. 470. Corpus, & erubuit, quamvis ſopita jaceret (11).

'Till gentle Sleep an eaſy Conqueſt made,
And in her ſoft Embrace the Conqueror was laid.
But O! too ſoon the pleaſing Viſion fled,
And left her bluſhing on the conſcious Bed.
Ibid.

She was aſhamed of it, though it was but a Dream; but, the next Day, ſhe made many Reflexions upon it, and wiſhed to have many ſuch Dreams.

Dummodo tale nihil vigilans committere tentem;
Sæpe licet ſimili redeat ſub imagine ſomnus.
Teſtis abeſt ſomno, nec abeſt imitata voluptas.
Proh Venus, & tenera volucer cum matre Cupido!
Gaudia quanta tuli! quam me manifeſta libido
Contigit! ut jacui totis reſoluta medullis!
Ut meminiſſe juvat! quamvis brevis illa voluptas,
(12) Ib. ver. 479. Noxque fuit præceps, & cœptis invida noſtris (12).

So that no Guilt my waking Thoughts employ,
Let me in Dreams the Tranſport oft enjoy;
No Witneſs can, in Sleep, the mimic Bliſs deſtroy.
O Sea-born Goddeſs, with thy wanton Boy!
Was ever ſuch a charming Scene of Joy!
Such perfect Bliſs, ſuch raviſhing Delight!
Ne'er bid before in the kind Shades of Night.
How pleas'd my Heart! in what ſweet Raptures toſt?
Ev'n Life itſelf in the ſoft Combat loſt.
How in Remembrance does The Tranſport laſt!
Tho' ſhort the Bliſs, and ſoon the Night was paſt.
Ibid.

Soon after, ſhe was vexed, that the Quality of Siſter forbad her to hope for That of Spouſe: She repreſented to herſelf the Gods, who had married their own Siſters, and could not believe, that Mortals could enjoy ſuch a Prerogative.

Sunt ſuperis ſua jura: quid ad cœleſtia ritus
(13) Ib. ver. 501. Exigere humanos, diverſaque fœdera tento (13)?

But what are their Prerogatives above
To the ſhort Liberties of Human Love?
Ibid.

She muſt either get rid of her Paſſion, or die; ſhe is ſenſible, that, if her Brother had loved her firſt, he would have been heard very favourably; from whence ſhe concludes, that ſhe muſt venture to open her Mind to him by Letter, if Modeſty will not ſuffer her to uſe Words. She takes her Pen, and, after a thouſand Agitations of Mind, ſhe declares her Paſſion. She repreſents ſeveral paſt Things to her Brother, by which he might have gueſſed, that ſhe was in love with him; ſhe puts him in mind of certain Sighs, which ſhe had fetched, and of her Cuſtom of embracing him, and of I know not what, that might have made him ſenſible, that her Kiſſes were not Thoſe of a Siſter.

Eſſe quidem læſi poterat tibi pectoris index
Et color, & macies, & vultus, & humida ſæpe
Lumina, nec cauſa ſuſpiria mota patenti,
Et crebri amplexus, & quæ, ſi forte notaſti,
Oſcula ſentiri non eſſe ſororia poſſent (14).

(14) Ibid. ver. 536. Amarillis *in the* Paſtor fido, *without knowing that the Perſon, diſguiſed in Maid's Cloaths, was her Lover, found, nevertheleſs, a great Difference between her Kiſſes, and thoſe of other Maids.* Quando la leggiadriſſima Amarilli Giudicando i miei baci Più di quelli d' ogn' altra ſpontii, &c. *See the firſt Scene of the ſecond Act of the* Paſtor fido, *pag.* 82, Venice *Edit.* 1605, *in* 4to.

Wan Looks, and weeping Eyes, have ſpoke my Pain
And Sighs diſcharg'd from my heav'd Heart in vain.
Had I not wiſh'd my Paſſion might be ſeen,
What could ſuch Fondneſs, and Embraces mean?
Such Kiſſes too! (O heedleſs lovely Boy!)
Without a Crime no Siſter could enjoy.
Ibid.

She proteſts, that ſhe has done all ſhe could, to extinguiſh This Flame; and that ſhe has only recourſe to him, after having tried all other Remedies in vain. She exhorts him to leave the Examination of what is juſt and unjuſt to old Folks, and to make uſe of the Privileges of Youth, in a Thing, of which the greateſt Gods have ſet an Example; *& ſequimur magnorum exempla deorum* (15), and wherein he need not fear the Oppoſition of a Father, nor the World's Cenſure, ſince their Amorous Commerce may be concealed under the Familiarity, which Decency authorizes between a Brother and a Siſter. Laſtly, ſhe begs of him to take pity on her, and that he would not be the Cauſe of her Death.

(15) Ovid. ubi ſupra, ver. 556.

Nec nos aut durus pater, aut reverentia famæ,
Aut timor impediet: tantum abſit cauſa timendi.
Dulcia fraterno ſub nomine furta tegemus.
Eſt mihi libertas tecum ſecreta loquendi:
Et damus amplexus, & jungimus oſcula coram.
Quantum eſt quod deſit? miſerere fatentis amorem,
Et non faſſuræ, niſi cogeret ultimus ardor:
Neve mererere meo ſubſcribi cauſa ſepulchro (16). (16) Ib. ver. 557.

We gain one bleſſing from our hated Kin,
Since our Paternal Freedom hides the Sin.
Unenſur'd in each others Arms we lye;
Think then how eaſy to compleat our Joy,
O pardon, and oblige, a bluſhing Maid,
Whoſe Rage the Pride of her vain Sex betray'd.
Nor let my Tomb thus mournfully complain,
Here Byblis *lies, by her low'd* Caunus *ſlain.*
Ibid.

It was not long before the Bearer of This Letter brought her an account of *Caunus*'s Indignation. This was a Thunder-Stroke to her, and made her faint away; but, recovering from her Swoon, ſhe uttered ſuch Complaints, as ſhewed, that ſhe would not be diſcouraged. She blamed herſelf for having made uſe of a Letter; and ſhe fancied, that her Words might have been more effectual, and that, perhaps, the Meſſenger, having miſtaken his Time, had hindred the good Succeſs of her Letter.

Forſitan & miſſi fit quædam culpa miniſtri:
Non adiit apte, nec legit idonea, credo,

Tempora;

lates the Iſſue of This Matter ſomewhat differently [C]. Some ſay, that *Byblis* was not in love with *Caunus*, but, on the contrary, that *Caunus* loved her [D], and could not perſuade her to conſent to the Gratification of his Deſires. They deprive her, a little after, of the Honour of This noble Reſiſtance; They ſuppoſe, that ſhe repented of her Hard-heartedneſs, which had engaged him to leave his Country; and that ſhe ran up and down the World, in queſt of this dear Brother; and that, not being able to find him, ſhe hanged herſelf (*d*). Others relate This Adventure in ſuch a manner, as neither diſhonours *Byblis*, nor *Caunus* [E].

(*d*) *See what will be quoted of* Conon, *in Remark* [D].

Tempora, nec petiit horamque animumque vacantem.

(17) Ib. ver. 611. Hæc nocuere mihi —— (17).

Perhaps, my carteleſs Page may be in Fault,
And in a luckleſs Hour the fatal Meſſage brought.
Ibid.

She revolved in her Mind every Thing, which might excuſe her in her new Attempts; ſo true it is, that the Paſſions are ingenious to flatter themſelves, and that they may be taken for Animals, and even Thoſe ſort of Animals, which are moſt induſtrious to ſeek their Food. She reſolved to declare herſelf by word of Mouth; ſhe ſpoke again and again, without being diſcouraged at the fruitleſſneſs of her Intreaties. *Caunus*, tired with refuſing, before ſhe was tired with being refuſed, forſook the Country.

If *Ovid* had not deſerved, in this Place, as much or more, than in a thouſand others, the Cenſure of the *Grammarians*, who found, that he dwelt too long on Particulars; he would have made a Perfect Deſcription. 'Laſcivior aliquanto eſt Ovidius, *inquit Fabius, Lib.* 10. *Inſtitutionum Cap.* 2. *&* nimius amator ingenii ſui; *&* mox, Ovidii Medea videtur mihi oſtendere, quantum vir ille præſtare potuerit, ſi ingenio ſuo temperare quam indulgere, maluiſſet. *Et hic ſane fatendum eſt, laſcivire ipſius ingenium, nactum ſtilicet materiam ſequatem & genio ſuo affinem* (18). —— *Ovid*, according *Quintilian* Lib. 10. Inſtit. Cap. 2, *is too luxuriant, and too fond of his Genius*; and afterwards; Ovid's Medea *ſeems to me to ſhew what the Poet was capable of, had he rather tempered, than indulged, his Genius.* And it muſt be confeſſed, that his Genius runs riot upon this Occaſion, having ſo copious and ſuitable a Subject to work upon.' Note, that I mention only Part of the Touches, which he gives us.

(18) Farnab. in Ovid. Met. lib. ix. ver. 591. pag. 225.

[C] Antoninus Liberalis *relates the Iſſue of This Matter ſomewhat differently.*] He ſays, that *Byblis*, being offered very conſiderable Matches, deſpiſed them all; and that, not being able to reſiſt the violent Paſſion ſhe had conceived for her Brother, ſhe reſolved to caſt herſelf head-long from the Top of a Mountain. She was ready to execute her Deſign, when the Nymphs, touched with Compaſſion, hindered her. They did more than That; for they caſt her into a deep Sleep, and, whilſt ſhe ſlept, changed her mortal Condition into an immortal One, and called her the Nymph *Hamadryad Byblis*, and admitted her into their Community. The Water, which ran down the Mountain, from whence ſhe would have caſt herſelf, was called *Byblis*'s Tears (19). Others pretend, that the Fountain, which was called *Byblis*, was formed where This Maid had wept, and hanged herſelf (20).

(19) Anton. Liberal. Metam. cap. XXX.

(20) Photius, & Parthenius, de Amator. Affect. cap. 11.

[D] *Some ſay* ------ *that* Caunus *loved Her.*] One of *Conon*'s Narratives, whereof *Photius* has left us ſome Extracts, imports, that *Caunus*, having tried ſeveral means, in vain, to obtain the Enjoyment of his Siſter *Byblis*, left his Country; and that it was not known, what became of him. This grieved *Byblis* ſo much, that ſhe forſook her Country likewiſe, and led a vagabond Life, and at laſt was ſo afflicted, Πρὸς τὰς ἀτελεῖς ἐμέρας ἀναγορεύουσα, *Ob fruſtrates amores animo fracta* (21), at the Conſideration of the ill Succeſs of *Caunus*'s Love, that ſhe made a Halter of her Girdle, and hanged herſelf. *Caunus*, wandring up and down the World, came into *Lycia*, where the *Naïd Pronoë* told him, that *Cupid* had revenged him, ſince *Byblis* had hanged herſelf; Τὰ τε συνηρεχθίσμενα τῇ Βυβλίδι λέγει, καὶ ὡς ἐχρήσατο τῷ ἔρωτι δικαίῳ. That is, according to *Andrew Schot*'s Tranſlation, *quæ Byblidi acciderint narrat, atque amore ſit coacta mori.* She added, that, if he would marry her, He ſhould reign over That Country. The Propoſal was accepted (22). *Parthenius* relates, I. That *Nicænetus* had reported, that *Caunus*, loving his Siſter againſt his Will, left the Country, and undertook long Travels, and that *Byblis* was much afflicted at her Brother's Abſence. II. That moſt Authors ſay, that it was She, who loved *Caunus*, and intreated him not to be cruel to her; and that he abhorred The filthy Propoſal, and retired to the *Leleges*, where he built a City, which was called *Caunus*; and that *Byblis*, finding, that her Paſſion continued, and that ſhe had forced her Brother to leave his Country, was ſo overwhelmed with Grief, that ſhe hanged herſelf on a Tree (23). The Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus* followed the leſs common Tradition: Ἧς (Βυβλίδος) ſays he, ἠραστὴς ὁ Καῦνος, ἀπέλιπε Μίλητον (24). *Stephanus Byzantinus* followed the other Tradition; that *Byblis*, being in love with her Brother, ſtrangled herſelf, becauſe he fled from her (25). *Hyginus* only ſays, that the Paſſion ſhe had conceived for her Brother made her kill herſelf (26). *Euſtathius* ſays the ſame thing (27); and here are two Verſes of *Ovid* agreeable to the ſame Tradition:

(21) Photius, Biblioth. Codice 186. pag. 423. & Cononis Narrat. ii.

(22) Id. ibid.

(23) Parthen. de Amatoriis Affectionibus, cap. XII.

(24) Schol Theocriti ad Idyll. VII.

(25) Steph. Byzantin. in Κάλυνδα ex Edit. Berkelii.

(26) Hygin. cap. 243. pag. 209.

(27) Euſtath. in Dionyſ. Periegetem ver. 583.

Byblida quid referam vetito quæ fratris amore
Arſit, & eſt laqueo fortiter ulta nefas (28)?

Byblis' *inceſtuous Paſſion need I name,*
Who expiated in Death the guilty Flame?

(28) Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib. ii. ver. 283.

[E] *Others relate This Adventure in ſuch a Manner, as neither diſhonours* Byblis *nor* Caunus.] Conſider the above-mentioned Narrative of *Nicænetus*: You will only find there, that *Caunus*, to his great Grief, was in love with his Siſter, and abſented himſelf from her; and that *Byblis*, being very much afflicted at his Abſence, deſired his Return, and ſhed many Tears on That Occaſion. All theſe things are compatible with the ſevereſt Virtue; for it may be ſuppoſed, that *Byblis* wiſhed only, that her Brother might conquer his Paſſion, which kept him out of his Country. To feel a criminal Paſſion, and to oppoſe it ſo far, as to retire from the Object, which is loved againſt one's Will, is no crime. It is a Thing as involuntary as Pain; It is not to be anſwered for, unleſs it be conſented to; and take notice, that *Nicænetus* praiſes *Caunus* for having always loved Juſtice. Καῦνον ἔτι τε καὶ φιλοῦντα δικαιοσύνην (29). *She brought forth* Caunus, *who ever loved Juſtice.*

(29) Parthen. ubi ſupra.

BYBLOS, a maritime Town of *Phœnicia*, between *Tripoli*, and *Berytus*, was ſituated on a Hill, and was the ancienteſt Town in the World (*a*), if we may believe ſome Authors (*b*), who ſay, that it was built by *Saturn*, Son of Heaven and Earth. *Malcander*, and his Wife *Aſtarte*, who reigned there, gave *Iſis* a good Reception, when ſhe went thither, to ſeek the Body of *Oſiris*, which the Waves of the Sea had caſt on That Shore (*c*). The Grammarians have grounded on This Journey one of their Etymological Obſervations [*A*]. Some Inhabitants of *Byblos*

(*a*) Stephan Byzant. in Βύβλος.

(*b*) Sanchoniat. apud Euſebium, Præpar. Evangel. lib. i, cap. 10. pag. 37.

(*c*) Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride pag. 357.

[*A*] *The Grammarians have grounded on this Journey of* Iſis *to* Byblos *one of their Etymological Obſervations.*] Let us remark, in the firſt place, that the Word Βύβλος ſignifies the Plant, which ſupplied

Byblos reported, that *Osiris* was buried in Their City, and that it was in honour of Him, that They practiſed the Ceremonies, which were thought to be uſed in honour of *Adonis* (*d*). The City of *Gebal*, or *Gobel*, mentioned in the ninth Verſe of the Twenty ſeventh Chapter of *Ezekiel*, was That of *Byblos*, if we may believe St *Jerom* (*e*), which may be confirmed by the Tranſlation of the LXX. It is alſo thought, that the *Byblians* were employed, by *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, to prepare the Materials for the Temple of *Solomon* (*f*). They ſhook off the Yoke of the *Tyrians*, and ſet up a diſtinct Kingdom. They were afterwards Tributaries to the Kings of *Perſia* [*B*]. This City, having been ſubdued by *Alexander*, remained ſubject to the *Ptolomy*'s, Kings of *Egypt*, 'till *Antiochus the Great* had taken *Phœnicia* from them, which he made a Province of the Kingdom of *Syria*, in the third Year of the CXLth *Olympiad*, and the CCCCCXXXVIth of *Rome* (*g*). The Civil-Wars having overthrown This Kingdom, *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia*, made himſelf Maſter of the *Upper Syria*; and then there aroſe a Tyrant, who eſtabliſhed his Authority in *Byblos*. He was beheaded by *Pompey*'s Order (*b*). *Strabo*, in ſaying This, obſerves, that *Byblos*, the Royal Seat of *Cinyras*, was conſecrated to *Adonis* [*C*]. The Goddeſs *Venus* was particularly honoured there [*D*]. *Iſis* had a Temple there alſo (*i*). *Byblos* was aſſigned to the Maritime *Phœnicia*, in the Diviſion, which was made of the Provinces, under the Chriſtian Emperors. It's Biſhops appeared in the firſt Council of *Conſtantinople*, and in That of *Chalcedon*. The *Genoeſe* delivered it from the Dominion of the *Saracens*, in the Year 1106; but it fell again under the Yoke of the Infidels, after the Victory, which *Saladin* obtained over the Chriſtians, in the Year 1187 (*k*). There was a very ſtrong City in *Egypt*, which was called BYBLOS. This we learn from the Extracts, which *Photius* made out of *Cteſias* (*l*). See alſo the Dictionary of *Stephanus Byzantinus*.

(*d*) Lucian. de Dea Syria, pag. 879. Tom. II.

(*e*) Hieron. de locis Hebraicis.

(*f*) 1 Kings v. 18.

(*g*) *See the fifth Book of* Polybius.

(*b*) Strabo, lib. 16. pag. 521.

(*i*) Plut. ubi ſupra.

(*k*) *See Father* Noris de Epochis Syromacedonum. Differt. iv. cap. ult. pag. 466, & ſeq.

(*l*) Phot. cap. 72. p. 120, 121.

ſupplied the Matter, of which Paper was made; and let us relate next, what the Etymologiſts ſay of it. They affirm, that *Byblos* was ſo called, becauſe it was the Place, where *Iſis*, lamenting *Oſiris*, laid down her Diadem, which was made of Paper (1). Others will have it, that This Name proceeds from hence, that Paper, in That City, might be preſerved for any length of time, without being ſpoiled in the leaſt (2). Conſult *Stephanus Byzantinus*, and the Author of the great *Etymologicon*.

(1) Stephan. Byzant. in Βύβλος.

(2) Id. ibid.

[*B*] *The* Byblians *were Tributaries to the Kings of* Perſia.] *Aminias relates, that Xerxes, King of the Byblians*, ſerved, with his Ships, in *Darius*'s Fleet; but, underſtanding, that *Byblos* had capitulated with *Alexander*, he forſook the *Perſian* Party, and went, with his Ships, to the *Macedonian* Fleet (3).

(3) Arrian. Expedit. Alex. lib. iii.

[*C*] Strabo —— *remarks, that* Byblos, *the Royal Seat of* Cinyras, *was conſecrated to* Adonis.] I ſhall ſet down The Paſſage of *Strabo*, to ſhew the Careleſſneſs of the Ancients in their Writings. Ἡ μὲν ἐν Βύβλῳ, τὸ τῶ Κινύρα βασίλειον, ἱερὰ ἐστι τῶ Ἀδώνιδος· ἐν τυραννηθείσην πλευθέρωσε Πομπήιος πελεκίσας ἐκεῖνον (4). That is to ſay; Byblos, *the Reſidence of King* Cinyras, *is conſecrated to* Adonis. Pompey *delivered it from Tyranny, by ordering his Head to be cut off*. This is the moſt natural Senſe of The Words. *Cinyras* had eſtabliſhed the Seat of his Tyranny at *Byblos*; but *Pompey* cauſed his Head to be cut off, and by that means reſtored The City to it's Liberty. Now it is improbable, that *Strabo* had This Thought, and, if it was his Meaning, he would be guilty of extream Careleſſneſs, ſince he would, of a ſudden, produce a Tyrant, called *Cinyras*, and leave us, without ſaying any Thing of Him. He was not obliged to be more prolix, if it be ſuppoſed, that he ſpeaks of the ancient *Cinyras*, the Father of *Adonis*: for That Name was ſufficiently known. I believe he means Him; and, if ſo, what ſhall we do with his ἐκεῖνον? What can we refer it to? Obſerve, that his *Latin* Tranſlator has ill rendered the ἱερὰ ἐστι Ἀδώνιδος, by, *in qua ſunt Adonidis templa*. *Pinedo* has taken notice of This Fault (5). Let us obſerve a ſmall Overſight of Father *Noris*: *Adonis*, ſays he (6), *filius fuerat Cyneræ* (7) *apud Byblum regii, ut ex Plutarcho & Ovidio præmonui.* —— Adonis *was the Son of* Cinyras, *King of* Byblos, *as I have before obſerved from* Plutarch *and* Ovid. Now it is certain, that he had not alledged *Plutarch*, but *Strabo*, concerning This; and that *Ovid*, whom he had cited, does not ſay, that the Father of *Adonis* was King of *Byblos*, nor Husband of the Mother of That *Adonis*. He ſuppoſes, that This Mother was the Daughter of *Adonis*'s Father, which was the general Tradition. Nevertheleſs the Author expreſſes himſelf in this Manner. *Cyneras fuit è vetuſtis Bybli regibus, qui ex Zmyrna conjuge Adonim puerum formoſiſſimum ſuſcepit* (8). —— Cinyras *was one of the ancient Kings of* Byblos, *who had, by his Wife* Zmyrna, *the moſt beautiful Youth*, Adonis.

(4) Strabo, lib. xvi. pag. 521.

(5) Pinedo in Steph. Byzant. pag. 186.

(6) Noris de Epoch. Syro-Maced. Differt. iv. pag. 469.

(7) *It ſhould be* Cinyræ.

(8) Id. ibid. pag. 467.

[*D*] *Venus was particularly honoured there.*] She had a Temple there, wherein the Ceremonies of the Worſhip of *Adonis* were performed. *Lucian* ſpeaks of it as an Eye-witneſs: Εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἐν Βύβλῳ μέγα ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης Βυβλίνης. Ἐν τῷ καὶ τὰ ἔργια ἐς Ἀδωνιν ἐπιτελέουσι (9). *Vidi etiam Bybli magnum Bybliæ Veneris templum, in quo ritus quoſdam ſacros in Adonidem peragunt*. He mentions alſo another Temple of *Venus*, conſecrated by *Cinyras*, on Mount *Libanus*, a Day's journey from *Byblos* (10). He went to ſee it. Father *Noris* thinks, that, perhaps, it is the ſame Temple, which *Conſtantine* cauſed to be demoliſhed (11), and which was conſecrated to *Venus Aphacitis*, near Mount *Libanus*, and the River *Adonis* (12). I think This ought not to be queſtioned, ſince *Euſebius* obſerves, that The Temple of That *Venus* ſtood upon Mount *Libanus*. The Surname of *Aphacitis* was taken from the Place where That Temple was built, as *Zoſimus* obſerves (13); and it is probable, that *Macrobius* ſpeaks of This *Venus*, in the Twenty firſt Chapter of the firſt Book of the *Saturnalia*, and not of *Venus Architis*, as it is in the Editions (14). What he ſays relates to the Worſhip of *Venus* and *Adonis* among the *Aſſyrians*; and he tells us, that the Statue of That *Venus* was on Mount *Libanus*. *Euſebius* obſerves, that many infamous Things between Men and Men, and Men and Women, were committed in the Temple, which *Conſtantine* cauſed to be deſtroyed (15); but *Sozomen* ſays only, that the Heathens affirmed, that, on a certain Day of the Year, the Efficacy of the Invocations cauſed a Fire, in the Form of a Star, to deſcend from the Top of Mount *Libanus*, which fell into the neighbouring River. They pretended, that This Fire was *Venus* herſelf, whom they called *Urania* (16).

(9) Lucian, de Dea Syria, pag. 878. Tom. II.

(10) Id. ibid. pag. 880, 881.

(11) Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib. iii. cap. 55. Sozomen. lib. ii. cap. 5.

(12) Noris de Epoch. Syro-Maced. Differt. iv. pag. 467.

(13) Zoſim. Hiſt. lib. i.

(14) *See* Seldenus, de Dis Syris Synt. ii. cap. 3. pag. 204.

(15) Euſeb. ubi ſupra.

(16) Sozom. lib. iii. cap. 5.

BIGOIS, a Nymph, who had written, in *Tuſcan*, a Book concerning the Art of interpreting Lightenings. This Book was kept at *Rome*, in the Temple of *Apollo*, with ſome others of That Nature (*a*).

(*a*) Servius in Æneid. lib. vi. ver. 72.

BIGOT (EMERIC), one of the most learned, and most honest Men, of the XVIIth Century, was of *Roan* (*a*), and of a most illustrious Family of the Long-Robe [*A*]. He was born in the Year 1626 (*b*). The Love of Learning diverted him from public Employments; he applied himself solely to Books, and Sciences: He wonderfully increased the Library, which his Father had left him [*B*]. Once a Week an Assembly was held at his House, for learned Conferences. He corresponded by Letter with a great many learned Persons: His Advice and his Abilities were useful to many Authors; and he endeavoured to promote The Good of the Commonwealth of Learning. He published but one Book [*C*]; but it is probable he would have published more, if he had lived long enough to finish them. Mr *Menage* within the Kingdom, and *Nicolas Heinsius* in a Foreign Country, were his two most intimate Friends [*D*]. He had contracted none of the Defects, which Learning draws after it: He was modest, and an Enemy to Contests. It may be said in general, that he was one of the best Men in the World [*E*]. He died at *Roan*, the eighteenth of *December*, 1689, being about Sixty four Years of Age.

(*a*) Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, Febr. 1690, pag. 266, 267.

(*b*) Ibid.

[*A*] *He was of a most illustrious Family of the Long-Robe.*] According to the fine Elogy, which Mr *de Beauval* consecrated to him, in his *History of the Works of the Learned* (1), he was the Son of the Dean of the *Court of Aids*, and of a Daughter of Mr *Groulart*, first President in the Parliament of *Normandy*; and *he reckoned, among his Ancestors, two Presidents of Sovereign Courts*, one Advocate-General, and six Counsellors in the Parliament.* Let us unfold this a little, according to the Particulars, which Mr *le Laboureur* supplies us with. LAWRENCE BIGOT, Lord of *Tibermenil*, was Advocate-General in the Parliament, when the City was taken from the Protestants, in the Year 1562. He was a zealous Catholic, and contributed greatly to the hanging many People at *Roan*. The Huguenot Historians have complained of his Rigour. He died the thirteenth of *July*, 1570. He was the Son of ANTONY BIGOT, Lieutenant-General to the Bayliff of *Roan*, and Father of HEMERY BIGOT, Lord of *Tibermenil*, who had the Reversion of his Father's Place, with a Dispensation of Age, by a Patent of the first of *November* 1551, registred in Parliament the Twenty first of *August*, 1552; and he exercised it, from the Year 1570, to the Year 1578, when he was raised to the Dignity of President in the same Parliament. He had opposed, in the same Year, the Motion made to the States of *Blois* for excluding the King of *Navarre* from the Succession to the Crown of *France*, as *Thuanus* observes in the Sixty third Book of his History. Several of his Letters have been printed with Those of *Stephen Pasquier* (2). He left no Children: This Family was continued by JOHN and STEPHEN BIGOT, Brothers of the Advocate-General. I omit the Posterity of *John Bigot*; as for *Stephen*, he had twelve Sons, and six Daughters. LAWRENCE BIGOT, Sieur *de la Turgerie*, one of his Sons, was the Father of STEPHEN BIGOT, Counsellor in the *Court of Aids* at *Roan*, who transmitted his Office to his Son WILLIAM BIGOT, Father of WILLIAM BIGOT, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Roan*. JOHN BIGOT, another Son of *Stephen*, was Lieutenant to the Bayliff of *Roan*, and had no other Heir but his Son JOHN BIGOT, *Sieur* de Sommenil, *Counsellor in the* Court of Aids *at* Roan, *who collected, in his large Library, the Originals of the History of the Province of* Normandy, *and who had nineteen Children by his Wife* Barbara Groulart, *Daughter of* Claudius, *First President in the Parliament of* Roan; *among others*, JOHN, *Sieur* de Sommenil, *Counsellor in the Parliament of* Normandy, NICOLAS *Sieur* de Cleuville, *who succeeded his Father in his Office, and* HEMERY BIGOT (3), who makes the Subject of This Article,

(1) Febr. 1690, pag. 266, 267.

* Presidens au Mortier, *so called from a kind of Cap which is the Mark of their Dignity.*

(2) *The 60th Epigram of the 2d Book of* Pasquier *is addressed, ad* Edemericum Bigotium Tibermenium in Senatu Rotomagensi Præsidem.

(3) *Taken from Mr* le Laboureur's Additions to the Memoirs of *Castelnau*, Tom. I. p. 884. & seq.

[*B*] *He encreased the Library, which his Father had left him.*] I have already (4) said something concerning This Library of Mr *Bigot*, the Father, in quoting Mr *le Laboureur*; but here is an Author, who speaks more amply of it. "*John Bigot*, Esq; Sieur *de Sommeuil* (5), and *Cleuville*, Dean of the Counsellors of the *Court of Aids* of *Normandy*, understands Books very well, of which he has made a magnificent Library, consisting of above Six thousand Volumes, among which there are above Five hundred very good and rare Manuscripts, which he communicates freely to those, who want them for the Public; for which he will ever deserve Praise (6).'

(4) *In the foregoing Remark.*

(5) *He should have said* Sommeni. *Proper Names are strangely disfigured in Father* Jacob's *Books.*

[*C*] *He published but one Book.*] It is the Life of St *Chrysostom*, composed by *Palladius*. Neither *Fronto Ducæus*, nor Sir *Henry Savil*, could ever find the *Greek* Text of this Work; there was only a *Latin* Translation of it, composed by *Ambrosius Camaldulensis*. Mr *Bigot* found the *Greek* at *Florence* in the Great Duke's Library, and published it at *Paris*, in the Year 1680, with the *Latin* Translation he had made of it, and some other Treatises. The *Journal des Sçavans* gave a particular Account of it; but without saying any thing concerning a Letter of St *Chrysostom* to the Monk *Cæsarius* (7). Consult the Journalists of *Holland*, who have often mentioned it (8). Here are the Words of one of them, who mentioned it last of all: 'Mr *Bigot*'s Design 'was to add the Epistle to *Cæsarius*, which he 'had found in a Library at *Florence*, to the Life 'of St *Chrysostom*; but it appeared so express against 'Transubstantiation, that the Examiners obliged 'him to suppress it (9).'

(6) *Father* Jacob *in his Treatise of Libraries, pag.* 681. *printed in* 1644.

(7) Journal des Sçavans, March 1680. pag. 103. *Edit. of* Amst. *You will find the following Words there in praise of the Author.* Mr *Bigot*, famous for his noble Library, and who has been a long time an Honour to Learning at *Roan*.

(8) Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lett. June 1685. Art. III. pag. 605. June 1686. Art. VII. pag. 685. & alibi.

(9) Hist. des Ouvrages des Sçavans, Febr. 1690, pag. 267.

[*D*] *Mr* Menage *was one of his intimate Friends.*] Of all the Passages of the *Menagiana*, in which Mr *Bigot* is mentioned, I shall only copy That of the Seventy fifth Page. 'If I was forty Years of 'Age, I should weep bitterly for Mr *Bigot*'s Death; 'but I am so overwhelmed with my own Evils, 'that I can no longer be sensible of Those of 'others. I am as unhappy as *Priam*, who survived 'his whole Family. Mr *Bigot* lodged at my 'House, Thirty five Years ago, every time he 'came from *Roan* to *Paris*, and we never had any 'Difference. He was singular in one Thing: as 'he spoke but little, he never told me any thing 'he designed to do, notwithstanding the Intimacy, 'which was between us; insomuch, that, when 'he went to *Rome*, he said nothing of it to me 'till a Day or two before he set out. When he 'took his leave of me, he only asked me, if I 'had any Commands for him. I lose much by 'his Death. He wrote to me, not long before, that, 'for my sake, he was going to read all the old '*French* Poets, and that he would impart to me 'all that he should find proper for my *Origin of 'the* French *Tongue*. The Library, which he left, 'is worth at least Forty thousand Livres. He was 'a Man of great Learning; and the Learned of '*Holland* expected his Letters as so many Deci-'sions of the Difficulties they proposed to him.' It was a beautiful Friendship, which lasted thus long between These two great Men without any Interruption. The Poet, who said, that These kind of Friendships are *happy* (10), might with as much reason have said, that they are *rare*. Mr *Menage* dedicated his *Anti-Baillet* to Mr *Bigot*.

(10) Felices ter & amplius, Quos irrupta tenet copula: nec malis Divulsus querimoniis Supremæ citius solvet amor die. *Horat. Od.* 13. *l.* 1. *The Epistle Rari would make at true a Sense as the Epithet* Felices.

[*E*] *He was one of the best Men in the World.*] I cannot better comment on this Text, than by the Words of Mr *de Beauval*. 'There never was a 'more sincere or faithful Friend, *says he* (11); and 'he owned himself, that it was a Praise, which af-'fected him most. He was a Man of an Integri-'ty not common in this unhappy Age, and such 'an Enemy to Ostentation, that his Modesty went 'as far as his Simplicity of Manners. His peaceful 'and calm Temper made him incapable of the 'Noise and Quarrels, which Jealousy creates among 'learned Men.'

(11) Hist. des Ouvrages des Sçavans, ubi supra.

(c) Paris Gazette, Dec. 24. 1689.

Age (*c*). He has shewed, by his Will, that he died with the same Affection for the Good of Learning, which he had during his Life [*F*].

[*F*] *He shewed by his Will, that he died with the same Affection for Learning, which he had during his Life.*] 'He has entailed his Library upon 'his Family, to avoid the dividing of it, and 'trusted Mr *Bigot* of *Manville*, Counsellor in the 'Parliament of *Paris*, with the care of it, having 'left a considerable Legacy to increase it every 'Year (12).' (12) Ibid.

(*a*) La Croix du Maine, pag. 141.

BIGOT (William), born at *Laval*, in the Country of *Maine* (*a*), a Physician, and a Philosopher, was a learned Man in the Reign of *Francis* I. It was believed, that the learned *Peter Castellan* conceived some Jealousy against him, and that, for fear his Glory should be eclipsed, he hindered him from having any access to the King. Others say it was a Calumny, which *Melanchthon* believed too rashly [*A*]. It is certain, that the means, which, it is said, *Castellan* made use of, to render *William Bigot* odious to their Common Master, is very improbable [*B*]. The Story concerning it in the *Menagiana*, is not exact [*C*]. *Bigot* must have

[*A*] *It was a Calumny, which* Melanchthon *believed too rashly.*] We have two things to do: we must shew what *Melanchthon* published, and what was said against him on That Subject. These are *Melanchthon*'s Words: 'Duo sunt in Gallia viri 'excellenter docti, Castellanus, & Bigotius. Et quia 'Castellani disputationes crebro à Rege audiuntur, 'hortatur quispiam ex proceribus ut Bigotius etiam 'audiatur. Interrogat Rex in quo doctrinæ genere 'versetur. Cumque alii honorifico testimonio eum 'ornarent, tandem Castellanus, qui augeri ejus opinionem nolebat, interpellans, Quid, inquit, tantopere 'prædicatis? Est Aristotelicus. Rex interrogat qualis 'sit ea descriptio. Dicam, inquit Castellanus. Aristoteles ἀεσσοκεφαλίαν adfirmat meliorem statum 'esse quam regnum. Hæc voce apud Regem sciebat se omnem auctoritatem & Aristoteli & ejus 'studiosis detraxisse. Cumque Rex interrogaret an 'hoc scripserit Aristoteles, & cæteri id adfirmarent, 'audivissetque defendere Bigotium Aristotelicas sententias, delirare Aristotelem inquit, & negavit se 'defensorem harum inceptiarum audisturum esse. Excidè vicit Castellanus tali judice (1). —— *There are, in* France, *two very learned Men,* Castellan *and* Bigot. *And, as the King is frequently present at the Disputations of* Castellan, *some one of his Courtiers advises him to hear* Bigot. *The King asks, in what kind of Learning he is conversant. And, when others give him an honourable Testimony,* Castellan, *at length, who was unwilling his Fame should increase, interposing, says, why this a-do about* Bigot? *He is an* Aristotelian. *The King enquires what That Description means. I will inform your Majesty, says* Castellan. Aristotle *affirms an Aristocracy to be better than a Monarchy. He knew, that, by this Declaration,* Aristotle, *and his Followers, would lose all their Credit with the King. And the King, having asked, whether* Aristotle *wrote so, and others affirming the same thing, and hearing that* Bigot *maintained the* Aristotelian *Doctrines, declared that* Aristotle *was mad, and that he would never hear one, who defended these Follies.* Castellan *easily gained his Cause before such a Judge*' The Author of *Castellan*'s Life refutes this with some Force. What he says deserves to be set down at length. 'A Bigotio Gorgiam quendam in vicis & quadriviis profitente ita privatim & publicè lacessitus convitiisque appetitus fuerat, & scripto apud exteros traductus, ut meritò eum odio prosequi posse videretur. Nam & Philippum Melanchthonem calumniis ita illi infestum reddiderat, ut is nimium credulus & facilis ea de ipso scriberet quæ nos, propter publicam causam, non sine gemitu legere poteramus. Nempe Castellanum ex eo calumniatorum esse genere qui, invidia concitati, mendaciis confictis bonas causas apud Reges oppugnarent & deteriores redderent. Argumento esse Bigotium, quem ille Philosophia Aristotelica præstantem, ne sibi & suæ gratiæ obesset, eum odiosum Regi reddere meditaretur. Aristotelem, quod laudato paucorum & populi principatu unius imperium improbasset, apud Regem graviter criminatus esset. Quod totum cum esset vanissimum, & à Castellano Aristotelem amante & admirante alienissimum, nec minus improbe à Bigotio confictum quam à Melanchthone leviter literis mandatum, Bigotium tamen postea in gratiam receptum Regi commendavit, atque illi quæ à Rege petebat apud Nemausenses impetravit (2). —— *He was so attacked, and calumniated, both publickly and privately, and so exposed in writing to Foreigners, by* Bigot, *who set up for another* Gorgias *in Towns and Highways, that he seems to have had some Reason for the hatred he bore him. For he had so exasperated* Philip Melanchthon *against him, by his Calumnies, that the latter, too credulous and easy of Belief, wrote such Things concerning him, as, for the sake of the Public, I could not read without Grief: To wit, that* Castellan *was one of those Calumniators, who, excited by Envy, prejudice Persons in the Favour of their Prince; that* Bigot *was an Instance of it: whom he endeavoured to render odious to the King, on account of his being an* Aristotelian, *that the other's Credit might not ruin his Interest at Court. He brought an heavy Accusation against* Aristotle, *before the King, for preferring an Aristocracy, or Democracy, to a Monarchy. Which being all false, and far from* Castellan, *who was a Lover and Admirer of* Aristotle, *and no less unreasonably invented by* Bigot, *than rashly committed to writing by* Melanchthon, *yet, receiving* Bigot *into favour, he recommended him to the King, and obtained for him of the King, what he wished for at* Nimes.' It appears from these Words, I. That *Bigot*, in Imitation of the ancient Sophisters, and namely of *Gorgias*, declaimed, and read Lectures, every where. II. That he had spoken ill of *Castellan*, both in private and public. III. That he made his Peace with *Castellan*: and that, by the Recommendation of this reconciled Enemy, he obtained, from *Francis* I, what he wished for at *Nimes*.

(1) Melanchth. in responsione contra Clerum Coloniensem. Edita, Anno 1543.

(2) Petrus Gallandius in vita Petri Castellani, n. 74. pag. 130, 131.

[*B*] *The means, which it is said* Castellan *made use of — — is very improbable.*] I shall not repeat *Peter Galland*'s Remarks against *Melanchthon*'s Narrative, but make some, which he has not made: I. It is no ways likely, that *Francis* I enquired what an *Aristotelian* Philosopher was? He was too knowing a Prince, and took too much care to have an exact Account of the State of the University of *Paris*; in a word, he had had too many Conversations with learned Men, to be ignorant of *Aristotle*'s Name, and what a Follower of *Aristotle* was. The Question, which he is said to have asked, would be likely, notwithstanding That Prince's Learning, if to be a Peripatetic had been a rare and a new thing in *France*; but, as there was almost no body in the Philosophical Chairs, who did not make an open Profession of *Aristotle*'s Philosophy; nothing is more unlikely, than to suppose, that That Prince was so surprised with an Idea of Novelty at the hearing the Name of an *Aristotelian Philosopher*, as immediately to require an Explication of these Terms. II. The flourishing State of the Peripatetic Sect at that time, and the great Respect, which was paid to *Aristotle*, do not permit us to believe, that *Castellan* thought he was able to wound the Reputation of a Rival by calling him a *Peripatetic*. It would have been taking a wrong way to weaken the Praises, which were bestowed upon *Bigot* in the Presence of *Francis* I. III. The Professors of Philosophy in the Universities of *France* do not explain Politics; and it would have been ridiculous in those times to have said; *I will explain to you what an* Aristotelian *Philosopher*

have been a great Philosopher, since he was very much praised by *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* (*b*). He published some Treatises, both in Verse and in Prose [*D*]. It is a Mistake to say, that *Calvin* reproached him with holding the Truth in Unrighteousness [*E*]. (*b*) See the End of Remark [*D*].

Bongars had never heard of our *William Bigot*; for, in a Letter, which he wrote the sixth of *August*, 1596, he desired to be informed, who he was [*F*].

I have several curious Particulars to add to this Article. Our *William Bigot* was Son of *JOHN BIGOT*, and was born towards the end of the Month of *June*, 1502; for he says, in a Letter, dated at *Basil*, the Twenty seventh of *December*, 1536, that he left *France* at the Age of Twenty eight Years, and that it is six Years and a half since he was banished his Country. He was, therefore, Thirty four Years and a half, when he wrote this Letter. Few Authors make such Complaints of their Enemies, as this Philosopher does in his Works. *We perpetually meet with some* apologetical *or* antilogical *Letters, designed to refute the Calumnies of his Adversaries. This obliges him to let us into many Particulars of his Life* [*G*], *some of which even*

sopher is: He is one, who prefers Common-wealths before Monarchies. IV. It is most certain, that *Francis* I protected *Aristotle* against *Ramus*. The Author of *Castellan*'s Life says, that That Prince had like to have condemned this Rebel against *Aristotle* to the Gallies (3). So that there is reason to think, that *Melanchthon* did not relate the Matter as he should have done. He was mis-informed, and suffered himself to be pre-possessed without hearing both Parties. Nevertheless, his Words have gained Credit, and I find no Body, who speaks of our *Bigot*, without taking for certain what *Melanchthon* published of him. So much Power the Stars of some Men have to immortalize any Story, whether it be true, or false; agreeable, or contrary, to all Appearances!

(3) Galland, ubi supra. n. 47. pag. 75.

Naudé was in the common Error: See here what he says: 'Erasmus might have appeared among the 'Learned Men, whom *Francis* I drew after him 'by the Chains of his Liberality —— if he would 'have accepted the Principality of his Royal Col- 'lege, or Canonship of Fifteen thousand Livres 'Revenue, which he offered him several times*; 'and likewise *William Bigot*, who was the first 'Philosopher of his time, if his High Almoner, 'the Bishop of *Maçon*, had not diverted, him from 'the Desire he had to have him near his Person †, 'that he might not have a Learned Censurer of 'the Discourses he made every Day at the King's 'Table (4).'

* Erasm. Epist. ad Christoph. Messiam. item ad Goclenium, item ad Joan. Hond.

† Rither. in axiomat. Polit.

(4) Naudé Addit. to the Hist. of *Louis* XI. pag. 369, 370.

[*C*] *The Story inserted in the* Menagiana *is not exact.*] This is the Story: '*Peter Galland* was en- 'vied, and his Enemies would have sent for one, 'whose Name was *Bigot*, a great *Aristotelian* Phi- 'losopher, from *Normandy*, to supplant him. *Fran- 'cis* I, who had been told of him, asked *Peter 'Castellan*, what he was? *Peter Castellan* answered, 'that he was a Philosopher, who followed *Ari- 'stotle*'s Opinions. And what are *Aristotle*'s Opi- 'nions, added *Francis* I? Sir, replied *Peter Castel- 'lan*, Aristotle *prefers Common-wealths to Monar- 'chical States*. This made such an Impression on 'the King's Mind, that he would hear no more 'of This Mr *Bigot*. Thus *Peter Castellan* served 'his Friend very dexterously (5).' I could make some Objections against This Account. I. Our *William Bigot* was not a *Norman*, but a *Manceau*. II. His Ability in the Peripatetic Philosophy could not supplant *Peter Galland*, who only taught Philology. III. *Melanchthon*, who ought to pass for an Authentic Writer, as to this matter, since he was the first, who related it, does not say, that The Business was to supplant any Professor of *Paris*: He says, that They would have introduced *Bigot* to *Francis* I; that That Monarch, who had heard *Peter Castellan* discourse so often, might also hear the Discourses of This *William Bigot*. Observe well, that, when the only Author, who speaks of any Fact, commits a Mistake, his Narrative cannot be altered without a new Error. I except the true Discovery of the Fact. IV. We learn from the Life of *Castellan*, that, at his Recommendation, *Francis* I granted This *Bigot* a thing, which he desired. How can it be said, then, that That Prince *would hear no more of This Mr* Bigot?

(5) Menagiana, pag. 147.

[*D*] *He published some Treatises both in Verse and Prose.*] Some of his *French* Verses were printed with the Poems of Charles de Sainte Marthe, *Uncle of Scævola* (6). *Gesner* mentions a Collection of Poems, *Gulielmi Bigotii Lavallensis*, printed at *Basil*, in the Year 1536 (7). He adds, It is seven Years, since I saw the Author at *Basil*. Among other Pieces in That Collection, there was, *Catoptron ad emendationem juventutis factum carmen: epithalamium quoddam, & epigramma in Empiricum* (8). *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* mentions This Title; *Gulielmi Bigotii Lavallensis Christianæ philosophiæ præludium, opus cum aliorum tum hominis subtilissimi luculentis exprimens rationibus; Tolosæ* 4. *apud Guidonem Boudevilleum* 1549 (9). Probably *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* hinted at This Book, when he said: 'Sic videmus ejusdem rei diversas esse no- 'tiones: quas barbare quidem barbaris, sed non in- 'scite apud doctos, formalitates appellabamus. Hæc 'quidem risui sunt atque contemptui novis Lucianis 'atque Diagoris culinariis: sed non neglecta sunt à 'maximo Philosopho Gulielmo Bigotio, qui quidem 'pene solus hoc summum jus hodie tuetur recondita 'philosophia (10). —— *Thus we see there are dif- 'ferent Notions of the same thing, to which we gave 'the Appellation of* Formalities; *a Term, barbarous 'to* Barbarians, *but with the Learned not improper. 'These appear indeed ridiculous and contemptible to our 'Modern* Lucians, *and* Kitchen Diagoras (11); *but they 'are not neglected by the great Philosopher* William 'Bigot, *the only one, at present, who maintains this 'supream Justice in the Mysteries of Philosophy.*'

(6) La Croix du Maine, pag. 141.

(7) Gesner, in Biblioth. p. 287.

(8) Ibid.

(9) In Supplemento Epitomes Gesneranæ.

(10) Jul. Cæsar. Scalig. Exercit. 307. n. 15. pag. 946, ad Cardan.

[*E*] *It is a Mistake to say, that* Calvin *reproached him with holding the Truth in Unrighteousness.*] Here is what we find in the Notes of a very Learned Man on *Castellan*'s Life. 'Ad quem (Bigotium) extat 'epistola Joannis Calvini data IV Kal. Januarii 'MDLVII. in qua eum increpat quod à superstitioni- 'bus, id est, à professione fidei Romanæ non rece- 'deret. - - - - - - - - *There is extant a Letter of* John 'Calvin *to* Bigot, *in which he blames him for not 'departing from Superstition, that is, from the Pro- 'fession of the* Romish *Faith.*' This Letter of *Calvin* is the Two hundred forty sixth (11), it is written to one *Peter Bigot*, who did not give Glory to God by professing the Truth. *Calvin* had formerly lodged at his House. The Name of *Castellan*'s Adversary was *William Bigot:* It is not therefore He, to whom *Calvin* wrote.

(11) In Editione 3. Hanov. 1597.

[*F*] Bongars *desired to be informed, who he was.*] He asked this question, after he had read the Letter, which *Joachim Camerarius* had written to This *William Bigot*. It is at the end of the third Book of the second Volume of *Joachim*'s Letters. 'Sti- 'barus quis fuerit, nisi molestum est, explica, & 'quis Vilelmus Bigotius Gallus, ad quem extat epi- 'stola sub finem tertii libri (12). - - - - *Inform me, 'if it be no trouble to you, who* Stibarus *is, and who 'extant an Epistle, about the end of the third Book.*'

(12) Bongars, Epist. 130. ad Camerar. pag. 488. Edit. Hag. 1695.

[*G*] *The Disputes, which he had —— obliged him to let us into many Particulars of his Life.*] 'He 'was not quite a Year old, when his Nurse died of 'the Plague. Observe, by the way, that they 'were obliged to procure him a Nurse out of the 'Country, no Woman of the Town being willing 'to bring him up, because he was born with two 'Teeth. The Death of his Nurse, preceded by 'That of thirteen other Persons of the same Family, 'was the beginning of our *Bigot*'s Misfortunes. Not 'one of the Neighbours would undertake the Care of

(c) See the Remarks of the Article CARDAN, and particularly Remark [Y].

even favour of the Ingenuity of Cardan (c), so injudiciously are they advanced (d). He informs us, among other things, that his Wife's Gallant was punished just as *Abelard* was. See, below, Remark [G] (e).

(d) Citat. (13).

(e) Between Citations (13) and (14).

of him, or even inform his Relations of it: in a word, he was exposed without pity under a Hedge by the Side of a great Road. His own Father, drawn that way by other particular Affairs, found him in this Condition. As he grew up, his Education was intrusted with Persons, who did not take all the necessary care of it; so that he no sooner withdrew himself from their Discipline, than he plunged into Debauchery. Falling into a Scrape at *Antwerp*, he was obliged to retire into the Country. This Retreat was of no small Service to him; It brought him back to a Relish for Study. He applied himself to *Greek*, which he acquired without a Master, and in a very short Time. The other Sciences cost him no more Time, or Pains; he affirms, that he was obliged to his First Masters only for a little *Latin*; and as for Philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology, Medicine, &c. he was αὐτοδίδακτος, *Self-taught*. After having passed some Time in this Retreat, he resolved to go into *Germany*, that he might be more at Liberty. He took this Journey in Company with Mr *du Bellai de Langey*, who was sent by the King to the *German* Princes, to inform them of his Majesty's Pretensions; which Negotiation was carried on with great Secrecy; and Mr *du Langey* was to appear in some Courts only in the Habit of a Jewel-Merchant. Our *Bigot* came to *Tubingen*, and was there admitted Professor of Philosophy. Happening to quarrel with the other Members of the University, who were displeased at his endeavouring to refute the Philosophical System of *Melanchton*, he was obliged to retire to *Basil*, in 1536, where he continued for some time. At last, he returned to *France*, and found a sure Protection in Mess. *du Bellai*, his Patrons. *Budæus* would have kept him at *Paris*, and procured him the *stipendium regium Philosophi*; but *Castellan* prevented it. Read the following Account of this Matter by one *William Figulus*, who wrote Notes on a Poem of *Bigot*'s to Jesus Christ, which I shall take notice of hereafter. Budæus Bigotium, Germania regressum, rogavit stipendium regium Philosophi præferret Aulæ, quam sequi parabat: quo de Bigotius vicissim egit cum Cardinale Bellaico Mecænate suo, id ut ferret: sed longe aberat ab illo sibi desiderato scopo Bigotius, cum id apud Franciscum Regem tacita invidia & obtrectatione quidam Aulicus interrupisset, non obscuriore certe Academiæ Parisiensis quam Bigotii damno. Qui sit autem is, in responsione Melanchthonis ad Colonienses invenies: id nunc Bigotius insinuat, & id quidem miris fatis, cum eo invito ea invita claudatur (13). —— Budæus *desired* Bigot, *who was come back from* Germany, *that he would prefer the Royal Stipend of a Philosopher to the Court, which he was preparing to follow*; *and* Bigot, *in his Turn, asked permission to do so of his Patron the Cardinal* du Bellai: *but* Bigot *was far from gaining this favourite Point, being defeated in it by a certain Courtier, who, through envy, misrepresented him to King* Francis, *not less to the Loss of the University of* Paris, *than that of* Bigot *himself. Who this Courtier was, you will find in* Melanchton's *Answer to those of* Cologn. Bigot *now insinuates this, and indeed by a strange Fate, since, against his Will, it is unwillingly sent up.* - - - - - -

(13) Gul. Figulus in hac verba Bigotii. *Denique mirris iunxto inspita ossa mihi claudat Lachesis fatis.*

Does he mean the Post of *Regius Professor* of Philosophy? However it be, *Bigot*, being disappointed, turned his Thoughts to other Employs. He was offered a Chair in the University of *Padua*, with a good Salary: he refused it, and chose to go *Nismes*, whither he was invited to regulate the University, which one *Baduellus* had there begun. The Zeal, which he shewed in defending the pretended Privileges of this University, raised him many Enemies, who recalled *Baduellus*. It was then a Kind of War between the two Masters, and their Scholars. *Bigot* had some Arrets of the Parliament of *Toulouse*, confirming the Conventions he had made with the Town. He even came to *Paris*; and, by the means of his Friends, and particularly Cardinal *du Bellai*, he obtained Letters from the King, and other Presons of the Court, addressed to the Governor, and Principal Men, of *Nismes*: but, thinking to enjoy a certain Tranquility in that Town, and having for that purpose sold all he could of his Patrimony at *Laval*, he went to *Toulouse*, where he found his Affairs in a Situation very different from what he expected. His Wife, by whom he had already had two Daughters, not keeping her matrimonial Faith, and having yielded to the Caresses of a certain Compeer of hers, a Player on Instruments, who dwelt at *Bigot*'s House, it happened, that the Adulterer, whose name was *Petrus Fontanus*, met with the Punishment of *Abelard*: in a word, he lost the true Tokens of his Manhood: but, what added to the Misfortune of our poor Husband, was, it's being discovered, that the principal Actor in This Tragedy was one *Antonius Verdanus*, an old Servant of *Bigot*'s. This was enough for the Enemies of *Bigot*; and the Opportunity appeared too favourable, of plunging him into Difficulties, for them to let it slip. His Wife was carried off. He was accused of the Crime of Mutilation, and several others, all which demanded his Head. He delivered himself up to Imprisonment too rashly, and continued a long time in Confinement. He even expected to lose his Head, so great was the Power of his Enemies, and such malicious Turns did they give to all his Actions. At last, an extraordinary Sessions, which was held at *Puy* in *Velay*, delivered him from his Prison, but not from the Misery, to which this Affair had reduced him; which yet was not over, with respect to Civil Proceedings, in 1549, when he published his *Christianæ Philosophiæ Præludium*. Tired with so many Attacks, he says, in several Parts of This Book, that his Stars promise him, that he shall die towards the North, and out of his own Country; that he wishes he could leave This ungrateful Land, and retire to die at *Metz*. It is his favourite Town: he could not forbear addressing to it several Verses, in his Poem to Jesus Christ, and to beg of it never to reject him. All This is taken, partly from an Apologetical Epistle, and another Antilogical Epistle, &c. The Apologetical Epistle is in a Collection, of the Publication of which you have taken no notice; It is This: *Gul. Bigotii, Lavallensis, somnium ad Gul. Bellaium Langæum, Mecænatem suum, in quo cum alia tum Imperatoris Caroli describitur ab Regno Galliæ depulso. Ejusdem explanatrix somnii Epistola, quâ se item & Gul. Budæum a quorundam calumniis defendit. Ejusdem Catoptron, & alia quædam Poemata, cusa prius inemendatius: Parisiis*, 1537, 8vo. The Antilogical Epistle is to be found together with the *Christianæ Philosophiæ Præludium, Opus cum aliorum, tum hominis substantiam, luculentis expromens & exemplis & rationibus, Gul. Bigotio, Lavallensi, Autore. Ejusdem & ad Jesum Christum Carmen supplex, & Antilogica Dedicatrixque Epistola* (14), *perapte tam Præludio quam reliquis ipsius Christianis scriptis prælegenda: Tolosæ, Guid. Boudevillæi*, 1549, fol. I have already observed, that the *Carmen Supplex* was commented on by *Willam Figulus*. His Notes are inserted in This Edition, together with others, which he wrote on other Verses of the same *Bigot*, which are at the end of the same Volume (15).

(14) Ad Joan. Card. Belsaium.

(15) *Taken from a Manuscript Memoir, communicated by Mr* Lancelot.

The Memoir, which I have made use of just as it came to my Hand, is very proper to inform us of two Things; the One, that Mr *Lancelot* knows how to make an excellent Use of the Books, which the *Mazarine* Library furnishes him with; the second, that nothing is more necessary to the Author of such a Work as This, than to consult All the Prefaces, All the Epistles Dedicatory, All the Apologies, and All the Writings, called *Eristique*, and All the Remarks of Authors. It is in them we find a great many Particulars of their Lives.

BILLAUT (ADAM), known by the Name of *Master Adam*, was a Joiner of *Nevers*, who became a pretty good *French* Poet. He made himself first known in his own Country, and to the Princesses of *Gonzague* (*a*), who resided sometimes in their Dutchy of *Nevers*; and afterwards he ventured to go to *Paris*, where he met with some Patrons. He took this Journey in the Year 1637 [*A*]. The Duke of *Orleans* honoured him with a Pension (*b*). This new Poet published a Collection of Poems, entituled *Les Chevilles de Maître Adam*, and did not fail to add to it the Verses, which many Poets of his Time made in his Praise. The Abbot *de Marolles* honoured it with a Preface, which favours of a Panegyric, and wherein he does not forget to inform us, that *Peter Billaut*, and *Joan More*, our Poet's Father and Mother, were originally of the Village of *St Benin des Bois*, in the Country of *Nivernois*. It appears by *Master Adam*'s Verses, that he intruded himself among the Grandees; but I do not believe that he grew rich by the Poet's Trade [*B*]. He died the nineteenth of *May*, 1662 (*c*). Mr *Baillet* was not lavish of his Praises on him [*C*]. I have heard it said, that he was obliged to return to his Joiner's Trade for a Livelihood; but I do not believe it.

(*a*) *The Princess* Mary, *and the Princess* Anne, *the first of which has been Queen of* Poland.

(*b*) *See the Preface to the* Chevilles.

(*c*) Romuald, Histor. and Chron. Journal, October 19, pag. 450.

[*A*] *He came to* Paris, *in the Year* 1637.] All the Proof I have for it, is a Passage of the Abbot *de Marolles*, wherein he says, that, being at *Nevers*, in 1636, he was saluted one Morning by Mr *Adam Billaut*, who repeated some of his Verses to him, and gave him some Copies of them. This Abbot adds, that he promised the Princess *Mary* to proclaim the Merit of this rare Poet, and that *Master Adam* came to *Paris* the Year following. *He was known there*, continues he, *to the Grandees, and to all the Court* (1).

(1) Memoires de l'Abbé de Marolles, pag. 107.

[*B*] *He did not grow rich by the Poet's Trade.*] We must not always take in the literal Sense what the Poets say about their great Indigence, to Those, from whom they would obtain a few Pistoles; but I believe our *Billaut* did not exaggerate, when he said (2), that his Pension served only for the Payment of his Creditors: It was not therefore the way to leave a good Estate to his Children (3). He had a Pension from Cardinal *Richelieu*, as may be inferred from his desiring one of his Friends to follicit the Payment of it (4).

(2) *In the Epistle Dedicatory of his* Chevilles *to the Count* d'Arpajon.

(3) *He had a Wife, and some Children.* Preface of Mr *de Marolles*.

(4) Chevilles, pag. 110. *Edit. of* Roan, 1654.

[*C*] *Mr* Baillet *was not lavish of his Praises on him.*] *Master Adam*, says he (5), surnamed *Billaut*, commonly called the VIRGIL OF THE JOINERS, left us his *Chevilles* (Pegs) his *Villebrequin* (Wimble) and his *Rabot* (Plane), and his other Tools, which he thought to immortalize by consecrating them to the Deities of *Parnassus*. —— 'Unless it be 'known that he was an illiterate Joiner, he will 'pass for an indifferent Poet, and perhaps, for a 'Black guard of Parnassus. — For it must be confessed, that *Master Adam* does more Honour to 'the Joiners, and other Tradesmen, than to the 'Poets, and the Muses.'

(5) Jugemens sur les Poëtes n. 1438.

BILLI (JAMES *de*), Abbot of *St Michel en l'Herme*, was one of the learned Men of the XVIth Century. He translated several Works of the *Greek* Fathers into *Latin*, and particularly *Gregory Nazianzen*, to the Satisfaction of good Judges (*a*). I designed to publish a long Account of him; but I could not meet with his Life, composed by *John Chatard* (*b*); so that I refer my Readers to *Moreri*, and shall only observe some Mistakes of the learned Mr *de Launoi* [*A*], who published two Letters, which inform us, that *James de Billi* complained much of being at *Paris*. He complained of it, among other Reasons, because Provisions were dear, and because he was obliged to lose part of his Time with the Ladies [*B*]. His Sister, who lived with Madam *de Montmorency*, was the occasion of it. It is not

(*a*) *See* Mr Baillet, Jugem. des Sçavans, n. 873.

(*b*) *See* Teissier Biblio h. Bibliothecar. pag. 170.

[*A*] *Some Mistakes of the learned Mr* de Launoi.] He has inserted, in his History of the College of *Navarre* (1), two Letters of *James de Billi*, written to *James Pelletier*; and he believed they were written in the Year 1582. This shews, that he did not know, that the Author of these two Letters died in the Year 1581. *La Croix du Maine* affirms it. Mr *Baillet* takes it for granted in divers places of his *Jugements*. *Moreri* notes the Twenty second of *November* 1580. But *Thevet*, in the second Tome of the Elogies, pag. 892, marks the Twenty fifth of *December* 1581. He is more in the right than *Moreri*. The Ignorance of such Things is nothing, and can do no prejudice to a learned Man; But I cannot apprehend, that a Man can discover his Ignorance in much more considerable Matters, without some Prejudice to himself. By publishing these two Letters, as written in the Year 1582, Mr *de Launoi* must have believed, that the Prince of *Condé* was then in Prison; that the Admiral, having gathered the broken Remains of the Army, passed the *Loire*, and committed great Ravages; that the Duke of *Guise* pursued him with long Marches, *&c.* All these things are plainly contained in the first of *James de Billi*'s two Letters, with this Circumstance; that the Prince of *Condé* had almost made his Escape out of Prison, which induced the Queen to have him removed to *Chartres*. It is plain, that This Letter was written in the beginning of the Year 1563. The Date, which Mr *de Launoi* produces, is, *Lutetiæ* 10. *Calend. Feb.* 1582 (2). Without doubt, he found the Date of the Place, and of the Day, in the Original, and added That of the Year to it. I know not what grounds he could have for his Conjectures; but it is certain, either that he did not consider the Contents of That Letter, or that he was but little skilled in our Modern History. Moreover, the Publication of those Letters shews, that he did not understand *Greek*; for he left several Faults, which the Printers had committed, in some *Greek* Words, which our Abbot had made use of. For example, This Verse of *Homer*,

(1) Page 360.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρόσθ' ἔασιν ἀδόμεν ἀχνυμένοισι περ,

was printed thus,

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρόσθε τέρπε θύμον, ἀχνυμένοισι περ.

(2) That is, January 23.

[*B*] *He complained, that he was obliged to lose part of his Time with the Ladies.*] If you desire to know all the Reasons, why he was sorry, that he had left his Province, read his own Words; 'Hic omnia perturbata, morbis infesta; hic extrema annonæ caritas, hic nullo succo victitandum; hic cursitandum, litigandum, & sororis causâ, quæ apud Magistri Equitum uxorem educatur inter puellas, tempus terendum & perdendum. —— *Every thing here is in Confusion; The City is unhealthy; Provisions are dear; Here I must live upon biting my Nails, or sucking my Thumbs; I am obliged to hurry up and down; I must engage in Quarrels; and, upon my Sister's Account, who is educated among the young Ladies in the Master of the Horse's Family, must squander away my Time.* This latter point favours but little of the Abbot; neither are we speaking of a Court-Abbot, but of an Abbot, who was a great *Grecian*, and who minded nothing but his Studies.

not universally agreed, that his Translation of *Gregory Nazianzen* is a good one: I am going to shew, from some Particulars, that it is not [C].

[C] *Here are some Particulars, which shew, that his Translation of* Gregory Nazianzen *is not a Good One.*] It was first printed at *Paris* in 1569, and at *Cologne* in 1570, and then again at *Paris* in 1583. This last Edition was made by the Care of *Genebrard*, and dedicated to Pope *Gregory* XIII; it *is much the most ample, and exact. It is This Version, which is placed over against the* Greek *Text, in the Edition of* Paris, *in two Volumes, by* Morel, *in* 1609 (3). Father *Lowvart*, a *Benedictin*, who intends to undertake a new Edition of *Gregory Nazianzen*, reckons, among the difficulties, which will retard the Execution of This Enterprize, the Necessity of revising *the fine Translation of the Abbot* Billy (4). *Though it should answer still less to the Text*, says he (5), *than has been observed by the Editors themselves of* Paris, *in* 1610 *and* 1611, *in their Prefaces* —— 'The profound Veneration paid to the Memory and 'Learning of this great Man, will always be a reason for preserving his Version as much as possible. 'And if what the learned *Petavius* remarks upon St '*Epiphanius*, that it is more difficult to correct a 'Translation, than to make a new one: if This, I 'say, be not true in relation to *a learned and polite* '*Version*, such as That of the Abbot *de Billi*, This 'will lessen the Pains, at least will spare the disgust 'of too severely censuring the Faults, which have 'escaped This learned Abbot, who, otherwise, was 'so perfect a Master of the two Languages. For 'the rest, Father *Sirmond* is not the only Person, 'who has *corrected* This Version. It is scarce to be 'known again in the *Dogmata Theologica* of *Petavius*, 'in which St *Gregory* is cited in almost every Page. 'What is more remarkable is, that, besides the great 'Knowledge this learned Jesuit had of the two Languages, he was likewise a perfect Master of the 'Divinity of the *Greek* Fathers.'

How complaisantly soever this is expressed, it plainly gives us to understand, that the Translation of our Abbot *de Billi* is very imperfect.

The same *Benedictin* refutes what had been advanced in a Memoir, communicated to the Journalists of *Trevoux*, that the Abbot *de Billi* gave up his Manuscript to the Booksellers. 'This Illustrious Abbot, *says he* (6), published his *Latin* St *Gregory* 'twice in his Life time. As for the Abbot *de Billi's Greek* Manuscript, it was never in a Condition 'to be printed. Some will be surprized at the Novelty of This Proposition, after what *Chatard* has 'said of it in his Elogy of the Abbot *de Billi*, and 'what *Genebrard* wrote concerning it to Pope *Gregory* XIII, in the Year 1582, immediately after 'the Death of This Abbot. This Letter is still to 'be seen in three Editions of *Paris*. 'I have in my 'Hands this pretended *Greek* Manuscript of the Abbot *de Billi*, the very Original, which passed from 'this Abbot to *Genebrard*, and from his Hands into '*Petavius's* Library, whence the Booksellers of '*Paris* had it, to print, as they said, the *Greek* 'Text, revised by the Abbot *de Billy*. I am ready 'publickly to produce it, and to prove, that the '*Greek* Text was never restored by the Abbot *de* '*Billy*, nor by any other. St *Gregory* —— is —— 'the only one of the four Doctors of the *Greek* 'Church, whose Text remains in the Corruption of 'the first Edition, if even the *Paris* Edition has not 'very much added to it (7). It is certain, even by 'the Confession of the Editors of *Paris*, (first and 'second Preface) that this Abbot left nothing as 'to the *Greek* Text of St *Gregory*, but what is in 'an Edition of *Basil*, printed by *Herwagius*, in '1550, in which, by dint of guessing, we read, 'in the Margin, and sometimes between the Lines, 'here a *Latin*, and there a *Greek*, Word. —— 'It is a Chaos, which I believe the illustrious 'Author himself could not clear up, were he to 'return at present into the World. —— *Morel*, in 'his Preface, speaks almost in the same manner of 'this Manuscript; and all, who please, may be 'convinced of it by their own Eyes. It was, however, this pretended Correction of the *Greek* 'Text by the Abbot *de Billy*, which was given 'into the Hands of a *Corrector of the Press*, who, 'not being able to make any thing of it (which 'was no wonder) printed neither the Edition of '*Basil*, nor this pretended Correction, but One, I 'know not what, formed out of those two, as 'his Fancy directed him. —— I appeal, after 'this, whether it was honest in the Booksellers to 'impose upon the Public by so deceitful a Title, 'as That of the Abbot *de Billy*; *Jacobus Billius* '------ *cum MSS. Regiis contulit, emendavit,* '&c (8).'

This is enough, I. To undeceive Those, who have a good Opinion of the Work of this Abbot. II. To render suspected what Booksellers affirm.

(3) Du Pin, Biblioth Tom. II. pag. 222. Edit. Amst.

(4) *See* Memoires de Trevoux, July, 1704, pag. 1247. *Edit. of* France.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid. pag. 1243, &c.

(7) Ibid. pag. 1250.

(8) *Note, that the Memoir of Father* Louvart *is to be found likewise in the* Nouv. de la Repub. des Lettres, Oct. 1704, pag. 382, &c.

BILLON (Francis *de*), Secretary, born at *Paris*, published a Book, entituled, *Le Fort inexpugnable de l' Honneur du Sexe Feminin* *, which he dedicated to *Catherine de Medicis*, and to some other Princesses (*a*). His Epistle Dedicatory is dated *from* Rome, *in the ancient Field of* Mars, *in the Year* 1550. It is a whimsical Book (*b*), in which *Henry Stephens* found many Blasphemies, which consist in Comparisons between the ancient Prophets, and the Secretaries of the King of *France* (*c*). It was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1555, in *Quarto*. I have quoted it sometimes. The Author was a Nephew of a Bishop of *Senlis* [A]. I think he had been Secretary of *William du Bellai*, Lord of *Langei*.

(a) La Croix du Maine, pag. 93.

(b) *See the* Biblioth Francoise *of* du Verdier, pag. 395.

* The Impregnable Fort of Female Honour.

(c) Henri Etienne, Apologie d' Herodote, chap. XIV. pag. 94.

[A] *He was Nephew of a Bishop of* Senlis.] The fourteenth Chapter of his Book contains *The Pen's Petition to the Ladies in favour of the Secretaries.* They have only 'seized, *says the Pen in That Petition* (1), the Fruits of my Letters ----- like 'the Engineer of this Fort, who spent all his Substance in building of the same, for the eternal 'Defence of you all, as his Uncle Mr *Arthur* 'Fillon (2), not long since Bishop of *Senlis*, did 'in *Normandy*, for the Protection of the Country, 'defended by him, and eased of many Charges, 'for which he was called, in his Life-time, the 'Father of the Country, according to the ancient 'Mode.'

(1) Billon's Fort Inexpugnable, pag. 229.

(2) *It is perhaps a false Print for* Billon.

BION, a *Bucolic* Poet, born at *Smyrna* [A], lived in the Time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus* [B], who reigned from the fourth Year of the CXXIIId Olympiad, to

[A] *He was born at* Smyrna.] The Epithet Σμυρναῖος, that attends him every where, is a good Proof of it; it may be confirmed by the Verses of *Moschus*, wherein mention is made of the Sorrows of the River *Meles* for the Death of it's Son *Bion*. That River runs by *Smyrna*.

Τῦτο τοι, Σ πολιῆται λιγυρώτατοι, Δύτεσθ' ἄλγος
Τῦτο, Μέλη, νέον ἄλγος. ἀπώλεσε φράτορα τὸν
Ὅμηρον.

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - τὸν πάλιν ἄλλον
Τίτα Λαχέσεις (1).

This, O most sonorous of Rivers, is to you a new Occasion of Grief: You first lost Homer; *now you deplore another Son.*

(1) Moschus, in Epitaphio Bionis.

[B] *He lived in the Time of* Ptolomy Philadelphus.] See here the Proof of it. *Theocritus* was afflicted for the Death of *Bion*; and he lived in the Time

to the second Year of the CXXXIIId. There is some probability that he passed the best part of his Life in *Sicily* [C], or in *Greater Greece* (a). He was an excellent Poet, if we rely on the Lamentations of his Disciple *Moschus*. The few Pieces, which remain of him, witness the same, in the Opinion of very good Judges. *Bion* died of Poison, as *Moschus* plainly observes (b). There are many Editions of the Idylls of these two Poets; but the best of them is, without doubt, That of *Paris*, of 1686, with a Translation in *French* Verse, and some Remarks (c). See what the Journalists said of it [D]. It was soon after reprinted in *Holland*.

(a) Græcia Major. *This was the Name of That Part of* Italy, *which was call the Kingdom of* Naples.

(b) *Taken from* Bion's *Life, prefixed to the Translation of his* Idylls, *by* M. de Longo-Pierre.

(c) M. de Longo-Pierre *is the Author of both.*

Time of That *Ptolomy*; it follows, then, that *Bion* lived also at the same time. This Proof would be much stronger than it is, if the six Verses, which precede these Words of *Moschus*, ἐν δὲ Συρακοσίοισι Θεόκριτος, *interque Syracusanos Theocritus*, did not pass for a Supplement of *Musurus* (2). That Author, finding an *Hiatus* there, filled it up, supposing that *Moschus* mentioned the Complaints, which the Death of *Bion* had excited among the Poets in several Countries. This Supposition connects the beginning and end of That *Hiatus* very well; but, because it is not the only expedient to find this Connexion, there is reason to doubt, whether *Moschus* had the Thought, which *Musurus* ascribes to him, and, consequently, it can be no longer certain, that *Theocritus* was represented, there, as then alive.

(2) *See the Remarks of Mr* de Longe-Pierre, pag. 177, 180.

[C] *He spent the best Part of his Life in* Sicily.] It is *Moschus* again, who supplies us with Proofs of this Fact. I have not seen how *John Vintimiglia* makes use of them (3), to prove, that *Bion* was of *Sicily*, or, at least, that he resided there (4), but it is very probable, that these two Verses were chiefly considered by him:

(3) Nel libro primo de' Poeti Bucolici Siciliani. Lorenzo Crasso *quotes him in his History of the Greek Poets*, pag. 89.

(4) Sono molte altre le pruove e l'autoritate portate dal Vintimiglia che almeno crede d'abitazione Siciliano Bione. *Lorenzo Crasso*, pag. 90.

Ἀμφότεροι ναγαῖς ἐπιλαμένοι. ἐς μὲν Ἅιδαν
ἔστης
Παγασίδ' ἐκέλευσας, ὁ δ' ἔχεν κόμα πᾶσι φίλησι.

Ambo fontibus ibant: alter (5) *bibebat*
De fonte Pegaseo: alter (6) *tenebat poculum de fonte Arethusæ.*

(5) *That is*, Homer.

(6) *That is*, Bion.

Lorenzo Crasso observes, that *John Lascaris*, in his *Illustrious Men of* Sicily, as he is quoted by *Maurolicus* (7), does not mention our Bucolic Poet *Bion*, but another *Bion*, who was of *Syracuse*, and a Rhetorician by Profession. *Jerom Ragusa*, a *Sicilian* Jesuit, speaks only of This Rhetorician (8). *Bonanni* maintains something like a Paradox: He pretends, that *Moschus* speaks only of *Theocritus*; 'Sappia chi legge, *says he* (9), che nel sopradetto 'Idillio non si può intendere Bione poëta Bucolico, perciochè costui non fù Siracusano, ma Smirneo, e fiorì dopo Moscho. Così medesimamente 'per nessuna ragione vi può esser inteso un' altro 'Bione il quale è Siracusano, perche egli non fù 'poëta, ne scrisse cose pastorali, ma fù Rhetorico. '---- Bion, *the Bucolic Poet was not of* Syracuse, 'but *of* Smyrna; *and* Moscus *cannot be supposed* 'to mean another Bion, *who was of* Syracuse, *because That* Bion *was not a Poet, but a Rhetorician.*'

(7) Nella Storia di Cicilia.

(8) In Elogiis Siculorum qui veteri memoria literis floruerunt.

(9) Nell' Antica Siracusa apud Lorenzo Crasso ubi supra, p. 90.

[D] *The best Edition of This Poet is That of* Paris. ---- *See what the Journalists say of it.*] *Viz.* The *Paris* Journal of the nineteenth of *August*, 1686; the *News from the Common-wealth of Learning*, in the Month of *Septemb.* 1686, Artic. I; The *Acta Eruditorum of Leipsic*, at the second Section of the first Volume of the Supplements. I do not believe it has been mentioned in the *Bibliotheque Universelle*.

BION, firnamed the *Borysthenite*, because he was born at *Borysthenes* (a), was a Philosopher of much Wit, but very little Religion. He flourished about the CXXth Olympiad (b). He was much beloved by *Antigonus*, King of *Macedonia*; and, as he had a Boldness, which came near to Impudence, he made no scruple to confess to him, that he was the Son of a Freed-man, who became a Bankrupt, and of a Harlot [A]. He despised the Platonic Philosophers, whilst he was an Auditor of *Crates*; afterwards he took the Habit of a *Cynic*; then he addicted himself to *Theodorus*, who was a professed Atheist; and, lastly, he was a Disciple of *Theophrastus*, who was the Head of *Aristotle*'s Sect. He loved Pomp and Ostentation, and shewed himself in several Cities. He caused himself to be followed, at *Rhodes*, into the Place of Exercise, by several Sea-men, who had the Complaisance to dress themselves like Scholars at his Sollicitation. He must needs have been very eloquent, to persuade Sailors to such a Thing. He had a good Genius for witty Sayings [B], as we may judge from some of his, which have been preserved

(a) *There was a* Town, *and a River of this Name: The modern Name of the River is* Dnieper; *it runs thro' the Frontiers of* Muscovy *and* Poland.

(b) *See the Remarks* [G] *and* [K].

[A] *He made no Scruple to confess to* Antigonus, *that he was the Son of a Freed-man - - - and of an Harlot.*] The manner in which *Antigonus* asked him; Τίς πόθεν εἶς ἀνδρῶν; πόθι τοι πόλις ἠδὲ τοκῆες; *Who are you, what Countryman are you, and of what Family?* made *Bion* believe, that the King had been told, that he was of very mean Extraction; so that he thought his best way was to own the thing; and indeed, he would have lost more by denying it, than he would have got. Wherefore he freely confessed whatever the Public knew about his Father and Mother, and ended with a Verse of *Homer*, the better to answer *Antigonus*, who had made use of one of the same Poet's Verses, when he asked him who he was. Ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματός εὔχομαι εἶναι. *Such are my Father and Mother, and I glory to be born of them.* He added, *Let* Perseus *and* Philonides *leave this out of their Histories, and do you judge of me by myself* (1). We find in *Athenæus* what *Bion*'s Mother's Name was. Καὶ Βίων δ' ὁ Βορυσθενίτης φιλόσοφος ἐταίρας ἦν υἱὸς Ὀλυμπίας καλαίνης, ὡς φησι Νικίας ὁ Νικαεὺς ἐν ταῖς τῶν φιλοσόφων διαδοχαῖς (2). Bion, *the* Borysthenite, *the Philosopher, was the Son of a* Lacedemonian *Harlot, named* Olympia, *according to* Nicias *of* Nicæa, *in his* Succession of the Philosophers. She had a fine Name, and her Country was at a great Distance from the Place, where she was married. It would be in vain to ask, whether she had prostituted herself in her own Country, and whether she went to live near the *Borysthenes*, that she might pretend to be a Woman of Honour in case of Necessity, or that she might thrive better among the *Barbarians*, who are not so nice, as the Inhabitants of *Greece*: The Books say nothing of This; but it appears by her Son's Answer, that she was taken from a Place of ill Fame, when she met with an Husband. Μήτηρ δέ, οἵαν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἂν γήμαι, ἀπ' οἰκήματος (3). *My Mother was taken from a Bawdy house; and such a Man as my Father could not pretend to a better Match.*

(1) Diog. Laërt. lib. IV. in Bion. init.

(2) Athen. lib. XIII. chap. VI. pag. 495, 496.

(3) Diog. Laërt. ibid.

[B] *He had a good Genius for witty Sayings.*] This Passage of *Horace* must be understood of Him.

Carmine

preſerved [C]. He was no leſs ſucceſsful in the making of Parodies. In all likelihood it was he, who, conſidering how difficult it was to pleaſe different ſorts of People, had a Thought about it, which *Dion Chryſoſtom* refutes [D]. He retired to *Chalcis*, as *Ariſtotle* had done; but it is not ſaid, that it was on a like Occaſion; and, falling ſick there, he did as moſt impious Men do, he ran into another Extream [E]. He became ſuperſtitious; he had recourſe to Ligatures, and to an hundred other things, which, in the Judgment of the Vulgar, were Preſervatives,

Carmine tu gaudes, hic deleſtatur Iambis;
Ille BIONEIS ſermonibus & ſale nigro (4).

You think, perhaps, Heroic Numbers beſt;
Iambic *Meaſure is Another's Taſte.*
A Third, to gratify his Spleen, wou'd chuſe
Bion's *ſharp Stile, and the Satiric Muſe.*

(4) Horat. Epiſt. II. Lib. II. v. 60.

Chabot remarks, on this Paſſage, that moſt Interpreters underſtand Comedies by *Sermones Bionei*. Their Meaning is, that *Ariſtophanes* having excelled in Comedy, and *Ariſtophanes*'s Father's Name having been *Bion* (5), the Epithet in queſtion was given to Comedies. This Pretence is groundleſs: *Ariſtophanes*'s Father was called *Philip* (6); and, if the Character of *Bion Boryſthenites* be narrowly conſidered, it cannot be doubted, but that theſe Words of *Horace* are meant of Him. An ancient Scholiaſt upon That Poet (7) has hit the Mark; for he explains *Bioneis*, by *ſatyricis, lividis, amaris, carmine maledico*. 'Bion autem, *he goes on*, Sophiſtes cognominatus mordaciſſimis verſibus eſt uſus, quibus ita omnes laceravit ut ne Homero quidem parceret. '--------- Bion *the Sophiſt wrote very ſatirical* 'Verſes, *in which he attacked every body, nor ſpared* 'even Homer *himſelf.*' Why ſhould he ſpare *Homer?* he ſpared neither *Socrates*, nor *Jupiter*; he ſlandered Men, and Gods, indifferently. See the following Remark. He had the Art of making People laugh. Ἦν δὲ καὶ θαλειὰς καὶ πολὺς ἐν τῷ γελοίῳ διαχρῆσαι, φορτικοῖς ὀνόμασι καλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων χρώμενος. *Erat autem & ſpectatorum ſtudioſus, riſumque movere auditoribus maxime peritus, gravibus nominibus adverſum res utens* (8). He had an impetuous Spirit, which made him overſtrain things. Thus I tranſlate φορτικοῖς ὀνόμασι χρώμενος; and the *Latin* Tranſlator of *Plutarch* ſeems to me to have miſunderſtood the Place, where it is ſaid, that the young Beards of handſome Boys were, as *Bion* expreſſed it, ſo many *Harmodius*'s and *Ariſtogiton*'s, becauſe they make the Tyranny of Love to ceaſe, as ſoon as they appear. This is an Inſtance of Thoſe ſtrong, quick, and ſtrained, Expreſſions, which were uſual with our Sophiſt. *Plutarch* makes uſe of the Word φορτικώτερον, which I think is very ill rendered by That of *importunius*. Here is the whole Paſſage: Ἔτι δὲ φορτικώτερον ὁ σοφιστὴς Βίων τὰς τῶν καλῶν τρίχας Ἁρμοδίνε ἐκάλει καὶ Ἀριστογείτονας, ὡς ἅμα καλὴν τυραννίδ᾽ ἀπαλλαττομένας ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τὰς ἡβώσας. *Et quando Bio ſophiſta importunius nonnihil ſermoſorum crines Harmodios vocavit & Ariſtogitones, quod iis enatis pulcra tyrannide amatores ſeſe abdicare cogantur* (9).

(5) Porphyrion, *an ancient Commentator upon* Horace, *ſays ſo. See* Cruquius *on thoſe Words of* Horace.

(6) Dacier *on This Paſſage of* Horace.

(7) Acron.

(8) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 52.

(9) Plut. In Amatorio, pag. 777.

[C] *We may judge of it from ſome of his Sayings, which have been preſerved.*] *Moreri* mentions ſome of them, but has not made choice of the moſt remarkable. *The way to the other World*, ſaid he (10), *is very eaſy; People go thither blindfold.* He found ſomething contradictory in Funerals; *They burn People, as if they were inſenſible; and lament them, as if they were ſenſible* (11). He looked upon it as a Folly to tear one's Hair in Time of Affliction, *as if a Man were leſs ſenſible of Grief, by making his Head bald.* *Lærtius* does not mention This; It is *Cicero* who reports it: *Hinc ille Agamemnon Homericus & idem Accianus,*

Scindens dolore identidem intonſam comam.

In quo facetum illud Bionis, perinde ſtultiſſimum regem in luctu capillum ſibi evellere, quaſi calvitio mœror levaretur (12). This Jeſter expreſſed the Debauchery of *Alcibiades* very lively: *In his Youth he robbed Women of their Husbands; and, when he was grown up, he robbed Men of their Wives* (13). What was intolerable in his Jeſts, was, that he jeſted upon Morality and Religion. *If* Socrates, ſaid he, *had occaſion for* Alcibiades, *and did not make uſe of him, he was a great Fool; if he had no occaſion for him, his Continency is no great Matter* (14). To ridicule what was ſaid of the Puniſhment inflicted on the *Danaïdes*, he ſaid, *that they would be more ſeverely puniſhed, if they were condemned to carry Water in Veſſels, which have no Holes in them.* Ἔλεγε τὰς μὲν ἀδικωτέρας μᾶλλον ἂν κολάζεσθαι εἰ ὁλοκλήρους καὶ μὴ τετρημένους ἀγγείους ὑδροφόρους (15). *Dicebat eos qui eſſent apud inferos magis profecto cruciandos ſi integris quam ſi perforatis vaſis aquam ferrent.* And, becauſe it is a common Obſervation, that Divine Juſtice ſometimes puniſhes the Faults of the Fathers in their Children, he ſaid, *that it was more ridiculous, than if a Phyſician ſhould give Phyſic to a Son, or a Grandſon, to cure his Father's, or his Grand father's Sickneſs.* Ὁ γὰρ Βίων τὸν θεὸν κολάζοντα τοὺς παῖδας τῶν πατέρων γελοιότερον εἶναι φησιν ἰατρῷ δοὺς νόσον πάππου καὶ πατρὸς ἔχοντι ἢ παῖδα φαρμακεύοντος (16). *Etenim Bio Deum qui malorum liberis ſupplicia inferret magis ajebat ridiculum eſſe medico qui filio aut nepoti ob morbum patris vel avi medicinam adhiberet.* *Plutarch* ſhews the Falſity of this Compariſon with great Solidity. It is eaſy to ſhew, that there is ſomething falſe in moſt of *Bion*'s witty Conceits. However, they are, for the greateſt part, the Effect of a quick and happy Imagination; and it may be ſaid, in general, that moſt witty Conceits have their falſe Side. His Impudence in turning Religion into Ridicule ought to have been reſtrained; for a ſerious Refutation does not near ſo much harm as the Jeſts of a witty Man. Young Perſons ſuffer themſelves to be led away by theſe kind of Mockers, more than can be imagined; And *Bion* ſpoiled many of them (17). This was unavoidable, conſidering the Boldneſs, with which he employed his Wit againſt a falſe Religion, which Ignorance and Impoſture had made an hundred times more ridiculous, than Religion, in itſelf, and in it's true State, is excellent.

(10) Diog. Laërt. lib. IV. n. 49.

(11) Ibid. n. 48.

(12) Cicero, Tuſculan. Hiſ. cap. 26.

(13) Diog. Laërt. n. 49.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid. n. 50.

(16) Plut. de ſera Numin. vindicta, pag. 561.

(17) Laërt. n. 53.

[D] *He had a Thought on the Difficulty of pleaſing different ſorts of People, which* Dion Chryſoſtom *refutes.*] *Bion* ſaid, that, unleſs a Man was a Tart, or *Thaſian* Wine, it was impoſſible he could pleaſe many People. *Dion Chryſoſtom* calls this Thought a very inſipid one; 'for, *ſays he*, it has 'often happened, that, at a Table of Ten Perſons, 'a Cold Tart has pleaſed ſome, and an Hot one 'others; but perhaps, *adds he*, *Dion* pretends to 'ſpeak of a Tart, which was both hot and cold 'at the ſame time (18).' An Author, whom I ſhall often have occaſion to refute, has falſified This. 'It is reported, *ſays he* (19), of *Bion*, the 'Philoſopher, that, to pleaſe every body, he wiſh-'ed himſelf a Tart, becauſe, he ſaid, every body 'loved it; but *Dion Chryſoſtom* ſhews, in the 'Sixty fourth Oration, that he is groſly miſtaken, 'and that his Wiſh is the true Wiſh of a Mad-'man; becauſe, *ſaid he*, every body does not 'love Tarts alike; for ſome love them hot, and 'others cold; one will have them round, another 'ſquare; one will have them ſoft, another hard: 'And therefore, ſaid *Dion Chryſoſtom*, *Bion* ſhould 'have deſired to be Gold or Silver, to pleaſe 'every body; and yet, if I may find fault with '*Dion Chryſoſtom*'s Opinion, as he has paſſed his 'Judgment on That of *Bion*, I would ſay, that '*Dion Chryſoſtom* is as much miſtaken as *Bion*; 'for ſeveral People love neither Gold, nor Silver, 'no more, than if there was none in the World; 'and therefore I ſay, ſuch a Deſire is a fantaſtical 'One.'

(18) Dion Chryſoſt. Orat. 65. pag. 612.

(19) Garaſſe, Doctrine curieuſe, pag. 704.

[E] *Being fallen ſick, he did as moſt impious Men do; he ran into another Extream.*] I have heard a Gentleman ſay, who belonged to the Count

vatives, and Charms. *Diogenes Laërtius* ridiculed him, as he deserved, upon that Account [F]. *Bion* suffered much in his Sickness, being assisted by none of those, who took care of the Sick: At last, *Antigonus* sent him two Persons, who attended him (c). *Bias* and *Bion* have sometimes been confounded with each other [G].

(c) *Taken from Diogenes Laërtius, in the Life of Bion. It is in the 4th Book, §. 45. & seq. of the Amsterdam Edit. 1692.*

Diogenes

(20) *He, who was killed in a Battle near Sedan, in 1641.*

de Soissons (20), that *Sainthibal*, a famous Unbeliever, made great Complaints, that no Man of their Sect had the Gift of Perseverance. *They do us no Honour*, said he, *when they lie on their Death-Bed; They disgrace, and belie, themselves: They die like other Men, confessing their Sins, and receiving the Sacrament.* He might have added, that They commonly practise the minute Part of Superstition. The Example of *Tullus Hostilius*, alledged by the Author of the *Thoughts on Comets* (21), is admirable on this Subject. A long Sickness brought That Prince so low, that, after having slighted Religion, he became at last Superstitious, and a Promoter of Superstitions. 'Ipse quoque longinquo morbo est 'implicitus. Tunc adeo fracti simul cum corpore 'sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut qui nihil ante ratus 'esset minus regium, quam sacris dedere animum, 'repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus 'obnoxius degeret, religionibusque etiam populum

(21) Pag. 354.

(22) Liv. Dec. I. lib. 1. cap. 3.

'impleret (22). —— *He lay sick a long time. Then* 'was That undaunted Spirit so broken, as well as 'his bodily Strength, that He, who before thought 'the Consideration of sacred Things unworthy of a 'King, immediately fell into Superstitions of all 'kinds, and even surfeited the People with Rites 'and Ceremonies.' This Conduct is not to be wondered at; most of Those, who live in Prophaneness, live only in Doubts: They do not attain to Certainty; when, therefore, they fall sick, Irreligion being no longer of any use to them, they take the safest way; That, which promises eternal Happiness, if it proves true, and makes them run no hazard, if it should prove false. They confess to a Priest; They do every thing else, *ad majorem cautelam*. All Readers have admired This Thought of Mr *Boileau*.

Qui fait l' homme intrepide, & tremblant de foiblesse,
Attend pour croire en Dieu que la fievre le presse,
Et toûjours dans l' orage au Ciel levant les mains,
Dès que l'air est calmé rit des foibles humains (23).

(23) Sat. I, ver. 253.

This makes th' intrepid Wretch, with Heav'n at odds,
Till Sickness presses, to deny the Gods:
In Storms he prays; but, when the Blast subsides,
Weak, superstitious, Mortals he derides.

To this may be referred This Passage of *Guy Patin*; 'My deceased Father told me, that Mr *du Maine*, 'the Head of the *League*, said, that Princes had 'no Religion before they arrive at above forty Years 'of Age; when they grow old;

- - - - cum numina nobis
Mors infans majora facit (24).

(24) Patin, *Lett.* 64, *of Edit.* 1.

Concerning these *Latin* Words, see *Silius Italicus* (25). And, as for the rest, I refer you to the Remark [F], of the Article DES BARREAUX.

(25) Lib. 8, pag. 333.

[F] Diogenes Laërtius *ridiculed him, as he deserved, on that Account.*] The Verses wrote against him (26) are very pretty: here is a *Latin* Translation of them:

(26) *In* Bione, n. 55. lib. 4.

Bionem Borysthenitem, quem Scythica tellus produxit,
Dixisse audivimus, reverâ nihil esse Deos.
Ac siquidem id dogma tueri perstitisset, meritò dicendus esset
Sensisse ut visum fuisset, etsi malè visum esset.
At nunc, quùm in longum morbum incidisset, ac mori pertimesceret,
Qui Deos non esse dixerat, qui fanum non viderat,
Mortalibus qui illuserat, dùm Diis immolarent;
Non pro foco solum, arisque, ac mensâ,
Nidore, adipe, thureque Deorum naves implevit;
Nec solum, peccavi, dixit, delictis parcite:
Sed & anui collum facile porrexit excantandum,
Bracchiaque loris persuasus devinxit (27);
Rhamnumque & lauri ramum januæ imposuit:
Cuncta administrare magis quàm mori paratus.
Stultus qui mercede voluerit Deos esse:
Quasi tunc essent, quùm illos Bion demùm esse arbitraretur.

(27) Bion *laughed at this in one of his Books, as may be inferred from* Plutarch, de Superstitione, pag. 268. D.

We have heard Bion, *the* Borysthenite, *born in* Scythia, *affirm, that, in reality, there are no Gods; And, if he had persevered in defending This Opinion, it might justly have been said, that he thought as Things appeared to him, though he saw them in a wrong Light. But, now, falling into a long Sickness, and being afraid to die, He, who denied the Existence of the Gods, who never entered a Temple, who laughed at Men that sacrificed to the Gods, This very Man, not only before the Hearth, the Altar, and the Table, filled the Nostrils of the Gods with Savour, Fat, and Frankincense; not only said, I have offended, forgive me my Sins; but even stretched out his Neck to be charmed by an old Woman, and was prevailed upon to tie Bandages about his Arms. Nay he even laid a Bramble and a Branch of Laurel over his Door, being ready to go through any Ceremony, but That of dying. Fool that he was, to believe in the Gods only for Interest as if They then only began to Be, when* Bion *was, at length, brought to acknowledge their Existence.*

See the use, which Mr *du Rondel* has made of This in his excellent Life of *Epicurus* (28). His saying, that *Diogenes Laërtius* was an *Epicurean*, is remarkable; for This *Diogenes* insinuates plainly, that he does not blame *Bion's Confiteor*, and his *mea culpa, mea maxima culpa*, or his *peccavi*.

(28) *Printed at* Amsterdam, *in* 1698.

[G] Bias *and* Bion *have sometimes been confounded with each other.*] This *Plutarch* did, when he said that *Antigonus*, being importuned by the repeated Solicitations of *Bias*, ordered a Talent to be given him (29). He denotes This *Antigonus* by the Epithet γέρων; which is a Sign, that he speaks of the first *Antigonus*, who was one of *Alexander's* Captains and Successors. Now *Bias* having preceded the Death of *Alexander*, at least Two hundred Years, it is plain, he could not ask any thing of *Antigonus*; and, since *Bion* was a Disciple of *Crates*, and *Theophrastus*, it is certain that he might be known to *Antigonus*. We must say, then, either that *Plutarch* is grossly mistaken, or that the Transcribers of his Book have changed ὑπὸ Βίαντος into ὑπὸ Βίωνος. By the by, I am not well assured, whether *Aldobrandinus* had reason to understand *Antigonus Gonatas* by the *Antigonus*, who asked our *Bion* of what Country and Family he was (33). I allow it possible, that This Philosopher might live 'till the Reign of *Antigonus Gonatas*: But, in short, *Plutarch* makes him live exactly under the old *Antigonus*; (for I suppose, he said *Bion*, and not *Bias*). This deserves some Consideration; and therefore I would not say, with *Moreri*, that *Bion lived in the CXXVIth Olympiad, and in the time of* Antigonus, *surnamed* Gonatas, *King of* Macedonia. See below, the Remark [K]. As for the rest, if *Plutarch* mistook *Bias* for *Bion* through defect of Memory, he is not the only Person, who has committed the like Mistake; for *Eustathius* ascribes to *Antisthenes* what belongs only to *Bion*. It is on the Verse of the *Iliad*, applied by *Bion*, in his Answer to *Antigonus*, Ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματός εὔχομαι εἶναι (31). *Eustathius* says, that *Antisthenes*, the *Cynic*, made use of those Words, after having answered the Person, who asked him, Whose Son he was? *I am the Son of a Man, who wiped his Nose with his Elbow* (32), &c. *Casaubon* observed this Mistake of *Eustathius*. See Mr *Menage* on *Diogenes Laërtius*, in the Forty seventh Paragraph of the fourth Book.

(29) Plut. de tuiosa paupere, pag. 331. E.

(30) Not. ad Diog. Laërt. in Bione, init.

(31) Lib. 6.

(32) *That is, of a* Salsamentarius; *as if we should say, at present, one who sells Herrings and Codfish.* Bion, *in* Laërtius, *gives the answer mentioned by* Eustathius.

I shall observe, that The Sophism against Marriage, the Sophism, I say, which is alledged, in all the *Compendiums* of Logic, as an Example of a faulty

An Examination of a false Dilemma against Marriage.

Diogenes Laërtius mentions ten Persons, who bore the latter Name. *Moreri* speaks of them after him; but gives the first Place to him, who makes the Subject of this Article, whereas he ought to have been reckoned but the Third (*d*). *Diogenes Laërtius* has not mentioned all the *Bions* (*e*). The Translators of *Plutarch* have misunderstood a Thought of *Bion*, which he censured [*H*]. *Bion*'s Sophism, which *Seneca* answered solidly, seems to me to be but an Argument, *ad hominem*, by which he would conclude, that the Doctrine concerning God's Power over all Things implies some Contradictions [*I*]. I know not where *Konig* found, that *Bion* died in the fourth Year of the CXXXIVth Olympiad [*K*].

(*d*) *His other Faults are corrected in the Dutch Edition.*

(*e*) *See* Menage's *Notes upon* Diogenes Laërtius, *lib.* iv. *n.* 58.

Without a faulty *Dilemma*, is attributed to *Bion*, and to *Antisthenes*, by *Diogenes Laërtius*, and to *Bias*, by *Aulus Gellius*. It may be an Error of the Transcriber in the latter; *Bionis* was, perhaps, changed into *Biantis*, as *Casaubon* conjectures (33). However it be, This is our *Bion*'s *Dilemma*: *If you take a beautiful Wife, she will be common; and if you take an ugly one, she will be a Torment to you.* Ἐὰν μὲν γήμῃς αἰσχρὰν, ἕξεις κοινὴν, ἐὰν δὲ καλὴν, ἕξεις κοινὴν (34). Among other Defects, this Argument may be retorted thus; *If I take an ugly one, she will not be common; if I take a beautiful one, she will be no Torment to me.* But this Retortion does not hit the Matter; It is but a palliative Remedy; so that *Bion*'s *Dilemma* is worth nothing, take it any way. The true Answer is to say, I. That most Women are neither beautiful nor ugly; and therefore *Bion* concludes from a few to all. See *Favorinus*, in the eleventh Chapter of the fifth Book of *Aulus Gellius*'s *Noctes Atticæ*. II. That the Beauty of a Woman is not inconsistent with Virtue, and that an ugly Wife may, besides, make herself beloved by her Husband (35). There is a Commentator upon *Aulus Gellius* (36), who confutes *Bias*'s Argument by a Reason, borrowed from the *Hebrews*; which is, says he, That *They, who have been ill married, shall be absolved before* God, *without appearing before his Tribunal*: This would make it worth marrying an ugly Wife. If St *Chrysostom* were to be the Judge in the Case, he would condemn the Retortion of the *Dilemma*; for he preached, that They, who have a beautiful Wife, find nothing worse than to have her, it is a Possession so full of Suspicions, and Snares; and They, who have an ugly one, find nothing worse than to have her, it is so disgustful a thing. Ὁ καλὴν ἔχων γυναῖκα ἐδὲν χεῖρον φησὶ τῆ καλῆ· ἔχειν γυναῖκα (ὑποψίας τὸ πρᾶγμα γέμει καὶ σκώληκας) ὁ δυσειδῆ, ἐδὲν χεῖρον φησὶ τῆ ἀμορφον ἔχειν γυναῖκα. ἀνδρίας γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἀμάτλησεν. *Qui pulchram habet uxorem, nihil pejus esse ait quam pulchram habere uxorem, (rem enim esse insidiarum & suspicionum plenam) qui deformem, nihil pejus esse dicit quàm turpem habere uxorem, rem enim esse acerbitatis refertam* (37). Here is a Preacher, who does not talk at random; he goes upon the Authority, or the Confession, of Men, who knew it by Experience; nevertheless, his Conclusion is no better than That of *Bion*. To condemn the Retortion of the *Dilemma*, it would be sufficient to say, that it contains two false Consequences. If I take a beautiful Wife, she will be no Torment to me; *nego consequentiam; for it may be so, and it may not be so*: If I take an ugly one, she will not be common; *nego similiter consequentiam; for it may be so, and it may not be so*. But, to put a Stop to all these Quibbles, one need only tell the *Bias*'s, and the *Bion*'s, *I will run the hazard of it.*

(33) In Diog. Laert. lib. iv n. 43.

(34) Ibid lib. iv. n. 38.

(35) *Favorinus does not make use of this Reason: he seems to approve, by his Silence, the two particular Consequences of the Dilemma.*

(36) *His Name is,* Philippus Carolus.

(37) Chrysost. Homil. I, in Epist. II, ad Timotheum, apud Menagium, Not. in Diog. Laërt. n. 48.

I have not mentioned all the Variations relating to This *Dilemma*: I may yet transcribe what I have read in *Tiraquellus* upon it (38). That pointed Argument is not only ascribed to *Bion*, and to *Antisthenes*, by *Diogenes Laërtius*, and to *Bias* by *Aulus Gellius*, but also to *Aristippus* by the Monk *Antony* (39), and to *Solon* by *Maximus Tyrius*, and by *Peter Martyr* (40). The Retortion was made by *Pittacus*, if we may believe the Commentaries of *Ariston*, quoted by *Stobæus* (41).

(38) Leg. Connubial. pag. 32.

(39) In Melissa, Tom. II. cap. 34.

(40) In locis Communibus, cap. xxxix.

(41) Serm. 65.

[*H*] *The Translators of* Plutarch *have misunderstood a Thought of* Bion, *which he censured.*] Let us first set down the *Greek* of *Plutarch*: Εὐηθὲς τοίνυν καὶ ἀζηλέτως τὸ τῦ Βίωνος, εἰ τὸν ἀγρὸν ἐμελλεν ἐγκωμιάζων εὐφορον ποιεῖν καὶ εὔκαρπον, οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνειν ἐδόκει τῦτο ποιῶν μᾶλλον ἢ σπάπτων καὶ πραγμα]α ἔχων. ἐ τοίνυν ὑδ' ἀνθρωπῳ ἄτοπῳ ἂν εἴη ἐπαινεῖν, εἰ τοῖς ἐπαινεμένοις ωφελιμός ἐστι καὶ πάμφορος (42). That is to say; Bion's *Thought is, therefore, very impertinent: He believed, that, if he could make a Field fruitful by bestowing Praises upon it, he should not be to blame if he chose rather to praise, than take the Pains to manure it. Therefore a Man ought not be called absurd, for praising others, if his Praises are useful to them, and make them produce good Fruit.* The impertinence, which *Plutarch* finds in This Thought, is, that a Field would not become worse by being praised; whereas the Praises, which are bestowed upon a Man, who does not deserve them, fill him with Vanity, and spoil him. Ὁ μὲν Ἀγρὸς ὑ γίνεται χείρων ἐπαινύμενος. ἄνθρωπον δὲ τυφῶσι καὶ ἀπολλύουσιν οἱ ψευδῶς καὶ πας' ἀξίαν ἐπαινῦντες (43). *Atque ager quidem laudando non fit deterior: hominem inflant ac perdunt qui immerito laudant.* This Censure of *Plutarch* is lost labour; for *Bion* does not say, absolutely, that we must praise others; but he makes Praise to depend upon This Condition, *viz.* that They make those better, who are praised. Let us see how *Amyot* translates *Plutarch*'s *Greek*: 'Wherefore *Bion*'s 'Saying is foolish and silly; for he argues thus; If 'I could make a Field fruitful by praising it much, 'I should not commit a Fault in praising it, rather 'than tire my Heart and Body in manuring and cultivating it. Therefore, neither does he commit a 'Fault, who praises a Man, if, by praising him, he 'makes him useful, and fruitful to him, who 'praises him.' In this Translation, the Active Verb is taken for the Passive; for *Bion* does not speak of the Utility of Praise with respect to Him, who praises, but with respect to him, who is praised. The *Latin* Interpreter has stumbled more grossly; he imputes this foolish and ridiculous Thought to *Bion*, that he believed, that a Field became more fruitful by praising, than by cultivating it (44). *Stultè itaque ac fatuè Bio qui agrum laudando putabat se redditurum fertilem ac frugiferum; potius quam fodiendo & colendo. Non tamen* [45] *homo absurde facit laudans, ubi ill its qui laudantur est utile.* To excuse *Amyot*, it might be said, that he thought, that *Bion*, being an Atheist, acknowledged no other Duties, but what are profitable; and that, therefore, his meaning was, that Praise ought to be bestowed wherever they are well paid for; and that They should not be refused even to a Field, if they could make it fruitful. In a word, that the Trade of Flattery is not to be blamed, provided it be attended with Profit. But this Excuse is altogether idle; A Translator ought faithfully to deliver what he finds in the Original, and refer his Conjectures to particular Remarks. If any one thinks, that *Plutarch* did not relate a Thing exactly, let him give notice of it to the Readers: but what *Plutarch* said must be translated.

(42) Plutarch. de Adulat. & Amici Discrim. pag. 59.

(43) Id. ibid.

(44) *You will find in the Table of Matters,* Bion agrum laudando fertiliorem fieri putabat.

(45) *Here is a* tamen *well placed*

[*I*] *He pretended, that the Doctrine of* God's *Power over all things implies some Contradictions.*] *Bion* pretended to prove two very different Things; the one, that all Thieves were sacrilegious Men; the other, that no Thief was sacrilegious (46). He drew those two Consequences from the same Principles; and That Principle is one of the most solid Truths, which good Philosophy teaches us concerning the Nature of God. The Supream Being, the most Perfect Being, ought to have an absolute Power over all Things; All other Beings depend on him; They belong to Him, as to their Author and Preserver. Doubtless *Bion*'s Design was to refute This Doctrine by two contradictory, and pernicious, Consequences, which he pretended he could draw from it. This is one of them; All Those, who steal what belongs to God, are sacrilegious; now

(46) *See* Seneca, *chap.* 7. *of the seventh Book de* Beneficiis. *No Commentator observes whether* Seneca *had found that Argument of* Bion *in any of the ancient Authors that are extant.*

Without doubt, *Theon* ſpeaks of him, when he ſays, that, according to the Sophiſt *Bion*, Avarice is the greateſt of all Vices (*f*); a Sentence, which has been canonized by the great Apoſtle of the *Gentiles*. *Plutarch* aſcribes a Maxim to him, which would do Honour to the moſt orthodox Philoſophers; which was, to tell his Scholars, that, when they had acquired ſo much Conſtancy, as to bear, with the ſame Tranquility of Mind, thoſe who injured them, as thoſe, who treated them civilly, they might believe they had made ſome Progreſs in Virtue [*L*]. His Anſwer to *Theognis* has not ſo much Morality in it [*M*].

(*f*) Βίων ὁ σοφιστὴς τὴν φιλαργυρίαν μητροπολιν ἔλεγε πασῶν κακιῶν εἶναι. Bion Sophiſta vitiorum metropolin dicebat avaritiam. *Theo. Progym. cap.* 5. *pag.* 72.

now all Thieves ſteal what belong to GOD; for all things belong to him; Therefore all Thieves are ſacrilegious. This is the other; To tranſport a thing from one Place, which belongs to GOD, to another Place, which belongs to him likewiſe, is no Sacrilege: Now Thoſe, who rob Temples, only carry Things from one Place, which belongs to GOD, to another, which equally belongs to him; for all things belong to GOD; Therefore Thoſe, who rob Temples, do not commit Sacrilege. *Seneca* refutes theſe Quirks eaſily and ſolidly; but he conſiders *Bion* as a Tyrant, who would be cruel at certain times, and at other times plunder Temples. When he would be cruel, he makes uſe of his firſt Syllogiſm; It is a Decree for the Deſtruction of all Robbers: and he makes uſe of the ſecond, when he deſires to enrich himſelf with the Spoils of Holy Places.

[*K*] *I knew not where* Konig *found, that* Bion *died in the fourth Year of the* CXXXIVth *Olympiad.*] I have before ſuppoſed (47), that *Plutarch* makes our *Bion* flouriſh in the Reign of the firſt *Antigonus*; and I have not found *Aldobrandinus*'s Opinion very certain, *viz.* that That Philoſopher was queſtioned as to his Birth by *Antigonus Gonatas*. To make This more clear, I muſt obſerve here, that *Eratoſthenes* had known *Bion* at *Athens*, and reckoned him among his Heroes. It cannot reaſonably be queſtioned, but that *Strabo*, who informs us of This (48), meant *Bion* the *Boryſthenite*; for what he ſays that *Eratoſthenes* aſcribed to his *Bion* (49), is the ſame, which *Eratoſthenes* aſcribes, in *Diogenes Laërtius*, to *Bion* the *Boryſthenite*. Wherefore, ſince *Eratoſthenes* was born in the firſt Year of the CXXVIth Olympiad (50), it muſt neceſſarily be granted, that *Bion* attained, at leaſt, to the beginning of the CXXXIſt; for, under twenty Years of Age, *Eratoſthenes*'s Acquaintance with him had not deſerved to be mentioned. I ſee but one Difficulty in This Suppoſition; which is, that I obſerve, that the Learned Mr *du Rondel* intimates, that *Epicurus* ſurvived *Bion* (51). Now *Epicurus* died in the ſecond Year of the CXXVIIth Olympiad. I only propoſe This Difficulty, to engage Mr *du Rondel* learnedly to clear up This Point of Chronology.

(47) *In Remark* [*G*].

(48) Strabo, lib. 1. pag. 10.

(49) Viz. *That he was the firſt, who dreſſed Philoſophy in a Gown* (think it with *F. tr.*) Φησὶ λέγειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὸν Ἐρατοσθένην ὡς πρῶτος Βίων τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἀνθινὰ ἐνέδυσεν Diog. Laert. lib. IV. n. 35. Strabo, *as he is corrected by* Caſaubon, *ſays the ſame thing*, lib. I. pag. 10.

(50) Voſſius de Hiſt. Gr. p. 108.

(51) De vita Epicuri, p. 133.

[*L*] *According to him, to bear, with the ſame Tranquillity, Injuries, and Civilities, is to have made ſome Progreſs in Virtue.*] *Bion* told his Friends, and Diſciples, that They might then be aſſured of their Proficiency, when they could endure a Reproof, as patiently, as they could hear the higheſt Encomiums, even ſuch an one as This of the Poet *.

* Homer, Odyſſ. vii, xxiv.

Some Heavenly Flame inſpires your Breaſts.
Live great, rejoice, and be for ever bleſt.

Plutarch had reaſon to obſerve, that the Rule of *Bion* is rather a Sign of a confirmed and perfect Habit of the Soul, than meerly of Amendment. It is, in truth, a Character of Perfection (52).

(52) Plut. de Profect. Virtut. pag. 82, D.

[*M*] *His Anſwer to* Theognis *has not ſo much Morality in it.*] *Plutarch* has preſerved it, and ſpeaks well of it. Theſe are his Words. ‘ And witty alſo ‘ was That Anſwer of *Bion*, in Oppoſition to theſe ‘ Verſes of *Theognis*,

One cannot ſpeak, or act, if poor he be:
His Tongue is bound to th' Peace, as well as He.

‘ How comes it to paſs then, *ſaid he*, *Theognis*, that ‘ Thyſelf, being ſo poor, prateſt and torture'ſt our ‘ Ears in This Manner (53)?’ The inſolent and inſulting Spirit of This Philoſopher appears in This; A poor Poet, who complains, that Poverty ties up his Tongue, ought not to be treated in this Manner; for, though Experience often ſhews, that want of Bread, and Cloaths, makes a Man very talkative: yet it is certain, that there are many things, which a Man ill dreſſed dares not ſay.

(53) Plut. de Audiend. Poetis, pag. 22.

——— *Plurima ſunt, quæ*
Non audent homines pertuſa dicere lana (54).

(54) Joven. Sat. v. ver. 130.

I ſay, it is certain, that Indigence chills the Hands of many People, and ſtops their Mouths, as *Theognis* obſerved. And therefore he was of Opinion, that a Man ſhould uſe his utmoſt endeavours to get rid of Miſery; and that Death itſelf ought to be preferred to Poverty.

Ἀνδρ' ἀγαθὸν πενίη πάντων δάμνησι μάλιστα,
Καὶ γυμνὸς πολίτης, Κύρνε, καὶ ἀπτόλεμος.
Ἧν δὴ χρὴ φεύγοντα καὶ ἐς μεγαλήτεα πόντον
Ῥίπτειν καὶ πέτρων, Κύρνε, κατ' ἠλιβάτων.
Πᾶς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πενίῃ δεδμημένος ἔστε τ' ἐπαύρῃ,
Οὐδ' ἔρξαι δύναται γλῶσσά θ' ὁ δεσμὸς ἔχει.
Χρὴ γάρ δειλὸν ἐόντα καὶ ἐν τῷ καὶ ἀμήχανα πάσχοντα θαλάσσης
Δίζεσθαι χαλεπῆς, Κύρνε, λόγον πενίης.
Τεθνάναι, φίλε Κύρνε, πενιχρῷ βέλτερον ἀνδρί,
Ἢ ζώειν χαλεπῇ ταρβήμονα πενίῃ (55).

(55) Theognis, pag. 174. ver. 173.

Nor Sickneſs ſelf, or trembling Age, we ſee
Subdue the Mind like Coward Poverty.
Fly Poverty, as from the worſt of Foes;
Let Seas, and lofty Rocks, her dire approach oppoſe.
Sunk in himſelf, and conquered by his Fears,
Unfit to act, or ſpeak, The Poor appears.
Chuſe then to die, e'er Poverty you ſee;
For Death, at leaſt, my Friend, will ſet you free.

Theognis's Words, mentioned by *Plutarch*, are to be found in Theſe Verſes. But, becauſe This *Theognis* lived a long time before our *Bion*, *Plutarch* cannot be excuſed; for, if he ſpeaks of This *Bion*, he is a very bad Chronologer; and, if he ſpeaks of another *Bion*, he is in the wrong not to acquaint his Readers with it. I cannot tell whether any one ever took notice of This Fault.

BIRON, Marſhal of *France*. Look for GONTAUT.

BLANC (Lewis *de*) Profeſſor of Divinity at *Sedan*. Look for BEAULIEU.

BLANCHE of *Caſtile*, the Mother of St *Lewis*, King of *France*. Look for CASTILE.

BLANDRATA (GEORGE), an *Italian* Phyſician, born in the Marquiſate of *Saluces* [*A*], lived in the XVIth Century. He fled from *Pavia* (*a*), where the Inquiſition would have play'd him a ſcurvy Trick, and retired to *Geneva* [*B*]. He embraced the Proteſtant Religion there, and, at firſt, edified the Church by his Conduct and Docility; but it was perceived afterwards, that he attacked, privately, the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST. He was not contented to ſpread his Difficulties among the Ignorant, but propoſed them to the Miniſter of the *Italian* Church. That Miniſter, who was of the Family of the Counts of *Martinengue*, rebuked him, and would not ſo much as make uſe of him in his, or his Wife's, Sickneſs, though he earneſtly offered his Service. *Calvin*, to whom the ſame Difficulties had been propoſed an hundred times, ſeeing, that, though his Anſwers had appeared ſatisfactory, the ſame Objections were raiſed the next Day, was, at laſt, angry with *Blandrata*, and treated him harſhly [*C*]. Nevertheleſs he continued to ſalute him, and to ſpeak to him; and was alſo ſo complaiſant, as to anſwer his Objections in Writing (*b*). But, having diſcovered, that a Trap was laid for him, in requiring an Anſwer in writing, he would hear *Blandrata* no more. It is reported, that This Heretic accuſed *Calvin* publickly of ſomething he had written, and that his Accuſation was convicted of falſity by producing the Original. Some time after, the Conſiſtory of the *Italian* Church proceeded, as I have elſewhere related (*c*). *Calvin* aſſured *Blandrata*, that he ſhould not be proceeded againſt for his paſt Faults; but *Blandrata* durſt not truſt to it; for, ſome days after, ſeeing one of the Syndics of the Republic come to the Auditory of Divinity, where he was hearing a Lecture of *Calvin*, he pretended to bleed at the Noſe, and fled as faſt as he could, and came no more to *Geneva* (*d*) [*D*]. Having

(*a*) Biblioth. Anti-trinit. pag. 28.

(*b*) *This Piece is printed among Calvin's Opuſcula.*

(*c*) *In the Article* ALCIATUS (JOHN PAUL), *and in that of* GENTILIS (VALENTINUS).

(*d*) *Taken from the 322d Letter of Calvin.*

[*A*] *He was born in the Marquiſate of* Saluces.] Who would not wonder, that Mr *Moreri* ſhould think, there is a great Difference between *Piedmont*, and This Marquiſate? *Blandrata*, ſays he, *was a* Piedmontois. *Others ſay, he was a Native of the Marquiſate of* Saluces. Theſe are no ways different Opinions: Thoſe, who make him a *Piedmontois*, do not pretend to place this Marquiſate out of *Piedmont*: They take *Piedmont* in it's general Signification, as is uſual, when one does not deſign to explain all the Duke of *Savoy*'s Dominions, exactly, and Geographically. Now it is certain, that, in this Senſe, the Marquiſate of *Saluces* is Part of *Piedmont*. See *Baudrand*'s Dictionary.

[*B*] *He retired to* Geneva.] *Moreri* makes him go from *Pavia* to *Poland*, and ſays nothing of his Journey to *Geneva*. This is no ways exact. *Blandrata* was more than once in *Poland*, which ought to have been obſerved. He practiſed Phyſic there before he went to *Geneva*. He had alſo practiſed it in *Tranſilvania* before the ſame Journey to *Geneva*: And, having been a Phyſician of Reputation in That Country (for he had been Phyſician to Queens) he choſe rather to retire thither (1), than elſewhere, when he thought he could not be ſafe in *Geneva*, or in *Switzerland*. This is one of Thoſe Combinations of Moral and Phyſical Things, of which Father *Malebranche* ſpeaks, in his *Treatiſe of Nature and Grace*. How comes it, that *Poland* and *Tranſilvania* were ſooner infected with the Errors of the *Socinians*, than any another Country? It is, becauſe the general Laws, which excite our natural Paſſions, and our Reaſon, would have it, that *George Blandrata*, being forced to ſeek a Retreat, ſhould rather pitch upon a Place, where he was very well acquainted, than upon an unknown Country. This is the reaſon, why he went from *Geneva* to *Poland*; and, when he was there, he invited *Alciatus* and *Socinus* to come to him; he intruded himſelf among the Great; a Prince of *Tranſilvania*, whoſe Phyſician he was, became his Proſelyte, *&c.* However it be, *Moreri* ſhould have ſaid, that *Blandrata* had been a Phyſician in *Poland*, and in *Tranſilvania*, before the Inquiſition of *Pavia* laid hands on him; that, being fled from *Pavia*, he went to *Geneva*, and that, leaving *Geneva*, he returned to *Poland*.

(1) *See, in Citat. (c), the Paſſage of Beza's 81ſt Letter.*

[*C*] Calvin —— *treated him harſhly.*] *Calvin* makes no ſcruple to confeſs how harſhly he ſpoke to him. *I ſee by your Face what a deteſtable Monſter you feed in your Heart.* Here is the whole Paſſage. 'Eodem tempore ſuis quæſtionibus fatigabat Calvinum, eoque magis, quod cum ſubinde fingeret ſe placatum eſſe & acquieſcere reſponſis, poſtridie redibat quaſi novus, nec definebat ea ipſa de quibus ſæpe audierat, ſciſcitari. Itaque coactus eſt ei Calvinus in faciem dicere, vultus tuus deteſtabile monſtrum mihi oſtendit quod in corde occultum foves, ac ſæpius eum aſpere objurgavit, ut ſi fieri poſſet, corrigeret perfidiam, & fallacias doloſque tortuoſos, quorum faſtidio erat quodammodo deſeſſus (2). —— *At the ſame time, he wearied* Calvin *with his Queſtions, and the more, becauſe, pretending to be ſatisfied, he the next Day returned afreſh, and repeated the ſame Queſtion. This obliged* Calvin *to tell him to his Face, that his Countenance betrayed the deteſtable Monſter he nouriſhed in his Heart, and often ſeverely reproved him, to correct, if poſſible, his Inſincerity, and Quibbling, with which he was quite forfeited.*'

(2) Calvin, Epiſt. 322.

[*D*] *He fled from* Geneva *as faſt as he could.*] Several Authors are miſtaken as to the time, when *Blandrata* left *Geneva*. They ſay, he did not leave it, till *Valentinus Gentilis* had retired into the Territories of the *Canton* of *Bern*: But this is falſe. *Gentilis* did not go away till after he had made the *Amende honorable* in all the croſs Streets of the City, the ſecond of *September* 1558. 'Abnegatione per compita civitatis facta, dimittitur (Gentilis) præſtito jurejurando ſeſe portas urbis non exceſſurum: mox tamen violata fide ad Matthæum Gribaldum in Sabandiam profugit. Sequuti ſunt aliquanto poſt Alciatus & Blandrata (3). —— *Having made a public Abjuration,* Gentilis *was diſmiſſed, upon Oath not to leave the City; yet, afterwards, violating his Faith, he fled to* Matthew Gribaldus *in* Savoy. *Soon after followed* Alciatus *and* Blandrata. Primus Valentinus Gentilis in judicium vocatus, ſimulata pœnitentia non ſine inſigni perjurio profugit. Sequutus eſt Paulus Alciatus, aut etiam præceſſit, ſolo malæ conſcientiæ vulnere adactus. Blandrata aliquanto poſt (4) —— Valentinus Gentilis, *being firſt proſecuted, and pretending repentance, fled away, not without notorious Perjury.* Paulus Alciatus *followed him, or rather went before him, moved only by the Conſciouſneſs of his Guilt. A little after, went* Blandrata. Erat ille Blandrata Salucienſis, profeſſione Medicus, qui Gentilem Geneva profugum paulo poſt ſequutus fuit (5). ---*That* Blandrata *was of* Saluces, *by Profeſſion a Phyſician, who followed* Valentinus Gentilis, *when he was exiled from* Geneva. Now it appears by a Letter of *Peter Martyr*, dated the eleventh of *July* 1558, that *Blandrata* and *Alciatus* had been already at *Zurich*, and that they did not go from thence, till after *Martyr* had given them this Advice. The Miſtake of *Hornius* is ſtill worſe. He ſays, that *Blandrata* and *Alciatus*, being terrified with the Execution of *Servetus* and *Gentilis*, retired from *Switzerland* to *Poland*, and that, having been expelled from *Poland* in the Year 1565, *Alciatus* turned *Mahometan*, and *Blandrata* fled into *Tranſylvania* (6). There is nothing of Truth in this. I have confuted the pretended *Mahometiſm*

(3) Beza, in vita Calvini.

(4) Id. Epiſt. 81.

(5) Hoornbeeck, Apar. Adverſ. Socinian. pag. 244.

(6) Hornius, Hiſt Eccleſ. p. 8. 351. *Edit.* 1671.

Having formerly practiſed Phyſic in *Poland*, and *Tranſylvania*, he pitched upon that Stage, to dogmatize at his eaſe (*e*). He went into *Poland*, in the Year 1558, and was honourably received there by The Proteſtants. *Calvin* made him ſee, that ſo conſiderable a Divine as he was, could reach him there [*E*]. He wrote ſeveral Letters to the Faithful in *Poland*, in which he exhorted them to drive this Man from among them, who might infect the Purity of the Faith with his Hereſies. The Impreſſion, which theſe Letters made, very much croſſed the Deſigns of *George Blandrata*; but nothing proved ſo contrary to him, as the Diſcords, which aroſe among Thoſe, who, like him, oppoſed the Myſtery of the Trinity: But, notwithſtanding Thoſe Diſcords, the *Socinian* Hereſy was ſettled ſome time after in thoſe Parts. He changed his Scene in the Year 1563, having been invited into *Tranſylvania* by Prince *John Sigiſmund* (*f*). We muſt not forget, that, at his coming into *Poland*, he was made Elder of the Churches under the Juriſdiction of *Cracow* (*g*), and that, in the Year 1560, the Synod of *Xianz*, to which he had brought the Sum of Six hundred Crowns from *Nicolas Radzivil*, great Chancellor of *Lithuania*, made him, and his good Friend *Liſmaninus* (*h*), Aſſiſtants to *Cruciger*, who was Superintendant of the Churches. They were willing to aſſign him Colleagues, leſt the Eccleſiaſtical Government ſhould too much reſemble Papacy (*i*). Neither muſt we forget, that, in the Year 1561, *Blandrata* appeared in the Synod of *Pinczovia* with Letters of Recommendation from

(*e*) Poſt varias deliberationes ita fors tulit, ut Blandrata, qui Medicinam diu in Polonia primum deinde in Tranſylvania apud Reginas fecerat, eò reverteretur. *Beza, Epiſt.* 81.

(*f*) Bibl. Antitrin. pag. 28.

(*g*) Ibid. *See alſo* Calvin, Epiſt. 320.

(*h*) Lætus, Compend. Hiſtor. Univerſ. p. 41 *b*.

(*i*) Id. ibid.

Mahometiſm of *John Paul Alciatus* elſewhere (7); and I ſay here, that *Blandrata* retired into *Poland* the ſame Year that he left *Geneva*, that is, in the Year 1558. Now, *Gentilis* having been beheaded in the Year 1566, one may eaſily judge, whether it could be the reaſon why *Blandrata* left *Switzerland*, and fled into *Poland*. If That Puniſhment had made him reſolve to fly into That Country, could he have been expelled from it in the Year 1565? Some Perſons, more to be credited in theſe Matters, than *Hornius*, affirm, that *John Sigiſmund*, Prince of *Tranſylvania*, ſent for *Blandrata* about the Year 1563 (8). It was not, therefore, a Decree of Baniſhment, which obliged him to fly from *Poland* into *Tranſylvania* in the Year 1565. *John Lætus* has committed a ſurprizing Miſtake in his Abridgment of Univerſal Hiſtory (9). In three Lines, he makes two Men of the Phyſician *Blandrata* and *George Blandrata*. As to the firſt, he ſays, that the Synod of *Xianz* made him Aſſiſtant to the Superintendant of the Churches in the Year 1560; and he ſuppoſes, that the ſecond went into *Poland*, when the Diſorders, occaſioned by *Stancarus*, were hardly over. Which is a new Error. The Diſputes, which *Stancarus* had raiſed, by maintaining, that JESUS CHRIST is not a Mediator, as to his Divine Nature, were in their Heighth at the Arrival of *Blandrata*. 'Tum autem forte Franciſci 'Stancari Mantuani petulantiſſimi hominis impor- 'tunitate (ut ſanè fatalis eſſe videtur Polonis Ita- 'lis) ſciſſæ erant Polonicæ Eccleſiæ (10). - - - - - 'At that time, the Poliſh Churches were divided, 'through the Turbulency of Francis Stancarus of 'Mantua, Italy ſeaming to be fatal to the Poles.' But all this is nothing in Compariſon of Father *Maimbourg*'s *Anachroniſms*. He ſays, our *Blandrata* went into *Tranſylvania* in the Year 1553 (11). He ſuppoſes, that, in the ſame Year, Prince *John Sigiſmund took Delight to hear his Phyſician, when, ſetting up for a Divine, he ſpoke like a Philoſopher of the Trinity, which he termed a Chimera.* He adds, that This Prince *durſt not yet declare himſelf, as well becauſe his Mother, Queen* Iſabella, *a moſt Catholic Princeſs, was ſtill living, as becauſe* Soliman *did not deſire, that a Diverſity of Sects ſhould be ſufferred.* This relates to the Year 1555. He ſays, that, out of Complaiſance to *Soliman*, all the Heretics were baniſhed; but that, the Queen, and *Soliman*, dying ſoon after, in the Year 1566, the Innovators returned, and enjoyed great Liberty, and that *it was then, that* Blandrata *corrupted the greateſt Part of the Court.* What a ſtrange way of relating things! How many Falſities! We ſhall ſee hereafter (12), *Varillas's Anachroniſms* and *Viſions*.

[*E*] Calvin *made him ſee, that ſo conſiderable a Divine, as he was, could reach him* (13).] It appears from *Calvin*'s Letters, that the Churches of *Poland* conceived a great Eſteem and Affection for *Blandrata*; but it appears alſo from the *Socinian* Hiſtories, that *Calvin*'s Letters were looked upon as a Perſecution, which forced *Blandrata* to retire elſewhere. Here are the Proofs of theſe two Particulars. 'Valde miror hominem, quem ſola oſten- 'tatio & faſtuoſus vultus commendat, tanti apud 'vos fieri, ut quaſi novus Atlas Eccleſiam ſuſtineat 'ſuis humeris. Certè tam inconſideratæ credulita- 'tis niſi me puderet gentem veſtram non amarem (14). —— *I am very much ſurprized, that one, who has nothing to recommend him, but Vanity, and Oſtentation, ſhould thus gain your Eſteem, as if he were a new* Atlas, *who bears the Church upon his Shoulders. Were I not aſhamed of ſuch raſh Credulity, I ſhould not love your Nation.*' 'Unum non diſſimulo, eos qui tam humaniter Georgium 'Blandratam exceperunt parum fuiſſe cautos & pro- 'vidos, & male conſuluiſſe veſtræ exiſtimationi. 'Magis etiam miror quoſdam primariæ auctoritatis 'viros graviter offendi quod libere hominem de- 'texerim (15). —— *One Thing I will not diſſemble, viz. that They, who ſo kindly received* George 'Blandrata, *were not very cautious, and but ill conſulted your Reputation. I am ſtill more ſurprized, that Men of the higheſt Authority are offended at my expoſing the Man.*' 'Ergo non vul- 'gare fecit operæ pretium longo itinere quod tan- 'tum ſibi nomen acquiſierit. Nullus eſt apud alias 'gentes, vos admiramini non ſecus atque Angelum 'è Cœlo delapſum. Veſtras delicias minime vo- 'bis invideo (16) —— *This Journey, therefore, which gained him ſo great a Name, was of very great Advantage to him. Other Nations deſpiſe him; you admire him as an Angel from Heaven. I do not in the leaſt envy you your Favourite.*' You ſee how zealouſly *Calvin* expreſſes his Anger, becauſe *Blandrata* had met with ſo many Bubbles, who admired him, and were offended at a public Writing, in which he was traduced (17). Let us ſee now the Proofs of the Operation of This Remedy. 'Calvinus his non contentus Blandratam 'quum alia ratione non poſſet literis in Poloniam 'miſſis perſequi, apud patronos & fratres acriter 'criminari, ita cuncta ad eum perdendum agere. - - - - - Illæ ejus literæ fidem in multorum ani- 'mis invenerant (18). - - - - Calvin, *not ſatisfied with This, when he could do it no otherwiſe, perſecuted* Blandrata *by Letters, which he ſent to* 'Poland, *accuſed him ſharply to his Patrons and Brethren, and left no Stone unturned to ruin him.* - - - - - - *Theſe Letters of his influenced many.*' Quam ille (*Blandrata*) vocationem tanto alacrius 'amplexus eſt, quod eum Calvinus miſſis per Po- 'loniam & Lituaniam literis perſequi non deſtiteret, 'ita ut ei tutam in his oris vitam agere per ejus 'cacozeliam non licuerit, pro ut in ſuperioribus ex- 'poſuimus (19). - - - - - *Which Invitation* Blandrata *the more readily accepted, becauſe* Calvin *ceaſed 'not to perſecute him by Letters, which he ſent into* Poland *and* Lithuania, *inſomuch, that the falſe 'Zeal of the latter would not ſuffer him to lead 'a quiet Life, in thoſe Parts, as we have ſhewn 'above.*' 'Cum nec hic quiete degere poſſet, Cal- 'vino ſcriptis ſuis eum perſequente, à Johanne 'Sigiſmundo Principe circa ann. 1563, evocatus, 'conceſſit

(14) Calvinus, Epiſt. ccexix.

(15) Id. Epiſt. ccexx.

(16) Id. Epiſt. ccexxi.

(17) *It is the Preface of* Calvin's Commentary on the Acts of the Apoſtles.

(18) Hiſtor. Reformat. Polon. pag. 126.

(19) Ibid. pag. 170.

(7) *See Remark* [*D*], *of the Article* ALCIATUS (JOHN PAUL).

(8) Biblioth. Antitrin. pag. 28. Hiſt. Reformat. Poloniæ, p. 170.

(9) Pag. 412.

(10) Beza, Epiſt. 81.

(11) Hiſt. de l'Arian. Tom. III. pag. 345. *Edit.* Holl.

(12) *In Remark* [*L*].

(13) *See Remark* [*E*], *of the Article* ALCIATUS (JOHN PAUL).

from *Nicolas Radzivil*, and that he delivered a Confeſſion of Faith there, in virtue of which the Aſſembly gave him an honourable Teſtimonial [*F*]. Having retired into *Tranſylvania*, where he was ſupported by the Favour of *John Sigiſmund*, whoſe Phyſician he was, and by that of *Petrovitz*, chief Miniſter of State, he boldly diſcovered his Hereſy, and chiefly after the public Diſpute, which he maintained with *Francis David* againſt ſome Reformed Doctors, in the preſence of the whole Court, in the Year 1566 (*k*). The Prince adhered entirely to the *Antitrinitarian* Party, and died in that Perſuaſion in *Blandrata*'s Arms, in the Year 1570 (*l*). This Heretic did not want new Patrons; he was Phyſician to *Stephen* and *Chriſtopher Battori*, Princes of *Tranſylvania*. He was alſo *Stephen*'s Phyſician, when That Prince enjoyed the Kingdom of *Poland*, and even a Member of his Privy-Council (*m*). He ſtrenuouſly oppoſed *Francis David*, who, not being contented to deny the Divinity of JESUS CHRIST, maintained moreover, that he ought not to be worſhipped. *Blandrata* called *Fauſtus Socinus* to his aſſiſtance from *Switzerland*, to oppoſe *Francis David* (*n*); I ſay he called him to *Tranſylvania* in the Year 1578, where he was Prince *Chriſtopher Battori*'s Phyſician. The Favour, which he found himſelf in with the King of *Poland*, made him take ſo much Delight in hoarding up Riches, that, for fear of cooling that Prince's Liberality, he deſerted the Intereſts of the *Unitarians*, and began to favour the Jeſuits [*G*]. He was yet living about the Year 1585 (*o*), when *Bellarmin* wrote his Treatiſe *de Chriſto*; but he was dead in the Year 1592, when *Socinus* wrote againſt *Wuiekus*. Father *Maimbourg* ſays, that *Blandrata became mad*, and that *he was knocked on the Head by one of his Nephews, who carried all his Money away* (*p*). I know not whether what is ſaid of his Madneſs may be credited; but the other Fact is certain, and has been imputed to a Judgment of GOD, both by the Orthodox, and the Heterodox

(*k*) *See* Maimbourg, Hiſt. de l'Arianiſme, Tom. III, pag. 346. *Edition of* Holland.

(*l*) Maimb. ib. pag. 361, *but he ſays* 1571, *inſtead of* 1570.

(*m*) *See Remark* [*E*], *towards the end.*

(*n*) Wiſſowatius, Narrat. Compend. in Bibl. Antitrinit. pag. 213.

(*o*) Biblioth. Antitrin. pag. 28.

(*p*) Maimb. ubi ſupra, pag. 361. ex Peſcio de Atheiſm. Evangel.

‘ conceſſit in Tranſylvaniam, atque illic egit ipſius,
‘ hinc Stephani & Chriſtophori Bathoreorum Tran-
‘ ſylvaniæ Principum, immo & Stephani ad reg-
‘ num Poloniæ jam evecti, archiatrum & conſiliari-
‘ rium intimum (20) *. - - - - *When he could neither here enjoy Quiet, being perſecuted by* Calvin's
‘ *Letters, he accepted of the Invitation of Prince*
‘ John Sigiſmund, *about the Year* 1563, *and went*
‘ *into* Tranſylvania, *where he was Chief Phyſician,*
‘ *and Privy Counſellor, to* Stephen, *and* Chriſtopher,
‘ Bathori, *Princes of* Tranſylvania, *and to* Stephen,
‘ *even when he was raiſed to the Throne of* Poland.’

(20) Bibl. Antitrin. pag. 28.

* Socinus, *dedicating to him his ſecond Anſwer to* Volanus, *calls him* Stephani Regis Poloniæ Archiater & Conſiliarius intimus.

[*F*] *He appeared at the Synod of* Pinczovia, *with Letters of Recommendation from* Nicolas Radzivil, *and he delivered a Confeſſion of Faith there.*] What *Calvin* had written to That great *Politic* Lord, to acquaint him, that *George Blandatra* ſecretly held *Servetus*'s Hereſies, had not yet produced it's neceſſary Effect; *Blandrata* had warded off the Blow by his Artifices; for *Nicolas Radzivil* made great Complaints of the Churches Behaviour towards *Blandrata*, and declared, that *Calvin* had dealt unjuſtly and raſhly with him. ‘ Homo iſte facile techniis ſuis fallacibus, optimo principi fucum facit, adeo ut ille iratus Joh. Calvino, Blandratam nomine ſuo ad Synodum Pinczovienſem, An. 1561. 25 Jun. habitam, delegaret cum literis, quibus ſerio expoſtulabat in cauſa Blandratæ cum Eccleſia, dicebatque malè & præcipitanter egiſſe J. Calvinum, quod Blandratam traduceret, & Servetiſmi notaret (21).’ *Blandrata* pleaded his Cauſe in the Synod very boldly, and cunningly: Here is the Confeſſion, which he delivered: It was very Orthodox: ‘ Fateor me credere in unum Deum. ‘ Patrem, in unum Dominum Jeſum Chriſtum Filium ejus, & in unum Spiritum Sanctum, quorum quilibet eſt eſſentialiter Deus. Deorum pluralitatem deteſtor, cum unus nobis ſit tantum Deus eſſentia indiviſibilis. Fateor tres eſſe diſtinctas hypoſtaſes & æternam Chriſti divinitatem ac generationem, & Spiritum Sanctum verum & æternum Deum ab utroque procedentem (22). - - - - ‘ *I profeſs to believe in one* GOD *the Father, in one* LORD JESUS CHRIST *his Son, and in one* HOLY GHOST, *each of which is eſſentially* GOD. ‘ *I abhor a Plurality of Gods, ſince there is to us but one* GOD, *indiviſible in Eſſence. I believe three diſtinct Hypoſtaſes, and the eternal Divinity and Generation of* CHRIST, *and the Holy Spirit, true and eternal* GOD, *proceeding from them both.*’ The Effect of This Confeſſion was ſuch, that the Synod ſupplied him with a good Certificate; which appeared alſo by the Letters, which the Aſſembly wrote to *Nicolas Radzivil*, and to *John Calvin* (23).

(21) Andreas Wengerſicius, Slavoniæ reformatæ, lib. I, cap. xiii. pag. 85. *Edit.* 1679.

(22) Id. ibid. pag. 80.

(23) Id. ibid.

[*G*] *He forſook the Intereſt of the* Unitarians, *and favoured the Jeſuits.*] This we learn from *Socinus*, who complains of it in his Anſwer to *P. Wuiekus*. He confeſſes, that *Blandrata* had done their Sect many Services; *de noſtris Eccleſiis aliquando præclarè eſt meritus*; but, ſays he, he fell off in his latter Days. ‘ Haud paulo ante mortem ſuam, vivente adhuc Stephano Rege Poloniæ, in illius gratiam, & quo illum erga ſe liberaliorem (ut fecit) redderet, plurimum remiſiſſe de ſtudio ſuo in Eccleſiis noſtris Tranſylvanicis noſtriſque hominibus juvandis; imo eò tandem deveniſſe ut vix exiſtimaretur priorem quam tantopere foverat de Deo & Chriſto ſententiam retinere; ſed potius Jeſuitis, qui in ea Provincia tunc temporis Stephani Regis & ejus fratris Chriſtophori, Principis haud multo ante vita functi, ope ac liberalitate non mediocriter florebant, jam adhærere, aut certe cum eis quodammodo colludere. Illud certiſſimum eſt cum ab eo tempore, quo liberalitatem, quam ambiebat, regis Stephani erga ſe eſt expertus, cœpiſſe quoſdam ex noſtris hominibus quos cariſſimos prius habebat & ſuis opibus juvabat, ſpernere ac deſerere, etiam contra promiſſa & obligationem ſuam, & tandem illos penitus deſeruiſſe, atque omni veræ ac ſinceræ pietatis ſtudio valedixiſſe, & ſolis pecuniis congerendis intentum fuiſſe, quæ fortaſſe, juſtiſſimo Dei judicio, quod graviſſimum exercere ſolet contra tales deſertores, ei necem ab eo, quem ſuum hæredem fecerat, conciliarunt (24). —— *Some time before his Death, while* Stephen, *King of* Poland, *was yet living, to ingratiate himſelf with That Prince, and obtain more of his Favours, he cooled in his Zeal for the* Tranſylvanian *Churches, and our Party; nay he went ſo far, that he ſcarce ſeemed to retain his former Notion, which he ſo zealouſly had maintained, of* GOD *and* CHRIST; *but rather to adhere to the Jeſuits, in Pretence at leaſt, who were, then, in great Credit in That Province, through the Favour and Liberality of King* Stephen, *and his Brother* Chriſtopher, *a Prince lately deceaſed. It is very certain, that, from the Time he experienced the Bounty of King* Stephen, *which he courted, he began to neglect and deſpiſe ſome of our Party, whom before he greatly loved, and aſſiſted with his Fortunes, even contrary to Promiſes, and the Obligation he lay under; that at length he quite deſerted them, and, bidding adieu to the Study of true and ſincere Piety, was wholly bent on amaſſing Wealth; which things, by the juſt Judgment of* GOD, *which generally falls heavy on ſuch Apoſtates, perhaps occaſioned his Death by the Hands of his Heir.*’ It is ſaid, that his Brother's Son ſtrangled him in his Sleep (25).

(24) Socini Reſp. ad Wuiekum, cap. 11. pag. 43. Vide Hoornbeeck, Appar. pag. 250

(25) *See, below, Citat.* (27).

[*H*] *His*

rodox [*H*]. The Catalogue of *Blandata*'s Works may be seen in the *Bibliotheque* of the *Antitrinitarians* [*I*]. They had such a mean Opinion of his Pen at *Geneva*, that it was believed, there, that the Works, which came out in his Name, were revised by another [*K*]. In the Remark [*D*], I shall take notice of several false Dates concerning his Adventures, and in the Remark [*K*], of several Mistakes concerning his Errors. Before I conclude, I must observe, that the *Unitarian* Historians speak of the Confession of Faith, which he presented to the Synods of *Poland*, with so many Disguises (*q*).

(*q*) Vide Histor. Reformat. Polon. pag. 130. & Bibl. Antitrin. pag. 185, 186.

The Anachronisms, and Chimeras of *Varillas*, are so strange, that one cannot forbear making some Reflexions on them [*L*]. Since

[*H*] *His Death was attributed to the Judgment of* God *both by the Orthodox and Heterodox.*] We have seen (26) how *Socinus* applies to him *the Judgment of* God, *which he is used to exercise with great Severity against those, who desert his Cause for worldly Interests.* If Father *Maimbourg* had heard of *Blandrata*'s Kindness for the Jesuits, he would not have judged of his End as he did; and would not have added Madness to it. But let us hear a learned Divine of *Leyden*. 'A fratris sui filio in lecto 'jacens suffocatus fuit: sanè non extra justam Dei 'ultionem in hominem, quem primum in istis Ecclesiis 'execrandæ hæresis, multarum in Deum & ejus veri-'tatem blasphemiarum, librorum horrendissimorum 'turbarumque gravissimarum auctorem non aliter 'quam singulari diroque mortis genere occumbere 'oportuit (27). —— *He was strangled in Bed by his Brother's Son: in which appeared the just Vengeance of* God *upon one, who deserved to die a remarkable and dreadful kind of Death, as having been the first Broacher of an execrable Heresy in those Churches, as having uttered many Blasphemies against* God, *and his Truth, and been the Author of many vile Books, and the greatest Disturbances.*'

(26) *In Remark* [*G*].

(27) Hoornbeeck, Apparat. pag. 26. Konig *is mistaken, as to the time.* Perlit, *says he*, in lecto strangulatus per fratruelem quem hæredem constituerat. Ann. 1560.

[*I*] *The Catalogue of* Blandrata's *Works appears in the* Bibliotheque *of the* Antitrinitarians.] There are two sorts of them: Some belong but in part to him; others seem to be wholly his. Among the latter, there are some Theses, Letters, and Observations concerning the Invocation of Jesus Christ, which have only been printed in other Books. Most of them have been inserted in a Piece, which *James Paleologus* published in 1580; wherein he refutes the Judgment of the *Polish* Churches in the Case of *Francis David*. As to the Works, in which *Blandrata* had only a Share, the chief are, the two Conferences held at *Alba Julia*, the one in 1566, and the other in 1568; The Book entituled, *De falsa & vera unius Dei Patris, Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, cognatione, authoribus Ministris Ecclesiarum confutientium in Sarmatia & Transylvania*, printed at *Alba Julia*, in the Year 1567 (28); and That, which is entituled, *Refutatio scripti Georgii Majoris in quo Deum trinum in personis & unum essentia, unicum deinde ejus filium in persona & duplicem in naturis ex lacunis Antichristi præbare conatus est*, printed in the Year 1569. *Hoornbeeck* complains justly, that Those Heretics had inserted some abominable Pictures in These two Pieces, which served to represent the Trinity (29). *Temeraria & horrenda Papistarum simulatra quæ æterna oblivione, & execratione sepeliendæ erant potius ----- non detegenda illa pudenda, & prostituenda coram omnibus*, &c (30).

(28) Bellarmin had seen this Book, he quotes it several times.

(29) Apparat. pag. 27. *See also* pag. 55.

(30) Id. ibid. pag. 27.

[*K*] *It was believed, that his Works were revised by another.*] Beza declares it plainly enough: 'Extat, *says he* (31), apud me ipsius Blandratæ 'epistola (non tamen scripta sine Thesco, si Blan-'dratam bene novi) in qua Gregorium suo quo-'dam jure non tantum de illa pædobaptismi con-'troversia non satis opportunè mota increpat, ve-'rum etiam apertè illum à Tritheismo ad Samo-'sateni dogma revocare nititur. —— *I have by me an Epistle of* Blandrata *himself (not written without a good Assistant, if I know* Blandrata *well) in which, with a Freedom natural to him, he not only reproves* Gregory, *for unseasonably setting on Foot the Controversy about Infant Baptism, but endeavours to bring him back from Tritheism to the Doctrine of* Paulus Samosatenus.' But what he had before said is a stronger Proof of it's for he had named the Person, who put *Blandrata*'s Thoughts in order. 'Petro quodam Statorio juvene, alioqui 'bono ingenio nec contemnenda doctrina prædito, 'operam omnem suam fucandis barbarissimi scriptoris Blandratæ commentis navante. —— Peter 'Statorius, *a young Man, otherwise of a good Genius, and no contemptible Learning, employed his whole Time in disposing and ordering the Thoughts of That most barbarous Writer*, Blandrata.' I might have been contented to set down only Part of the first Passage; but I had some Reasons for doing what I have done. The Words which I have quoted, which are of no use for the Proof of the Question, serve to confute *Moreri* for not having well characterized *Blandrata*'s Heresy. He accuses him of having taught *Arianism*, and the same Tenets as *Valentinus Gentilis*: Which is to speak in too general and even deceitful Terms. *Blandrata* was at first an *Arian*; I believe it; but he only passed through That Opinion; He fell into That of *Paulus Samosatenus*, in which he was more fixed, than in any other. So that he ought to be distinguished by That, and not by *Arianism*. Consider the Nature of the Letter, mentioned by *Beza* in the beginning of This Remark. Besides, it is certain, that *Socinus*, and the Histories of *Socinianism*, mention *Blandrata* as a *Socinian*; and Prince *John Sigismund* as a Man, who, after the Conferences, which were held in his Presence, embraced the Doctrine of the *Unitarians*, in the Sense, which the *Socinians* put upon That Name (32). *Maimbourg* ascribes only *Arianism* to *Blandrata*, and to Prince *John Sigismund*; and pretends, that *Blandrata* gained over *the Minister* Francis David, *who*, says he (33), *from a* Protestant *became an* Arian. These are two new Falshoods. *Francis David* was worse than a *Socinian*: and it was He, who brought *Blandrata* nearer to That System. Let us hear *Beza*. 'Incidit Blandrata in Transylva-'niam rediens in quemdam Francifcum Davidis, 'paulo magis quam superiores illi ut ajunt provi-'dum, qui cum nimium crassam esse illam Tritheitarum blasphemiam simpliciter propositam animad-'vertisset, maluit omnia involvere, permixtis om-'nium pene hac in re hæreseon commentis, quàm 'simpliciter suam sententiam profiteri (34). ----- *As* Blandrata *was returning into* Transylvania, *he happened to meet with one* Francis David, *a more provident Man, as they say, than those, who went before him: this Man, observing, that the Blasphemy of the* Tritheists, *simply proposed, was too gross, chose to blend together all the Heretical Opinions in this matter, rather than simply profess his own Sentiments.*' The Truth is, that *Blandrata*, relishing the *Samosatenian* Hypothesis of *Francis David*, and finding it more consistent, than the Nonsense, which he had believed till then, forsook *Tritheism*, and became a good *Unitarian*. *Gentilis* did not the same; and therefore *Moreri* should not have confounded the Doctrine of These Men. Let us once more hear *Beza*. 'Inde in Moravia 'ad Blandratam & Alciatum aliosque nihilo meliores 'discedit (Gentilis); ubi cum satis inter eos conve-'nire non posset, quod à Tritheismo ad Samosate-'num plerique transivissent ----- in Sabaudiam 'ad suum Gribaldum redit (35). ----- Gentilis, *then, departed into* Moravia *to* Blandrata, Alcia-'tus, *and others of the same Stamp, where finding, that they could not agree among themselves, many of them having gone over from* Tritheism *to the Doctrine of* Paulus Samosatenus ----- *he returned into* Savoy *to his Friend* Gribaldus. De 'Blandrata rogatus (Gentilis), periit etiam, inquit, 'ut qui in Sabellii & Samosateni delirium inciderit (36). ----- Gentilis *being asked concerning* Blandrata, *replied, He is lost, He is fallen into the Errors of* Sabellius, *and* Paulus Samosatenus.'

(31) Beza, Epist. 82.

(32) Wissowat. Narrat. Compend. in Bibl. Antitrin. p. 233.

(33) Maimb. Hist. of Arian. pag. 345.

(34) Epist. 82.

(35) Beza in vita Calvini.

(36) Id. Epist. 82.

[*L*] *The Anachronisms and Chimeras of* Varillas *are so strange, that I cannot forbear making some Reflexions on Them.*] He says, that *George Blandrata*,

Since the second Edition, I have seen a Book, in which it is asserted, that he had drank plentifully, before he went to Bed, the very Night in which he died; and that it was a Question, whether some one of his Relations, or the Devil, had killed him [*M*].

drata, being perſuaded, that a fine Wit could not continue long in the Catholic Religion - - - - - took the Pains to ſearch, among the ancient Hereſies, for That which would ſuit him beſt, and at laſt pitched upon Arianiſm (37). - - - - - that he taught it after a quite new way, *in the City of* Pavia (38), *that the Magiſtrates confined him to a Priſon, where he would have remained all his Life, if he had not found the way to bribe a Keeper, who ſet him at liberty*; that he fled to *Geneva*, where, not finding himſelf enough at Liberty, he travelled, till he *found*, *in* Tranſylvania, *what he had ſought for elſewhere in vain.* 'They were extreamly exaſperated, there, againſt 'the Houſe of *Auſtria*, on account of the Murther 'of Cardinal *Martinuſius*. - - - - - - Theſe Diſpoſitions ſeemed ſo favourable to *Blandrata*, that he 'ſtaid in *Tranſylvania*, with a Deſign to make his 'Advantage of them.' He made himſelf known by his Skill in Phyſic, and was preferred *to the Dignity of Phyſician to young* John Sigiſmund. 'The greateſt 'Perſons of *Tranſylvania* took it as an honour, after 'the Choice their Sovereign had made of *Blandrata*, 'that he would condeſcend to viſit them in their 'Sickneſs, which he did frequently. During the 'Courſe of their Sickneſs, he ſpoke only of diverting Matters to them: but, after he had cured, 'or at leaſt perſuaded them, that he had contributed 'much to their Recovery, he changed his Diſcourſe 'inſenſibly, and fell upon Politics. He made them 'obſerve, that the *Italians*, who had killed Cardinal *Martinuſius*, and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which 'certainly had ordered, or at leaſt approved, That 'Crime, could not be perſuaded of the Catholic 'Religion; ſince They had not ſcrupled to attempt 'the Life of a Man, who ought to have been inviolable to them by all that was moſt ſacred in the 'Catholic Religion, becauſe he was a Prieſt, an 'Archbiſhop, and a Cardinal all at once. *Blandrata* perceived, that his Propoſition was not very 'acceptable, he went no farther: But, if he obſerved, that they heard him with Pleaſure, he added, 'with a low Voice, and as if he would have explained a great Myſtery to them, that the Catholic Religion, in the deplorable Condition, to which 'human Corruption had reduced it, was but an 'Artifice, which the Court of *Rome*, and the Houſe 'of *Auſtria*, made uſe of, to ſhare the Empire of 'the World between them: That the Court of '*Rome* made uſe of the Illuſion, to maintain and 'advance itſelf in the Tyranny it had uſurped over 'Men's Conſciences; and that the Houſe of *Auſtria* took alſo advantage of it, to eſtabliſh a ſole 'Monarchy in *Europe*; That the new Sects had 'indeed found out the Evil, but had not remedied 'it; ſince, by admitting the Trinity of the Divine 'Perſons in ſuch a Manner, as the Popes had ſettled 'the Belief of it, they muſt, by a neceſſary Conſequence, give credit to the reſt of the ſame Pope's 'Doctrines, which were only Conſequences drawn 'from That Principle: Whereas, by acknowledging no more Perſons, than Natures, in GOD, all 'the Difficulties, raiſed during fifteen Centuries, 'would be removed: the Holy Scripture would be 'underſtood by itſelf; there would be no more occaſion for Councils; and the Popes, being no longer conſulted, would loſe their Authority. Theſe 'were the ways, by which *Arianiſm* was revived in '*Tranſylvania* (39).'

(37) Varillas, Hiſt. de l' Hereſie, lib. 18. pag. 149, *Edit. Holl.*

(38) Ibid. pag. 150.

(39) Id ibid. pag. 154, 154.

Few Words will ſuffice to ſhew the Impoſtures of This Hiſtorian, and to convict him of publiſhing the Imaginations of his own Mind for Hiſtorical Facts. Do but conſider, that he ſuppoſes all This happened in the Year 1552; and he was obliged to ſuppoſe it, ſince *Martinuſius* was murthered towards the latter end of the foregoing Year. Obſerve alſo, that he ſuppoſes, that *Blandrata* was gone from *Geneva*, before he went to dogmatize in *Tranſylvania*. Now what will you think, when you come to know, that This Heretic did not leave *Geneva* till 1558, and that he was not invited into *Tranſylvania* to be *John Sigiſmund*'s Phyſician, till towards the Year 1563? What will you ſay of ſo many Arguments, grounded on the Murther of Cardinal *Martinuſius*? What will you ſay of his Skill in managing the Diſpoſitions of Thoſe, whom That Murther had lately exaſperated? Take notice, that no one accuſes him of having dogmatized in *Tranſylvania*, during his Reſidence there, before he had been impriſoned at *Pavia*.

[*M*] *I have read, that he had drank plentifully, the Night, in which he died; and that it was a Queſtion, whether - - - - - - - the Devil had killed him.*] The Author, who informs me of This, is a Monk, whoſe Article I ſhall give. 'Blandrata, 'ſays he (40), cui cum ſino ante ædes ejus affuiſſem, 'ſecunda nocte ſubito extinctus eſt, utrum a Satana, 'an ab Affine, toto quo ſui in Tranſylvania tempore 'ſub judice lis fuit. Hoc certum, quod optimo, 'prius quam cubitum concederet, vino incaluerat.'

(40) Leonardus Rubenus, de Idololatriâ, lib. iii. cap. 2. pag. 71.

BLOMBERG (BARBARA), was a young Lady of a good Family, at *Ratiſbon*, in the Time of the Emperor *Charles* V. It was believed, a long time, that ſhe had lain with him, and had brought him a Son, who was the famous *Don John* of *Auſtria*; but, at preſent, the moſt general Opinion is, that ſhe only ſerved as a Cloak to a great Princeſs, by whom *Charles* V had That Baſtard. I have ſpoken of this more at large in another Place (*a*). In *Brantome*'s Time, it began to be doubted, that the Lady, who paſſed for the Mother of *John* of *Auſtria*, was really ſo [*A*]. It was leſs doubted, that the Emperor had enjoyed her

(*a*) *In Remark* [*A*]. *of the Article* AUSTRIA (DON JOHN of).

[*A*] *In* Brantome's *Time it began to be doubted, that ſhe was the Mother of Don* John *of* Auſtria.] I ſhall ſet down his Words ſomewhat at length. '*John* of *Auſtria* was a Natural Son of the great 'Emperor *Charles* V, and of a great Lady and 'Counteſs of *Flanders*, the Mother of a Great Perſon, of whom we have ſpoken, or poſſibly may 'ſpeak, and not of a Baker's Wife at *Bruſſels*, or 'of a Laundreſs, as it was commonly reported. 'She was extreamly handſome; her Name was '*Barbara Blomberg*: ſhe was afterwards married to 'the Lord *Requel*, a Gentleman of the Country of '*Namur*, or *Luxemburg*. One may very well believe, that he loved, and enjoyed her: But that 'ſhe was the Mother of Don *John*, is a Miſtake; 'for his noble Carriage ſhewed, that he took after 'his Father and Mother. As ſoon as he was born, 'the Emperor, his Father, ſent for a rich Shepherd 'from the Mountains of *Liege*, to whom he gave 'him to be nurſed, and brought up, without the 'Knowledge of many Perſons, ordering him to 'uſe him to labour and hardſhip, as he would do 'his own Child, without feeding him effeminately, 'or delicately, and without telling him, that he 'was an Emperor's Son, till he grew up, and the 'Emperor had a mind to forſake the World, and 'to retire into *Spain*. Then he commaded the 'King, his Son, to ſend for Him, and the Shepherd, and to make uſe of him; and he allowed 'him a very good Penſion, and recommended him 'ſeveral times to his Son, as his own Brother. I 'have learned this in *Spain* from ſome great and ingenious Perſons, who knew it well. You ſee 'what it is to be nobly born: He, who had been 'educated in a Country-Houſe, like a Shepherd, 'became afterwards very genteel, gallant, civil, and 'agreeable, and had nothing left of his Rural Education. I ſaw him in *Spain*: He was a very 'handſome Man, and had a good Grace, as I 'have ſaid; and, though he had been brought up 'in a Ruſtic Life, yet there appeared nothing of it 'in his Behaviour; for he behaved himſelf very

'nobly

her [*B*]; and, at the bottom, there was no consequence from the one to the other. That Prince might have diverted himself with the fair *Barbara Blomberg*, who was at first brought to him, to sing before him, and to dissipate his Melancholy; I say, he might have passed, from the Pleasure of the Ear, to all the rest, without having a Child by this Mistress (*b*). However it be, *John* of *Austria* died in the Persuasion, that *Barbara Blomberg* was his Mother, and, as such, recommended her to the King of *Spain*. This Recommendation had it's Effect: For *Philip* II, to whom the true Mother was not unknown (*c*), did all that was necessary to deceive the World. He sent for *Barbara Blomberg* into *Spain*, the same Year that *Don John* died (*d*), and gave her a very good Reception. Some time after, he sent her with a handsome Equipage to *Mazote*, into the Royal Monastery of St *Cyprian*. After having lived there four Years, she went to *Lareda*, for the good Air of the Place, where she died. *Brantome* informs us to whom she had been married. She had a Son, whom *Don John*, who believed him to be his Uterine Brother, recommended, on his Death-Bed, to the King of *Spain*, and whose Name was *Pyramus Conrad* [*C*]. He served under the Duke of *Parma* (*e*).

(*b*) Barbara Blombergæ Ratisbonensis, formæ genere juxta nobilis. Ex qua ad Carolum inducti ut majorem cantu alleveret, &c. *Strada, lib.* x, *Dec.* i, *pag.* 611.

(*c*) See *Remark* [*A*], *of the Article* AUSTRIA (Don John of).

(*d*) *In* 1578.

(*e*) Ex Strada, Decad. i. lib. x.

'nobly among the Soldiers; he had also a good 'Air among the Ladies, to whom he was very 'acceptable (1).'

(1) Brant. Lives of Foreign Captains, Tom. II. pag. 49.

I shall make Three Observations on This Discourse. I. It seems, *Brantome* believed, that *Barbara Blomberg* was a Baker's Wife of *Bruffels*, or a Laundress; for, since he could not believe, that she was the Mother of a Prince, whose *Noble Carriage shewed, that he took after his Father and Mother*, he must have distinguished her from *the Great Lady and Countess of* Flanders, whom he acknowledged to be the Mother of Don *John*. If he had not made This Distinction, it might be said, that he took *Barbara Blomberg*, and the Countess of *Flanders*, for one and the same Person; but, in that case, could he have said, that Don *John* was too much a Gentleman to be the Son of *Barbara Blomberg*? He was, therefore, mistaken as to *Barbara*'s Family and Country: She was a Gentlewoman of good Quality in *Ratisbon*, and not a Baker's Wife, or a Laundress of *Bruffels*. II. It would be but an ill Proof, that a great Prince could not have had a Bastard by a Woman of a mean Condition, to say, that That Bastard's *Noble Carriage shewed, that he took after his Father and Mother*: for, if thereby is meant, that he is of a great Family, both on the Father's and Mother's Side, it is supposing what is in question; it is giving no proof, but only saying, *he is the Son of a great Lady, because he is the Son of a great Lady*; a ridiculous Argument! If it be meant that, on all accounts, one observes in him inclinations too noble and too great, not to believe that his Birth is noble, both on the Mother's and Father's Side, it is still a bad Argument; since Experience shews, that great Lords, who under-match themselves, have Children as high spirited, and as much infatuated with their Grandeur, as Those, who are equally matched; supposing always, that the Education be equal. Are the *Sultans* mean-spirited, tho' they are sometimes the Sons of a poor Country Wench? III. This Education at a Shepherd's House, in the Country of *Leige*, is contradicted by good Historians, as *Famianus Strada*. See the Article AUSTRIA (Don John of) (2).

(2) *Towards the beginning of the Text.*

[*B*] *It was less doubted, that the Emperor had enjoyed her.*] We have just now seen, that *Brantome* says: *one may very well believe, that he loved and enjoyed her.* It is very unlikely, that *Charles* V contrived This Feint with This Lady of *Ratisbon*, before he had a very intimate Acquaintance with her. Nor is it more likely, that the Lady was less complying as to the *Being*, than as to the *Seeming* to be; for commonly the latter is more dreaded than the former, and a Woman would think herself very unhappy to go through the last, without going through the first. The Author of the *New Dialogues of the Dead* might say many pretty things concerning This particular Idea of the Conduct of *Barbara Blomberg*. He has said some good ones, according to the Idea, which is different from This (3).

(3) *In the Dialogue between* Leocretia, *and* Barbara Blomberg.

[*C*] *She had a Son, whose Name was* Pyramus Conrad.] The *Walloon* Author, who published the Life of *John* of *Austria* at *Amsterdam*, in the Year 1690, believes that *Barbara Blomberg was a Widow, when she was willing to pass for* Charles Vth's *Mistress, and that* Pyramus Conrad *was her legitimate Son* (4). If he had recollected what he says at page 279, he might easily have seen, that *Pyramus* was younger than *John* of *Austria*. *Strada*, whom he copies, says, That Don *John* sent his pretended Brother into *Burgundy*, to perform his Studies there, and that, when he came to hear, that *Pyramus* had laid aside his Books, and plunged himself into Debauchery, he caused him to be imprisoned. This was his Condition at the Death of That Prince. The King of *Spain*, having some regard to Don *John*'s Recommendation, wrote to the Duke of *Parma*, to know *Pyramus*'s Inclination. The Duke informed him, that he had received a Letter from him, wherein the young Man acknowledged himself unfit for, and without any Inclination to, Learning, and that he desired to bear Arms. The King ordered him to learn the Art of War under the Duke of *Parma*, and assigned him a Pension of thirty Crowns *per* Month. Thus far Father *Strada* carries the History (5).

(4) Life of *John* of *Austria*, p. 412.

(5) Strada, Dec. i. pag. 627.

BLONDEL (David), a Protestant Minister, in the XVIIth Century, was accounted one of the Men, who had the greatest Knowledge of Ecclesiastical and Civil History. He was of *Châlons* in *Champagne* (*a*), and was made a Minister in the Synod of the *Isle of France*, in the Year 1614 (*b*). He exercised his Ministry at *Houdan*, near *Paris*. Few Years after, he began to write for the Protestant Religion; for, in the Year 1619, he published a Book at *Sedan*, intituled, *A modest Declaration of the Sincerity and Truth of the Reformed Churches of* France. It was an Answer to the Invectives of three or four Writers of the contrary Party, and particularly to those of the Bishop of *Lusson*, so well known since under the Name of Cardinal *Richelieu*. From that time *Blondel* was looked upon as a very hopeful Man, and therefore he had always some honourable Employments in the Synods. He was above twenty times Secretary in those of the *Isle of France* (*c*) [*A*]. He

(*a*) Catalaunensis, *and not* Cabilonensis, *of* Châlons *upon the* Saone, *as it is said in* Wicte's Diarium.

(*b*) *See the Preface which he prefixed to one of* M. Daillé's *Books, entituled,* Apologia pro duabus Synodis Nationalibus.

(*c*) *The same Preface.*

[*A*] *He was above twenty times Secretary in those of the Isle of* France.] *Maresius*, a Professor at *Groningen*, will have it, that *Blondel* was chosen for That Function, because he wrote a fair Hand. 'In 'æstimio fuit apud suos fratres, à quibus sæpe propter calligraphiam factus est Actuarius synodorum: 'nunquam tamen in ulla earum vel nationali vel provinciali Præsidis aut Assessoris gradum obtinuit (1).' He adds, that they never gave him the Office of Moderator, or Assistant to the Moderator,

(1) Maresius in refutatione Præfat. Apolog. Curcellæi, p. 304.

He was deputed four times successively to the National Synods [*B*], where he never failed to be chosen to draw up and collect the Acts. It is likely, that it was he, whom the National Synod of *Castres* deputed to the King, in the Year 1626, and who returned his Majesty thanks, in the Name of That Assembly (*d*). His Speech is to be seen, at length, in the twelfth Volume of the *Mercure François*. This same Synod ordered him to write in Defence of the Party (*e*). I have heard say, that They designed chiefly, that he should write against the Annals of *Baronius*; and that no Protestant was thought more capable of confuting them, than *Blondel*. And, indeed, he had a prodigious Memory [*C*], and was a Man of vast reading; neither did he want Penetration to make Discoveries, and draw advantageous Consequences from Matters of Fact. His Style was harsh, and perplexed

(*d*) *If I do not assert it, it is because he says nothing of it, when he speaks of this Synod. Besides that the* French Mercury *does not say* David Blondel, *but simply* Blondel. *Now there were many Ministers of This Name at that Time.*

(*e*) *See the above cited Preface.*

What sort of hand *Blondel* wrote.

in the Synods. I have heard say, that *Blondel*'s Hand-Writing was the fairest, and most distinct, that could be seen, but very small; so that, in few Lines, he could make long Remarks, in the Margin of a Book, printed on large Paper.

[*B*] *He was deputed four times successively to the National Synods.*] One of these four Synods was not That of *Alez*, in 1620, as Mr *Des-Marets* believed (a). This Mistake would be very inconsiderable, if he had not added, that *du Moulin*, Moderator of That Synod, was very much opposed by *Blondel*, Secretary to That Assembly; and if he had not reported This Misunderstanding as the Cause of many other Events. 'Quantum autem Molinæus suos alios duos ex ordine Ministerii Condeputatos infensos habuerit in illa functione in qua ipse Synodi præses, Blondellus Secretarius fuit, & eum sæpius querentem audivi, & eventus ipse docuit. Cum enim, &c.' This is a Consideration, which ought to oblige Writers to avoid the very smallest Mistakes. That, which is inconsiderable in itself, is no longer so, when false Consequences, and false Suppositions, are added to it.

(a) Maresius ubi supra, pag. 263. *See* Curcellæus's Reply, *prefixed to the* Quarternio Dissertationum.

(3) Maresius, ibid.

[*C*] *He had a prodigious Memory.*] Mr *Colomiès* says one thing of him, which gives us as great an Idea of it, as any thing whatever. *I have learned of Dr* Vossius, says he (4), *that* Salmasius, *being at* Paris, *avoided meeting with Mr* Blondel *in any Visit, as much as he could, because the latter was a great Talker, & omnia in numerato habebat, etiam locos integros authorum, whereas the other, though he had a prodigious Memory,* Sæpè silebat. Some Persons, who had heard *Blondel* in Conversation, have assured me, that his Tongue ran like a Torrent, and that he discoursed of all kind of things with a surprizing Facility, without ever hesitating about Proper Names, or Years; nay, he could tell, sometimes, on what Day of the Month, and of the Week, such and such things happened. The Authors of the Funeral Oration of *John Caspar Lentzius* say that, when *Blondel* was blind, he discoursed four Hours concerning the great Book, which he designed to write against *Chifflet*, and that he did it with such an Effusion of Memory, as astonished the Hearers: 'Quo *(malo tœcitatis)* non obstante 'Amstelodami eum salutantes non admisit modo, sed per 4. horas operis sui, quod pro re Gallica contra Chiffletium Hispanicæ causæ patrocinantem spissum moliebatur, summam eis exposuit, qui ad prodigiosam tanti viri memoriam obstupuerunt (5).' We shall presently hear two Men, who, though contrary to one another in many things, and particularly on the Account of Friendship for *David Blondel*, agree as to his prodigious Memory. They agree also as to the Meanness of his Stile; but one of them pretends, that *Blondel* was so esteemed by the *Roman Catholics* in *France*, that, to tempt him, they promised him a Mitre. I shall set down the whole Passage. 'Vir excellens fuit noster Blondellus —— nam ut præteream ingenii acrimoniam, judicii soliditatem, memoriam ad prodigium usque felicem, eloquentiam temporaneam, (quæ tamen, ut nihil est ab omni parte beatum, non ita elacet in scriptis, profundæ quidem ubique eruditionis, sed quorum gratiam obscuritas aliquando imminuit) ad hæc naturæ dona indefatigabilis diligentia, qua non vulgarem linguarum Latinæ, Græcæ, Hebraicæ, at & Italicæ quoque & Hispanicæ, notitiam sibi comparaverat, omne Scriptorum genus pervolverat, & eorum opes in divitem illum cordis sui thesaurum reconderat. Adeo ut nihil esset, sive magnum, sive parvum, in libris Patrum, Actis Conciliorum, disputationibus Theologorum, & in historia vetere ac recenti, tum sacra tum profana, quod ejus cognitionem effugeret, & de quo interrogantibus accurate illico non responderet, nullusque cum eo familiarius versaretur, qui non semper doctior ab ejus colloquiis discederet. Quare omnes, qui noverant, stupendæ ejus eruditioni assurgebant, non solum Protestantes, sed etiam Catholici Romani, qui ipsum vel insulæ Episcopalis, quamdiu cælebs vixit, vel magnæ alicujus in Aula, aut in Curia, dignitatis illicio in partes suas pertrahere parati erant, nisi religiosiorem comperissent, quam ut mundanarum opum aut honorum splendore caperetur. Quid dicam de morum suavitate, de modestia, de candore, & aliis virtutibus quibus omnes honestos viros ad sui amorem rapiebat (6)? ------ *Our* Blondel *was an excellent Man* -------- *for, to say nothing of the Acuteness of his Wit, the Solidity of his Judgment, the prodigious Happiness of his Memory, and his ready Eloquence (which however, as nothing is compleatly perfect, does not shine so greatly in his Works, the great Learning of which is often diminished by a certain Obscurity); to those Gifts of Nature he added an indefatigable Diligence, by which he acquired an uncommon Knowledge of the* Latin, Greek, Hebrew, *and even the* Italian *and* Spanish *Tongues, had read all kind of Authors, and laid up their Wealth in the rich Treasure of his Heart. Insomuch, that there was nothing, considerable or trifling, in the Works of the Fathers, the Acts of the Councils, Disputes of Divines, and in ancient or modern, sacred or prophane, History, which escaped his Knowledge, and which he could not immediately give an exact Account of to Those, who asked him; nor did any one of his more intimate Acquaintance ever leave him, without going away improved by his Conversations. All therefore, who knew this, paid a great Deference to his surprizing Knowledge, not only Protestants, but* Roman *Catholics, who were ready to tempt him over to their Party by the Offer of a Bishopric, while he lived single, or some great Dignity at Court, or at the Bar, had they not found him too conscientious a Man to be taken with the Splendor of worldly Riches or Honours. What shall I say of the Sweetness of his Manners, his Modesty, Candor, and other Virtues, which gained him the Love of all honest Men?*' Now let us hear his Adversary. 'Laudibus quas hic, Curcellæe, in Blondellum, congeris, calculum meum integrum adjicio: Fuit vir multi-jugæ lectionis, portentosæ memoriæ, jucundæ admodum conversationis (7), iis præsertim, qui in aliorum consortio audire malunt quam loqui: ut tam parum tædii adferret iis apud quos eruditissimos suos Sermones, linguâ præsertim nostra, torrentis instar ad multas horas fundere poterat, de quacunque materia ex improviso eum differe reoporteret, quam frigidus erat & ingratus ubi præmeditatè publicè docere debebat: prout stylus ejus utraque linguâ tam intricatus est & tot hyperbatis scatet, supra diffusissimum quemlibet Articismum (8), ut sine fastidio legi non possit, Lectorque attentus oblitus sit sæpè quomodo periodum incœperit, ubi pervenit ad illius finem (9). —— *I entirely assent,* Curcellæus, *to the Praises, which you heap upon* Blondel. *He was a Man of great Reading, a surprizing Memory, and entertaining Conversation, to those especially, who choose, in Company, to hear rather than speak; insomuch that he was as little tedious to Those, with whom he conversed learnedly and fluently, particularly in our own Tongue, for many Hours,*

(4) Colomiès, Mélanges Historiques, p. 24, 25.

(5) Apud Paulum Freherum, Theatr. p. 1180.

(6) Steph. Curcellæus in Præfat. Apologetica. *Mr* Vallé *expresses this Eloge in fine Terms, and more briefly, dedicating to him the Apology for the Reformed Churches. See in* Sir Thomas Pope Blunt, *many such Elogies.*

(7) *He had said in his* Exercit. Ill. de Gratia, & Redempt. n. 22. ὁ κάνυ Blondellus, Photius ille nostri sæculi, & omnis antiquitatis quod vixit, Βιβλιοθήκη ἔμψυχος.

(8) *Should he not have said,* Asiaticismum; *for the* Asiatic *Style was accounted a diffused one.*

(9) Maresius in Refut. Præfat. Apologet. Curcellæanæ. p. 33.

perplexed with too many Parentheſes [D]: But what then? would That have hindered him from confuting a Falſity? It appeared, by the Event, that he did not trouble himſelf much about refuting *Baronius* [E], and that he applied himſelf much more to other things. In the Year 1631, the Province of *Anjou* demanded him of the National Synod at *Charenton*, to be Profeſſor in Divinity at *Saumur* (*f*); but this Requeſt was not granted, either becauſe it was thought, that, having no Talent for Preaching [F], he was not ſo fit, as another, for the Inſtruction of the Students in Divinity, or becauſe it was believed, that, if he ſhould apply himſelf ſolely to Hiſtory, in which his chief Skill lay, he might ſignalize himſelf the better in the Service of the Party. However it be, he continued in the *Iſle of France*. In the Year 1645, the National Synod of *Charenton* made him Honorary Profeſſor [G], and gave him a ſuitable Penſion, which had never been practiſed before (*g*). The Explications on the Euchariſt (*h*); a great Book, concerning the *Primacy* of the Church (*i*); the *Pſeudo-Iſidorus*, and *Turrianus Vapulantes* (*k*), which is a Work againſt the Decretal Epiſtles; the Treatiſe of the *Sybils* (*l*), wherein he undertook to prove the Oracles to be falſe, which are attributed to them, and wherein he refutes the ancient Practice of praying for the Dead; and the Treatiſe *de Epiſcopis & Preſbyteris* (*m*); pleaſed the Proteſtants much: but ſome among them diſapproved, that he did not wholly addict himſelf to Controverſy, and that he concerned himſelf in Diſputes of Civil Hiſtory, as when he wrote a Book *de Formula Regnante Chriſto* (*n*). Some of them were alſo offended at the Book, which he publiſhed, to ſhew, that what is reported concerning

(*f*) *See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of his Authentic Acts.*

(*g*) *The above-cited Preface, Citat.* (*b*).

(*h*) *At* Roüen, 1641, *in* 8vo.

(*i*) *At* Geneva, 1641, *in Fol.*

(*k*) Ibid. 1628, *in* 4to. *See in Remark* [N], *about This Pſeudo-Iſidorus.*

(*l*) *At* Charenton, *in* 1649, *in* 4to.

(*m*) *At* Amſterdam, 1646.

(*n*) Ibid. 1646, *in* 4to.

'*Hours, and upon any Subject whatever, as he was cold and diſagreeable, when he was to teach premeditately and in Public; for his Stile, in both Languages, is intricate, and full of Tranſpoſitions, beſides a certain diffuſe Aſiaticiſm, which makes it nauſeous; nor can the attentive Reader remember how the Period began, when he comes to the end of it.*' He had ſaid, in the Preface of the ſame Book; 'Decennium eſt præter propter, cùm primùm ejus ea de re *Diatribe* prodiit. Sed cùm Galliçe tantùm ſcripta eſſet, nec eo ſtylo qui ſumm Lectorem alliceret, (nam quam fuit memorioſus & multæ lectionis, tam *δυσερμηνεύτως* laboravit, paramque felix fuit in ſuis conceptibus, ſive patriâ ſive Latinâ lingua exprimendis); tandem viſus eſt voluiſſe eam ſermone eruditorum extare. —— *It is about ten Years, ſince his Firſt Diſſertation on this Subject appeared. But being written in* French, *and in a Stile not likely to tempt the Reader (for he was ſo unhappy in expreſſing clearly his Sentiments in either Language, as he was happy in Memory and great Reading); he ſeemed at laſt reſolved it ſhould appear in a Learned Language.*'

[D] *His Stile was harſh, and perplexed with too many Parentheſes.*] We have already ſeen what Judgment *Mareſius* and *Curcellæus* gave upon this; let us add That of a Jeſuit. 'Cum Blondellus propter 'ſinuoſas inconditæ plerumque orationis ambages & 'inextricabiles *παρενθέσεις καὶ περιφράσεις* labyrinthos minus gratus politis lectoribus eſſe ſoleat, '& bonæ cauſæ offuſis tenebris ſæpius incommodaverit, operæ pretium viſum fuit eamdem reciprocare ſerram (10). —— Blondel *being diſagreeable to polite Readers, on account of his Circumlocutions, and Parentheſes, and often injuring a good Cauſe by the Obſcurity of his Stile, I thought proper to re-handle the ſame Point.*' He means, that he had re-examined the Queſtion about Pope *Joan*. *Chifflet* ſays, that a Lady of *Paris*, to whom *Blondel* had preſented his Volume of the *Sibyls*, read ſome Pages in it, without underſtanding any thing of it; and told the Author, that it would be very proper to tranſlate that Work into better *French*; and that ſhe was much diſpleaſed and ſurprized that it was not already done (11).

(10) Philippus Labbe, in Joannæ Papiſſæ Cenotaph. everſo, ad calcem. *De Script. Eccleſiaſt. Vol. I. pag.* 841.

(11) Chifflet in Imagine Davidis Blondelli, pag. 6.

[E] *He did not trouble himſelf much about confuting* Baronius.] After his Death, they found only many Notes, which he had written in the Margin of his *Baronius*. His manner of writing in very ſmall and cloſe Characters, made thoſe Notes more numerous; but they cannot be ſaid to be the Refutation of an Author. The Magiſtrates of *Amſterdam* bought This Copy of *Baronius*, and gave it to the Library of their City. It is there that Thoſe, who would know what *David Blondel* wrote againſt the Annals of *Baronius*, may ſatisfy their Curioſity. A Miniſter of *Bearn* (12), and a Refugee at *Amſterdam*, many Years before the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, ſays, that the Burgomaſters of That City having ordered him throughly to confute the twelve Volumes of *Baronius*, he did it, by the Help of God, without any trouble, and that he had not only tranſcribed *David Blondel*'s Notes, as he was ordered by thoſe Gentlemen, but alſo that he had collated them with the Annals of *Baronius*, which he had never ſeen before; And that, having diſcovered ſome Faults, which *Blondel* had not obſerved, he thought he ſhould commit a Sin of Irreligion, if he ſhould not publiſh them. 'Quum 'mihi demandata foret ab ampliſſimis Reip. Amſtelodamenſis Conſulibus Provincia funditus evertendorum Annalium 12 tomis comprehenſorum ----- Deo cooperante nil arduum eſſe comperi '(13). —— Ut eorum (*Conſulum Amſtelodamenſium*) juſſu quæ Blondellus ----- animadverterat 'non tantùm excripta ſed etiam cum Baronianis 'collata ----- publico darem (14). ----- Non 'potui ferio poſthumas animadverſiones Blondelli ----- cum Chronologicis Baronii narrationibus 'nunquam antea mihi viſis conferre, quin ſtatim. ----- Hæc autem (ex animo fateor) mihi religio 'fuit impio ſepelire ſilentio (15).' He publiſhed, therefore, a Book in the Year 1675, entituled *Anti-baronius Maginelli*, which contains an Hundred and forty Pages in *Folio*. In my Copy, the Title makes no mention of *David Blondel*; but, in the *Journal des Sçavans* (16), the Title contains theſe other Words; *quibus acceſſerunt quædam ad Baronium animadverſiones Davidis Blondelli.* Moreover, the Title notes the Year 1679. Doubtleſs this is a Bookſeller's trick. Probably the Book did not ſell; and, at four Years end, they bethought themſelves of a new Title-Page, and to promiſe wonders in it, under the famous Name of *David Blondel*. The Truth is, *Blondel* ſcarce appears in That Book; and, if one was to judge of his Marginal Notes from thence, they would be very much deſpiſed (17).

(12) *Whoſe Name was* Magendie.

(13) Maginelli Anti-Baronius in Epiſt. Dedicat.

(14) Ibid. in Præfat.

(15) Ibid.

(16) July 10, 1679, pag. 222.

(17) *See* Mr Baillet, *of the Anti*, n. 256.

[F] *He had no Talent for Preaching.*] See what is quoted from *Samuel Mareſius*, in the End of the Remark [C]. I have heard ſay, that *Blondel* did not preach by Meditation; and that it was with much difficulty he learned his Sermons Word by Word. So that the Pulpit was not his Talent.

[G] *The National Synod of* Charenton *made him Honorary Profeſſor.*] From That time he was reputed free from any Engagement to the Church; he was no longer obliged to Reſidence, and had full Permiſſion to ſettle at *Paris*, to be at hand to conſult the Libraries. Theſe were the Reaſons, which induced the Synod to confer That Title upon him: Here is my Voucher for it. 'Poſterior '(*Synodus*) Blondello honorarii profeſſoris nomen & 'ſtipendium aſſignaverat, ſoluto vinculo quo ſuæ 'Eccleſiæ tenebatur, & facta ei facultate ſedes ſuas 'ob commoditatem libroram ipſi neceſſariorum ad 'Baronii promiſſam refutationem' ſigendi' Lutetiæ (18).'

(18) Samuel Mareſius, Refutat. Corcell. p. 304.

[H] *He wrote a great Book concerning the* Primacy *of the Church.*] This Work is much eſteemed, and confutes Cardinal *du Perron* moſt learnedly. Mr *Colomiés*

concerning *Pope Joan*, is a ridiculous Fable [*I*]. After the Death of *Voſſius*, he was

Colomiés tells us, that the Author was preparing a
(19) Colomeſ. in Opuſculis, pag. 99. second Part: 'I heard, *ſays he* (19), Mr *Daillé* ſay,
'that Mr *Blondel* had left a Continuation of the
'Primacy of the Church, almoſt as large as That
'which is printed. It is in the Hands of a Miniſter
'near *Leyden*, whoſe Name is *Curcellæus*, the Son
'of him, who turned *Arminian*.'

[*I*] *Some were offended at the Book, which he publiſhed - - - concerning Pope* Joan.] I ſhall not make uſe of an Univerſal Propoſition; though a very zealous Divine of *Groningen* does it. 'Aliis quiri-
'tantibus de Johannæ Papiſſæ hiſtoria per ipſum
'ſuggillata ac in fabulam commutata, non ſine of-
(20) Mareſius, Exercitat. III. de Gratia, n. 22. *He ſays, in his Anſwer to* Curcellæus, p. 315. *That no Proteſtant would have adviſed him to write ſuch a ſcandalous Book.* 'fenſione OMNIUM Proteſtantium (20). - - - - - -
'*Others enquiring about the Story of Pope* Joan,
'*which he refuted and turned into a Fable, not*
'*without offending All Proteſtants.*' I ſhould fear it would be looked upon as a ſatirical Stroke. I am therefore contented to ſay, that That Work of *Blondel* offended ſome Proteſtants. This is undeniable. The Reaſons of this Scandal, which I am going to mention, are ſo diſhonourable, or even ſo ſhameful, that if the Divine of *Groningen* had not avouched them, I ſhould think, that the *Arminian* Profeſſor of *Amſterdam* imputed them to the Reformed, to make them ridiculous, or ſuſpected of a ſtrange Infatuation. *Curcellæus* is the *Arminian* Profeſſor, of whom I ſpeak. He ſays, that, as ſoon as *Blondel*'s Work appeared in Public, ſome Perſons condemned it without any farther Knowledge of the Matter, and had not patience to read it; it was ſufficient for them to know what the Author aimed at, to ſay, that he had done very ill, and to complain grievouſly of him for depriving them of an occaſion to inſult the *Roman Catholics*. 'Non defuerunt qui audito
'ſolum ejus argumento damnatoriam confeſtim ſen-
'tentiam ferrent, indignati quod materia ſibi eripe-
'retur Romano-Catholicis poſthac inſultandi, &
'*mulierem Romæ Pontificium ſedem aliquando tenu-*
(21) In Præfat. Apologet. apud Marcſ. pag. 312. 'iſſe objiciendi (21).' They inquired into *Blondel*'s Motives, and, inſtead of believing, that a Man, who had read ſo much, and had ſuch a vaſt Knowledge, might have diſcovered the weak ſide of That Story, they maintained, that Honeſty had no ſhare in his Action, that he wanted a good Benefice, and that, to obtain it, he had made his Court to the Pope of *Rome*. 'Prætereo illos quos non pu-
'det jactare Blondellum in fabulam transformare moli-
'tum eſſe quod certa plurium hiſtoricorum fides de
'Johanna prodidit, ut Pontifici Romano gratificare-
(22) Ibid. 'tur & ab eo pingue aliquod Beneficium extorque-
'ret (22).' He, who mentions this raſh Judgment, refutes it by a Reaſon drawn from the diſobliging things ſaid of Popery in That Book of *Blondel*'s. 'Malignam iſtam ſuſpicionem Scriptum, unde ca-
'lumniandi anſam arripuerunt, plane jugulat, in
'quo tantum abeſt ut partium illarum gratiam ambi-
'verit, ut contra multis in locis acriter eas pungere
'non dubitarit.' He adds another Reaſon, which is, that the Work of the *Primacy* of the Church was in the Preſs, when the Author was writing his Treatiſe concerning Pope *Joan*. Others were leſs partial; they confeſſed, that the Author had refuted the Hiſtory of the She-Pope by ſuch powerful Reaſons, that they could not ſee any good Anſwer could be made to it; but they took it very ill, that he had made uſe of his Time and Knowledge to refute a Tradition of That Nature. 'The Pro-
'teſtant Intereſt, *ſaid they*, requires it ſhould be
'true; why muſt a Miniſter diſcover the Falſity of
'it? Would it not have been better to leave the
'Papiſts the Trouble of waſhing off their own
'filth? Did they deſerve, that any one ſhould do
'them this good Office, they who ceaſe not to
'traduce the Memory of the Reformers?' Such was the Diſcourſe of the moſt moderate; and thus Men will always ſpeak, when the Intereſt of a Party has a greater ſhare in what is ſaid, than Honeſty, and the Love of Truth in general: I ſay, *in general*; for they are two very different things, to love Truth in itſelf, and to love the Party, which one takes for the true One, being reſolved never to take it for the Falſe. 'Alii erga Au-
'ctorem & opus paulo æquiores, fatentur quidem
'ipſum tam efficacibus opinionem vulgarem argu-
'mentis impugnaſſe, ut non videant quid ad illa re-
'poni cum ſpecie poſſit: ſed tamen ajunt non de-
'buiſſe otio ſuo & eruditione abuti, in confutanda
'fabula quam pro vera hiſtoria haberi Proteſtantium
'interfit. Præſtitiſſe ſordes ſuas Pontificiis eluendas
'relinquere: indignos enim eſſe quibus noſtri ope-
'ram ea in re ſuam commodent; cum Lutherum,
'Zuinglium, Calvinum, alioſque Proteſtantium Do-
'ctores, ſoleant atrocibus convitiis proſcindere,
'quibus illorum memoriam, quantum in ſe eſt, toti
'mundo odioſam reddant (23).' *Mareſius*, who refu- (23) Id. ibid. pag. 314.
ted *Curcellæus*, does not deny, that Theſe Judgments were paſſed, nor does he ſay, that People were in the wrong in ſo doing. But, on the contrary, he confirms, to the utmoſt of his Skill, the Opinion of thoſe, who ſaid, that *Blondel* compoſed That Book, on purpoſe to pleaſe the *Roman Catholics*. 'Nec potuit id conſilium Blondelli non diſplicere
'bonis inter Proteſtantes, quibus monſtri quid a-
'lere viſa eſt præpoſtera hæc diligentia in agenda
'cauſa Adverſariorum, ac ſi ipſimet ei pares non
'eſſent (24). - - - - - - *Nor could this Undertaking of* (24) Mareſius, ubi ſupra, pag. 321.
'Blondel *be otherwiſe than diſpleaſing to good Men*
'*among the Proteſtants, who thought this prepoſte-*
'*rous Diligence in defending the Cauſe of the Ad-*
'*verſaries, as if they were themſelves unequal to*
'*it, ſomething monſtrous.*' He relates (25) a Paſ- (25) Ib. ibid. pag. 313.
ſage of the Sieur *Coignard*, an Advocate of *Roüen*, who wrote againſt *Blondel*, and who ſaid, that moſt of the Reformed were ſtrangely ſurpriſed at This Author's Deſign, and that their Opinion was, that he had a Mind to make a ſhew of his Learning, or to inſinuate himſelf into the Favour of Great Perſons. See, below, the Remark [*P*]. The Church of *Rome* is full of People, who judge in the ſame manner of thoſe, who confute the Legends: They are called Heretics, or Favourers of them; ſo that, on both ſides, a Man, who does not deſign to confirm himſelf, by *his Searches and Studies, in all the Opinions of his* Communion, expoſes himſelf to great Inconveniences.

Blondel's Treatiſe, concerning *Pope Joan*, appeared at ſeveral times, and in two Languages. In the Year 1647, they printed, at *Amſterdam* his *Familiar Explication of the Queſtion, Whether a Woman was ſeated in the Papal Chair of* Rome *between* Leo IV *and* Benedict III? After his Death, *Curcellæus* cauſed the ſame Work to be printed in *Latin* at *Amſterdam*, in the Year 1657, but much larger. This is the Title it; *De Joanna Papiſſa, ſive famoſæ quæſtionis, an fœmina ulla inter Leonem IV. & Benedictum III. Romanos Pontifices media ſederit, ordinesque ſit. Curcellæus* ſays, that the Author kept his Manuſcript above nine Years by him, and that, when he firſt began it, he thought of nothing leſs, than of printing it (26). He had only the Com- (26) Curcell. ubi ſupra, pag. 314.
plaiſance to examine a Matter, upon which one of his Friends had conſulted him; but, at laſt, he ſubmitted to the earneſt Sollicitations of his Friends, who aſſured him, that This Work would very much pleaſe the Curious in Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory. *Mareſius* affirms, that *Blondel* denied, that he had a hand in the Impreſſion of his Book, and that, by ſuch a Proteſtation, he endeavoured to leſſen the Scandal, and to avoid the Cenſure of the Synod. *Quam* (promulgationem) *tum etiam Blondellus ut ſe inſcio factam excuſabat, ad offenſionem elevandam, & cenſuram ſynodicam cautius declinandam* (27). He adds, (27) Mareſius, in Relatat Præfat. pag. 324.
that the Manuſcript was not directly ſent into *Holland*; but from *Paris* to *London*, and from *London* to *Amſterdam*: All which was by way of Precaution againſt the Cenſures, which were to be feared: *Ut ſi lis ulla ſuper ejus editione ſua Autori moveretur, eadem præſto eſſet excuſatio qua bodie utitur Dallæus.* To ſpeak the Truth, I do not believe, that This Work was put to the Preſs without the Author's Conſent and Knowledge. Mr *Menage* relates a thing, which makes for our Purpoſe, and which ſhews, that he did not well remember the chief Circumſtances; for he was ignorant of the *French* Edition. 'I was the occaſion, *ſaid he* (28), (28) Menagiana, pag. 344. Edit. Holl.
'of printing *David Blondel*'s Treatiſe concerning
'*Pope Joan*. At firſt he had only written a Diſ-
'courſe in *French*, which he ſent me, and which
'I kept ſome time. I lent it afterwards to Mr *Nu-*
'*blé*, who kept it near a Year. *David Blondel* came
'afterwards to ask it of me; but I would not give
'it

SOME matters of fact concerning *David Blondel*'s Treatiſe about Pope JOAN.

was invited to succeed him in the Professorship of History, by the Curators of the Illustrious School of *Amsterdam*. He went thither in the Year 1650, and continued to study with his usual Application; which, together with the change of Air, drew many Indispositions upon him, and made him lose his Sight. It is affirmed, that, in this Condition, he dictated two Volumes in Folio, concerning the Genealogy of the Kings of *France*, against *Chifflet* (o). It is said, that he undertook this Work at the Request of the Chancellor *Seguier*. There were some morose Persons in *Holland*, who endeavoured to make him suspected of *Arminianism* [K], and who blamed the *Religious and Political Considerations*, which he published

(o) *They are in* Latin, *and were printed at* Amsterdam, *in* 1654.

' it him at first, because I feared he would suppress it. I told him it was a Piece, which deserved to be printed, and that, probably, he intended to deny it the Public; but he assured me so positively, that he would cause it to be printed, that I gave it him again. Accordingly he got it printed in *Latin*; but he made it quite another thing than it was before.' It is reported, that, on the first News *Salmasius* had of this Book of *Blondel*, he cried out, *Let it be brought me; I will destroy it with one Blast of my Mouth.* ' Cum primum ejus Fama ad Claudium Salmasium diffusissimæ eruditionis, ut omnes sciunt, viri aures pervenisset, excidit ipsi ut parum considerate diceret; *tradatur mihi liber; ego illum uno halitu dissipabo* (29).' *Blondel* sent him the Original of his *Latin* Work, and required no other Condition, but that it should be published entire, either at the beginning, or the end, of the Answer. *Salmasius* accepted this Condition, and lived six Years after; but, though he had promised to answer it, he did not; and nothing was found among his Papers, which concerned the Refutation of *Blondel* (30). The same *Curcellæus*, who tells us all this, affirms, that *Rivetus* had written to him, that he questioned, whether any solid Answer could be made to *Blondel*; *Valde se dubitare an bene ei responderi posset, & cum lectoris cordati satisfactione.* An Advocate of *Roüen*, whose Name is *Coignard*, answered the *French* Book, the very same Year that *Blondel* died. *Maresius* answered the *Latin*, a Year after it was printed, and inserted it entire in his Answer; which is a plain Proof, that he did not perceive the great Difficulties, which perplexed *Rivetus*, or that he thought he had fully removed them. For a Man is never so imprudent as to publish the entire Work, which he answers, when he is persuaded, that he cannot answer several Difficulties; in such a Case, he makes choice of what he pleases in the Writings of his Antagonist, and pretends not to have seen That, which he knows not how to answer. There are many Books, against which nothing would be said, if it were necessary to insert them at length in the Answer to them (31). It is not long since Mr *Spanheim*, Professor in Divinity, wrote a Book, to re-establish *Pope Joan* (32). He was not discouraged by the Difficulties, which perplexed *Rivetus* and *Salmasius*. It may be said of his Book, and of That of *Maresius*, that, if they cannot convince all sorts of Readers, that the History of *Pope Joan* is true, they may at least convince them of their Authors Ability and Learning.

(29) Curcell. ubi supra, pag. 324.

(30) Id. ibid. Maresius *owns* Salmasius's *Promise.* Id non præstitit Salmasius cujus spem fecerat amicis & mihi sæpe. ubi supra, pag. 326.

(31) *Mr* Arnauld *was of opinion, that his Book, entituled,* Le Renversement de la Morale, *was of this Nature. See the* Nouv. de la Republique des Lettres, *Nov.* 1684. *Art.* 11. *p.* 975.

(32) *This Book, translated into* French, *by Mr* Lenfant, Minister *of* Berlin, *was printed at* Amsterdam, *in* 1694, *and re-printed at the* Hague, *in* 1720, *by the Care of Mr* Des Vignoles.

(37) Sarrav Epist. 178. pag. 181, *Edit.* Utraj.

One of *Sarravius's* Letters informs me, that *Blondel* having, at the Request of some Persons, examined the Question about *Pope Joan*, found, that the common Opinion was fabulous, and composed a *Latin* Book on That Subject; which some approved, and others condemned: The latter pretended, that a Protestant made himself infamous, when he opposed the common Opinions of his Party. *Quasi probrosum foret viro Protestantium Partibus addicto quidquam attulisse, quod vulgatas suorum opiniones convelleret* (33). *Blondel* had some regard to the pannic Fears of weak Minds, and put his Work into *Sarravius's* Hands, that he might refuse it to some Persons, who might have a Design to publish it against his Will. He examined This Question again in the Year 1639, because a Report was spread, that he confuted, at large, the History of *Pope Joan*, in a Book which was printing at that time. It was That of the Pope's Supremacy. Not to be at the trouble of turning over all the Sheets of such a large Book, They enquired of him concerning This Report. He answered, that he did not handle This Question in the Work, which was then in the Press; but, that they might know what his Opinion was, he composed a *French* Treatise, shorter than the *Latin*, and which soon came into the Hands of several Persons. *Salmasius* saw it at *Paris*, in the Year 1641. *Sarravius* refused to declare how this Work was sent to the Bookseller *Blaeu*, who published it at *Amsterdam* in 1647, but he declares, that the Author said, that That Business had been managed without his Knowledge. *Certe auctor affirmat se inconsulto, quidquid id est, procuratum fuisse* (34). He adds, that, after the Publication of That Book, some praised *Blondel's* Ingenuity, and others almost loaded him with abusive Language (35): The most moderate taxed him with Imprudence. Some of *Salmasius's* Letters, wherein he promised to patronize the Tradition, which *Blondel* had rejected, and to restore it speedily and easily, comforted Those, who regretted the loss of an Argument, which, in their Opinion, overthrew the Church of *Rome*. *Recreasti animos eorum quibus dolebat eripi sibi telum, ut arbitrantur, acutissimum, quo Roma in capite feriretur* (36). *Sarravius* was one of those, who were pleased with this new Design of *Salmasius*; but he warned him to take great Care of what he was about. *Note*, That he sent him *Blondel's Latin* Treatise, and that he acquainted him, that *Chamier*, *Peter du Moulin*, and *Bochart* of *Caen*, three of the most learned Ministers of *France*, believed, that the Story of *Pope Joan* was fabulous. He did not forget to say, that *du Moulin*, who might have jested admirably well on this History, had never employed his Wit about it. *Multa certe cum scripserit* (Petrus Molinæus) *quibus Romanum suggillaverit pudorem, ab ipso tamen fœmina semper manum abstinuit: & poterat tamen vir non infacetus alicujus liberalis joci inde captare occasionem.* I believe, one might add Mr *Basnage* to those three famous Ministers, who took the Story of *Pope Joan* for a meer Fable. See what he wrote upon it, giving an Historical Account of the Reasons of each Party (37), and you will apprehend what his Thoughts are.

(33) Sarravius, ubi supra.

(34) Sarravius, ubi supra.

(35) Alii pene optimo viro convicturi. ibid.

(36) Id. ibid.

(37) Basnage, Hist. de l' Eglise, Tom. I, pag. 408, & seq.

[K] *Some morose Persons endeavoured to make him suspected of* Arminianism.] There are many Persons in Foreign Countries, who have a wrong Notion of the *Dutch* Liberty, and the *French* Servitude (38). They are in the right to say, that the Tribunal of the *Spanish* Inquisition is abhorred in *Holland*. But, nevertheless, there are many jealous, suspicious, Persons, and Inquisitors, who take notice what Friends a Man has, and who build a thousand rash Judgments upon it, which they impart to many Persons from House to House, and chiefly to Those, who may either serve or hurt, according as they are prepossessed for or against. Poor *David Blondel* fancied, that, going from *France* to *Amsterdam*, he should pass from Servitude to Liberty; and did not know that he was going to put himself under the Eyes of certain Spies, who would make it a heinous Crime in him to hold Correspondence with an old Friend (39), who had contributed to his Vocation, and whose Acquaintance was of great use to him in an unknown Country. He knew not that Those Spies would report all he should say, and that a wrong Interpretation would be put upon certain things, which might escape him in Conversation: so that he would be loaded with Slanders, and accounted a Man, who conspired against the State, and Church. I advance nothing but what I have read in the Writings of a famous Divine, who has taken the Pains to inform the Public of These many Slanders: ' Quod illi Apologiæ (40) prologum galeatum præfixerit ὁ πανυ Blondellus ----- multum detrivit de ipsius existimatione apud plerosque, ac si meditatus fuisset in gratiam Remonstrantium Evse-

(38) *A great many Persons imagine, that no one dares speak his Mind in* France, *and yet they speak and write very freely. How could our News Writers know what they publish about* France, *if the Inhabitants of that Country did not write their Thoughts with the greatest Freedom? They talk more freely still, than they write.*

(39) *That is, with* Curcellæus, *an* Arminian *Professor.*

(40) *He means a Piece of Mr* Daillé, *concerning Universal Grace.*

(o) *This appears from a Letter, wherein* David Blondel *wrote to him, April 20, 1645. It is to be found at the beginning of the* French *Book concerning Pope Joan.*

lished during the War between *Cromwell* and the *Dutch* [*L*]. He died the sixth of *April*, 1655, aged Sixty four Years. He had two elder Brothers, both Miniſters; one's Name was *Moſes*, and the other's *Aaron*. MOSES BLONDEL was Miniſter at *Meaux*, and afterwards at *London*, and publiſhed a Book of Controverſy, which ſhewed, that he had Learning [*M*]. It is ſaid, that his Knowledge was not uſeleſs to his Brother [*N*]. He was living in the Year 1645 (*p*). It was he, who

(41) *See what it is ſome Author ſays, in the Preface to* The Free and Charitable Conſiderations on *Blondel's* Authentic Acts.

(42) *See the following Remark.*

(43) Mareſius, Exercit. III. de Gratia, n. 22.

(44) Quæ omnia dici & jactari in illum eò mihi ægrius accidit quod ſumma mihi cùm ipſo neceſſitudo ſemper intercefſerit. Id. ibid.

(45) Dallæus in vindicta Apolog. *Part III. cap. VIII. pag.* 431.

(46) Spizelius, in Infelice Literato, p. 693, &c.

(47) Curcellæus in Præfat. Apolog. pag. 309.

(48) Mareſius, in Refutatione Præf. pag. 309, 310, 311.

Some Miſtakes about our BLONDEL.

ſIONEM doctrinæ publicæ in his Eccleſiis (41): Aliis obſervantibus intimam illam & jugem quam cum D. Curcellæo familiaritatem coluit ex quo vixit in Belgio: Aliis ad animum revocantibus liberiores quaſdam voces ipſius in ſententiam Auguſtini & Synodum Dordracenam: ------ Aliis indignantibus quod juſto profundius ſe immiſcuerit negotiis hujus Reip. (42) in qua erat recentior hoſpes (43). —— Blondel's *prefixing a Preface to This Apology injured his Character with many Perſons, who conſidered him as attempting to ſubvert, in favour of the Remonſtrants, the public Doctrine in Theſe Churches. Some took notice of his Intimacy with* Curcellæus *ſince his Reſidence in* Holland; *others recollected ſome free Expreſſions of his concerning the Opinion of St* Auſtin, *and the Synod of* Dort. *And there were ſome, who were angry that he intermeddled too far in the Affairs of This Republic, upon ſo ſhort an Acquaintance.*' I omit many other ill Reports, which the ſame Author collected to his great Grief, as he ſays (44), and yet ſo carefully, that Mr *Daillé* reproaches him very much for it, after having refuted them one after another. 'Hæc ſunt quæ Epicrita contra clariſſimam optimi & eruditiſſimi viri famam, aut finxit ipſe, aut à malevolis plebeiiſque ingeniis excogitata magno ſtudio conquirenda & corradenda & in publicam hominum lucem edenda putavit; quæ quam ſint putida, & ad id, quod agit, conficiendum inepta, omnes jam intelligunt. ------ Nunc quo nomine appellabo illam Epiſcritæ diligentiam, qua is quiſquilias & nugas, partim futiles, partim falſas, pleraſque dubias & incertas, aut ipſe commentus eſt, aut ex otioſorum hominum circulis atque rumuſculis ſtudioſiſſime collegit hoc animo, ut perſuadeat eximium Dei ſervum, & poſt emenſos in Chriſti vinea labores è terris nuper in cœlos receptum, hoc antequam moreretur egiſſe ac meditatum eſſe ut publicam Eccleſiæ, in qua degebat, doctrinam everteret (45)? —— *Theſe are the ſcandalous Reports, which This Writer either invented himſelf, or carefully collected from the invention of malevolent Perſons, againſt the Reputation of this Great Man, and which he thought fit to publiſh to the World; the Abſurdity of which all Men now ſee through. Now what ſhall I call this Diligence in inventing, or collecting from the Circles of the Idle, or Common Fame, ſuch trifling Stuff, partly falſe, and partly uncertain, and publiſhed with a View of perſuading the World, that That excellent Servant of* GOD, *after his Labours in the Vineyard of* CHRIST *received up into Heaven, had, before his Death, attempted publickly to ſubvert the Doctrine of the Church, in which he lived?*' Since the Death of *Blondel*, Things are much worſe, and chiefly ſince certain factious and haughty Men, come out of *France*, would make themſelves formidable by ſome Attempts towards an Inquiſition. See how a Miniſter of *Germany* (46) laments *David Blondel*'s Misfortune, who, though a mild and peaceable Man, and notwithſtanding the Services he had done the Cauſe, was, nevertheleſs, expoſed to a thouſand Revilings, both in his Life-time, and after his Death.

[*L*] *And blamed the* Religious and Political Conſiderations, *which he publiſhed during the War between* Cromwell, *and the* Dutch.] We have ſeen, in the preceding Remark, that his Enemies drew from thence one of their Proofs of his pretended Conſpiracy againſt the Church. His Apologiſt pretends, that it was out of Hatred to the States of *Holland*, that *Blondel*'s Conſiderations were blamed (47); but *Mareſius* anſwered him, that That Work contained ſeveral things, which could not but diſpleaſe the States of That Province, and which diſpleaſed many good People; and that, beſides, it contained many Invectives againſt the Members of the Parliament of *England*, and againſt thoſe Princes, who, inſtead of revenging the Death of King *Charles I*, made Leagues with *Cromwell* (48). This is as much as to ſay, that, if *Blondel* had lived two or three Years longer, he would have run the hazard of finding himſelf accuſed of a Crime againſt the Government for having wrote a Libel againſt the Commonwealth of *England*; I ſay, a Libel, which was a ſevere Cenſure of the Union, which reigned, after This Miniſter's Death, between *Holland* and *England*.

[*M*] MOSES BLONDEL *was a Miniſter at* Meaux, *and publiſhed a Book of Controverſy.*] The Book is entituled, *Jeruſalem au Secours de Geneve*: It was printed at *Sedan* in the Year 1624. The Author juſtifies the Opinion of the Proteſtants concerning the Apocryphal Books, by the Teſtimony of the Jews, and of the Fathers. The famous Controverſiſt *Peter Veron* accuſes *Blondel* of *Plagiariſm*. John Reynolds *an* Engliſhman, ſays he, *compoſed a great Book in* Quarto, *containing about Six hundred Leaves* (49), *entituled*, A Cenſure of the Apocryphal Books of the Old-Teſtament, againſt the Papiſts, and chiefly againſt *Robert Bellarmin* MDCXI. ---- *Out of the Pieces of That great Volume was compiled the Book of* Blondel, *then Miniſter of* Meaux, *on That Subject. He entituled it*, Jeruſalem & Rome au Secours de Geneve (50). I cannot tell, whether *Veron* believed, that this *Blondel*, Miniſter of *Meaux*, was *David Blondel*; but he was the Cauſe, that *Chifflet* took the one for the other. Before *Chifflet* publiſhed his Reply to the great Volume of *Blondel*, he paved the way for it by a ſmall Piece of thirty Pages, under the Title of *Imago Franciſci Everſoris Davidis Blondelli Miniſtri Calviniſtæ. Clypei Auſtriaci liber prodromus.* He rails much at *Blondel*, who had not ſpared him, and accuſes him of *Plagiariſm*. He pretends, that it is an old Sin in him, and refers him to Father *Veron*'s Words, which we have juſt now ſeen. *Blondellum Neoclide furaciorem, Bouchete, Dominice, ac Tenneurio, totum inequitare nihil novi eſt; antiquum obtinet dum plagiarium agit; non ignorat hæc Pilæa, non Tyttygias. Recordatur tyrocinii ſui fœdos dies, cum apud Meldenſes miniſtellum agens Genevæ ſuæ ab Hieroſolymis & ipſa Roma ſuppetias fruſtra quæſivit, de quibus Franciſci Veronis*, &c (51). He was therefore perſuaded, that his Adverſary was That Miniſter of *Meaux*, who wrote the Book entituled, *Jeruſalem au Secours de Geneve*; but This is to aſcribe to *David Blondel* what belongs only to his Brother *Moſes*. The Miſtake of the Abbot *de Marolles* is leſs conſiderable than That. He gives *Blondel* the Name of *Daniel*, inſtead of *David*. It is in the Enumeration of the Authors, who preſented him with their Works, or who ſpoke honourably of him. He ſays, that *Blondel* made him a Preſent of his Book concerning *Pope Joan, having made uſe*, adds he, *of a conſiderable Obſervation, which I imparted to him one Day in the late Mr* du Puy's *Cloſet, on That Subject*. He ſays the ſame thing in his Hiſtory of *France*, and ſhews in what That Obſervation conſiſted.

(40) *It contains above* 800 *Leaves.*

(50) Veron's Fifth Controverſy about Canonical Books, Part II. chap. VI. n. 3.

(51) Chifflet. Imag. Franciſci Everſoris.

[*N*] *His Knowledge was not uſeleſs to* David Blondel.] Here is what I find in the Profeſſor of *Groningen*. 'Cæterum inde apud noſtros noſtri Sæculi Photius dictus eſt Blondellus, quod ex ſuis & ſui fratris, Moſis Blondelli, viri pientiſſimi & diligentiſſimi, laboribus, veterum Pontificum Epiſtolas Decretales, quas jamdiu tamen nemo ſanus volebat admittere, in ſuo *Pſeudo-Iſidoro & Turriano vapulantibus*, ſuam in veterum Canonum notitia peritiam abunde comprobaſſet, & inſuper diligentiſſime evolviſſet Canones & Conſtitutiones Synodorum Nationalium Reformatarum, ejuſdem Moſis fratris ſui adjutus induſtriâ: cui comprobandæ id proferre poſſim quod habeam in meo Muſæo, ex manu Moſis Blondelli, præter excerpta quædam Patrum Græcorum & Latinorum, & Bellarmini opuſculum de Scriptor. Eccl. variis notis manuſcriptis elucidatum, Diſciplinam Eccleſiarum

Galliæ

who gave the Manuscript, from which the Book concerning *Pope Joan* was printed (*q*). I have forgot to observe, that *Amand Flavien* is a fictitious Name, which *David Blondel* gave himself in a little Book about *Liberty of Conscience*, which he opposed to the Bull of *Innocent* X, against the Peace of *Munster*. Nor have I spoken of the great Endeavours the *Catholics* used to draw our *Blondel* into their Communion. A Minister, who did not love him, pretended, that it did him no credit. His Thought deserves some Examination [*O*]. He maintained also, that *Blondel* had a Pension from the Court of *France*, which diverted him from refuting *Baronius* [*P*].

(*q*) *The same Letter page 56.*

' He

' Galliæ nitidissimè Scriptam, variis Schòliis ex ' Synodorum Nationalium decisionibus illustratam ' (52). —— Blondel *was by us called the* Photius *of our Age for his great Skill in the ancient Canons, which he showed in his* Pseudo-Isidorus & Turrianus vapulantes, *in relation to the Decretal Epistles of the ancient Popes, which yet no thinking Man would admit; in which he was assisted by his Brother,* Moses Blondel, *a most pious and diligent Man; as also in turning over the Canons and Constitutions of the National Synods of the Reformed Churches; to prove which I can produce a Manuscript of* Moses Blondel, *besides some Extracts out of the* Greek *and* Latin *Fathers, and a Work of* Bellarmin *concerning the Ecclesiastical Writers, illustrated with several Manuscript Notes, and the Discipline of the* French *Churches most beautifully written, and illustrated with several* Scholia *taken from the Decisions of the National Synods.*' Observe, that this Professor intimates, that it was not necessary to shew the Falsity of the Decretals. To this let us add these Words of Mr *Baillet*: ' As to *the False Isidorus*, Father *Sirmond* called Mr *Blondel a Breaker of open Doors*, ' by reason of the Heat, with which he pursued ' these two Authors, whose Defeat was neither difficult nor very considerable, since so many Catholic Critics had already discovered *Isidorus*'s Impostures, and the Proceeding of *Turrianus* had ' been hissed at, and censured, by the most judicious among our Writers before him (53).' *Rivetus* speaks much more advantageously of this Book of *Blondel* (54).

(52) Maresius ubi supra, pag. 253.

(53) Baillet, Jugem. des Sav. Num. 265.

(54) *See* Rivetî Oper. Tom. II. pag. 1079.

[*O*] *His Thought deserves Examination.*] Among other Things, *Curcellæus* had said, in *David Blondel*'s Praise, that The Catholics admired his Learning so much, that they offered him a Mitre, while he was a single Man; and afterwards a good Post either at Court, or in the Parliament, if he would abjure his Heresy (55). *Maresius* replies, that such a thing does not deserve Praise, as well because the Papists bait their Hooks at all times, and in all Places, as because a virtuous Woman will not praise herself for having rejected an immodest Proposal. *Sed nec ad laudes ipsius pertinere mihi videtur quod eum libenter corrupissent Pontifici, cum horum hamus ubique pateat, nec soleat honestas matronas suis laudibus accensere quod impudicis sollicitationibus quondam restiterit* (56). This last Maxim is not absolutely true; it must be viewed on a certain side, not to appear false. It is a Dishonour to a Woman, that any Proposals of Love should be made to her; for it shews, that They had no very good Opinion of her Virtue; and, therefore, any Woman, who boasts of having resisted unchaste Sollicitations, discovers, at the same time, that she has not been so tender of her Reputation as she should have been, or that she knew not how to inspire all the Respect, which a virtuous Woman deserves. In this Sense, the Maxim of *David Blondel*'s Censurer ought to be admitted. It will be granted me, without doubt, that of two Women, equally beautiful and charming, and engaged in the World, she, who has never had any dishonest Proposal made to her, would have more Reason to boast, than she, who has often repulsed the Tempter; for it would be a Proof, that the latter has not imprinted such a Character of Prudence on her Conduct, as may persuade a Man, that he would be very ill received, and that it would certainly be in vain to set up for a Lover. No finer Praise can be given to a Minister of State, than to tell him he is like *Cato*, of whom no one durst ask an unjust Thing. *Sciappius* made use of this Thought in praising a Cardinal. ' Erga amicos ' parco quamvis eximia & constanti voluntate esse ' soleas, eam tamen, cum quid momenti majoris petere instituerint, religionem adhibere solos, ut non temere etiam qui te caussâ sua omnia velle sciat, vel sibi quicquam, vel amicis, auste postulare quod ' te tribuere vel indulgere minus dignum videatur, ' eaque re in te conveniat, quod de Catone Tullium dixisse legimus: *ô te felicem M. Porci, à quo rem improbam petere nemo audet* (57).' —— *Though you are always ready to serve your Friends; yet no one dares ask for himself, or others, what is improper for you to give; in which we may apply to you what* Cicero *said to* Cato; Happy *Marcus Portius*, of whom no one durst ask an unreasonable Thing.' But let us turn the Tables, and we shall see, that the Professor of *Groningen* has not justly censured *Curcellæus*. Generally speaking, it is not true, that a virtuous Woman ought not to think herself worthy of Praise, for having often resisted dishonest Sollicitations. Every Family, which can name such, or such a Woman, who has refused the Offers of some great Financier, or Prince, thinks itself crowned with Glory (58). The strongest and most frequent Temptations are the best Proofs that a Woman is Honest and Virtuous, and worthy of Esteem. Some Relations inform us, that the most virtuous Woman in *Spain* are very glad to be alone with a Man, who desires the last Favour of them, and that they take it very ill if he does not. Not that they will grant it him, but they take Delight in refusing such earnest Requests. After all, there was reason to praise *Blondel* for the very thing, which *Maresius* censured. The *French* Catholics would not have used so many Promises, if they had not taken him for a Person of great Merit. There is a great Difference between a Minister, to whom Honours are offered, if he will change his Religion, and a Woman, who is courted with Presents. The Action, which is proposed to the Minister, is not bad according to the Principles of those, who propose it; and he is not required to do it whilst he believes it to be an ill thing (59): He is exhorted to instruct himself, with a Promise, that if he can undeceive himself, the Pains he shall take to seek, and find, the Truth, shall be largely rewarded. But what is proposed to a Woman is a bad Action, both according to her own Principles, and according to the Principles of the Tempter. So that she cannot be tempted without an Affront offered; that is, without believing her very capable of committing a Thing, of which she knows the Obscenity: Therefore *Maresius*'s Comparison is not just; for there is no Injury done to a Man in believing him capable of seeing his Errors, and acknowledging the Truth; or which is the same thing, in soliciting him to change his Religion. I am sure, that, if *Maresius* had wrote the Panegyric of a Minister, who had refused many great Advantages, which the *Catholics* had offered him, he would have drawn from it the Subject of a fine Elogy, and would not have scrupled to praise it as a very noble Exploit. Observe, by the by, how *Pyrrhonism* prevails in most Disputes. There are many Maxims, which are true on one side, and false on the other. They are made use of by turns, either for one's own Cause, or against an Adversary: But is this the way to attain to Certainty? See, besides this, in relation to the Praise, which a virtuous Woman deserves, either for having never been sollicited, or for having resisted wicked Sollicitations, the whole Remark [*D*] of the Article JUDITH.

(55) Curcell. In Præfat. Apolog. pag. 338. *See, above, the Remark* [*C*].

(56) Maresius in Refutat. Præf. pag. 338.

Whether a Woman deserves praise for rejecting immodest Proposals: And a Man for rejecting Temptations to change his Religion.

(57) Sciopp. Epist. Dedicat. Elementor. Philosophiæ Stoicæ Moralis ad Cynthium Cardinalem S. Georgii.

(58) *See* Monsieur's George Dandin.

(59) *I speak only of honest Conversers.*

[*P*] *It has been said, that* Blondel *had a Pension, and that This diverted him from refuting* Baronius.] *Maresius* declares, that *Blondel* told him, that

'He had a singular way of studying; he lay on the Floor, and had round 'about him the necessary Books for the Work he had in hand (r).' He, who informs me of this, tells it for *certain Truth*: He says also, that the anonymous Author, who wrote the *Free and Charitable Considerations on the Collection of Authentic Acts, compiled by Mr* Blondel, was one *Gauthier*, a Minister near *Rochelle*. This Collection displeased the Divines, who had opposed Mr *Amyraut*. I have seen a Letter full of Complaints on this Subject [Q]. I shall give an Extract from it.

(r) Ancillon, Mélange Critique, Tom. I. pag. 407.

that he was importuned by the Enticements of the World (60). He adds, that *Demery*, Super-intendant of the *Finances*, paid this Minister a Pension, and that this Pension obliged him to publish his *Pope Joan*. 'Nec dubium quin Blondellus in sua 'Papissa Moderationis laudem sibi comparare studuerit, præsertim quo tempore eum in suis stipendiis ex annua pensione habebat supremus Ærario Præfectus (61). — Blondel, *in his* Pope Joan, *certainly aimed at the Reputation of a moderate Writer, especially at the time when the Super-intendant of the* Finances, *paid him a Pension.*' 'Ubi (*Lutetiæ*) tamen nihil minus quam Baronio vacavit; sed conjuncta D. Demery, summi Præfecti ærario Regio, pensione, cum Ecclesiarum stipendio, animum appulit ad ea, quæ ab illa professione honoraria, inter Reformatos, satis remota erant. Quæ etiam offensioni fuisse multis piis & bonis viris, mihi abunde constitit cum essem Lutetiæ. Unde natum 'consilium de ipso in Belgium, si pote foret, transmittendo, quo sic & illis sumptibus sibi inutilibus Ecclesiæ liberarentur, & ipse expediretur ex Aulæ & Sæculi inescationibus, quas & sibi graves & importunas esse, apud me tum satis aperte professus est. ----- *Where however (at* Paris) *he thought but little of* Baronius; *but, enjoying a Pension from* Demery, *Super intendant of the* Finances, *together with a Stipend from the Churches, he applied himself to Studies very remote from that honorary Profession among the Reformed. That this gave Offence to many pious and good Men, I was fully convinced when I was at* Paris. *Whence arose the Design of sending him, if possible, into* Holland, *that the Churches might be freed from an unnecessary Expence, and* Blondel *himself be extricated from the Temptations of a Court and of the World, which he very frankly confessed to me, at that time, were stronger than he could well resist.*' If this Author had been asked, How he knew that *Demery* paid *Blondel* a Pension? he would have answered with a Hear-say.

(60) Maresius in Refutat. Præf. pag. 305.

(61) Ib. pag. 313. *See also the Præface to his* Epicrisis Theologica adversus Joh. Dallæi Apologiam.

Mr *Ancillon* informs us of a strange Particular: 'I know from him, that the President *de Mesmes*, 'tho' a very good *Roman* Catholic, gave him a 'yearly Pension of twelve hundred Livres, to write 'against the Pope's Supremacy, and that a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Paris*, a very good 'Roman Catholic too, whom he named to me, but 'whose Name I have forgot, gave him a Pension 'of Six hundred Livres on the same Account, and, 'that, to satisfy these two Gentlemen, he composed that great Volume in *Folio, of the Pope's Supremacy*, which serves for an Answer to the Book, 'which Cardinal *du Perron* wrote against *James* I 'King of *Great Britain* (62).' Either these two Magistrates had only the Name, and out-side, of *Roman* Catholics, or their Pensioner betrayed them; for the Interests of the Calvinists cannot be more strongly maintained, than *Blondel* has maintained them in his Work of the *Primacy*.

(62) Mélange Critique de Literature Tom. I. pag. 407, 408.

[Q] *I have seen a Letter full of Complaints against his Collection of Authentic Acts.*] It was written by Mrs *Mary du Moulin* Daughter of *Peter du Moulin* (63). Mr *de Wilhem* (64) did me the Favour to communicate the Original to me; it is dated from *Delft* the Twenty fourth of *June* 1655. It appears by this Letter, that the two Persons, whom *Blondel* had most abused, were *du Moulin*, and *Rivetus*, 'to whom nevertheless he professed himself a great Friend, and 'by whom he was sincerely beloved, as may be 'proved by the good Offices, which he had received from them, and by the Acknowledgments 'which he made for them. Several Dozens of his 'Letters might be produced, which he wrote to 'Monsieur *Rivet*, wherein he calls him Father, 'his faithful Friend, his Protector, and Benefactor, 'and one might easily think, that he spoke the 'Sentiments of his Heart: for he was indebted to 'him alone for the Post, which extricated him 'from the Inconveniencies and Dangers, wherein 'the most Judicious thought him involved, when 'he was at *Paris*, surrounded with great Men, 'and busy about their Genealogies. This good 'Soul, who was continually upon his Guard against 'Scandal, thought it necessary to extricate him 'from those Snares, that his Talents might be employed more usefully. He made use of all his Credit to compass his Aim (65), wherein he met 'with so many Obstacles, that a less constant Friend 'would have been discouraged; and I am witness 'of the Troubles and Fatigues, which he suffered 'on that Occasion; and, though he was too much 'used to be paid with Ingratitude, yet he never 'feared any such thing from him, who appeared 'so thankful, and who wanted his continual Support in a Place where he had not the good Fortune to please at first; all which may be seen in 'his Letters, which are in the Hands of *Rivet*, 'the Son.' A little lower, in the same Letter of *Mary du Moulin*, we read these Words. 'He had 'very few Friends in This Country, except among 'the *Arminians*, whose Confident he was from the 'very beginning; nor was his Manner of Life 'prudent enough to acquire him the Esteem of 'the Wife of this Country; the extravagant Va'nity of his Wife would have been a sufficient Ob'stacle to it.' Afterwards she enlarges on the Praises of *Rivetus*, and assures us, that the Memoirs, which he left, of his Life, contain a true Account of what passed in relation to these Matters of Controversy, after the National Synod of *Tonneins*, in 1614, where he was Secretary, and by which his Moderation may be easily known. 'I wish, *says Mrs* du Moulin, 'that this satirical Piece may not fall into my Father's Hands; for I should fear his infirm Age 'would be too much shocked with Blows, that can'not be received as Balm, and that have nothing 'of the Faithfulness of Friendship.' There is no doubt, but that *Rivetus* used all his good Offices to have *Blondel* in *Holland*; for it appears by *Sarravius*'s Letters, that he was desired to promote That Affair, and that they shewed him the Importance of it. 'Utinam vero cogitare velletis de Blondello 'nostro, qui hic plane ad alienum scribit & vivit arbitrium. Posset istic, honorariæ fungens professionis munere, singulis annis singulos Annalistæ Tomos confodere, & alia, quæ mortalium nemo queat præstare, ad Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ purissimum 'intellectum. Idem scribo Riveto: hoc agite: nos 'adjutorem habebitis (66). —— *I wish you would 'think of our* Blondel, *who lives here, and employs 'his Pen, at the Will of other People. With the Character of Honorary Professor, he might there, each 'Year, confute a Volume of the Annalist, and contribute to the clearing up of Ecclesiastical History. 'I write the same to* Rivetus: *you shall have my 'Assistance in effecting This.*'

(63) *She died at the* Hague *in* February 1699.

(64) *Of whom I speak in Remark [L] of the Article* BORE, *and more fully in Remark [F] of the Article* WILHEM.

(65) *That is, to procure him an Invitation to* Amsterdam.

(66) Sarravius, Epist. 166. ad Salmas. pag. 170. *See also the 194th Letter, which was not written by* Salmasius *to* Sarravius, *as is said, at the beginning, but by* Sarravius *to* Salmasius.

Note, that Mr *Ancillon* observes, that the Author of the *Free and charitable Considerations on the authentic Acts*, which were printed at *Groningen* in the Year 1658, with a Preface of *Maresius*, *treats Mr* Blondel *very ill* (67): Which, though common enough, is at the bottom a scandalous thing; but the worst is, that That Author, and *Blondel*, do not agree in their Accounts. The same Disagreement has appeared between the Narrative of *Rivetus*, and That of Mr *Amyraut*. These Gentlemen might be excused for not thinking alike on difficult matters, and for explaining the System of Grace differently; But ought they not to agree when they relate Matters of Fact? What can one think, when it appears, that they confute each other in their Historical Narratives of what passed before their Eyes? Can one believe, that it is only a Defect of Memory? Is not a Man tempted to say, that one, or other, of them acts insincerely, or rather that there is some Artifice and Trick on both sides, and that

(67) Ancillon, Mélange Crit. Tom. I. pag. 408.

that each relates what is for his own Advantage, and suppresses the rest? This contrariety in Matters of Fact prevails every where. We saw a famous instance of it, the last Year (a), in the Relations concerning *Quietism*.

(a) *That is to the Year* 1698.

BLONDEL (FRANCIS), Professor of Physic in the University of *Paris*, was a very learned Man; but his Knowledge was indigested [*A*]; and, besides, his Prejudices against Chymistry, and Antimony, filled the Faculty with Troubles and Divisions. *Guy Patin*, though he agreed with him concerning Antimony, yet speaks of him as a litigious Man, and a bad Writer [*B*]. Perhaps no one has more ingeniously or more pleasantly characterized this Physician, than the Sieur *Lamy*; but, as he had been persecuted by him, it must be considered whether Passion has not too great a share in the malicious Turn, which is observable in his Description of *Blondel* [*C*]. Nothing shews more powerfully how little this Doctor was loved or esteemed, than to see in what manner his Death was mentioned in the *Mercure Galant*, *Sept.* 1682 [*D*]. Not one obliging Expression attends This News, to lessen the Blemish, which is cast on the Memory of the Deceased. I cannot tell whether the Books, which he promised the Public, are printed [*E*]. I must

[*A*] *His Knowledge was indigested.*] 'Our Monsieur *Blondel* is a very learned Man, but 'he writes in an obscure and intricate Style.' Thus *Guy Patin* speaks of him in his four hundred and fifth Letter (1). He says, in another place, that Father *Theophilus Raynaud*'s Style is worse than That of *Lipsius*; *Redolet Lipsianum, quo tamen est multo deterior* (2); and 'that no Author, at this day, 'writes so, except it be perhaps Monsieur *Blondel*, 'our Dean, who, tho' he is one of the most Learned Men in the World, affects this kind of barbarity, *& eadem scabie laborat cum Tertulliano* (3).' See some other Testimonies of his indigested Studies in the Remark [*C*].

(1) *Pag.* 200, *of the third Volume of the Geneva Edition.*

(2) Patin, *Letter* 173. *pag.* 65. *of the* 2*d Vol.*

(3) Ibid. *This Letter of* Patin *is dated* April 27, 1663. Blondel *was made Dean of the Faculty of Physic*, Nov. 2. 1658. Patin, *Letter* 224. *Tom. I. pag.* 483.

[*B*] Patin *represents him as a litigious Man, and a bad Writer.*] 'Our *Monsieur Blondel* —— is a 'litigious Man, and a Caviller, and loves to go to 'Law: he had rather go to Law, than compose and end Quarrels: he has a Law-Suit with *Thevart le Camus*, who is another litigious fellow; he is 'printing a Case in his Defence; there are as yet but two Sheets printed; he told me, there would 'be eight. He makes great Complaints of the First 'President, whom he took, as he says, for his 'Friend: I know not what to make of the nonsense 'of these Pettifoggers. As soon as the Case comes out, I will send it you, as also a Book, which 'he promises, *de Vomitu, Stibiique venenu*, in which 'he will prove, that Antimony is a Poison, since 'it causes Vomiting (4). —— This Man loves the 'Law too much; but it is great pity; for he is a 'very learned Man (5).'

(4) Patin *says so in his* 405*th Letter, pag.* 200, *of the* 2*d Vol.*

(5) Ibid. *pag.* 203. *See also the* 290*th Letter of the* 2*d Vol. pag.* 545.

[*C*] *It must be considered, whether Passion has not too great a Share, in the malicious Turn, which is observable in his Description of* Blondel.] There being many Readers, who desire to find, in a Dictionary, not only an Abridgment of Mens Lives, but also what is said of their Manners and Character; I think I shall not be blamed for transcribing some Passages out of Mr *Lamy*'s Book. 'He is one of 'our most ancient Doctors, *says he* (6), *speaking of* 'Blondel, and passes for a learned Man with some. 'He has read much, and has a happy Memory. 'He can decide very well how a *Greek* Word in *Hippocrates* and *Galen* is to be read. He idolizes them in such a manner, that he will hear of nothing but what they have said, and is better pleased with old Errors, than new Truths. He knows the Names of Plants, like the Gardeners. He knows their Virtues after the Galenic manner. He measures the degrees of Cold and Heat in them, with an exactness, which surprizes every Body. He cultivates many of them very carefully. He is so averse to Chymistry, that he cannot hear a word of it without exclaiming against it. He has a very great Inclination to teach, without any Interest, and without being obliged to it. I assure you, that I have seen him take the pains to come every Day from St *Denis*'s Gate to our Schools, for a single Scholar, who left him at last because he was not learned enough to understand him, and because the *Hebrew* and the *Greek*, of which his Discourse was full, were Languages not all, or but little, known to him. It is true, this Gentleman is very curious in Etymologies, and endeavours to collect, in his Treatises, all that he formerly read. Insomuch that, in a 'Book, which he wrote about vomiting, and Emetic Remedies, he inserted a Preface concerning 'Chymistry; and, to find the Author of it, he went 'back as far as the Times, which preceded the 'Flood, and made a Query, Whether *Tubal-Cain* 'was not the Inventor of it; because it is said of 'him, in the fourth Chapter of *Genesis*, that he 'was an Artificer in Brass and Iron.' Mr *Lamy* adds, that Dr *Blondel* accused him, in a full Auditory, of advancing an Heresy, because, as he was disputing against a *Thesis*, wherein the Motion of the Heavens was maintained, he objected, that the Rapidity of the *Primum Mobile* would be incredible, since, according to the System of *Copernicus*, the Equator of the Earth moves as fast as a Cannon-Ball. The Accused answered, 'That there might be an error in the Supposition, which he made; 'but that it could not be said, that there was any 'Heresy in it, since it is not a Point of Religion 'to be able to calculate well.' Dr *Blondel* replied, 'That it was not a matter of Physic; I granted it, 'says Mr *Lamy*, and, thereupon, a Doctor taking 'my part, told him, That since the Proposition was 'inserted in the *Thesis*, I might dispute against it. 'Well then, replied Mr *Blondel*, let him prove, 'that the Earth turns round; but let him prove 'it medicinally. I confess, I could not do it, and 'I was forced to stop there. An ingenious Student of Physic, who never had any Quarrel 'with Dr *Blondel*, nor any reason to impose any 'thing upon him, assured me, that he once said, 'in our Schools, that all those, who make use of the '*Chinchina* (or *Cortex Peruvianus*) commit a mortal Sin, and that they make an implicit Pact with the 'Devil. And, to shew, that the Cure, which is 'obtained by That Remedy, is magical; it ought 'to be observed, *said he*, that it works on all sorts 'of Tempers, and that, after a certain Time, the 'Disease returns, which has been acknowledged 'by all those, who have wrote against Magicians, 'to be the true Character of a Diabolical Cure.'

(6) *See the* 4*th Letter prefixed to his Anatomical Discourses, printed at* Rouen 1675.

[*D*] *His Death was mentioned in the* Mercure Galant.] These are Mr *de Visé*'s Words: 'The Faculty of Physicians of *Paris* enjoys, at present, a 'great Repose by the Death of Dr *Blondel*. He 'was the only one, who remained obstinately bent 'against the general Approbation of *Antimony*, the 'good Effects whereof he opposed, having so much 'troubled That learned Company for thirty Years, 'that they seemed to be always divided. As it 'is likely, that his Opinions will die with him, 'there is reason to hope, that Union and Peace 'will again be established among so many civil Persons (7).' It is certain, that, in many places, the Death of one Professor is more effectual for the Restoration of Peace, than the Mediations of an hundred Assemblies: But can any one be sure, that This great Disturber of the Public Repose will not soon be succeeded by others? These kind of People have no end; *non avulso non deficit alter*. Since Mankind must be unhappy in this World, these sort of Persons are necessary, They are essential Parts of Civil Society.

(7) Mercure Galant, *Sept.mber*, 1682. *pag.* 25, 26.

[*E*] *The Books, which he promised the Public.*] In *April* 1657, his Treatise *de Pleuritide* wanted but three Months of being finished (8). The Author was come to the Chapter *de Purgatione*, which was

(8) Patin, *Letter* 113 Vol. I. *pag.* 430.

I must not omit, that the great Care he had taken to make himself Master of Grammatical and Critical Learning, and to acquire a wild Erudition, did not hinder him from storing himself with the most profound Cunning of a malicious Persecutor [*F*], and from knowing how to conceal the Violence of his Temper under That Cover. He pretended to oppose Novelties, only out of Zeal for Truth, and for the Glory of God. He must not be confounded with another FRANCIS BLONDEL, a Physician, who wrote a Book on the Baths of *Aix la Chapelle*, entituled *Thermarum Aquisgranensium & Porcetanarum Descriptio: congruorum quoque ac salubrium usuum balneationis & potationis elucidatio.* It was printed at *Aix*, in the Year 1671, in 12mo.

was to be a general Method, and to contain *fine and uncommon things* de orgasmo Hipp. *and upon the Explication of the Twenty second Aphorism, Sect.* 1. Here is what *Patin* says in another place: 'The second of *November*, in the Morning, we 'made a new Dean, to wit, Monsieur *Blondel*, 'which the *Antimonian* Flock is very much asto-'nished at, and sorry for. He is thought to be 'the Author of the *Alethophanes*, a curious Piece, 'as you know, against *Antimony*, and the chief '*Antimonials*, and principally against *Guenaut, des 'Fougerais, Ramsant, Mauvilain, S. Jaques*, and '*Thevart* (9).' See the Remarks [*B*] and [*C*], concerning the Treatise *de Vomitu*.

(9) *Letter* 124, *dated* Novem. 8. 1658. Vol. I. p. 483.

[*F*] *He acquired the Cunning of a malicious Persecutor.*] If any one is not satisfied with the following Testimony, I cannot help it. 'To finish my 'first Draught, *says Mr* Lamy (10), I will tell you, 'that he values himself much on Integrity; that 'he seems to trample all worldly Interests under-'foot, in order to maintain our Statutes in force; 'that all he says, or does, is always grounded up-'on a very laudable Motive, and that he never does 'any one harm, but out of Charity.' Dr *Blondel* was one of the eight Examiners, which were appointed Mr *Lamy*; *and he desired* one of them *to pretend business, and not to be at the Assembly*: and then he stopped the Decision, under pretence, that they were but seven. He shewed some Remarks, larger than Mr *Lamy*'s Book, which tended to hinder the Impression. He said, that Mr *Lamy*'s *Opinions were against* Galen, *against the Statutes, and against the Holy Scripture.* The absent Examiner was so much desired to come on a set-day to the Assembly, that he would have been actually there, if Dr *Blondel* had not sent him word, that there would be no Conference. Mr *Lamy* went early to the Place of Conference, which was at Dr *Blondel*'s House; he waited two Hours, and was very much tired to hear him say nothing, though never so trivial, without calling *Hypocrates, Plato*, and *Aristotle* to witness. Dr *Blondel* being told, that some body asked for him, he went out of his Chamber, and came in again a little while after, to tell Mr *Lamy*, that the Doctor, whom they stayed for, sent word, that he could not come. 'He blamed That Gentleman's Negligence very 'much, *continues Mr* Lamy, who failed always to 'come to the Place of Assignation, and gave me 'so much trouble. ------- See the Honesty and 'Integrity of this Gentleman, who has always 'God and the Laws in his Mouth to justify his 'Actions.' When it was thought that all these shifts were at an end, he made use of this; he presented his Remarks, 'and by an Artifice, which 'cannot be sufficiently detested, he brought some 'Propositions, separate from others, which rectified 'them, and which, in truth, could not pass 'alone.' This raised a Contest; the places of the Book were read; and, after much noise, *it was resolved, that the Book should pass, provided the Faculty of Divinity approved of it.* This was sufficient for *Blondel* to obtain his Ends; for the Diviners, who read the Book, *would neither subscribe to, nor against, it*: And Mr *Lamy* would not engage to prove to them, that his Book did not contain any Heresy. 'Upon what a Sea should I 'embark? *says he*: I should enrage it's Waves in 'such great numbers against me, that they would 'infallibly swallow me up, though unjustly. The 'Multitude, destitute of Judgment, would think 'they sought for the Interest of Heaven, and 'should offer a pleasing Sacrifice to God, if they 'made me the Victim of it.'

(10) Lami, *Letter 4. before his* Discours Anat.

BLONDEL (Francis), The King's Professor of Mathematics and Architecture, was very much esteemed for the Knowledge he had acquired in all that belongs to That Profession. He had been Governour of *Lewis Henry de Lomenie Count de Brienne*; and he accompanied That young Lord, who had already obtained the Reversion of the Office of Minister, and Secretary of State; I say, he accompanied him in his Travels, which began in the Month of *July*, 1652, and ended in the Month of *November*, 1655. The *Latin* Relation of it has been twice printed [*A*]. He had moreover some considerable Employments in the War, both by Sea and Land; and he managed some Negotiations with foreign Princes; insomuch that he attained to the Dignity of a *Marshal de Camp*, and to That of Counsellor of State. He had the Honour of being chosen to teach the *Dauphin* Mathematics; and it is He, who gave the Draught of the new Gates erected at *Paris*, since

[*A*] *The* Latin *Relation of it has been twice printed.*] The first Edition is of the Year 1660, and contains only Thirty nine Pages in 12mo. The second was procured two Years after by *Charles Patin*, and contains Ninety six Pages in 8vo; the *Index Geographicus* (1), which was added to it, being comprehended in it, and without reckoning many *Latin* Verses, which the most excellent Poets compose in praise of the young Lord, who performed These Travels. But if, on the one hand, many things were added to the second Edition; on the other, a very singular Passage was cut off from it. It is That, where the Author reports, that, in crossing the Forests of *Westrogothia* on Horseback, they stopped a while at *Lincopen*, to look upon a Column of Stone, wherein there was a Hole designed for a use, which cannot decently be expressed in Vulgar Language: but here is the *Latin* of it. 'Vestrogoticis silvis equitantes inducti, Lin-'copiæ, ob loci religionem non omittendæ, tan-'tillum substitimus: ibi cippus lapideus, pertusus, 'explorandæ maritorum membrositati: qui pares 'foraminâ, approbantur, impares excluduntur con-'nubiali toro: inde matrimonia aut stant aut ca-'dunt, pro modulo peculii (2).' The Preface to the second Edition informs us why This Passage was suppressed. 'Unum te moneo, huic Editioni, cui 'nihil deest, voluisse Lomenium aliquid deesse; 'quod scilicet in Westrogoticis silvis, per errabunda 'vestigia, morosæ viæ pellendis tædiis juveniliter 'luserat, sapientiorem ætatem & pudorem suppres-'sisse (3). —— *Take notice of one Thing*; viz. *that* 'Lomenius *would have This Edition, which is* 'very compleat, *to be imperfect in one Particular*, 'and that *discreeter Age, and Modesty, conspired* 'to suppress *what he had jocosely related, to take off* 'from the Tediousness of a Journey through the 'Forests of Westrogothia.' The Reason of the Suppression

(1) *Made by* Nicolas Sanson.

(2) Ludovici Henrici Lomenii Itinerar. pag. 182. *Edit.* 1660.

(3) Ibid. in Præfat. Edit. 2062.

since the *Dutch* War of 1672, and of all the Embellishments, which have been added to That Capital City of the Kingdom (*a*). He wrote also some of the Inscriptions, which are to be seen on Those new Gates; for he was as well versed in the Knowledge of good Literature, as in Geometry; as he made appear by his Comparison of *Pindar* and *Horace*. He has been Director of the Academy of Architecture, and a Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences. We have many Books of His [*B*]. He died, the first of *February*, 1686 (*b*).

(*a*) *See the Description of the City of Paris, printed in* 1684.

(*b*) De Witte, in Diario Biograph.

Suppression is a very good one, since the thing was not related, because That Custom was actually observed in That Place, but only as a witty Conceit invented during the Fatigues of a troublesome Journey. So that the Readers had been deceived, and, besides, had been presented with a very obscene Account, and which was very injurious to the Inhabitants of That Country; and consequently there was all the Reason in the World to strike out That Part of the Relation. If any one should ask me, *ought it to have been left out, if the thing were true?* I would freely answer, that we must distinguish between Books and Books, and between Authors and Authors. There are some Persons, whose Character requires an extraordinary Gravity, and who deserve praise for making a scruple to relate a true Story of this Nature; and there are some Books, wherein it would be no ways proper to insert such Facts: But I do not think, that a Layman, who writes the History of a Country, or the Relation of his Travels, is obliged to be silent about a public Custom, under pretence, that it is ridiculous, obscene, and of an ill example. If you lay down a contrary Maxim, you will find, that it will be necessarily concluded, and without many gradual Consequences, that the Labour of Historians is bad, and that their Profession ought to be placed among the unlawful and pernicious Arts; for it is impossible to write History, without relating infamous and abominable Actions. Let us remember, that the most rigid Critics do not blame the Historians, who mention all the Particulars of a villainous Murther, or of a horrid Treason: and that they would not blame those, who should truly say, that, in some Towns, they choose, for their Burgomasters, those, who have practised such and such brutish ways of making themselves drunk, that unless a Man has been able to bear such a Trial, he is not made a Consul, *&c.* They only condemn the Relations, which mention some Customs contrary to Chastity: For example, They would condemn a Writer, who should give the Particulars of the Practice of the *Congress*, which has been at last so wisely abolished by the Parliament of *Paris*; and They do not consider, that Their Criticisms fall upon the ancient Fathers, who very ingenuously represented the horrid Impurities practised among the *Pagans* and *Heretics*. However it be, I will venture to say, that, if the Column of Stone, mentioned in the Travels of Mr *de Lomenie*, had actually served as a Standard to judge of the Validity or Invalidity of Marriages by; it might not only have been related in the first, but also in the second Edition; and that, therefore, the only true reason of suppressing it in the second, is, because it was a meer Fable. I maintain, that, supposing such a thing was practised by public Authority, Mr *Blondel* had all manner of right to inform his Readers of it. Nay, I maintain, that some Inquiries might have been made about the Original of this Custom, and inserted in an History; I say, one might have inquired into the Inconveniencies, which had occasioned this manner of distinguishing Those, who were incapable of Marriage, from Those, who were fit for it; what sort of Processes there were, before, between Husbands and Wives; what Consultations were held to prevent them, and to invent this foolish Remedy; for, in short, the History of Men, of their Follies and Extravagancies, and of the infinite Varieties, which are to be found in the Laws, and Usages of Nations, are not things, of which the Readers ought to be frustrated, and from which we can reap no benefit. It will not be amiss to consider, whether what has been said of Philosophers may not be applied to Legislators: It has been said, that there is nothing so absurd, but has been maintained by some Philosophers (4). *Huetius* inserted, in the Relation of his Journey to *Stockholm*, the ridiculous manner of electing the Burgomaster of a certain place called *Hardenburg*. He says, that, on the Day of the Election, the Burghers place themselves round a Table, and lean their Chins, furnished with a long Beard, upon it; after which, a Louse is fairly put in the Middle of the Table, and he, into whose Beard the Louse creeps, is chosen Burgomaster. My Translation is so negligent, that I must set down the excellent Verses of The Author:

Nec Hardenbergam fere sub nocte venimus:
Ridetur nobis veteri mos ductus ab ævo.
Quippe ubi deligitur revoluto tempore Consul,
Barbati circa mensam statuuntur acernam,
Hispidaque imponunt attenti menta Quirites:
Porrigitur series barbarum desuper ingens.
Bestia, pes, mordax, sueta inter crescere sordes,
Ponitur in medio; tum cujus numine Divûm,
Barbam adiit, festo huic gratantur murmure Patres,
Atque celebratur subjecta per oppida Consul (5).

(4) Nescio quomodo nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philosophorum. *Cicero de Divinat. lib. ii. cap.* 58. Nemo agrotus quicquam somniat tam infandum quod non aliquis dicat Philosophus. *Varro in Eumenid. apud Nonium voce* infans, *pag.* 56.

(5) Huetius, in Itinere Suecico, pag. 7. *Edit.* 1682.

I cannot tell whether the witty Conceit, which Mr *Blondel* inserted in his first Edition, was grounded on some Jest of the Inhabitants of the Country. It may be, that some, considering the Hole of That old Column, seriously inquired into the Reason of it (6), and that others, being used to jest upon every thing, invented what he said. It is well known, that silly Jesters will tell, in their free Conversations, I know not how many Stories concerning Complaints of Disproportion, brought before the Courts of Justice by married Persons; and that they falsly suppose, that the Lawyers, who plead such Causes, do not deny the Disproportion, and are contented to maintain reciprocally, that the fault is not to be imputed to their Client, but to the adverse Party; and that they make use of Gestures or Signs, when Words may seem too impudent. *Sweden* might have had such Jesters, who occasioned the Story, related by Mr *Blondel*.

(6) *The learned* Suarez, *Bishop of* Vaison, *wrote a very learned Dissertation* De foraminibus lapidum.

[*B*] *We have many Books of His.*] *Notes on Savot's* Architecture; *A Course of Architecture*, in three Volumes, *in Folio*; *A Course of Mathematics*; *The Art of throwing Bombs*; The *History of the* Roman *Calendar*; A *new way of Fortifying Places*, &c. I must not forget to observe, as to this last Work, that The Author, having presented it to the King his Master, his Majesty would not suffer it to be published, before the Fortifications, which he caused to be made in divers places, according to this new Method, were finished; it not being just, that Strangers should have the Benefit of it before That time. For the same reason, the Impression of the Art of throwing Bombs was put off till another Time, when the Author shewed the Manuscript of it to his Majesty, in 1675 (7). This Precaution has been of no use to those of *Dieppe*, this present Year 1694.

(7) *See at well for this, as for the Body of the Article, Mr* Blondel's *Books, or the Extracts published by the Journalists. See the* Acta Eruditor. *in* 1684. *pag.* 225. *in* 1685. *pag.* 184, 438. Nouvel. de la Rep. des Let. 1684. *pag.* 427, & 745. *Edit.* 2.

BLONDUS (Flavius), born at *Forli* in *Italy* in the Year 1388 [*A*], applied himself so closely to polite Learning, and with such Success, that, going to *Rome* at a time, when learned Men were more scarce, than They have been since, he

[*A*] *He was born in the year* 1388.] I infer this from his Epitaph, in which we read, that he lived Seventy five years, and that he died the fourth of *June* 1463. *Vossius* relates it, as taken from the Description of *Rome*, by *George Fabricius* (1). Father *Labbe*, in his *Thesaurus Epitaphiorum* (2), and *Schraderus*

(1) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 386.

(2) *See* Pope Blount Censura Autor. pag. 328.

he immediatcly met with Patrons even among the Cardinals, who recommended him to Pope *Eugenius* IV, and procured him the Place of Secretary to that Pope (*a*). He was continued in this Employ by the Succeſſors of *Eugenius*, down to *Pius* II, in whoſe Pontificate he died, on the fourth of *June*, 1463. He compoſed ſeveral Books (*b*), and, among others, an *Hiſtory*, from the Year 400 down to 1440 (*c*). He does not come up to That Purity of Stile, which appeared in ſome Hiſtorians of the XVIth Century, nor does he deſerve any great Credit; for however ſincere we may ſuppoſe him to have been, we muſt conſider, that he followed deceitful Guides (*d*), and that he had more in view the collecting a great Number of Facts, than examining into the Truth of them [*B*]. It would, however, be ungrateful and unjuſt to deny, that his Labours have been of uſe to the Learned World, and to forget the Difficulties he encountred, being almoſt the Firſt, who attempted to reſtore the *Roman* Antiquities. Though he had the Charge of a Family, he behaved like a true Philoſopher with reſpect to Riches: he did not endeavour to acquire them, and would not leave any Portion of Inheritance to his Sons (*e*) [*C*]; for, finding them grown up, and able to take care for themſelves, he left all he had to his Daughters. They, who would know the ſeveral Judgments paſſed upon his Books, may conſult the *Eponymologium* of *Magius* (*f*), *Hankius de Scriptoribus Rerum Romanarum* (*g*), and the *Cenſura celebriorum Autorum* of Sir *Thomas-Pope Blount* (*h*). Some pretend we ought to call him *Blondus Flavius*, and not *Flavius Blondus*. Theſe two Names are of the ſame Signification.

(*a*) Boiſſard in Iconib. apud Pope Blount, pag. 327.

(*b*) *See the Titles of them in Moreri.*

(*c*) *See* Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 585.

(*d*) *See in* Pope Blount, pag. 328, *the Paſſage of* Giſanius.

(*e*) *He left five, who were all Learned, according to* Leand. Albert. Deſcript. Ital. pag. 478.

(*f*) Pag. 134.

(*g*) Tom. I. pag. 202. & Tom. II. pag. 343.

(*h*) Pag. 327, 328.

(3) *See* Hankius *Schradcrus*, in his *Italian* Monuments (3), relate it after the ſame manner. Others relate it as if it gave *Blondus* but Seventy one years of Life (4); but This, I believe, proceeds from an Error of the Preſs, copied ſeveral Times, which we ought not to take the advantage of, to ſupport what *Paul Jovius* has ſaid, that he died at the age of Seventy years (5). I ſhall occaſionally remark a like Miſtake, which occurs in *Voſſius*: The Printer has put CIↃCCCCLVIII inſtead of CIↃCCCCLXIII (6); for the queſtion is about the year, which *John Gobelin* points out, in ſpeaking of the Death of *Flavius Blondus*. Now *Voſſius* knew very well, that this year is the Sixty third of the XVth Century. *Sandius* has not obſerved this Fault (7). *Magirus*, in giving an account of the Epitaph, and wherever elſe he ſpeaks of the year of *Blondus*'s Death, puts 1363, inſtead of 1463 (8).

(4) *See* Hankius ubi ſupra, & Tom. I. pag. 202, & *Magirus in Eponymolog.* pag. 135.

(5) Sandius *ſeems to have done it.* Not. in Voſſium de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 219.

(6) Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 585.

(7) Sandius in Not. in Voſſium de Hiſt. Latinis.

(8) Magiri Eponymolog. pag. 135.

[*B*] *He had more in view the collecting a great number of Facts, than examining into the Truth of Them.*] The Author of the Hiſtory of what paſſed in the Times of *Pius* II paſſes this Judgment on him. ‘ Blondus Flavius — ab Honorio Arcadioque ‘ Cæſaribus (quo tempore inclinaſſe Romanum Im- ‘ perium memorant) uſque ad ætatem ſuam Univerſalem ſcripſit Hiſtoriam. Opus certe laborioſum ‘ & utile, verum expolitore emendatoreque dignum. ‘ Procul Blondus ab eloquentia priſca fuit, neque ſatis ‘ diligenter quæ ſcripſit examinavit; non quam ‘ vera, ſed quam multa ſcriberet, curam habuit (9). ‘ —— Extant & alia Blondi Opera non parvæ utilitatis, quamvis cautè legenda ſunt, ne falſa pro veris ‘ accipias; in pluribus enim erraſſe deprehenditur ‘ (10). —— *Blondus Flavius* —— *wrote an Univerſal Hiſtory, from the Emperors* Honorius *and* Arcadius (*at which time the Roman Empire began* ‘ *to decline*) *down to his own Time. The work is certainly laborious, and uſeful, but wants poliſhing and correcting.* Blondus *does not come up to the ancient Eloquence, nor did he carefully examine what he wrote, being more ſollicitous how many, than how true, the Facts were, of which he wrote.* ‘ —— *There are extant other Works of* Blondus *of great uſe; but they muſt be read with Caution, leſt you take for true what is falſe; for he is detected of Error in many Things.*’

(9) Jo. Gobelinus Comment. Pii II. lib. xi. p. 310.

(10) Idem ibidem.

[*C*] *He did not endeavour to enrich himſelf, nor would leave his Son any portion of his Inheritance.*] Let the Author, whom I quote in the preceding Remark, go on. ‘ Mortuus & Romæ pauper, ut ‘ Philoſophum decuit; familiam bene inſtitutum reliquit utriuſque ſexus. Patrimonium quod habuit ‘ tenue dotium cauſa inter Fœminas diviſit; Maſculis ‘ præter doctrinam bonoſque mores nihil reliquit. ‘ Id morienti ſat fuit ejus ætatis filios dimiſiſſe, qui ‘ ſibi ipſis conſulere poſſent (11). —— *He died at* Rome *poor, as became a Philoſopher; He left a well regulated Family both of Sons and Daughters; The ſmall Patrimony, he had, he divided among the Females, leaving the Males nothing but Learning and Good Manners. It was ſatisfaction enough to him upon his Death-bed, that his Sons were of an Age capable of providing for themſelves.*’

(11) Idem ibidem.

BOCCACE (JOHN), one of the moſt polite and learned Writers of his Age, was born at *Certaldo* [*A*] in *Tuſcany*, in the Year 1313. His Father, though a poor Peaſant, burthened with a Family, deſigned him for ſomething above his Birth: This he reſolved upon, after having obſerved, that the Child's Phyſiognomy and Inclinations promiſed much. He deſigned him for Trade, and put him to a *Florentine* Merchant, who carried him to *Paris*. *Boccace* ſerved this Maſter ſix Years, and was well beloved by him; for he underſtood keeping Accompts [*B*]; but

[*A*] *He was born at* Certaldo.] *Betuſſi*, who is here my Author, affirms it (1); ſeveral others ſay the ſame; but I do not know how to reconcile This with a Paſſage of *Boccace*. It is That, where he mentions the River, which runs near the Caſtle of *Certaldo* (2). ‘ I willingly celebrate, ſays he (3), ‘ the Memory of That Caſtle, which was the place ‘ of the Nativity, and Abode, of my Anceſtors, be- ‘ fore the City of *Florence* received them into the ‘ Number of it's Citizens.’ Would he ſpeak thus, if he was born there? *Betuſſi* could not be ignorant of This Paſſage; for he tranſlated, into *Italian*, the Treatiſe from whence I have taken it. Perhaps, if he had attended to it, he would not have ſaid, that the City of *Florence* gave *Boccace* the freedom of a Citizen. *Quello per le ſue degne virtù fu fatto cittadino Fiorentino* (4). Would not this Gift have been ſuperfluous to a Man, whoſe Anceſtors were *Florentines*? *Sabellicus* pretends, that *Boccace* was of *Florence*, and of the Family of *Certaldo*; *Florentinus Certaldæ domo* (5). Let not theſe Difficulties trouble you, ſince *Boccace* affirms, in the Epitaph, which he compoſed for himſelf, and which is on his Tomb, that he was born at *Certaldo*.

(1) Giuſeppe Betuſſi, *in the Life of* Boccace.

(2) *It is called* Elſa.

(3) Boccace, *in the Treatiſe of Rivers, at the Word* Elſa.

(4) Betuſſi ib.

(5) Sabellicus lib. ix. apud Betuſſi, ibid.

[*B*] Boccace —— *was well beloved by his Maſter, for he underſtood keeping Accompts.*] This Love did not continue. *Boccace* being more fit to be a Wit, than a Bookkeeper, was diſguſted at Trade, and neglected his Maſter's Buſineſs, who, being diſpleaſed with his Conduct, ſent him back into his Country. *Egli odiando tale eſſercitio, & poco curando i negotii del Padrone, da lui fu licenciato, & rimandata alla patria* (6). I wonder more at this Merchant's patience, than at his ſending him away: I ſay, I wonder, that he could keep a Youth ſix Years, who aſpired only to Poetry; an Inclina-

(6) Benvenuto da Imola apud Betuſſi, in vita Boccacii.

but he grew weary of this Employment; and, as he shewed an aptneſs for Study, They made him change his Occupation, and learn the Canon-Law, as being a Calling, which might enrich him. He loſt almoſt as much time in this ſecond Employ, as in the firſt; it did not pleaſe him, and he thought of nothing but Poetry; his Father's Orders, the Reproofs, and Exhortations, of his Friends, did not check his natural Inclination to verſify, and philoſophize [C]. It was in vain to tell him, that it was not the way to make his Fortune, and that he would deceive the Hopes, which the good Man, his Father, had conceived, to find himſelf one Day at eaſe by the Help of ſuch a Son: Notwithſtanding all this, he continued to have an Averſion to the Lawyer's Trade. However, he could not free himſelf from this unpleaſant Study, 'till after his Father's Death; he was forced to put a Reſtraint upon himſelf till That Time: But, as ſoon as he attained to Independency, he totally renounced his former Occupations, and gave himſelf over to the Reading of the Poets. He put himſelf under the Diſcipline of *Petrarch*; he ſought

tion much leſs agreeable to This Maſter's Intereſt, than the reading of the *Compleat Merchant*, and the knowledge of a Banker's Trade.

Cent francs au denier cinq, combien ſont-ils? vingt livres.

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Cinq & quatre ſont neuf, otez deux, reſte ſept. (7).

(7) Boileau, Sat. viii. ver. 184, 214.

Add an hundred Francs *to five* Deniers, *what is the Sum Total? Twenty* Livres. —— Five *and* Four *make* nine; *take away* Two; *there remain* Seven.

Theſe are the Sciences, with which young *Boccace* ought to have been in love, if he would have continued in his Maſter's Favour. But, on the other ſide, it was a good ſign of his becoming a Poet, to ſee him have an averſion to ſuch Calculations.

Romani pueri longis rationibus aſſem
Diſcunt in partes centum diducere. Dicat
Filius Albini, ſi de quincunce remota eſt
Uncia, quid ſuperat? poteras dixiſſe, Triens: heus,
Rem poteris ſervare tuam: redit uncia: quid fit?
Semis. Ad hæc animos ærugo & cura peculi
Cùm ſemel imbuerit, ſperamus carmina fingi
Poſſe linenda cedro, & levi ſervanda cupreſſo (8)?

(8) Horat. de Art. Poet. ver. 325.

Our Roman Youth is bred another way,
And taught no Arts but Thoſe of Uſury;
And the glad Father glories in his Child,
When he can ſubdivide a Fraction.
Can Souls, who by their Parents, from their Birth,
Have been devoted thus to ruſt and gain,
Be capable of high and generous Thoughts?
Can Verſes, writ by ſuch an Author, live?

Lord ROSCOMMON.

(C) *His Father's Orders — did not check his natural Inclination to verſify.*] Conſult him in the fifteenth Book of the Genealogy of the Gods: 'Faſtidiebat hæc animus, *ſays he* (9), adeò ut in 'neutrum horum officiorum, aut præceptoris doctrina aut genitoris autoritate, qua novis mandatis 'angebar continuè, aut amicorum precibus ſeu objurgationibus inclinari poſſet, in tantum illum 'poëtica trahebat affectio. —— *I diſliked them ſo much, that neither the Precepts of a Teacher, the Authority of an urgent Father, nor the Intreaties or Reproofs of Friends, could incline me to either of theſe Employs; ſo fond was I of Poetry.*' What he adds concerning the Inclination, which he had from his childhood, to Fictions, is curious: 'Nec 'ex novo ſumpto conſilio in poëſim animus totis 'tendebat pedibus: quinimò à teneriſſima diſpoſi'tione ibat impulſus, nam ſatis memor ſum, nondum 'ad ſeptimum ætatis annum deveneram, nec dum 'fictiones videram, nondum doctores aliquos adive'ram, vix prima literarum elementa cognoveram, '& ecce ipſa impellente natura fingendi deſiderium 'affuit, & ſi nullius eſſent momenti, tamen aliquas 'fictiunculas edidi, non enim ſuppetebant tenellæ 'ætatis officio tanti vires ingenii (10). —— *Nor 'was it a new Inclination, that turned my Thoughts 'wholly to Poetry, but a Diſpoſition of long ſtanding; 'for I very well remember, that, before ſeven Years 'of Age, when as yet I had ſeen no Fictions, had 'applied to no Maſters, and ſcarce knew my A, B, C, 'I had a Natural Talent for Fiction, and produced 'ſome trifling Tales, my tender Age not being arri'ved to ſuch a ſtrength of Genius.*' He obſerves, that he ſoon acquired the Reputation of a Poet, and even before he knew the Rules of the Art: and he complains of his Father, who, thinking of nothing but what is profitable, would not ſuffer him to apply himſelf to That Study. 'He is the 'cauſe *ſays he*, that I am neither a Merchant 'nor a Canoniſt, as he wiſhed me to be; and that 'I have loſt the Advantage of ſignalizing my ſelf 'in Poetry.' 'Mirabile dictu, cùm nondum noviſſem, quibus ſeu quòt pedibus carmen incederet, 'me etiam prò viribus renitente, quod nondùm ſum, 'poëta ferè à notis omnibus vocatus fui: nec dubito dum ætas in hoc aptior erat, ſi æquo genitor 'tuliſſet animo, quin inter celebres poëtas unus 'evaſiſſem: verùm dum in lucroſas artes primò, 'inde in lucroſam facultatem ingenium flectere 'conarer meum, factum eſt, ut nec negociator ſim, 'nec evaderem Canoniſta, & perderem poëtam eſſe 'conſpicuum (11).' It is eaſy to imagine the old Man's Trouble: he was not rich, and he found, that he had a Son capable of advancing himſelf; but, inſtead of finding in him any Inclination for gainful Employments, he ſaw his Mind wholly bent upon Philoſophy and Poetry: which are things generally contrary to the Acquiſition of Riches. 'Piacendogli ſommamente legere e intendere i buoni 'poeti, a quali era molto inchinato, e in tutte le 'ſue attioni la vita philoſophica imitando. Nondimeno queſto ſuo propoſito gli era non impedito, 'ma quaſi vietato dal padre, il quale ſi perche era 'male agiato, come ancho perche giudicava gli ſtudi 'della humanità e Philoſophia congiunti con la poeſia 'potergli dare poco utili, deſiderava e voleva che 'ſi metteſſe ad altra profeſſione, per lo mezzo della 'quale poteſſe ſoſtentar ſe e dare a jutto a lui (12).' This puts me in mind of a Paſſage of Mr *Boileau*.

(9) Boccacius, de Genealog. Deorum, lib. xv. apud Papyr. Maſſonem, Elog. Tom. II. pag. 188.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Id ibid. pag. 189.

(12) Retuſſi, vita di Boccaccio.

Fils, frere, oncle, couſin, beau frere de Greffier,
Pouvant charger mon bras d'une utile liaſſe,
J'allay loin du Palais errer ſur le Parnaſſe.
La Famille en pâlit, & vit en fremiſſant
Dans la poudre du Greffe un Poëte naiſſant.
On vid avec horreur une Muſe effrenée
Dormir chez un Greffier la graſſe matinée.
Deſlors à la richeſſe il ſalut renoncer (13).

(13) Boileau Epitre v. ver. 112.

My Father, Brother, Uncle, Regiſters,
My Couſin, Brother-in-law, with equal Cares,
Held the ſame Poſt, and I the ſame with Theirs.
Soon weary of the muſty Rolls, I fled
The Court, and turned to brighter Things my Head.
I ſought the Nymphs, that haunt the Aonian Floods,
And early ſtray'd in the Parnaſſian Woods.
The Family beheld, with rage and Scorn,
A Poet in the duſty Office born.
To them the lawleſs Muſe with horrour ſnor'd
On Scrolls, o'er which with ſo much gain they por'd.

OZELL.

fought every where for other Masters, and, not having a sufficient Revenue to maintain himself, he sold his Patrimony, and exhausted it in such a Manner, that he stood in need of the Charity of others [*D*]. He caused *Homer* to be translated into *Latin* for his own use, and procured a Professorship at *Florence* for a *Grecian*, to explain That Poet [*E*]. He did not addict himself so much to Poetry, as to neglect other Studies: He undertook also to read the Bible; but, being an old Man, he only run it over, and thought, that, GOD having called him to the Culture of Poetry, he ought to dwell on That [*F*]. The Republic of *Florence* honoured him with the Freedom of a Citizen(*a*), and employed him in public Affairs, and particularly to negotiate the Return of *Petrarch*. They sent him to him; but *Petrarch* not only did not return to *Florence*, but made *Boccace* also resolve to leave That Place, considering the Factions, which divided it. I believe it was with no great Difficulty he inspired him with This Design; for *Boccace* was a Man, who loved Quiet, and would not join with any Faction. 'A Person, who is thus inclined, acts but a mean part in a divided City. Having left *Florence*, he rambled over

(*a*) *See the Remark* [*A*].

[*D*] *He sought every where for other Masters --- and exhausted his Patrimony in such a manner, that he stood in need of the Charity of others.*] He went into *Sicily*, to hear the Lectures of a *Calabrian* (14), who had the Reputation of being very learned in the *Greek* Language (15). He praises very much *Andalus de Nigro*, a Native of *Genoa*, who had taught him Astronomy (16). We shall see, hereafter, that he was acquainted with a learned Man of *Thessalonica*: the following Words shew that he was reduced very low; 'Ma non posendo il povero poeta col debile patrimonio, che quasi gia 'se n'era andato lungamente piu negli studi continuare, come disperato se ne stava quasi per pigliare novo partito & senza dubbio sarebbe stato 'a cio constretto dalla necessita: ma il divino Petrarcha, che molto l'amava, incominciò sovenirlo 'in diverse cose, ajutandolo secondo i bisogni di 'denari, e provedendogli di libri, & altre necessarie 'cose: onde sempre egli lo chiamò padre e bone-'fattor suo (17). This informs us, that, if *Petrarch* had not supplied poor *Boccace* with Money and Books, and such like Assistances, the latter must *have been obliged to give over his Studies, by* reason of his Poverty, and to take some other course. Note, that *Petrarch* bequeathed him, by his Will, *fifty Florins for a Winter-Suit, that he might follow his Studies commodiously* (18).

(14) *It was without doubt the Monk* Barlaam.

(15) Betussi, ib.

(16) Boccacius, de Geneal. Deor. lib. xv. cap. 6. *See* Papyrius Masso, Elog. Tom. II. pag. 195.

(17) Betussi, ib.

(18) Don Eugenio Gamurrini, Abbate Camaldolese, Istoria genealogi ca delle famiglie nobili Toscane e Umbre, *in the* Journal des Sçavans, *Febr.* 7. 1678, pag. 58, *of the* Dutch *Edition.*

[*E*] *He procured a Professorship for a* Grecian.] This Man was of *Thessalonica*, and his Name was *Leontius Pylatus*. Let us see what *Boccace* says of him: 'Ego, Leontium Pylatum à Venetiis occi-'duam Babylonem quærentem à longa peregrina-'tione meis flexi consiliis, in patria tenui, illum in 'propriam domum suscepi, & diu hospitem habui: '& maximo labore meo curavi ut inter doctores 'Florentini studii susciperetur, ei ex publico mer-'cede apposita. Fui equidem ipse insuper, qui 'primus meis sumptibus Homeri libros & alios quos-'dam Græcos in Hetruriam revocavi, ex qua mul-'tis antè sæculis abierant non redituri. Nec in 'Hetruriam tantùm, sed in patriam deduxi. Ipse 'ego fui qui primus ex Latinis à Leontio Pylato 'in privato Iliadem audivi. Ipse insuper fui, qui 'ut legerentur publicè libri Homeri operatus sum: '& esto non satis plenè perceperim, percepi tamen 'quantum potui: nec dubium si permansisset homo 'ille vagus diutiùs penes nos, quin pleniùs per-'cepissem, sed quantulumcumque ex multis didice-'rim, nonnullos tamen præceptoris demonstratione 'crebra integrè intellexi, eosque prout oportunum 'visum est, huic operi miscui (19). —— *My Advice prevailed upon* Leontius Pylatus, *who was going from* Venice *to* Rome, *to lay aside the thoughts of so long a Journey; I kept him at home, I took him into my own house, and entertained him a long time: afterwards I procured him a Professorship at* Florence. *It was owing to me, that the Books of* Homer, *and other* Greek *Authors, were brought back into* Hetruria, *which they had left, never to return. I was the first, among the Latins, who privately heard the* Iliad *of* Homer *from the mouth of* Leontius Pylatus: *I was besides, the Person who procured that* Homer's *Books should be publickly read; and, granting that I did not thoroughly understand him, I understood as much as was in my Power: and I doubt not but I should have had a fuller Knowledge of him, if that rambling Fellow had staid longer among us. However some Things I had a clear conception of, and inserted them in This Work, as Opportunity offered.*' He quotes him in several places of the Genealogy of the Gods; not that This *Pylatus* had written any Books; but *Boccace* had heard him say many things, which he preserved in his Collections. We shall see, in the following Words, part of This *Greek* Doctor's Character. It may easily be concluded from them, that he was a Pedant: 'Leontium Pylatum Thessalonicensem virum, &, 'ut ipse asserit, Barlaæ auditorem, persæpè deduco; 'specta horridus homo est, turpi facie, barba prolixa, & capillitio nigro, & meditatione occupatus 'assidua, moribus incultus, nec satis urbanus homo, 'verùm, uti experientia notum fecit, literarum 'Græcarum doctissimus, & quodammodo Græcarum 'historiarum atque fabularum artiumque inexhaustum, 'esto Latinarum non satis adhuc instructus sit. Hujus 'ego nullum vidi opus, sanè quicquid ex eo recito 'ab eo viva voce referente percepi. Nam eum legentem Homerum, & mecum singulari amicitia 'conversantem ferè tribus annis audivi, nec in-'finitis ab eo recitatis, urgente etiam alia cura ani-'mum, acrior sufficisset memoria, nisi in schedulis 'commendassem. (20). —— *I often consult* Leontius 'Pylatus of Thessalonica, *who was, as he himself tells* 'me, *an Auditor of the Monk* Barlaam: *He is of* 'an hideous Aspect, *has a long Beard, black Hair,* 'and ever buried in Thought; Unpolite, *but very* 'learned in the Greek Tongue, *as Experience* 'shews: *I allow, indeed, he has, as yet, very little* 'knowledge of the Latin. *This Man never wrote* 'any Thing, *and whatever I recite from him passed in* 'Discourse between us. *For I heard him read* 'Homer, *and conversed freely with him almost* 'three Years; *nor could I have remembered the* 'many things, *I have heard from him, my mind* 'being taken up with other cares likewise, *had I* 'not committed them to Writing.

(19) Boccatius, de Geneal. Deor. lib. xv. cap. vii. apud Papyrium Massonem, Elog. Tom. II. pag. 191, 192.

(20) Boccacius, ibid. cap. vi. apud eund. pag. 193.

[*F*] *He undertook also to read the Bible, but, being an old Man, he only run it over.*] Let us set down a Passage of *Betussi*. 'Diede quell' opra 'maggiore che per lui si potesse alla poesia, & an-'cho si pose a studiare nelle sacre lettere; ma 'essendo hoggimai quasi vecchio, si come testi-'monia egli stesso nell' ultimo d'i presenti libri (21) 'dicendo. *Cætera facultatum studia, & si placerent, quoniam usus sic impellerent, minime secuturum. Vidi tamen sacra volumina a quibus, quoniam annosa est ætas; & tenuitas ingenii disuasere, desitii, turpissimum ratus senem, ut ita loquar, elementarium novo inchoare studia, & cunctos indecentissimum esse id attentasse, quod minime arbitreris perficere posse.* Così non molto in questo studi si 'fermo, anzi lasciandogli da parte attese alla sua 'cara poesia: alla quale da i cieli era chiamato, si 'come continuando segue dicendo. *Et ideo cum existimem Dei beneplacito me in hac vocatione vocatum, in eadem consistere mens est* (22) —— *He gives this* 'as his reason, *at the end of the second Book.* I 'followed not other Studies, how pleasing soever, 'because the bent of my Inclination lay another way. 'Indeed I just looked into the sacred Volumes, but 'desisted, on account of my Age, and want of 'Talents, thinking it shameful for an old Man to 'set about new Studies, and unbecoming all 'Persons to attempt what they cannot go through 'with.

(21) Betussi, ubi supra.

(22) Vis. de Geneal. Deor.

over several Places of *Italy*, and stopped at last at the Court of *Naples*, where King *Robert* gave him a very good Reception. He fell greatly in love with That Prince's Natural Daughter (*b*), which made him stay a considerable time at *Naples*. He made also a long Abode in *Sicily*, where he had a good share in Queen *Joan*'s Favour. He returned to *Florence*, when the Troubles were somewhat appeased, but could not like the Course of Life, which he must have led there. For which reason he retired to *Certaldo*, where, far from the Noise of the World, he spent his Time in Study, according to his Fancy. He always loved Liberty; which was the Reason, why he would never put himself into the Service of any great Lord, though he was desired to do it by many. His applying himself too much to Study, occasioned an illness in his Stomach, of which he died at *Certaldo*, in the Year 1375. He was buried there in St *James*'s and St *Philip*'s Church. He was of an amorous Complection, and yet he would never marry, and left but one natural Child (*c*) [*G*]. He composed many Books [*H*], some learned and serious, and others of Tales and Gallantry. It is chiefly by the latter, that he immortalized himself [*I*]. He

(*b*) *See the* Remark [*N*], *of the Article* NAPLES, [JOAN, *Queen of*].

(*c*) *Taken from his Life, written by* Giuseppe Betussi da Bassano. *It is prefixed to the* Italian *Translation of* Boccace's *Book* De genealogia Deorum, *written by the same* Betussi.

'with. *Thus he continued attached to his favourite* 'Poetry, *as he goes on to tell us*; esteeming there 'fore, that God had called me to this Study, I de- 'termine to pursue it.' This is observable. He believed, that, even in his old Age, he ought to apply himself chiefly to Poetry, and that it was the Talent, which God had intrusted him with, and the Ministry, to which Heaven had called him. He followed the Maxim, *quam quisque noverit artem, in hac se exerceat*, every one should exercise the Trade he understands.

[*G*] *He was of an amorous Complection, and yet he would never marry*] Let us quote *Betussi* again. 'Fu medesimamente molto inchinato all' amore & 'libidinoso, & non poco gli piacquero le donne, 'come che di loro in molti luoghi dell' opere sue 'ne dicesse quel peggio che dire si potesse: tutta- 'via di alquante nelle scritture sue sotto finto nome 'ne fa honorato ricordo —— non lascio di se heredi 'legittimi: perche non hebbe mai moglie, solamente 'di lui rimase un figlivolo naturale sanza piu (23). '—— *He was likewise very amorous, and lustful,* 'as *appears from the many wanton Passages in his* 'Works —— *He left no legitimate Heirs, having ne-* 'ver *been married, and but one Natural Son.*

(23) Betussi, ubi supra.

[*H*] *He composed many Books.*] An *Abridgement* of the *Roman* History from *Romulus* till the Year of *Rome* 724, with a Parallel of the seven Kings of *Rome*, and of the Emperors, till *Nero*, inclusive. This Work was printed at *Cologne*, in the Year 1534, in 8vo. The *History of illustrious Women*, printed at *Bern*, in the Year 1539, in *Folio*. The *Genealogy of the Gods, with a Treatise of Mountains, Seas, Rivers, Lakes, &c.* This work was printed at *Basil*, in the Year 1532, in *Folio*, with the Notes of *James Micyllus*. *De casibus virorum illustrium*: This Work began with *Adam*, and ended with *John* King of *France*, taken by the *English* in the Year 1356. It was printed at *Paris*, in *Folio*, by the care of *John Thierri*, of *Beauvais*: I do not know in what Year, and consequently I cannot tell whether This Edition be later than That of *Ausbourg*, 1544. This Book was translated into *Italian*, *Spanish*, *English*, and *French*, at *Paris*, 1578, in 8vo: the name of the Translator is *Claudius Vitart*. I wonder *Vossius* spoke of most of these Works, as if they were only in Manuscript (24). As for the Books, which are ascribed to *Boccace*, *de victoriis Sigismundi Imperatoris in Turchas*; *de hæresibus Bosmorum*; *de capta Constantinopoli*; *de Tartarorum victoria in Turchas* (25); they seem to me chimerical; and some of them certainly are so. Let us say something of *Boccace*'s *Italian* Compositions. He wrote *il Philocolo, ea Fiammetta, l'Ameto, il Labirinto d'amore, la vita di Dante* (26), *il Decamerone*, of which I am going to speak, *&c.* All these Books, and most of the *Latin*, have been translated into *French* long since (27). As for his *Italian* Verses, I shall only say, that he wrote many, and that he did not shew a great Talent in them. *Per dire il vero, lo stile volgare in verso non gli fu troppo amico* (28). Nevertheless, he was one of the Triumvirs, or three Princes of the Poets of That Age; it is true, he had only the last Rank given him in the Poetical Triumvirate; the first was given to *Dante*, and the second to *Petrarch* (29). Note, that the *Theseide of Boccace* was a Poem of a new Invention, which is much to his Credit: for none but great Wits can trace out new ways, unknown to others. *Scrisse la Theseide opra in ottava rima, nella cui si contengono i fatti di Theseo, & fu il primo inventore di tale tessura perciochè per inanzi non mi ricordo io havir trovato ch' altri la usasse* (30). Let us not forget, that he acknowledged his inferiority: for having seen *Petrarch*'s Sonnets, and Songs, he resolved to throw his Poems into the Fire. *Petrarch* writ a Letter to him to dissuade him from that design (31). *Betussi* stops there; but, he should have said also, that *Boccace* actually burnt his *Italian* Verses, after having seen that they came not near those of *Petrarch*. See the Author that I quote (32).

(24) Vossius de Hist. Lat. p. 527.

(25) Pocciantius de Scrip. Florentinis, pag. 92. Betussi in vita Boccacii. *See also* Gesner in Biblioth. *fol.* 390.

(26) *It was printed at* Rome, *in* 1504, *in* 16mo, *and at* Florence 1576, *in* 8vo.

(27) *See the* Bibliotheque Francoise *of* Du Verdier vau-Privas, *at the word* John Boccace.

(28) Betussi, ubi supra.

(29) Id. ibid.

(30) Id. ibid.

(31) Id. ibid.

(32) Petrarcha Epist. ad Boccacium lib. v. rerum senilium apud Papyr. Massonem, Elog. Tom II. p. 192.

[*I*] *It is chiefly by the latter, that he immortalized himself.*] This ought especially to be understood of the *Decameron*, which is a Collection of an Hundred Novels, wherein there are very diverting Adventures of Love, and many roguish Tricks played to Husbands. That Work has been translated into several Languages, and re-printed a thousand times. It is by that Book that many People, who would have been ignorant of the other Writings of This Author, know that *Boccace* was an Ornament of his Age, a fine Genius, an excellent Author, a *Virtuose*, &c. *Paul Jovius* makes this Remark: 'Obsolescunt & ægrè quidem vitæ spiritum retinent 'libri de Genealogia Deorum, varietateque Fortunæ, '& de fontibus accuratè potius quàm feliciter elabo- 'rati, quando jam illæ decem dierum fabulæ, Mile- 'siarum imitatione in gratiam oblectandi ocii, ad- 'mirabili jucunditate compositæ, in omnium natio- 'num linguas adoptentur, & sine ulla suspicione in- 'teritus, applaudente populo, cunctorum operum 'gratiam antecedant (33). —— *His books on the Ge-* 'nealogy *of the Gods, and the variety of Fortune, and* 'on *Fountains, composed more accurately than happily,* 'grow *obsolete, and hardly live, while his ten Days* 'Tales, *writ for Diversion, in imitation of the Mi-* 'lesian *Tales, with admirable pleasantry, are adopted* 'into *all Languages, and without any objection, and* 'with *the applause of the World, are received more* 'favourably *than any other of his Works.*' There are some Protestants, to whom the *Decameron* is not disagreeable; they find in it Railleries against the Monks, and the Popish Devotions. *In eo fabulis & historiis centum papale regnum, confessionem auricularem, Sanctos, lipsanolatriam, purgatorium &c. acerrime perstrinxit, perversitatis Papæ non ignarus* (34). Doubtless this is the reason why some Catholic Authors call him impious: 'Boccacius 'Hetruscorum Cicero, fabulator jucundus, & elo- 'quens sermone patrio, sed Latini parum peritus, 'Theogoniæ non admodum accuratus, & Mytholo- 'giæ non satis idoneus enarrator, in omnibus ob- 'scœnus, IMPIUS, & versificator ineptissimus (35). '—— Boccace, *the* Cicero *of* Tuscany, *a pleasant* 'story *Teller, and eloquent in his own Language,* 'but *not well skilled in the* Latin, *not very accu-* 'rate *in his Theogony, nor a nice explainer of My* 'thology, *every where obscene,* IMPIOUS, *and a* 'paltry *versifier.*' You see he is also accounted obscene. The Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* reproach him with the same thing. It ought to be observed, say they (36). 'That there are some Passages in 'That Author, which shew plainly, that he was 'less scrupulous of breaking the Rules of Purity 'of

(33) Paulus Jovius, Elog. cap. 6. pag. 23.

(34) Bernegger. Idol. Lafaret. pag. 128, & seq. apud Tho. Pope Blount, Censura Author. p. 308.

(35) Balthasar Bonifacius, Hist. Ludicræ, lib. xv. cap. 3. pag. 432, 433.

(36) Baillet, Jugem. des Savans, n. 206. des Critiques Grammairiens. *He quotes the Preface to the* Italian *Grammar of the Gentlemen of* Port Royal.

He is taxed with *Plagiarism* [K]. I shall make a Remark on the Care, which the Inquisitors

of Manners, which we have received from GOD himself, than of offending in the least against those, concerning the Purity of Language, which proceed only from Caprice, or the Will of Men.' Let us see what Mr *Bullart* observes, concerning That Book. 'The most considerable of his Compositions, *says he* (37), is the *Decameron*; which, having been received with applause by all *Italy*, was likewise so favourably entertained by Foreign Nations, that each defired to have it in their own Language; and it was the more eagerly sought after, because endeavours were used to suppress it; and it was censured, for speaking too freely and satirically against the Monks.' *Boccace* published it in the Year One thousand three hundred forty eight, at a time when the City of *Florence* was laid waste, and made almost desert, by a raging Pestilence. It may be reckoned among the finest of Pieces, which are writ for Amusement, and have some mixture of the profitable and delightful. *Petrarch*, having read it over, found so many beauties in it, that he took the pains to translate a Piece of that fine Work into *Latin* for his own diversion, which was the incredible Patience of *Griselide* towards her Husband the Marquis of *Saluces*.' *Petrarch* dedicated his *Latin* Translation of the Story of *Griselide* to *Boccace*, and told him, that, in running over the *Decameron*, he had observed, that the Author had been obliged to reprove certain Satirists, who could do nothing but find fault with what they would not, or could not do: 'Animadverti alicubi librum ipsum canum dentibus lacessitum, tuo tamen baculo egregiè, tuaque voce defensum. Nec miratus sum: nam & vires ingenii tui novi, & scio expertus esse hominum genus, & insolens & ignavum, qui quicquid ipsi vel nolunt, vel nesciunt, vel non possunt, in aliis reprehendunt, ad hoc unum docti & arguti. Sed elingues ad reliqua (38). —— *I observed somewhere, that the book itself has been attacked by Dogs open-mouthed, but excellently defended by your Voice and Cudgel. I do not wonder at it, for I know the strength of your Genius, and know likewise by experience, that there are a sort of Men, that are both insolent and lazy, who blame, in others, whatever they themselves either know not, or will not or cannot, do. In this single thing they are learned, and sharp; for any thing else, they have not a word to say.*' He adds, that he excuses the lascivious Passages on account of the Writer's Age, the nature of the Subject, and the Character of the Persons, who would read such a Work: 'Si quid lasciviæ liberioris occurreret, excusabat ætas tunc tua dum id scriberes, filius, idioma, ipsa quoque rerum levitas, & eorum qui lecturi talia videbantur: refert enim largiter quibus scribas, morumque varietate stili varietas excusatur (39). —— *If any thing occurred a little too loose, your age at the time of writing of it, the Stile, the Idiom, as also the levity of the subject itself, and of those who were likely to read it, serves to excuse it: for it is a great matter to whom you write, and variety of stile is excused by variety of manners.*' Nothing can be more equitable than this; Whoever pretends to judge of a Book, ought to go by this Rule; to consider the Author's Age and Profession, the nature of the Subject, and for what sort of Persons he writes; for That, which would be intolerable in a Dogmatical Work, is not so in a Work designed for Diversion. However, the obscenities of the *Decameron* did not hinder the wisest and most virtuous Princess of *France* from ordering it to be translated into *French*; for it was in obedience to the most Illustrious *Margaret de Valois*, Queen of *Navarre*, that *Antony le Maçon* (40) translated it into That Language. *Du Verdier Vau Privas* takes notice of five Editions of That Translation (41), without mentioning either That which I make use of, which is That of *Paris* by *Martin le Jeune* 1559, in 8vo, or That of *Paris* by *Oliver de Harsy* 1569. He observes that the same Book *had been translated long before by one* Laurens. Note, that there is an *Italian* Edition of the *Decameron* (42), to which *Francis Sansovin* prefixed a Preface, and the Author's Life. A new *French* Translation of This Work, with Cuts, was published at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1697.

(37) Bullart, Academ. des Scien. Tom. I. p. 263.

(38) Petrarcha apud Papyr. Massonem, Elog. Tom. II. p. 458, 399.

(39) Id. ibid.

(40) *He was a Native of* Dauphiné, *Treasurer of the Wars, and Secretary to the Queen of* Navarre, *the only Sister of* Francis I.

(41) Du Verdier Biblioth. Françoise, pag. 72.

(42) *At* Venice 1549, *in* 4to.

The Translator, owns, in the Preface, that he has unfolded the Graces of the Original, that he has dressed them according to our fashion, that he has abridged several things, and avoided Repetitions; 'That he has often altered not only whole Periods, but also the Plan of the Work; that he has only taken the essential part of the Novel, and that, to avoid the Preambles prefixed to each Story, he thought fit not to name the Interlocutors, and to omit the distinction of the Days; that, when he met with any licentious Passages, he took a particular care to wrap up things in such a manner, that the Fair Sex might laugh without blushing.' He hopes there will be no cause to complain, that he has spoiled any thing by too scrupulous a Circumspection. But many people are persuaded, that every one, who is able to read the *Decameron* in *Italian*, will dislike a Translation so different from the Original, and will rather chuse to make use of the old ones, than of this; and Translators, when, instead of translating literally, they take the liberty to cut off, and alter, whatever they please, meet with as heavy censures from these People, as your good Topers daily bestow on a Vintner, who seldom has any thing in his Cellar but mixtures, wherein Art destroys Nature.

Perhaps no Body has exclaimed more against *Boccace* than *Vannozzi*. He pretends, that reading the *Decameron* has made so many Courtezans, that a Man would be astonished, if he knew the number of them. 'Al fuoco, al fuoco, *cries he* (43), fi fatti volumi, spengasi il seme una volta di cosi maligna Zizania. Chi potesse contare quante puttane ha fatto il Decameron del Boccacio, rimarebbe stupido, & senza senso; Che cose dicano di lui duo Florentini savi, & letterati amendue, leggasi in due lettere, una di Francesco Petrarcha tra le lattine, & una di Bartolomeo Cavalcanti tra le vulgari, & intenderallo. Ma che occorre cercar piu oltre di quello, che n'habbia giudicato la santa inquisitione dannandolo? Non si può negare, che l'opera del Decameron, non sia stata di notabil giovamento alla lingua Tosca, della quale egli è veramente Maestro; ma per conto delle materie, & delle cose narrata da esso, in quel suo novelliere, non si può dire, quanto, & quale sia stato, & perseveri tuttavia, il danno, che se ne sente. —— *To the fire, to the fire, with such foolish books; destroy at once the seeds of these malignant Tares. If a Man could but tell how many Whores* Boccace's Decameron *has made, he would be amazed and stupified. What two Florentines, both of them wise and learned Men, say of him, may be seen in two Letters, one from* Francis Petrarch *in* Latin, *the other from* Bartholomew Cavalcante *in* Italian: *but what need we look any further? Has not the holy Inquisition condemned it? It cannot be denied, that the* Decameron *contains notable helps to the* Tuscan *Language, of which he is truly a Master: but, as for the matter contained in the Novels there related, no body can tell what damage it has done, and daily does, without being observed.*' There are, in this Letter of *Vannozzi*, several other Testimonies of his Zeal against Books of Love-Intrigues.

(43) Bonifacio Vannozzi delle Lettre Miscellanee, Vol. I. pag. 580.

[K] *He is taxed with Plagiarism.*] It is said (44), that his Book, *de genealogia Deorum*, was taken from a piece of the same kind done by the Civilian *Paul* of *Perugia*, Library-keeper to King *Robert* (45). But, since he confesses, that he took many things out of it, and particularly those he put out under the Name of *Theodontius* (46), it ought not to be imputed to him as a Crime. He is not so excusable as to what he has taken out of another Author, and out of *Vibius Sequester*'s Book *de Nominibus Fluminum, Fontium, Lacuum, Nemorum, Paludum, & Gentium* (47): for he never quotes him. 'Boccacius in opere de genealogia Deorum Fulgentii mythologiam, etiam cum non citat, graviter exscripsit, adeò ut ex Boccacio in non paucis emendari Fulgentius potuerit (48). —— Boccace, *in his Book on the Genealogy of the Gods, has grossly copied the Mythology of* Fulgentius, *even when he does not cite him, so that* Fulgentius *might be corrected out of* Boccace *in several Places.*' It is a question, whether he is the true Author of the *Ameto*, and of the *amatoria visione* (49). *Thomasius* has not put him in

(44) Leand. Albertus Descript. Ital. pag. 101.

(45) *He was King of* Naples.

(46) Boccat. de Geneal. Deor. lib. xv. cap. 6. *See* Vossius de Hist Lat pag. 525, 526.

(47) *See* Vossius de Philologia, cap. xi. n. 10. pag 57.

(48) Faber in Decad. n. 95.

(49) Leand Albert. ubi supra pag 76.

Inquisitors have taken to place his *Decameron* in the List of forbidden Books [*L*]. His *Labyrinth of Love* had been lately translated [*M*]: that Book is a Proof of his disorderly Engagements with the Fair Sex, and of the Troubles they were attended with. I do not question but there are a great many particular, and very curious, things concerning *Boccace*, and his Books, in the *Istoria della volgar poesia*, published in the Year 1698, in 4to, by the Abbot *Giovanni Mario de Crescembeni*. I have not that Book, which would be very useful to me, neither do I know any Body that has it. Some say, that *Boccace* was either the Author or the Approver of the Book *De tribus Impostoribus* (*d*). I would here supply one Omission, which is, that it would be a very great Error to take the Adventures related in his *Decameron* for Truth. Some of them may perhaps be founded on Realities, which he was acquainted with, to which he only added the Ornaments; but the greatest Part are the Productions of Wit, and invented at different times; one of his best Tales is extant in *Apuleius* [*N*].

(*d*) M. de Sus de Jean à Lapid., pag. 190.

in his List of *Plagiaries*. *Vannozzi* takes notice that the *Decameron* is full of *Plagiarism*. ' In un libro ' di Novelle, & di bel parlare gentile, anteriore al ' Boccacio, & di doue egli cauo alcune delle risposte ' da lui nel suo Decameron, ò Principe Galeotto, ' che vuol dire Principe de' Ruffiani, si legge questa ' cosi puntalmente, *& de verbo ad verbum* descritta ' (50). —— *In a book of Tales and polite speaking, prior to* Boccace, *and from whence he took some of the things he has put in his* Decameron, *or* Prince Galeotto, *that is the Prince of* Ruffians, *you may find several Passages which he has copied exactly, even word for word.*' Having quoted the Words of the Author, who lived before *Boccace*, he observes that the Copyist had corrupted his Original in a scandalous manner. The Persons, mentioned in the Copy, are Clergymen, who lose their Virtue: those of the other Author, were Lay-men, who had forsaken their evil ways. ' Jo ho copiato qui ' questa novelletta, dal suso detto libro, acciò si noti ' il peggioramento, che n'ha fatto il Boccacio, trasferendola tra le sue, che è quella à punto di Masetto da Lamporecchio tanto peggiorata, & cosi ' scandalosamente alterata, come giudicherà chiunque la sapia: attribuendo à persone sacre il Boccacio quella colpa, che dal suo anteriore fu ascritta ' à persone profane, & dove quelli fà di cattive ' douentar buone le sue; il Boccacio fà di buone ' douentar cattive le nostre (51). —— *I have copied this Tale from the book above-mentioned, to shew the injury* Boccace *has done them by transferring them into his; that this, particularly, of the* Masetto di Lamporecchio, *is made so much worse and so scandalously altered, as whoever understands it must judge,* Boccace *attributing to sacred Persons, what, by his Predecessor, had been ascribed to profane ones: and whereas the other made his wicked Men become good,* Boccace *makes our good Men turn wicked.*'

(50) Vannozzi Miscel. Let. Vol. I. pag. 580.

(51) Id. Ibid.

[*L*] *The Inquisitors have placed his* Decameron *in the List of forbidden Books.*] Mr *Arnauld* observes ' that the Books of the Pagan Poets, full of ' so much filth, which may incline the Readers to ' sin, have not been forbid, for this one reason, because they are necessary for some Persons to learn ' the *Latin* Tongue . . . . . and therefore they, ' who made the Rules of the *Index*, did not believe, ' that, by any positive Law, it ought to be forbidden, that young Persons, who are Masters of their ' Reading, to whom those Books are much more ' dangerous than to Children, should read the infamous Passages of *Martial*, *Juvenal*, *Horace*, *Petronius*, *Apuleius*, &c. Not but that they thought, ' that most of those who read them did ill; but because others, who are sufficiently confirmed in Virtue, so as not to be affected with those bad Ideas, ' and to mind only the neatness and elegancy of the ' *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue, may read them innocently, it was thought expedient to keep to the ' Law of Nature, and to leave those things to every ' one's Conscience, and to the Judgment of the ' Directors and Confessors. The like was done with ' respect to *Boccace's Decameron*. Because the *Italians* find the greatest delicacy of their Language ' in it, the Licentiousness of his Stories did not hinder it from being left in every Body's Hands, ' provided it was corrected. And I have been told, ' that that Correction consists only in changing, in ' the scandalous Stories, the Words *Monks* and *Nuns* ' for others. But since things, which may be a ' Temptation to Impurity, are the more dangerous, ' when they are related in a pleasant Style, it is ' not a thing, that does much honour to the Christian Religion, to leave a Book, so dangerous in ' that respect, in every Body's Hands, because it ' is writ very politely, whilst many others are forbid, wherein there is more to be learned, and the ' danger infinitely less. I speak, comparing so many ' forbidden Books with that of *Boccace*, which is ' not forbidden (52).' All this Discourse is very judicious, and has something in it would almost make one believe, that, provided the Clergy be not concerned in the matter, they do not care much what harm the reading of *Boccace* may do.

(52) Difficultés proposées à Mr Steyaert, Part IX. pag. 324.

[*M*] *His* Labyrinth of Love, *has been lately translated: That Book is a proof of his disorderly Intrigues with the fair Sex, and of the Troubles they were attended with.*] The *French* Translation, printed at *Paris* in 1699, was immediately re-printed at *Amsterdam*: It bears the Title of *Boccace's Dream*, and is an Invective against Women. The Author writ it when he was angry with a Widow, whom he had loved, and who had played him an ill Trick. He, who translated that Work, has taken more liberty even than the new Translator of the *Decameron*. He has left out many things, which he has filled up with *Stories*, *Fragments*, and *Verses*, composed either by his Friends, or by other Writers of our Time. Mr *de Beauval* says, ' That it is no ' ways a regular Translation of *Boccace's Dream*, ' but an ill, injudicious, Collection of *Boccace's* ' *Dream*, and of all that the Moderns, long since ' *Boccace*, have said about Women (53).' Another Journalist is yet more severe: he says, ' That the ' Supplements make the whole piece monstrous, and ' quite destroy the Oeconomy of it. Nothing appears more out of it's place in a Book of *Boccace*, ' who lived above Three hundred Years ago, than ' Verses of Mademoiselle *de Scuderi*, Reflexions of ' Mr *de la Bruyere*, Maxims of the Duke *de la Rochefoucault*, and Pieces of a yet later date (54).' Note, that the Translator advertises us, that ' he ' has left out . . . . . many things that Modesty ' would not bear;' but that he has preserved *Boccace's* Devotion, because he thought he should have too much disfigured his Work, if he had deprived him of that, after taking away his Obscenities. He takes notice, that it is the usual way of That Author to mix *Morality and pious Thoughts among Trifles*.

(53) Hist. des Ouvrages des Savans, March, 1699, pag. 128.

(54) Bernard, Nouvelles de la Rep. des Lettres, *April*, 1699, pag. 476.

I observe, that, generally speaking, no Writers slander the Fair Sex so much as those who have most frequented, loved, and idolized them; and therefore Women ought to mind their Slanders but little: They are proofs of their Dominion; they are the Murmurings of a Slave, who feels the weight of his Chains, or who, being at Liberty, sees the marks of his Servitude remaining on his Body.

[*N*] *One of his best Tales is extant in* Apuleius.] 'Tis that of the Woman that hid her Gallant under a Tub. *Beroald* has remarked the same. ' Joannes ' Boccacius, *says he* (55), eloquio vernaculo diser- ' tissimus, condidit centum Fabulas, argumento & ' stylo lepidissimo, festivissimoque, inter quas Apuleianam hanc inseruit, transposuitque commodissimè, ' non ut Interpres, sed ut Conditor; quam fœminæ ' nostrates non surdis auribus audiunt, neque invitæ ' legunt —— John Boccace, *a very eloquent Man in his Mother Tongue, composed an hundred Tales on very merry subjects, and in a most pleasant and witty Stile, among which he has inserted this of* Apuleius, *and transplanted it nicely, not as a Trans-* ' *lator*,

(55) Philip Beroald's *Notes on the 11th Book of* Apuleius's Golden Ass, p. 297, 298. *Edit.* Basil 1597 *in* 8vo.

(56) *In the 2d Volume of his Tales, pag. 190. Edit. Amſt. 1685, in 8vo.*

'ſlator, but as the original Author, which the Wo-
'men of our Time hear and read with a deal of
'Pleaſure.' Mr *de la Fontaine* has alſo given us this Tale, under the Title of *the Cooper* (56), but he has not taken notice that he borrowed it from another Author. He ſometimes points out the Fountain he draws from; I wonder he has not always done ſo.

BOCCALINI (TRAJAN), born at *Rome*, was a very fine Genius in the beginning of the XVIIth Century. He was too much given to Raillery and Detraction, and took a new and pleaſant Turn to criticize what he pleaſed; which was to feign, that *Apollo*, holding his general Court on *Parnaſſus*, heard the Complaints of all Perſons, and did juſtice according to the Exigency of the Caſe. This produced the *Ragguagli di Parnaſſo*, which have been tranſlated into ſeveral Languages (*a*), and well reliſhed by the Public. He fell into the common Fault of thoſe who delight too much in Satire; that is, he muſt needs level his Detractions at Thrones, and crowned Heads, and attacked chiefly thoſe which made then the greateſt Noiſe in *Europe*. He attacked the Court of *Spain*; and that in a manner the more poignant, as he pretended to ſhew, that the Monarchy of that Name was not ſo powerful as was imagined, and that it's Strength might eaſily be undermined by certain ways which he pointed out (*b*). This has been thought the Occaſion of his Death. The *Spaniards* complain heavily of his ſlandering them [*A*]. See in *Moreri* how he was killed. This Man, who cenſured every Body, and who found ſo much fault with the Government, made it appear, that his Theory, and his Practice, did not well agree together [*B*]; for the Juriſdiction, which he exerciſed in ſome places of the Eccleſiaſtical State, was no ways conformable to the Rules of Equity and Juſtice. People were going continually to *Rome* to complain of him; which occaſioned many malicious Reflexions, as well againſt the Advocates and Phyſicians, as againſt the Divines [*C*]. Thoſe who have been pleaſed to ſay, that *he was meditating political Diſcourſes on Tacitus* (*c*), when he was murdered [*D*], were not

(*a*) *I have ſeen a French Tranſlation of the IIth Century, printed at Paris, in 1615, in 8vo: the Tranſlator calls himſelf* Fongaſſe.

(*b*) Nicius Erythræus Pinacoth. II. pag. 223, *ſpeaking of the Book entituled,* Pietra del paragone politico.

(*c*) Moreri *is one of them.*

[*A*] *The* Spaniards *complain heavily of his ſlandering them.*] Hear what one of their Authors ſays on this ſubject. 'De nueſtros tiempos ſer notados 'por de genio critico y maldiciente, Franciſco Berna, Poeta contra los de ſu nacion Italianos: Tra'jano Bocalini, diſcurſiſta paradoxo contra toda la na'cion Eſpannola. —— *In our time are noted for* 'their Critical and Satirical Genius, Franciſcus Ber'na an Italian *Poet againſt thoſe of his own Nation*; 'Trajano Boccalini *for his Paradoxical Diſcourſes* 'againſt the whole Spaniſh *Nation.*' Theſe are the words of *John Vitrian*, in his Notes on *Philip de Comines* (1).

(1) *Chap. I. Letter* (F), *pag.* 3.

[*B*] *His Theory and his Practice did not well agree together.*] See what *Nicius Erythræus* ſaid of it. 'At qui ſe aliis Reip. bene gerendæ ducem ac 'magiſtrum profitetur ac præſtat, in iis oppidis, 'quorum illi adminiſtratio commiſſa fuerat, regen'dis, ſuis ipſe præceptis non paruit, ſed multa, ut 'ajunt, commiſit, quæ ab illorum rationibus eſſent 'aliena. Quamobrem fiebat, ut Romam crebræ de 'ipſius injuriis querimoniæ deferrentur (2). —— 'But he, who profeſſes himſelf, and really was, a 'Maſter and Guide to others in the good Admini'ſtration of Government, in governing theſe Towns 'committed to his management, never obeyed his own 'Rules, but acted in many things quite contrary to 'them, ſo that frequent complaints were carried to 'Rome of his injuſtice.' It is but too common for thoſe who write Political Books, and even good ones, to ſhew but little Capacity when they happen to be promoted to great Offices. So true is it, that the application of Rules is more difficult, than the Art of diſcourſing well of them!

(2) Pinacoth. I. pag. 272.

[*C*] *This occaſioned many malicious Reflexions as well againſt the Advocates and Phyſicians as againſt the Divines.*] *Nicius Erythræus* pretends, that this occaſioned a Proverb, importing, that there are three ſorts of Men, who make almoſt no uſe of the Laws they preſcribe to others. No body ſwerves more from the Law in Practice, than a Lawyer; no Body obſerves the Regimen of Health, leſs than a Phyſician; no Body fears the remorſe of Conſcience leſs than a Divine. You will find, in the Original, the Exception which the Author has made. He does not relate the thing as Jeſters commonly do. They ſay, That the Lawyers, who adviſe others ſo much to go to Law, do ſeldom go to Law themſelves; That Phyſicians, who preſcribe ſo much Phyſic to their Patients, take but little themſelves; and that Divines, who ſet down ſo many Articles of Faith for others, believe but few themſelves (3). Theſe are the *Latin* Words of Nicius Erythræus. 'Quamobrem fiebat, ut Romam crebræ 'de ipſius [*Boccalini*] injuriis querimoniæ defer'rentur, ac locus proverbio fieret, quo dicitur, tria 'eſſe hominum genera, qui nihil fere legibus, quas 'ipſi aliis imponunt, utantur, nimirum Juriſconſultos, 'medicos, atque theologos: nulli enim magis in 'negociis ab jure, ab æquitate, diſcedunt quam 'J. C. nulli tuendæ valetudinis rationem minus 'ſervant quam medici, nulli conſcientiæ aculeos 'minus metuunt quam theologi. Itaque qui juſti'tiam, valetudinem, & conſcientiam amittere ſata'gunt, juris doctorum, medicorum, theologorum'que amicitias colant: quod tamen de iis tantum 'intelligendum, qui ea ſtudia non ſerio ac ſedulo, 'verum in ſpeciem, & dicis cauſa, profitentur (4). '—— *So that frequent complaints were carried* 'to Rome, *of his* [Boccalini's] *Injuſtice, and Occa'ſion was given for a Proverb, which ſays that* 'there are three ſorts of Men, who ſcarce make any 'uſe of the Laws they preſcribe to others; to wit, 'the Lawyers, Phyſicians, and Divines: For no Body 'ſwerves more from Law and Equity in Buſineſs 'than the Lawyers; no Body obſerves the Rules for 'preſervation of Health leſs than the Phyſicians; 'no Body fears the Stings of Conſcience leſs than 'the Divines. And therefore whoever has a mind 'to get rid of Juſtice, Health, and Conſcience; 'need but aſſociate with Lawyers, Doctors, and Di'vines: but this is to be underſtood only of thoſe 'who profeſs theſe Studies, not ſeriouſly and dili'gently, but only in ſhew and for form ſake.

(3) *See the* Courtier *of* Baldaſſar Caſtiglione *pag.* 295.

(4) Nicius Erythræus Pinacoth. I. pag. 272.

[§ On this Reflection, which by the way is *Panurge's*, lib. iii. cap 29. of *Rabelais*, *Benjamin Priolo* formed one of his Maxims, mentioned by Mr *Bayle*, Remark [*K*] of the Article *Priolo*. REM CRIT.]

[*D*] *It has been ſaid that he was meditating Political Diſcourſes upon* Tacitus, *when he was murdered.*] They ſhould have ſaid, not only that thoſe Diſcourſes were compoſed; but alſo, that they had been printed twice at *Geneva*. To ſet a great Value upon thoſe Editions, People have been made to believe, firſt, That the Manuſcript of that Work was a very rare Piece. Secondly, That the Senate of *Venice* had carefully kept the Original, till they made a Preſent of it to the Queen of *Sweden*. Thirdly, that with great Charges, and much Trouble, they had found means to get a Copy of the Manuſcript, given to that Princeſs by the Senate of *Venice*. Meer Knavery. That Manuſcript was handed about every where, Twenty Years before that Queen's coming into *Italy*. There are at leaſt thirty Copies of it, in ſeveral Libraries of *Italy*. The Author preſented this Work himſelf to divers Perſons, and particularly to Cardinal *Barberini* at *Rome*, and to the Procurator *Moroſini* at *Venice*. The Cardinal preſented his Copy to the Academy of

not well informed. He left some Children [E]. He has been numbered among the *Plagiaries* [F], and some Faults have been committed in that Point, as I have shewn in one of my Remarks (d).

(d) *See the end of the Remark* [F].

of the *Humoriſts*, and it was tranſcribed by ſeveral People. The Copy of *Moroſini* has been as often tranſcribed; ſo that it was not difficult to buy Copies of it. The Governor of an *Engliſh* Lord bought one of them, and parted with it to a Bookſeller at *Geneva*, who printed it (5). About the ſame time, a *German* Gentleman brought another Copy of it from *Italy*, and gave it to a Profeſſor of *Tubingen*, whoſe Name was Mr *du May*, who added ſome Remarks to it, and ſent it to Mr *Leti* at *Geneva*. Mr *Leti* got it printed by the Sieur *Widerbold*, and intituled it, *Bilancia Politica*, and added a third Volume to it, to which he put his own Name (6). That Book of *Boccalini* has not been eſteemed: Mr *Amelot de la Houſſaye* ſpeaks very ſlightly of it (7).

(5) *It was the Sieur* de Tour-

(6) *All theſe particulars are taken from a Memorial that comes from good hands. I keep the Original by me.*

(7) *In the critical Diſcourſe prefixed to his Morals of Tacitus, and to his Tranſlation of the ſix firſt Books of Tacitus's Annals.*

[E] *He left ſome Children.*] I have his *Pietra del Paragone Politico*, or *Political* Touchſtone, printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1626, in 8vo, and dedicated to Cardinal *de la Valette*. It is *Boccalini's* Son, who dedicated that Work to this Cardinal: The Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated from *Paris* the tenth of *April* 1626 (8). That which ſurprizes me is to ſee that that Work is looked on as a Poſthumous one, for I have ſeen an Edition, of the Year 1615, of *Boccalini's* Book intituled, *Pietra del Paragone Politico*. This would make me conjecture, that the Work, dedicated to Cardinal *de la Valette*, was a Continuation, or a Second Part, of the *Pietra del Paragone Politico*. I deſire thoſe who have leiſure, and many Editions in Hand, to verify the thing. Mr *Giri* had publiſhed his *French* Tranſlation of that Work of *Boccalini*, before the Author's Son publiſhed it in *Italian*, in the Year 1626. The *Latin* Verſion of the ſame work, made by *Erneſt John Creutz*, was printed at *Amſterdam* in the Year 1642, in 12mo, under the title of *Lapis Lydius Politicus*.

(8) *This appears by the Epiſtle Dedicatory.*

[F] *He has been numbered among the Plagiaries.*] This Term ſeems to me improper, becauſe *Boccalini* is not accuſed of having ſtole the Labours of other Men, but of having lent his Name to hide the true Author. It is ſaid, that he imitated certain Perſons, who, to free their Eccleſiaſtical Patron from the ſhame of having got a Servant-Maid with Child, take it upon themſelves, and marry her, being reſolved to own all the Children that may come from the ſame Quarter. 'Tis pretended, that Cardinal *Cajetan* is the true Author of the Books which came out under the Name of *Boccalini* (9); and if you enquire, Why Cardinal *Cajetan* diveſted himſelf of his Right in favour of another; They will anſwer you, That he did it to have the pleaſure of cenſuring and biting, without prejudicing his Dignity, or raiſing himſelf any Enemies. I cannot believe this to be true; I believe only that *Boccalini* did like *Terence:* he communicated his Thoughts to the Cardinals, who proteſted him (10), and made uſe of their Advice, and of the Thoughts they ſuggeſted to him. He thought that the Opinion People would have, that he was aſſiſted by ſuch Perſons, would be an Honour to him: 'twas juſt the Taſte of *Terence*. ' Quemadmodum Terentio ' malevoli objiciebant, ipſum, in fabulis faciendis, ' Scipionis Africani, Lælii qui dictus eſt ſapiens, ' & Furii Pii, opera uti, aſſidueque cum illis una ' ſcribere; ita etiam de Trajano fama diſtulerat, in ' his actis referendis homines nobiliſſimos ſocios & ' adjutores habere. Verum id ſibi non minus laudi ' ducebat, quam Terentius, qui glorioſum ſibi putabat, id quod malevoli quaſi maledictum vehemens exiſtimabant, ac ſit veriſimile hæc cum illis eum communicaſſe, quibus, ad notanda & animadvertenda aliorum vitia, eadem eſſet voluntas atque propenſio (11). — *As malevolent Perſons objected to* Terence, *that he had the Aſſiſtance of* Scipio Africanus, Lælius, *who was called the Wiſe, and of* Furius Pius, *and daily wrote with them; ſo likewiſe Fame gave out concerning* Trajan, *that he had ſome of the Prime Nobility for his Companions and Aſſiſtants, in relating theſe Acts. But be accounted That no leſs Praiſe to him, than* Terence *did, who eſteemed That a Glory to himſelf, which his enemies looked upon as a moſt vehement reproach; and it is very probable he might communicate theſe things to them, who had the ſame will and inclination to obſerve and animadvert on the Faults of others.*' Some for want of taking ſufficient notice of the order of Time, have ſaid, that Cardinal *Cajetan*, who diſputed againſt *Luther*, wrote the *Ragguagli del Parnaſſo*, and the *Pietra del Paragone*. Mr *Chevreau* imputes that fault to *John Rhodius*, a *Daniſh* Phyſician, and to *Peter Stevenius*; but he is miſtaken; for they meant another Cardinal *Cajetan*; and he refutes them by a bad Reaſon: *Boccalini*, ſays he (12), *who was the Son of an Architect of* Rome, *was murthered at* Venice *by order of the* Spaniſh *Embaſſador*. Is this a Proof that he could not lend his Name to a Book of Cardinal *Thomas de Vio*, who diſputed againſt *Luther*? *Note*, That *Nicius Erythræus* affirms, that *Perenda*, who had been Secretary to Cardinal *Henry Cajetan*, helped *Boccalini* to compoſe the *Ragguagli* (13).

(9) *Scevenius, n.* 89. *affirms it, apud* Rhodium de Auctoribus ſuppoſititiis, pag. 42. Morhofius Polyhiſt. p. 81. *mentions that opinion. See* Placcius de Pſeudonym. pag. 165. & Deckherrus de Script. anieſp. pag. 253, 254.

(10) *He dedicated the Iſt Century of the* Ragguagli *in* 1612, *to Cardinal* Borgheſe, *and the ſecond in* 1613, *to Cardinal* Cajetan.

(11) Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth. III. pag. 222.

(12) Chevreau, Hiſt. du monde liv. v. cap. iv. p. 185, *of the* Dutch *Edit.* 1687.

(13) Pinacoth. III. pag. 131.

BOCHART (MATTHEW), Miniſter of the Holy Goſpel at *Alençon* in the XVIIth Century, publiſhed ſome Books [A], which gained him the Reputation of a Learned Man. That which he compoſed againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs brought him into Trouble, as Mr *Daillé* obſerves: *A Miſſionary, thinking it more proper to bring him before the Secular Judges than to anſwer* his Arguments, began a Conteſt at Law with him for giving the Miniſters the Title of Paſtors (a). There is no reaſon to queſtion the thing; but it is very manifeſt that Mr *Daillé* did not well remember the Circumſtances [B]. *Matthew Bochart* has ſometimes been

(a) Daillé Replique à Adam & Cottiby. Part. II. pag. 103.

[A] *He has publiſhed ſome Books.*] The chief of his Works are, a Treatiſe againſt Relics, and a Treatiſe againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs. He wrote alſo a Dialogue on the Difficulties which the Miſſionaries raiſed continually againſt the Proteſtants of *France*, by reaſon of what had paſſed in the National Synod of *Charenton*, concerning the Toleration of the *Lutheran* Errors. That Dialogue having fallen into the Hands of the Elector *Palatine*, he thought it proper to incline the Princes of the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*, to endeavour the Re-union of the two Proteſtant Churches (1); and accordingly he ſhewed it to them during the Aſſembly of *Francfort*. This good News being come to the Author's Knowledge, drew from him a *Latin* Book, intituled *Diallacticon*, which he dedicated to that Elector. It was printed at *Sedan* in the Year 1662, and contains a Project of Re-union between the *Lutherans* and the *Calviniſts*.

(1) Epiſt. Dedicat. Diallact. Matth. Bocharti.

[B] *A ſuit at Law was commenced againſt him for giving the Miniſters the title of Paſtors — Mr* Daillé *did not well remember the Circumſtances.*] I need no other proof for it, than Mr *Daillé* himſelf. He ſays, That the Miſſionary, being put to a non-plus by *Matthew Bochart's* Book againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs, brought an Action againſt the Author, in the Year 1657; but he owns, in one of the Tables of his Book, that the Treatiſe againſt the Sacrifice of the Maſs was printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1658. He obſerves in the four hundred and ſeventeenth Page of the firſt Part of his Reply, that this *excellent Treatiſe of the Sacrifice of the Maſs* (2) was publiſhed but three Years before. What he ſays, toward the end of his Preface, is a certain proof that he compoſed his Reply in 1661. So that it cannot be true, that the Miſſionary, who went to Law with *Matthew Bochart* in 1657, found that way more proper,

(2) *He praiſes it much in that place.*

been confounded with his Cousin *Samuel Bochart* [C], of whom I am going to speak:

than to refute the Book of the Sacrifice of the Mass. Moreover, Mr *Daillé* declares, that he does not know, that, before the Law-Suit, begun against Mr *Bochart* in 1657, any Complaint was ever brought against the Ministers for filling themselves Pastors. And yet, immediately after, he makes mention of a Decree of the Parliament of *Rouen*, *given* 22, *or* 23, *Years after the Year* 1633, when the Ministers of *Charenton* stiled themselves Pastors of the Reformed Church of *Paris* in the Approbation of a Book (3). That Decree of the Parliament of *Rouen* was doubtless made upon the Complaint brought against the Minister *Bochart*; for otherwise, Mr *Daillé* would contradict himself: And therefore, it is not true, that the Law-Suit against that Minister, fell in the Year 1657. So that Mr *Daillé* must be mistaken, both as to the time the Suit was commenced, and as to the Book that gave occasion for it. He is mistaken again upon another account, since it is certain, that, in the Year 1633, the General Agents of the Clergy of *France* complained, that Mr *Aubertin* had printed a Book, wherein *he took the Title of Pastor of the Reformed Church of* Paris, and wherein his Colleagues, *Mestrezat*, *Drelincourt*, and *Daillé*, signed in the Approbation, the two first, *Pastors of the reform'd Church of* Paris, and the last, *Minister of the holy Gospel of the said Church* (4). On that Complaint, the Privy-Council made a Decree, the fourteenth of *July* 1633, importing, that Mr *Aubertin* should be arrested, and that his Colleagues should be summoned to appear, with an Injunction to the Ministers, *to take no other Title upon them, than what was given them by the Edicts* (5).

(3) *It is Mr Daillé's Apology.*

(4) *See the Collection of Edicts for the Clergy.*

(5) *See the Remark* [B] *of the Article* AUBERTIN.

[C] *Has been sometimes confounded with his Cousin* Samuel Bochart.] Mr *le Fevre*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, has quoted the *Diallacticon* of our *Bochart* in his Reply to Mr *Arnauld* for the defence of his Invincible Motives. I believe he will not take it ill, if I judge that he took it for a Work of Mr *Bochart* of *Caen*. If he had known that two Ministers of that Name have writ Works of Controversy; or, if at least he had known that the Author of the *Diallacticon* is not the same *Bochart*, who made himself admired in the Common-wealth of Learning by his *Phaleg*, &c. he would never have quoted the Author of the *Diallacticon*, with this Elogy of the Learned *Bochart* (6), as he has done more than once. It were in vain to say, that the Minister of *Alençon* was a learned Man, and that Mr *le Fevre* might have called him so without any Exaggeration, or Flattery; I am sure, that no intelligent Readers will ever be persuaded that this Remark is ill-grounded.

(6) Pag. 27, 129.

BOCHART (Samuel), Minister of the Word of God at *Caen*, was one of the most learned Men in the World. He was of *Rouen*, and of a very good Family [A], and was born in the Year 1599. He made early a very great Progress: one may judge of it by the Forty four *Greek* Verses which he composed in Praise of *Thomas Dempster* (a), who published them in 1612, in the Front of his *Roman Antiquities*. At that time he studied under that learned Scotchman, and it is likely that he lodged then in the House of the Famous *Peter du Moulin*, Minister of the Church of *Paris*, who was his Uncle by the Mother's Side (b). He went through his Philosophy at *Sedan*, where he maintained public Theses, in the Year 1615, which gained him great Honour, not only because he answered the Arguments well, but also by reason of some Verses which he added to them, very artificially suited to the Figure of a Circle (c). It is thought that he studied Divinity at *Saumur* under *Cameron* (d), and it is well known that he followed him to *London*, when the Civil War had destroyed that Academy. He made no long abode in *England*; for it is known that he was at *Leyden* about the latter end of the Year 1621, where he applied himself earnestly to the Study of the *Arabic* Tongue under *Erpenius*. He found a Professor of Divinity in that University, who conceived a very particular Esteem for him, and gave him public Marks of it in the Year 1629, by dedicating his *Catholicus Orthodoxus* to him [B]. I mean Mr *Rivet*, who was at that time married to a Sister of our *Bochart*'s Mother. Mr *Bochart*, being in *France*, was soon made a Minister there, and presented to the Church of *Caen*. The first thing remarkable, which he did there, was to maintain a long Conference with Father *Veron*, in which he came off with an entire Victory. That Man, provided with a special Mission from the Court to dispute, and as it were invested with the Office of a warranted Controvertist all over the Kingdom, challenged Mr *Bochart* the fourth Day of *September* 1628, and did not cease to make a Noise, till he had obtained a Day and Place to enter publickly into the Lists with him. The Dispute was managed in the Castle of *Caen*, in the Presence of a great many Persons of both Religions. The Duke of *Longueville*, Governour of the Province, came thither as often as his Affairs permitted him, and Commissioners were appointed

(a) *They are in the new Edition of his works* 1692.

(b) Tunc nisi memoria me fallit hospitabatur Parisiis apud avunculum Petrum Molinæum. - - - - *Then if my memory fail not, he lodged with his Uncle* Peter du Moulin. *Steph. Morin. de Bocharto, & ejus Scriptis.*

(c) *They are in the abovementioned Edition.*

(d) Puto me dicere quod Salmurii audiverit Cameronem, & eo præside theses theologicas defenderit. *Morinus ibid.*

[A] *He was of a very good Family.*] His Father *RENE BOCHART du Menillet*, Minister of the Reformed Church of *Rouen*, was Great-Grandson of JOHN BOCHART Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris* in 1490, and Grandson of JOHN BOCHART, who pleaded so strongly for the *Pragmatic Sanction* (1), and Son of STEPHEN BOCHART, who made the Branch of *Menillet*. *Moreri*'s Dictionary shews the Relation that was between our *Samuel Bochart*, and the *Bochart Champigni's*, who have exercised so many fine Offices in the Gown.

(1) *It was in the presence of* Francis I. *he opposed the* Concordate.

[B] *Rivet - - - - - dedicated his* Catholicus Orthodoxus *to him*] Mr *Rivet* dedicated that Book to four Persons, *viz.* to *Peter du Moulin* Minister and Professor at *Sedan*; to *William Rivet* Minister of *Teillebourg*; to *John Maximilian de Langle* Minister of *Rouen*; and to *Samuel Bochart* Minister of *Caen*. He praises the last for his Dispute against *Veron*, in which, says he to him, you shewed him that he was ignorant in *Greek* and in *Hebrew*, and put a bridle on his impudent Sophistry, which he has endeavoured to shake off by telling many Lies (according to his custom) about his imaginary Victories; but wise Men have not been deceived by them, and you have discovered his Vanity by your Answer. This may serve for a Supplement to my Relation of that Dispute, taken from Mr *Morin*. By this it appears, that *Veron* ascribed the Victory to himself. In the same Year, 1629, Mr *du Moulin* dedicated his *Antibarbare* (2) to Mr *Bochart*. The latter had given him notice of a mistake, which was, that *du Moulin*, having promised that Treatise of Controversy, in the Table of the *Novelty of Popery*, had forgot to publish it.

(2) *So that Book is intituled, and not* l'Anti-barbarie, *as in the Catalogue of the* Bodleian *Library, pag.* 462, *and in Mr* Baillet n. 176. §. 6. *of the* Anti-

appointed on both sides to be present. The Dispute lasted from the Twenty second of *September* to the third of *October*, and the two Disputants went through almost the whole wide Field of Controversies in Nine successive Meetings which they had. The Acts of this Dispute, well attested and collated, were published on both sides; but Mr *Bochart* added several things of his own, which the turbulent Spirit of his Antagonist would not let him put in order on the Spot; he added also the Dispute concerning the Eucharist, and Celibacy, which they had agreed to examine, but had not gone through with them, because *Veron* quitted the Field (*e*). This Minister's Reputation, the Foundation of which was laid at that time, increased very much in the Year 1646, by the Publication of his *Phaleg*, and his *Canaan* [C], wherein he treats, I. Of the Dispersion of Mankind caused by the Confusion of Languages: And, II. Of the Colonies, and Language of the *Phenicians*. The Enquiries which he must have made, in order to compose those Works, and some others, and which obliged him to search into all the ancient Authors, and the most hidden Treasures of the Oriental Languages, had this Relation to his being a Minister, that he engaged in them by degrees, only because he had undertaken to preach on *Genesis*; for when he came to the second Chapter he was obliged to explain the Situation of the Terrestrial Paradise: The following Chapters engaged him to examine the Origin of Nations, and a great many other Passages required that he should write on the Animals, Plants, and precious Stones, mentioned in the Bible. If he had lived long enough, he would have left compleat Treatises on those matters, but he could only finish that concerning Animals. It was printed at *London* in 1663, under the Title of *Hierozoicon*. His Collections on the Terrestrial Paradise, on Plants, and precious Stones, were not found in a Condition, after his Death, to make any thing of them. Every body knows that the Queen of *Sweden* invited him to her Court [D], and that he went thither in the Year 1652. It is not necessary to speak in particular of several Pieces which were published by him at different times, and redounded to his Reputation. For example, in the Year 1650, he published a Letter about the Authority of Kings, and about the Institution of Bishops and Priests. He published one in 1661, against the Jesuit *la Barre*, concerning the Toleration of *Lutheranism* decided in the National Synod of *Charenton*; and another in 1663, wherein he shewed, by many learned Reasons, that there is no likelihood that *Æneas* ever came into *Italy*. He died at *Caen*, *May* 16, 1667, having lost his Speech and his Senses all of a sudden in the Academy that met at the House of Mr *de Brieux*. His Papers are in the Hands of Mr *de Colleville*, Son of his only Daughter (*f*), and formerly a Counsellor in the Parliament of *Normandy*. Among those Papers there are a great many Sermons written with Mr *Bochart*'s own Hand, *viz.* those which he preached on *Genesis*,

(*e*) Adversarius vadimonium deseruit. *Steph. Morinus, ubi supra.*

(*f*) *She was married to a Counsellor in the Parliament of* Normandy, *called Mr* de Colleville. *It was the name of a Lordship: the name of the Family was* le Sueur.

[C] *His Reputation encreased much in the Year* 1646, *by the Publication of his* Phaleg, *and his* Canaan.] These are the Titles of the two Parts of Mr *Bochart's Geographia Sacra*. A Printer of Reputation was sent for to *Caen* (3), in order to have that Work more correct, and the sooner printed. If we may believe those who re-printed it at *Francfort* in 4°, in 1681, the Edition of *Caen* is full of faults, from which they boast to have purged theirs: *ab infinitis σφαλμασι, quibus exemplar Cadomi impressum refertum erat, purgatum.* To their Edition they joined two of Mr *Bochart's* Letters, one concerning Episcopacy, and the Right of Kings, written to Dr *Morley* Chaplain to King *Charles* II of *England*; and the other to Mr *Segrais*, on the Question, Whether *Æneas* ever came into *Italy* (4). The first of those two Letters was printed in 1650, as I have already said. *Spizelius* knew nothing of it; for after having quoted one of *Sarravius's* Letters, which shewed, that it would be a piece of Injustice not to publish that fine Production of Mr *Bochart*; He adds, that it was notwithstanding still unpublished (5). I know nothing of the Edition of the *Geographia Sacra*, mentioned by Sir *Thomas-Pope Blount*, as made at *Caen* in *Folio*, in the Year 1651, and I believe, there never was such an Edition. As for the *Hierozoicon*, (which is the Title of the Volume *de Animalibus Sacræ Scripturæ*) it was re-printed at *Francfort* in the Year 1675, and an Abridgment of it was made in the Year 1690, which was printed at *Franeker*. The Author of that Abridgment is an *Hungarian*, named *Vecsius*.

(3) *His Name was* John Jannon. *See* Steph. Morin. in Dissert. de Bocharto & ejus Script.

(4) *See the* Nouv. de la Repub. des Lettr. *for* July 1684, art. iv.

(5) Spizelius in infel. literat, p. 913. *Note, that in the* Errata *he says he had seen it in the* Francfort *Edition of the* Geographia Sacra 1674.

[D] *The Queen of* Sweden *invited him to her Court.*] I have heard a thousand foolish Stories of this Journey of Mr *Bochart*; as for Example: That one Day, in the Queen's Library, he was suddenly asked this Question, *What do you think of a certain Book called the* Bible? It is pretended that he took the thing with as serious a Tone, as he ought; and made a large Discourse on the Marks of Divinity which shine in the Scripture; but that the Standers by did but laugh at it. They add, that the Abbot *Bourdelot* had made the Queen believe, that Mr *Bochart* played admirably on the Flute, but that he would not play before her Majesty, except she absolutely commanded him; and that, thereupon, the Queen, without giving any ear to his repeated protestations of Ignorance, absolutely required him to play on it, and that he obeyed her Commands. I have heard a great many People say these things, and others of the same nature; but on a close enquiry I cannot find any thing to render them credible. Nevertheless, I mention them here, that those, who hear these idle Stories, may give no credit to them. Mr *Huet*, the present Bishop of *Avranches*, who went with Mr *Bochart* into *Sweden*, has given a very pretty Relation of that Journey (6). I have cited it in Remark [B] Citation (6) of the Article (FRANCIS) BLONDEL, the Mathematician.

(6) *It is in* Latin *Verse.*

This Remark was finished, when the *Menagiana* fell into my Hands, where I found these Words: 'It was a fine sight to see Mr *Bochart* play at Shuttle-'cock with the Queen of *Sweden*! The Queen 'having pressed him one Day to play at it with 'her, he laid down his Cloak and played. His 'Friends laughed at him for it; and told him, that 'he ought absolutely to have refused it (7).' I find there also, that the Queen had resolved to be at a Meeting, where he was to read some Part of his *Phaleg*; but that Mr *Bourdelot*, to deprive him of that Honour, felt the Queen's Pulse, and told her, that she was out of order, and must take Physic. So that she kept her Bed that Day. If there had been any ground for the Story of the Flute, it would have been in the Book I have just now quoted.

(7) Menagiana, pag. 349. *of the first* Dutch *Edition.*

neſis, from the first Chapter to the eighteenth Verſe of the nineteenth Chapter. As many of this great Man's Manuſcript Diſſertations as could be found, have been collected and added to the new Edition of all his Works, publiſhed in *Holland* in the Year 1692 [*E*]. Mr *Morin* formerly a Colleague of Mr *Bochart*, and now Miniſter of the *French* Church at *Amſterdam*, and Profeſſor of the Oriental Languages in the Illuſtrious School of the ſame City, has joined a Diſcourſe to that Edition (g), which I have made uſe of in compoſing this Article. They who have a mind to ſee the Encomiums that have been beſtowed upon Mr *Bochart*, may find them in the Authors which I refer to (*b*). His Learning, vaſt as it was, was not his chief Excellence; he had ſuch a Share of Modeſty as was infinitely more to be eſteemed than all his Learning. And accordingly he enjoyed his Reputation with great Tranquillity, being free from thoſe unhappy Quarrels which ſo many learned Men draw upon themſelves by their Pride, and the Vehemence of their Stile. I never heard of a certain Treatiſe which Mr *Menage* aſcribes to him [*F*].

(g) *De clariſſimo Bocharto & omnibus ejus ſcriptis. - - - Of the famous* Bochart *and all his writings.*

(*b*) Colomés *in bis* Gallia Orient. *quæ ch be dedicated to him. Sir* Thomas Pope Blount, *Cenſura cbr. Author. Sprengbut, in inſtit. hi rat. pag.* 916, *& ſeq.*

[*E*] *Some Diſſertations were prefixed to the new Edition of all his Works - - - - in* 1692.] *Moreri* was not altogether in the wrong, to give ſome hopes that Mr *le Moyne* would publiſh Mr *Bochart*'s Manuſcripts; for it is certain, that he had ſuch a deſign, but not having all the leiſure neceſſary for ſuch an Undertaking, he committed the care of it to Mr *de Villemandy*, promiſing to aſſiſt him with his Advice, and to ſupply him with many of *Bochart*'s Letters and Diſſertations. Death hindered him from performing his Promiſe. But on the other hand, it is certain, that *Moreri* is groſſly miſtaken in that Article, both when he ſays, that all the Manuſcript Treatiſes of *Bochart* were in the Hands of Mr *le Moyne*; and when he ſays, that *a troubleſome Buſineſs had obliged Mr* le Moyne *to leave the Kingdom*. It is notorious that he did not go out of *France* without leave from the Court; and that it was his fault that he did not continue in his Church of *Roum*, which did all they could to retain him. He only left the Kingdom to take poſſeſſion of a Profeſſorſhip of Divinity that had been offered him long before at *Leyden*. It is true, that, in 1674, a vexatious Suit was commenced againſt him, occaſioned by a young Gentlewoman of the Proteſtant Religion, who having left her Father, who was a Catholic Counſellor in Parliament, had fled into *England*; but it is alſo true, that, after ſome Months Impriſonment, he was fully re-eſtabliſhed in his former Condition.

Moreri criticized for ſomething he had ſaid concerning Mr Le Moyne.

[*F*] *I never heard of a certain Treatiſe which Mr* Menage *aſcribes to him.*] It were to be wiſhed, that Mr *Bochart* had publiſhed his Collections on ſo curious a Matter, as that mentioned by Mr *Menage*. It turns upon certain things that are to be found but once in Writers. 'Multa eſſe in libris Juris, ut 'libros cæteros taceam, ſingularia atque ut Gram- 'matici Græci loqui amant μονήρη, ſive ἅπαξ 'εἰρημένα (quo titulo librum audio ſcripſiſſe Samuelem Bochartum) quis neſcit (8)? —— *Who 'does not know, that there are many things in Books 'of Law, to mention no other, which are ſingular, 'and as the* Greek *Grammarians call it* μονήρη, *or* 'ἅπαξ εἰρημένα, *i. e. once mentioned? I hear that* 'Samuel Bochart *has written a Treatiſe with that 'Title?*'

(8) Menag. Jur. Civilis amœn. c. xx. p. 99, 100.

BOCHIUS (John), a good *Latin* Poet, and Secretary of the City of *Antwerp*, was born at *Bruſſels* the Twenty ſeventh of *July* 1555 (*a*). He went through his firſt Studies at *Lire*, and in the City of *Aeth*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf from his School-fellows. He excelled chiefly in Poetry, ſo that he might be called the *Virgil* of the *Low Countries* [*A*]. He was admitted into the Houſe of Cardinal *George Radzivil*, by which means he had an Opportunity to ſtudy Divinity at *Rome*, when *Bellarmin* explained the Controverſies there. *Bochius* attended his Lectures conſtantly. He travelled afterwards into ſeveral Countries; he viſited *Poland*, *Lithuania*, and *Moſcovy*, not without grievous Inconveniencies, and great dangers (*b*); for, as he went from *Smolensko* to *Moſcow*, the Cold was ſo violent that his Feet were quite frozen. They had begun to talk of cutting them off, when one of the *Czar*'s Surgeons found that they needed not come to that Extremity: The Remedy which he made uſe of would not perhaps have performed the Cure, if another accident had not happened. *Bochius* had got himſelf carried to the *Livonian* Quarters, and was there when the great Duke *Baſilides* came with an Army to plunder the Country [*B*]. *Bochius* being ſtruck with fear fled where he could, and, after having been ſtript and beaten, he eſcaped from the Soldiers hands,

(a) Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 461.

(*b*) *He gives an account of them in his Notes on the* CXLVIIth *Pſalm.*

[*A*] *He might be called the* Virgil *of the* Low-Countries.] I muſt ſet down the very words of *Valerius Andreas*, to ſhew the better with what Precipitation *Moreri* compiled his Dictionary. 'In 'poetica palmam cæteris facilè præripuit, adeo ut 'alterum Belgii noſtri Maronem nominare liceat (1). '—— *In Poetry he far excelled all others, ſo that 'he may be called the* Virgil *of the* Low-Countries.' In the Copy which I make uſe of, the firſt Letter of the Word *Maronem* is not well printed: ſo that if it be not carefully obſerved, it may eaſily be taken for a V. I fancy that *Moreri*'s Copy had the ſame fault, and that ſo he read *Varonem* inſtead of *Maronem*. Whereupon, he remembered that *Varro* was accounted the moſt learned of the *Romans*, from whence he concluded, that ſince *Bochius* was ſirnamed the *Varro* of the *Netherlands*, he ought to ſay of him, that he was famous for his Erudition, that he made a wonderful progreſs in the knowledge of learned Languages, and in all ſorts of Literature, and that he improved in all the ſublime Sciences of Controverſy, of the Civil and Canon Law, and of Scholaſtic Divinity. *Francis Swertius*, who loved, and knew him very particularly, beſtows no praiſe upon him, that can give us ſuch a Notion of him. *Melchior Adam* and *Valerius Andreas*, who praiſe him a little more, are alſo far from ſaying any ſuch thing. The latter does not ſo much as ſay, that he was ſirnamed the *Virgil* of the *Netherlands*; but only, that he deſerved that Title.

(1) Val. Andreas, Biblioth. Belg. pag. 461.

[*B*] Bochius *had got himſelf carried into the* Livonian *quarters, when* Baſilides *came with an army to plunder the Country.*] The reaſon, or pretence, of that Violence, was, That the Patriarch of the *Muſcovites* complained to the *Czar*, that the *Germans* (under which Name thoſe of *Livonia* were alſo comprehended) enervated the Courage of the *Muſcovites*, and made them ſpend a great deal of Money on divers ſorts of Drinks which they ſold them. 'Quæ- 'ſi Germani, in quibus Livones, deliciis Moſchos 'corrumperent, coctiſque variis potus generibus 'pecuniæ emungerent, & muſculos animos enerva- 'rent (2).'

(2) Melchior Adam, in vitis Philoſ. p. 498.

[*C*] *He*

hands, and returned the next Day to his Quarters. That Exercise very much hastened the Effect of his Remedies. After he returned into his own Country, he made a Poem, which pleased the Duke of *Parma* so well, that he procured him the Place of Secretary of *Antwerp*. That Poem was a Panegyric on the Duke of *Parma*, on the taking of That City. He composed afterwards divers Court Poems [C], and at last made *David*'s Psalms the chief Subject of his Pen. He died before the Impression of what he had done in them was finished (c) [D]. It was the thirteenth of *January* 1609 (d). He published his Life of *David* in 1608. He left but one Daughter. A Collection of his Epigrams, Elegies, and other scattered Poems was printed at *Cologne* in 1615; to which are added all the Verses that could be found of his Son *John Ascanius Bochius*, who died in *Italy* in the Flower of his Youth. *Francis Swertius*, who took care of that Edition, informs us, that his good Friend *John Bochius* was unhappy in a Wife, which, *says he*, is often the Fate of Great Men (e).

(c) Melchior Adam. in vita Philos. p. 498.

(d) Idibus Jan. Id. ibid. Vat. Andreas ubi supra. Moreri *renders it the* 15th *of* January; *which is wrong.*

(e) Matrimonio implicitus fuit non usquequaque felici ac concordi quod fere viris magnis commune. *Swert. Athen. Belg. pag.* 393.

[C] *He composed divers Court Poems.*] Thus I call, for Example, the *Description of the Honours done to the Governours of the* Netherlands, when they took possession of their Government. That which he made upon the Journey and Installation of *Albert* of *Austria*, and of his Spouse the *Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia*, was not printed in the Year 1595, as *Valerius Andreas* affirms; for they did not make their Entry till 1599.

[D] *He died before the Impression of what he had done on the Psalms was finished.*] *Melchior Adam* asserts it twice together in plain Terms (3). Nevertheless it might be questioned, if we should refer ourselves to *Francis Swertius*, who makes no manner of mention of any Books of *Bochius* printed after his Death, except a Collection of divers Poems. Besides, he observes, that the Physical, Moral, Political, and Historical Observations of *Bochius*, which are doubtless his Work on the *Psalter*, were printed in the Year 1608. But when I consider, that *Valerius Andreas*, whose Work is without comparison less faulty than that of *Francis Swertius*, ascribes to *Bochius* a Book entituled, *Observationes Physicæ, Ethicæ, Politicæ & Historicæ in Psalmos à Græcis Latinisque Autoribus*, without noting the Year of the Impression, I cannot think, that the Year 1608, marked by *Francis Swertius*, is right, and consequently, I am of opinion, that it is best to keep to *Melchior Adam*'s Narrative, as if the Author of the *Athenæ Belgicæ* had said nothing.

(3) Id. ibid.

BODEGRAVE, a Village of *Holland* on the *Rhine*. I only speak of it to correct *Moreri*'s Dictionary, wherein we find it is a Borough *famous for the Victory, which the* French *obtained there over the* Dutch *in* 1672. Which is a Falsity [A]. *Baudrand* is quoted for it, which is another Falsity [B].

[A] *Moreri says it is a Town famous for a battle - - - - - - which is a Falsity.*] There never was any Battle or Skirmish at *Bodegrave*, between the *French* and the *Dutch*. All that can be said, is, that about the latter end of *December* 1672, the *French* drew up a considerable Army to penetrate into the Heart of *Holland* by the favour of the Ice, but that a great Thaw, that happened suddenly, obliged them to give over their Enterprize. Their Vexation at that Disappointment, carried them to extreme Cruelties against the Inhabitants of *Bodegrave*, which was one of the Posts they had possessed themselves of, and were forced to abandon. The Particulars of their Barbarities are to be found in a Book published by Mr *Wicquefort*, on that Subject (1).

(1) *Intituled*, Avis fidelle aux veritables Hollandois.

[B] - - - - - - *Moreri cites* Baudrand, *which is another Falsity.*] For Mr *Baudrand* does not say, that the *French* obtained a Victory over the *Dutch*, in that Place: He says only, that the *Dutch* were ill treated there by the *French*: *ubi Belgæ uniti male habiti fuere à Francis anno* 1672. Perhaps I have already said but too often, that a Translator, who ventures to paraphrase, or to depart never so little from his Original, ought to be thoroughly acquainted with the Matter in question. Without which, he exposes himself to mistake so much the more blameable, because upon that account many People impute them to those that are very innocent of them; I mean, to the Authors translated. An hundred Examples of this Disorder might easily be shewn.

BODIN (JOHN), a Native of *Angers*, one of the most able Men that were in *France* in the XVIth Century, 'studied the Civil Law at *Toulouse* (a), and having 'taken his Degrees there, he read Law Lectures with great Applause of his 'Auditors (b). — At that time he designed to settle himself at *Toulouse* in the 'Quality of Professor of the Civil Law. And with this view, in order to get the 'good will of the *Toulousains*, he made his Oration *de Instituenda in Republica juventute*, 'which he dedicated to the People and Senate of *Toulouse*, and recited publickly in 'the Schools of that City.' It has also been said, 'that, with the same Design, he 'made the Epitaph of *Clementia Isaura* (c) [A] engraved at *Toulouse* in 1557, un-'der the Statue of the said *Clementia*. But at last he preferred Pleading to the 'Civil

(a) Menage, Remarques sur la vie de Pierre Ayrault, p. 141.

(b) *See his* Latin *Letter to* Pibrac, *prefixed to his Republic.*

(c) *Who instituted the* Floral Games *of* Toulouse, *as is falsly pretended.*

[A] *It has been said - - - - - that he made the Epitaph of* Clementia Isaura, *engraved - - - - - - under her Statue.*] Mr *Menard* asserts it in his *Illustrious Men of* Anjou (1); *but* Catel says, *in his Memoirs of the History of* Languedoc, *that* Bodin, *who is thought to be Author of that Epitaph, was not so; but that* Martin Gascon *was the Author of it.* Thus Mr *Menage* has expressed himself. Let us see *Catel*'s Words: 'No Body doubts but the Inscription on 'the Pedestal of the said Statue is new, and done 'in the Year 1557; though it is uncertain by whom; 'for some say, that it was *Bodin*, who writ the Book 'on the Republic, when he was a Student at *Tou-'louse*; Others say, that it was an Advocate named 'Dutil; but I believe, it was an Advocate called 'Mr *Martin Gascon*, born in the Isle of *Rhodes*, who 'was *Capitoul* that Year, and a very good Latinist, according to the Testimony of the Learned 'Physician *Ferrier*, who in a small Poem, which he 'published concerning the excellent Men of *Toulouse*, 'speaks thus of the said *Gascon*:

Ipsaque de longis regionibus inclyta fama
Gasconum adduxit Rhodium, Ciceronis alumnum (2).

Their spreading Fame has brought from distant Rhodes
Gascon, great Tully's Scholar.

(1) Menage, Remarq. sur la vie de Pierre Ayrault, p. 141.

(2) Catel. Memoirs de l'Hist. du Languedoc, pag. 402.

[B] Loysel

' Civil Law, and left the School of *Toulouſe* for the Bar of *Paris*. *Loyſel* and *Sammarthanus* ſay, that he had no great Succeſs in his Pleading [*B*]. And doubtleſs this was the Reaſon that made him leave the Bar, to apply himſelf to the Compoſing of Books, wherein he ſucceeded admirably well. His firſt Performance was his Commentary upon *Oppian*'s Books on Hunting, and his Tranſlation of thoſe Books into *Latin* Verſe.' He is accuſed of having been a Plagiary there [*C*]. I ſhall give the Liſt of his other Books [*D*] in a Remark, and ſhall not forget what concerns his *Heptaplomeres*, which never was printed, and wherein it is ſaid, that he

[*B*] Loyſell *and* Sammarthanus *ſay, that he had no great ſucceſs in his pleading.*] See, above, the words of *Anthony Loyſel* (3), to which add this Paſſage of *Sammarthanus*: ' Neque vero quam ' ſcriptis comparaverat exiſtimationem preſentia ſua ' minuebat, ſi quando in familiari hominum con' greſſu de quacunque re propoſita diſerte copio' ſeque diſputaret. Quo magis mirandum eſt, ho' minem ea facultate præditum inter nobiliores ' curiæ Pariſienſis advocatos locum obtinere non ' potuiſſe: præſertim cum æquales haberet Briſſonios, ' Paſcaſios, Pithœos, & alios cumplures, ingenii lau' de præſtantes viros, qui amœnioribus etiam diſ' ciplinis incumberent, nec eo minus celebriter in ' fori luce verſarentur (4). —— *Nor did he, by his preſence, leſs any of the Credit, he had obtained by his Writings; for, in familiar Converſation, he would diſpute elegantly and copiouſly on any ſubject propoſed. Which makes it the more wonderful, that a Man endowed with ſuch Faculties could not obtain a Place amongſt the firſt Rate Advocates in the Court of* Paris. *Eſpecially as he had for his Cotemporaries, the* Briſſon's, *the* Paſcaſius's *and* Pithœus's, *and ſeveral other Men, eminent for great Parts, who applied themſelves to the pleaſanter Studies, and were not therefore the leſs famous and eminent in the Court.*

(3) *In the Remark* [*A*], *of the Article* (PETER) AYRAULT, *Citation* (1).

(4) Sammarth. Elog. lib. iv. pag 92, 93.

[*C*] *He wrote a Commentary on Oppian: he is accuſed of having been a Plagiary there.*] ' *James* ' *Bongars* pretends, in one of his Letters to *Conrad* ' *Ritterſhuſius*, a Commentator and Tranſlator of ' *Oppian*, that *Bodin* had compoſed that Work out ' of the Writings of *Turnebus*, which ſeems very ' unlikely; ſince *Bodin* was not inferior in Learn' ing to *Turnebus*; and in 1555, when *Bodin* ' printed his *Oppian*, for which he had obtained ' a Licence in 1553, *Turnebus* was ſtill living; for ' he died not before the Year 1565. However, ' *Turnebus* himſelf complains, at the end of his E' dition of *Oppian* of 1555, that his Emendations ' on that Author had been ſtolen from him. Sep' tem ab hinc annis, leviter emendaveram Oppia' num de Venatione, partim animi conjecturâ, par' tim libri veteris ope. Eas emendationes quidam ' uſurpavit, & ſibi donavit: quas tamen non pu' tabam tanti, ut in furtivis rebus eſſe deberent. ' Eas à nobis vindicatas & recuperatas eſſe, nemo ' conqueri debebit: nam rerum furtivarum, lege, ' æterna eſt auctoritas. —— *Seven Years ago I made ſome ſlight Emendations on* Oppian's *Book of Hunting, partly by conjecture, and partly by the aſſiſtance of an antient Book. A certain perſon has made uſe of theſe Emendations, and put them off for his own; 'tis true, I did not think them of ſo much Value, as to be worth ſtealing. Yet no Body ought to blame me for claiming and taking them again; for, by Law, I have a perpetual Right to things that have been ſtole from me.* Which probably ought to be underſtood of *Bodin*. On the other ſide *Bodin* complains in his Method of Hiſtory, that a Grammarian had made uſe of his Commentary upon *Oppian* in an ungrateful manner. Quos ego de Venatione libros, cùm Latino verſu & Commentariis illuſtraſſem, quidam Grammaticus, quantum libuit de meo labore detrahens, iterum pervulgavit. —— *Which Books on Hunting, after I had illuſtrated them with* Latin *Verſes and Notes, a certain Grammarian, extracting from my work what he thought fit, has publiſhed again.* In the ſame Year 1555, *William Morel* printed the Tranſlation in *Latin* Verſe of *Oppian*'s Books *de Piſcatione*, and *Oppian*'s Books *de Venatione* in *Latin* Proſe: and 'tis likely *Bodin* meant that Tranſlation of ' *Oppian*'s Books *de Venatione* (5).' Note that *Bongars*'s Letter, quoted by Mr *Menage*, is to be found in the Eighty ſecond and Eighty third Pages of the *Gallia Orientalis*. It is dated from *Francfort* the fourth of *April* 1600. Mr *Colomies*'s Father received a Copy of it in the Year 1648. He that ſent it him had it from Mr *Gronovius*, the Father, who had tranſcribed the Original at *Nuremberg*, in the Year 1632, in the Houſe of *Nicholas Ritterſhuſius* the Son of *Conrad*. There are many things diſadvantageous to *Bodin* in that Letter. That which concerns his *Plagiariſm* is conceived in theſe Terms: *Jam edidiſſe illum lectiones Turnebi in Oppianum pro ſuis, nemo noſtrorum ignorat* (6). —— *Now we all know that he publiſhed* Turnebus's Readings *on* Oppian *for his own.* Note alſo, that Mr *Menage* has given but a weak reaſon to juſtify him. It is grounded on *Bodin*'s being not inferior in Learning to *Turnebus*. I believe, that, take all together, he is in the right; for without doubt *Bodin* was better skilled in the Civil-Law, Politics, and Modern Hiſtory, than *Turnebus*; but he was inferior to him in Critical and Philological Learning; now the Book in diſpute belongs to that kind of Knowlege,

(5) Menage, ubi ſupra, pag. 142.

(6) *See* Colomies's Gallia Orientalis, *pag* 83. *See alſo* Richerus. *Letters, pag.* 203.

[*D*] *Here follows the Liſt of his other Books.*] He publiſhed his *Method of Hiſtory* in the Year 1566, and his Diſcourſe on Coins, together with his Anſwer to *the Paradoxes of Malateroit, concerning the advance of the Price of every thing, and the means to remedy it*, in the Year 1568. His *Republic* was printed in *Folio* in the Year 1576, and ſeveral times afterwards in 8vo (7), and got him a very great Reputation. ' *Mornac* ſpeaks of it in ' theſe terms:

(7) *See the Remark* [*N*], *Citation* (48).

Jani Bodini Gallicam Rempublicam
Qui viderit, majus nihil fatebitur
In erudita luce priſci ſæculi.
Gallis hic, olim quod Quiriti Tullius.

Whoever reads John Bodin's *Republic in* French, *will own, that the bright Learning of the Antients produced nothing greater. He is to the* French, *what* Tully *once was to the* Romans.

' The Preſident *Thuanus* ſpeaks no leſs advanta' geouſly of that Work; tho' he ſpeaks leſs advan' tageouſly of the Author, accuſing him of Vanity, ' which he calls the Vice of the *Angevins* (8). O' pus magnum de Republica Gallicè publicavit: in ' quo, ut omni ſcientiarum genere, non tinctâ, ſed ' imbuti ingenii fidem fecit, ſic nonnullis, qui rectè ' judicant, non omnino ab oſtentationis innato gen' ti vitio vacuum ſe probavit. —— *He publiſhed in* French *a large work, concerning a Commonwealth, in which as he gave proofs of a not ſuperficial, but ſolid, Skill in all kinds of Learning, ſo he ſhewed to a few, who judge well, that he was not free from the innate fault of his Nation, Vanity.* Theſe great Encomiums on *Bodin*'s *Republic*, put me in mind to impart to my Readers, what I heard Mr *Naudé* ſay once: That ' *Ariſtotle*'s *Rhetoric*, *Scaliger*'s *Poetic*, *Charron*'s *Wiſdom*, and *Bodin*'s *Republic*, were, of all Books, thoſe that were writ with moſt Art. In 1578. ' *Bodin* publiſhed his Tables of the Law, intitu' led, *Juris univerſi Diſtributio*. They were ' printed at *Lyons* by *John de Tournes*, for *James* ' *Dupuy* Bookſeller of *Paris*. In the Dedication ' of his *Method of Hiſtory*, he makes mention of ' that Work in theſe Terms: Juris univerſi for' mam ſic adumbravimus in Tabula quam tibi ex' hibuimus ſpectandam, ut ab ipſis cauſſis ſumma ' genera, generumque partitionem ad infima dedu' ceremus: ea tamen ratione, ut omnia membra ' inter ſe apta cohærerent. In quo veriſſimè à ' Platone dictum intellexi, nihil difficilius ac divi' nius, quàm rectè partiri. —— *I have ſketched out the*

(8) Menage *is miſtaken*; *for* Thuanus *means the* French *in general, and not the* Angevins *in particular.*

he set forth many impious things. 'His Reputation for a learned Man, and a fine 'Genius, excited the Curiosity of *Henry* III [*E*], who loved Men of Letters, and 'was pleased with their Conversation (*d*). *Henry* III therefore sent for *Bodin*; and 'as his Conversation was delightful (for he had read much and remembered all 'that he had read) *Henry* was mightily pleased with him. He had at first so great 'an esteem for him, that he imprisoned *John de Serre*, who had wrote an abusive 'Libel against *Bodin*, forbidding him on Pain of Death to publish that Piece (*e*). 'But his Favour was of no long Continuance. His Enviers soon did him such ill 'Offices with the King as took off the Regard he had for him. Seeing himself 'courted at that time by *Francis* of *France*, Duke of *Alençon* and *Anjou*, Brother of 'the Kings *Francis* II, *Charles* IX, and *Henry* III, he went to him. The Duke of '*Alençon* made him Secretary of his Commands, one of the Masters of the Requests 'of his Palace, and Chief Justice in Eyre *, and carried him into *England* and '*Flanders*, as one of his chief Counsellors. While he was in *England*, he had the 'Satisfaction and Honour to see his Books of the Republic, which the *English* had 'translated into *Latin*, publickly read in the University of *Cambridge* [*F*]. This 'obliged him to translate them afterwards into *Latin*.—— The History of *Flanders* 'takes notice that it was he, who advised the Duke of *Alençon* to seize *Antwerp*. 'After the Death of the Duke of *Alençon*, which happened a little after the Enterprize

(d) Menage, ibid. pag. 145.

(e) *See the Remark* [O], *Citation* (69).

* *See the Abbot* le Laboureur, *pag.* 385, *of his IIId Vol. of Memoirs of* Castelnau.

'*the form of the whole Civil-Law in the Table I presented for your perusal in such a manner, that I have deduced the highest* Genera *from their very causes, and followed the Division of the* Genera *to the very lowest Species. Yet so as that all the Parts aptly cohere. I experienced the Truth of this Saying of* Plato, *that nothing is harder or more divine than to divide aright.* Afterwards in 1579, 'he published his *Demonomanie des Sorciers*, which 'he dedicated to *Christopher Thuanus*, first President 'of the Parliament of *Paris*; at the end whereof, 'he added a Refutation of the Book *de Lamiis* 'writ by *John Wierus*, Physician to the Duke 'of *Cleves*. In 1576, he had published a Rela'tion of the States of *Blois*. That Relation was 'printed, but without the Author's Name. And 'a little before his Death he wrote his *Theatre 'de la nature universelle*. Besides all these Books 'he wrote a Dialogue concerning Religions, 'which has not yet been printed, intituled *Hep'taplomeron, sive de Abditis rerum sublimium ar'canis*. In that Dialogue he gave the advantage 'to the *Jewish* Religion; which made many Peo'ple believe, that he was a Jew ------ In the 'fifth Chapter of his *Method of History*, he makes 'mention of his Book *de Decretis*. *Sed hæc uberius 'in libro, de Decretis disseruimus.* —— *But I have 'spoken more at large of these things in a Book* de Decretis. That Book is not printed. He or'dered by his Will (of which I have seen the 'Original) that his Books *de Imperio, & Juris'dictione, & Legis Actionibus, & Decretis, & 'Judiciis*, should be burnt, which was done be'fore his Death in his presence. *Augur Ferrier* 'of *Toulouse*, a Physician and Astronomer, and *John 'de Serre* of *Montpellier*, and *Peter de Mostail* 'wrote against him. He answered them under 'the Name of *René Herpin*, who was a Man of 'the City of *Angers* (9).' Mr *Teissier* ascribes to him the *French* Version of the *Latin* Speech, made by *Charles des Cars*, Bishop of *Langres*, to the Embassadors of *Poland* in the City of *Metz*, in the Year 1573 (10). 'Et Consilium de prin'cipe recte instituendo, & paradoxon quod nec 'virtus ulla in mediocritate, nec summum homi'nis bonum in virtutis actione consistere possit, & 'historica narratio profectionis & inaugurationis 'Alberti & Isabellæ Austriæ Archiducum, & eorum 'in Belgio adventus (11). —— *Advice for the good 'Education of a* Prince, *and a* Paradox *that there 'is no Virtue in Mediocrity, nor the chief Good of 'Man in the Exercise of Virtue, and an Histori'cal Narration of the Journey, and Inauguration of* 'Albert, *and* Isabella, Arch-Duke, *and* Arch'Duchess, *of* Austria; *and their arrival in the* 'Low-Countries.' He is mistaken as to this last Book; for *Bodin* died before that Journey of the Arch-Duke *Albert* and the *Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia*.

(9) Menage, *Remarks on the life of* P. Ayrault, pag. 142, 143.

(10) Du Verdier vau-Privas *mentions it, pag.* 654, *of his* Bibliotheque Françoise.

(11) Teiss. Addit. aux Eloges, Tom. II. p. 249.

As for the Manuscript which Mr *Menage* calls *Heptaplomeron*, &c. of which Mr *Huet* spoke in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*, as of an abominable Book (12), I refer to the *News from the Common-wealth of Learning* (13), to avoid repetitions. Mr *Teissier* is mistaken when he says, that Mr *Diecman* published that Work of *Bodin* at *Leipsic* (14). He ought to have said, that many Particulars concerning that Book, are to be found in a *Schediasma inaugurale &c. An Inaugural Oration on the Naturalism of sundry Persons, but especially* John Bodin, published by Mr *Diecman*, at *Kiel*, in the Year 1683, and reprinted in the Year following at *Leipsic* in 12mo, and at *Jena* in 4to 1700.

(12) *Mr* Menage *in the Life of* Ayrault, *pag.* 143, *cites three Passages out of it.*

(13) June 1684. Art. iii.

(14) Teiss. Addit. aux Eloges, pag. 250. *Edit.* 1696.

[§ 'Tis known that *Bodin* followed the Duke of *Anjou*, into the Low-Countries. *Busbeck*, in the fifteenth Epistle of his Embassy to *France*, says, that of three different Accounts, which appeared in 1583, immediately after the attempt of that Duke upon *Antwerp*, the second, which was in *French*, and in form of a Letter, went for *Bodin's*. REM. CRIT.]

[*E*] *His Reputation for a learned Man, and fine genius, excited the Curiosity of* Henry III.] *Thuanus* relates this in a manner very glorious for *Bodin*. 'Dum hæc scriberet à Rege Henrico III, 'qui literatis disceptationibus per otium oblectaba'tur, ad familiare secretum cum plerisque aliis viris 'doctis sæpius est admissus, magnamque laudem ex 'iis reportavit, quippe qui ingenium in numerato 'haberet, & paratum ad omnia, quæ proponerentur 'pulcherrimarum rerum copiam qua pollebat acri 'memoria effunderet (15). That is to say, accord-(15) Thuanus, lib. cxvii. p. 778. ing to Mr *Teissier's* Translation: 'Whilst he was 'compoſing that Book, King *Henry* III, who, at 'his leisure Hours, took delight in the Conver'sation of the Learned, discoursed several times 'with him in the presence of some Learned Men, 'and those Conferences procured him great Ho'nour; for having a ready Wit, and all the Trea'sures of his Mind as it were in present Money, 'he produced a prodigious number of curious 'Things, which his excellent Memory supplied him 'with *extempore*.' This Narrative of *Thuanus* contains an Anachronism, which Mr *Menage* should have rectify'd, but on the contrary has adopted. *Thuanus* pretends, that *Bodin* continued still in favour with *Henry* III, when that Author was about his *Demonomanie*. He supposes also that *Bodin*, when he found himself out of favour, apply'd to the Duke of *Alençon*, and obtained an honourable Post in his House. This is confounding times. He had not undertaken to write the Book intituled *de la Demonomanie des Sorciers*, but in consequence of a Judgment that had been given against a Witch, to which he had been called the thirtieth of *April* 1578 (16), and he was Master of the Requests, and Counsellor to the Duke of *Alençon*, in the Year 1571 (17). Hereafter (18) we shall see a Passage of *Thuanus*, which will inform us, that *Bodin's* Conduct in the States of *Blois*, in the Year 1576, lost him the King's favour.

(16) Bodin, *Preface to his* Demonomanie.

(17) Id. de Republica, lib. I. cap. x. pag. 255. *Edit.* Uriel. 1602.

[*F*] *The Satisfaction and Honour to see his Books, of the Republic, read in the University of* Cambridge.] I have often observed, that, in order to reduce within due bounds, the Ideas which Authors give of the glorious Prosperity of Persons they speak of, it is necessary to consult, that very Man, on whom they be-

(18) *In the Remark* [*I*].

' prize upon *Antwerp*, *Bodin* finding himself frustrated in his Hopes resolved to re-
' treat. He retired to *Laon*, where he married the Sister of a Magistrate [*G*].' He had an Office in the Presidial Court of That City [*H*], *and it was probably on account of that Office, that he was deputed in the Year* 1576, *by the third State of* Vermandois, *to the States of* Blois: *though, in his Account of those States, he stiles himself only Deputy of the third State of* Vermandois (*f*). He shewed there a very good Disposition to maintain the Rights of the People [*I*], and he believed that to be the Reason why he did not obtain the Office of Master of Requests, which had been designed for him. He had the Courage strenuously to oppose those who would have had all the King's Subjects forced to profess the Catholic Religion (*g*). He represented vigorously, that That Request was a Violation of the Edicts, and that such a Violation would necessarily produce a War, which had been so often fatal to all the Kingdom. The Freedom, wherewith he represented this, raised him many Enemies; wherefore perceiving that there was a Combination to make that Petition pass, and that by reason of the fatal Blindness of the King and his Counsellors, those who might have prevented that ill Resolution, durst not say any thing, he abstained from proposing his Opinion, which was prejudicial to himself, and could do no good to the Public (*h*). Some Cities complained, that he had gone beyond his Commission, by opposing that Request; but the King's Council, who examined those Complaints, discharged him (*i*). Every body knows, that in the *Ragguagli*

(*f*) Menage, *Remarks on the Life of* P. Ayrault, pag. 146.

(*g*) Thuanus, lib. lxiii. pag. 183. ad ann. 1576. *See the Remark* [*I*].

(*h*) Thuanus *is guilty of a Contradiction, and has refuted this himself. See the end of the Remark* [*I*].

(*i*) Ex Thuano ibid. *See the Remark* [*I*].

stow so much Glory: and then we find that tho' he is not sparing of his own Praises, yet what he says is sufficient to rectify the Hyperboles of his Historians. *Bodin* will not be so clear an instance of this, as I could wish; however, I may say, that his Expressions are not so distinct as those of *Sammarthanus*. See here what he says: ' Tametsi
' nova occasione ad id (19) maxime impulsus essem,
' cum Londini Olybium Gallum hominem in pri-
' vatis illustrium virorum ædibus; alium item apud
' Cantabriges in ipsa Academia difficili ac molesta
' ratione Anglis Rempublicam nostram interpretari
' comperissem (20). —— *Tho' I was principally moved to it on a new occasion, having understood that* Olybius *a* Frenchman *explained my Republic in private Families of great Men at* London; *and another Person at* Cambridge, *in the University itself, after a difficult and troublesome Manner.*' Those who know that there are private and public Lectures in the Colleges of the Universities of *England*, will find that *Sammarthanus* goes beyond *Bodin*; for he says positively, that *Bodin*'s *Republic* was explained at *Cambridge* in the publick Auditories: ' Quem (Andium ducem) in Angliam secutus, cum
' illic E SUGGESTU PUBLICO sua scripta juvenibus enarrari comperisset, ex hoc inusitatæ
' gloriolæ proventu non mediocrem vigiliarum suarum fructum sibi visus est collegisse (21). —— *When he followed him* [*the Duke of* Anjou] *into* England, *finding that his Writings were explained to the youth at* THE PUBLIC LECTURES, *he thought he had reaped an extraordinary fruit of his* Lucubrations, *in this small Crop of uncommon Glory.*' Mr *Menage* has followed the same Notion.

(19) *That is, to translate his* Republic *into* Latin.

(20) Bodinus Epist. Dedicat. Interp. de Repub. *the* Latin *Edition.*

(21) Sammarth. Elog. lib. iv. pag. 93.

[*G*] *He retired to* Laon, *where he married.*] ' He married *Frances Trouillart*, the Widow of *Claudius Guyart*, Comptroller of the King's Demesnes in *Vermandois*, and Sister of *Nicolas Trouillart* the ' King's Attorney in the Bailiwic, and Presidial ' Court of *Laon*. The Contract of his Marriage is ' dated *February* 25, 1576 (22).' This date shews, that it is necessary to rectify Mr *Menage*'s Narrative. I have followed it, but it was with a design to shew the defect of it in this place. Mr *Menage* supposes that *Bodin* went into *England*, and into the *Low-Countries*, with the Duke of *Alençon*, before the Year 1576; he will have it also, that the Duke of *Alençon*'s Death happened before the same Year; but it is a great falsity. That Duke went into *England* in the Year 1579. He returned thither in the Year 1582. He attempted to make himself Master of *Antwerp* in the Year 1583, and he died the Year following. *Menage* should not therefore have said, that *Bodin*, being frustrated in his hopes after the Death of That Prince, retired to *Laon*, and married there; but that he returned home to *Laon*, where he had married in the Year 1576. *Note*, that he had three Children by his Wife, two Sons, *Eliat* and *John*, and one Daughter. He out-lived *Eliat*, and *John* died young and unmarried. The Daughter fell distracted, was never married, and lived above Eighty Years (23).

(22) Menage, *Remarks on the Life of* P. Ayrault, pag. 146.

(23) Id. ibid. pag. 147, 148.

[*H*] *He had an Office in the Presidial Court of* Laon.] ' *Thuanus* says in the Hundred and seventeenth Book of his History, that he was Lieutenant General there. Mr *Menard* says in his Illustrious Men of *Anjou*, that he was the King's Attorney there. Mr *Joly* in his Notes upon *Loysel*'s Dialogue concerning the Advocates of *Paris*, and Mr *de Mezeray* in his History of *France*, both of them say that he was the King's Advocate there. *Sammarthanus* in the Elogy of *Bodin*, says in general, that he was a Magistrate there. It is certain, that he was the King's Attorney there in the room of his Brother-in-law, the Sieur *Trouillart*. He says in his Will, that he is one of the poorest Attorneys of the King of *France* (24).' Observe, That *Thuanus* supposes that he had not the Lieutenant-General's Place till after the Death of the Duke of *Alençon*.

(24) Menage, ubi supra.

[*I*] *He shewed a very good Disposition to maintain the Rights of the People.*] ' To use the words of Mr *Mezeray*. He remonstrated there with the ' Freedom of an old *Gaul*, that the Funds of the ' Royal Demesnes belonged to the Provinces, and ' that the King had only the use of them. King *Henry* III did not take this ill, saying, that *Bodin* ' was an honest Man. See *Bodin*'s Relation. He ' also remonstrated there, that the Deputies of two ' Bodies could decide nothing to the prejudice of ' the third: And upon his Remonstrance, the Deputies ' of the Ecclesiastical Order, and of the Nobility, who ' had been of the contrary Opinion, changed their ' Mind: which made King *Henry* III say, that *Bodin* was that Day Master of the States. See the ' seventh Chapter of the third Book of *Bodin*'s *Republic* (25).' See also the *Latin* Letter which he wrote to *Pibrac*, prefixed to the *French* Editions of his *Republic*, and you will find there what follows: ' Res ipsa planum fecit, me in legatione ad Galliæ
' conventus pro populi commodis adversus potentiorum opes, non sine capitis mei periculo, dimicaviss: ac primum omnium ne bella civilia,
' popularis fundi calamitas, renovarentur, acerrimè restitisse: deinde authorem fuisse ne quis è
' numero legatorum cooptaretur, qui populi rogationibus judicandis interesset: contra quam ab
' omnibus ordinibus, una omnium voce decretum
' erat, cùm res ipsa popularis ac speciosa videretur, esset tamen à populi commodis valdè aliena: ego ad collegium pontificum & patricios ire
' jussus, ordinis nostri decreto, illos à propositâ,
' susceptaque sententia deduxi. Cùm verò prædia
' publica sub hastâ vendere, & quidem alienatione sempiternâ, ac tributa duplicare specie levandæ plebis propositum esset, idque modis omnibus tentaretur, nos tanto studio intercessimus,
' ut cùm nihil obtineri potuisset, Rex ipse Homaro Burdegalensium Præside, Dureto Præside
' Molineorum, Ripuario Aquitaniæ Syndico, ac
' plerisque aliis audientibus dixerit, Bodinum ab
' ejus commodis non modò dissentire, verumetiam collegarum voluntates ac studia à se avertere
' consuesse. Si tamen procurator regius tunc fuissem,

(25) Id. ibid.

Ragguagli of *Boccalini*, he was condemned to be burnt, as an Athieſt, *notorio Atheiſta*, for having ſaid in his Books on a Republic, that Liberty of Conſcience ought to be granted to Sectaries (*k*). 'The Abbot *le Laboureur*, ſays in the 'Three hundred Eighty fifth Page of the ſecond Volume of his *Caſtelnau*, that 'he had been Lieutenant-General of the *Table of Marble* (*l*). It is certain, that in the 'time

(*k*) Ragguagli di Parnaſſo, Centur. 1. cap. lxiv. pag. 195.

(*l*) Menage, *Remarks on the Life of* P. Ayrault, pag. 146.

'iſſem, non aliter ſentirem: quia neceſſe eſt ſi 'lien intumeſcat, ut caput ipſum, ac cætera 'membra contabeſcant; quid igitur facere decuit 'plebis legatum? Cùm autem nullis illecebris fle-'cti potuiſſem, omnes penè Viromanduorum ci-'vitates, quæ me abſentem, & certè repugnan-'tem, communibus ſuffragiis elegerant, literis quo-'rundam perſuaſæ, procuratores ad conventus mi-'ſerunt, ut Bodinum, ſi fieri poſſet, à ſuſcepta 'legatione revocarent, quaſi qui duplices in Re-'publica religiones tueretur: ſed non prius pro-'curatorias tabulas in comitio aperuerant, quam 'ſumma cum ignominia exploſi fuere. Ex eo tu-'men quantum detrimenti meis rationibus alla-'tum ſit, ſatis intelligunt, qui ſæpius audierunt 'libellorum in regia magiſtrum me deſignatum à 'Principe antea fuiſſe. —— *The thing itſelf ſhows 'plainly, that, during my deputation to the States of* 'France, *it was not without hazard of my Life, 'that I had contended for the Privileges of the Peo-'ple againſt the Power of the great, and firſt that 'I made a ſtrong reſiſtance, againſt renewing the 'Civil-Wars, the deſtruction of the Peoples ſubſtance: 'then, that I was the occaſion that no body was 'choſen from among the Deputies, to be preſent at 'judging the Bills of the People, contrary to what 'had been reſolved by the Unanimous Voice of all 'the State: the thing ſeeming ſpecious and popular, 'but being in reality contrary to the Intereſt of the 'People. I being ordered by a Decree of our State, 'to go to the College of Eccleſiaſtics, and to the No-'bility, brought them over from their former Reſolu-'tions. And when it was propoſed to ſet the Public 'Lands to ſale, and alienate them for ever, and dou-'ble the Taxes, on pretence of eaſing the common 'People, and all means were tried to bring this a-'bout, I oppoſed it ſo earneſtly, that, when nothing 'could be done, the King himſelf declared in the 'preſence of* Homar, *Preſident of* Bourdeaux, *and* Duret, *Preſident of* Molin, *and* Ripar, Syndic *of* Aquitain, *and ſeveral others, that* Bodin *was not 'only himſelf averſe from his Intereſt, but alſo uſed 'to turn the inclinations of his Colleagues againſt 'him. But, tho' I had been the King's Attorney, 'at that time I could not have been of another mind: 'becauſe if the Spleen grows too big, the Head it-'ſelf, and other Members, muſt of neceſſity pine a-'way: what then could a Deputy of the People do? 'But when I could not be moved by any Allurements, 'almoſt all the Cities of* Virmandois, *who had choſen 'me by common Suffrage in my abſence, and againſt 'my Will, perſuaded by letters from certain Perſons, 'ſent their Attornies to the States, to recal* Bodin *if 'poſſible from the Office he had undertaken, as one 'who was for two Religions in the State, but their 'Letters of Procuration were no ſooner opened in the 'Aſſembly, than they were rejected with the great-'eſt Ignominy. What detriment this was to my 'affairs is well known to thoſe who have often heard 'that I was before nominated by the King, to be 'Maſter of Requeſts in his Palace.'*

What *Thuanus* ſays, concerning theſe ſame things, is moſt glorious for *Bodin*. He ſays, That the Reſolutions of the States having been preſented to the King, it was propoſed to the Third State, to appoint Twelve Commiſſioners to aſſiſt at the Examination, that was to be made of thoſe Reſolutions in the King's Council (26). This was approved at firſt; but when the thing was examined again, *Bodin* was of Opinion, that no ſuch thing ought to be done, and adviſed his Colleagues not to nominate any Deputy, and to oppoſe the Deputations which the Clergy and the Nobility intended to make. He was ſent to the other two Houſes, and ſhewed them by ſeveral Reaſons how dangerous it was to commit the Deciſion of what had been asked by the three States of the Kingdom to a ſmall number of Perſons; that tho' the Commiſſioners ſhould be proof againſt Bribes, yet the King's Preſence might intimidate them, and the Solicitations and Cabals of the Courtiers ſeduce them. He was anſwered, he made a Reply, and at laſt gained his Cauſe by the firmneſs wherewith he gave them to underſtand, that the Third State would oppoſe their Deputations. *Henry* III was vexed at this, and bore *Bodin* an ill-will for it. 'Itaque Rex Bodinum, 'quem unice diligebat, & ob raram eruditionem 'ac multam variarum rerum experientiam, dum 'cibum caperet, libenter audiebat, ab eo tempore 'non tam benigno vultu dignatus eſt, quod ordi-'nib. prioris ſententiæ mutandæ auctor extitiſſet, '& ea in re quantum ad circumagenda ordinum 'ingenia momenti haberet, minus grato regi ex-'perimento docuiſſet (27). —— Bodin *was a par-'ticular Favourite of the King, and he loved to hear 'him when he was at Table, for his extraordinary 'Learning, and great experience in various things: 'but, from this time, he looked leſs favourably on 'him, becauſe he had perſuaded the States to change 'their former Opinion, and ſhewed in that affair, 'by an experiment, no ways pleaſing to the King, 'of what conſequence he was to ſway the diſpoſitions 'of the States.'* That Prince cauſed it to be repreſented to the States that he was under a neceſſity of alienating part of his Demeſnes: 'Neceſſitate, quæ 'potentiſſimum telum eſt, urgente, id licere con-'tenderet, quippe cum conſtet, ſalutem populi 'ſupremam legem eſſe debere (28). —— *He inſiſted, 'that ſince neceſſity, that moſt powerful weapon, urg-'ged, the thing might be done; becauſe it was cer-'tain, that the ſafety of the People ought to be 'the ſupreme Law:* but they rejected that Propoſal, and it was *Bodin* chiefly, who brought them to that Reſolution; for the moſt conſiderable Deputies being corrupted with promiſes were already wavering. 'Peſſimum de domanio affectatæ neceſſi-'tatis obtentu alienando commentum, Bodino præ-'cipue auctore (nam præcipui jam promiſſis cor-'rupti murabant) evanuit, quod ſi locum tunc ha-'buiſſet, ſub principe profuſo miſere dilapidatum 'fuiſſet (29). —— *That wicked contrivance of alie-'nating the Royal Demeſnes, on pretence of feigned 'neceſſity, came to nothing, chiefly by the means of* 'Bodin, *(for the moſt conſiderable being corrupted 'with promiſes were already wavering) if the deſign 'had ſucceeded at that time, miſerable waſte would 'have been made under that profuſed Prince.* The ſame *Bodin* ſtoutly oppoſed the Cabals of the Party of *Meſſieurs de Guiſe*, who would have had the War againſt the *Huguenots* (30) reſolved on. We may infer from this that *Mezeray* is miſtaken, when he aſſerts, that the King praiſed *Bodin* for oppoſing the alienation of the Demeſnes. He confounds two things which he ſhould have diſtinguiſhed. *Bodin*'s Conduct was approved by the King's Council, when ſome Cities complained that he had oppoſed the Propoſal of not ſuffering two Religions in the Kingdom; 'Homines à factioſis ſubornati vene-'runt, qui Bodinum contra mandata ſua inter-'ceſſiſſe dicerent, quibus in conſiſtorio regio audi-'tis, nihilominus pronunciatum eſt, Bodinum ni-'hil niſi rectè feciſſe (31). —— *There came 'Men ſuborned by the factious, who ſaid that* Bo-'din *had interpoſed contrary to his Orders; they 'had a hearing in the King's Council, but never-'theleſs it was declared, that* Bodin *had done no 'thing amiſs*: this happened before the two Affairs which we have juſt now read in the paſſage of *Thuanus*, and which made *Bodin* loſe King *Henry* IIId's favour. Let us alſo obſerve a Contradiction of *Thuanus*. He ſays, Page 183, that, when *Bodin* perceived that his Remonſtrances againſt the Combinations of thoſe, who were for infringing the Edicts of Pacification, would be in vain, he abſtained from ſpeaking about that matter. 'Cum 'videret homo futuri providus conjurationæ factæ 'eò animos inclinare, & fatali Regis ac conſiliari-'orum ejus cœcitate effici, ut ab illis, qui pro-'hibere poterant, præpoſtera prudentia in ea re 'diſſimularetur, hujuſmodi publicis ſibi pernicio-'ſis

(26) Thuanus, lib. lxiii. p. 187.

(27) Thuanus, lib. lxiii. p. 187.

(28) Id. ibid.

(29) Id. ibid. pag. 188. col. 2.

(30) Id. ibid. col. 2.

(31) Id. ibid. pag. 183.

time of *Charles* IX he was the King's Attorney, in a Commiſſion for the Foreſts of *Normandy* [*K*].' He had been a Proteſtant, 'yet in 1589 he perſuaded the Inhabitants of *Laon* to declare for the Duke of *Mayenne* [*L*]; remonſtrating to them, that the Riſing of ſo many Cities, and of ſo many Parliaments in favour of Meſſieurs *de Guiſe*, ought not to be called a Rebellion, but a Revolution (*m*); and at that time he printed a Letter on That Subject (*n*). —— He died of the Plague at *Laon*, in 1596 —— in his Sixty ſeventh Year [*M*],' and was buried in

(*m*) Menage, ib. pag. 147.

(*n*) *Dated from* Laon *the 29th of* January 1590. Id. ibid.

ſis & in publicum nihil profuturis admonitionibus deinceps abſtinuit (32) —— *When, he who was a Man of great foreſight, perceived that, by Combination amongſt them, they all leaned that way, and that the fatal blindneſs of the King, and his Council, made thoſe who could have hindered it, out of a prepoſterous Prudence, diſſemble in the matter, he abſtained from ſuch public Remonſtrances, which were hurtful to himſelf, and not like to profit the public.*' But in Pag. 188, he tells us that this ſame Civilian vigorouſly oppoſed the Faction of *Meſſieurs de Guiſe*, even when the Reſolutions of the States had been preſented to the King, and it ſeemed that the Commiſſion of the Deputies was expired. The Oppoſition was concerning the deſign of renewing the War againſt the Proteſtants. The Partiſans of the Duke of *Guiſe* had gained the Clergy and the Nobility: thoſe two Bodies had ſeveral private Meetings to put off the Propoſals of Peace. *Bodin*, who, becauſe the Deputies of *Paris* were abſent, was then at the head of the Third State, oppoſed thoſe practices with great Courage (33); and when they told him that the thing had been thus reſolved upon in the States, and that the Aſſembly had no longer any Authority; he anſwered them boldly, you are then a company of Rebels, ſince you acknowledge that your Deputation is ended, and yet you do not leave off meeting together: But I am of another Opinion, we may yet preſent a Petition to the King; the Aſſemblies wherein they treated of the Peace at *Rome*, were not required to be ſo ſolemn as thoſe wherein the beginning of the War was in agitation: 'Et cum illi ita in comitiis conventum dicerent, & poſtulatis ſemel Regi obtatis nullas ordinum partes eſſe, quippe exſtinctis mandatis, audacter reſpondit, in perduellionis crimen ipſos incurrere, qui eum poteſtatem agendi vel propria confeſſione non habeant, tamen cottidie conventicula celebrent, verum ſe aliter cenſere, & licere adhuc Regi ſupplicare. Nam ut &c (34).' It was neceſſary that I ſhould ſhew *Thuanus*'s contradiction: for he had conſiderably leſſened *Bodin*'s Reputation without any Reaſon.

(32) Id. Ibid.

(33) Summa fiducia interceſſit. *Id. pag.* 188.

(34) Id. Ibid.

[*K*] *He was the King's Attorney in a Commiſſion for the Foreſts of* Normandy.] 'Maſter *John Bodin*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, perſuaded King *Charles* IX, that the Right of *Tiers and Danger*, was a general Right over all the Foreſts of *Normandy*, and took the care of that Inquiry upon himſelf, as the King's Attorney for the Reformation. There was hardly any Family in the Province, but what he proceeded againſt. He himſelf ſays in his Writings, that he made Four-hundred Cafes ready for Trial: And he carried the matter ſo far, that there was nothing wanting for the Execution of his Deſign, but the actual Diſpoſſeſſion of all thoſe, who had any Foreſts. All *Normandy* was in commotion at his Undertaking, and the Parliament met, ſeveral times, about that matter: They appointed Deputies; and the Nobility followed their Example. At laſt the King was moved with their Complaints, and convinced by the Reaſons which were repreſented to him. And to put a ſtop to that Search, which had laſted ſeveral Years, he made an Edict in the Year 1571, whereby he ordered the Alienation of the Rights of *Tiers and Danger*, which belonged to him, on the Foreſts of *Normandy*; and he acknowledged by that ſame Edict, that thoſe Foreſts were but few, and that the Revenue which he drew from them, was inconſiderable. *Bodin*, who could not yield, oppoſed the regiſtring of it: But the King ſet forth a Declaration, whereby, without having any regard to his Oppoſition and Proteſtations, which he declared void, he ordered it to be put in execution (35).' I thought this Paſſage deſerved to be ſet down at length: *Firſt*, Becauſe it contains a fact that is curious, and but little known. *Secondly*, Becauſe it ſerves to diſcover *Bodin*'s Temper, I mean, his Ardour, his Activity, his Vigilance, and his Steadineſs.

(35) Gérard, defenſes pour les particuliers qui poſſedent des bois en Normandie, contre la pretenſion des Droits de Tiers & Danger, *apud Menage, ubi ſupra, p.* 146, 147.

He himſelf tells us ſome Circumſtances of his Proceedings, which will confirm the thing. 'And I remember, that *Charles* IX having ordered his Letters Patents, in the Year M D LXX, for a general Regulation of the Waters and Foreſts in *Normandy*, which drew after it the Cognizance of the fineſt part of his Demeſne, the Preſidents and Counſellors of the Parliament of *Roan* were forbidden to take any Cognizance of it: And altho' they uſed all poſſible Endeavours to prevent that Prohibition, yet they at laſt agreed to it, after I had preſented to them ſeveral Repeated Commands from the King, and ſued xxii Counſellors, and the firſt Preſident ſeverally for Cafes reſulting from the Commiſſion, and the whole City of *Roan*, for the Rights which they claimed againſt the King, and which was the Reaſon why I obtained the Prohibition (36).'

(36) Bodin de la Republ. liv. iii, cap. ii. pag. 381. *See alſo the VIth Book, pag.* 1031.

[*L*] *He had been a Proteſtant; yet, in* 1589, *he perſuaded the Inhabitants of* Laon *to declare for the Duke of* Mayenne.] Mr *Menage* ſays, that he diſcovered that *Bodin* was a Proteſtant, by *one of his Letters to* John Bautru des Matras, *a famous Advocate in the Parliament of* Paris (37). Mr *Colomies* publiſhed part of that Letter in his *Gallia Orientalis* (38). It is as clear as day, that it is a Letter from a good *Huguenot*: It is not dated; it appears only that it was written after the firſt Civil-War: I mean, that which was ended in the Month of *March*, 1563. *Thuanus* ſays, that the *League*, having ſent Orders to *Laon*, not to acknowledge King *Henry* III any more; *Bodin*, who had been a Proteſtant, and who was never ſince an Enemy to the Reformed Religion, praiſed the Conduct of the *League*, and by the Biſhop's Advice made a Speech to the People, and removed the Scruples and Fears of the Inhabitants (39). He did not ſcruple to call the King a perfidious Man, and an Hypocrite, nor to foretel him miſchief; *he is, ſaid he, the Sixty third King of* France, *and he ſhall be the laſt: as the Climacterical Year Sixty three is commonly the laſt of Human Life.* In this manner he ſtirred up the City of *Laon* to join with the *Leaguers*: He writ a Letter on that (40) Subject, which was printed (41). Thus the *Nicodemites* do ſometimes more harm than an open Enemy; they know that they are ſuſpected, and therefore for fear of being undone, if they do not remove thoſe Suſpicions, they ſhew more Zeal for the prevailing Party, than thoſe who have already given ſufficient Proofs of the ſame Zeal. Obſerve theſe Words of *Thuanus*: *Videri regem huic regno Francico fatalem, & ultimum ex ea familia fore. —The King ſeemed fatal to this Kingdom of* France, *and would be the laſt of that Family.* What did *Bodin* mean by this Prognoſtication? Did he pretend that *Henry* III ſhould be the laſt King of the Branch of *Valois*? He needed be no great Prophet to foretel that, of a Prince, who was the only one remaining of that Branch, and was married to a young Woman that was barren. Did he pretend that no Prince of the third Race ſhould aſcend the Throne after *Henry* III? In that caſe the Event has given him the lye; and yet *Thuanus* makes a great Account of *Bodin*'s Predictions. 'He repaired that (42) Fault by an admirable Prediction of the unhoped for Iſſue of thoſe Troubles; for though there was no likelyhood of a Peace, he publiſhed before-hand both the Year and the Month wherein it would be concluded, and the Event anſwered what he had foretold (43):'

(37) Menage, ubi ſupra, pag. 147.

(38) Pag. 76. & ſeq.

(39) Thuan. lib. xciv. pag. 262. ad ann. 1589.

(40) *To Preſident* Briſſon.

(41) Thuanus, lib. xciv. p. 262.

(42) *He means the Fault which* Bodin *committed, by ſaying many things that were injurious to King* Henry III, *and to the King of* Navarre.

[*M*] *He died* - - - - - - *in* 1596 - - - - - - *in his Sixty ſeventh Year.*] He ſays in his Will, dated the

(43) Id. lib. cxvii. pag. 771. *cited by* Teiſſier addit. Tom. II. pag. 247.

in the Church of the *Franciscans* in the same City, as he had ordered by his Will (o). He had been a *Carmelite* in his Youth, if we may believe *Thuanus*; but Mr *Baudry*, *Advocate in the Great-Council*, and Grand Nephew of *Bodin*, *told Mr* Menage *several times, that* Thuanus *had been misinformed in That Particular* (p). It seems to me, that there is as much Exaggeration in the Praises which *Gabriel Naudé* bestowed upon *Bodin*, as Injustice in the Contempt which *Cujacius*, *Scaliger*, and some others have treated him with [N]. *Possevin* is not the only Man, who accuses

(o) Id. ibid. pag. 148.

(p) Id. ibid. pag. 141.

the seventh of *June*, 1596, that he was above Sixty-six Years of Age (44); which confutes those who say, that he died in the Year 1585 (45), and those who affirm that he lived above Seventy Years (46), or that he lived but Fifty-five Years (47). Note, that the Epistle Dedicatory of his *Universæ Naturæ Theatrum*, is dated from *Laon* the Twenty fifth of *February*, 1596. This is a little mortifying to those who place his Death in the Year 1585.

[N] *As much Exaggeration in the Praises which* Gabriel Naudé *bestows on him as Injustice in the Contempt which* Cujacius, Scaliger, *and some others have treated him with.*] *Naudé* made this Judgment of *Bodin*, in a Book which he published in 1625. 'This 'first Man of *France*, *John Bodin* ------- after 'having, with a wonderful quickness of Wit, accompanied with a solid Judgment, treated of all 'Subjects Divine, Natural, and Civil, would perhaps have forgot that he was a Man, and would infallibly have been taken by us for a Superior 'Intelligence, if he had not left some Marks and 'Foot-steps of his Humanity in his *Demonomanie*, 'which was, as the late most Serene King of *Great-Britain* well observed †, *majori collecta studio quam scripta judicio*: collected with more pains than wrote with Judgment. Perhaps the Reason 'of it is, Because that great Genius, who understood the Holy Language very well, applied himself, more than was requisite, to the Doctrine 'of the *Rabbies* and *Talmudists*, *quibus*, as the Jesuit *Possevin* observes ‡, *hoc libro tam videtur addictus, ut ad eos sæpius recurrat quàm ad Evangelium* (48). —— *To whom he seems so addicted that he often recurs to them in this Book, than to the Gospel. In* 1627, Naudé *published his* Advice how to erect a Library, *and observed that if there be any Question about* Bodin's Republic *it must be* inferred, that it ought to be taken in, because the Author was one of the most famous and renowned Men in his Age, and who, among the Moderns, treated first of that 'Subject, because the matter of it is very necessary, 'and very much sought after at this present time, 'and because the Book is common, translated into several Languages, and printed almost every 'five or six Years (49).' Add to this, what he said to Mr *Menage* (50), and what he published in his *Bibliographia politica* (51), where he does not seem to be in cool Blood when he praises *Bodin*, but rather to be seized with the most violent Rapture, that ever raised the Hyperboles of Poets to the Skies. It being a book which may easily be had, and the Passage concerning *Bodin* containing many Lines, I refer my Readers to it, and shall copy nothing out of it.

Now let us speak of *Cujacius*'s Contempt. We are informed by a Letter from *Bongars*, that *Cujacius* having heard that he was censured in *Bodin*'s *Republic*, and not being able to find that Book at the Booksellers, he borrowed it of *Bongars* (52), and some Days after, he declaimed against *Bodin*, above two Hours. That Lecture of *Cujacius* was sent to *Bodin*, and obliged him to put a *Latin* Epistle before the Second Edition of his *Republic*, wherein he treated *Cujacius* roughly. But he made good use of his remarks, for he left out in that Edition all that *Cujacius* had censured, *eorum quæ Cujacius notaverat in ista altera editione nec volam reliquit nec vestigium* (53). *Cujacius* answered in the Thirty eighth Chapter of the eighth Book of his Observations, and made use of the Anagram *Andius fine bono*, to denote his Antagonist. See Mr *Menage*, who observes besides, that *Bodin* had abused *Cujacius* without naming him, in these Words of the Preface to his Method of History. 'Hostium aspectum ferre non magis possunt, quàm is qui in 'Scholis Biturigum tanta cum gloria florebat: id 'est, Strabo inter cœcos acutissimè cernebat. Cum 'in totum venisset, de levissima quæstione consultus obmutuit: non sine acerba Riandi reprehensione (54). —— *They can no more bear the sight of an Enemy than he who flourished with so much Glory, in the Schools of* Bourges; *that is, an owl among Bats could see clearest. When he came into the Court, being asked a very trifling question, he was speechless: For which he had a very severe reprimand from* Riandus.' Observe by the by, that *Moreri*, and several others, who say, that *Bodin* was called *Andius fine bono*, because of his Poverty, are mistaken, *Cujacius* made no Allusion to *Bodin*'s Fortune in that Anagram; he only considered the Qualities of his mind. A certain Author gives out, that Queen *Elizabeth* made use of that Expression, speaking to our *Bodin*, and he quotes *Burgoldensis* (55). He is mistaken in his Quotation, for *Burgoldensis* says only, that she called him *Badin*. 'Homo iste sine bono, five *Badin* '(uti illum Elizabetha Angl. Regina appellavit.) licitum esse putat suorum popularium dignitatem honesto mendacio tueri in suâ Methodo Histor. c. 4 (56). —— *That Man without good, or* Badin [Trifler] (*as* Elizabeth *Queen of* England *called him*) *thinks it lawful to keep up the dignity of his own People, by an honest lye, in his Method of History.*' Another Author pretends, that the disadvantageous manner in which *Bodin* has spoke of Women, in the fifth Chapter of the sixth Book of the *Republic*, drew upon him 'a very sharp 'Jest ------ Queen Elizabeth, *who had otherwise* 'some esteem for him, was pleased to send for him 'into England, *on purpose to send him back with* 'these Words; Bodin, when you see me, learn 'that you are but a *Badin* (57).' A Doctor of *Louvain* says, that when *Bodin* was at *London*, to negotiate the Marriage of his Master *Hercules* Duke of *Alençon* (58), the Queen used to call him *Master John Badin: Pro Bodino solebat eum Regina Magistrum Joannem Badinum appellare* (59). 'Tis not improbable that the Queen might call him so; for at that time the Court was not less fond of Puns than the People; but it is false, that That Princess sent for him over on purpose to mortify him by such a sorry Joke. He was at *London* in the Retinue of his Master the Duke of *Alençon*. He was there also in quality of Envoy from the same Duke.

What *Scaliger* said of *Bodin*, was very disobliging. 'Bodinus patrem Jul. Scaligerum falso 'ignorantiæ Matheseos arguit, ipse indoctissimus valdeque jejunus, cum quicquid à multis annis doctrinæ consequutus est, transcripserit ex aliorum laboribus, imo & ex meo libello in Varronem de lingua Latina, cujus paginas integras suas fecit' fur impudentissimus, & in unum velut chaos congessit, plurima scribens quæ ipse non intelligit. 'Denique librum de Methodo legendæ historiæ inscripsit, in quo nihil minus quam est de re tractat' ut titulo suo nullo modo respondeat oratio, quod quidem Verrius Flaccus notavit in Originibus 'Catonis, quæ nihil minus inquirunt quam Italiæ origines. Porro si quis velit in illum scribere, *Je lui dresserai tout son fait*: neque enim mihi honoris loco ducam aliquid proferre quod meo nomine circumferatur (60). —— Bodin *falsly accuses my Father* Jul. Scaliger *of Ignorance in the* Mathematics, *being himself very unlearned, and dry, for whatever Learning he has pursued for many Years, he has transcribed out of the Labours of others, even out of my Book, on* Varro de Linguâ Latinâ, *whole pages of which the impudent Thief has made his own, and thrown together like a Chaos, Writing many things which he does not understand. In short, he entitles one of his Books* The Method of Reading History, *in which he treats of nothing less than that matter, so that his Discourse has no relation at all to his Title;*

(44) Menage, *Remarks on the Life of* P. Ayrault, pag. 147.

(45) *As* Moreri, Hofman, Buchol-cerus in Indice Chronol. p. 682. Paul Freherus in Theatro, p. 895, & Saldenus Ot. Theol. p. 797. *who does not know that our* Bodin *is the Author of the Dialogues* de abditis rerum sublimium arcanis.

(46) Thuanus, lib. cxvii. pag. 771.

(47) Menard, *cited by* Menage, *Remarks on the Life of* P. Ayrault. pag. 147.

† In lib. de strigibus.

‡ In Judicio Librorum Bodini.

(48) Naudé Apolog. des grans hommes, cap. vii. pag. 127.

(49) Naudé, Advis pour dresser une Bibliotheque pag. 96.

(50) *See above, Citation* (9).

(51) *Pag.* 523, & seq. in Edit. Rotterodam. 1692, *in* 4to.

(52) *It was in* 1576. Bongars *was lately come from* Germany *to study the Civil Law under* Cujacius.

(53) *Taken from* Bongars's *Letter to* Conrad Rittershusius, *published by* Colomesius, *in his* Gallia Orientalis.

(54) Menage, *Remarks on the Life of* P. Ayrault, pag. 144.

(55) Diecmann. de Naturalismo, pag. 2.

(56) Burgold. notitia rerum Imperii Romano-Germanici. Parte I. pag. 33.

(57) Ancillon, Mélange critique, Tom. II. pag. 5.

(58) *Mr* Crenius, Animadv. Part. II. p. 93. *has no reason to find fault with this Name and this Title.*

(59) Libert. Fromondus, Meteorolog. lib. v. cap. i. art. iv. pag. 240.

(60) Scaligerana prima, pag. 302, 31.

accuſes him of having wrote many things contrary to Religion [O], and ſome Perſons ſuſpected him of Magic (q), or affirmed that he died a *Jew* (r). Note, that

(q) *See the end of the Remark* [θ].

(r) *See Citation* (66).

' *as* Verrius Flaccus *obſerved of the* Origines *of* ' Cato, *which treat of nothing leſs than the Anti-* ' *quities of* Italy. *If any body would write a-* ' *gainſt him, I'll furniſh his matter for him, but do* ' *not think it conſiſtent with my Honour to publiſh any* ' *thing againſt him in my own Name.*' You ſee that he calls him a moſt ignorant Man, and that he would think it a diſhonour to anſwer him. What Arrogance is this! and how ill becoming learned Men, tho' it is very common among them! Let us appeal from this Judgment of *Scaliger* to that of *Thuanus*, and if we will not grant that *Bodin* was an exact and judicious Writer, let us confeſs however that he had a great Genius, a vaſt Knowledge, and a prodigious Memory and Reading. The Works, by which he got ſo much Glory, needed not that he ſhould borrow any thing from a Commentary on *Varro*; they were not ſuch as could receive any luſtre from thence, and there is reaſon to believe that *Scaliger* and *Cujacius* would not have been able to produce what he did with ſo much Strength at the States of *Blois*.

[O] Poſſevin *is not the only Man, who accuſes him of having writ many things - - - - - - contrary to Religion.*] Let us in the firſt place quote his Panegyriſt *Naudé*, who obſerves, that thoſe who have writ againſt *Bodin's Republic*, were only Pygmies attacking *Hercules*; ſo that this Author having nothing to fear from that ſide, ought only to dread the Cenſures of the Church. ' Scio e- ' quidem, Fabium Albergatum hominem Italum, ' & Serrium, ac Augerium Ferrerium, Gallos (61), ' magnis conatibus, & libris ad id conſequendum ' editis, periculum illi ac ruinam intentaſſe: ſed ' eventus docuit eundem fuiſſe iſtius pugnæ even- ' tum, quem Pygmæorum cum Hercule: ut non ' jam ad miniatas alicujus Attici aut Hyperattici ' ceras trepidare debeat, ſed ad Eccleſiæ ſolius ju- ' dicium; cujus cenſuris quoniam vehementius ur- ' getur, quàm inimicorum argumentis, hinc eſt, quod ' ipſius libri evolvi minime debeant, niſi obtenta ' prius & hunc & quoſlibet auctores politicos le- ' gendi facultate (62). —— *I know that* Fabius ' Albergatus *an* Italian, *and* Sirrius *and* Augerius ' Ferrerius, *two* Frenchmen, *laboured with all* ' *their Might, and publiſhed ſeveral Books on pur-* ' *poſe to bring him into Danger, and to ruin him,* ' *but the Event ſhewed that the Succeſs of this Bat-* ' *tle was the ſame with that of the Pygmies a-* ' *gainſt* Hercules, *ſo that now he has no need to* ' *ſtand in Awe of the Writings of any* Critic *or* ' Hypercritic, *but only of the Judgment of the* ' *Church; and becauſe her Cenſures bear harder up-* ' *on him than the Arguments of his Adverſaries,* ' *therefore his Books ought not to be read without a* ' *Licence firſt obtained for reading both him and* ' *all other Political Authors.*' A little lower he blames him for having too much expoſed the Intereſts of the true Faith, and in that regard he approves of *Poſſevin's* Complaints. ' Quibus (*quæ-* ' *ſtionibus*) certe compeſcendis dirigendiſque ad finem ' Religionis Chriſtianæ præceptis ac inſtituto con- ' ſentaneum, ſane haud neceſſe erit diverſas inter ' ſe Religiones committere; quemadmodum non ſine ' diſpendio veræ pietatis ſuperioribus annis fecere, ' Petrus de Alliaco Cardinalis & Epiſcopus Came- ' racenſis, in opuſculo quodam aſtrologico de tribus ' ſectis; Hieronymus Cardanus in libris ſuis de ' ſubtilitate; & Joannes Bodinus, compoſito, ſed ' nondum edito, (atque utinam nunquam edatur) ' de rerum ſublimium arcanis ingenti volumine; ' quod equidem, Jeſuitam Poſſevinum non perpe- ' ram de ipſo judicium tuliſſe, argumento eſſe po- ' teſt validiſſimo certe manifeſtiſſimoque (63). —— ' *For reſtaining which* [queſtions] *and directing* ' *them to an end agreeable to the Precepts and In-* ' *ſtitutions of the Chriſtian Religion, it will not,* ' *be neceſſary to compare different Religions one* ' *with another, as has been done heretofore, not with-* ' *out Damage to true Piety, by Cardinal* Petrus ' Alliacus *Biſhop of* Cambray *in an Aſtrological* ' *Tract, concerning the three Sects*; Cardan *in his* ' *Book* de Subtilitate; *and* John Bodin *in a large* ' *Volume*, de Rerum Sublimium Arcanis, *writ by* ' *him, but not yet publiſhed* (*at I wiſh it never may*), ' *which is a ſtrong and manifeſt Argument that the* ' *Jeſuit* Poſſevin *had formed no wrong Judgment* ' *of him.*' The Author of the Book *de juſta Reip. Chriſtianæ in reges impios & hæreticos authoritate*, accuſes *Bodin* of indifference about Religion, and of being a Favourer of the Proteſtants. *Unius viri indifferentis, & Proteſtantibus non iniqui teſtimonio comparationem hanc tranſigam* (64). The Jeſuit *Martin del Rio* maintains, that the *Demonomanie* of *Bodin* is full of Errors, and that in the very Edition of *Antwerp*, which was publiſhed as corrected, there remained many dangerous things, and which ſhew the doubtful Religion of the Author; *Manent multa noxia, & quæ ambiguam auctoris fidem ſatis conteſtantur, neceque legentibus poſſunt* (65). Wherefore, adds he, that Book was juſtly placed by the Inquiſition of *Rome* in the Catalogue of prohibited Books. He promiſes to make it appear, that the *Theatrum univerſæ Naturæ*, of the ſame Author, contains ſome Doctrines ſo contrary to Divinity, that they may at leaſt be called erroneous, and altogether raſh. Let us obſerve that his *Republic* had the ſame fate at *Rome*, as his *Demonomanie*, tho' certain things had been inſerted in the *Italian* Tranſlation, which ſome officious Friends thought proper, to preſerve *Bodin's* reputation of a good Catholic (66). His *Method of Hiſtory*, and his *Theatre of Nature* had no better fate with the Inquiſitors. Here is ſomething terrible: ' Thoſe ' that get into the Pulpit here, tell Stories, de- ' claim againſt *Bodin*, for a whole Sermon, and ' tear him in pieces, without calling to mind that ' the Villain was a *Leaguer*, and died a *Jew*, with- ' out mentioning Jesus Christ in his laſt ' Words, which I have in Verſe (67).' This is to be found in a Letter of *James Gillot* to *Scaliger*, dated from *Paris* the ninth of *February* 1607. That which Mr *Diecman* found in a Manuſcript, and which he inſerted in his Book *de Naturaliſmo*, is yet more terrible. *Naudæus in* διατυπωμάτῳ *Gallice ex MSto laudati Patini mecum benevole a Viro Nob. communicato, de hoc opere, &c.* —Naudæus *in a* French *Abſtract from the Famous* Patin, *kindly communicated to me by a Nobleman, concerning this Work*, ' It is a Book well writ, ' ſays he, but very dangerous, becauſe he laughs ' at all Religions, and concludes at laſt, that there ' is none; neither had he any himſelf: He died ' like a Dog, without any ſenſe of Piety, being nei- ther *Jew*, *Chriſtian*, nor *Turk*. Another uncer- ' tain Author in *Patin's* Manuſcript, ſays, *Bodin* ' was a ſtrange Fellow in point of Religion. He ' died of the Plague at *Laon* in 1596, being pretty ' old, and ſaid not one word of Jesus Christ ' when he died (68).' I cannot tell whether thoſe that preached againſt *Bodin* in the Pulpits of *Paris* in the Year 1607, had heard any thing of the Diſpoſitions which he ſhewed when he died, or of the pernicious Doctrines of the *Heptaplomeres*. *Scaliger* could not apprehend from whence their Fury proceeded. He writ to *Charles l'Abbé*, towards the end of the Month of *February* 1607, the following Words: ' Illud velim ex te ſcire ' quare Pontificii tam acerbe quotidie in Bodinum ' declament. Certe quod mancipium ambitionis ' fuerit, propterea odio illis eſſe eum non credi- ' derim. Aliam ſubeſſe cauſam neceſſe eſt, quam ' ex te ſcire velim. Hujus igitur tam inopinati ' odii cauſam, & quare hominem pridem mortuum ' canes ex tumulo eruant, neque ejus manes qui- ' eſcere ſinant, à vobis expecto (69). —— *I deſire* ' *to know from you, why the* Papiſts *declaim ſo* ' *violently, every Day, againſt* Bodin. *Certainly I* ' *cannot think they hated him, becauſe he was a* ' *Slave to Ambition. There muſt be ſome other* ' *Reaſon at Bottom which I would gladly know.* ' *I therefore expect to hear from you the Reaſon* ' *of this ſo unexpected Hatred, and why the Dogs* ' *tear, from the Grave, a Man long ſince dead, and* ' *won't ſuffer his Aſhes to be at Peace.*" I muſt not forget that as ſoon as *Bodin's Republic* came out, ſome Preachers exclaimed againſt him. Read his *Latin* Letter of the thirtieth of *March* 1581, at the

(61) *Note, that* Bodin *in the beginning of* René Herpin's *Apology, mentions not only one* Oſtatus Vaſco *(it is he whom* Menage *calls, above, Citation* (9) Peter l'Hoſtail) *but alſo an* Andreas Frankebergerus Saxo, *who had wrote againſt his* Republic.

(62) Naudæus Bibliogr. polit. pag. 23, 24.

(63) Naudæus ibid. pag. 33.

(64) G. Guillel. Roſſeus de juſta Reip. Auctorit. &c cap. iv n. 3. pag. 104. Edit. Antwerp, 1592.

(65) Del Rio, Diſq. Magic. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 23.

(66) Loſcher de latrorimo in ſcript. publ. p. 41. apud Diecmannum de Naturaliſmo, p. 4.

(67) French *Epiſtles written to* Scaliger, *pag.* 439.

(68) Diecmannum de Natural. ſmo, pag. 12.

(69) *See* Colomeſius's Gallia Orientalis, pag. 86.

that, tho' he declared freely enough againſt thoſe who maintain that the Authority of Monarchs is unlimited [P], he diſpleaſed the Common-wealth Men. I believe it was (among other Reaſons) becauſe on the one hand he maintained, that there were ſome Abſolute Monarchs in *Europe*, and on the other, *That it does not belong to any Subject in particular, nor to all in general, to attempt againſt the Honour, or the Life*, of ſuch Monarchs, *either by violent means, or in a juridical way*, though they ſhould have committed *all the Wickedneſs, Impieties, and Cruelties that can be named*

the beginning of *René Herpin*'s Apology, and you will find that he obſerves two things in it, the one that *de Serres*, who had publiſhed a great deal of abuſive Language againſt him, had been ſeverely puniſhed for it; the other is, that tho' thoſe that ſlander a Man in the Pulpit, are as guilty as thoſe that offend him in their Writings, yet there are ſome Preachers, who ſtain his Reputation, and that of divers other good Men, with impunity. 'Serranus ille qui inaudito genere ſcribendi, ac probris inuſitatis libellum complevit, ipſius principis juſſu pœnas graviores dedit, quàm optare potuiſſem. Ac tametſi eodem ſcelere obligantur, qui publicis in concionibus nomen cujuſquam læſerunt, videmus tamen legibus ſolutos, non modò meam, ſed etiam optimi cujuſque exiſtimationem impune violare, qui prudentur ferendum putat, quod auferri non poteſt (70).'

(70) Apologie de René Herpin, fol. 2. verſo.

But, among the Roman Catholics, none has expreſſed more warmth againſt this Civilian, than the Jeſuit *Poſſevin*. See with what deſire of finding fault he ſcans the *Method of Hiſtory*, and with what turns of Sophiſtry he puts an ill Conſtruction upon the Propoſitions that may have a good ſenſe. His great grief is, that *Bodin* ſpeaks of *Luther, Calvin*, and *Melanchthon*, in civil Terms, and that he would have ſome bounds ſet to the Papal Power (71). But above all, ſee the little book wherein *Poſſevin* gives his Judgment *de quatuor Scriptoribus, Philippo la Nua, Jo. Bodino, Philippo Mornæo, & Nic. Machiavello* (72). He pretended, *that* Bodin's *Works contained a great number of Errors, Hereſies, and Impieties* (73).

(71) Poſſevin in Biblioth. ſelecta lib. xvi. cap. ix. pag. 269, 270. Tom. II.

(72) *It was printed at* Rome *in* 1592, *and at* Lyons *in* 1593.

(73) Teiſſier, Additions aux Eloges de Mr de Thou, Tom. II. pag. 248.

The Proteſtants have not been ſilent about this Writer's Errors; for, to ſay nothing of *Grotius*, who declares, that *Bodin* had very much ſtaggered his Faith by keeping Company with the *Jews* (74), We may cite *Meric Caſaubon*, who confeſſes, that he knows not what to think of this Man's Religion, whether he ought to reckon him among the Catholics, or among the Proteſtants (75). The *Lutheran* Miniſter, who informs me of this, carries his doubts much farther, and ſeems very much diſpoſed to believe that at laſt *Bodin* loſt all ſenſe of Chriſtianity (76). He endeavours particularly to convict him of having reduced all to Natural Religion. Another *Lutheran* Doctor has obſerved, that there are, in *John Bodin*'s *Phyſics*, divers things which ought to be abhorred by Chriſtians (77). He obſerves alſo, that they are ſet forth under the Name of *Theodorus*, and that another Perſon under the Name of *Myſtagogus* anſwers ſomewhat coldly, *nothing ought to be raſhly affirmed on ſuch difficult Subjects, de tam arduis nil temere eſſe affirmandum.* And indeed I find that *Bodin*'s *Myſtagogus*, Page 222 of the *Theatrum Naturæ*, Edition of *Hanaw* 1605, makes this Anſwer; 'De rebus tam arduis & à communi ſenſu remotis nec temere quicquam affirmare, nec leviter cuiquam aſſentiri velim; mihi ſatis eſt certiſſimis argumentis & ad aſſentiendum neceſſariis demonſtraviſſe cometas non eſſe incendia ab exhalationibus concepta. —— *In ſuch ſublime matters, and ſo remote from common Senſe, I would neither raſhly affirm any thing, nor eaſily aſſent to any body's Opinion: it is enough that I have ſhown, by unqueſtionable, and neceſſarily concluſive, Arguments, that Comets are not Flames, kindled from exhalations.*' This Anſwer relates to a very ſtrange Opinion which *Bodin* had mentioned juſt before under the Name of *Theodorus*, *viz.* That Comets are Spirits, who having lived innumerable Ages on Earth, and being at laſt come near Death, celebrate their laſt Triumph, or are brought again into the Firmament as ſhining Stars. This is attended with Famine and Peſtilence, *&c.* becauſe the Cities, and the People, loſe the Governours and Chiefs, who appeaſed the Wrath of God. It is neceſſary that I ſhould ſet down his Words. 'Democriti ſententia in mentem mihi recurrit, ut exiſtimem cometas eſſe illuſtrium virorum mentes, quæ poſteaquàm innumerabilibus ſeculis viguerunt in terris, tandem obituræ, ut omnia quæ oriuntur occaſum minantur, extremos peragunt triumphos, aut in cœlum ſtellatum quaſi ſplendida ſydera revocantur; ac propterea ſequuntur fames, morbi populares, civilia bella, quaſi civitates ac populi ducibus illis optimis & gubernatoribus qui divinos furores placabant, deſererentur (78).' It is plain, that there is a fault in the Words *illuſtrium virorum*; or that *Bodin* gives thoſe Words a very particular Senſe; for the common ſignification, *Illuſtrious Men*, does not agree with what follows, that is, with thoſe innumerable Ages of Life upon Earth, which *Bodin* aſcribes to the Spirits which he mentions. He means therefore *Genii* or Angels, and he ſuppoſes them ſubject to Death. *Voſſius* skipped two or three very eſſential Words, in relating this Paſſage, *Viguerunt in terris*. Yet he finds an Impiety in it: 'Ubi quod animas mori ait, *ſays he* (79), id ſi non aliud voluit dicere quam verba videntur ſonare, ſane impietate ſumma non vacat. Tolerabilius quod ait heroum animas in ſidera revocari. —— *In ſaying that Spirits die, if he did not mean ſomething elſe, than what the Words ſeem to import, it is great Impiety. 'Tis more excuſable that he ſays, the Souls of Heroes are called back to the Stars.*' This Omiſſion is in the Edition I make uſe of, which is that of *Germany* in 4to. It is alſo in that of *Amſterdam* in Folio 1668; for Mr *Crenius*, who relates this Paſſage of *Voſſius* (80), with the omiſſion of *viguerunt in terris*, quotes the Edition of *Amſterdam*.

(78) Bodin, in Theatro Naturæ, lib. ii. pag. 221, 222.

(79) Voſſius de Orig. & Prog. Idol. lib. iii. cap. ix. p. 774.

(80) Crenii Animadv. Philolog. & Hiſtor. Part. II. p. 175.

Let us end with theſe Words of *Thuanus*, which inform us, that it was believed, that *John Bodin* was a Magician: 'Poſtea & Dæmonomaniam Gallice itidem ſcripſit, in qua dum materiam ab aliis tantopere agitatam adverſus Joannis Wieri plerunque ſententiam, enucleatius retractat, magicæ rei ac vetitarum iſtiuſmodi artium crimen minime effugit (81). —— *Afterwards he writ his* Demonomania *in* French *likewiſe, in which, while he treats more explicitly of a matter ſo much toſſed about by others, chiefly againſt the Opinion of* Joannes Wierus, *he did not keep clear of the Crime of Magic, and ſuch like forbidden Arts.*

(81) Thuan. Hiſt. cxvii. pag. 771.

[P] *He declared freely enough againſt thoſe who maintain, that the Authority of Monarchs is unlimited*] He maintained, that Monarchs cannot impoſe Taxes, without the Conſent of the People, and that they are more obliged to obſerve the Laws of God, and thoſe of Nature, than their Subjects, and that the Covenants, which they make, impoſe the ſame Obligation on them as on their Subjects. He ſays, that moſt Civilians had taught the contrary, and that he was the firſt who durſt oppoſe the Opinion of thoſe, who wrote about the means of extending the Rights of the King. Theſe are his Words: 'Muror tamen eſſe qui putent unius poteſtati tribuere me plus aliquantum, quàm decet ſortem in Republica civem: cùm alibi ſæpe, tùm verò libro primo, capite octavo, noſtræ Reipublicæ, cos ego qui de jure ſifci ac regalibus amplificandis ſcripſere, ſententias primus omnium, & quidem periculoſiſſimis temporibus refellere non dubitarim, quòd Regibus infinitam ſupraque divinas & naturæ leges tribuerent poteſtatem: quid autem magis populare quam quod ſcribere auſus ſum, ne regibus quidem licere, ſine ſumma civium conſenſione, imperare tributa? aut illud quanti eſt quod item tradidi principes arctiori vinculo divinis ac naturæ legibus teneri, quam qui, ſub imperium ſubjecti ſunt? illos etiam pactis conventis perinde ut alios cives obligari? contra quam tamen omnes pene juris ſcientiæ magiſtri docuere (82). —— *But I wonder there are any who think, that I attribute more to the Power of a ſingle Perſon, than a brave Citizen,*

(82) Bodin. Epiſt. ad Vidum Fabrum in limine operis Gallicè de Republica,

named (s) This Opinion does not seem to agree with the Doctrine, which he had also maintained, that the Power of those Monarchs is limited, and that they are obliged to govern according to the Laws; but after all it appears, that in both those Doctrines he aimed at the Public Good, the Peace and Tranquillity of the State [2]. The *Germans* complain much of him, and use him ill. See many Passages upon this in the Collections of *Magirus* (t), and in those of Sir *Thomas-Pope Blount* (u). Consult also the Speech of *Thomas Lansius* against *France* (x). Nevertheless some of the *Germans* own he had a sublime Wit and Judgment, and very great Erudition.

(s) Bodin, de la Republ. lib. ii. cap. v. pag. 302.

(t) Tobias Magirus Eponymol. pag. 137, & seq.

(u) Sir Thomas Pope Blount Cens. Author. pag. 524, & seq.

(x) Pag. 301, 302.

' *Citizen in a State ought to do; when in several* ' *Places, and particularly in the eighth Chap-* ' *ter of the first Book of my Republic, I before any* ' *one else, and That in the most dangerous times,* ' *ventured to refute the Opinion of those who had* ' *writ on the Right of Taxation, and for enlarging* ' *the Prerogative; because they had attributed* ' *to Kings an infinite Power, above the Laws of* ' GOD *and Nature; and what is more popular than* ' *that I dared to write, that it was not lawful,* ' *even for Kings, to impose Taxes, without consent of* ' *the People? Or this, that I also laid down, that* ' *Princes are more strictly bound to observe the Laws* ' *of* GOD *and Nature, than Subjects, and that they* ' *are bound by Covenants as well as other Citizens?* ' *Though most Doctors of Civil Law have taught the* ' *contrary.*' If he had said no more, he would not have offended the Republicans; but because he maintained on the other side, That Subjects ought not to despose a lawful Monarch, who governs tyrannically, many Persons were offended at his Doctrine. He tells us the Reason, which moved him to maintain that Opinion, which is, that he saw, almost every where, People in War against their Princes; and because a vast number of Writings were dispersed in all Parts, which, by maintaining, that Kings may be deposed, and the Succession of Crowns regulated as it pleases the People, served only to shake all the Foundations of Society. He thought therefore, that his Duty obliged him to oppose those Maxims, which he judged so pernicious. ' Sed ' cum viderem ubique subditos in principes armari, ' libros etiam, veluti faces ad rerum publicarum incendia, palàm proferri, quibus docemur principes ' divinitus hominum generi tributos, tyrannidis objecta specie, de imperio deturbare, reges item ' non à stirpe, sed à populi arbitrio peti oportere: ' easque disciplinas, non solum hujus imperii, verumetiam rerum omnium publicarum fundamenta ' labefactare: ego boni viri, aut boni civis esse negavi suum principem quantumvis tyrannum ulla ' ratione violare: hanc denique ultionem immortali ' Deo aliisque principibus relinqui oportere: idque ' cum divinis & humanis legibus ac testimoniis, ' tum etiam rationibus ad assentiendum necessariis, ' confirmavi (83). - - - *But observing Subjects every* ' *where armed against their Princes, and that Books,* ' *like Firebrands to consume States, were publickly* ' *set forth, whereby we are taught, that Princes,* ' *who are given to Mankind by* GOD, *may be de-* ' *throned on pretence of Tyranny, and that Kings are* ' *not to be taken by Descent, but by the Pleasure of* ' *the People, and that these Doctrines shake the* ' *Foundations, not only of this Kingdom, but also* ' *of all other States. I denied it to be the part of* ' *a good Man, or a good Citizen, to offer any vio-* ' *lence to his Prince, how tyrannical so ever. Lastly,* ' *that this revenge ought to be left to* GOD *and other* ' *Princes: and I confirmed it by Laws and Testimonies,* ' *both Humane and Divine, and also by undeniable* ' *Reasons.*' *Note*, That intending to say, that the Protestants had a hand in those sort of Writings, he does it in a very moderate manner, clearing *Luther* and *Calvin*: these are his Words: ' It would ' be time lost to answer the frivolous Objections and ' Arguments of those, who hold the contrary Opinion: But, as he who doubts whether there is a ' GOD, deserves to feel the Punishment of the ' Laws, without using any Arguments; so do also ' those, who have called so clear a thing in question, and even published in printed Books, that ' Subjects may justly take up Arms against a Prince ' that is a Tyrant, and put him to Death in any ' manner whatsoever, although their most Eminent ' and Learned Divines † hold, that it is never lawful to kill, nor so much as to rebel against one's ' Sovereign Prince, unless there is a special and undeniable Command of GOD for it; as we read of ' *Jehu* ‡, who was elected by GOD, and anointed King by the Prophet, with an express Command to destroy the Race of *Ahab* (84).' He shews, in another place, some Moderation towards those of *Geneva*, tho' he thought he had occasion of complaint against them, for the Edition of his Book published in their City. He does not come to Particulars, nor say like *Possevin*, That those of *Geneva* altered many things in that Work (85), but keeps within general Terms. If you understand *Latin*, you will be convinced of it: ' Alterum reprehensionis genus est eorum qui apud Genevates secundam editionem Reipublicæ nostræ promulgarunt: ' quam vel typis mandare, suisque civibus ad intuendum proponere minimè debuerant, vel authorem à calumnia vindicare: si meminissent legis ' illius quæ à S. P. Q. Genevate lata est Nonis Jun. MDLIX. qua sanctissime vetitum est, secundo capite, in eos scriptores invehi quos interpretêre. ' Quid autem à me scriptum est quod vel à privati cujusquam dignitate, vel ab illius Reipublicæ majestate sit alienum? at etiam laudavi quæ ab illis ' sunt laudabiliter instituta. Quæ verò reprehensione digna putarunt, abundè, ut nobis quidem videmur, & suo quisque loco & ordine refutavimus, ' cum ea qua decuit animi temperantia, quam in illius civitatis scriptoribus plerique populi defidesiderare solent (86). - - - - - - *Another kind of reproof* ' *I have had, from the Publishers of the second Edi-* ' *tion of my Republic at* Geneva: *which they either* ' *ought not to have put to the Press, and exposed to* ' *the perusal of their Citizens, or else to have vindi-* ' *cated the Author from slander: if they had remem-* ' *bered a Law, made by the States of* Geneva *on the* ' *fifth of* June 1559, *whereby, in the second Chapter,* ' *it is strictly forbidden to reflect on those Writers you* ' *interpret. But what have I writ, to the prejudice* ' *of either the Dignity of any private Man, or the* ' *Majesty of that Common-wealth? Nay, I have* ' *commended their Institutions that are laudable.* ' *But what they thought worthy of blame, I have, as* ' *I think, abundantly refuted, every thing in it's pro-* ' *per place and order, with that due temperature of* ' *mind, which most People find so much wanting in* ' *the Writers of that City.*' Take notice, that he makes a great distinction between the Subjects of a Tyrant, and Foreign Princes; for he does not approve that Subjects should take up Arms to deliver themselves from Tyranny: but he approves that their Neighbours should come and deliver them from it. ' There is a great difference between saying, that a ' Tyrant may be lawfully killed by a foreign Prince, ' and that he may by a Subject. And as it is very ' glorious, and proper for any one, to defend by ' force the Estates, Honours, and Lives, of those ' who are unjustly oppressed, when there is no way ' to Justice open, as *Moses* did, seeing one of his ' Brethren abused and beaten, and that there was ' no way to get him Right: So it is a most noble ' and magnificent thing for a Prince to take up ' Arms, in order to revenge a whole Nation unjustly oppressed by the Cruelty of a Tyrant; as ' the great *Hercules* did, who went all over the ' World to exterminate those monstrous Tyrants, ' and was deified for his great Exploits: So did ' also *Dion*, *Timoleon*, *Aratus*, and other generous ' Princes, who were stiled the Chastizers and Cor- ' rectors of Tyrants (87).' *Richeome* makes many Reflexions on this Passage of *Bodin*, in the thirteenth Chapter of his *Examen Categorique de l'Anti-Coton* (88).

(83) Id. ibid.

† Mart. Luth. Calvinus in Joannem, & in Instit. cap. ult. lib. iv. §. xxxi.

† Kings iv. cap. vi, & x.

(84) Bodin de la Republique, lib. ii. cap. v. pag. 305.

(85) Genevates Bodinum reprehendentes in libris ejusdem de Republica pleraque immutarunt. *Possev. Biblioth. Tom. II. p.* 269.

(86) Bodin. Epist. ad Vidum Fabram.

(87) Id. de Republica, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 300.

(88) *Pag.* 113. & seq.

[2] *It appears that, in both these Doctrines, he aimed at the Public Good, the Peace and Tranquillity of the State.*] He maintained the first, when he saw *Henry* the Third's Flatterers or Creatures propose such things as might create great Abuses, to the oppression

Erudition. See the ſame Collections. He was likewiſe cenſured by the *Italians*, as appears from the Political Diſcourſe of *Fabio Albergati*, whoſe Method did not pleaſe *Bonifacio Vanozzi*. See the firſt Volume of his Letters (y). A very ingenious Anſwer was made to *Bodin* in *England* [R], to ſhew him that he had wanted Prudence in his Diſcourſe. He had ſo good a Conſtitution of Stomach, that in all his Voyages he never was Sea-ſick [S]. His Opinion about Comets was ſomewhat ſtrange. See the Remark [O].

(y) *Pag.* 103, & ſeq.

of the People; and he maintained the ſecond, when he ſaw *France* full of Factions, and torn by Civil-Wars, which gave birth to a great number of Manifeſto's, and other Books, in which the moſt eſſential and fundamental Laws of Government were undermined. The Power of the People was aſſerted, in common Diſcourſe, and in print, as freely as if it had been in a Democratical State, and Endeavours were uſed to exerciſe that Power; for a Tranſlation of the Crown was deſigned. Nay, Aſſaſſins were approved, who, under pretence of Tyranny, attempted upon the Lives of Monarchs. This could not but produce the moſt dreadful Deſolations. Wherefore *Bodin* ſhewed himſelf very well affected to the Public Good, by oppoſing ſuch a Licentiouſneſs. 'Qui regias opes & honores popularibus commodis poſthabuit, idem ſcriptis ac ſermonibus execratus ſum eos qui tyrannidis ſpecie ſuo principi manus afferre, deque regibus populi ſuffragio creandis rogationes promulgare, & è manibus legitimorum principum ſceptra violenter extorquere conantur. (89). —— *I who poſtponed the King's Wealth and Honours to the Public Good, did likewiſe, both in writing and Diſcourſes, deteſt thoſe who endeavour, on pretence of Tyranny, to lay hands on their Kings, and promote Bills for creating Kings by the Suffrage of the People, and to wreſt Scepters out of the hands of lawful Princes.*' He had the misfortune to contradict himſelf after the Death of *Henry* III; for he ſided with the League; but the Fall of a Sinner does not ſpoil the good Actions that he has done.

(89) Bodin. Epiſt. ad Vidum Fabrum.

[R] *A very ingenious Anſwer was made to* Bodin *in* England.] 'Bodin being in *England*, along with Mr *de Mompenſier*, made himſelf odious to the *Engliſh*, and fooliſh to the *French*, by his Curioſity. Being at Dinner at an *Engliſh* Lord's Houſe, he fell on the Pretenſions of Princes to the Crown of *England*, and ſaid, that a certain Princeſs was preſumptive Heir to it, if ſhe was not excluded, as being born out of the Country *, by a Law whereof he never knew the Author, or the Original, nor could ever learn where it was to be found. *You may find it, anſwers the* Engliſh *Lord, on the back of the* Salique *Law.* A Repartee, which ſilenced this Prater, and gave him to underſtand, that it is not proper for Strangers to ſcan the Secrets of a State.' This is what we read in the Eighty ſecond Page of Mr *Colomiés*'s *Gallia Orientalis*; he cites theſe Words as taken out of the Two Hundred and thirty ſeventh Page of the ſecond Volume of the Hiſtory of *Henry* IV, written by *Peter Matthieu*. I have conſulted my Edition (90), and found there, not *Bodin being in* England *along with Mr* du Mompenſier, *but a learned Man, who had followed the late Monſieur in his Voyage to* England (91). I am certain, that That learned Man is our *Bodin*; but it would be wrong to ſay, that he went into *England* with Mr *de Mompenſier*; he went thither with the Duke of *Alençon*, who in *Peter Matthieu*'s time might have been ſtiled *feu Monſieur* (the late *Monſieur*). Mr *Menage* does not agree with that Hiſtorian, as to the Circumſtances. 'The motive, ſays he (92), of the Duke of *Alençon*'s Voyage into *England*, was his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*. *Bodin* diſcourſing one Day with an *Engliſhman* on that Subject, the *Engliſhman* told him, that the Marriage would never be; Strangers being excluded by a Law from the Royalty of *England*. *Bodin*, who was well verſed in all the *Engliſh* Laws, as alſo in thoſe of all other Kingdoms, asked the *Engliſhman* bluntly, where that Law was to be found? The *Engliſhman* anſwered as bluntly, That it was to be found on the back of the *Salique* Law: Which has ſince paſſed among us for a Proverb. I have this particular from Mr *du Puy*.' *Note*, that there are two Citations in *Peter Matthieu*, and Mr *Colomiés* takes notice but of one (93).

(90) *That of* Geneva 1620, *in* 8vo.

(91) Matthieu, Hiſt. of Henry IV. *in the* 2d *Narration of the* 6th *Book, pag.* 527.

(92) Menage, *Remarks on the Life of* P. Ayrault, pag. 149.

(93) *The other is,* Voy l'Ambaſſadeur de M. Hotman.

Bodin informs us, That he was ſent into *England* in the Year 1581, by his Maſter the Duke of *Anjou* (94), during the ſitting of the Parliament, where it was forbidden to ſpeak of the Queen's Succeſſor, on pain of High-Treaſon; that he harangued the Queen, and propoſed to her the Adoption of the King of *Scotland*, and afterwards a Marriage. *Deinde Lenoxiæ principis connubio & arctiſſima fœderis conjunctione. Hæc mea fuit ad reginam oratio* (95).

(94) *The ſame with the Duke of* Alençon.

(95) Bodin. de Rep. lib. vi. p. 1132.

[S] *In all his Voyages, he was never Sea ſick.*] He relates this himſelf in his *Theatrum Naturæ*. How comes it, ſays he, that the Sea excites a Vomiting and a Looſneſs? He anſwers, That this is not general, and that he was ſeven times on the Sea, and even in a violent Storm, without finding any ſuch thing. 'Id quidem inſuetis navigare, nec tamen omnibus contingit: ſepties mari Oceano vectus, nihil tamen ejuſmodi paſſus ſum, etiamſi ſæviſſima procella jactatus, ac ruptis velis extrema pericula ſubierim: vidi tamen qui ſanguinem vomerent (96).' I need not mention the Phyſical Reaſon he gives; but the perſonal Fact of which he informs us, ſeemed to me worthy to be mentioned: it is part of his Hiſtory.

(96) Bodin, in Theatro Naturæ, lib. ii. pag. 196, 197.

* *Whoſoever is born out of* England, *can lay no Claim to the Crown of* England. *See* Thuanus's *Hiſtory.*

BOI, commonly called IL SIRACUSANO, *the Syracuſan*, was a very famous Player at Cheſs, and very much conſidered in the Court of *Spain* under King *Philip* II. He received many fine Preſents from That Prince. He received alſo many from Pope *Urban* VIII, and it was his own Fault that he did not receive a good Biſhopric of him; for it was offered him (*a*), but he would not be a Clergyman. Having had the Misfortune to be taken by Corſairs, and to ſee himſelf reduced to Slavery, he found means to make thoſe Turkiſh and ſavage Men tractable by his Skill at Cheſs. They admired him for it, treated him civilly, and exacted no other Ranſom from him but the Leſſons he gave them for ſome Months on That Game (*b*). We ſhall ſpeak of another excellent Gameſter at Cheſs in the Article GIOACHINO GRECO. It were to be wiſhed that thoſe two great Maſters had given us ſome regular Treatiſe concerning That Game; *but we have only ſome Fragments of the one, and ſome manners of playing by the other, which are not ſufficient to make a formal Study of it.* —— *Nevertheleſs a Collection has been made of what was found moſt proper to be put in uſe*, and it has ſerved to make a Book on That Subject (*c*) [A].

(*a*) *What an abuſe! and what a fine way to attain to Epiſcopacy!*

(*b*) *Taken from a Letter inſerted in the* Mercure Galant, Auguſt 1688, *and* December 1693.

(*c*) Mercure Galant, December 1693, pag. 109.

[A] *His Leſſons and thoſe of* Gioachino Greco *on Cheſs have been collected, to make a Book on that Subject.*] The Author whom I quote, ſpeaks of it, as of a Work ready to come out. By joining, ſays he (1), to what has been taken from thoſe two famous Gameſters, the Knowledge which has been had from others, 'and the Obſervations which have been made, either by playing, or ſeeing others play at it; out of this whole matter a regular Body has been compoſed, which contains the Practical Science of Cheſs. I inform you, that it is going to be publiſhed as a ſingular

(1) *Letter inſerted in the* Mercure Galant, Auguſt 1688, *and* December 1693.

'singular Work in it's kind, and the Copy has 'been a long time in the Hands of one of the 'best Chess-Players in *France*, who has the Honour 'to play at it with his Royal Highness the Duke 'of *Chartres*.'

BOISSARD (JOHN JAMES), born at *Bezançon* in the Year 1528, composed several great Collections, which are of Use for understanding the *Roman* Antiquities. He himself took Draughts of all the ancient Monuments he could find in *Italy*; he had an incredible Passion for That Study, as appears plainly by what happened to him in Cardinal *Carpi*'s Garden [*A*]. He designed to go into *Syria*, but a violent Fever which seized him at *Methone* prevented it. He had already satisfied his Curiosity for Antiquities in the Islands of *Corfu*, *Cephalonia*, *Zante*, and in the *Morea*, and after his Recovery he continued to visit the Places in the Neighbourhood of *Methone*. After he returned into his own Country, he was Governor to the Sons of *Antony de Vienne*, Baron of *Clervant*, and travelled with them into *France*, *Germany*, and *Italy*. He had left the Antiquities, which he had collected with so much trouble, with his Sister at *Mombeliard*, and had the Misfortune to lose most of them, when the *Lorrains* ravaged the *Franche Comté*. He preserved only those which he had sent to *Metz* before That Invasion; but as it was known, that he intended to give the Public a great Collection on that fine part of Literature, many Draughts, and Sketches of old Monuments were sent him from all Parts. He had settled himself at *Metz*, where he died the thirtieth of *October* 1602 (*a*). His Works are much valued by Antiquaries [*B*], and are grown very scarce. He made *Latin* Verses [*C*]. It appears from a Passage, which I shall quote elsewhere (*b*), that he was in the Service of Cardinal *Caraffa*.

(*a*) *Taken from* Martinus Hankius, de scriptoribus rerum Romanarum, Tom. I. cap. 76. *He says, that he took it in part from two Letters of* Boissard, *prefixed to his Antiquities.*

(*b*) *In one of the Remarks of the Article* PAUL IV.

[*A*] *He had an incredible Passion for that Study, as appears plainly by what happened to him in Cardinal* Carpi's *Garden.*] That Garden was full of ancient Marbles, and situated on Mount *Quirinal*. *Boissard* came into it one Day with his Friends, and strayed from them on purpose, and hiding himself in some of the Walks let them go home. He spent the remainder of the Day in copying Inscriptions, and sketching old Monuments, and the Gates of the Garden being shut, he remained there all the Night. The Cardinal finding him the next Morning busy at that Work, could not imagine how a Stranger came into his Garden at such an unseasonable time; but when he knew on what account *Boissard* had been there all Night, he ordered him a good Break-fast, and permitted him to copy and draw all the rare Pieces in his Palace (1).

(1) Martinus Hankius, de rerum Romanarum scriptoribus. Tom. I. cap. 76. p. 257, 258.

[*B*] *His Works are much valued by* Antiquaries.] His *Roman Antiquities*, divided into six Parts, make four Volumes in *Folio*. They contain a great many Prints, those of the two first Volumes engraved by *Theodorus de Bry* (2), and those of the other Volumes, by the two Sons of that *Theodorus* (3). Moreover, *Boissard* published the Lives of One hundred ninety eight Illustrious Persons, with Cuts of them in Copper. That Work is divided into four Parts in *Quarto*, which were printed at *Francfort*; the first, in the Year 1597, the second, and the third, in the Year 1598, and the fourth in the Year 1599 (4). His Treatise *de Divinatione & Magicis præstigiis*, was printed after his Death. I omit his Emblems, *&c.*

(2) *He was of* Liege, *and lived at* Francfort. Id. ibid. pag. 259.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Id. ibid. Tom. II. p. 392.

[*C*] *He made* Latin *Verses.*] I have not the Edition of *Metz* 1589, in 8vo, which is in the Catalogue of the Library of *Oxford*, I have only that of *Basil* 1574, in 12mo. It contains three Books of Epigrams, three Books of Elegies, and three Books of Letters. If those Verses do not deserve all the Praises which *Borrichius* bestows upon them, neither do they deserve the Contempt which some have expressed of the Verses which *James Boissard* put under the Cuts of his Illustrious Men (5). *Gruterus* inserted this Author's Poems in the *Deliciæ Poetarum Gallorum*.

(5) *See* Baillet, Jugem. sur les Poetes, n. 1359.

BOLEYN or BULLEN (ANNE), Wife of *Henry* VIII, King of *England*, was of a better Family on her Mother's Side, than on her Father's, being Daughter of *Thomas Boleyn*, who was only a Knight, and of a Daughter of the Duke of *Norfolk* (*a*). She was born in the Year 1507, and was carried into *France* at seven Years of Age by *Henry* VIII's Sister, Wife of *Lewis* XII. She did not return into *England* when that Queen retired thither after the Death of her Husband, but staid in the Service of Queen *Claudia*, the Wife of *Francis* I, and after the Death of That Princess, she went to the Duchess of *Alençon* (*b*). The Year of her Return into *England* is not well known; some will have it to be in the Year 1527 (*c*), others in the Year 1525 (*d*). Thus much is certain, that she was Maid of Honour to Queen *Catherine*, and that the King fell in love with her. She behaved herself with so much Art, that, by refusing to satisfy the King's Passion, she made him think of marrying her. That Prince, deceived by her Artifices, thought he should never enjoy her unless she was his Wife; which engaged him to push forward the Affair of the Divorce, and to execute it at last with all the Pomp every body knows. That, which would be very praise-worthy on another Occasion, is *Anne Bullen*'s chief Crime: her refusing to comply with an Amorous King, unless he would divorce his Wife, is a much more enormous Crime than to have been his Concubine. A Concubine would not have dethroned a Queen, nor taken her Crown nor her Husband from her; whereas the crafty *Anne Bullen*, by pretending to be chast and scrupulous, aimed only at the Usurpation of the Throne, and the Exclusion of *Catherine of Arragon*, and her Daughter, from all the Honours due to them. However *Henry* VIII married her privately the fourteenth of *November* 1532 (*e*), without waiting for a Sentence against his Marriage with *Catherine of Arragon*; and as soon as he perceived that his new Wife was with Child, he made his Marriage public, and caused *Anne Bullen* to be declared Queen of *England* on *Easter-Eve* 1533 (*f*), and to be crowned the first of *June* following (*g*). She was brought to bed the seventh of *September* (*b*), and continued to be much beloved by the King, till

(*a*) *Mr* Lesl's History of *Elizabeth*, Tom. I. pag. 47. *it therefore mistaken, when he says that she was the Daughter of the Lord* Clinston.

(*b*) Burnet, History of the Reformation, Tom. I. Book ii. pag. 44. *of the 2d Edit.* Lond. 1633.

(*c*) Id. p. 110.

(*d*) Le Grand, Hist. du Divorce de Henri VIII. Tom. II. p. 31.

(*e*) Burnet, Hist. Reformat. Part. I. pag. 126.

(*f*) Ibid. p. 130.

(*g*) Ibid. p. 131.

(*b*) *Of a Daughter, who afterwards was Q.* Elizabeth p. 134.

till the Charms of *Jane Seymour* had fired That Prince's Heart in the Year 1536 (*i*). Then his Love for his Wife was changed into violent Hatred; he believed her to be unchaſt; and cauſed her to be impriſoned, and tried [*A*]. She was condemned to be either burnt or beheaded (*k*); her Marriage was declared void [*B*], becauſe ſhe confeſſed that ſhe married the King when ſhe was engaged by a Contract with Earl *Peircy* (*l*). She was beheaded the ninteenth Day of *May* 1536

(*i*) Burnet, Hiſt. Reformat. Part. I. pag. 196.

(*k*) Burnet, Hiſt. Reformat. Part. I. pag. 202.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 203.

[*A*] *Henry* VIII *cauſed her to be tried.*] *Sanders* ſays, that *Anne*'s own Father was one of thoſe that condemned her. Doctor *Burnet* had related the ſame thing on the credit of Dr *Heylin*; but he retracted it in the Additions (1). He found the Record of the Tryal, but among the Judges found not the Earl of *Wiltſhire*. So *Anne Bullen*'s Father was ſtiled at that time. It is remarkable, that This Queen 'was indicted of High-Treaſon, 'for that ſhe had procured her Brother and o-'ther four to lie with her, which they had done 'often; that ſhe had ſaid to them, that the King 'never had her Heart, and had ſaid to every one 'of them by themſelves, that ſhe loved him bet-'ter than any Perſon whatſoever, which was to 'the Slander of the Iſſue that was begotten be-'tween the King and her. And this was Treaſon 'according to the Statute made in the Twenty 'ſixth Year of this Reign, ſo that the Law that 'was made for her and the Iſſue of her Marriage 'is now made uſe of to deſtroy her (2).' The Biſhop of *Amelia* goes farther than *Sanders*; for he ſays, that *Thomas Bullen* preſided at the Tryal of his Daughter. *Pœnæ miniſtrum filiæ fortuna patrem dedit, qui ſorte capitalium rerum Judex adverſus eam capitis ſententiam tulit* (3). What he ſays, that all thoſe who were accuſed of having lain with her, confeſſed it on the Rack, is contradicted by Dr *Burnet*, who obſerves, that but one confeſſed it. He was a Muſician whoſe Name was *Smeton*: He owned that *he had lain three times with the Queen* (4). It is obſervable, that, in the long Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, no Endeavours were uſed to juſtify her Mother. The Catholics have taken advantage of it, but they are anſwered, That they ſhould rather praiſe and admire *Elizabeth*'s Prudence, and that of her Miniſters (5). She would have weakened her Right by endeavouring to defend it, and certain things relating to *Anne Bullen* muſt have been owned, which would have been prejudicial.

(1) *See the Additions and Corrections of the IId Part of the* Hiſtory of the Reformation, *n.* 1. *of* Part. I. p. 363.

(2) Burnet, Hiſt. Reformat. Part. I. Book iii. pag. 202.

(3) Gratianus de caſibus viror. illuſtrium, p. 269.

(4) Burnet, Hiſt. Reformat. Part. I. Book iii. pag. 202.

(5) Ibid. p. 207.

I could name an Hiſtorian, who tells us, That *Thevet*, a *French Capuchin* (6), ſays in the fifth Chapter of the ſixteenth Book of his General Coſmography, *that divers Engliſh Gentleman had aſſured him*, that *Smeton* the Muſician had diſowned what he had ſaid, *and repented for having undone the Queen by a falſe Accuſation.* I had a mind to know the Truth of the thing, tho' I knew that the Authority of that Monk is next to nothing; for he is a Man whoſe Books are full of Fables and Ignorance; he is a Lyar without Judgment or Wit. But nevertheleſs, I had a mind to be an Eye-witneſs of what he writ upon this Subject: This is what I found in his Book; 'Many *Engliſh* Gentlemen 'have aſſured me, that *Henry* VIII, when at the 'point at Death, repented very much of his Sins, 'and among other things, of the Crime he had 'committed againſt the ſaid Queen *Anne Bullen*, 'falſly convicted and accuſed of what was im-'puted to her (7).' He ſays nothing at all of the Repentance or Retractation of the Muſician; neither can it be inferred from his Diſcourſe by any conſequence, ſince that Man might have perſiſted in his firſt Depoſition or Confeſſion, and yet *Henry* VIII might have oppreſſed that Innocent Queen by falſe Witneſſes. At the bottom, *Thevet*'s Teſtimony is of no force, ſince he does not name the Gentlemen who told him ſo; and if they were Queen *Elizabeth*'s Friends, 'tis likely they were prepoſſeſſed, and advanced what they ſaid, on uncertain Reports, to which they would have given no credit if they had not been agreeable to their Deſires. There is another Circumſtance, which enervates that Monk's Authority, which is, that he ſpeaks of Queen *Elizabeth* in this place as if he hoped to receive a Preſent from her. 'A 'generous and liberal Princeſs to Men of Learning, 'ſays he (8), and chaſte in all her Actions, hav-'ing always had ingenious Perſons in ſingular 'Eſteem, as much as any of her Predeceſſors.' He excuſes her alſo for having introduced *Calviniſm* into her Kingdom.

(6) *He had been a* Franciſcan, *and not a* Capuchin. *He left his Order very young.*

(7) Thevet, Coſmographie univerſelle, lib. xvi. cap. v. fol. 657. verſo.

(8) Id. ibid. fol. 269.

[*B*] *Her Marriage was declared void.*] The Author of the Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England* informs us I. That the Lord *Peircy* had told Cardinal *Wolſey*, *that he had given his Word to* Anne Bullen *before Witneſſes, and that his Conſcience would not ſuffer him to call it in* (9). II. That when that Lord was preſſed during the Queen's Tryal, *to declare that there had been a Contract at that time between him and* Anne Bullen, *he took an Oath in the preſence of two Archbiſhops, That there never was any Contract, or Promiſe of Marriage, between him and that Lady, and to make that Oath more ſolemn*, he received the Communion in the preſence of divers Counſellors of State; and wiſhed, *that the receiving of that Sacrament might be his Damnation, if he had been in any Engagement of that nature.* III. That the Queen owned nothing during her Tryal concerning her pretended Engagement with that Lord; but when ſhe was condemned, 'ſhe confeſſed, that there had 'been a Contract between her and *Peircy*; and 'being brought before the Eccleſiaſtical Court the 'ſeventeenth of *May*, ſhe declared, that there had 'been a Juſt impediment to her Marriage with 'the King, and that therefore the Marriage could 'not be valid (10).' IV. That upon her Confeſſion the Sentence of Divorce was pronounced (11). V. That the Original of that Sentence was burnt; but what has now been ſaid of it; 'is repeated 'in a Law made by the Parliament a little after 'to regulate the Succeſſion. VI. That the two 'Sentences which were pronounced againſt the 'Queen, (for *Adultery*, and a *Præcontract*) are ſo 'oppoſite to each other, that at leaſt one of them 'muſt have been unjuſt. For if that Princeſs's 'Marriage with the King was null from the be-'ginning, ſhe was no ways guilty of Adultery; 'ſince that invalidity hindered her from being *Henry*'s 'lawful Wife. If the Marriage was lawful, it 'was unjuſt to make it void; and if it was not 'lawful, the Queen's Condemnation is plainly con-'trary to Equity; and it cannot be maintained, 'that That Princeſs failed in her Duty to the 'King, ſince ſhe was not then obliged to keep 'her Faith to him.' Many Remarks might be made on this; but I ſhall be contented with theſe three: I. The Lord that denied, with an Oath, and with the Sacrament in his Hand, that there had been any Engagement between him and *Anne*, was a great Impoſtor either at that time, or when he declared, that he had given his Faith to that Maid (12). If his Oath be preferred before the other Declaration, it muſt be ſaid, that the Queen when juſt ready to die depoſed falſly, that ſhe had been engaged with that Lord; if ſhe was capable of lying in that juncture, it cannot be ſaid for her Juſtification, that ſhe always proteſted her Innocency, even on the Scaffold; for a Woman, who, being ready to appear before GOD, does not ſcruple to tell a falſity, which makes her Children illegitimate, may full as well deny a Truth that loads her with Diſhonour. And we have here a choice Fact, among divers others of the ſame kind, which ſhews, that Hiſtorical *Pyrrhoniſm* may be proof againſt the Oaths and Proteſtations of dying Perſons. II. The Art of Hiſtorians is remarkable: they make uſe of a Fact, when they can draw any advantage from it, and they deny it when they find themſelves incommoded by it. When it is to be proved, that *Anne Bullen* did not preſs *Henry* VIII to Divorce the Queen, it is of uſe to ſhew that ſhe intended in good earneſt to be married to the Lord *Peircy*. It is then requiſite to own her Engagement. But if on the other ſide ſome Body ſhould tell us, that by that Engagement her Marriage with *Henry* VIII became void, and that therefore Queen *Elizabeth* was illegitimate, even

(9) Burnet. Hiſt. Reformat. Part. I. Book iii. p. 203.

(10) Ibid. pag. 203.

(11) Id. ibid.

WHETHER the Oaths of dying Perſons ought to be taken for Proofs.

(12) *See* Dr Burnet, Part. I. Book iii. pag. 203.

THE ſame Fact denied and owned at different times according to the different Occaſions of the Hiſtorian.

(m) Ibid. p. 205. 1536 (*m*), and preſerved her good Humour on That Occaſion [*C*]. Some Catholic Hiſtorians have given themſelves a prodigious Liberty of lying againſt her; as well through Vexation at the Schiſm which ſhe occaſioned, as becauſe they were willing to diſhonour Queen *Elizabeth* by that means. They are ſome of thoſe inconſiderate Satiriſts, of whom I have already had occaſion to ſpeak, who inſtead of inſiſting only upon true matters of Fact, have engaged themſelves in Slanders which may be eaſily confuted [*D*]. Their blindneſs is the more inexcuſable, becauſe even tho' *Catherine*'s Divorce had been juſt; then it muſt be ſaid, that this Engagement is a meer Story, and *Peiry*'s Oaths and Communion muſt be inſiſted on. III. No Arbitrary Power did ever go beyond that, which the Parliaments of *England* exerciſed in the XVI Century. All that the Nation could do in the moſt authentic manner to annul the Marriage of *Henry* VIII, with *Catherine of Arragon*, was done; their Daughter *Mary* was therefore illegitimate, and yet ſhe was acknowledged for Queen, as a legitimate Child of *Henry* VIII. All that was neceſſary to annul the Marriage of the ſame Prince with *Anne*, was likewiſe done; *Elizabeth*, their Daughter, was therefore illegitimate: and yet ſhe was acknowledged for Queen, as a legitimate Child of *Henry*. The Original of the Sentence of the Divorce was burnt, becauſe they were not willing that a piece ſo diſadvantageous to Queen *Elizabeth* ſhould be preſerved. Obſerve well, that, in Hereditary Kingdoms, it is a Fundamental Law, That Baſtards ſhould be poſtponed to all the legitimate Relations of the Royal Family.

THE PARLIAMENT of *England* exerciſing arbitrary Power.

[*C*] *She was beheaded —— and preſerved her good Humour, at that juncture.*] In the time of her Impriſonment, ſhe acted very different parts: ſometimes ſhe ſeemed devout, and ſhed abundance of Tears, and then, all on a ſudden, would break out into a loud Laughter (13). ------ As ſoon as the Judges, who came to examine her, were gone, *ſhe fell on her Knees, and melting in Tears, cryed many times*, LORD JESUS *have mercy upon me, and at the ſame time broke out into a Laugh* (14). Some Hours before her Death ſhe ſaid, that the Executioner was very handy, and, beſides, ſhe had a very ſmall Neck (15). At the ſame time ſhe felt it with her Hands, and laughed heartily. Tho' *Gratiani* is not favourable to her, yet he owns that ſhe died with great Reſolution, and that ſhe took care to ſpread her Gown about her Feet, that ſhe might not fall indecently: *Poſtremo genibus poſitis ultimos quoque pedes quo honeſtius procumberet veſte contexit* (16). The Poets ſay the ſame of *Polyxena*: The Hiſtorians obſerve it of *Julius Cæſar*: See the Remark [*H*] of the Article OLYMPIAS. I queſtion much, what the ſame Author reports, that when ſhe was brought to the Place of Execution (17), ſhe fell into a great Paſſion at the People who ſhewed her no reſpect, and told them, that in ſpite of their Teeth, ſhe was, and died, their Queen. 'Cum è carceribus in aream, quæ perampla eſt ante Arcem, produceretur, quò omnis multitudo concurrerat ad ſpectandam necem ejus, quam nuper demiſſe adorare conſueverant, nec tranſeuntem ullo honore dignarentur; illa, ne tum quidem obſita ſuperbiæ, contumelioſiſſimè eos compellans convicio increpuit, eſſe moriturumque ſe Reginam eorum ferens, diſrumperentur omnes licet (18). '—— *When ſhe was brought out of the Priſon into the Court, before the Tower, which is very large, where a Crowd was gathered to be Spectators of her Death, they vouchſafed not, as ſhe went along, to pay the leaſt reſpect to the Perſon, whom they had not long ſince uſed humbly to adore: ſhe not forgetting her Pride even then, addreſſing herſelf to them, moſt contumelioufly upbraided them, telling them, that in ſpite of their Teeth ſhe was, and ſhould die, their Queen.*'

(13) Burnet, Hiſt. Reformat. Part. I. pag. 198.

(14) Ibid. Book ii. pag. 299.

(15) Ibid. *Out of a Letter of the Lieutenant of the* Tower, pag. 204, 205.

(16) Gratian. de caſibus viror. illuſt. p. 270.

(17) *The open place which it before the Tower, according to him.*

(18) Gratian. de caſibus viror. illuſt. pag. 269.

[*D*] *The Catholics have loaded her with Slanders, which may be very eaſily confuted.*] For Example; is there any thing more eaſy to be confuted, than the Story which ſo many Perſons have copied from *Sanders*? *viz.* That *Anne* was *Henry* the VIIIth's Daughter; that her Mother brought her into the World two Years after the departure of *Thomas Bullen*, on his Embaſſy to *France*, to which the King nominated him, only that he might enjoy his Wife more freely, in the abſence of her Husband; that *Thomas Bullen* at his return into *England*, hearing of *his Wife's ill Conduct, ſummoned her before the Official of* Canterbury *for Adultery, and ſued for a Separation* (19); that the King ordered him to ſtop all his Proceedings, and to take his Wife into favour again; that he obeyed, but not till ſhe had owned to him, that the King was the Father of the laſt Daughter of which ſhe was brought to Bed (20); that at fifteen Years of Age *Anne Bullen* was debauched by her Father's Steward, and by his Chaplain; that ſhe was ſent afterwards into *France* to a Lord, who educated her as a Maid of great Quality; that ſhe behaved herſelf at the Court of *France* with ſo little Modeſty, that ſhe was called *the Engliſh Hackney*, and that, becauſe *Francis* I had a ſhare in her Favour, ſhe was called *the King's Mule*; that, during the Love of *Henry* VIII for that Lady, *Thomas Wiat, one of the chief Lords of the Court*, came before the Council to depoſe, that he had lain with her, 'at a time 'when he did not believe, that the King thought 'of honouring her ſo far as to marry her;' That *Henry* not believing that Depoſition, '*Wiat* offered 'to make the King an Eye-witneſs of the Favours 'he ſhould receive from that lewd Woman;' that *Wiat* was called an impudent Fellow, and forbid the Court.

(19) Sanders's Schiſme d'Angleterre, lib. i. pag. 17. of Maucroix's *Tranſlation, Edit.* Amſterdam 1685.

(20) *This Narrative of* Sanders *has been altered by ſome.* Gratiani *ſays, that* Thom Boleyn *was three Years. thers ſay that at his Return he found his Wife with Child, and that the King confeſſed to him, that it was his doing. See* Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, *and* Varillas's Hiſt. de l'Herefie, lib. ix. p. 262.

Doctor *Burnet* makes uſe of three Arguments, againſt this. I. *Sanders* reports thoſe things only on the credit of a Piece, which no Body ever ſaw; that is, The Life of Sir *Thomas More* by *Raſtal*. II. They begun too late to object them. III. There are ſome impoſſibilities in that Account. See here the ſecond of theſe three Reaſons at length. 'If thoſe things were ſuch as *Sanders* reports them, 'how comes it that at the Death of *Anne Bullen*, 'no body was either complaiſant enough to the 'King, or Enemy enough to that unhappy Princeſs, to publiſh her Infamy, which on other Accounts could not be unknown? For ſuch a Woman as *Anne Bullen*'s Mother's being with Child 'two Years after her Husband's departure, who 'was ſent on a conſiderable Embaſſy; her Huſband's ſuing for a Divorce in the Archbiſhop of 'Canterbury's Court, and cauſing his Wife to be 'ſummoned there, are ſuch Circumſtances as the 'World does not forget ſo ſoon. On the other ſide, '*Anne Bullen*'s being in ſo ill Repute; her ſuffering herſelf firſt to be debauched in her Father's 'Houſe; her ill life in *France* afterwards; and her 'being kept by two Kings, are other Circumſtances which cannot be very ſecret. Beſides, when 'the Records of the Archbiſhop's Court were yet extant, it was offered to the Public to make it appear, that there was nothing in thoſe Records like 'the Proſecutions which *Sanders* ſpeaks of. Laſtly, 'All the Writers of thoſe Times, as well thoſe on 'the Pope's, as on the Emperor's ſide, keep a profound ſilence about thoſe things; which they had 'never failed to publiſh, if they had been true, or 'if they had come to their Knowledge. But eighty 'Years (21) after ſomebody or other takes it in 'his head to forge a Hiſtory full of Impoſtures; 'Or, at leaſt, publiſhed it, becauſe it was then 'more ſafe to tell Lies, all thoſe who might have 'been able to diſcover the Truth being dead (22).' As for the third Reaſon, I only relate it in ſhort. *Thomas Bullen* could not be ſent Embaſſador by King *Henry* VIII, before the Year 1509. *Anne* muſt therefore have been born in the Year 1511, and debauched in her Houſe in the Year 1526. Where ſhall we then find the time when ſhe was with a great Lord in *France*, and afterwards at Court? Where ſhall we find that licentious Life which got her the name of *The Engliſh Hackney*? I ſay, Where ſhall we find that time, ſince ſhe was returned into *England* in the Year 1526? *Sanders* can never be juſtified: His beſt Apologiſt, Mr *le Grand*,

(21) *Limitations ought to take place in this ſort of Cauſes whenever the Accuſation is of ſuch a nature as to be eaſily known, and when the occaſions of producing it have not been wanting, and yet it was never mentioned. See hereunder the Remark* [*K*] *of the Article* BOLSEC.

(22) Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation, 42. *See at the end of the IſtVol. his Reflection of* Sanders No 21, *you will ſecond that the* Wit

because they might have satisfied their slandering Humour, without exceeding the Bounds of faithful Historians [*E*]. It is pity that the good Fortune they have had to find a great number of obliging Transcribers and Readers should inspire so many others with the Boldness to imitate them. *Sanders* is the only Authority of all the Authors who have defamed *Anne Bullen*, and particularly of Mr *Moreri*. Those who say, that the Protestants ought to blush for being so much obliged to That Queen, who was of their Religion, would do well to declare first of all, that they are very much vexed at the Services the Empress *Irene* did to the Cause of Images (*n*).

(*n*) *See* Burnet, Hist. Reformat. Part. I. Book iii. pag. 206.

Consult Mr *de Larrey* in the first Volume of his History of *England*, where you will find the Reasons *pro* and *con* clearly set down, and our *Anne* as much justified as the Laws of History could permit.

(23) Le Grand, Hist. du Divorce de Henri VIII. Tom. II. p. 47.

Grand, forsakes him here. 'As I do not pretend 'to palliate his Faults, *says he* (23), I confess plain- 'ly, that he is too passionate against *Anne Bullen*; 'that no Author that I know, besides himself, has 'said, that she was Daughter of *Henry* VIII, or 'that she had led such a disorderly Life.' *Sanders* affirms, that she was beloved by the King in the Year 1526. Now, before she was beloved by that King, she had been debauched at her supposed Father's at fifteen Years of Age; she had lived in *France*; she was returned into *England*; and she was taken in as Maid of Honour to Queen *Catherine*. She was therefore at least near Twenty Years of Age in 1526, so that she was born in the Year 1506, three Years before King *Henry* VIII ascended the Throne, and five Years before any of That Prince's Embassadors could have been two Years in his Embassy. It has been found that *Anne* was born in the Year 1507, and therefore, according to *Sanders*, *Henry* VIII must have sent *Thomas Bullen* Embassador in the Year 1505, and he must have been at that time deeply engaged in an Adultery. Now the first of these two Facts is false; for *Henry* was not yet King; and the other is not to be believed of a Youth who was but fourteen Years of Age. Add to this, that *Thomas Bullen* was not sent on his Embassy till the Year 1515. And 'tis to be observed, that, Dr *Burnet* having urged all these Reasons in refuting *Varillas* (24), we have not seen in the Reply of the latter any Proof, or any solid Remark in *Sanders*'s favour. I ought not to pass over in silence what concerns *Wiat*'s Deposition. Dr *Burnet* has spoke more amply of it in a Work of a later date than his History of the Reformation. First of all he shewed how much such a Deposition is contrary to all likelihood, and then he maintained that *Wiat* 'was never out of Favour; but was employed in 'Foreign Embassies till he died (25).' He quotes an Original Piece, wherein *Wiat*'s Son attests, 'That his Father was Gentleman of the Bed-Cham- 'ber to King *Henry*, all the while That Marriage 'with *Anne Bullen* lasted, and yet neither did he 'in discretion retire out of the Court, nor did the 'King seem jealous, or the Queen offended at him. '- - - - - That his Father was afterwards Embassa- 'dor for several Years in *Charles* Vth's Court (26).

(24) *See* Dr Burnet's Refutation of Sanders, n. 21.

(25) Critical Remarks on the 9th Book of Mr Varillas's History, pag. 87.

(26) A Defence of the Critical Remarks on Varillas, pag. 107, 108.

The Jesuit, who published three Volumes of the Revolutions of *England*, seems to me very reasonable in his account of *Anne Bullen*: I shall set down what he says of her, by which it will appear, that those who have refuted *Sanders*, have not laboured in vain. '*Sanders* relates several things of *Anne*'s 'Birth and Behaviour before *Henry* fell in Love 'with her, which are not easily to be believed, nor 'supported by any convincing proof. He says, that 'she was *Henry*'s Daughter; that she had a Sister 'whom that Monarch debauched; that she had pro- 'stituted herself almost from her Childhood to the 'Steward and Chaplain of *Thomas Bullen*, who passed 'for her Father; that when she was at the Court 'of *France*, *Francis* I, and his Courtiers, dishonour- 'ed her in such a manner, that she was publickly 'called by infamous Names: But these are things 'which the Protestant Writers exclaim against, and 'have some reason to deny. But that of which 'she cannot be cleared is, that, by counterfeiting the 'virtuous Woman, she gave *Henry* some hopes that 'she would marry him, if if he could bring about 'that monstrous Divorce which *Wolsey* proposed to 'him, and that thereby she contributed to the In- 'justice done by That Prince to his lawful Wife, 'and to all the Evils which followed upon it. The 'Tragical End that her Incontinency brought her 'to, which was proved by a legal Tryal, made it 'appear that the Catholick Writers might say, with- 'out judging rashly of her, that she was Chaste 'only when she was Ambitious (27)."

(27) *Father* d'Orleans Hist. des Revolutions d'Angleterre, Tom. II. p. 427.

[*E*] *They might have said enough ill of her, without exceeding the bounds of faithful Historians.*] The Bishop of *Meaux* urges no other Facts to defame this Queen, than what are owned by the Protestants: By these he proves her guilty of an 'immodest 'Gayety, of indiscreet Liberties, of an irregular and 'licentious Behaviour. A Modest Woman, *says he* '(28), not to say a Queen, was never seen to suffer 'herself to be so little respected, as to have such 'Declarations made to her as were made to this 'Princess, by Persons of all Conditions, even of 'the meanest. Nay, she was pleased with, and 'gave occasion for them; and was not ashamed to 'tell one of her Gallants, that she perceived he 'deferred marrying, in hopes to have her after the 'King's Death. All these things are acknowledged 'by *Anne*, and she was so far from looking on 'those bold Lovers with an evil Eye, that it is 'certain, without diving farther into the matter, 'she treated them the better for it. - - - - - - At the 'time she was taken, while she was at prayer to 'God, melting in Tears, she was seen to break out 'into Laughter like one distracted: The Words 'which she spoke in her Transport against her Lo- 'vers, who had betrayed her, shewed the disorder 'she was in, and the trouble of her Conscience '(29). - - - - - - By a shameful compliance *Anne* 'acknowledged a thing which was not true, *viz.* 'that she had married *Henry* in the Life-time of the 'Lord *Percy*, to whom she was contracted before, 'and by declaring against her Conscience, that her 'Marriage with the King was void, she involved 'her Daughter *Elizabeth* in her own shame (30). I do not see, that any one can reasonably complain, that the Bishop of *Meaux*, in the alternative of two Crimes of *Anne Bullen*, has pitched upon the greatest, out of Animosity; for it is a great deal more likely that *Anne* was not contracted to her Lord, than that she was; and, consequently, she deserves much more to be accused of a false Oath, whereby, when just ready to appear before God, she unjustly declared her own Daughter a Bastard, than to be accused of Retractation as to a Promise of Marriage.

(28) Histoire des Variations, lib. vii. n. 20. p. 302.

(29) Ibid. p. 303.

(30) Ibid. p. 304.

A Protestant Historian (31) has lately published the first Letter which *Anne* writ to the King. Nothing can be more contrary to Modesty; she declares her Passion there without any discretion, and offers herself to the King *without any exception*; for she adds that Clause to the Words, *most obedient Servant*, with which she subscribes the Letter. That Historian should have added this Reason to those, that hindered him from believing what the Earl of *Aylesbury* had read in some Manuscripts; *viz.* That the King having courted That Maid twelve Years, did not know her till after his Marriage (32). But I must observe by the by, that those Manuscripts seem to be very uncertain; there is no likelihood that *Henry* VIII began to love this Lady in the Year 1519. It is best to believe nothing of it, nor of a Passage in the Forty seventh Page of That Author, *viz.* that *Anne* went *into* France *at fifteen Years of Age*, when the Princess of *England* was married to *Lewis* XII. According to this, she must have been born in the Year 1499, and not, as *Camden* says, in the Year 1507. It is very strange, that we should so little know at what time she was born, at what time she went out of *England*, and returned thither, considering that she was a Person who rose to the Royal Dignity in so extraordinary a manner.

(31) Leti, Hist. de la Reine Elizabeth, Tom. I. pag. 60 Amsterdam *Edit.* 1694.

(32) Ibid. p. 52.

BOLESLAUS, the first of that Name, was the first King of *Poland*. His Father the Duke *Miceslaus*, having embraced Christianity, desired the Title and Dignity of King from the Pope; but did not obtain it. His Son found much more facility with the Emperor *Otho* III, after having received him splendidly at *Gnesna*, where that Emperor had been in Pilgrimage to venerate the Body of St *Adelbert* [*A*], who had been martyred in *Prussia* four Years before (*a*). It was in the Year 1000, that *Otho* performed that Pilgrimage. The Honours he received from *Boleslaus* obliged him to shew him his Gratitude by conferring the Title of King upon him [*B*]. He dressed him in his own Garments, and gave him the *Insignia* of the Empire, and particularly the Sword and the Golden Ball with the Cross. *Boleslaus* had very good Qualities, he was Liberal to the Church, and very Valiant. He repulsed the *Bohemians* into the Heart of their own Country; he chastised the *Moravians*, and made them Tributaries; he punished the Idolatrous *Prussians*, who had martyred St *Adelbert*, whose Body he redeemed; he re-established *Stopolcus*, Duke of *Russia*, who had been deposed by his own Brother *Jaroslaüs*, *&c.* He married *Judith*, the Daughter of *Geisa*, Duke of *Hungary*, by whom he had Children (*b*).

(*a*) *See* Calvisius.

(*b*) *Taken from the* Voyage de la Reine de Pologne, *by* le Labourer, pag. 139, 140.

[*A*] *He received the Emperor* Otho *splendidly at* Gnesna, *where he was come in Pilgrimage, to venerate the Body of St* Adelbert.] The Emperor *Otho* III was pretty much addicted to those kind of Devotions. After having punished *Crescentius* and his Anti-pope in the Year 998, he went to *Ratisbon* in his return from *Italy*, 'and made a Vow to go 'in Pilgrimage into *Poland* to the Tomb of the holy 'Bishop *Adelbert*. - - - - - - - At his return from *Po-* 'land, he went to *Aix* with his Sister *Adelaide* to 'visit the Tomb of *Charlemagne*, and to be also at 'a meeting of Bishops (1). Being returned into 'Italy, his first care was to put St *Adelbert*'s Hand 'in St *Bartholomew*'s Church in the Island of the 'Tyber, with divers other Relics of holy Martyrs, 'as also the whole Body of St *Bartholomew*, which 'he caused to be brought from *Benevento* - - - - - - 'The same Year, being moved with a serious Re- 'pentance for having caused the Consul *Crescentius* 'to be put to Death against his Word, he reli- 'giously performed the Penance enjoined him by 'St *Romuald*, and went on Foot to Mount *Gargan*, 'and other holy Places (2).'

(1) Blanc, Hist. de Baviere, Tom. II. pag. 147.

[*B*] Otho *conferred on him the Title of King*] *Baronius* ascribes this to Pope *Sylvester* II, and grounds himself on this, That, a little after *Otho* IIId's Pilgrimage, the *Poles* solicited the Pope for the Title of King. Doubtless, they did it *ad majorem cautelam* - *For the greater Safety*, and for fear of exasperating that Court, which would not allow the Emperors the Right of erecting Kingdoms However that be, the *Poles* attribute the first Institution of their Royalty to *Otho* III (3).

(2) Id. ibid. p. 148.

(3) Le Labourer, Relation du voiage de Pologne, pag. 139, 140.

BOLSEC (JEROME), would have been altogether buried in Oblivion, if he had not made himself famous by some satirical Books, which the Monks and the Missionaries quote still [*A*], though it must be acknowledged, that they do not speak so often of them as they did about the end of the XVIth Century, and in the beginning of the XVIIth. What is to be found concerning this Man in the Books of the Protestants is as follows. *Jerome Bolsec* was a *Carmelite* of *Paris*, who, having preached somewhat freely in St *Bartholomew*'s Church, forsook his Order, and fled into *Italy* to *Renata* of *France*, Duchess of *Ferrara* (*a*). There was the common Sanctuary of those who were persecuted for the new Opinions. He set up for a Physician, and married quickly, but did something or other for which he was expelled (*b*). He went to *Geneva* as a Physician; but finding that he did not distinguish himself to his Satisfaction in that Profession, he set up for Divinity, and dogmatized at first in private on the Mystery of Predestination, according to the Principles of *Pelagius*, and afterwards had the Boldness to make a public Discourse against the received Opinion. As soon as his Conversation with certain Persons, to infect them with his *Pelagianism*, was known, *Calvin* went to see him, and censured him mildly: Afterwards he sent for him to his House, and endeavoured to reclaim him from his Error; but this did not hinder *Bolsec* from delivering in Public an insulting Discourse against the Decree of Eternal Predestination

(*a*) Paulo liberius in divi Bartholomæi fano concionatus esset, in Italiam abjecta culla profugit, atque repente Medicum factum exorem duxisse. *Beza ad Claud. de Xaintes, Apolog altera, Oper. Tom. II. p.* 345.

(*b*) Quum - - - - in Italiam profugisset, ne quoque decepta Ferrariensi Ducissa pulsus. *Id in vita Calvini, Oper. Tom. III. p.* 374.

[*A*] *He made himself famous by some satirical Works, which the Monks and the Missionaries quote still.*] A Multitude of Persons have given out, both in Sermons, and Books, that *Calvin* was branded with the *Flower-de-luce*, *&c.* without any other proof for it than the Testimony of *Bolsec*. I should not wonder if some Painter had done that Writer the honour to compare him to *Homer*, I mean, to make a Picture, where *Bolsec* should have appeared Vomiting, and surrounded with a great number of Priests, Monks, and Lay Controversists, greedy of the Crudities, which he vomited, and swallowing them with so very eager an Appetite, as even to lick the Floor; for it is certain, that they have made the same use of those Ordures, as the Poets who came after *Homer* did of his Inventions (1).

(1) *See* Ælian, lib. xiii. var. Hist. cap. xxii.

——— Cujusque ex ore profusos
Omnis posteritas latices in carmina duxit,
Amnemque in tenues ausa est diducere rivos,
Unius fœcunda bonis (2).

(2) Manilius, lib. ii. ver. 8. *speaking of* Homer.

——— *From whose Fountain*
Posterity have drawn most plenteous draughts,
Poets have dared the River to divide
Into small streams, and gathered all their Wealth
From Homer's *single Store.*

See how Fortune sports with things; some Circumstances are sufficient to make the Fate of a Scoundrel equal to that of the greatest Men, and the most brutish Follies as much respected as the finest Productions of Human Wit. What a shameful thing is this! What *Ovid* said of *Homer* might have been applied to *Bolsec*.

Adjice Mæoniden, à quo ceu fonte perenni
Vatum pierius ora rigantur aquis (3).

(3) Ovid. Amor lib. iii. Eleg. xii.

Add Homer *too, who, like a constant Spring,*
Our Poets with Pierian Draughts supplies.

tion. It is thought that he was the bolder, becauſe he imagined that *Calvin* was not among his Auditors. He had ſuch a Thought becauſe he did not ſee him in his Place. The Reaſon was, *Calvin* not coming till after the Sermon was begun kept himſelf hid behind the Crowd. But as ſoon as *Bolſec* had ended, he ſhewed himſelf, and confuted him ſo ſtrongly by Scripture, by St *Auguſtin*, and by Reaſon; that *Bolſec* was the only Perſon that was not aſhamed of his being overcome in that manner [*B*]. That was not all: One of the Magiſtrates, who had Power to impriſon People, was preſent in that Aſſembly, and immediately exerted his Power; he called *Bolſec* a ſeditious Fellow, and ſent him to Priſon. The Cauſe was diſcuſſed very fully, and at laſt, with the Advice of the *Swiſs* Churches [*C*], the Senate of *Geneva* declared *Bolſec* convicted of Sedition and *Pelagianiſm* [*D*], and as ſuch baniſhed him from the Territory of the Republic, on the Penalty of being whipped if he ſhould return thither. This was done the Twenty third of *December* 1551. He retired into a neighbouring Place, which depended on the Canton of *Bern*, and raiſed ſo many Troubles there, that they baniſhed him out of all the Territories of that Canton [*E*]. He returned into *France*, and applied himſelf

[*B*] *He made a Diſcourſe on Predeſtination ---- which* Calvin *refuted ſo ſtrongly, that he was the only Perſon who was not aſhamed of his being overcome in that manner.*] By *Beza*'s manner of relating this affair, it ſeems as if *Bolſec* made a Sermon; but the Letter, which *Calvin* writ to the *Swiſs* Churches in the Name of the Church of *Geneva*, clears the Fact, and ſhews that *Bolſec* only cenſured and refuted a Sermon that was then preached upon the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt. 'Tandem virus ſuum nuper (4) aperto gutture evomuit. Nam cum pro more noſtro unus è fratribus illum Joannis locum exponeret, ubi pronuntiat Chriſtus ex Deo non eſſe, qui verba Dei non audiunt, dixiſſetque, quotquot Spiritu Dei renati non ſunt; pervicaciter uſque in finem Deo reſiſtere: quia peculiare ſit obedientiæ donum, quo Deus ſuos electos dignatur: Surrexit nebulo ille, ac dixit falſam & impiam opinionem, cujus auctor fuit Laurentius Valla, noſtro ſeculo exortam eſſe, quod Dei voluntas rerum omnium ſit cauſſa. Hoc autem modo peccata & malorum omnium culpam in Deum tranſcribi, & illi affingi tyrannicam libidinem qualem Poëtæ veteres in ſuo Jove commenti ſunt. Poſtea ad alterum caput deſcendit, non ideo ſalutem conſequi homines, quia electi ſint, ſed ideo eligi, quia credant: nec reprobari quenquam nudo Dei placito, ſed eos tantum, qui ſe communi electione privant. In hac quæſtione agitanda multis, & atrocibus convitiis in nos invectus eſt. Præfectus urbis re audita eum duxit in carcerem, præſertim quia tumultuoſe plebem hortatus fuerat, ne ſe decipi à nobis ſineret. Nunc ad Senatum delata eſt cauſſæ cognitio: ubi errorem ſuum non minori obſtinatione quàm audacia tueri perrexit (5). —— *Lately he opened his Mouth, and at laſt diſgorged his Venom. For when, according to our Cuſtom, one of the Brethren was expounding that Place of* John, *where Chriſt declares, that they are not of God, who do not hear the words of God, and ſaid, that they who are not born again of the Spirit of God, do obſtinately diſobey God to the end; becauſe the Gift of Obedience is a peculiar Favour conferred by God on his Elect: That Wretch roſe up and ſaid, that a falſe and impious Opinion, firſt broached by* Laurentius Valla, *had ſprung up in our time, that the Will of God is the Cauſe of all things: That by this all Sins and the blame of all evil was tranſferred to God; and a tyrannical Will aſcribed to him, ſuch as the old Poets feigned of* Jupiter. *Then he came to another Point, viz. that Men do not therefore obtain Salvation, becauſe they are elected, but are therefore elected becauſe they believe: And that no Man is reprobate by the bare Decree of God, but only thoſe who deprive themſelves of the common Election. In diſcuſſing this Queſtion, he inveighed againſt us with many bitter Reproaches. One of the Magiſtrates of the City hearing the matter committed him to Priſon, chiefly becauſe he had, in a tumultuous manner, exhorted the People not to ſuffer themſelves to be deceived by us. Then the Affair was brought before the* Senate, *where he continued to defend his Error with no leſs Obſtinacy than Aſſurance.*' As for the manner, how *Calvin* confuted him, read theſe Words of *Beza*: 'Illum tot verbi divini teſtimoniis, tot Auguſtini præſertim locis, tot denique tamque gravibus argumentis, confutavit perculit, obruit, ut omnes præter ipſummet perfrictæ frontis Monachum ipſius vehementer puderet (6). —— *He anſwered, overſet, and confounded him with ſo many Teſtimonies from the word of God, with ſo many Paſſages chiefly out of* St Auguſtin, *in ſhort by ſo many and ſo weighty Arguments, that every Body was miſerably aſhamed for him, except the Brazen-faced Monk himſelf.*

(4) *The 16th of* October 1551, *according to* Beza *in* vita Calvini.

(5) Vid Epiſt. cxxxiii. Calvin.

(6) Beza in vita Calvini, Oper. Tom. III. p. 374.

[*C*] *With the Advice of the* Swiſs *Churches ----.*] I have already related a long Paſſage of the Letter which was written to them to conſult them. The beginning of that Letter is thus: 'Eſt hic Hieronymus quidam, qui abjecta monachi cuculla, unus ex circumforaneis medicis factus eſt, qui fallendo, & fruſtrando, tantum ſibi impudentiæ acquirunt, ut ad quidvis audendum prompti ſint, ac parati. Is jam ante octo menſes in publico Eccleſiæ noſtræ cœtu doctrinam de gratuita Dei electione, quam ex verbo Dei acceptam vobiſcum docemus, labefactare conatus eſt. Ac tunc quidem qua fieri potuit moderatione ſedata fuit hominis protervia. Poſtea non deſtitit locis omnibus obſtrepere, ut ſimplicibus fidei hoc caput excuteret.—*We have here one* Jerome, *who left the Monks habit and turned itinerant Doctor, which ſort of People, by their Practice of deceiving, and making fools of Mankind, acquire ſuch a Stock of Impudence, that they are ready and fit to attempt any thing. This Man about eight Months ago, in a public Aſſembly of our Church, endeavoured to overthrow the Doctrine of God's free Election, which we teach with you from the word of God. At that time the Man's Inſolence was ſtopt, with all poſſible Moderation. Yet he ſtill perſiſted, making a noiſe every where, in order to beat off the Simple from this Article of Faith.*

[*D*] *The Senate of* Geneva *declared him convicted of Sedition and* Pelagianiſm.] Mr *Drelincourt* has (7) publiſhed the Extract of a Letter which Mr *Lullin*, Counſellor and late Syndic of the Republic of *Geneva*, writ to him. It appears by that Letter, that *Bolſec*'s ill Life contributed to his Baniſhment. Theſe are the Contents of that Extract: 'By a Sentence given after his Anſwers and Confeſſions in the Priſons of this City, the Twenty ſecond of *December* 1551, and publiſhed with ſound of Trumpet, and which I have read in our Regiſters, he was condemned to perpetual Baniſhment, on the penalty of whipping, for his Scandals, Impieties, and his ill Life.' *Beza*'s words are: 'Cauſa multis diſputationibus agitata, Senatus Helveticarum etiam Eccleſiarum ſententiam percontatus illum tum ut ſeditioſum, tum ut mere Pelagianum 23. Decemb. publice damnatum urbe expulit, fuſtuariam pœnam minatus, ſi vel in urbe vel in urbis territorio eſſet deprehenſus (8). —— *The Cauſe being examined, after many Debates, the Senate (having alſo aſked the Judgment of the* Swiſs *Churches,) on the Twenty third of December, ſentenced him to be baniſhed the City, as a ſeditious Perſon, and a mere* Pelagian, *on Penalty of being whipped if he were catched any more, either in the City, or it's Territories.*'

(7) Defenſe de Calvin, *printed at* Geneva *in* 1667. pag. 150, 151.

(8) Beza in vita Calvini, p. 375.

[*E*] *He raiſed ſo many Troubles in the* Canton *of* Bern, *that they baniſhed him out of all the Territories*

himself to the Protestants first at *Paris*, and afterwards at *Orleans* [F], and shewed a great Desire of being promoted to the Ministry, and of being reconciled to the Church of *Geneva*; but the Persecution that arose against the Protestants made him resolve to take up his first Religion, and the Practice of Physic. He went and settled at *Autun*, where he acted the easy Husband in favour of the Canons of That Place, and shewed a most violent Passion against the Reformed Church (c) [G]. That Consort, of whom he was so little jealous, was his second Wife (d). He changed his Habitation often (e); he lived at *Lyons* in the Year 1582, as appears by the Title of a Book which he caused to be printed then at *Paris* against *Beza*. He died not long after; for he was not living in the Year 1585 [H]. The Book I have just now mentioned is intituled, *The History of the Life, Doctrine, and Behaviour of* Theodorus Beza, *called the* Spectable, *great Minister of* Geneva (f). It was preceded by the *History of the Life, Actions, Doctrine, Constancy, and Death of* John Calvin, *heretofore Minister of* Geneva, which was printed at *Lyons* in the Year 1577 (g). Those two Histories are altogether unworthy of Credit, as well because they were written by an Author full of Resentment for the Affronts he had received [I], as because he is found manifestly guilty

(c) Beza in vita Calvini Oper. Tom. III. pag. 374.

(d) Id. ad Claud. de Xaintes Apolog. altera, pag. 345.

(e) Medicinam Callipoli ad Araxim tam feliciter facere quam olim Theologiam exerc. it. Ibid. *I think this* Callipolis *is* Belleville *in* Beaujolois.

(f) Du Verdier Biblioth. Françoise, p. 566.

(g) Id. ibid.

riteries of that Canton.] He was one of those who boldly accused *Calvin* of making God the Author of Sin. *Calvin*, to prevent the impressions, which such Complaints might make on the Gentlemen of *Bern*, caused himself to be deputed to them, and pleaded his Cause before them. He was so fortunate, that tho' they would not pass Judgment on his Doctrine, nor decide whether it was true or false, yet *Bolsec* was ordered to depart the Country (9).

(9) Id. ibid. ad ann. 1555.

[F] *He returned into* France, *and applied himself to the Protestants* ------ *at* Orleans.] It was at the National Synod held in that City in the Year 1562. In the Acts of the National Synod that was assembled the Year following at *Lyons*, we find him among the deposed Ministers. He is there called *Infamous, an Impostor, and an Apostate* (10). This shews that the Synod of *Orleans*, deceived by his feigned Show of Repentance, admitted him to the Holy Ministry. Nevertheless it does not appear by *Beza*'s Narratives, repeated in divers places of his Works, that *Bolsec* was ever a Minister. See his Ecclesiastical History, in the sixth Book, Pages 34, and 35; but correct the Word *Bolisec* there, which the Printers have put for *Bolsec*. See also the Life of *Calvin* in *French* (11).

(10) *See* Mr Quick's Synodicon in Gallia Reformata, Tom. I. pag. 47.

(11) *Pag.* 20.

[G] *He went and settled at* Autun, *where he acted the easy Husband in favour of the Canons, and shewed a most violent Passion against the Reformed Church.*] I make use of an Expression less harsh than that of *Beza*; but he writ in *Latin*. 'Ubi contra quam sperarat Ecclesias affligi animadvertit, repetita medicina ad hostes Evangelii manifesta defectione (uxore quoque Canonicis Augustodunensibus prostituta) transivit. Unde nunc etiam quibus potest maledictis veritatem proscindit (12). —— *When, contrary to his Expectation, he found the Churches were distressed, he took to Physic again, and openly went over to the Enemies of the Reformed Church, and even prostituted his Wife to the Canons of* Autun. *Where he now wounds the Truth with all the Reproaches he is Master of.* What meanness! What baseness! morally speaking a Man had better be subject to the disquiets of Jealousy; the judgment of the Public, howevever corrupt, falls much heavier on voluntary Cuckoldom, than on the infirmities of a jealous Husband. Neither *Bolsec*'s indigence, nor the Profit which he might draw from his indulgence to the Canons of *Autun*, would have excused him even with those Persons, who make profession to jest upon every thing. People will laugh at, and jest equally upon, a Husband, who gives his Wife no liberty, and upon one who lends a helping hand to the Pleasures she is minded to take; but after all, they will have as much contempt and indignation for the latter as *Juvenal* had:

(12) Beza in vita Calvini, p. 375, 376.

Cum leno accipiat mœchi bona si capiendi
Jus nullum uxori, doctus spectare lacunar,
Doctus & ad calicem vigilanti stertere naso (13).

(13) Juven. Sat. 1. ver. 55.

The Wife by her procuring Husband sold;
For tho' the Laws make null the adulterous Deed
Of Lands to her the Cuckold may succeed.
Who his taught Eyes up to the Ceiling throws,
And sleeps all over, but his wakeful Nose.

DRYDEN.

[H] *He was not living in* 1585.] 'Beza in his 'Answer to *Genebrard*, printed at *Geneva* in the 'Year 1585, says of *Bolsec* in the Seventy fifth Page. 'Add as many false Stories as you please, taken from 'that Carmelite, who forsook his Order, and who 'is an infamous Man, having been banished thrice, 'and changed his Religion four times; and who, 'after having aspersed the Dead and the Living, died in Despair.' This you may read in the *Defence of Calvin* done by Mr *Drelincourt* (14). But I have read the quite contrary in the Book of another Minister. 'These Witnesses, *says he* (15); 'are more to be credited, than those whom the Bishop produces, which are *Bolsec* and *Arenius*; the 'first of whom greatly lamented and wept in a full 'Synod, for having so wickedly aspersed the memory of so great a Man, and faithful Servant of 'God.' But this ought not to hinder any body from giving credit to the Passage mentioned by Mr *Drelincourt*; for it is likely that the Minister of *Fontenay* meant only the steps, which *Bolsec* made in the Synod of *Orleans*, with great humility, in the Year 1562. If he meant no more than that, he does not confute the Objection, seeing the Life of *Calvin*, published by *Bolsec*, did not come out till fifteen Years after that Synod of *Orleans*.

(14) *Pag.* 102.

(15) Peter de la Vallade, *Minister at* Fontenai le Comte, *in the Apology for the Ecclesie of the Ministers of* Charenton, *opposed to the Book that* Armand John du Plessis, *Bishop of* Luçon, *had produced against them, chap. xxii. pag.* 298.

[I] *His two Histories of* Calvin *and* Beza *are altogether unworthy of Credit, &c.*] Mr *Drelincourt* lays a great stress upon that Argument. He sets forth the Reasons which *Bolsec* had to hate *Calvin*: he says, that *Calvin*, having convicted *Bolsec* of his Errors in a full Assembly, excommunicated him at last with the advice of the whole Consistory: he adds that *Calvin was deputed with some others from* Geneva, *to inform the Potent Republic of* Bern *of the Life and Morals of this wretched* Bolsec (16). So that *Calvin* may be looked upon as the chief Promoter of the two Sentences of Banishment pronounced against *Bolsec*, the one at *Geneva*, and the other at *Bern*. As for what concerns *Beza*, he drew *Bolsec*'s Indignation upon himself by the diffamatory things he had published against him in very hard Terms. Mr *Drelincourt* gives some proofs of it. 'In the Year 1551, says 'he (17), there came into this City one *Jerome Bolsec*; 'some time before a Carmelite of *Paris*, who from a 'Divine became suddenly a Physician, or rather a 'Quack, who, to put himself forward, thinking 'himself to be in his Cloister, and not in a Church 'of God, of which he knew nothing but by hearsay, begun here and there, and also in a full Congregation, to reflect upon the Doctrine of Providence and Eternal Predestination. *Beza* calls this '*Bolsec a Villain, an Impudent Man, and a Wolf in disguise*; and after having represented in what 'manner *Calvin* convicted him of his Errors, he 'says, That *the Monk could not tell what to answer,*

(16) Drelincourt, Defense de Calvin, pag. 101.

(17) Id. ibid. pag. 135. *He takes this from the Preface that* Beza *prefixed to* Calvin's *Commentary on* Joshua, *printed in* 1564.

guilty of Calumny in the most heinous Points [*K*]. There is now hardly any Writer of Reputation, but will acknowledge that this Author is not to be credited [*L*].

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'*fwer, and had nothing left but a Monkish Impudence.* To which he adds, Which he shewed even before the Court the Twenty-third of *December*, when Sentence of Banishment was pronounced against him, with sound of Trumpet, as usual. But it is no wonder; for his impudence has ever since made him odious to every Man of Understanding, seeing he is condemned by his own judgment, as will appear by evidence under his own hand, whenever there is occasion for it. For this wretch, who had deserved Punishment for a seditious Act, being mildly treated by the Magistrates, in hopes that he might in time be cured of his Sophistical Ignorance, after he had given so much offence, and done so much harm to the neighbouring Churches, finding himself thrice banished from the Territories of the Lords of *Bern*, and grown at last intolerable to every body, gave glory to GOD, acknowledging his Faults, and particularly his evil Conscience, in a full Synod of all the *French* Churches held at *Orleans* in the Year 1562. So that something was hoped from him. But being since seized again by a like evil Spirit, he is returned to his first Errors, and being shunned by every body, as he deserves, is, wherever he goes, an Example of the Wrath of God against those who resist the Truth.' Mr *Drelincourt* recites two other Passages of *Beza* (18). I shall add to all this, that *Beza* caused *Calvin*'s Letters to be printed in the Year 1575, among which there is a thundering one against *Bolsec* (19). Thus all things have their use in this World. The keen Stile of these two Reformers does them great Service here. It shews that *Bolsec* must needs have been very angry, to see him give such provoking accounts of the Ill, that had been done him, and that therefore what he published in the Year 1577, and 1582, must be full of a Spirit of Resentment, which ought to render all his Stories suspected of falsity. Never man had more need than he of a formal Process and juridical Proof to confirm what he says.

(18) *Pag.* 137, 138. *He takes them from* Calvin's *Life.*

(19) Viz. *the* 133*d. I have quoted two Passages of it, one in the Remark* [*B*], *the other in the Remark* [*C*].

[*K*] *He is found manifestly guilty of Calumny, in the most heinous Points.*] He has given out, that *Calvin* was convicted of the Sin against Nature, at *Noyon*, and condemned only to be branded with the *Flower de luce*; his Bishop having interceeded for him to moderate the Punishment. Now there was never a Romance more fabulous than this, and *Bolsec* must have been a Man of unheard of Impudence to dare to produce such Stories in the Year 1577, that is to say, Forty three Years after *Calvin* had left *Noyon* (20). The Laws of Limitation were never so valid as in this Business. Prescription, which in other cases serves only to stop proceedings, without absolutely deciding the Point in Question, is here an invincible Proof against the Accuser. He lays his Action after Forty three Years are expired; it cannot be admitted; Prescription has barred him, and besides convicts him of Calumny: for if the Crime of which he accuses *Calvin* was true, they would not have staid so long to make it publick. *Calvin*, in open War with all the Monks, and Ecclesiastics, always with Sword in hand either to attack them, or to defend himself, (for it was a sharp and desperate fight) I say, *Calvin*, who occasioned irreparable losses to the Church of *Rome*, was not a Man in whose favour the sentence of the *Flower de luce* would have been suppressed for Forty three Years together. Immediately on the beginning of his Ministry at *Geneva*, it would have been published in the most authentic and legal Form, it would have been translated into all Languages, and posted up at every corner of the Streets. This is plain to any body that will use common Sense; besides, the falsity of this Story has been so demonstratively proved by Mr *Drelincourt*, that perhaps greater Evidence was never produced in a Question relating to a matter of fact. *Bolsec* is therefore most evidently a Calumniator as to the most heinous of his Accusations; and therefore he deserves no credit about the rest. *Semel malus semper præsumitur malus in eodem genere mali.* —— *He who is once bad is always presumed bad, in the same kind of Evil.* I am not ignorant that he alledges an Act, which he says he had seen in *Bertelier*'s hands, but that does not clear him. It was a supposititious Piece, and he that publishes such Pieces is no less a Calumniator than he that forges them. It is observed, that he forbore to speak of it till *Bertelier* was dead (21); an evident sign, either that he boasted falsely to have seen that Act in *Bertelier*'s hands, or that he knew that he who shewed it durst not run the hazard of being publickly contradicted. See the Article BERTELIER; he and *Bolsec* were of the same Faction at *Geneva* against *Calvin*.

(20) *He left it, for good and all, in the Year* 1535 *according to* Drelincourt, Defense de Calvin, pag. 202.

(21) Rivet, Oper. Tom III. pag. 9. 437.

When I spoke above (22) of *Bertelier*'s pretended Commission, I omitted a Reflexion which comes now into my mind. If he had been sent to *Noyon* by the Republic, it must have been before the Year 1552, for he was excommunicated that Year. At the end of eighteen Months he endeavoured to be re-instated, but could not succeed, because *Calvin* opposed it: He brought himself into trouble soon after upon another account, the issue whereof was that he fled, and, not appearing to the Summons, he was condemned to Death for Contumacy, the sixth of *August* 1555. It is impossible, with all the Chicanery imaginable, to find a proper time for his pretended Deputation, between the day that he was excommunicated, and that wherein he was condemned to Death; and consequently he never was at *Noyon* with Orders to inform himself of *John Calvin*'s Life, if he was not there before the Year 1552. Now this seems to me a convincing proof that he was not deputed before the Year 1552. If he had been at *Noyon* before that Year, he would have had the Original Proofs of *Calvin*'s *Flower de Luce*, when that Minister excommunicated him, and used his utmost Endeavours to lay him under that note of Infamy. Would he have had so little Wit, as not to inform the whole Town, that That great Zealot, who excommunicated others, bore the Infamy of a hot Iron on his back? Would he not have challenged him to his Face to shew his Shoulders? Would he not by that means either have triumphed over his Enemy, or slackened his Persecution? Let any body put himself in *Bertelier*'s place, and he must confess that on such an occasion the discovering of *Calvin*'s Infamy would have been unavoidable. If any body should tell me that *Bertelier* certainly discovered the Mystery, but that no regard was had to his Recrimination, by reason of *Calvin*'s great credit, I should think it a very incredible Story. What! in a Democracy, would not the Judges dare to make any Proceedings, when an accused Person, who has a public Office, some Relations, and some Friends, summons his Accuser to shew his naked Shoulders, and maintains to his Face, that the marks of the *Flower de luce* are to be seen there, and that he has brought the Proofs of it to the Republic, in consequence of a Commission, which was delivered to him? Will the Judges, instead of enquiring into the matter, stifle it, and forbid it to be spoke of? They are not so foolish in a Democracy as to oppress one of their Subjects so grossly. But suppose the Magistrates, being tender of *Calvin*'s Reputation, threaten'd those who should make any Complaint against him; I am sure it will be granted me, that this could not suppress the memory of that Incident in private Families, and prevent it's coming to the Ears of *Calvin*'s Enemies. How comes it then that *Blandrata*, *Alciatus*, *Gentilis*, *Gribaldus*, and so many other Heretics, whom *Calvin* expelled from *Geneva*, and whom he persecuted without mercy wherever they fled, never said a word of these Recriminations of *Bertelier*? This blow cannot be warded off. I know not whether this Reason was ever alledged against the Promoters of the Calumny that *Bolsec* published first.

A NEW Refutation of the pretended Act of Bertelier.

(22) *In the Remark* [C] *of the Article* BERTELIER.

[*L*] *There is scarce any writer of Reputation, but will acknowledge that This Author is not to be credited*] It were sufficient to instance Mr *Maimbourg*, who was not of a Temper to let go his hold without good Reasons; yet having mentioned some Reasons alledged by the Protestants to refute *Bolsec*'s Accusation,

La Croix du Maine makes him Author of ſome Books, which were wrote by another Hand [*M*], for which he falſely alledges the Teſtimony of *Beza*. *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* knew better, than he, our *Bolſec*'s Writings. Beſides the two Hiſtories which I have mentioned, he aſcribes to him 'the Mirrour of Truth, to *Charles* IX, 'and to the Princes and Lords of his Council, from the Judgment made by 'Solomon in his Youth, at the beginning of his Reign, by the Splendor and Reflexion of which Mirrour are diſcovered the true means to appeaſe the Troubles 'and Seditions of the Kingdom of *France*.' It was printed in the Year 1562.

Accuſation, concerning *Calvin*'s pretended *Flower de luce*, he has theſe words, *Since our Proteſtants will have it ſo, I am willing not to believe that Infamy of the Author of their Sect* (23). He had owned before, that *Bolſec wrote a Satire, and a continued Invective, rather than an Hiſtory*. This witneſs is worth a Thouſand others, *unus inſtar omnium*: and might ſuffice, but, for ſuper-abundant proof, I add *Varillas*, who gives a large account of *Calvin*'s Life and Morals, without ſeeming to know that there ever was ſuch a Man as *Bolſec* in the World (24). He affirms nothing of the *Flower de luce*, but ſays only that there is ſomething to be ſeen in the Regiſters of *Noyon, which in all likelihood gave occaſion to* Conrad *of* Sluſemburg, *a Lutheran Miniſter, to write that* Calvin had been whipped and branded *with the* Flower de luce, *in his own Country, and to the the famous Jeſuit* Leonard Leſſius *to compoſe an Apology, with a deſign to juſtify* Sluſemburg *in that Point* (25). This is a cunning turn: *Varillas* will not quote *Bolſec*, a diſcredited Author, he chuſes rather to quote a Lutheran Miniſter. This is leſs ſurprizing than to ſee *Florimond de Remond* reject that Calumny of *Bolſec*, and confeſs that he is too paſſionate an Author. *I omit many things deſigned-ly*, ſays he (26), *becauſe I am afraid, Hatred has ſometimes prevailed upon them more than Truth: for they have defamed him horribly* (27). The Mendicant *Peter de Saint Romuald* acknowledges the ſame Truth; he confeſſes that whatever *Jerome Bolſec*, and *James Lingey* a *Scotchman*, have writ of *Calvin* is ſuſpected of too much Paſſion againſt him (28). In the Year 1583, *Papyrius Maſſo* writing *Calvin*'s Life, and ſpeaking very ill of him, did not vouchſafe to mention the ſtory of the *Flower de luce*, and called thoſe wretched mobbiſh Authors, who reproached that Miniſter with Lewdneſs. Is it not ſtrange that the great Cardinal *de Richelieu*, in one of the beſt Books of Controverſy that has been publiſhed on the part of the Church of *Rome*, ſhould be leſs ſcrupulous, and leſs nice, than *Peter de Saint Romuald*, *Florimond de Remond*, and *Papyrius Maſſo*, and that he ſhould give out, as a true matter of Fact, the Story of *Jerome Bolſec*, which begun then to be laid aſide by the Miſſionaries? See the Article BERTELIER, Remark [*D*].

I cannot end this Remark without mentioning ſome Miſtakes of *Varillas*. I. The *Lutheran* Miniſter's Name is *Conrad Schluſſelburg*. II. He mentions only what he had read in printed Books. *Hæc publicis ſcriptis Calvino objiciuntur* (29). III. *Leonard Leſſius* compoſed no Apology to juſtify that Miniſter; he juſtified himſelf as well as he could (30), when he was accuſed of having advanced (31) two Calumnies againſt *Calvin*, whereof one was concerning the *Flower de luce*. I add further, that *Varillas* was not ignorant of what *Bolſec* had publiſhed, but he ſcrupled to quote him: 'That of *Jerome Bol-'ſec*, a Phyſician of *Lyons*, is written in ſuch a paſſio-'nate Stile, that a Reader of never ſo little Mode-'ration, will find fault with it from the firſt Page. 'It is full of many ill Actions, which are only 'grounded on that Phyſician's Authority, which I 'do not think to be ſufficient. The *Calviniſts*, in 'their Anſwers to him, accuſe him of very great 'Ingratitude, on account that *Calvin* had received 'him in his Houſe, and kept him ſeveral Years as 'his Secretary, and that, notwithſtanding all this, he 'became his greateſt Enemy, out of meer Inconſtancy, or out of Spite, becauſe *Beza* had inſinuat-'ed himſelf more than he into *Calvin*'s Friendſhip '(32).' I do not queſtion, but that we have here a new Miſtake of That Author. No body, that I know of, did ever reproach *Bolſec* with Ingratitude on that account. Such a Reproach was made to the Civilian *Baudouin*; it was he that ſerved *John Calvin* as Secretary: but *Bolſec* never had that Funcſion, nor ſuch a Landlord. I ſhould be much ſurprized if any body ſhould ſhew me the contrary.

[*M*] La Croix du Maine *makes him Author of ſome Books, which were written by another Hand.*] Thoſe Books are, a Treatiſe of the *Providence of* GOD: *A Treatiſe of the Old and New Man, firſt written in* Latin *under the Name of* Theophilus, *which be intituled*, Theologia Germanica: A Treatiſe *under the Name of* Martin Bellie, *which be cauſed to be printed in* Latin *and in* French, *to which* Beza *made an Anſwer*; and a Tranſlation of the *Bible out of* Latin *into* French. *Beza*, as *La Croix du Maine* ſays, *relates this in his Life of* Calvin (33). *La Croix du Maine* is guilty of two Miſtakes. Thoſe Books were not written by *Bolſec*, and *Beza* aſcribes them to *Sebaſtian Caſtalio*, and not to him. Many Remarks would be neceſſary to rectify this Matter.

(21) Maimb. Hiſt. du Calviniſm, lib. iv. pag. 336.

(22) Varillas Hiſtoire de l'Hereſie, liv. x.

(23) Ibid. pag. 332. *of the* Dutch *Edition.*

(24) Hiſtoire de la naiſſance & progrez l'Hereſie, liv. vii. cap. vii.

(25) *He quotes in the Margin* Bolſec *and* Surius *among others. See* Drelincourt in his Defence of Calvin, pag. 126.

(26) Theſor Chronologique ad ann. 1550. *cited by* Drelincourt in his Defence of Calvin, pag. 128.

(27) La Croix du Maine, Bibli th. Françoiſe, pag. 169.

(28) Schluſſelburg. Theolog. Calviniſt lib. ii. fol. 72.

(29) *In the Appendix to the Treatiſe* de Antichriſto.

(30) *In the* Conſultat'o, quæ Fides & Religio ſit capeſſenda.

(31) *In the Preface to Tom. I.* of the Hiſtory of Hereſy.

(32) Bombaſius, Epiſt. iv. lib. xi. pag. 648. inter Erasmianas.

BOMBASIUS (PAUL), a Native of *Bologna* in *Italy*, gained Eſteem by the Profeſſion of Philology, about the beginning of the XVIth Century. He taught the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages at *Naples* [*A*], and gave ſuch proofs of his Capacity

[*A*] *He taught* —— *at* Naples.] I follow the Author I have quoted, but I am not without fear that he miſtakes; for *Eraſmus* does not ſpeak one Word of the Profeſſorſhip at *Naples*, but he ſpeaks only of that at *Bologna*. I ſhall recite his Words, becauſe they contain part of *Bombaſius*'s Character. 'Equidem exoſculor Paulum Bombaſium prorſus au-'rei pectoris hominem, quo vix alius unquam vixit 'amico amicior, ſed valetudini parcens non admo-'dum indulſit ſtilo. Mox ut erat animi minime ab-'jecti, fordidorum competitorum improbis conten-'tionibus offenſus (nam Bononiæ publico ſalario 'Græcè profitebatur) ad Reip. negotia ſeſe contulit: 'tandem accitus Romam augere rem maluit, quàm 'literis inſeneſcere (1). —— *Truly I reverence* Paulus Bombaſius, *a Man of a moſt noble Heart; than whom ſcarce ever a more friendly Man lived, but in conſideration of his health he wrote not much. Preſently, as he was of no abject diſpoſition, taking offence at the baſe contentions of his ſordid Competitors (for he was Profeſſor of* Greek *at* Bologna, *with a public Salary) he betook himſelf to Affairs of State: at laſt being ſent for to* Rome, *he choſe rather to improve his Fortune, than ſpend his Days in Learning.*' Theſe Words of *Eraſmus* inform us, I. That *Bombaſius* was a good Friend. II. That to preſerve his Health, he compoſed but few things. III. That having a noble and generous Soul, he grew weary of a Profeſſor's Life, by reaſon of the Quarrels, which the ſordid Jealouſy of his Rivals expoſed him to. IV. That he concerned himſelf with the Affairs of his Country, when he was invited to *Rome*. He ſays, that Chance, rather than his Will, or the offer of a better Fortune, made him leave his Profeſſorſhip. *Me à literaria profeſſione non tam mea voluntas, vel (ut tu ſuſpicaris) fortuna melior avocavit, quam incertus ille, cui pleraque tam mala quam bona debentur, caſus eripuit* (2). *Moreri* makes him a Profeſſor at *Naples* and at *Bologna*.

(1) Eraſm. in Ciceronian. p. 72. *See alſo the IIſt Adage of the VIth Century of the IIſt Chiliad.* pag. 192.

[*B*] *Cardinal*

city there, that Cardinal *Pucci* would have him live with him, and made him his Secretary, with a good Salary [*B*]. He lived very eaſy at the Court of *Rome*, under the Protection, and by the Liberality, of That Cardinal; and was in a Condition to end his Days in Plenty, when the City of *Rome* was plundered under Pope *Clement* VII. He endeavoured to get into the Caſtle of *St Angelo* in his Maſter's Retinue, but he could not run faſt enough, ſo that he was ſurrounded with Soldiers, who killed him barbarouſly (*a*). He was a great Friend of *Eraſmus*.

(*a*) *Taken from* Pierius Valerianus de Literatorum infelicitate, lib. i. pag 22.

[*B*] *Cardinal* Pucci - - - - - - *made him his Secretary, with a good Salary*] *Bombaſius* calls him the Cardinal of the *four Saints*. He wrote to *Eraſmus* in the Year 1517, that againſt his Inclination he was obliged to deprive himſelf of the pleaſures of *Rome*, to accompany that Cardinal's Nephew in his Nunciature to *Switzerland* (3). He tells *Eraſmus* in another Letter (4), that he does not find himſelf very rich, but that he has Four hundred Crowns a Year, and therefore does not fear to ſee himſelf ever reduced to the neceſſity of taking up his former Profeſſion again. 'Quanquam non ita mecum 'maligne agitur ut ad profeſſoriam linguam 'redeundum fore timeam. Nam reditus annuos ad 'CCCC. ducatos nullis ſacris addictos, nec fortunæ ſed induſtriæ meæ acceptos ferendos auxi, 'quos nunquam ex literario illo ocio ſperare ac ne 'ſomniare quidem mihi licuiſſet. —— *Tho' it is not 'ſo bad with me, that I am any ways afraid of being obliged to return to teach the learned Languages again. For I have raiſed my annual income, not 'by my Fortune, but my Induſtry, to Four hundred 'Ducats, ſubject to no Payment to the Church, 'which I never could have hoped for, or even dream't 'of, in the idle Trade of teaching.*'

(3) *That Letter is the 23d of the IId Book of* Eraſmus's *Letters pag.* 129. *See alſo the IVth of the IId Book.*

(4) *It is the XIIIth of the XVIIth Book pag.* 756.

BOMBERG (Daniel), a famous Printer, born at *Antwerp*. His Article is very curious in the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary. I ſhall only add two things: the one is that he was the firſt that printed *Hebrew* Books at *Venice*, and that he began to do it the Year 1511 [*A*]. The other, that he brought his Art to Perfection as to the printing of *Hebrew*, ſo that the *Jews* acknowledge, that ſince his Death the *Hebrew* printing has continually grown worſe and worſe (*a*). You will find the Critical Hiſtory of his Editions of the Bible in Mr *Simon* (*b*).

(*a*) *Taken from* Bartolocci's Biblioth. Rabbinica, Tom. I. pag. 34. *He cites* Gans.

(*b*) Simon, Hiſtoire Critique du Vieux Teſtament, pag. 512, 513.

[*A*] *He began to print* Hebrew *at* Venice, *in the Year* 1511.] He began with an Edition of the Bible in Quarto. 'Afterwards he made many other impreſſions of it in Folio, in 4to, and in 8vo. He 'learned his *Hebrew* of *Felix Pratenſis*, an *Italian*, 'who made him undertake an Edition of the Rabbinical Bible, that is, with the Commentaries of 'the Rabbies, which *Bomberg* printed in Folio in '1517, and which was dedicated to Pope *Leo* X; 'but the *Jews* did not value that Edition, and Rab'bi *Jacob Haiim* got another printed by the ſame 'Bomberg in four Volumes in Folio, in the Year '1525 (1). - - - - - - - It is he that begun the Im'preſſion of the *Talmud* in the Year 1520, which 'he did not finiſh till ſome Years after - - - - - - - in 'eleven Volumes in Folio (2).' He printed the *Talmud* three times, and each of thoſe Impreſſions coſt him One hundred thouſand Crowns (3). *He printed Books to the value of above Four Millions of Gold* (4).

(1) Chevillier, origine de l'Imprim. de Paris, pag. 267.

(2) Id. ibid. p. 268.

(3) Scaligerana, *at the word* Bombergus. pag. 34.

(4) Ibid. *at the word* Imprimerie pag. 121.

BONCIARIUS (Marc Antony), a Diſciple of *Muretus*, wrote very polite *Latin*. He was of a very mean Extraction [*A*], and taught School all his Life-time at *Perugia*. He was born within ſix Miles of that City the ninth of *February* 1555 (*a*). He had for his Scholar his own Father, who, deſiring to turn Jeſuit at Forty ſeven Years of Age, was obliged to acquire ſome Learning, not being willing to be a bare Lay-Brother. *Bonciarius* loſt his Sight (*b*), and was very much afflicted with the Gout (*c*). He died the ninth of *January* 1616 (*d*). Cardinal *Ubaldin* was his Patron (*e*). His Letters were printed at *Marpurg* in the Year 1604. One may find in them the Method he made uſe of to inſtruct his Father in a little time (*f*). There are other Books of his compoſing both in Verſe and Proſe [*B*]. He did not publiſh all that he deſigned to publiſh [*C*].

(*a*) Oldoinus, In Athen. Auguſto, pag. 225.

(*b*) *See* Lanceloti da Perugia, Hoggidi, Part II. pag. 451. & Oldoini in Athen. Auguſto, p. 227.

(*c*) Nicius Erythræus Pinacoth. I. p. 98, 99.

(*d*) Oldoin. ubi ſupra, pag. 228.

(*e*) Du Sauſſai, continuat Bel. larm. de Script. Eccleſ pag 78.

(*f*) Morhof. Polyhiſt. p. 287.

[*A*] *He was of a mean Extraction*] He informs the Public himſelf, that he was the Son of a Shoemaker, and the Grandſon of a Currier. 'Hic 'Peruſii, à vulgaribus, ut ipſe de ſe fatetur, opi'ficibus ortus, cujus quippe avus coriariam, pater 'ſutoriam in adoleſcentia fecerat, generis obſcuritatem ſui literarum ſplendore illuſtravit (1). —— '*This Man, deſcended, as he himſelf owns, of 'mean Artificers at* Perugia, *for his Grandfather 'was a Currier, and his Father a Shoemaker, in 'his Youth, illuſtrated the Obſcurity of his Deſcent 'by the Splendor of his Learning.*'

(1) Nicius Erythræus Pinacoth. I. pag. 98.

[*B*] *There are other Books of his compoſing, as well in Verſe as in Proſe*] He wrote a Treatiſe *de arte Grammatica*; a Poem intituled, *Triumphus Auguſtus, ſive de ſanctis Peruſii tranſlatis*, which contains four Books; *Seraphidos libri tres* (2). I do not find that he publiſhed any *Greek* Grammar, neither can I tell what Authority *Moreri* has to aſſert it. He would have been more in the right to have aſcribed to him a Treatiſe of Rhetoric, though *Nicius Erythræus*, the only Author he has quoted, ſays nothing of it. See the following Remark.

(2) Id. ibid. p. 99, 100.

[*C*] *He did not publiſh all that he deſigned to publiſh.*] He ſays in his Letters, that he had taken upon him to write the Lives of all thoſe, who had been eminent either in Arms or Learning (3) at *Perugia* for Four hundred Years paſt. He ſays in the Catalogue of his Works, at the end of his Rhetoric, that he wrote a Book intituled, *Epicurus ſive dialogus de antiqua Philoſophia*, wherein he ſhewed, that no antient Philoſopher came nearer the Truth than *Epicurus*, and that none were farther from it than the *Stoics*. *Goſſendus* and *Naudé* had never ſeen that Book, which made *Goſſendus* believe that perhaps it was never printed. 'M. An'tonius Bonciarius Pariſienſis Profeſſor (4) - - - in 'catalogo Operum ſuorum (5) ſe compoſuiſſe librum 'teſtatur, cui titulum fecerit, Epicurus ſive dialogus 'de antiqua Philoſophia, in quo efficacibus argu'mentis & doctorum virorum teſtimoniis probatur 'neminem ex priſcis Philoſophis acceſſiſſe propius 'ad veritatem quàm Epicurum, contra nullos ab 'ea longius receſſiſſe quam Stoicos. Tametſi iſte 'quoque liber nunquam fortaſſis editus, nec nobis 'eſt viſus nec amico noſtro, quem vix tamen ulli 'rariſſimi fugiunt (6).' *Goſſendus* has committed a groſs miſtake; *Bonciarius* taught at *Perugia* all his Life-time. He was therefore *Peruſinus Profeſſor*. The word *Peruſinus* was eaſily changed into *Pariſinus*, and *Pariſinus* more eaſily ſtill into *Pariſienſis*. It appears from hence that Faults of Impreſſion may lead a learned Man into conſiderable Miſtakes.

(3) Ibid. p. 99.

(4) *See the end of this Remark.*

(5) Goſſendus *has put in the Margin* in fine Rh.

(6) Goſſendus, de vita & moribus Epicuri lib. vii. cap. vii. p. 224.

BONFADIUS (James), one of the most polite Writers of the XVIth Century, was born in *Italy* near the Lake *di Garda* [*A*]. He was three Years Secretary to Cardinal *Bari* at *Rome*, after which, having lost all the Fruit of his Services by the Death of his Master, he went to Cardinal *Ghinucci*, and served him as Secretary, till a long Sickness took him off from that Employment. When he was recovered he found himself so disgusted with the Court, that he resolved to seek his Fortune by other means. He found nothing in the Kingdom of *Naples*, where he wandered a pretty long time: he went afterwards to *Padua*, and then to *Genoa*, where he read Public Lectures on *Aristotle*'s Politics. He was ordered to make some likewise on his Rhetoric, and, because he succeeded well in it, he had a great many Scholars, who went to learn good Literature of him. His Reputation increased daily, so that the Republic of *Genoa* made him their Historiographer, and assigned him a very good Pension for That Office. He applied himself with all his Might to compose the Annals of that State, and published the five first Books, wherein he spoke too freely, and too satirically of some Families, whereby he raised himself Enemies, who resolved to ruin him. They caused him to be accused of the Sin against Nature, and, there being Witnesses to convict him of it, he was condemned to be burnt (*a*) [*B*]. Some Authors say the Sentence was executed according to it's Form and Tenor; but others assert, that, by the Sollicitations of his Friends, the Punishment was commuted, and that he was beheaded [*C*]. This happened in

(*a*) Ghilini, Teatro d'huomini illustri Tom. 1. pag 70.

[*A*] *He was born in* Italy *near the Lake* di Garda.] Authors do not agree about *Bonfadius*'s Country. Some say, that he was born at *Salona* upon that Lake; *Salonæ ad Benacum natus* (1); others call his Country *Gazani, luogo picciolo della Riviera di Brescia* (2). —— *A small place on the River* Brescia. I believe they are in the right; for in a Letter dated from *Gazano*, wherein he describes that fine Lake, you will meet with these Words, *libero mi starò nel mio Gazano.* - - - - *I shall be free in my* Gazano. This Letter was written to *Plinio Tomacello*, and is in the second Book (3) of *Lettere volgari*, printed at *Venice* Anno 1558. *Konig* is wrong in saying he was of *Verona*

(1) Thuan. lib. xxvi. pag. 538.

(2) Ghilini Theatr. Tom. I. pag. 70.

(3) Fol. 8. verso.

[*B*] *He was accused of the Sin against Nature* - - - - - *and was condemned to be burnt.*] He was accused of having satisfied that brutish Passion with one of his Scholars. ' Fu calunniato, che in ' dotto da smisurato e pazzo amore, che ad un ' bellissimo giovanetto suo Scolare portava, con esso ' le sozze e impudiche sue voglie sfogasse; sopra ' di questa imputazione fu subito carcerato, e da ' testimonii di sì grave e enorme eccesso convinto, ' fu condamnato al fuoco, nel quale finì i suoi gi- ' orni l'anno 1551 (4). —— *It was laid to his* ' *Charge, that, instigated by an inordinate Passion* ' *for a very handsome Youth, his Scholar, he* ' *had gratified his foolish Inclinations with him,* ' *on which Accusation he was immediately sent to* ' *Prison, and, being convicted by Evidence of so* ' *great and enormous a Crime, was condemned to the* ' *flames, in which he ended his Days in the Year* ' 1551.' Thus *Ghilini* acknowledges the Justice of the Accusation. The Cavalier *Marini* has likewise acknowledged it: See the two Madrigals of his *Ritratti*, which Mr *Menage* quotes (5). *Paul Manucius* owns it likewise in the Poem that he addresses *ad eos qui laborarunt pro salute Bonfadii* (6). —— *To those who endeavoured to save* Bonfadius. See how he speaks,

(4) Ghilini, Teatro d'huomini illustri, pag. 4.

(5) Menage, Antibaillet, cap. lxxxix.

(6) *You will find it in the* Deliciæ Poëtarum Italorum.

Lapsus erat miser in culpam Bonfadius, index
Detulerat patribus, nec inani teste probarat.
Quid facerent legum custodes? legibus uti
Coguntur.

—— *Unhappily did poor* Bonfadius *fall*
Into a Crime, for which before the Senate
An Accusation was advanced, the Informer
Produced his Evidence, and prov'd the Charge.
What could the Ministers of Justice do?
They 're bound to put the Laws in Execution.

(7) *See* Ghilini ubi supra, pag. 71. *&* *Mr* Teissier, Eloge. Tom. I. pag. 181. *Edit.* 1696.

But others pretend, that *Bonfadius* was oppressed by Calumny. It is the opinion of *Giovanni Matteo Toscano* in his *Peplus Italiæ* (7), where we find what follows:

Haud minus intumuit nuper Benacus alumni
Bonfadii, ac Musis, docte Catulle, tuis.
Bis tamen infelix; rapuit nam Roma Catullum,
Bonfadium letho das scelerate Ligur.
Historia æternum cujus fera Genua vivis,
Immeritum sævâ lege necare potes?
Mitius est quod te spumanti vertice marmor
Tundit; & es scopulis durior ipsa tuis.

Not less Benacus *boasted of her Son*
Bonfadius, *than of learn'd* Catullus *Muse.*
But twice unhappy she: Rome *of* Catullus
Robb'd her, and wicked Genoa *took the Life*
Of her Bonfadius; *can't thou, Cruel* Genoa,
Thus sacrifice, t'a barbarous Law, the Man,
Whose History has made thy name immortal?
Milder the Waves, that beat against thy Shores,
With frothy Tops: Thou harder than Thy Rocks.

Scipione Ammirato says nothing on either side, nevertheless he seems more inclined to question *Bonfadius*'s Innocency. You'll see in the following Words, that the true Cause of the Persecution of this unfortunate Man, was, that he inclined the Youth to disapprove the Government that was then established. ' Trovata che egli tirava la gio- ' ventù a governo contrario di quello che allora ' si era indiritto, sotto colore d'impudici amori gli ' poser le mani addosso: e peraventura non tro- ' vatolo senza colpa, il condennarolo al fuoco. Del ' cat tivetto; per che fosse meno scusabile; si ' leggono ancor rime, lequal par che rendan testi- ' monianza di cotesta sua inclinazione (8). —— *It* ' *being found that he inclined the Youth to a Go-* ' *vernment contrary to what was then established,* ' *he was seized on pretence of unnatural Lewdness,* ' *and being found perhaps not altogether blameless,* ' *he was condemned to the Fire: A wicked Man, for* ' *he was not excusable; some Verses are extant yet* ' *which seem to shew this Inclination in him.*' It is very likely, that he was guilty of the enormous Crime whereof he was accused, but that he would not have been punished for it, had he not done something else that exposed him to the Hatred of certain Persons.

(8) Scipione Ammirato *in his* Ritrato del Bonfadio apud Menage Antibaillet, cap. lxxxix.

[*C*] *Others say he was beheaded.*] *Baccalini*, *Ghilini*, the Cavalier *Marini*, and some others, assert, that he was burnt: *Scipione Ammirato* says the same. *Questo misero col fuoco in Genova* - - - - *vedemmo terminare infelice vita* (9). But *Thuanus* is more to be believed, when he says that *Bonfadius* was beheaded. *Ob rem tacendam Genuæ* - - - - *securi percussus* (10). Read these Words of Mr *Menage*: ' It is true, that he was condemned to be burnt, ' but, at the sollicitation of his Friends, and par- ' ticularly

(9) Menage, Antibaillet. cap. lxxxix.

(10) Thuan. lib. xxvi pag. 538. *Note that* Konig *instead of* Genuæ *says* Genevæ, *which is a great lie.*

in the Year 1560 (*b*). Those who blame his Imprudence are in the right, and have fared the worse for imitating it [*D*]. There are some Speeches, Letters, and *Latin* and *Italian* Poems of his. The Day of Execution, he wrote a Note to *John Baptist Grimaldi*, to testify his Acknowledgment to the Persons who had endeavoured to serve him. He promised to inform them how he found himself in the other World, if it could be done without frightening them. He is not the only one that made such Promises [*E*]. He recommended to them his Nephew *Bonfadino*, who

(*b*) Thuan. lib. xxvi. pag. 538. *But* Ghilini, Tom. I. pag. 70. *places* Bonfadio's *Death in the Year* 1551.

'ticularly of young *Grimaldi*; his Punishment was 'changed; and he was only beheaded. This we 'learn from the *Latin* Poem of *Paul Manutius*, 'intituled, *Ad eos qui laborarunt pro salute Bonfadii*, printed in the *Delitiæ Poëtarum Italorum*. 'Here is that part of the Poem, which concerns the change of that Punishment:

Exprimitur tandem hoc invito à Judice, vivus
Ne comburatur crepitanti deditus igni:
Tum se carnifici sævo Bonfadius ultrò,
Mente Deum spectans, animo imperterritus offert.
Ille ministerio properè functurus iniquo,
Terribilis rigidam suspendit ad alta securim (11).

(11) Menage, Antibaillet, cap. Incedit. pag. 357, 358.

'Tis from the unwilling Judge at last obtain'd,
That to the crackling Flames he shall not be
A Victim given; then, Bonfadius, *thou*
To the fierce Executioner thy neck
Didst freely offer of thy own Accord;
He, sudden to dispatch his task unjust
And terrible, high rais'd his rigid Sword.

[*D*] *Those who blame his Imprudence are in the right, and have fared the worse for having imitated him.*] I have *Boccalini* in view, who supposes that *Bonfadius*'s complaints, coming out of the Flames (12), were rejected by *Apollo*, and that the God of *Parnassus* declared to him, that tho' he had been innocent of the Crime imputed to him, he would have been justly punished for having had the folly to blemish the Honour of some potent Families. It was represented to him, that a Judicious Historian imitates the Grape-gatherers and Gardeners; he forbears to speak of things, before time has ripened them, that is to say, till the Persons who have committed an ill Action are dead, and their Children are not able to revenge themselves on him that publishes it. 'Che i saggi 'virtuosi nello scriver le historie molto prudentemente si consigliavano, all' hora che imitavano i 'vendemiatori, e gl' altri accorti de' frutti, i quali 'percioche conoscevano, che cosa poco grata havrebbono fatto a gli huomini, se dalle viti tagliando l'uva immatura, e da gli alberi staccando 'i pomi acerbi gli havessero portati al mercato 'quella necessaria patienza havevano, che si conveniva anco gli historici di lasciar che il tempo 'conducesse i fatti, e le cose passate alla perfettione 'loro (13). —— *That the wise Artists in writing 'History, acted with a great deal of Prudence, when 'thus they imitated the Gatherers of Grapes and 'other Fruit; who, because they know it would not 'be grateful to gather green Grapes, and pluck unripe Fruit, and carry it to Market, wait with the 'necessary Patience: thus also should an Historian let 'time bring out facts, and things come to their 'Maturity.* Tacitus was instanced to him, who used the like Precaution, and chose rather to offend against the Laws of History, than to expose himself to danger. 'Che lo stesso gran Maestro de 'gl' Historici saggi Tacito, all' hora che ne gli 'scritti suoi faceva mentione di quei Senatori grandi 'che *Tiberio regnante pœnam vel infamiam subiere* 'all' hora che *posteri manebant*. *Tac. lib. 4. Ann.* 'saggiamente alzava la penna della carta, più tosto 'elegendosi di offender le leggi historiche, che 'pregiudicare alla riputatione di quelle famiglie 'che non di altra cosa erano conosciute far capital maggiore, che dell'honore, stimando quell'huomo fingolare ad un' historico esser cosa di troppo evidente pericolo, *nimis ex propinquo diversa arguere*. *Tac. l. 4. An.* (14). —— *That that 'Grand Master of wise Historians*, Tacitus, *when 'he mentioned in his Writings some great* Senators 'who had suffered Infamy or Punishment under '*Tiberius, while their* Posterity still remained. Tac. 'l. 4. Ann. *Wisely with-held his Hand, chusing 'rather to transgress the Laws of History, than 'Prejudice the Reputation of such Families, as were 'known not to stand upon any thing more nicely 'than on their Honour; this singular Man, for an 'Historian, judging it too dangerous to say any thing 'against them, while he was too near them.*'

(12) Dal fuoco tutto brustolito comparue Giacomo Bonfadio. *Boccalin Ragguagli di Parnasso, Centur. I. c.* xxxv. *pag.* 108.

(13) Id. ibid. pag 108, 109.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 109.

Thus a Man knows the Maxims of Prudence better than he can practise them; for we have seen that *Boccalini* lost his Life for having spoken too freely against *Spain* (15). The Counsels which he ascribes to *Apollo* are doubtless very judicious. Nothing can be finer in the Theory than the Ideas of the Legislator of Historians; he commands them not to dare to say any thing that is false, and to be bold to say all that is true (16). But they are as impracticable Laws as those of the Decaloge in the State that Mankind is in. If it were proper to compare Human things with Divine, it might be said that the Legislator of the Historians has imitated the Legislator of the *Jews*: He supposed a State of Innocency, and not a State of Sin; he supposed That Free-will which is lost, and the great Strength that Man would have had, if he had persevered in his original Innocence. Observe on the other hand a great difference between these Laws, that are so a like. A perfect Wisdom is requisite to fulfil the Decalogue, and a Man must be foolish to the highest degree to fulfil the Laws of History. Eternal Life is the Reward of Obedience to the Decalogue, but Temporal Death is almost an unavoidable Consequence of obeying the Lawgiver of the Historians.

(15) *See* Boccalini *immediately after the Citations* (*b*) *and* (*c*).

(16) Quis nescit primam esse historiæ legem ne quid falsi dicere audeat, deinde ne quid veri non audeat? *Cicero de Oratore lib. ii. cap.* xv. *See the Preface to the first Edition of this Dictionary, Paragraph* IV.

[*E*] *He promised to inform them how he found himself in the other World* ------ *He is not the only one that has made such Promises.*] These are his Words: *Se da quel mondo di là si potrà dar qualche segno senza spavento, lo farò.* They are taken out of the Note that he sent to *Giovani Battista Grimaldi*: You will find it entire in the *Antibaillet* (17). Mr *Menage* took it out of a Collection of *Italian* Letters intituled, *Lettere di diversi Uomini illustri raccolte da diversi libri*, printed in 8vo, at *Treviso*, *appresso Fabritio Zanetti*, in 1603. The *Barnabite Baranzanus* had made the same Promise, and did not perform it. I speak of it in his Article. It is pretended, that *Marcilius Ficinus* having promised the same thing, kept his Word: Read this passage of *Peter de St Romuald*. 'Mar'cilius Ficinus, a Priest of *Florence*, a great Platonic Philosopher, and a great Divine, died, and 'immediately his Ghost, in the form of a Cavalier 'clothed in white, mounted on a Horse of the 'same colour, ran full speed to the Door of *Michael Mercatus*, who was his intimate Friend, 'and likewise a great Platonic Philosopher, who 'was then studying by break of Day in his Closet, 'in a Town at a good distance from *Florence*, 'and cried to him, that the Discourses which 'they had together concerning the Life to come, 'were true; and having said this, ran away towards 'the place from whence it came, and quickly escaped his Friend's sight, who called to him to 'stay for him. This happened by reason of the 'Agreement made between them, under the good 'pleasure of God, that he that died first should 'come and tell the Survivor, whether things passed 'in the other life as *Plato* had written in his Book 'of the Immortality of the Soul. Cardinal *Baronius* says he had this Story from the Grandson 'of *Mercatus* (18).' *Note*, That *Baronius*, relating this in the fifth Volume of his Annals, observes that *Michael Mercatus*, who had always lived exemplarily, and like a good Philosopher, raised his Virtue to a higher pitch after that Apparition; for he forsook the Study of Philosophy, and applied himself wholly to the Business of his Salva-

(17) Menage, ubi supra, pag. 357, 358. cap. lxxxix.

(18) Peter de S. Romuald Abregé Chronologique de l'Historique, Tom. III. p. 251, 252. ad ann. 1499.

who is perhaps the PETER BONFADIUS, who is Author of some Verses extant in the *Gareggiamento poëtico del confuso Accademico ordito.* It is a Collection of Verses divided into eight Parts, and printed at *Venice* in the Year 1611.

(19) Baronius, ad ann. 411. n. 69.

tion (19). The Annalist adds, that the reciprocal Promise, which *Marcilius Ficinus* and *Michael Mercatus* made to each other, relating to the state of things after this Life, &c. was attested by divers learned Persons, and had often been related to the People by the Preachers. *Haud inexplorata referam, sed quæ complurium eruditorum virorum scimus assertione firmata, immo & à religiosis viris ad populum pro concione sæpe narrata* (20). It is pity that *Michael Mercatus* did not leave a juridical Attestation of it upon Oath, and registred in the Archives of *Florence.* He was much in the wrong that he did not do it. His Grandson *Michael Mercatus*, who told this Story to *Baronius*, was Prothonotary of the Church, and commendable for his Probity and Learning (21).

(20) Id. ibid.

(21) Id. ibid.

The place, where *Seneca* relates the Tranquillity of Mind, wherewith *Canius Julius* went to his Execution, is admirable. That good Man was condemned to Death by *Caligula*, and was not executed till Ten Days after his Condemnation. He passed them without any disquiet, and when it was told him that he must go to the place of Execution, he lost nothing of his Chearfulness. Why do you afflict yourselves, said he to his Friends? You enquire, whether the Soul subsists after our Death, I shall quickly know it. The Philosopher, who accompanied him, asked him, what he thought of at that Moment? I do design, answered *Canius*, to observe well, whether my Soul will perceive it's going out. He promised that if he learned any thing, he would come and see his Friends to declare his Condition to them. ‘ Tristes erant amici, ‘ talem amissuri virum. *Quid mœsti*, inquit, *estis? ‘ Vos quæritis, an immortales animæ sint: ego jam ‘ sciam.* Nec desiit in ipso veritatem sine scrutari, ‘ & ex more suo quæstionem habere. Prosequebatur illum philosophus suus: nec jam procul erat ‘ tumultus, in quo Cæsari Deo nostro fiebat quotidianum sacrum. *Quid*, inquit, *Canî nunc cogitas? ‘ aut quæ tibi mens est? Observare*, inquit Canius, ‘ *proposui illo velocissimo momento, an sensurus sit animus, exire se.* Promisitque, si quid explorasset, ‘ circumiturum amicos, & indicaturum quis esset ‘ animarum status (22).’ *Seneca* does not tell us whether they heard any news of *Julius* in consequence of his Promise.

(22) Seneca, de Tranquillit. Animi, cap. xiv. p. 671.

Some Considerations on the Nature of the Proof drawn from the Apparition of a Soul.

Perhaps the Reader will not be displeased to find here the discussion of two Questions, which naturally present themselves. The first is, Whether the Friends of this *Julius* had any good pretence to question the Immortality of the Soul, because they did not hear of him as he had given them to expect? The second is, Whether they would have had a good reason to believe the Immortality of the Soul, in case they had heard news of him by some Phantom.

I answer as to the first Point, That such a pretence for questioning the Immortality of the Soul, would be very bad; for tho' a very good reason might be given for the non-performance of *Julius*'s Promises, by supposing that his Soul did no longer exist, it does not thence follow, that That Hypothesis can justly be used to shew the Causes of the non-performance of his Word. When a *Phænomenon* may be accounted for by three or four probable Suppositions, there is none that can form a Conviction. No demonstrative Proof can be given, but when the Hypotheses, different from that made use of, are either impossible, or manifestly false. Since then, supposing the Immortality of the Soul, good Reasons may be given why *Julius* did not return to tell his Friends in what State he was, the Hypothesis of the Mortality of the Soul may be very well rejected, notwithstanding that it may be very proper to explain that Event. It may with great reason be supposed, either that a Soul, separated from it's Body, remembers no more the Promise it made in this Life; or that, if it does remember it, it is ignorant of the Expedients requisite to perform it, or has not the liberty to put them in practice; either because it dares not, or will not disobey some Superior Cause, that forbids it to have any Commerce with Mankind. Let us say then, that *Bonfadius*'s Friends would have argued very ill, if they had inferred the Mortality of the Soul from his not keeping his word with them.

The second Point is more nice; and first of all I make a distinction. If a Phantom, calling itself the Soul of *Julius*, had appeared to the Friends of that *Roman*, and had told them some News from the other World; they might in consequence of that have looked upon the Hypothesis of the Immortality of the Soul as very probable: but if they had taken that Apparition for a demonstrative Proof that the Soul of *Julius* did still exist, they would not have judged right; for as I have already said, an Hypothesis does not afford any demonstrative Proofs, when the matter of Fact, which it accounts for, may be accounted for by different Hypotheses. A Proof cannot be said to be demonstrative, unless it be made appear that the contrary is impossible, or manifestly false. Since then some possible Causes may be given of the Apparition of a Phantom, calling itself the Soul of such a Man, and performing certain Promises which that Man had made to his Friends; since, I say, this may be explained by possible Hypotheses, without supposing that the Soul of Man is immortal, it is plain, that *Julius*'s Friends would not have philosophised with the utmost exactness, if they had taken such an Apparition for a demonstrative Proof that the Soul of their Friend was living. They might have been told, ‘ it is possible, ‘ that tho' the Soul of your Friend be dead, you ‘ may have seen a Phantom that told you what he ‘ had promised to come and acquaint you with. ‘ There are many *Genii* in the World that know ‘ what we do, and that can act on our Organs. ‘ One of them diverted himself with deceiving you, ‘ and made you believe that he was the Soul of *Julius*. We cannot prove to you by natural and ‘ convincing Reasons that this is true; nor can you ‘ prove it to be false. Do not go so fast then, do ‘ not draw a certain Conclusion; be contented to ‘ take it as a very probable Hypothesis.’ *Julius*'s Friends might have replied, that the Existence itself of those *Genii* is a proof of the Immortality of our Soul; for if those *Genii* are immortal, why should not our Soul be so too? It might be answered, That those *Genii* might have power to do many things in the stead, and under the Name, of the dead Soul of *Julius*, even tho' they were mortal. Are not all Men mortal? Do not all of them die, some sooner, and some later? Would that hinder them from deceiving Beasts, in the Supposition that I am going to make. Suppose that the Souls of Dogs should be persuaded that they subsist after their separation from the Body. Suppose that one Dog, in particular, has promised the rest to come and tell them how he finds himself after Death. Lastly, suppose that a Man knows that Promise, and the manner how the Dog has agreed to perform it. Is it not true, that That Man might easily do what would be necessary to deceive the other Dogs? He could shew them Phantoms; he could make Puppets bark, *&c.* If from thence the Dogs should conclude that *their Souls are immortal, or at least that Men are immortal*, would they not be mistaken? Any one, that reflects ever so little upon it, may easily apprehend that the invisible Spirits of the Universe, which the *Platonists* call *Genii*, might do all that the Art of Necromancy attributes to them, even tho' they were mortal; provided their Species was preserved, notwithstanding the successive Death of all the Individuals, as our Kind preserves itself, tho' all Men die. To say, that the Generation of Individuals is impossible among the *Genii*, is to decide rashly what is not, nor can be, known to us. The Infinity of Nature may contain a thousand sorts of Propagation that we are ignorant of. *Note*, That some Pagans believed the Mortality of the *Genii*.

Let us conclude from all this, That what is called the Return or Apparition of Spirits, is not *strictly speaking*, a *necessary Proof* (23) either of the Immortality of our Souls, or of the Immortality of the

(23) *These two Conditions ought to be carefully minded*, I. Strictly speaking. II. Necessary Proof.

the *Genii*. I do not deny, that it is such a Proof of it, as one may prudently and reasonably acquiesce in; but I speak here of demonstrative Proofs: I speak of such Proofs as can only be eluded by Cavils, the Defenders whereof may be easily reduced to an Absurdity.

BONFINIUS (*a*) (ANTONY), a Native of *Ascoli* in *Italy* in the *Marca d'Ancona*, flourished in the XVth Century. He applied himself to the Study of Philology, with good Success. *Matthias Corvinus*, King of *Hungary*, having heard a Report of his Learning, sent for him. *Bonfinius* had the Honour to kiss that Prince's Hand at *Reez*, a few Days before he made his Public Entry into the City of *Vienna*, which he had conquered (*b*). At this first Audience he presented several Books, which he had lately published [*A*], and had dedicated to that King, or to *Beatrix* of *Arragon* his Queen. The King read these Books with great Pleasure in his Camp, and was present with all his Court at a Speech made by *Bonfinius* in *Vienna*, the first Day of *January*; and having ordered the Books of that Author to be brought to him, he distributed them to his Prelates and Courtiers, and recommended them to their Reading; and he was so far from granting *Bonfinius* leave to return into *Italy*, that he retained him with a good Pension, and gave him several things to compose, and commanded him to follow him in his Armies (*c*). He ordered him to compose the History of the *Huns*: *Bonfinius* began to work upon it before the Death of that Prince (*d*), but it was by the Order of King *Uladislaus* that he wrote the whole History of *Hungary*. Though that Work cannot be looked upon as a finished Piece, yet it is certain that the Author deserves a Place among the good Historians [*B*]. He brought that History as far as the Year 1495. It contains four Decads, and a half, that is to say, Forty five Books. The Original of it was placed in the Library of *Buda*, and the Public saw nothing of it till after the Death of the Author. One *Martin Brenner*, a *Transylvanian*, got an imperfect Copy of that Work, and published thirty Books of it in the Year 1543. *Sambucus* found the other Fifteen, and published the whole Work in the Year 1568, revised and collated from the best Copies (*e*). I cannot say when, or where *Bonfinius* departed this Life; but I believe he did not return home, as many learned Men of *Italy* did, whom *Matthias Corvinus* had sent for into his Kingdom [*C*]. This Historian is accused of having been a Slanderer [*D*], and is blamed for having

(*a*) *He calls himself* Bonfinius *in his History of* Hungary.

(*b*) *In* 1485, *according to* Calvisius.

(*c*) Ex Bonfinio Decad. IV. lib. viii. pag. 463.

(*d*) Id. in Epist. Dedicator.

(*e*) *He published a better Edition of it in* 1575, *at* Francfort *by* Andrew Wechel. *The other was printed at* Basil *by* Oporinus.

[*A*] *He presented to the King of* Hungary *several Books, which he had lately published.*] He himself informs us of it: He tells us, that three of those Books were dedicated to King *Matthias*, *viz.* The Translation of *Hermogenes*, and that of *Herodian*, and the Genealogy of the *Corvinus's*; that two of them were dedicated to the Queen, one of which treated of Virginity, and Conjugal Chastity; and the other was an History of *Ascoli*: That, besides, he had dedicated a small Collection of Epigrams to the young Prince *John Corvinus*, to which he had prefixed a Preface that treated *of the Education of a Prince* (1). He adds, that having followed against his Will *Matthias Corvinus* to the Army, he translated *Philostratus* for his Diversion. 'Castra sequi præceperat Scriptoribus & philosophantibus inimica. Quod cum ille invitus facere cogeretur, ne ingrato in castrensi tumultu molestiaque ocio uteretur, oblatum sibi Philostratum tribus mensibus in Latinum transtulit (2). —— *He ordered him to follow the Camp, a disagreeable Place to Writers and Philosophers. Which he being forced to do, to avoid the Tædium of Idleness, in the Tumult and hurry of a Camp,* Philostratus *falling in his way, he translated him into* Latin *in three Months.*' I must say something of his Book concerning Virginity and Conjugal Chastity. It is written by way of Dialogue; *Sambucus* got it printed in the Year 1572. It is intituled, *Sympotion Beatricis. Matthias Corvinus*, and his Wife *Beatrix* of *Arragon*, are very much praised in it: The Author takes notice in that Book of the particular Regard they had for him (3). The Congregation of the *Index* has condemned that Work.

(1) Bonfin. rerum Ungaric. Decad. IV. lib. vii. pag. 463. *Edit.* 1690.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Vossius de Hist. Lat. p. 659.

[*B*] *He deserves a place among the good Historians.*] *Sambucus* speaks thus in praise of *Bonfinius*; 'Quantum ingenio non ad hoc argumentum modo, sed ad omnem omnino Philosophiam, excelluerit, Dialogi ejus de pudicitia conjugali vulgo testantur, Herodianus, Hermogenes Latini: nec vino hæc opus est hedera. Præterire tamen nequeo paucarum esse gentium historias copia & stylo pares (4). —— *What an excellent Genius he had, not only for this Subject, but for all kind of Philosophy, his Books on Conjugal Chastity,* Herodian *and* Hermogenes *in* Latin, *are an Evidence to the World: These Works need no Recommendation. I cannot omit, that the Histories of few Nations are equal to it in Style and Copiousness.*' He adds, that *Seldius* was wont to say, 'Nullo se in scriptore post Livium & æquales ejus quam ipso hoc Bonfinio vacuas horas libentius ponere solitum. —— *He never spent his leisure Hours so agreeably in any Author, since* Livy *and his Contemporaries, as in* Bonfinius.' In the Preface to the Dialogues is a Judgment no less favourable. 'Sambuci in Dialogorum Præfattone tale de Bonfinio judicium est, ingenio ad omnes res arduas & laudabiles excelluisse, Styloque uti idoneo non ad historiam minus quam Philosophiam vel orationes (5). —— *Sambucus's Judgment of* Bonfinius *in the Preface to his Dialogues is this, that he excelled in Ingenuity in all difficult and laudable matters, and that he wrote a Stile proper, as well for History, as Philosophy or Orations.*

(4) Sambuc. in Epist. Dedicator.

(5) Vossius, ubi supra.

[*C*] *I believe he did not return home, as many learned Men of* Italy *did, whom* Matthias Corvinus *had sent for into his Kingdom.*] *Bonfinius* tells us, that they returned home poorer than they came. 'Invitati etiam muneribus Poëtæ, Rhetores, & Grammatici, qui falsi opinione sua miseriores longe musas quam adduxerint in Italiam reduxerunt (6).

(6) Bonfin. Decad. IV. lib. vii. pag. 459.

[*D*] *He is accused of having been a Slanderer.*] *Sambucus* accuses him of it; he fancies that his Pen was often directed by his complaisance to *Matthias*, whose Pensioner he was; but he observes, that That Prince was little spared himself. 'Cæterum ut Bonfinii laudes non sunt obscuræ, ita dissimulare nequeo nonnihil ipsum officii sui interdum oblitum in mores privatos & vitam calumnioso impotentiusque effusum: secus quam Livium, Salustium, Tacitum, Suetonium, in Romanos orbis dominos gentemque togatum feciisse constat (7), idque fortasse redempto à Matthia judicio & calamo ejus, quæ rerum seriei nihil detrahunt. Nec Matthiæ tamen pepercit, quem impudentem, voluptuosum, theatris deditum, ambitiosum, ferum, in adjungendis amicis præcipitem, in reliquendis facilem, adulatoribus benignum, immemorem beneficiorum, ausus sit dicere (8). — *But as the Merit of* Bonfinius *is not obscure, so I cannot dissemble it, that he has sometimes a little forgot his Duty, and Inveighed against the Lives and Manners of private Persons*

MATTHIAS CORVINUS roughly treated by Bonfinius.

(7) *It is nevertheless true, that most of those Historians do sharply inveigh against the Vices and Disorders of* Rome.

(8) Sambuc. in Epist. Dedicat. Hist. Ungaric.

ing uſed too many heatheniſh Expreſſions in his Stile [*E*]. His Notes on *Horace* are not good (*f*). *Moreri*'s Faults here are more numerous than conſiderable [*F*].

(*f*) Bonfinio nullus ineptit magis, & dum ab aliis diſſentire ſtudioſe geſtit, Siculis gerris vaniora communiſcitur. - - - - *No body trifles more than* Bonfinius, *who, out of a fondneſs of differing from others, writes the ſilieſt Stuff imaginable.* Hadrian. Junius *Epiſt. I. where he gives his Judgment on the Commentaries upon* Horace.

(9) Bonfin. Hiſt. Ungaric. Decad. IV. lib. vii. p. 459.

(10) Zeiller. de Hiſtor. pag. 21.

' *Perſons too reproachfully and weakly, contrary to* ' *the practice of* Livy, Saluſt, Tacitus, Suetonius, ' *towards the* Romans, *Maſters of the World, and* ' *a Nation of Senators; perhaps* Matthias *bought his* ' *Pen and Judgment in theſe Caſes, which no ways* ' *affect the Series of the Story. Nor yet did he ſpare* ' Matthias, *whom he has ventured to call impudent,* ' *voluptuous, a lover of Stage-Plays, ambitious, cruel,* ' *haſty in taking Friends, eaſy in leaving them, kind* ' *to Flatterers, unmindful of benefits.*' To this might have been added, that he ſays, that *Matthias* invited all ſorts of learned Men to come to him, without excepting the Magicians. ' Viros quaque arte præſtantiſſimos undique diſquiſivit, conduxitque. Aſtronomos, Medicos, Mathematicos, Juriſque conſultos dilexit. Ne Magos quidem & Nigromantes abominatus eſt: nullam artem contemſit unquam (9). —— *He ſought out every where, and* ' *engaged the moſt excellent Men in every Art; he* ' *loved Aſtronomers, Phyſicians, Mathematicians,* ' *and Civilians; he had no Averſion even to Magi-* ' *cians and Necromancers; he never deſpiſed any Art.*' A *German*, named *Zeillerus*, obſerves, that among other things People complained of what *Bonfinius* ſaid of the unhappy Queen *Gertrude*: *Taxatur etiam à quibuſdam ejus Hiſtoria Ungarica, imprimis narratio de morte innocentis Reginæ Gertrudis. Vid. Brunnerus Part iii. Annal. Boic pag.* 602 (10).

[*E*] *And for having uſed too many Heatheniſh Expreſſions in his Stile.*] The Jeſuit *Raderus* is here his Accuſer, as the ſame *Zeillerus* teſtifies. ' Matthæus ' Raderus, volum. ii. Bavariæ ſanctæ, pag. 191. hæc ' de eo ſcribit: Bonfinius profanus nimiùm & pa- ' ganus ſcriptor, cum ſanctos appellat Deos & numina; Dei matrem numen & Deam. Catholicæ ' religionis diſciplina non novit nec colit niſi unum ' Deum & unum Numen. Bonfinius dum vult ' Latine, quod ipſum fiocere non poteſt, ſcribere, ' ſuperſtitioſe & profane, ne quid dicam gravius, loquitur. —— Bonfinius *is too profane and heatheniſh* ' *a Writer, for he calls the Saints Gods and* ' *Deities; the Mother of God, a Deity and Goddeſs.* ' *The Doctrine of the Catholic Religion knows not,* ' *nor worſhips, any more than one God and one Deity.* ' Bonfinius, *while he endeavours to write* Latin, ' *which plainly he cannot do, writes ſuperſtitiouſly* ' *and profanely, to ſay nothing worſe.*' It muſt be acknowledged, that ſome *Italian* Authors have made themſelves ridiculous, for ſcrupling, when they ſpoke of Chriſtianity, to make uſe of any other Terms than what they found in the beſt *Latin* Authors (11): but I cannot approve *Raderus*'s Nicety, or rather his Partiality. He thinks it ſtrange, that *Bonfinius* ſhould give the Name of *Numen* to the Holy Virgin; but is it not the ſtile of a great many Devotees, as Mr *Dreſincourt* has proved demonſtratively (12)?

(11) *See the Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* BEMBUS.

(12) *See his Queries to the Biſhop of* Bellay.

[*F*] Moreri's *Faults, on this Head, are more numerous than conſiderable.*] He ſays, that *Sambucus* added five Books, which were not in the firſt Edition. He ought to have ſaid fifteen. He ſays, that *Bonfinius* tranſlated *Hermagenes*'s *Rhetoric*; he ſhould have ſaid *Hermogenes*. He cites *Voſſius, lib. i. de Hiſtor. Lat.* he ought to have cited *lib. iii.* He quotes *Miræus in Auſt.* he ſhould have ſaid, *in Auctario*. He cites *Raderus, tom. III. Bavar. Sanctæ, pag.* 191. and immediately after *Zeillerus*. It may be affirmed, that he quotes him only on the Credit of *Zeillerus*. Now the latter marks the ſecond Volume of *Raderus* pag. 191, and does not ſay that *Raderus* blames any thing elſe but the Paganiſm of *Bonfinius*'s Stile. And yet, if we believe *Moreri*, that Jeſuit *cenſures many things in his Hiſtory of* Hungary. The fault that follows is worſe. *Moreri* takes *Bonfinius* for a *ſimple Man, who ſpoke things plainly, and without any deſign*. Never was Criticiſm falſer than this. *Bonfinius* was no Fool: He was cunning, ſubtle, and worthy of his Country; and when he ſlandered any Body, or made uſe of certain Terms, it was not undeſignedly. If I take notice of ſome miſtakes, which are plainly Errors of the Preſs, 'tis for the ſake of ſo many People, who have bought the many Editions of *Moreri*'s Dictionary. It may be there are five hundred Perſons, who believe very honeſtly, that *Moreri* has cited an Hiſtory of *Auſtria*, written by *Aubertus Miræus*.

BONGARS (James), in *Latin Bongarſius*, born at *Orleans*, was one of the learned Men of the XVIth Century. He followed the prevailing Taſte of thoſe Times; that is, he applied himſelf to Critical Learning, and though he went not ſo far as your *Lipſius*'s and *Caſaubon*'s, yet he acquired great Reputation by it, and perhaps would have equalled them in that Kind of Learning, if he could have ſpent all his Time in it, as they did; but State Affairs did not permit him. He was employed near thirty Years in the moſt important Negotiations of King *Henry* IV (*a*) [*A*], for whom he was ſeveral times Reſident with the Princes of *Germany*, and afterwards Embaſſador. The Letters, which he wrote during his Employments, are very much eſteemed [*B*]. But to return to his Study of Critical Learning,

(*a*) *See the Preface to his Letters, prefixed to the* French *Tranſlation.*

[*A*] *He was employed for thirty Years in the moſt important Negotiations of King* Henry IV.] It is true that *Bongars* negotiated in *Germany* under the Reign of *Henry* III. but it was for the King of *Navarre*, and not for *Henry* III. *Moreri* has not made this diſtinction.

[*B*] *The Letters, which he wrote during his Employments, are very much eſteemed.*] Tho' he did not, like *Bembo* and *Manucius*, reject all terms that are not in the beſt *Roman* Authors; yet his Stile is fine, clear, polite, and full of natural Charms; his Letters were tranſlated, when the *Dauphin* began to learn the *Latin* Tongue, and it appears by the Epiſtle Dedicatory to that young Prince, and by the Tranſlator's Preface, that it was thought nothing could be more proper for a Scholar of Quality than to read this Work of *Bongars*. Becauſe by reading it, a Man learns, at the ſame time, both to expreſs himſelf in noble terms about State Affairs, and to judge well of the Conduct of an Embaſſador. Not only Words and Phraſes are to be learned by it, but alſo the Courſe of the Affairs of thoſe times, and many particular Facts, which ſtill have ſome relation to the preſent time, and may be of greater uſe than any thing that is to be found in *Cicero*'s Letters. We are more inclined to concern ourſelves with the Affairs of our own Country and our own Age, than with thoſe of the Ancient *Romans*: beſides the latter were managed after a manner infinitely leſs agreeable to the preſent time, than that wherein things were managed in the laſt Age, and the beginning of this. All theſe Thoughts and many others, to the Praiſe of *Bongars*'s Letters, are very well ſet forth in the Tranſlator's Preface. *Morhofius* obſerves that the *French* Letters of *Bongars* were lately publiſhed at *Paris*. ' Poſt mortem ejus editæ fuerunt tum hæ Latinæ epiſtolæ, ' tum aliæ Gallica Lingua quæ nuper admodum ' Pariſiis lucem viderunt (1). - - - - *After his Death,* ' *were publiſhed both theſe* Latin *Letters, and o-* ' *thers in* French, *which are very lately come out* ' *at* Paris.' He is in the right, if he means a ſmall Book intituled, *The Plain Secretary, or a Collection of divers Letters of the Sieur* James de Bongars, *&c. with the Inſtructions given him by the late Marſhal* de Boullon. That Collection contains Thirty four Letters, which are inſerted in the Edition of the *Hague* 1695. I ought not to forget that there reigns, throughout theſe Letters of *Bongars*, a certain Character of an honeſt Man, which prepoſſeſſes the Readers very much in his Favour.

(1) Morhof. in Polyhiſt. pag. 306. *That Book of* Morhofius *was printed in* 1688.

Note

Learning, I must observe, that he published an Edition of *Justin*, which is very good [C]; he restored many corrupted Passages, and cleared many difficulties by his Notes; and in all this he shewed his Sagacity, his Erudition, and the Pains he had taken to consult good Manuscripts. He had a vast Knowledge of Books both Manuscript, and printed, and made a very great Collection of them. In 1603 he bought, jointly with *Paul Petavius*, the Manuscripts of *Peter Daniel*. His share of them fell at last to the *Vatican* Library [D]. The Library of *Bern* gained much by that of *James Bongars* (b), which he had very much increased, and with the broken Remains of that of *Cujacius* [E]. He died at *Paris* in the Year 1612, being Fifty eight Years of Age (c). His Death was new Matter of Grief to *Casaubon* [F]. The Emperor's Partisans endeavoured to prejudice *France*, by spreading certain Reports against this Agent [G]. He was of the Reformed Religion,

(b) *See Father Jacob's Traité des Bibliotheques, pag. 226.*

(c) Witte, Diar. Biograph.

Note, that the *French* Translation which I have mentioned was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1668, and re-printed in *Holland* soon after. A new Edition of it was published in the Year 1694, and it was said in the Title that it was corrected and inlarged. It was to deceive the Reader: this can be said, only of the Edition of the *Hague* 1695. Many mistakes of the Translator are corrected in that, and many things which he had cut off out of bigottry are restored (2). Note also, that Mr *Spanheim*, Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, caused a Collection of our *Bongars's Latin* Letters to be printed there in 1647, to which he prefixed a Letter by way of Preface, which was inserted in the Edition of the *Hague*, 1695.

(2) *See the Advertisement in the Edition of the Hague 1695.*

[C] *He published an Edition of* Justin *which is very good.*] I do not mind the *Scaligerana*, where it is said, that it was another *James Bongars*, and not he, who had published that Author. Every body ascribes that Work to the same *Bongars*, who negotiated in *Germany* for *Henry* IV (3); and besides, *Scaliger* speaks in that place so inaccurately, that there is reason to believe he had but a confused notion of what he said. It is twenty Years, says he, since the other *Jacobus Bongarsius* gave his *Justin* to Monsieur *de l'Escale* at *Bordeaux*. He must then have given it at the farthest in the Year 1558 (4), and the two *Vassans* must have heard *Scaliger* say this in the Year 1578. These two things are impossible; the first Edition of *James Bongars's Justin* is that of *Paris* 1581, in 8vo. The *Vassans* were not with *Scaliger* till after he was settled at *Leyden* in the Year 1593.

(3) *See the Epistle Dedicatory of Grævius's Justin, and a Letter of* Frederic Spanheim *prefixed to those of* Bongars.

(4) *The Year in which* Julius Cæsar Scaliger *died.*

[D] *His Manuscripts* ----- *fell to the Vatican Library.*] The curious will be glad to find here a Passage relating to the History of Libraries, taken from a Book of the Learned Father *Mabillon*. When, in the Year 1562, the Protestants plundered the Abbey of *Fleuri*, they found there a great many good Manuscripts. *Peter Daniel* (5) making a dexterous use of the Interest he had with Cardinal *Chatillon* Commendatary Abbot of that Abbey, got many of those Manuscripts from the Soldiers, and among others a *Servius* on *Virgil*, which he published in the Year 1600. After his death (6) his Heirs sold the Manuscripts for the Sum of 1500 *Livres* to *Paul Petavius*, and to *Bongars*. *Paul Petavius's* share was left to his Son *Alexander Petavius*, who sold it to the Queen of *Sweden*. That of *Bongars* was carried to *Strasburg*, where he made his residence: He left it by Will to one *Granicet* (7), who was his Landlady's Son (8). *Gruterus*, Library-Keeper to the Elector Palatine, perswaded that Prince to buy the Manuscripts which *Bongars* had left to *Granicet*, and thus they were carried to *Heydelberg*, and from thence to *Rome* (9).

(5) *An Advocate at* Orleans, *and Bailiff of the Abbey of* Fleury.

(6) *He died in the Year* 1603.

(7) *I think it should be* Gravicet, *or rather* Graviffet.

(8) *She was of* Lyons, *and a Jeweller's Wife.* Mabillon ubi infra.

(9) Mabillon, præfat. libri de Liturgia Gallicana, *published at* Paris *in the Year* 1685.

[E] *He had increased his Library very much with the broken Remains of* Cujacius's *Library.*] What he says upon this, in a Letter of the nineteenth of *January* 1604, shews so plainly the great Fondness he had for Study and Books, that I cannot forbear placing it here. 'Whilst I was on this 'Journey, I could not write to you, because I was 'wholly taking up with my Domestic Affairs, 'which it was necessary for me to put into some 'Order before my departure. In that very Occu'pation, the greatest of my cares has been to 'seek some Remains of Mr *Cujacius's* Library. Doubt'less you will laugh very heartily, when you re'present to your self that crowd of People that 'go to the Court as to a Fair, to make their 'Fortunes, and to endeavour to get Money from 'the King, and that at the same time a Courtier, 'as I am, who is not overstocked with Money, 'should go into by-places to bestow part of his 'Estate upon Books and Papers half eaten by Worms. 'By this you may see whether I am very covetous. 'When I am to buy Books, I value neither Pains 'nor Expence. Would to God I were free from 'business and at leisure to read them. Then I 'would neither envy the Riches of Mr *de Rosny*, 'nor the golden Mountains of the *Persians* (10)'

(10) Bongars, *Letter* 35, *pag.* 99. *Edit. of the* Hague 1695. *See also the* 47*th Letter of* Lingelsheim.

[F] *His Death was new Matter of Grief to* Casaubon.] That Critic's Letters testify that he was extremely obliged to *James Bongars*, and that he esteemed him very much. See particularly the Six hundred and ninety eighth, and the Six hundred and ninety ninth, wherein he speaks of his death. There he grieves because that good Man had not received at *Paris* the Funeral Honours that were due to him, and which infallibly would have been done him in *Germany*. 'Qui 'si in Germania diem ultimum obiisset, habuissent 'docti viri rationem funeris ejus, & ornandæ illius 'memoriæ pro meritis ingentibus τῦ μακαρίτε (11). ---- *Who if he had died in* Germany 'learned Men would have taken care of his Fune'ral, and adorning his Memory, agreeably to the 'great Merits of the deceased.' Mr *Colomies* is mistaken when he says that *Bongars* died at *Bern* (12).

(11) Casaub. Epist. DCXCVIII. pag. 882. *Edit.* 1656.

(12) Colomiés Biblioth. choisie. pag. 189.

[G] *Certain Reports were spread against this Agent.*] Cardinal *d'Ossat's* Letters inform us of the matter. *It is reported here*, [this he writ from *Rome* to Mr *de Villeroy* the second of *December* 1600] 'That the King keeps a Gentleman with 'the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, named *Bon'gars*, who tells them, and those of their Sect, 'that the King, notwithstanding his Conversion, 'has not altered his Opinion in his heart, but 'only makes an outward show in order to enjoy 'his Kingdom peaceably, complying with the times 'as it is his Interest. I cannot believe that the 'said *Bongars* speaks in a manner, so contrary to 'Truth and Sincerity, for which the King ought 'to be commended, not only to the Catholics, 'but even to the Protestants, who otherwise could 'not trust him, nor would use their Interest for 'him: but I take it to be a Savoyard or Spanish 'Invention (13).' That *Cardinal* had too much sense not to apprehend the prejudice this might do the King at the Court of *Rome*; therefore he thought it best to deny that *Bongars* had said any such thing. It was offered to be proved to him; let us see the consequences of those offers. 'Several 'Letters, *says he*, were put into my hands, writ'ten in *Latin* to a learned *German* here, named '*Gaspar Schoppius*, some written by the said *Bon'gars*, and others by one *Velser* who lives at '*Ausburg*. I understood by all those Letters, 'that *Schoppius* had been a Huguenot, and that, 'having been converted in this City, he writ to 'his Friends that were Huguenots, and among 'others to the said *Bongars*, some sharp and in'jurious Letters, more fit to exasperate and harden 'them in their Opinion, than to gain and con'vert them, which *Bongars* somewhat resented, and 'answered him bluntly, but not without great Re'spect and Modesty: and in all those Letters there 'is not one word concerning the abovesaid Dis'course, nor any thing like it: So that the pro'duction of those Letters justifies him in my O'pinion.

(13) D'Ossat, *Letter cxvii. lib. vi. pag.* 595.

ligion; but there is reaſon to ſuſpect from his Letters, that he had ſome Scruples about the Civil-Wars of the Proteſtants [*H*]. The Public is indebted to him for the Publication of ſeveral Authors, who wrote the Hiſtory of the Expeditions into *Paleſtine* (*d*). I do not think that he was ever married: A *French* Lady, whom he was to marry, died on the very Day appointed for the Wedding, in the Year 1597 [*I*].

(*d*) *That Work is intituled*, Geſta Dei per Francos. *It was printed at* Hanaw *in* 1611, *in two Vol. in* Folio.

He ſtudied at *Strasburg* in the Year 1571, and had an Anabaptiſt for his Tutor (*e*). He ſtudied under *Cujacius* in 1576 (*f*). The Anſwer which he publiſhed in *Germany* to a Piece, wherein the bad Succeſs of the Expedition of the Year 1587 was imputed to the *French*, who accompanied the *Germans*, was praiſed by *Thuanus* [*K*]. But that Anſwer, though never ſo glorious to the Author, is nothing, if

(*e*) Colomiés Biblioth. choiſie, p. 189.

(*f*) *See below, Citation* (52) *of the Article* BODIN.

' pinion. But I find among the Letters of the ' abovementioned *Velſer*, that thoſe which he ſaid ' *Bongars* writ to the ſaid *Schoppius*, paſſed through ' the hands of *Velſer*, who opened and read them ' and ſent them afterwards to *Schoppius*; and there ' is one of *Velſer*'s to *Schoppius*, wherein he ſuggeſts to ' him that in replying to *Bongars* he ſhould reproach ' him with the Converſion of his King, and that ' he had ſaid ſuch and ſuch things about it to the ' Proteſtant Princes of *Germany*. But it appears ' that this *Velſer* is an Enemy of *Bongars*, and ' partial to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as *Schoppius* was ' maintained by the late Cardinal *Madruccio*, who ' was ſo much for the ſaid Houſe, that the King ' of *Spain* had truſted him with the Secret of the ' Conclave, rather than his own Embaſſadors, or ' the *Spaniſh* Cardinals. So that I take this Impu- ' tation, and Charge laid on *Bongars*, to be a meer ' Calumny, contrived chiefly to prejudice the King ' (14).' As for my ſelf, I look upon that which *Velſer* would have had *James Bongars* reproached with, to be probable enough. There were but very few among the Proteſtants, who, during the firſt Years of *Henry* IV's Catholiciſm, were perſwaded that he had altered his Opinion. His Envoy in *Germany* was not a Man who could eaſily imagine, that at the age of *Henry* IV, one may begin to believe Tranſubſtantiation and what depends on it. It is therefore probable that he might have ſaid, without thinking to tell a lie, that his Maſter's Converſion was a work of meer neceſſity, and like the *Riſus Sardonius* only from the Teeth outwards. But ſuppoſe that he judged otherwiſe; can it be thought that he would ſcruple to have recourſe to an officious Lie, to prevent the Proteſtants of *Germany* from withdrawing themſelves from *Henry* IV? Can it be thought that, in order to keep them in the Intereſt of *France*, he would have made a difficulty to tell them confidently, that the King was ſtill a good *Huguenot* in his Heart, though he believed no ſuch thing? It is juſt as when *du Bellay* made the ſame Princes believe that *Francis* I was not averſe to the Reformation (15). *Ay*, will ſome ſay, *but* du Bellay *was a Papiſt, and* Bongars *was a Proteſtant. What then?* A Proteſtant Embaſſador is made like another; he makes the ſame uſe of Political Addreſs that others do, and if he ſuffers himſelf to be bubbled, it is not out of Zeal, or out of any Scruple of Conſcience. Take notice, that, according to the commonly received Notions of things, *Bongars* would have done nothing againſt the duty of a Man of Honour, in doing his Maſter good ſervices by the Inſinuations in queſtion. The main thing was to take care that the *Spaniards* ſhould know nothing of it.

(14) Id. *Letter octavo*, lib. vii. *pag.* 602, *dated from* Rome *the* 2*d of* January 1601.

(15) *See above, the Article* BELLAY (William du).

[*H*] *He had ſome Scruples about the Civil-Wars of the Proteſtants.*] Mr *Colomies* made this Remark, and has inſerted it in the One hundred and fifteenth Page of his *Obſervationes Sacræ*, printed at *Rochelle* in the Year 1679, and in the Two hundred and Twenty ſixth Page of a Collection which he printed in *England* in the Year 1687. ' Chriſtianiſſimè in hanc rem Jacobus Bongarſius, Aurelianenſis, Henrici 4. ad Germaniæ Principes olim legatus, vir pietate ac eruditione illuſtris, in quadam ad Joachimum Camerarium Joachimi F. Epiſtola: *Hic, clariſſime & prudentiſſime Domine, effundam in ſinum tuum amicum & candidum, quæ me ſæpè agitant, nec turbant tamen. Repete & noſtros Duces qui armis ſuis Religionem præ- tulerunt. Videbis vitios veſtros à Carolo V. cap- toſque & affectos contumelis, privatos etiam bonis. In Gallia captum primo belli Condæum, tertio oc- ciſum: Amiralium ſemper victum; tandem truci- datum cum magna Procerum turba. In Belgio, Aurangium itidem globo proſtratum. Certè judi- care aliud non poſſum, quàm ingrata illorum ar- ma Deo fuiſſe* (16). —— *Moſt Chriſtian-like to this Purpoſe*, James Bongars *of* Orleans *formerly Embaſſador from* Henry *IV, to the Princes of* Germany, *a Man famous for his Piety and Learning, in a Letter to* Joachim Camerarius *the Son.* Here, moſt excellent and prudent Sir, I will pour into your friendly and candid Boſom what often moves but does not diſturb me. Conſider now our Generals who have made Religion a Pretence for their Arms. You will ſee your People beat, taken Priſoners, harraſſed, and deprived of their Goods by *Charles* V. In *France*, in the firſt War *Condé* taken, in the third killed: the Admiral always beat, and at laſt murdered, with a great number of the Nobility. In the Low-Countries, the Prince of *Orange* killed with a Ball. Certainly I can judge no other than that theſe Arms were diſpleaſing to God.' This Paſſage of *Bongars* is in his nineteenth Letter to *Joachim Camerarius*. It has been a little curtailed in the *Paris* Edition. See the Advertiſement of the Edition of the *Hague* 1695.

(16) Colomeſ. Obſervat. ſacr. pag. 115, 116.

[*I*] *A French Lady, whom he was to marry, died on the very day appointed for the Wedding.*] Her Name was *Odette Spifame de Chalonge*. They had been near ſix Years in love with each other, and had deſired to be married: but the Journies he was obliged to make for the King's Service prevented the execution of their mutual Deſires during that time. *Nuptias utrinque optatas peregri- nationes meæ & regia negotia hactenus impedive- runt* (17). The King not permitting *Bongars* to come home to marry her, ſhe was ſo obliging as to go with her Father to her Lover; they had agreed to marry at *Baſil*. She came to *Montbeliard* in the middle of the Winter, and through many dangers: and underſtanding that *Bongars* could not come and meet here till eight days after ſhe went to him as far as *Strasburg*. There it was reſolved to perform the Ceremony of the Wedding; but the poor Lady fell ſick eight days after, and died the fourth day of her ſickneſs. *Bongars* was extraordinarily afflicted at it, as appears by his Letters. I have taken theſe Particulars from the Letter he wrote to *John William Stuckius* the eighth of *February* 1597; it is in the ſeventh Page of the Edition of *Strasburg* 1660, and in the Sixty ſixth Page of the Edition of the *Hague* 1695. That Edition of *Strasburg* contains but a ſmall part of *James Bongars*'s Letters; but thoſe from *Lingelſheim* to him were added to them; which I ſhould have liked better, had not a great many Proper Names been left out, which hinders the Reader from underſtanding what *Lingelſheim* ſpeaks of in thoſe places, and makes one believe that thoſe Paſſages were curious. I do not believe that Mr *Morhof* apprehended any thing, in the Advertiſement to the Reader, which is prefixed to *Bongars*'s and *Lingelſheim*'s Letters (18).

(17) Bongarſ. Epiſtol. pag. 70 *Edit.* Argentin. 1660.

[*K*] *His Anſwer* ----- *concerning the Expedition of* 1587 *was praiſed by* Thuanus.] Theſe are the Words of the great Hiſtorian. ' Donavius anno inſequenti ------ librum Germanicâ linguâ edit, quo facti invidiam omnem à ſe amoliebatur, eamque in Navarri turditatem, Bullionii imperitiam, & Gallorum Ducum imprudentiam, five in diſtribuendis manſionibus malignitatem quæ Germanis tumultuandi occaſionem dediſſet, retorquebat; idque captato tempore fecerat Dona- vius,

(18) *See the Article* LINGELSHEIM, *Remark* [*B*].

if it be compared to that, which he had made to a Bull of Pope *Sixtus*, and which he had the Courage to poſt up in *Rome*. I have not read this any where, but in Mr *Varillas*, whoſe Words I ſhall recite [*L*], and I will make ſome Critical Notes upon them [*M*]. It was *Bongars* that publiſhed the Queſtions, which the Jeſuit *Cotton* had drawn up to be put the Devil [*N*].

'vius, cum Francofurtenſes propediem Nundinæ 'exituræ eſſent, ne ad ſcriptum reſponderi poſſet, 'interea volitaret illud per manus Germanorum, '& nemine contradicente imponeres ea mentibus, 'quæ haud facile poſtea eximi poſſent. Verum 'aſtu cognito, Jacobus Bongarſius juvenis ingenio '& eruditione præſtans, & Gallici decoris perquam 'ſtudioſus, qui Navarri res iſtic procurabat, ſcripti 'exemplo ab amicis accepto, extemporaneo ſed 'aculeato ſcripto contrario, quod & eadem feſtina-'tione typis mandari curavit, antequam Nundinæ 'exirent, reſpondit, & omnem rei male geſtæ 'culpam primum —— rejicit —— deinde in &c (19). —— Donau *the Year following* —— *publiſhed* 'a Book in the German *Language*, *in which he* 'ſhifted all the blame of the thing from himſelf, and 'laid it on the Dilatorineſs of Navarre, the unskil-'fulneſs of Boullon, and the Imprudence of the 'French *Officers*, *or their Malice in appointing quar-'ters*, *which occaſioned the* Germans *to mutiny*; *and* 'he choſe the time for publication, juſt before the 'end of the Fair of Franckfort, *that no anſwer might* 'be made to it, and in the mean time, the Book 'might be diſperſed among the Germans, and (no-'thing being ſaid againſt it) make ſuch impreſſions in 'their minds, as could not eaſily be effaced. But the 'Trick being diſcovered, James Bongars, a young Man 'of excellent Genius and Learning, and zealous for 'the Honour of the French, who was charged with the 'Affairs of Navarre there, getting a Copy of the Piece 'from his Friends, replied in an extemporary, but 'ſtinging, Anſwer, which he got printed with like 'expedition, before the Fair was ended, and removed 'the charge of the ill Succeſs firſt —— then, &c.' Note that theſe words are not to be found in the Editions of *Thuanus*, but they were in his Manuſcript. See *Thuanus Reſtitutus*.

(19) Thuanus, Hiſt. lib. 138 pag. 705, 706.

[*L*] *He had the Courage to poſt up, in* Rome, *his Anſwer to the Bull of* Sixtus V. *I have not read this any where but in* Varillas, *whoſe Words I ſhall recite.*] Having related the violent Proceedings of *Sixtus* V againſt the King of *Navarre*; and againſt the Prince of *Condé*, he adds, that the Bull of That Pope 'remained a long time poſted up in the Field 'of *Flora*, till *James Bongars*, a *Calviniſt*, and Citi-'zen of *Orleans*, who was then at *Rome*, tho' at 'that time he was but ſeventeen Years of Age, 'reſolved to revenge the Honour of *France*, aſper-'ſed in the two firſt Princes of the Blood, and ac-'quitted himſelf of it in ſuch an undaunted man-'ner, that it deſerves a place in Hiſtory (20). —— As he was very learned, he compoſed a 'very ſtrong and ſatirical Anſwer to the Pope's 'Bull. He tranſcribed it himſelf, in form of a Pla-'cart, and taking the opportunity of a very dark 'Night, fixed it up near the Bull in the Field of 'Flora. He was ſo fortunate, that he was neither 'perceived, nor ſo much as ſuſpected; and it would 'have been unknown to this time, if he had not 'ſpoke of it afterwards himſelf; and given convin-'cing proofs of it. He appealed, in the Name of 'the two Princes, from the Bull of *Sixtus* V, 'who called himſelf Pope of *Rome*, to the 'Court of the Peers of *France*; he gave his Holi-'neſs the Lie, as to the crime of Hereſy, whereof 'he accuſed them; and he offered to prove in their 'behalf, in a Council lawfully aſſembled, that the 'Pope was a Heretic himſelf: He called him Anti-'chriſt, if he did not ſubmit to it, and declared a 'perpetual and irreconcilable War againſt him in 'their Name. He proteſted, that the wrong that 'was done to the *Moſt Chriſtian* King, to the Royal 'Family, and to the three States of the Kingdom, 'would be revenged on the Court of *Rome*: To 'that end, he implored the aſſiſtance of all truly 'Chriſtian Princes, and conjured all the Allies of 'the *French* Monarchy, to oppoſe the Pope's Ty-'ranny, and the fatal deſigns of the League (21).' *Varillas* affirms, that, tho' all the Accounts that he had ſeen of that Action, ſuppoſe that *Bongars* was then but ſeventeen Years of Age, he cannot be perſuaded that a Writing, of that force, was the firſt 'Eſſay of ſo young a Man (22). He adds, *I have* 'enquired into the cauſe of that Error a long time (23), 'and what ſeems to me moſt likely, is, that *Ste-'phen de la Boiſſe* had writ, being likewiſe but 'ſeventeen Years of Age, the famous Satire againſt 'all the Monarchs in the World, intituled *le Contre-'Un*, and that this Satire had been at leaſt as much 'admired for it's Strength, as blamed for the Te-'merity of the Author; that *la Boiſſe* was a *Catho-'lic*, and that the *Calviniſts*, in order to ſet up a 'Man againſt him, that came near his Stile, pre-'tended that *Bongars*, who was of their Commu-'nion, was not older than he, when at *Rome* he 'defended the Dignity of the two firſt Princes of 'the Blood of *France*, with the utmoſt hazard of 'his Life. However *Bongars* ſtaid not long there, 'and after he had repaſſed the *Alps*, (Pope *Sixtus* 'V not having been able to diſcover, that it was 'he who had treated him ſo ill) the Court of 'France gave him eleven ſolemn Embaſſies ſucceſ-'ſively, of which he acquitted himſelf with great 'Honour. I have only ſeen the laſt, which is a-'mong the Manuſcripts of *Lomenie* in the King's 'Library; it relates to the Treaties of *Henry the* 'Great for the Succeſſion of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, 'and I think is in ſome manner ſufficient to com-'fort the Public for the loſs of the reſt.'

(20) Varillas, Hiſt. de Henry III. lib. ix pag. 29 ad ann. 1585. Dutch *Edition*.

(21) Id. ibid. pag. 30.

(22) Id. *in the Preface*.

(23) Id. ib. fol. 7. verſo.

[*M*] *And I'll make ſome Critical Notes upon them.*] I. He is to blame for not telling us whence he had his Account of this Action of *Bongars*. He could not be ignorant that our moſt celebrated Hiſtorians (24) take no notice of that Circumſtance; ſo that it muſt be very ſecret; it was therefore requiſite that he ſhould diſcover how he had been more lucky than ſo many other Writers. II. I defy all the world to name any good Author, who ſays that *Bongars* was but ſeventeen Years of Age, when *Sixtus* V fulminated his Bull againſt the King of *Navarre* in 1585. Nay, I queſtion whether any bad Authors have ſaid it before *Varillas*. It is certain that *Bongars* was then in his Thirty firſt Year. III. *Varillas* ſhould have ſaid *Stephen de la Boetie*, and not *Stephen de la Boiſſe*. IV. The *Contre-Un* is ill defined, *a famous Satire againſt all the Monarchs in the World*. V. *La Boetie* was above ſeventeen Years of Age when he wrote that Piece. *Thuanus* obſerves that he wrote it in the Year 1548, when he was ſcarce nineteen Years of Age (25), and that he died in the Year 1563, not much above Thirty three Years of Age (26). VI. There was never a more phantaſtical Notion, than to imagine, that the Proteſtants leſſened *Bongars*'s Age, to have an occaſion to boaſt that they had produced as admirable a Man, as *la Boetie*, among the Catholics. VII. There is a great deal of Exaggeration in the *Eleven ſolemn Embaſſies*, which the Court of *France* gave to *Bongars*, according to *Varillas*. They were moſt of them meer Deputations under the Character of Envoy, or Reſident, and it ought to be remembered that the firſt Deputations did not proceed from the Court of *France*, but only from the King of *Navarre*. 'Ab eo etiam (Henrico IV) 'ad Germaniæ Principes creperis rebus ſæpius miſ-'ſus, ſuam Regi fidem, candorem, & integritatem 'omnibus probavit, prolegati munere aliquoties, 'legati ſemel & quidem pro dignitate functus (27). '— *Being likewiſe ſeveral times ſent by him* [Henry 'IV.] *to the Princes of* Germany *in critical Af-'fairs*, *he gave proofs of his Fidelity to the King*, 'and his Candour and Integrity to every body, diſ-'charging ſometimes the Office of Envoy, and once 'of Embaſſador, and that with due dignity.'

(24) Thuanus, Mezerai, Pereſixe, &c.

(25) Thuanus, Hiſt. lib. v. pag. 105.

(26) Id lib. xxxv. circa fin.

(27) Frid. Spanhem. Epiſt. litteris Bongarſii præfixa.

[*N*] *It was he who publiſhed the Queſtions, which the Jeſuit* Cotton *had drawn up to be put to the Devil.*] *Benedict Turretin*, Paſtor and Profeſſor of Divinity at *Geneva*, examining the Reaſons given by that Jeſuit to juſtify his Conduct with reſpect to thoſe Interrogations, had this Objection to anſwer. Some made them amount to thirty; ſome to forty, fifty, ſixty, &c. Hence Father *Cotton* concluded that

that they did not proceed fairly; and that it was a piece of Calumny. 'It may be, answered Mr 'Turretin (28), That some of them did not tran- 'scribe all the Questions; for every one is not so 'curious —— but the Original Paper, from which 'that swarm of Interrogations proceeds, has the 'number which is printed in *Latin* and in *French*, 'and it was not forgotten in the *Physiognomonia* 'Jesuitica. Now the abovesaid Original was seen 'by a great number of illustrious Persons yet live- 'ing, who can testify it; and moreover, he who 'got it printed with that Preface, was one of the 'King's Officers in an honourable Post, to wit, 'the late Monsieur *Bongars*, to whom Father 'Cotton having complained of the Publication of 'the *Anti-Cotton*; he made answer, That he was 'not the Author of it; but that he had indeed 'caused his Questions to the Devil to be printed.'

(28) Benedict Turretin, Recheute du Jesuite plagaire, p. 61.

BONONIA (JOHN *de*), a *Sicilian* by Nation, Archdeacon of *Palermo* (*a*), Bachelor of the Faculty of *Paris*, and Chaplain to the Emperor *Charles* V, was Professor at *Louvain* in the XVIth Century. In the Year 1553 he was at the Assembly of Divines, who, at the Instance of that Emperor, examined whether a certain Country, which he does not name, and in favour of which a Translation of the Scripture was made, ought to enjoy the Liberty of reading it (*b*). They decided unanimously, that they ought not to have that Liberty continued to them. *Bononia* was one of the hottest against the translating of the Scriptures into the Vulgar Tongue, and suspected those of Heresy who approved of it (*c*). In the Year 1555 he published a Book at *Louvain* about the Doctrine of Predestination. I shall observe below what Judgment a *Jansenist* gave of it [*A*].

(*a*) Gery, Apologie des censures de Louvain, & de Douai, p. 50, 51.

(*b*) *See* Mr Simon, Nouvelles Observations, p. 495. 496.

(*c*) Id. pag. 495.

[*A*] *He published a Book - - - - - a Jansenist gave this Judgment of it.*] That Work, dedicated to *Charles* V, is intituled, *De æterna Dei Prædestinatione & Reprobatione, &c* 'The Author shews 'some subtility of Wit in it, but no great Solidity; he forms a System concerning Grace and 'Predestination, peculiar to himself, which he pre- 'tends to build upon St *Chrysostom*, without seem- 'ing to lay any great stress on St *Augustin*'s Doc- 'trine, or to understand the Opinions of those two 'Saints. Neither can I tell whether he understood 'his own well; for there are gross Contradictions 'in it. He has some Expressions which seem to 'ascribe a Sovereign Power to Grace over the Soul 'of Man, and an efficacious Operation upon it; 'but a Page or two after you will find, that he 'gives so great a Power to the Will, that he be- 'lieves it capable to make all the Operations of 'Grace useless. In short, he is a Man that con- 'founds every thing, who thinks sometimes he is 'opposing the Opinion of the *Catholics*, when he 'only attacks that of the Heretics (1). - - - - - He 'believes that the Opinion, which admits the Fore- 'knowledge of the good and ill use of Free will and 'Grace, (for he distinguishes those two Opinions) 'are contrary to the Apostle, to St *Augustin*, and 'even to Faith, being nothing else but meer *Pe-* 'lagianism (2).' He acknowledges, that he had grounded his System on new Notions, *and so different from the common Doctrine of the Schools, that at first, he almost despaired of bringing any one Divine to his Opinion* (3).

(1) Gery, Apolog. des censures, p. 51.

(2) Id. ibid p. 52.

(3) Gery, id. ib. pag. 53.

BORE (CATHERINE *de*), Wife of *Martin Luther*, was the Daughter of a private Gentleman (*a*). She left the Monastery of *Nimptschen*, where she was a Nun, in the Year 1523. One *Leonard Coppe*, a Senator of *Torgau*, took her and eight other Nuns out. That Action, done in the holy Week, having made a great noise, and given much Offence; the Elector of *Saxony* did not think fit to approve it openly; he was contented to provide by private Gratifications for the Maintenance of those unveiled Nuns: But *Luther* published an Apology for them, and for *Leonard Coppe*, who had so well assisted them in their Design of leaving their Convent (*b*). Some have said, that *Catherine de Bore*, having been carried to *Wittemberg*, lived there *in all kind of Freedom* among the young Students of the University (*c*), and was very profuse of her Kisses (*d*), till *Martin Luther* married her two Years after; but the *Lutherans* maintain, that she behaved herself very modestly, and that she had a good Reputation (*e*). Those who say, that *Luther* who still wore the Habit of his Order, having seen the nine Nuns, who had deserted the Convent of *Nimptschen*, very much liked our *Catherine*, because she was very handsome [*A*], and designed her for his Wife, have but little consulted his Letters. They

(*a*) Seckendorf. Hist Lutheran. lib. v. pag. 273. lit. d.

(*b*) Id. ibid. pag. 272.

(*c*) Maimbourg, Hist. du Luther. lib. ii. pag. 120. Post biennium in sæculo, vaga inter scholares Academicos conversatione, Wittenbergæ exactum - - - facta est Luthero (si Diis placet) uxor. - - - - *After two Year spent in the World in loose Conversation with the Scholars of the University* of Wittemberg, Luther *has taken her for a Wife.* Cochleus de Act. & Script. Luther. pag. 102.

(*d*) Bellam illam Catharinam jam annos aliquot Wittembergæ varia per studiosorum oscula volutatam, sibi uxorem duxit. - - - *He married the beautiful* Catharine *who had been for some Years wallowed in the promiscuous Embraces of the Students at* Wittenburg. Lindan. dubit. Disq. 2. p. 104.

(*e*) Seckendorf. lib. ii. pag. 150.

[*A*] *She was very handsome*] Let us hear Father *Maimbourg*; *Among those nine libertine and unveiled Nuns, who were all Maids of Quality, there was one named* Catherine de Bore, *whom* Luther, *who was yet in a Religious Habit, thought* VERY HANDSOME, *and fell violently in Love with* (1). *Erasmus* praises this young Woman's Beauty. 'Lu- 'therus, *says he* (2) duxit uxorem, puellam MIRE 'VENUSTAM, ex clara familia Bornæ (3), sed 'ut narrant indotatam, quæ ante annos complures '(4) Vestalis esse desierat. —— Luther *married a* 'very beautiful young Woman, *of the Illustrious Fa-* 'mily of Bore, *but without Fortune (as it is said)* 'who had thrown off a Nuns Habit some Years before.' Mr *Seckendorf* thinks there is a great deal of Exaggeration in those Words as to *Catherine de Bore*'s Beauty (5). No body is more to be credited in this Affair than he, and therefore we may say, that *Luther*'s Wife was not extraordinary handsome. But let us reflect a little on the artificial and malicious Design of those, who affect to represent this Nun as a very handsome Woman. Their aim is, generally, to reflect upon *Luther*'s Choice, and to conclude from thence, that he was too much given to his Pleasures, and that he did not marry purely to bridle his Incontinence, but to satisfy Nature in the highest degree of Concupiscence. They put an ill construction upon a thing which may be very innocent: No Man, that desires to marry, is forbidden to make choice of a handsome Wife, rather than of one that is not so; nay, one may have a very good reason for so doing; a Man may be afraid his Conjugal Affection should unluckily cool, a thing most opposite to the Duties of a Christian Husband; I say, he may fear such a thing, if he makes choice of a Wife that is but ordinary. If therefore, in hopes of being always a good and affectionate Husband, as Reason and Religion require, he makes choice of a handsome Woman, preferably to any other, is it not certain, that he goes upon an honest Principle? And how do we know, but that, if *Catherine de Bore* was a beautiful Woman, *Luther* might choose her among the nine Nuns from this laudable Motive? I might say, that the fairer the Object was, the more *Luther* was to be excused for not being able to resist the Temptations; and it is very likely, that if he had married a homely Woman, his Enemies would have cried

(1) Hist. du Lutheran. liv. ii. pag. 120.

(2) Erasm. Epist. xi. lib. xviii.

(3) *It should be* Borinæ, *or* à Bore.

(4) *It was but some Years.*

(5) Histor. Lutheran. liv. ii. pag. 28. n. 12.

REFLEXIONS upon what some People affect to say, that *Luther* married a very handsome Nun.

They would have seen there, that he resolved to marry her all on a sudden, in the Year 1525 [*B*], and that This Resolution was put in Execution with the utmost speed to please his Father, and to put a Stop to Scandal [*C*]. It is even true, that he made haste, because, as he believed he should not live long, and was unwilling to die a Bachelor, lest he should transgress a Commandment, and retain something of Popery, and frustrate the Desires of his Father, who wished he was already a Grandfather, he thought he had no time to lose [*D*]. Besides there was a little Share of Spite to the

cried out, that his Incontinence was so great, that it wanted no Charms to kindle it. In a word, I might say, that one would be more ready to pardon a Person who should break an obligatory Fast at the sight of a well-dressed Partridge, than one who should do the same thing, at the sight of a piece of rusty Bacon. But in truth, this Apology does not seem to be satisfactory; it has two Faces, and therefore it is better to let it alone: For it might be said, all things being otherwise equal, that of two Men, who should have the liberty to choose a very delicious Ragoo, or a piece of Beef, he that contented himself with the Beef, would do an act of Sobriety, and shew that he eat only to live, and to satisfy natural necessity; whereas the other, that should make choice of a Ragoo, would do an act of Gluttony and Daintiness, and shew that he only thinks to satisfy his voluptuous Appetite. The application is easy: If *Luther* had only looked for a remedy against Incontinence, and an opportunity to beget Children for the Church and his Country, he would have imitated him, who prefers a piece of Beef before the greatest Dainties. It were therefore to no purpose to judge of those things by a Comparison with eating. But besides the reason of Fact, I mean, besides *Catharine de Bore*'s being not very handsome, one might alledge other Reasons of Right in favour of *Martin Luther*.

[*B*] *His resolution to marry her was taken all on a sudden, in the Year* 1525.] Eight Days before his Espousals (6), he wrote to *Rubelius*, That if his Example was necessary for the Cardinal of *Brandenburg*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, he would soon marry, tho' he had been ever in doubt whether he was fit for Marriage, and that besides tho' he intended to marry before he died, his Marriage might perhaps, prove an Engagement like that of St *Joseph*. ' Si ' Electori forte dicet, cur ego ipse non ducam uxo- ' rem, qui omnes ad nubendum incito, respondebis, ' me semper adhuc dubitasse an idoneus ad id sim. ' Attamen si meo matrimonio Electori confirmari ' posset, propediem paratus essem ad exemplum ei ' præbendum. Nam & alias cogito, antequam ex ' hac vita discedam, ut matrimonium contraham, ' quia id à Deo exigi puto, licet forte futura esset ' desponsatio Josephica (7). —— *If the Elector chance to ask why I myself do not take a Wife, who perswade every body else to marry, answer him, that I have always doubted whether I were fit for it. Yet if the Elector could be determined by my Marriage, I would soon be ready to set him an Example. For on other accounts, I think to marry before I leave the World, because I think it is required by* God, *tho' perhaps it may be a Marriage like that of* Joseph.' A Man, who speaks thus, seems to look as yet on Marriage at some distance, and therefore, *Luther* must have changed his mind very suddenly. He thought that his change was a work of Providence, and he says that the wife Men of his Party, who blamed his Marriage so much, were forced to acknowledge the Hand of God in it. ' Vehementer irritantur sapientes inter nostros: rem ' coguntur Dei fateri, sed personæ larva tam meæ ' quam puellæ illos dementat, impia cogitare & di- ' cere facit (8). —— *The wise Men of our party are greatly provoked: they are forced to own the thing to be of* God, *but the disguise of the Persons, both of myself and the young Woman, makes them mad, and makes them think and say wicked things.*' In another place he speaks in this manner: ' Domi- ' nus me subito aliaque cogitantem conjecit mire in ' conjugium cum Catharina Borensi moniali illa (9). ' —— *The Lord brought me suddenly, when I was thinking of other matters, to a Marriage with* ' Catharine de Bore, *the Nun.*' Observe nevertheless, that he shews in a Letter of the fifth of *May*, of the same Year, that he had a design to marry his *Catherine*.

(6) *The 3d of* June 1525: *The Day that they were betrothed was the* 11th *of* June. *See* Seckendorf, lib. ii. pag. 16, n. 3.

(7) Lutherus, Oper. Tom. III. fol. 140. apud Seckendorf, lib. ii. §. 3.

(8) Luther. in Epist. ad Michael. Stifelium, pag. 294, *dated the* 10th *of* June 1525. apud Seckendorf, lib. ii. §. 5.

(9) Luther. in Epist. ad Wenceslaum Linckium, *dated the* 20th *of* June, *cited by* Seckendorf. lib. ii. §. 5.

[*C*] *To put a stop to Scandal.*] This is what he wrote to *Rubelius* the fifteenth of *June* 1525. ' Po- ' stulante patre meo conjugium inii, & ut linguas ' maledicorum & impedimenta vitarem, congressum ' nuptialem properanter institui (10). —— *I took a* ' *Wife in obedience to my Father's Commands, and* ' *hastened the Consummation, in order to shun the* ' *Tongues of Slanderers, and all obstacles.*' Had we no other Passage but this, we could not certainly know the nature of the Slanders which he designed to avoid; one might think, that he had no other aim than to put a stop to a thousand foolish Stories, that are reported in Towns during the time of Courtship. At that time People will say what they know, and what they know not; and it happens but too often, that the Brochers of News hinder the conclusion of a Marriage: but when the Business is concluded, it affords little occasion for talk. It might therefore be said, that *Luther* was not willing to give those Newsmongers time to spread the News of his design through the Town, and that therefore he put it in execution as soon as he had formed it; but we know by some other passages of his Letters, that there was a necessity to put a stop to another sort of Reports. *Or obstruxi*, says he to his Friend *Spalatinus*, *infamantibus me cum Catharina Borana* (11). —— *I have stopped their Mouths who reproach me with* Catharine de Bore. *Vera est itaque fama, me esse cum Catharina subito copulatum antequam ora cogerer audire tumultuosa in me, sicut solet fieri* (12). —— To another he says *the Report is true that I am married on a sudden to* Catharine, *before I was obliged to hear a Clamour against me as usual on such occasions.* In all likelihood they spoke ill of him and her, because without doubt he saw her familiarly. He loved her, and called her His *Catharine*. ' Fortasse etiam rumoribus ' mota de quibus Lutherus epistola supra allegata ' queritur, quibus tamen ipse aliquam occasionem ' dedisse videtur, optime enim cupiebat virgini, & ' suam vocare solebat Catharinam (13). —— *Per-* ' *haps too she was moved by the Reports, of which* ' Luther *complains in the Letter above cited, for* ' *which nevertheless he seems to have given some* ' *occasion; for he was very fond of her and used* ' *to call her his Catharine.*' Mr *Seckendorf* conjectures that those prattlings were one of the Reasons, that made her declare she would not marry Doctor *Glatius*; but that she was very willing to be married either to *Luther*, or *Amsdorf*. Let us add to all this what *Melanchthon* writ on that Marriage. *Si quid vulgo fertur aliud indecentius, id mendacium & calumniam esse perspicuum est* (14). —— *If common fame says any thing indecent, it is manifest it is a Lie and a Calumny.*

(10) Lutherus, Tom. III. fol. 150 *cited by* Seckendorf. lib. ii. n. 4.

(11) Lutheri Epist. lib ii. p. 292. apud Seckendorf, lib. ii. n. 5.

(12) Epist. ad Amsdorfium, lib. ii. pag. 295, *dated the* 22d *of* June, apud Seckendorf. lib. ii. n. 7.

(13) Seckendorf. Hist Lutheran. lib. ii. pag. 17. n. 8.

(14) Melanch. apud Seckendorf. lib. ii. n. 10.

[*D*] *He made haste, because, as he believed he should not live long, he thought he had no time to lose.*] Here is the Proof of the two or three Facts contained in the Period that begins with the Text of this Remark. ' Ecce, quia sic insaniunt, (they are *Luther*'s words (15), he means those who exclaimed against him on account of the War of Boors) ' ita me paravi, ut ante mortem meam, in statu, ' quo creatus sum, à Deo inveniar, & quantum ' potero, nihil ex priori vita mea papistica retineam. ' Ferant itaque tanto acrius, & hæc ultima & va- ' ledictoria erunt. Mens enim mihi præsagit, me ' à Deo ad gratiam suam evocatum iri. Itaque, ' postulante patre meo, conjugium inii. —— *See,* ' *because they are thus mad, I have so prepared my* ' *self that, before I die, I may be found by God* ' *in the State in which I was created, & if pos-* ' *sible retain nothing of my former Popish Life.* ' *Therefore let them rave yet more, and this will* ' *be their last farewel. For my mind presages* ' *that I shall soon be called by God into his Grace.* ' *Therefore at my Father's Desire, I have taken a* ' *Wife.*'

(15) Epist. ad Ruhelium. Tom. III. fol. 150, *dated the* 15th *of* June, *cited by* Seckendorf, lib. ii. §. 5. n. 4.

the Papiſts in this Deſign of his Marriage (*f*). This young Woman refuſed the Man whom he adviſed her to marry, and told *Amſdorf* that ſuch a Marriage did not pleaſe her; but that if *Luther* or *Amſdorf* would take her to Wife, ſhe was ready to accept of either of them [*E*]. There went a Report that ſhe was brought to bed ſoon after her Marriage [*F*]; but *Eraſmus*, who had wrote that News to one of his Friends, acknowledged the Falſity of it a little after. *Luther*, with all his Courage, was at firſt a little put out of Countenance, by the Clamours which his Marriage raiſed both at home and abroad [*G*]. But he quickly took heart again,

(*f*) *See the Remark* [*E*].

'*Wife*.' In another Letter he ſpeaks thus. 'Spero 'enim me breve tempus adhuc victurum, & hoc 'noviſſimum obſequium parenti meo poſtulanti 'nolui denegare ſpe prolis, ſimul ut confirmem 'facta quæ docui (16). - - - - - *For I hope I ſhall 'live a little longer, and I would not deny this 'laſt Obedience to my Father, who required it in 'hopes of Iſſue, and alſo to confirm the Doctrines 'I have taught*.' And this is what he ſays in another place. 'Alias cogito antequam ex hac 'vita diſcedam ut matrimonium contraham, quia 'id à Deo exigi puto (17). - - - - - *Beſides I think 'I ſhall marry before I leave the World, becauſe 'I believe it is commanded by God*.'

(16) Lutheri Epiſt. ad Amſdorf. *cited by* Seckendorf, lib ii. n. 7.

(17) Luther. Epiſt. ad. Ruhelium apud Seckendorf. lib. ii. n. 2.

[*E*] *She refuſed to marry* Glacius - - - - *but for* Luther *or* Amſdorf *ſhe was ready to accept of either of them.*] We know this from a Manuſcript Memorial, which *Abraham Scultetus* has inſerted in his Annals (18). The Man, whom *Luther* had deſired *Catharine* to marry, was a Miniſter of *Orlamund*, one Doctor *Glacius*. Perhaps he might be called in *French*, *le Docteur de la Glace* [i. e. *Doctor Ice*] (*a*). The young Woman refuſed him; *Vellet Lutherus, vellet Amſdorffius, ſi paratam cum alterutro beneſtum inire matrimonium: cum D. Glacio nullo modo. Luther*, having heard this on one ſide, and having heard on the other, that if he married, he would make all the World, and the Devil himſelf, laugh, reſolved to marry the Nun *Catharine*, to ſpite the World and the Devil. 'Hoc ubi 'Lutherus intellexit, audiſſetque ex D. Hieronymi 'Schurfii ore: Si Monachus iſte uxorem duceret 'riſuros mundum univerſum & diabolum ipſum, 'facturumque ipſum irritas actiones ſuas univerſas: 'ut ægre faceret mundo & diabolo, ut parenti 'etiam hoc ſuadenti gratificaretur, Catharinam ſibi 'uxorem ducendam cenſuit (19). —— *When* Luther *underſtood this, and heard from the Mouth of* Jerom Schurfius: *That if that Monk married, all the World and the Devil himſelf would laugh at him, and he would undo all he had done: in order to vex the World and the Devil, and gratify his Father who deſired it, he reſolved to marry* Catharine.' This agrees with what he wrote the fifteenth of *May* 1525, to *Rubelius*: 'Si domum venero ad mortem me Deo juvante 'præparabo, & novos iſtos dominos & latrones exſpectabo - - - - - - Illis autem ut ægre faciam, ſi 'fieri poteſt, Catharinam meam uxorem ducam, 'antequam moriar, ſi pergere eos intellexero: ne'que enim os mihi obſtruent, nec gaudium adi'ment (20) - - - - - - *If I get home, I will, by 'God's Aſſiſtance, prepare my ſelf for Death, and 'wait for thoſe new Lords and Robbers - - - - - But 'to vex them, if poſſible, I will marry my* Catharine *before I die, if I hear they go on, for 'they ſhall neither ſtop my Mouth nor rob me of 'my Happineſs*.' When I enquire what Reaſons he could have to believe, that he would vex the Papiſts by his Marriage, I find none more likely than this, that he imagined they had yet ſome kind of Conſolation left, becauſe they thought he had ſtill a regard for the Doctrine of Monaſtical Vows.

(18) Ad. ann. 1525, pag. 274. apud Seckend. pag. 17. n. 8.

(19) Ibid.

(20) Ibid. n. 9.

[§ (*a*) *Glacius*, from the *German*, *Glaſs*, which ſignifies either a drinking Glaſs, or ſimply Glaſs, ought to have been rendered in *French*, by *la Glace*. *Eyſs* is the *German* word anſwering to this *French* Word. REM. CRIT.]

[*F*] *There went a Report that ſhe was brought to bed, ſoon after her Marriage.*] See here what *Eraſmus* wrote about it; 'Lutherus, quod felix 'fauſtumque ſit, depoſito Philoſophi pallio duxit 'uxorem ex clara familia Bornæ (21), puellam ele'ganti forma natam, annos viginti ſex, ſed indo'tatam & quæ pridem deſierat eſſe Veſtalis. At'que ut ſcias auſpicatas fuiſſe nuptias, pauculis 'diebus poſt decantatum hymenæum nova nupta 'peperit (22). - - - - - - Luther, *I wiſh him joy of 'it, has laid down his Philoſopher's Cloak, and 'married a Wife of the noted Family of* Bore, *a 'Lady of excellent Beauty, Twenty ſix Years of Age, 'but with no Fortune, and one that had lately 'been a Nun. And to ſhow that it was a lucky 'Match, the Bride was brought to bed a few 'Days after the Solemnization of the Marriage*.' This was an egregious Falſity, *Eraſmus* knew it by the Event, and owned that it was a falſe Report. The Letter, in which he makes that Confeſſion, is dated the thirteenth of *March* 1526. He ſays only that *Luther*'s Wife was with Child, and that ſhe had not conquered the fierce Spirit of her Husband, ſeeing the Book that *Luther* had compoſed againſt him ſince his Wedding, was the moſt furious one that ever came from his Pen. 'De 'conjugio Lutheri certum eſt, de partu maturo 'ſponſæ vanus erat rumor, nunc tamen gravida 'eſſe dicitur. Si vera eſt vulgi fabula Antichriſtum 'naſciturum ex monacho & monacha, quemadmo'dum iſti jactitant, quot Antichriſtorum millia jam 'olim habet mundus? At ego ſperabam fore, ut 'Lutherum uxor redderet magis cicurem. Verùm 'ille præter omnem expectationem emiſit librum 'in me ſummâ quidem curâ elaboratum, ſed adeo 'virulentum, ut huctenus in neminem ſcripſerit 'hoſtiliùs (23). - - - - - - - Luther's *Marriage is 'certain; the Report of his Wife's being ſo ſpeedily brought to bed is falſe; but I hear ſhe is now 'with Child. If the common Story be true, 'that Antichriſt ſhall be born of a Monk and a 'Nun, as they pretend, how many thouſands of Antichriſts are there in the World already? I was 'in hopes that a Wife would have made* Luther *a little tamer. But he, contrary to all expectation, has publiſhed a moſt elaborate Book againſt 'me, but as virulent as any book that ever he 'wrote*.

(21) *See above, Citation* (3).

(22) Eraſm. apud Scultetum Annal. ad ann. 1525. pag. 278. citatum à Seckendorfio, pag. 18. n. 11.

(23) Eraſm. Epiſt. xxii. lib. xviii.

[*G*] Luther *was put out of Countenance by the Clamours that his Marriage raiſed both at home and abroad.*] He confeſſes himſelf, that his Marriage made him ſo deſpicable, that he hoped that Humiliation would rejoice the Angels, and vex the Devils. 'Sic me vilem & contemptum 'his nuptiis feci, ut Angelos ridere & omnes dæ'mones flere ſperem (24).' Melanchthon found him ſo afflicted with that change of Life, that he wrote ſome Letters of Conſolation to him. 'Quoniam vero ipſum Lutherum quodammodo 'triſtiorem eſſe cerno, & perturbatum ob vitæ 'mutationem, omni ſtudio & benevolentia conſolari 'eum cono (25).' He adds that the prejudice, which that Marriage did to *Luther*'s great Reputation, would very likely produce a good effect: he meant, that it would prevent the Vanity of which the wiſeſt Men are too full in the Splendor of great Glory. 'Erit etiam, meo quidem judi'cio, nec inutilis quidem caſus iſte ad demiſſionem 'quandam pertinens, cum alte ſuſtolli & efferri 'ſemper ſit periculoſum, non ſolum facerdotio 'ſungentibus, ſed cunctis mortalibus. Nam actionum felicitas occaſionem dat pravitatis elati animi 'non modo, quemadmodum Orator inquit, dementibus, ſed interdum etiam ſapientibus. —— *And indeed even this Accident will not, in my Opinion, be without it's uſe, as it tends to humble him a little; for it is dangerous, not only for a Prieſt but for any Man, to be too much elated and puffed up. For great ſucceſs gives occaſion to the Sin of a high Mind, not only, as the Orator ſays, in fools, but ſometimes even in wiſe Men*.' It was not ſo much the Marriage, as the Circumſtances of the time, and the Precipitation with which it was done, that occaſioned the cenſures paſſed upon *Luther*. He married all on a ſudden, and

(24) Lutheri, Epiſt. ad Spalatinum apud Seckendorf. pag. 18. n. 3.

(25) Extat hæc epiſtola (quæ in editione Londinenſi eſt 24. lib. iv.) è Græco verſa apud Seckendorf. ubi ſupra, pag. 17. n. 10.

again, and seemed very well satisfied with his Match; insomuch that when his Wife had born him a Son a little after, he said he would not change his Condition for that of *Crœsus*; so sensible he was that GOD had given him a good Wife [*H*]. He was like to die of a Stoppage of Urine in the Year 1537, and in that State he praised his Wife very much (*g*). In his Will, which he made in 1542, he expressed a great Affection, and took care to provide for her (*h*). He did not pretend, that she was without Faults, but he believed she was less faulty than others (*i*). It has been observed, that she took a little too much upon her, and was too imperious (*k*), but it was an excusable Fault, considering the Glory that attended her Husband. In some things she was too saving, and in others too prodigal: she was sparing in her House-keeping, and too expensive in Building, which is the Character of a Woman that loves to make a shew. After the Death of *Luther* she maintained herself and her Family decently, with the indifferent Estate of the Deceased, and the Assistance she received from the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Counts of *Mansfeld*. At last she went from *Wittemberg* to *Torgau*, and died there the twentieth of *December* 1552 (*l*). If *Erasmus* was not mistaken when he said, that she married at Twenty six Years of Age (*m*), she must have been Fifty three Yars old when she died. *Varillas* has committed a prodigious Number of Faults in speaking of This Woman [*I*].

(*g*) Seckendorf, lib. iii. pag. 205. n. 4.

(*h*) Id. ibid. p. 651.

(*i*) *See the Remark* [*H*].

(*k*) Seckendorf, l.b. iii. pag. 651. lit. n. *See the Remark* [*K*], *Citation* (49).

(*l*) Id. lit. (*o*).

(*m*) *See the Remark* [*F*], *Citation* (22).

Mr *Mayer*

at a time when *Germany* was almost laid desolate by the War of the Boors; a War which was said to be owing to Lutheranism. No body could account for that precipitation. *Luther* was then Forty two Years of Age: and till then he had kept a chast Celibacy during the hottest transports of Youth: It cannot be said that the incapacity of containing himself obliged him to conclude his Marriage so suddenly. But granting, as *Melanchthon* insinuates, that the remiss life which *Luther* led, delighting too much in company, revived Nature, which the Monastical Retreat had in some measure laid asleep: In a word; Granting that he was necessitated to marry by the Lust of the Flesh; must he therefore pass by all Formalities? Could he not put off his Marriage for some Months, to communicate the matter to his Friends, and to prepare the Public for the News of his Marriage, by some preliminary Addresses? I do not wonder that, for want of good Reasons to explain those difficulties, *Luther* and others have acknowledged something Divine in that Marriage, θεῖον τι, as in certain Diseases (26). ' Quod autem in re intempestivum & inconsultum inest, (in quo maxime ' delicias obtrectandi & accusandi studium adversariorum facit) videndum, ne nos conturbet. Isto ' enim sub negotio fortasse aliquid occulti, & quiddam ' divinius subest, de quo nos curiose quærere non decet, neque curare nugas deridentium, & convitia ' facientium quorundam, à quibus neque pietas ad ' Deum, neque ad homines virtus exercetur (27). ' ------ *But as for the Unseasonableness and want* ' *of Consideration in the affair (on which Accounts* ' *chiefly our Adversaries will gratifie their desire* ' *of railing and slandering) we must take care* ' *that That do not disturb us. For perhaps there* ' *is some Secret, or something divine, couched under it,* ' *concerning which it does not become us to enquire* ' *too curiously, or to mind the trifling of some, who* ' *deride and reproach us, who neither exercise Piety* ' *towards God nor Virtue towards Men.*'

(26) *See above in the Remark* [*B*], *Citation* (8).

(27) Melanchth. Epist ad Camerar. apud Seckendorf. pag. 17. n. 10. *See also the Remark* [*B*], *Citation* (8).

[*H*] ---- *But afterwards he would not have changed his Condition for that of Crœsus, his Wife proved so very good.*] Here is part of the Letter which he wrote, the eleventh of *August* 1526, to *Michael Stifelius*. ' Salutat te Ketha costa mea, ' & gratias agit quod eam literis tuis tam suavibus ' dignatus es. Ipsa belle habet Dei dono, mihique morigera & in omnibus obsequens est, & ' commoda plusquam ausus fuissem sperare (Deo ' gratia), ita ut paupertatem meam nollem cum ' Crœsi divitiis commutare (28). ------ *My Rib,* ' *Kate, salutes you, and thanks you for the Favour* ' *of your kind Letter. She is very well through* ' *God's Mercy, and is obedient and complying with* ' *me in all things, and more agreeable (I thank* ' *God) than I could have expected, so that I would* ' *not change my Poverty for the Wealth of Crœsus.* He was heard to say that he would not exchange his Wife for the Kingdom of *France*, nor for the Riches of the *Venetians* (29), and that for three Reasons. I. Because, she had been given him by God, at the time when he implored the assistance of the Holy Ghost in finding a good Wife. II. Because, though she was not without faults, yet she had fewer than other Women. III. Because she kept the conjugal Fidelity which she owed him. In his Will he gave her a good Character for Probity, Fidelity, and Modesty; he acknowledged that she had loved and served him, and that she had been fruitful, &c (30). He would not have the World to think that she had made a private purse, and he left her at full liberty to marry again (31).

(28) Luther. Epist. pag. 318. apud Seckend. pag. 18. n. 10.

(29) *This is related by* Bavarus, Tom. I. p. 229. apud Seckendorf. lib. iii. pag. 651. lit. (*n*).

(30) *His last Will is dated the 16th of* September 1542. *He had then five Children alive.*

[*I*] *Mr* Varillas *has committed a prodigious number of Faults in speaking of this Woman*] He says that *Catharine de Bore*, and eight of her Companions, were taken out of a Nunnery, in a small Town called *Timigue*, two Leagues from *Wittemberg* (32). But, I. There never was a Nunnery of that Name, either in the Neighbourhood of *Wittemberg*, or any where else. II. The Convent which was near *Wittemberg*, and was called *Nimmat*, was of Regular Canons of St *Augustin*, and ought not to be confounded, as it has been by some Authors, with the Convent of *Nimptschen*. III. The nine Nuns were taken out of *Nimptschen* on the *Mulde*, near *Grimma*, two days Journey from *Wittemberg*. IV. *Leonard Coppe*, who took them from thence, was not, as *Varillas* affirms, Provost of the Scholars at *Wittemberg*; there is no such Character or Function known in the Universities of *Germany*: But he was a Counsellor of the City of *Torgau*, the place of his Nativity. V. It is not true that *Catharine de Bore*, the handsomest of them all, was from that time designed to be the Wife of Doctor *Luther*. He thought on nothing less at that time than on Marriage. A Letter, which he wrote about the end of the Year 1524, certifies, that God might alter his Mind, but that whilst his Heart should be disposed, as it always had been, and still was, he should never marry. ' Not but that I feel, *says he*, my Flesh and my ' Sex, I am neither of Wood nor Stone; but I ' have an aversion for Marriage, because I pre' pare myself for the Punishment wherewith Here' tics are punished (33).' See what has been said before (34) of the Precipitation wherewith he concluded his Marriage with *Catharine de Bore*, in the Month of *June*, One thousand five hundred twenty five. VI. *Varillas* should not have spoken of *Luther*'s Marriage in the Year 1526, but in the foregoing Year. VII. There never was any Abbess of *Misnia*. VIII. However that Dignity did never belong to *Catharine de Bore*. *Varillas*, who gives it her in the Eighty sixth Page, had said in the seventh Page, that she was a meer Nun, and that she fled with eight others on a *Good-friday*, while the SUPERIORS were extraordinary busy. By *Misnia* he means either a Town or a Province; if he means a Province, he is guilty of a great absurdity, for he supposes then that there was but one Monastery in a Country where there were Thirty. If he means a Town, he names it wrong; he should have called it *Misne* * IX. It is false that *Catharine de Bore* was of an illustrious

(31) *See* Seckendorf lib. iii. pag. 651. lit. (*n*).

(32) Varillas, Histoire de l'Heresie, liv. vi. p. 6.

(33) Lutherus, Epist. lib. ii. apud Seck. lib. i. p. 314. n. 2.

(34) *Citation* (6).

* The true name both of the Country and Town is *Meissen*.

(n) *Of whom I have spoken before in Citation* (35) *of the Article* BELLARMIN.

Mr *Mayer* (n) to whom I muſt make my Acknowledgement here, for the Favour he has done me in declaring publickly that he honours me with his Friendſhip, publiſhed a Diſſertation which will afford me a very curious Supplement [*K*]. I do

illuſtrious Family, and that ſome of her Relations had a great Power in the Court of *Saxony*. She had a Brother that ſtood in need of *Luther*'s recommendation to the new Elector of *Saxony* in the Year 1542 (35). *Luther* begged of the Elector, that he might have an Office inſtead of that which was taken from him; ſo that his Wife's Relations had more need of his Credit, than he of theirs. What protection can one expect from a Family, which is not able to give a Daughter a Portion? This was the condition of our Nun's Father, according to the account of the Author we criticiſe (36). X. The frequent viſits, which *Varillas* ſays *Luther* made to *Catharine* in the Nunnery of *Miſnia* (37), are meer Chimeras. Doubtleſs by *Miſnia* he means the Town of *Miſnia*. Grant him for once this Falſity, *viz.* That *Catherine* was Abbeſs of *Miſne*, yet he ſuppoſed very falſly, that *Luther* made many Viſits to that Abbeſs; for ſince the Town of *Miſne* belonged partly to the Biſhop, and partly to *George* Duke of *Saxony*, a great Enemy of the Reformation, *Luther* would have run very great dangers in *Miſne*. I add, that if the Abbeſs had received his Viſits ſo eaſily, there had been no need of any addreſs to carry away *Catharine de Bore*, while the Superiors could not look after her. Thus we find many Contradictions between Page 7, and Page 86, of *Varillas*. Laſtly, Thoſe frequent Viſits are ſtrongly refuted by the two days Journey which is between *Catharine de Bore*'s Convent, and the City of *Wittemberg*. XI. *It appears by the firſt Letters of* Luther *which have been publiſhed, that he had ſome Thoughts of marrying from the time that he ſeparated from the Communion of the Church*. *Varillas* affirms this, but it is a ſign that he never looked into thoſe Letters. We plainly find there, that *Luther* thought on nothing leſs than Marriage during the firſt years of his Reformation, and that he reſolved on it all on a ſudden in the Year 1525. Have I not ſhewed that he would have married his *Catharine* to another Man? XII. *The firſt meaſures he took with* John Frederic, *Brother and Succeſſor* to the deceaſed Elector (38), *were, that he ſhould permit him to marry the Abbeſs*. A new miſtake of *Varillas*. *John Frederic* was not Brother of the deceaſed Elector, nor did he ſucceed him. He that ſucceeded him was called *John*, and was his Brother: He was the Father of *John Frederic*, who did not come to the Electorate before the Year 1532. It does not appear that *Luther* communicated his Marriage to the Elector *John*, who was taken up with the War of the Boors; I ſay it does not appear that he did communicate it to him before he concluded it. XIII. Laſtly, That Wedding was not *ſo magnificent, that it did not differ in any thing from thoſe of the moſt eminent Perſons of the Empire* (39). Who could imagine that ſuch a famous Hiſtorian ſhould heap up ſo many faults in ſo few Words? A Man would hardly be able to do it, if he were hired for the Purpoſe.

[*K*] *Mr* Mayer - - - - - - *has wrote a Diſſertation which will afford me a very curious Supplement.*] It is a Book of Seventy two Pages in *Quarto*, intituled, *De Catharina Lutheri conjuge diſſertatio*, printed at *Hamburg* in the Year 1698. The Author has omitted nothing that can be of uſe towards a full knowledge of the Hiſtory of *Catharine de Bore*, and he gives a curious and exact account of the Children ſhe brought to *Luther*. He brings always good proof for what he ſays, whereby the Falſities of *Cochleus*, *Maimbourg*, *Varillas*, and many other Writers, are ſolidly refuted. He ſhews, that the Example of the eight Nuns, who went with her out of the Convent of *Nimptſchen* (40), was ſoon after followed by Sixteen Nuns of the Convent of *Widerſtetten* in the County of *Mansfield*, and that this was the fruit of the good and ſound Doctrine, which *Luther* had taught, concerning the Laudableneſs of Marriage, and the Iniquity of Monaſtic Vows (41); that in all this, there was no force uſed to carry them away; for that theſe young Women were well perſuaded that they might return into the World, and were willing to do it (42); that *Maimbourg* was in the wrong to pretend that *Luther* durſt not marry *Catharine*, ſo long as the Elector *Frederic* was living; for why ſhould That Prince have condemned *Luther*'s Marriage, after having permitted *Feltkirchius*, *Carolſtad*, and ſome other Miniſters, to marry (43)? and that ſome have ſpoken hyperbolically of *Catharine*'s Beauty: *Luther fell in Love with a very beautiful Nun of Quality, whom he had taken out of her Convent*. Theſe are the Words of the Biſhop of *Meaux*, cited by Mr *Mayer* (44); and, to make it appear that they are over-ſtrained, he gives a Print of that Woman, drawn by his order from three Pictures compared together, which were done in *Catharine*'s Life time, by *Luke Cranachius*, an excellent Painter (45), and one of the Gueſts at *Martin Luther*'s Wedding-feaſt (46), that is, at the Entertainment which was given without noiſe on his Wedding-day; for, ſome Weeks after, a more ſolemn and pompous Feaſt was made, to the Charges of which the Senate of *Wittemberg* contributed ſomething. *Senatus Wittebergenſis nonnulla ex publico aerario ſuppeditavit, ut videre eſt in Conſiliis Witebergenſibus parte IV. p.* 9. Mr *Mayer* refers us to the Twenty ſecond Page of the fourth Part of the *Conſilia Witebergenſia*, and to the ſixth Chapter of the *Defenſio Lutheri defenſi* of *Jul. Molerus* againſt *Charles de Creuſius*, a Jeſuit of *Pruſſia*. I ſay, he refers us thither, to ſee the Refutation of the Calumny which had been ſpread, and the excuſes for *Luther*'s marrying without publiſhing the Banns in a Church. His Enemies gave out that he had made ſo much haſte to marry, becauſe *Catharine* found herſelf with Child (47). This was falſe (48). There are alſo in Mr *Mayer*'s Diſſertation many proofs of the Love and Eſteem which *Luther* had for his Wife. They are taken out of his Letters, and we are forewarned to give more credit to them than to a Letter of *Pontanus*, written to the Elector of *Saxony* after the Death of *Luther*. This *Pontanus* accuſed *Catharine de Bore* of Pride, and of having ſpent a great deal of Money in Building, and chiefly upon a Farm which was aſſigned her for her Dowry. *Huic itaque* (Luthero) *potius teſti credamus quam* Pontano *apud Seckendorfium, lib. iii. p.* 651. *qui in literis poſt mortem Lutheri ad Electorem Sax. ſcriptis arguit eum* animo fuiſſe elatiore & imperioſo, tenacemque in victu domeſtico, etſi ſumtuoſam in ædificia, *imprimis in prædium* Zeuſſdorf, *quod ei in teſtamento dotalitii nomine Lutherus aſſignavit* (49). Some pretend that *Luther* ſubmitted to the government of his Wife, and cite the Letters wherein he called her his Lord. Mr *Mayer* owns he has ſeen ſuch Letters, but he maintains, that it was but a jeſt (50), and that *Luther*, who had given his Wife full Authority over Houſhold Affairs, always reſerved the Rights of a Husband to himſelf. 'Tu mihi 'perſuades quicquid vis, totum habes Dominium. 'In œconomia quidem tibi concedo dominium ſalvo jure meo. Mulierum enim Dominium nihil 'boni unquam effecit (51). — *You perſuade me to* 'what you pleaſe, you have all the Dominion. I 'grant you the Dominion in the management of your 'Houſe, ſaving my own right; for the Dominion of 'Women never did any good.' He has the Original of a Letter, wherein *Luther* exclaimed againſt the weakneſs of thoſe Husbands, who ſuffer themſelves to be maſtered by their Wives, and encouraged one of them to curb the Inſolence of his Wife (52). The following fact ſhews our *Catharine*'s Conjugal Affection. *Luther* intending to make an Expoſition of the Twenty ſecond Pfalm, took ſome Bread and Salt, and ſhut himſelf up in his Cloſet, and continued there three Days. His Wife looked for him every where, and was in the utmoſt concern; ſhe knocked at the Door, ſhe called him, and being at laſt no longer able to reſiſt her Grief, ſhe cauſed the Door to be broken open, and found him Meditating. He was vexed that his Meditations on a Subject ſo ſacred, and of ſo great concern, ſhould be interrupted; but at laſt, he could not find fault with his Wife's Care and Uneaſineſs (53). She gave a remarkable

(35) *See* Seckendorf lib. iii. p. 381 n. 22.

(36) Varillas, Hiſt. de l'Herel. v. vii. pag. 86.

(37) Id. ibid. pag. 87.

(38) *His Name was* Frederic.

(39) *Moſt of theſe Animadverſions upon* Varillas, *are taken from Mr* de Seckendorf, Hiſt. Lutheran. lib. i. pag. 273, 274.

(40) Nimtſchenſe Ciſtercienſium Monaſterium. *Mayer Diſſert. de Luther. Conjug. pag.* 11.

(41) Id. ibid. pag. 14.

(42) Id. ibid.

(43) Ib. pag. 19.

(44) Mayer, ubi ſupra, pag. 21. *He quotes*, Hiſtoire des Variations, Tom. I. pag. 49.

(45) Ib. pag. 22.

(46) Ib. pag. 24.

(47) *See* Lindanus de voto virginitatis, pag. 23.

(48) *See the Remark* [*f*].

(49) Mayer, p. 55.

(50) Quis non videt, genii præſertim bexti virl non ignaros, hoc innoxio joco ab illo factum? - - *Who does not ſee, eſpecially if he knows any thing of the Genius of this bleſſed Man, that it was done only as an innocent Joke?* Ib. p. 56.

(51) Luther apud Mayer, page 57.

(52) *It may be ſeen in Mr* Mayer's Book, page 57, 58.

(53) Id. pag. 59. *He quotes* Reinhard. Bakius ad Pſal. xxii.

I do not think that any body will blame me for publishing, in this Place of my Dictionary, a Letter which has never been made public, written by *Erasmus*, before he was undeceived about the false Report that was spread, concerning *Catharine de Bore*'s being brought to bed a little while after her Marriage [*L*].

a remarkable Instance both of her Affection and Constancy in a Sickness which he had in the Year 1527, which was so great and dangerous, that he made his Will, and took his leave of his Wife and his Son (54). Our *Catharine* continued the first Year of her Widowhood at *Wittemberg*, tho' her Husband had advised her to go elsewhere. Mr *Mayer* justifies her in that disobedience (55). She went from *Wittemberg* in the Year 1547, when the Town was furrendred to *Charles* V. Before her departure, she had received a Present of Fifty Crowns from *Christian* III, King of *Denmark*; and, as the Elector of *Saxony* and the Counts of *Mansfelt* gave her good Tokens of their Liberality, with the Addition of these helps, to what *Luther* had left her, she had wherewithal to maintain herself and her Family handsomely. She returned to *Wittemberg*, when the Town was restored to the Elector, where she lived piously, till the Plague made her resolve to leave it in the Year 1552. She sold what she had there, and retired to *Torgau*, with a Resolution to end her Life there. An unfortunate Accident happened to her in her Journey: The Horses growing unruly, she leaped out of the Waggon, and got a Fall, which hurt her very much, so that she died soon after (56) at *Torgau*, the Twentieth of *December* 1552. She was buried there in the great Church, where her Tomb and Epitaph are still to be seen. The University of *Wittemberg*, which was then at *Torgau* (57), made a public *Programma* concerning the Funeral Pomp (58). It may be seen at length in Mr *Mayer*'s Book; it was printed in the Year 1553, *in Intimationibus Witembergensibus* (59). I had read it in the Four hundred and forty first, and Four hundred and forty second, Leaf of a Book printed at *Wittemberg* in the Year 1560 in 8vo, and intituled, *Scriptorum publice propositorum à professoribus in Academia Witebergensi, ab anno* 1540, *usque ad annum* 1553. *Tomus primus.*

(54) Id. pag. 59 & seq.

(55) Ibid. p. 66.

(56) *A quarter of a Year after, and some few Days more. See the Funeral* Programma.

(57) *Because the Plague raged at* Wittemberg.

(58) Mayer, ib. pag. 66. & seq.

(59) Id. pag. 69.

[*L*] *I shall insert a Letter written by* Erasmus, *before he was undeceived about the false Report of* Catharine de Bore's *lying-in soon after her Marriage.*] It was written to an Illustrious Person, to wit, *Nicolas Everard*, President of the High Council of *Holland* at the *Hague*. I have seen the Original, which is very well preserved: *Erasmus*'s Seal, with the *Deus Terminus* and the *nulli cedo*, remain still intire. Mr *de Wilhem*, Counsellor in the Court of *Brabant* (60), has been so kind as to shew me that original Letter, and to give me a Copy of it, which I have compared with the Original. I think, the Readers will not be displeased to find it printed in this place of my Dictionary, since it was never made public.

(60) *I speak of him at large in the Remark* [F], *of the Article* WILHEM.

' S. P. Ornatissime Præses. Solent Comici tumultus ferè in matrimonium exire, atque hinc subita rerum omnium tranquillitas. Verum hanc catastrophen plerumque nunc habent Principum Tragediæ, non admodum lætam populo, sed tamen bellis potiorem. Malebat ille compilari quam venire. ' Simulem exitum habitura videtur Lutherana Tragœdia. Duxit uxorem monachus monacham; & ut scias nuptias prosperis auibus initas, diebus à decantato hymeneo ferme quatuordecim enixa est nova nupta. Lutherus nunc mitior esse incipit, nec perinde sævit calamo. Nihil est tam serum quod non cicuret uxor. Ego sedulo hortor utramque partem, ut æquis conditionibus jungant fœdus, & insana prælia dirimant. Vis scire quantum proficiamus? Quantum solent, ij, qui inter duos armatos ira vinoque furentes intercedunt dirempturi, & utrimque vulnerantur. Opinor te legisse Apologiam meam adversus Sutorem. Quis credidisset tam stupidum animal latere inter Theologos & Cartusianos? Et tamen hoc portentum habet Theologos applaudentes. Si venduntur isthic (61) desultorii libri Jodoci Clithovei, quæso ut legas in Antiluthero 3. libri cap. primum, num. 3. nam Beda literis indicavit eum locum ad me pertinere; quod si verum, quis non intelligit in illo pediculoso capite nullam esse micam sanæ mentis? Et tamen hujusmodi nebulones Luterus armavit in nos: Nullum video finem nisi si quis ' Deus à machina, quod aiunt, apparens fabulam explicet. Luterana factio nunquam sustulit majores spiritus. Et altera pars adeo nihil remittit, ut indies astringat priora vincula. Habent novum dogma, sed simpliciter insanum; totos hos tumultus exortos ex Linguis & bonis litteris. Hoc jam Principibus aliquot persuaserunt. Quoniam te videre aliter non licet, per literas saluto. Dorpium amisimus ante diem. Hic longe supra centum millia rusticorum interfecta sunt, & quotidie sacerdotes capiuntur, torquentur, suspenduntur, decollantur, exuruntur. Non nego necessarium remedium, quamvis immite, sed Germani magis novimus malefacta punire quam excludere.

(61) *It is* desultorii *in the Copy: Mr* de Wilhem *told me, that none of those, who helped to read the Original, have been able to find out the meaning of that Word. I guess at a venture, that it ought to be read,* desultoril.

' Tibi, uxori tuæ, tuisque liberis precor omnia ' læta.

' Qui has reddet est Franciscus Dilft, quondam convictor meus; juvenis honesto loco natus, moribus mirè civilibus. Quem cupio ut digneris cognoscere.

' Datum Bas. pridie Natal. Domini, an. 1525.

ERASMUS ROT. verè tuus.

Ex tempore manu propria.

Non vacabat relegere, ignosce.

' *Most Honourable President, Greeting. The broils in Comedies generally ended in Matrimony, and that made all quiet at once. But now-a-days the Tragedies of Princes have commonly the same Catastrophe, not very pleasing to the People, but yet better than War. They had rather be stripped than sold.* Luther's *Tragedy is likely to have the same end. The Monk has married a Nun: and to shew that the Wedding was in a lucky Hour, the Bride was brought to bed in fourteen Days after the Solemnization.* Luther *begins now to be a little quieter, and is not so busy with his Pen. There is nothing too savage for a Wife to tame. I earnestly exhort both Parties to make Peace on fair Terms, and put an end to this destructive War. Would you know my Success, it is just the same with theirs, who interpose to part armed Men in a drunken quarrel, and get wounded on both Sides. I suppose you have read my Apology against* Sutor. *Who would have thought, there had been so stupid an Animal among the Divines, and* Carthusians *too? and yet this Monster has Divines that applaud him. If the desultory books of* Jodocus Clithoveus *are to be had with you, I beg you would read the Antiluther, lib. iii. cap. i. num. iii. For* Beda *informs me, in his Letter, that That Passage relates to me: which if it do, it is plain to all the World, that there is not a grain of sound Sense in all that lousy Chapter: and yet such wretches as this has* Luther *armed against me. I see no end, unless some* GOD *appears to unravel the Plot. The* Lutheran *Faction never had more Courage than now, and the other Party are so far from abating any thing, that they are daily straitening their former bands. They have got a new notion, but a silly senseless one, that all these Tumults, are owing to Language and good Literature. They have already persuaded some Princes into their Opinion. Not having opportunity to see you, I salute you by Letter. We have lost* Dorpius *a Day or two ago. Above a Hundred thousand of the Boors have been killed here, and every Day some Priest or other is taken, and tortured, hanged, beheaded, or burnt. I do not deny the remedy to be necessary, tho' inhuman, but we* Germans *know better how to punish Crimes than to prevent them.*

' *I wish all happiness to yourself, your Spouse and* ' *Children.*

' *The Bearer hereof is one* Francis Dilft, *formerly my Boarder, a young Man well born, and of very Gentleman-like Behaviour. I beg you would be pleased to admit him to your acquaintance.*'

Dated at Basil *24th of December* 1525.

Yours sincerely.

ERASMUS ROTT.

Extempore, *with my own hand. I had not time to read it over, excuse Faults.*

(a) *That which blows from the North.*

(b) Pindar. Od. iv. Pythior.

(c) Balzac. Entret. v. cap ii. pag. 80.

BOREAS, one of the four Cardinal Winds (*a*), and one of the Deities of the Heathens, was the Son of *Astræus* and *Aurora* [*A*], and had his Seat in *Thrace* [*B*]. *Pindar* calls him the King of Winds (*b*). 'I think, I have read somewhere that 'he had the Privileges of a Citizen given him in a City of *Greece*. I have read 'also, that they built Temples, and ordered Sacrifices to be made to him in 'another City; once, for having sunk a Fleet of the Enemies; and another time, 'for having blown the Dust into the Eyes of a Land Army of the same Enemies. 'If I am not mistaken, he was by a public Decree solemnly called the Son-in-law 'of the *Athenians*, because of his Wife *Orithya*, who was an *Athenian* (*c*).' The Author from whom I borrow these Words, (whose Originals I shall also shew) [*C*] makes

[*A*] *Was the Son of* Astræus *and* Aurora.] *Natalis Comes* confesses, he never read that the Inventors of Fables had said who *Boreas*'s Father and Mother were, *Boreas à quibus parentibus ortus sit fabularum inventores non tradiderunt, quod ego legerim* (1); and yet he had quoted *Hesiod*, who says, that the God *Astræus*, having lain with the Goddess *Aurora*, begat the four Winds (2). Here are the three Verses that he quotes:

(1) Natal. Comes, Mythol. lib. vii. cap. xi. pag. 861.

(2) Id. ib. d. lib. vi. cap. ii. pag. 551.

Ἀστραίῳ δ' Ἠὼς ἀνέμους τέκε καρτερο θύμους,
Ἀργέστην, Ζέφυρον, Βορέην τ' αἰθρηγενέα θεόν,
Καὶ Νότον, ἐν φιλότητι θεῷ θεὰ εὐνηθεῖσα.

Astræo vero Aurora ventos peperit magnanimos,
Argestem, Zephyrum, Boreamque rapidum,
Et Notum, in amore cum deo dea congressa (3).

(3) Hesiodus in Deor. Generat. ver. 378. p. 166.

Aurora, by Astræus' *close Embrace,*
Impregnate, bore the Winds magnanimous,
Eurus, with rapid Boreas, *Auster moist,*
And gentle Zephyr.

I must here take notice of a Fault of Mr *Hofman*. He says, that the Wind *Boreas* was the Son of *Astræus* according to some, or of *Strymon* according to others. He ought not to have expressed himself so; he ought to have said, that some Persons have maintained, that the Ravisher of *Orithya* was not the Wind *Boreas*, but the Son of *Strymon*. Ἡσαγόρας δὲ ἐν τοῖς Μεγαρικοῖς τὸν τὴν Ὠρείθυιαν ἁρπάσαντα Βορέαν υἱὸν Στρυμόνος φησὶν ἀλλὰ δὲ τὸν ἄνεμον (4). Hesagoras, *in the* Megarica, *says that* Boreas, *the Ravisher of* Orythia, *was the Son of* Strymon, *and not the Wind.*

(4) Schol. Apollonii in lib. i. ver. 211.

[*B*] *And had his Seat in* Thrace.] A great many Authors have said this, and you will find many Authorities for it in *Lloyd*'s Dictionary (5), and in the learned Commentary of Mr *Spanheim* on *Callimachus* (6). The Origin of that Hypothesis, is, that the Poets, who have spoken of that Wind, lived in a Country which had *Thrace* on the North. I speak of the *Greek* Poets. The *Latin* Poets, who imitate the *Greek* Phrases and *Epithetes*, have placed the Wind *Boreas* in the same Country, tho' they had not the same reason for it. Read these Words of Mr *Dacier*; they are taken out of his Note on the *Thracio Bacchante magis sub interlunia vento* (7). 'Horace speaks after the manner of the *Greeks*, who 'call *Boreas* or *Aquilo*, *Thracian*, because it came 'to them from *Thrace*.' I believe, it had been well to have commented in the same manner on this place of the same Poet, *Nunc mare, nunc silvæ Threïcio Aquilone sonant* (8), without pretending that 'Boreas or *Aquile*, that is to say, the North North-'East, was truly a *Thracian* Wind for the *Romans*, 'as well as for the *Greeks*; because *Thrace* extended 'very far (9).' I cannot believe, that *Horace* had in view, either the large extent of that Country, or the Subdivision of the Winds. He intended only to imitate the *Greek* Epithet of the North Wind; and the same Criticism might be made upon him here, as on this Passage of the Twelfth Ode of the fourth Book: *Jam veris comites, quæ mare temperant, impellunt animæ lintea Thraciæ* (10). I think, I ought not to omit this Passage of *Balzac*, because it is Critical: 'This *Aquilo*, of *Thracian* Origin, 'makes Excursions, and Travels over all the 'World; but if we may believe our *African*, who 'speaks Stones and Iron, his Stile is so rough and 'harsh, he makes his particular abode in the *Euxine* 'Sea. How many Leagues from *Thrace*? I shall 'inquire about it presently in the Map. Well, *A-*'*quilo* shall inhabit the *Euxine* Sea, for this time, '*Ubi dies nusquam patens, sol nunquam liber, unus* '*aër, nebula totus annus, hibernum, omne quod fla-*'*verit Aquilo est.* —— *Where the Day is no where* '*clear, the Sun never free, the Air unvaried, Fogs* '*all the Year, always Winter, all that blows is the* 'North Wind. But, by the by, I desire you to 'observe, whether there is not a kind of contradi-'ction in these Words, *Nebula* and *Aquilo*; for in 'my opinion, they cannot well agree together (11).'

(5) At the Word Boreas.

(6) Ezech. Spanhem us in Callimachum, pag. 213, 214, 344, 366.

(7) Horat. Od. xxv. lib. i.

(8) Id. Od. xiii. Epod.

(9) Dacier upon Horace, Tom. v. pag. 260, 261, of the Dutch Edition.

(10) See Tanaquillus Faber's 24th Epistle of the 2d Book.

(11) Balzac, Entretiens. cap. ii. pag. 81.

[*C*] *I borrow these words from* Balzac; *I will shew his Originals.*] There are some Books in which it is allowable, and even commendable, not to name the Authors from whom a Writer takes what he alledges. This suits a vain Man extremely well; for these general Terms, *I have read somewhere, a certain Author relates*, &c. give an advantageous Idea of an Author. The Reader thinks, he that speaks so, would not do it, if the Book he mentions, without naming the Author, was known to other learned Men. It is therefore believed, that he found that Treasure in a very rare Manuscript. In a Word, if *Balzac* had said, *I have read in* Pausanias, *or in* Herodotus, he would not have made so good a figure with his Readers. As for me, I endeavour chiefly to satisfy the Curiosity of my Readers, and therefore I always name the Authors from whom I take what I relate; nay, I endeavour to discover from whence the Moderns have taken what they alledge. I have succeeded in it, as to this Passage of *Balzac*'s *Entretiens* (12).

(12) *That which I have set down in the Text of this Article. See above, Citat.* (c).

I. *Ælian* observes, that the Inhabitants of *Thurium*, having been delivered from a great danger by a Storm which destroyed their Enemy's Fleet (13), offered Sacrifices to the Wind *Boreas*, who had caused that Shipwrack, and conferred on him the Freedom of their City. They provided him a House, and a settled Revenue, and celebrated every Year a Day of Worship in Honour of him (14).

(13) *It was* Dionysius *the Tyrant.*

(14) Ælian. diversf. Histor. lib. xii. cap. lxii.

II. The *Megalopolitans* consecrated a Temple to him, where they offered Sacrifices on a certain Day of the Year, and honoured no Deity more than him. It was in acknowledgment of a great Assistance, which they received from him, when *Agis* King of *Lacedæmon* besieged their City. The Besiegers Engine battered the Wall so furiously, that doubtless the Breach would have been very great the next Day; but there came a North Wind which overset the Engine. This is what *Pausanias* says (15).

(15) Pausan. lib. viii. pag. 259, 266.

III. *Herodotus* informs us, That an Oracle having ordered the *Athenians* to call their Son-in-law to their Assistance, they invoked *Boreas*; for as he was married to *Orithya* the Daughter of *Erechtheus* their King, they took him for their Son-in-law. Wherefore, when *Xerxes*'s Fleet was come to the Coasts of *Magnesia*, they implored the assistance of that Wind, and his Spouse, with Victims and Prayers; and being persuaded that the Storm which scattered that Fleet, was the effect of that Worship; they caused a Temple to be built to *Boreas* on the Banks of the *Ilissus* (16). They believed, that the same Deities had already destroyed the *Persian* Fleet near Mount *Athos* (17). I have not as yet been able to find The Author, who speaks of the great Service which this Wind did the *Greeks* in *throwing dust into the Eyes of an Army of* Persians. I have read indeed in *Xenophon*, that the *Greeks*, who repassed the *Euphrates* after the Defeat of young *Cyrus*, endured a great deal of cold because the Wind *Boreas* was full in their Faces; but that it was laid as soon as they had offered Sacrifices to it by the Advice of a Soothsayer (18). Note, that *Apollonius* represented to the *Athenians* that *Boreas* was their near Relation (19). *Balzac* might have added that

(16) *A River of* Athens.

(17) Herodot. lib. vii. c. 189.

(18) Xenophon. de Cyri expedit. lib. ii. pag. 143.

(19) Philostrat. in Vita Apollonii, lib. iv. pag. 167.

makes a Remark on *Orithya*'s not complaining of the Coldneſs of ſuch a Huſband [*D*]: but that Remark is more pleaſant than ſolid; for *Boreas*, how cold ſo ever he is repreſented, was very warm in his Love [*E*]. He had ſeveral Children, and

the *Athenians* ſwore by the Deity of *Boreas*, and that his Feſtival was celebrated by them with great Solemnity, and rich Banquets (20). *Caſaubon* is going to tell us this in his Commentary on theſe Words of *Matron*, τῶν καὶ βορέης ἠράσσατο πεπτομενάων, quarum dum coquerentur, five recens coactarum vel Boreas poterat affici deſiderio (21). —— *Which while they were baking, or new baked, even* Boreas *might long for* (21). 'Senſus autem eſt, adeò 'bonos panes illos aut placentas fuiſſe: ut etiam Bo'realia celebrantibus apponi potuerint. Moris fuit 'Athenis Boreæ ſacra facere, demerendi illius gra'tia. Magna ſolennitate is dies celebrabatur, atque 'in primis lautis opiariſque epulis. Βορεάζειν hoc 'dicebant & Βορεασμὸς ſuperſtitionis hujus ritum. 'Heſychius Βορεασμοί, Ἀθήνησιν οἱ ἀγοντες τῷ Βορέᾳ ἑορτὰς καὶ γοίνας ἵνα ἄνεμοι (malim ἀνεσοι) πνέωσιν. ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ βορεασμοί. Videtur dicere thiaſotas horum ſacrorum fuiſſe apellatos Βορεασμούς. Ego arbitror Βορεασμον id eſſe 'quod jam diximus: at qui ſuperſtitionis hujus ſacra 'concelebrarent, eos eſſe dictos Βορεαδὰς, ut εἰναδίσιδς, τετραδίσιδς, & ſimileis (22). —— *The* 'meaning is, that thoſe Loaves or Cakes were ſogood 'that they might be ſerved at the Feſtival of* Boreas. 'It was a Cuſtom, among the* Athenians, *to ſacrifice 'to* Boreas, *in order to appeaſe him. That Day was 'celebrated with great Solemnity, eſpecially with ele'gant and dainty Feaſts. This they called* Βορεάζειν, 'and the Ceremony of this ſuperſtition Βορεασμὸς. 'Heſychius ſays. Βορεασμοὶ at* Athens *were thoſe 'who celebrated Feſtivals and Games to* Boreas, *for 'the preſervation of their breath: they were called* Βορεασμοι. ------ *He ſeems to ſay that the Aſ'ſiſtants at theſe Feſtivals were called* Βορεασμοὶ. *I 'am of opinion that* Βορεασμὸς *is what I have ſaid, 'that the Aſſiſtants at the Ceremony were called* Βορεασδὰι, *as* εἰναδίσιδς, τετραδίσιδς *and the 'like.' Caſtellan* does not mention that Feſtival (23); but *Fazoldus* has taken notice of it (24). To conclude, I ſhall obſerve that mention is made of the Altar of the God *Boreas*, in a Dialogue of *Plato* (25); it is alſo ſaid there, that it was built where it was thought *Orithya* had been ſtolen away. We ſhall make a Reflexion hereafter (26) on this folly of the *Athenians*.

(20) Libanus Declam. 20.

(21) Matron apud Athenæum lib iv. cap. v. pag. 134.

(22) Caſaub. in Athen. lib. iv. cap. v. p. 254.

(23) In tractatu de feſtis Græcorum.

(24) Fazoldus in Icrologia p. 124.

(25) Plato in Phædro circa init. pag. 1211.

(26) *In the Remark* [*G*].

(27) Balzac. Entret. 5 cap. ii. pag. 80, 81.

[*D*] Orithya's *not complaining of the Coldneſs of ſuch a Husband*.] After the Words I have inſerted in the body of this Article, *Balzac* continues in this manner: 'Whereupon a *Signor Dottore*, who has 'been ſome Months in my Houſe, to whom I have 'communicated ſome of your Obſervations, deſires 'you to conſider, that the Women of thoſe Times 'were more modeſt, and more patient, than thoſe 'of our Time, and that if an *Orithya* of theſe 'Times had married a Husband as cold as the North 'Wind, ſhe would have accuſed him of Impotency 'the Day after her Wedding, and petitioned for a 'Divorce. However the *Athenian* Lady did not 'complain to the *Areopagites*, nor employ an Ad'vocate to plead the Law *de Frigidis*, nor live ill 'with *Boreas*, or otherwiſe with *Aquilo* (27).'

[*B*] Boreas *was very warm in his Love*.] *Balzac* may be allowed to joke on the Impatiency of modern Women; but he ought not to take the liberty to ſtrengthen his obſervations with the praiſes of *Orithya*'s Patience; for that Lady had no occaſion to exerciſe that quality. None, not *Jupiter* himſelf, ſurpaſſed the Wind *Boreas* in warmth of Conſtitution. Poor *Europa*, who was carried away by force, had no ſooner called upon him for his aſſiſtance, but ſhe retracted her Prayers: ſhe conſidered that the one was as good as the other, and that ſhe ſhould get nothing by the change. Thus ſhe complains, 'in the midſt of the Waves, on the back of her 'Lover, as *Nonnus* relates it in the firſt of his Dio'nyſiaca: O undæ, ô littora, mutæ undæ, ſurdaque littora, meas audite preces, meque huic ſubtrahite Tauro. Tuque, Borea, pennis me ſubleva tuis. At verò miſera, quem appellas, cujus imploras auxilium, ad quem confugis? nempe ad eum qui Nympham Orithyam rapuit, qui ſic effuſus eſt in venerem, ut magis nemo. —— *O* 'Waves, O Shores, dumb Waves, deaf Shores, bear 'my Prayers, and deliver me from this Bull. And 'thou* Boreas, *take me up on thy Wings. But poor 'Wretch whom do you call? Whoſe Aid do you ask? 'To whom do you fly? Even to him who raviſhed the 'Nymph* Orithya, *who is ſo prone to Venery, as none 'more.* And certainly what *Homer* ſays, in the twentieth Book of his *Iliad* (28), confirms theſe laſt Words of *Europa*: Erant Erichthonio Regi Dardaniæ Equæ ter mille, quæ circa paludes paſcebantur. Eas ut vidit Boreas, ut perſit, ut malus eum abſtulit amor. Equi ſpeciem induit, ſalitque feminas, & ex eis ſuſcepit pullos duodecim, currere ſic pernices, ut ſummas ariſtas non læderent (29).' But obſerve, that this Tranſlation is not literal. However it is true that *Homer* ſays, that *Boreas* fell in Love with *Erichthonius*'s Mares, and that, having aſſumed the ſhape of a Horſe, he covered them (that is ſome of them) and had twelve Colts by them. *Caſaubon* ſhould not have ſaid, that thoſe Mares did belong to *Dardanus* (30). Mr *Hoffman* has committed the ſame error. It has been ſaid expreſsly and particularly, that *Orithya* was very well ſatisfied with her Raviſher, and did not find him cruel; *Crudelem & Boream rapta Orithya negavit* (31). Be the Husband ſhe was married to as cold as you pleaſe, ſhe was ſoon brought to bed of Twins:

(28) *Verſe* 221.

(29) Notes ſur l'Ariſtée de Virgile, pag. 106. *Edit.* Lyons. 1668.

(30) Caſaubon in Athen. pag. 254.

(31) Propert. Eleg. xxvi. lib. ii.

Dum volat, arſerunt agitati fortius ignes,
Nec prius aërii curſus ſuppreſſit habenas
Quam Ciconum tenuit populos & mœnia raptor.
Illic & gelidi conjux Actæa tyranni
Et genitrix facta eſt, partuque enixa gemellos (32).

(32) Ovid. Metamor. lib. vi. ver. 709.

He flew, his Fires increaſing in his Flight;
Nor check'd his Chariot in it's airy Height,
Till now the Raviſher had reach'd the Walls
Of the cold Cicones, *where* Hebrus *falls.*
And there in time the bright Athenian *Dame*
The Mother of a double birth became:

His Fire increaſed by the ſwiftneſs of his flight; and therefore it is very likely that he was not long in his Paſſage; ſo that *Ovid* does not repreſent him too patient, when he ſuppoſes that the Marriage was not conſummated before they came to the Town where the Raviſher made his abode. But others aſſert that he did not tarry ſo long before he ſatisfied his Love. They pretend that as he flew over the Sea he ſpied a Plain covered with Flowers, which ſeemed fit to ſerve him for a Nuptial Bed, and that he made uſe of it for that purpoſe. Read what follows.

Hîc miſere rorem infeſtat crudelis, & aſper.
At prædo, & facilis, & rapta conjuge mitis.
Namque per aërias Ponti dum præterit oras
Vota ferens, vidit procul in convalle remota
Planitiem viridi late floreſcere campo.
Admonuit locus optatæ cum conjuge noctis.
Deſilit, ac molli lacrymantem amplexus in herba,
Expliciteque ſinus, munuſque implevit amantis.
Illa gravis oculos ab humo vix anxia tollens
Flebat, eam inſolito conjux ſolatur honore
His ego pro lacrymis florum, gratuſque memorque,
Nocturnos ſpargam rores, ea præmia ſunto.
Debeat hoc raptæ pontus memor Orithyiæ.
Subrifit, tenerumque genis ſuffudit honorem,
Læta viri dictis, & tanto munere conjux.
Ille novam ſenſit labi per pectora flammam,
Optatos repetens ſomnos, mollique quiete
Leniit accenſum complexu conjugis ignem.
Scilicet & Boreas calido contrarius Auſtro, &c (33).

(33) Joviānus Pontanus in Meteoris cap. de pruina & rore, fol. 113. verſo.

------- *This cruel wind and ſharp,*
Is dreadful enemy to gentle Dews,

and among others *Zetes* and *Calais*, whose History I shall give [*F*]. The *Megalopolitans* honoured him as their chief Deity (*d*). I speak of it in the Remarks, and likewise

(*d*) *See the Remark* [*C*], n. II.

But when, a Raviſher, h' had ſtol'n a Wife
Gentle and mild. - - - - - For as his airy Courſe,
Bearing his prize, o'er Pontus he purſu'd,
By chance he ſpy'd, in a retired vale,
A verdant Plain; the place ſo opportune
Preſenting to th' Enjoyment wiſh'd invites;
Quick he alights, and on the tender Graſs
Places the weeping Fair, unfold, her Charms,
And there performs the ardent Lover's part:
She anxious weeps, ſcarce lifting from the Ground
Her drooping Eyes; mean while the Husband ſtrives,
With promis'd Honours, to allay her Grief;
Theſe Flowers my Gratitude ſhall ever ſhore;
Then for theſe Tears I'll e'er with nightly Dews
Reward, and Pontus ever thankful ſhall
This benefit to raviſh'd Orithya owe.
Pleas'd with the Speech, and with a Boon ſo great,
The fair one ſmil'd, and ſtraight a modeſt Bluſh
O'erſpread her Cheeks; he felt new Flames ariſe
Within his Breaſt, and ſatiate now he ſeeks
Needful Repoſe, and, in a gentle Sleep,
Compos'd the Tumults of his amorous Thoughts.

Apollonius pretends that the Raviſher enjoyed *Orithya* on the Bank of a River in *Thrace* (34), and that he covered her with a Cloud (35). You muſt not think that the Poets have offended againſt Probability, in repreſenting the ſame God both very amorous and covered with Ice.

(34) *Called* Erginc.

(35) Apollon. Argon. lib. i. ver. 216.

(36) Ovid. Triſt. Eleg. ii. lib. i. ver. 29.

Nunc gelidus ſiccâ Boreas bacchatur ab Arcto (36).

—— and now
Comes frozen Boreas *raging from the North.*

(37) Silius Ital. lib. i.

Thracius hos Boreas ſcopulos immitia regna
Solus habet, ſemperque rigens nunc littora. ——
Atque ubi ſe terris glaciali fundit ab Arcto (37).

Now Thracian Boreas *ever frozen rules*
Theſe Rocks, inhoſpitable Realms; The Shores ——
When from the icy North he ſallying out
Spreads o'er the Earth. ——

(38) Claudian. de raptu Proſerp. lib. i. ver. 70.

Cum gravis armatur Boreas, glacieque minaci
Hiſpidus, & Getica concretus grandine pennas (38).

When dreadful Boreas *arms, all ſhagged o'er*
With horrid Ice, his Plumes congealed with Hail.

(39) *In the Remark* [*I*], *of the Article* ERMITE. No. VI.

Does not Hiſtory tell us, that Love reigns in the moſt icy Climates? In this reſpect all the Zones of the Earth are torrid, as I have ſaid elſewhere (39). *Why ſhould not* Boreas *be in Love, ſeeing* Neptune *in the midſt of all his Waves, and* Pluto *in the abode of the Manes, have been likewiſe in Love? Why ſhould not he feel the effects of that Paſſion, ſeeing* Polyphemus *was ſtruck with it in his Cave?*

Omnia vincit Amor.

Love conquers all; nothing can reſiſt him. He ſports no leſs with Lions than with Sparrows, and triumphs in the Euxine *Sea as well as in* France. Propertius *has expreſſed it in few words.*

Hic Deus & terras, & maria alta domat.

This God commands both Earth and Sea.

(40) Note[a] for l'Ariſtée de Virgile, pag. 97.

(41) Id. ibid. pag. 110, 111.

And Guarini *in the firſt Scene of the firſt Act of his Paſtor Fido* (40). The Author whom I quote relates the whole Paſſage of *Paſtor Fido*; I refer my Reader thither. This Spark, adds he (41) ſpeaking of *Boreas, is of a good Temper. Tho' he burns with Love, yet he is familiar with Cold and Snow:*

Scit nivibus ſervare fidem:

And as *Virgil* ſays,

Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurit.

A proof of *Boreas*'s Senſibility in point of Love may be gathered from his fury, which made him daſh a Miſtreſs to pieces againſt a Rock, becauſe ſhe had preferred *Pan* before him. I will quote the ſame Author again, ſeeing I muſt criticiſe him in ſome things. *Orithya*, ſays he, did wiſely (42), not to ſhew any Grief for having been raviſhed, 'for ſhe 'had to do with a ſtrange Raviſher, who might have 'daſhed her againſt ſome Rock, as he did the Fair 'Pitys, according to *Pauſanias* (43). Hear what 'Achilles Bocchius ſays of it, in his Emblems.' He ſets down the Verſes of *Bocchius* at length; you will find the Senſe of them in this Paſſage of a Commentator upon *Propertius*: 'Vere amica *Pinus Arcadio* 'Deo, utpote quem Boreæ amatori item ſuo, tunc 'quum puella adhuc eſſet, longe præferret, unde 'Thrax ille injuriæ impatiens deprehenſam forte 'ſolam ſpatioſo campo ſaxo allîſit, quam infeliciter 'moribundam exceptam intra gremium ſuum tellus 'in arborem cognominem commutavit, cujus fron-'dibus poſtea tempora præcinctus ſemper ſpectatus 'eſt Arcadius Deus. Quæ fabula exſtat apud Con-'ſtantinum Geoponic. XI. & tangitur à Nonno in 'Dionyſ. (44). —— Pinus *was truly a Friend to the* 'God Pan; *for when ſhe was very young, ſhe preferred* 'him to her other Lover Boreas; *at which Injury the* 'Thracian *was ſo provoked, that, catching her one* 'Day alone in a ſpacious Plain, he daſhed her againſt 'a Rock: the Earth receiving the unhappy dying Maid 'into her boſom, changed her into a Tree of the ſame 'Name, with the Boughs whereof the* Arcadian *God* 'was ever after ſeen crowned. *This Fable is extant* 'in Conſtantine, Geoponic. XI, *and is touched on* 'by Nonnus *in* Dionyſ.' If I would ſay with Mr *Hofman* that *Boreas* was in Love with the beautiful Youth *Hyacinthus*, who was alſo beloved by *Apollo*, I ſhould have a ſecond Example of the raging Jealouſy of that Raviſher of *Orithya*; for every body knows that *Apollo*'s Rival was ſo enraged, that he had not the preference, that he killed *Hyacinthus*, by driving back upon his Head the Quoit, which *Apollo* had thrown: But Mr *Hofman* is miſtaken; for it was the Wind *Zephyrus*, and not the Wind *Boreas*, that did this (45). Note, that this Writer commits another fault in calling *Orithya*'s Father *Erechtonius*, inſtead of *Erechtheus*.

(42) Id. ibid. pag. 102.

(43) *It is not true that* Pauſanias *mentions it.*

(44) Douza filius in hunc verſus Propertii Eleg. 18. lib. i. vers. 20. & Arcadio Pinus amata Deo

(45) *See* Paſiphatus cap. xxvii. Lucian in Dialog. Mercurii & Apollinis. Philoſtrat. in Hyacintho. Tzetzes Chil. i. cap. xii.

[*F*] Zetes *and* Calais, *whoſe Hiſtory I ſhall give.*] They were Twins, and, as *Ovid* ſays, the firſt born Children of *Orithya*, but, as others (46) ſay, they were born after their Siſters *Chione*, *Cleonia*, and *Cleopatra*. They were in the company of the *Argonauts*, and did their Brother-in-law *Phineus* very great Service (47); they drove away the *Harpies* which tormented him cruelly; for they took away all the Meat that was brought upon his Table, and if they left any thing, they infected it with an horrible ſtench. They purſued them as far as the Iſlands *Strophades*, and would have deſtroyed them, if an unknown Voice from the Gods had not forbid it (48). 'In the Games celebrated by *Aeg-'ſius* the Son of *Peleus*, at which all the *Argo-'nautæ* were preſent, *Zethes* and *Calais* obtained 'the Victory: *In Indis quos fecit Ateſtus Pelei fi-'lius, vicerunt Zetes Aquilonis filius dolichodrome, 'Calais ejuſdem filius diaulo.*' I take this from the Notes on *Virgil*'s *Ariſteus*. The *Latin* Paſſage is taken from *Hyginus*, Chapter 273. 'They were 'killed by *Hercules, ſays the Author of theſe Notes*, 'in the Iſle of *Tenos* at the Funeral of King *Pelias*, 'for having taken the part of *Typhis*, Captain of the 'Ship *Argo*, againſt *Telamon*, who would have had 'them wait for *Hercules*, who was gone from them 'to ſeek his dear *Hylas*. The Gods being moved 'at their Death changed them into Winds, which 'commonly precede the riſing of the Dog Star a-'bout eight Days; hence it is that they are called 'πρόδρομοι, that is, Forerunners. Nevertheleſs *Hy-'ginus* ſays in his fourteenth Chapter, that they 'were buried, and that their Sepulchre is ſeen to 'move at the blowing of their Father (49). We find ſome other Reaſons for the Anger, which made *Hercules*

(46) Scholiaſt. Apollon. in lib. ver. 211. *See alſo* Apollodorus, lib. iii. pag. 246.

(47) *He had been married to* Cleopatra.

(48) Ex Valer. Flacco, lib. 4.

(49) Notes ſur l'Ariſtée de Virgile, pag. 141. *The Author took this from* Vigenere *upon* Philoſtratus *in* Gluncus Ponticus, pag. 741, 742. *of the Iſt Tome in 4to. Apollonius is the firſt Author who mentions this.* Argon. lib. i. ver. 1300, &c.

likewise of the Worship which the *Athenians* paid him (*e*). The Circumstances of *Orithya*'s Rape are variously reported [G]. The anonymous Author, who published a *French* Translation of *Virgil*'s *Aristeus* (*f*) with Notes, in the Year 1668, has collected many things concerning the History, and Qualities of This Wind, and particularly concerning the Violence peculiar to it, which *Ovid* describes so well (*g*). He, who calls it *the Author of Shipwracks* (*b*), would keep that Epithet for other Winds, if he was to represent what passes in the *Channel*, and on the Coasts of the *Netherlands*. It is not the North Wind, but the North-West, and South

(*e*) *See the same Remark*, n. III.

(*f*) *It is an* Episode *of the* Georgics.

(*g*) Ovid. Metam. lib. vi. circa fin.

(*b*) *See* Balzac, Entretien xxxvi. pag. 351.

Hercules kill them (50); but there is no mention made of a thing which raised his Jealousy, and perhaps provoked him more than any thing else. — *Propertius* says that those two Brothers perceiving that *Hylas*, the favourite of *Hercules*, was going by himself to look for a Fountain, followed him, and caressed him passionately (51).

Callimachus mentions three Daughters of *Boreas*, who carried Offerings to the Isle of *Delos* (52). He calls them *Oupis*, *Loxo*, and *Hecaërga*. It is said also that the Rape of *Orithya* is not the only Act of that kind which *Boreas* committed; it is pretended that he carried away *Chloris* the Daughter of *Arcturus*, and that he had a Daughter by her. ' Memoriæ ' proditum est à Cleanthe in primo libro de moribus, Boream rapuisse Chlorim quoque Arcturi filiam, atque illam in collem Niphatem asportasse, qui postea thorus Boreæ vocatus fuit, antequam ' diceretur Caucasus, de qua filiam suscepit Hyrpacem (53). —— *It is recorded by* Cleanthes, *in the first book* de Moribus, *that* Boreas *took away* Chloris, *the Daughter of* Arcturus, *and carried her up to the Hill* Niphates, *which was afterwards called* Boreas's-*Bed, before it was called* Caucasus, *and by her he had a Daughter called* Hyrpace.' See the Remark [*H*].

(50) *See* Natalis Comes, Mythol. lib. viii. cap. xi. pag. 863, 864, *who had it from the* Scholiast *upon* Apollonius, lib. i.

(51) Propert. Eleg. xx. lib. i.

(52) Callimach. hymn. in Delum. ver. 292.

(53) Natalis Comes, Mythol. lib. viii. cap. xi. p. 864.

[G] *The Circumstances of* Orithya's *Rape are variously reported.* Some say that she was on the Bank of the River *Ilissus*, when she was carried away; it is the opinion of *Apollonius* (54), *Pausanias* (55), and *Dionysius Periegetes*. ' Τζετζες follows this opinion in his *Chiliades*. Yet *Chœrilus* says, that ' it was on the Banks of the Fountain *Cephissus*, ' and *Simonides* near the River *Brilissus* (56). The Author, from whom I borrow this Passage, took it from *Natalis Comes*. He should have observed that the Original does not say that *Brilissus* was a River. There are only these words in it. *Simonides tamen Poëta non ab Ilisso, sed à Brilisso, raptam fuisse Orithyam putavit* (57). —— *Yet* Simonides *the Poet was of opinion, that* Orithya *was taken, not from* Ilissus, *but from* Brilissus. This is taken from the *Scholiast* upon *Apollonius*. These are his Words: τὴν δὲ Ὠρείθυιαν Σιμωνίδης ἀπὸ Βριλισσοῦ φησὶν ἁρπαγῆναι, καὶ τὴν Σιμωνίδειαν φύσιν τῆς Θρᾴκης ἐπεχθῆναι (58). *But* Simonides *says that* Orithya *was taken from* Brilissus *and carried to the* Sarpedonian *Rock in* Thrace. It is very likely that his *Brilissus* is the Mountain *Brilessus*, mentioned by *Thucydides* (59), *Strabo* (60), and *Pliny* (61), and which was in *Attica*. It is the same *Scholiast* who informs us of *Chœrilus*'s Opinion. Χοιρίλος δέ, says he (62), ἁρπασθῆναι φησὶν αὐτὴν ἄνθη ἀμέλγουσαν ὑπὸ τὰς τῆ Κηφισσῷ πηγάς. *But* Chœrilus *says, that she was taken, as she was gathering Flowers, by the Fountain of* Cephissus. By these last Words might be understood the Spring of the River *Cephissus* near *Lilea* in *Phocis* (63), but it is better to understand them of a particular Fountain, called *Cephissus*, near *Athens* (64). We have not yet said all that concerns the different accounts of Authors concerning the place where the Rape was committed. *Plato* observes that there was a Tradition, that *Orithya* was carried away from the *Areopagus*. Ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου· λέγεται γὰρ αὖ καὶ τόδε ὁ λόγος ὡς ἐκεῖθεν ἁλλ' ἢ ἐνθένδε ἁρπασθῆ. (65). *Or out of the* Areopagus. *For there is another Tradition, that she was not taken from this Place, but from thence.* He had just before touched upon the most general Opinion, *viz.* that *Ilissus* was the place from whence she was carried away. We must not take for a new Opinion what Mr. *Guillet* says, that *Boreas* stole away the young *Orithya* in that part of *Athens*, called *Agra* or *Agræ*, and that it was the first time the Goddess *Diana* went a Hunting (66). The Altar of *Boreas*, and the Temple of *Diana Agræa*, stood there on the Banks of the *Ilissus*.

(54) Apollon. Argon. lib. i. ver. 215.

(55) Pausanias, lib. i. pag. 17.

(56) Notes for l'Aristée de Virgile p. 101, 102.

(57) Natalis Comes, Mythol. p. 864.

(58) Scholiast. Apollon. in Lib. i. ver. 211.

(59) Thucyd. lib. ii.

(60) Strabo, lib. ix. pag. 275.

(61) Plin. lib. iv. cap. vii. p. 423.

(62) Scholiast. Apollon. lib. i. ver. 211.

(63) Ὁ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα ἔχει τὰς πηγάς. *Here are the Fountains of the River* Pausan. lib. x. pag 351.

(64) Plinius lib. iv. cap. vii. *see also* Aulus Gellius lib. xviii. cap. x.

(65) Plato in Phædro, pag. 229.

(66) Guillet, Athenes ancienne & nouvelle, pag. 264.

This may be inferred from two Passages compared together, one of *Plato* (67), and the other of *Pausanias* (68).

The different Reports concerning *Orithya*'s Employment are these. Some say in general that she was diverting herself (69); others that she was gathering Flowers (70); others that she was going over the *Ilissus* (71); others that she was dancing; others that she was bathing. *Plato* insinuates the last Opinion very clearly (72); and we find the fourth in expres Words in these Verses of *Apollonius*.

Ἔσ χατιὴν ἠθήνης δυσχείμερον· ἔνθ' ἄρα τὴν γε
Θρῃκίῳ βορέης ἀνερίψατο κικλήσκουσι,
Ἰλισσοῦ περάσασα χορῷ ἔνι δινεύουσαν (73).

In ultima intempesta Thracia, quo iftam
Thracius Aquilo rejecerat è Cecropia,
Cum se propter Ilissum in choro circumagebat.

To the remote and rigid Climes of Thrace
The fair, by Thracian Boreas, *was convey'd*
From Attica, *where on* Ilissus *banks*
He found her dancing.

(67) Plato in Phædro pag. 229.

(68) Pausanias, lib. i. pag. 17.

(69) Id. ibid.

(70) *See above*, Citation (62).

(71) Apollon. lib. iii. pag. 247.

(72) Plato in Phædro, pag. 229.

(73) Apollonius lib. i. ver. 213. pag. 24.

I only quote this Passage to shew the rashness of the Historian of another *Apollonius*. He supposes that his Hero, censuring the *Athenians*, told them, that, if *Orithya* had danced, she would not have inspired any Love. That Passage of *Philostratus* is curious enough to deserve that I should set down the *Latin* Translation of it. ' Oportet *ventos* venerari, præsertim cum locii vestri sint, & pro vobis maxime spirent, neque Boream affinem vestrum, qui maxime ventorum omnium masculus est, fœminam facere decet, neque enim ipse Boreas Orythiam amasset, si eam vidisset tripudiantem (74). ' —— *You ought to reverence the Winds, especially* ' *because they are your Allies, and blow mostly for* ' *you, nor is it fit that* Boreas *your Kinsman, who is* ' *the most Masculine of all Winds, be made a Wo-* ' *man; for* Boreas *himself would not have loved* Orithya, *if he had seen her dancing.*' *Artus Thomas, Sieur d'Embri*, who wrote a Commentary upon that Work of *Philostratus*, should have informed us of the opposition there is between the discourse of *Apollonius* the Poet, and that of *Apollonius* the Philosopher. It had been more reputable for him to observe the Impertinences of the latter, than to tell us, ' *That some make* Boreas *the Son of* Astreus, ' *and others say that he was a* Thracian. II. *That* Simonides *calls the River, near which* Orithya *was ravished*, Brilissus (75). Here are two Faults; for to be the Son of *Astreus*, and to be of *Thrace*, are not contraries, and *Simonides* does not say that *Brilissus* was a River. It would be to no purpose to say, that *Apollonius*'s design being to reform the *Athenians*, he would have been to blame if he had gone about to refute the Stories which they related of *Boreas*; I say such a Reason ought not to be alledged, seeing there was a Medium which might easily have been kept, between refuting ridiculous Traditions, and supposing them to be true. He should not have mentioned them; a Philosopher, who was persuaded that a Refutation of those idle Stories would offend his hearers, ought to have said nothing of them. But what a disorder is this! The *Athenians*, so ingenious, so polite, so knowing, so acute a People, suffer themselves to be persuaded that the Daughter of one of their Kings made a Wind in love with her, that she lay with him, that she conceived by him; that That Marriage occasioned an Alliance between them and that Wind, and that this Ally proved very serviceable to them, when they implored his assistance in the War against the *Persians*. They

(74) Philostrat. in Vita Apollonii lib. iv. pag. 147.

(75) Artus Thomas Sieur d'Embri *in his Annotations upon* Apollonius's *Life, translated into* French *by* Vigenere, Tom. I. pag 801.

South-West Winds, that are feared there. Those are the two Authors of Shipwracks there. I make this Observation to shew that Poets, who are too servile Imitators of Antiquity, give us often Descriptions not well suited to their Country. I must add, to what I have already said, an Observation on a Passage of *Natalis Comes* [*H*], which I have quoted at the End of the Remark [*F*] of this Article.

were so persuaded of all these things, that they confirmed them by public Decrees, by erecting an Altar, and by the celebration of an Anniversary. I make this observation, lest it should be objected to me, that the Rape of *Orithya* was looked upon at *Athens* as a poetical Fiction, and a witty Conceit. That Objection is absolutely false. All that I have said concerning the Wind *Boreas*, was an Article of Faith among the *Athenians*. I am apt to believe, that at first it was only a poetical Fancy sung about the Streets; but at length it became part of the Public Religion. The same might be said of the other parts of the Pagan Religion, and we may observe upon this occasion a remarkable difference between Mahometism and Paganism. An Impostor founded Mahometism; it was his design. But Paganism was formed out of the witty Conceits of some Poets, who had no design to sanctifie their Fictions, but invented them only for amusement. It is of them, it might have been said, *Hæ nugæ seria ducunt in mala.* -- *These trifles lead into serious mischief.* When once those Fooleries came to be looked on as a point of Faith, they never after lost their credit. It is in this respect that the *Egyptians* might have said to the Greeks, Ω Σόλων, Σόλων, Ελληνες αὶ παῖδες ἐστε ---------- νεοῖς (sic) τὰς ψυχὰς πάντες (76). *O Solon, Solon, ye Greeks are always Children, your minds are always young.* But the Greeks might yet better reproach them with the same thing in that respect:

(76) Plato in Timæo, p. 1043. C.

> Quis nescit Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
> Ægyptus portenta colat —— (77).
>
> *How* Egypt, *mad with Superstition grown,*
> *Makes Gods of Monsters, but too well is known.*
>
> DRYDEN.

(77) Juvenal. Sat. xv. init.

And indeed we do not find any Author among them that deserves the civility, which a *Roman* shewed to *Diodorus Siculus*, of whom he said, that he was the first among the *Greeks* that left off fooling (78).

(78) Apud Græcos desiit nugari Dio orus. *Plin. in Præfat. p.* 2c.

I do not pretend that all the Athenians were so simple, as to believe those idle Stories. I remember the answer, which *Plato* put in the Mouth of *Socrates*, who was asked whether he believed that the Tradition of the Rape of *Orithya* was true: ἀλλ' εἰπὲ πρὸς Διός, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ σὺ τοῦτο τὸ μυθολογημα πεισθῆναι ἀληθὲς εἶναι: *sed dic per Jovem Socrates, tune hanc fabulam putas veram fuisse* (79)? If I disbelieved it as wise Men do, answered he, I should not be absurd: Ἀλλ' εἰ ἀπιστοίην ὥσπερ οἱ σοφοὶ, οὐκ ἂν ἄτοπος εἴην (80). *Jam si non putarem ut sapientes absurdus non essem.* It appears by these words on the one side, that the most knowing Persons judged rightly of it; and on the other, that they explained their Thoughts cautiously upon that Subject in a public Work. However, a great many *Athenians*, Men of Parts and good Sense in all other things, and much more capable to deceive others than to be deceived, believed honestly what was told them of *Boreas* and *Orithya*. This is a matter of Wonder, and affords a good Moral Reflexion about the Weakness of Humane Understanding. Let us judge of the Ancients by the Moderns. At this day, in *Rome*, where there is so much Wit, and so much Prudence, they commonly believe most of the Traditions, upon which the Worship of some particular Chapels is grounded. Some few thinking Men give no credit to them. We must argue in this manner as to ancient *Greece*.

(79) Plato in Phædro p. 1211. A.

(80) Id. ibid.

[*H*] *An Observation on a Passage of* Natalis Comes.] We have seen (81) that That Author asserts, that *Boreas* stole away *Chloris*, Daughter *Arcturus*, and carried her to the top of the Mountain *Niphates*, which was afterwards called the bed of *Boreas*; and that he had a Daughter by her named *Hyrpace*. *Natalis Comes* pretends that *Cleanthes* has related this in his first Book *de Moribus*: but here is what *Plutarch* says (82). Mount *Niphates* was called the Bed of *Boreas*, from the time that this God carried thither *Chloris*, the Daughter of *Arcturus* (83). He had a Son by her called *Harpax*, who succeeded King *Heniochus*. This Mountain was afterward called *Caucasus*, because *Saturn*, taking his refuge there, after the War of the Giants, for fear of the Menaces of his Son, killed a Shepherd there, whose name was *Caucasus*. He was driven from that *Asylum*, and thrown into *Tartarus*. *Jupiter* threw him there, and ordered the Mountain to be called *Caucasus*, in honour of that Shepherd, and fastened *Prometheus* to it. This is what *Cleanthes* has related in the third Book of the *Theomachia*. It is not certain that *Plutarch* cited him in what relates to the Wind *Boreas*; so that *Natalis Comes* is faulty in several Respects.

(81) *See above, Citation* (58).

(82) Plutarch. de Fluviis, pag. 18.

(83) *It was the River called afterwards* Phasis.

BORGARUTIUS (PROSPER), an *Italian* Physician, lived in the XVIth Century. He published some Works, the first of which was a *Treatise of Anatomy*. He composed it in his Native Language; and finding it met with so good a Reception, that the Professors of Anatomy in the Universities of *Italy* scrupled not to use his very words, he resolved to translate it into *Latin*, with the Addition of several new Observations, which he had made while he taught Anatomy publickly at *Padua*. He not only communicated to the Public the Discoveries he had made by Dissection of Bodies, but studied Medicines also, and printed something on that Subject, though he had sworn never to have any thing to do with the Booksellers [*A*]. He took a Journey to the Court of *France* in the Year 1567; and as he

[*A*] *He published something* ------ *though he had sworn never to have any thing to do with the Booksellers*] The trouble he was involved in during the printing of his Book of *Anatomy*, and the Vexation he met with in the Printers Work, made him, in a Fret, take such an Oath, but, when he was got from under the Press, he broke his word. He compares himself in this to those Women, who, in the Pains of Childbirth, protest they will never expose themselves to the like any more; yet notwithstanding when the Pain is over forget their Protestations: ‘ Quod accidere universis parturientibus solet, mihi plane contigisse videtur, ut dum in labore quidem versantur se jurent amplius non parituras: postea vero extra discrimen positæ, rursus & concipiunt & pariunt. Nam quod haud ita pridem Contemplationem Anatomicam, laboriosissimum partum, exarandam in publicam Studiosorum commoditatem curarem; ac partim quidem immensis laboribus fractus, partim præli difficultates ac molestias summas pertæsus, constituissem, ac propemodum apud me dejerâssem, non futuram mihi amplius rem cum Typographis. Postea quam fœtus jam editus est in lucem, violare jusjurandum compulsus fui; fabricam Pharmacopolitereon (ut interim de meo pestilentis morbi Tractatu, ac Methodo de Morbo Gallico verba facere non curem) duodecim classibus digestam, publice educavi, ac meo quidem lacte tam diu sustuli, donec hinc inde seipsa audaciter evolavit

he writes himself *Medicus Regius*, the King's Physician, I conjecture that he obtained this Title at that time. He found at *Paris* the Manuscript of the *Great Surgery of Vesalius*, and bought it, and published it at *Venice* (*a*) in the Year 1569 in 8vo [*B*]. His Epistle Dedicatory, dated from *Padua* the thirteenth of *September* 1568, affords me this Information.

(*a*) Ex officinâ Valgrisianâ.

(1) Prosper Borgarutius Epist. Dedicat. Chirurgiæ Magnæ.

' evolavit (1).' He adds that his Zeal for the good of the Public obliged him to break his Oath, for he saw that the Faults committed in the Composition of Remedies stood in need of Correction, and that he could employ himself therein to good purpose. I know not whether he published the four Books he promised *de Morborum Puerorum curandi ratione* (2). They are not mentioned in *Lindenius renovatus*, nor in the *Epitome* of the *Bibliotheque* of *Gesner* (3), nor in the Supplement to it; but that is not sufficient reason to conclude that he did not publish that Work; for he has published some others which these Authors do not mention.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) *There he is called* Bergarutius *instead of* Borgarutius.

Every body knows the Story of the Woman, who made the Protestations above hinted at, who notwithstanding was no sooner delivered, than she desired that the blessed Candle, which was burning on the Table, might be put out: for says she, *it may serve me another time*. One cannot here properly apply the *Italian* Proverb, *Passato il pericolo, gabbato il Santo*; when the Danger's over, send the Saint a grazing. It is well known that there are particular and indispensible Reasons which very justly discharge a Woman from any thing she may have sworn on such an Occasion. It is not the same thing in respect to Vows made at Sea in a Storm, which are commonly forgot on Shore.

There are no Authors so subject as Poets, to forget that they solemnly promised to print no more.

O! combien l'homme est inconstant, divers,
Foible, legér, tenant mal sa parole,
J'avois juré, même en assez beaux vers,
De renoncer à tout Conte frivole.
Et quand juré? c'est ce qui me confond:
Depuis deux jours j'ai fait cette promesse.
Puis fiez-vous à Rimeur qui repond
D'un seul moment. Dieu ne fit la sagesse
Pour les cerveaux qui hantent les neuf Sœurs.
How light, and inconstant, is Man,
How apt of his Promise to fail!
I have sworn, in the best Verse I can,
To meddle no more with a Tale.
Sworn! when? ay, that confounds me sore,
'Tis two days since I made that Oath,
Henceforth who'll trust a Rymer more,
That for one Moment pawns his troth.
Wisdom by Heaven was never made
T'adorn a Poet's giddy Head.

These are the Words of the ingenious *la Fontaine*, in the beginning of one of his Tales (4). Mr *Menage* bestowed two Chapters (5), to prove, that Poets after they have swore to write no more, do still write on (6).

(4) La Fontaine au Conte de la Clochette, Tom. I. pag. 192.

(5) *In the* Anti-baillet, Tom. II. *chap. cxxxii, &c.*

(6) *See the Index to* Anti-baillet *at the word* Poets.

[*B*] *He found at* Paris *the Manuscript of the great Surgery of* Vesalius —— *and published it at* Venice, *in the Year* 1569 *in* 8vo.] He corrected and digested it into order, and made it, in a manner, his own Work; as he says in the Title Page.

Andreæ Vesalii, Bruxellensis, Philippi
Hispaniarum Regis medici,
Chirurgia Magna, in septem libros digesta,
In quâ nihil desiderari potest, quod ad perfectam
atque integram, de curandis humani Corporis
malis, methodum pertineat.
Ab Excellentissimo Philosopho, ac Medico Regio,
Prospero Borgarutio, recognita, emendata, ac in lucem
edita.
Formæ etiam Instrumentorum, quibus Chirurgi
utuntur, his in libris apprime descriptæ sunt.
Venetiis, Ex Officina Valgrisianâ. 1569.

BORRHAUS (MARTIN), Professor of Divinity at *Basil*, was first known by the Name of *Cellarius*. He was born at *Stutgard* in the Duchy of *Wittemberg* in the Year 1499 (*a*); and was a Disciple of *Capnio* (*b*). He took his Degree of Master in Philosophy at *Heidelberg* (*c*), and going afterwards to *Wittemberg*, he there acquired the Friendship of *Melanchthon*, with whom he had already some Acquaintance at *Tubingen* (*d*). As he wanted neither Parts nor Learning, he had a great many Scholars, by which he got a deal of Money. He was admitted to that Employment on *Melanchthon*'s Recommendation. He suffered himself to be miserably seduced by *Stubner*, one of the first Founders of Anabaptism, and laboured with much Zeal to establish that Sect (*e*). He had a Conference with *Luther* in the Year 1522 [*A*], wherein he shewed a great deal of Fanaticism. Being gone into *Prussia* in the Year 1525, he was imprisoned there by order of the Prince; yet he went on, and wrote several Books to support his Errors (*f*). But when he saw

(*a*) Konig, Bibl. pag. 226.

(*b*) Frider. Spanhemius de origine & progressu Anabapt. n. 2.

(*c*) Hoornbeck, summa Controv. pag. 356.

(*d*) Camerar in vita Melanchthonis, pag. 48.

(*e*) Ex eodem ibid. pag. 47, 48.

(*f*) Id. pag. 47.

[*A*] *He had a Conference with* Luther, *in the Year* 1522.] The first fury of Anabaptism broke out at *Zwiccaw*, where *Nicolas Storch*, *Mark Stubner*, and *Thomas Munzer*, set up for Prophets, and boasted that they frequently had Conversation with GOD. They drew a great number of Hearers after them; for they promised that the new Reign of the Messiah would soon come. All this while *Luther* lay concealed; but he was informed of the great stir of those Fanatics, and of the Progress they made at *Wittemberg*, where they had also staggered *Melanchthon* (1). As for our *Cellarius*, they gained him intirely, and he became as zealous as any of them. ' Non paucos in suam ' sententiam perducebat (*Marcus Stubnerus*) quo- ' rum caput fuit Martinus Cellarius, qui istis per- ' tinacissimè diu sane adhæsit, & causam hanc egit ' atque defendit (2).' *Luther* leaving his retreat came to *Wittemberg* in the Month of *March* 1522, and stopped the progress of those Men by his Sermons. Nay, their Disciples heard him with great Veneration; but as soon as *Stubner*, who was gone from *Wittemberg* about some business, came back again, they adhered to him as before, and encouraged him to maintain his Opinions. *Cellarius* especially exhorted him to it (3). *Stubner* desired a Conference with *Luther*, and at last a Day and Hour was appointed for that purpose. He came to the Assignation accompanied with *Cellarius* and another; *Luther* had only *Melanchthon* with him. You will see in the *Latin* Passage recited below, that *Cellarius* shewed more Passion than *Stubner*, and how those Fanatics left *Wittemberg* the same day, and retired to *Chemberg*, from whence they wrote a Letter full of Curses to *Luther*. ' Audivit Lu- ' therus placide narrantem Marcum sua. Cum di- ' cendi finem feciſſet, nihil contra illa adeo absur- ' da & futilia disserendum ratus Lutherus, hoc mo- ' do

(1) *See* Seckendorf, Histor. Lutheran. lib. i. p. 193.

(2) Camerarius in vita Melanchthon. pag. 47.

(3) Inque omnibus maxime & ardentissime M. Cellarius. *Id. ibid. pag.* 506

saw that his Sect received great checks daily, and that the Hopes they had given of the Renovation of all things proved false, he was converted, and retired to *Basil* in the Year 1536 (g). He not only quitted Anabaptism, but also the Name of *Cellarius*, and took upon him the Name of *Borrhaus*. He married, and applied himself some time to a Trade for a Livelihood (b). At last he was admitted into the number of the Professors of the University; he taught Rhetoric first, and afterwards Divinity. He wrote some Books [B], and died of the Plague at *Basil* in the Year 1564 (i).

(g) Hoornbeeck, ubi supra, pag. 355. *See also* Camerarius, ubi supra, pag. 48.

(b) Victûs causâ fenestrario opificio se aliquando accinxit. — — *He followed the Trade of a Glazier some time for a Livelihood.* Hornb. ib pag. 356.

(i) Id. ibid.

' do monuit; viderent quid agerent. Nihil eorum quæ commemorassent sacris literis niti, commentaque esse cogitationum curiosarum, aut etiam fallacis & fraudulenti spiritus deliras & pernicioſas subjectiones. Ibi Cellarius & voce & gestibus vesanis, cum & solum pedibus & propositam mensulam manibus feriret, exclamare & indignari, ausum esse Lutherum suspicari tale aliquid de divino homine. At Marcus paulo sedatior, ut scias, inquit, Lutere, me spiritu Dei prædictum esse, ego quid in animo tuo conceperis sum indicaturus, idque est: *To incipere inclinari ad hæc ut mecum doctrinam veram esse credas.* Cum Luterus, ut ipse postea dixit, istam dedita opera sententiam cogitando esset complexus: *Interpret te Deus Satana:* Post hæc plus verborum faciendum Luterus non putavit, & minantes gloriantesque eos dimisit, ac nescio quid pollicentes de mirabilibus effectionibus, quibus probaturi sua essent, cum hoc modo dixisset: *Is Deus quem ego veneror & colo facilè vestra numina, ne quid tale efficiatur, cœrcebit*; eo die oppido illi excesserunt, & Chembergo, distante passibus amplius millibus quinque, literas plenas maledictis & execrationibus ad Lutherum miserunt (4). —— Luther *patiently heard* Marcus *lay down his Doctrine. When he had done*, Luther, *not thinking proper to dispute against such absurd and empty stuff, only gave them this Admonition, to take care what they did. That none of those things, they had laid down, were founded on Scripture, that they were the Devices of curious Minds, or rather the pernicious Suggestions of a deceitful and lying Spirit. At that* Cellarius, *with all the Extravagance of Gesture as well as Voice, stamping, beating the Table, and exclaiming, testified his Indignation, that* Luther *should suspect such a thing of the divine Man. But* Marcus, *who was a little more sedate, said to* Luther, *to let you see that I am endued with the Spirit of God, I will tell you what you have now in your Thoughts; and that is,* you begin to incline to believe my Doctrine to be true. *When* Luther, *as he said himself afterwards, had on purpose fixed his Thoughts on this Sentence*; God rebuke thee Satan: *After this* Luther *thought not fit to say any more, but let them go threatning and boasting, and promising to prove their Doctrine by I know not what Miracles, to which he only replied,* the God, whom I fear and worship, will easily restrain your God from bringing any such thing to pass; *the same Day they went out of the Town, and sent* Luther *a Letter from* Chemberg, *about five Miles distant, full of Curses and Maledictions.*

(4) Id. ibid. pag. 51, 52.

(5) Præter scripta logica & mathematica libris aliquot commentarius in Vetus Testamentum & Ecclesiæ Dei commendavit. *Spanhemius de orig. & progr. Anabapt. n.* 2.

(6) Hoornbeeck summ. Controv. pag. 356, *makes mention of it.*

(7) Konig, in Bibloth. vet. & nova, pag. 126.

[B] *He wrote some Books.*] He published Notes on *Aristotle*'s Politics in the Year 1545. A Commentary on *Aristotle*'s Rhetoric in the Year 1551. A Commentary on the Pentateuch in the Year 1557. One upon *Isaiah* and the *Revelations* in the Year 1561. One on *Job* and *Ecclesiastes* in the Year 1664. I have not seen what he wrote on Logic and the Mathematics (5), nor his Commentary on the Book of *Judges*, and on the Book of *Kings* (6). *Konig* ascribes to him a Philosophical Work divided into three Books, *de censura veri & falsi* (7).

BORRI (Joseph Francis), in *Latin Burrhus*, a famous Chymist, Quack, and Heretic in the XVIIth Century, was a *Milanese* (a). He finished his Studies in the Seminary at *Rome* [A], where the Jesuits admired him as a Prodigy for his Memory and Capacity. He applied himself afterwards to the Court of *Rome*, but that did not hinder him from making several Discoveries in Chymistry. He plunged himself into the most extravagant Debaucheries, and in the Year 1654 was obliged to take refuge in a Church. A little while after he set up for a religious Man, and privately scattered certain visionary Notions [B]. He communicated to his Confidents the Revelations which he boasted he had received: but after the Death of *Innocent* X, finding that the new Pope *Alexander* VII renewed the Tribunals, and caused more care to be taken of every thing, he despaired of having time sufficient to encrease the Number of his Followers, as his Design required; and therefore he left *Rome*, and returned to *Milan*. He acted the Devotee there, and by that means gained Credit with several People, whom he caused to perform certain pious Exercises, which had a great Appearance of a spiritual Life. He engaged the Members of his new Congregation, to take an Oath of Secrecy to him; and when he found them confirmed in the Belief of his extraordinary Mission, he prescribed to them certain Vows by the Suggestion of his Angel, as he pretended. One of those Vows was that of Poverty, for the Performance whereof he caused all the Money which every one had, to be consigned to himself. The

(a) *See the Remark* [I].

[A] *He finished his Studies in the Seminary at* Rome.] The Author of his Life has omitted a Circumstance, which well deserved to be mentioned. I shall give it in the Words of a Memorial which came to my hands from Mr *Baudrand* the Geographer. ' *Borri*, being in the Seminary of ' the Jesuits, raised a Sedition against them, and ' shut himself up with others for three days, so ' that they were forced to send for the *Barig*, or ' Grand Provost, with his Officers to bring *Borri* ' and the other Scholars to Reason. In the Year ' 1653, he was Secretary to the Marquis *Mirogli* ' Resident of the Archduke of *Inspruc* at *Rome*, ' where I saw him at that time, as also in ' 1654, but there was no talk of his Heresies; in ' the Year 1655 he went to *Inspruc*, and afterwards to *Milan*.' These things do not well agree with the printed Life of *Borri*.

[B] *After he had run into the most extravagant Debaucheries, he set up for Devotion, and privately scattered certain visionary Notions.*] Affecting an appearance of a great Zeal, he lamented the corruption of Manners which prevailed at *Rome*, saying that the Distemper was come to the height, and that the time of the Recovery drew near: A happy time, wherein there would be but one Sheepfold on the Earth, whereof the Pope was to be the only Shepherd. ' Whosoever shall refuse, said he, to enter into that Sheepfold, shall ' be destroyed by the Pope's Armies; God has ' predestinated me to be the General of those Armies; I am sure that they shall want nothing; ' I shall

The fifth of those Vows engaged them to a most ardent Zeal for the holy Propagation of the Kingdom of GOD. It was to be the Reign of the Most High, the Reign of one sole Flock, in the Jargon of this new Sect (*b*). *Borri* was to be Captain-General of the Troops, which were to bring all Mankind into one Sheepfold; he was to be assisted in a particular manner by *Michael* the Archangel; he had already received a Sword from Heaven, on the Handle of which appeared the Image of the seven Intelligences, and the Pope himself was to be killed, if he had not the requisite Mark on his Forehead. I omit the particulars of his other Visions (*c*), to say something of the new Doctrines of the Cavalier *Borri*. He taught, among other things, that the Holy Virgin was a real Goddess, and properly the Holy Ghost incarnate, for that she was born of St *Anne*, in the same manner as JESUS CHRIST was born of her. He called her the only Daughter of GOD, conceived by Inspiration, and caused this to be added to the Mass when the Priests his Sectaries celebrated it (*d*). He said, that as to her Humanity she was present at the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and alledged certain Passages of Scripture to maintain his Doctrine. He took it in his Head to dictate a Treatise on his System to his Followers [*C*]. I have said already, that he boasted of having a great Share of heavenly Revelations: and it was by that means he had learned, that St *Paul* had communicated to him the same Power, which GOD conferred on that Apostle to censure St *Peter*'s Conduct. He boasted that he could communicate to others the Gift of Illumination for understanding Mysteries, and made use of the Imposition of Hands, beseeching the Trinity to receive the Novice into the Religion of the *Evangelical Nationalists* (*e*). His Design was, in case he could get a sufficient Number of Followers, to appear in the great Square in *Milan*, there to represent eloquently the Abuses of the Ecclesiastical and Secular Government, to encourage the People to Liberty, and so to profess himself of the City and Country of *Milan*, and then to pursue his Conquests as well as he could. But all his Designs miscarried by the Imprisonment of some of his Disciples, and, as soon as he saw that first step of the Inquisition, he fled with all the haste he could, and took care not to appear to the Summons of that formidable Tribunal. They proceeded against him for Contumacy in 1659, and 1660: he was condemned as an Heretic, and burnt in Effigy, with his Writings, in the Field of *Flora* at *Rome*, by the Hands of the Executioner, the third of *January* 1661 [*D*]. He staid some time in the City of *Strasburg*, where he found some support and assistance, as being persecuted by the Inquisition, and also as a great Chymist; but he wanted a larger Theatre. He looked for it in *Holland* in the Year 1661, and found it at *Amsterdam*. He made a great noise there; People flocked to him as to the universal Physician for all Diseases; he appeared there in a stately Equipage, and took upon him the Title of Excellency; they talked of marrying him to the greatest Fortunes, *&c.* The Chance turned, his Reputation began to sink, either because his Miracles no longer found any Credit, or because his Faith could work no more

(*b*) Quanto si doveva fare nello spazio di pochi anni col suo imag'narsi Regno dell' Altissimo ed il suo suo Civile *Vita del Cavaglier Borri*, *pag.* 347.

(*c*) *See the Remark.*

(*d*) *See the Remark* [*C*] *at the end.*

(*e*) Coll' importo loro tutte due le mani sovra il capo invocando la Santissima Trinità affinche gradisse d'accettarli nella religione de Nazionalisti Vangelici. *Vita del Borri*, *pag.* 361.

'I shall quickly finish my Chymical Labours by 'the happy Production of the Philosophers Stone, 'and by that means I shall have as much Gold 'as is necessary for the Business. I am sure of 'the assistance of the Angels, and particularly of 'that of *Michael* the Archangel. When I began 'to walk in the Spiritual Life, I had a Vision in 'the Night attended with an Angelical Voice, 'which assured me that I should become a Pro'phet: the Sign that was given me for it was a 'Palm that seemed to me quite surrounded with 'the Light of Paradise (1).' He boasted that St *Michael* the Archangel had taken Post in his heart, and that whole Bands of Angels revealed to him the Secrets of Heaven, and what passed in the Conclave of *Alexander* VII. I only mention a few of his chimerical Notions: which may suffice to give an Idea of the whole.

(1) Gli apparisce una palma circondata d'ogni intorno, da lumi paradisiali. *Vita del Cavagliere Borri*, *pag.* 342.

[*C*] *He dictated a Treatise on his System to his Followers.*] He took it from them as soon as he understood that the Inquisition had heard something of their Nocturnal Assemblies, and hid all his Papers in a Nunnery. From thence they fell into the hands of the Inquisition: they contained very extravagant Doctrines; as: 'That the Son of 'GOD, through an ambitious Principle, had to 'become equal to his Father, moved him to create 'Beings; that *Lucifer*'s Fall proceeded from his refusing to adore JESUS CHRIST and the Holy 'Virgin in idea: That the Angels, who adhered 'to *Lucifer*, not thro' deliberation, but only out of 'desire, remain in the Air: That GOD made use of 'the Ministry of rebellious Angels for the Creation of 'the Elements and Animals: That the Souls of Beasts 'are a Production, or rather an Emanation, of the 'substance of the wicked Angels, and that is the 'reason why they are mortal: That the Holy Vir'gin proceeded condecified from the Bosom of the 'Divine Nature, and that, otherwise, she could not 'have been the Spouse of the Holy Ghost, because 'of the disproportion of Natures (2).' I have said in the Body of this Article, that he called her the only Daughter of GOD. I shall now quote my Author. 'Chiamava la Vergine, sagratissima 'Dea, ed unispirata figlia dell' Altissimo, e da que' 'Sacerdoti suoi sciocchi seguaci faceva aggiugnere 'al Canone della Messa le parole UNIUNSPIRATA 'FILIA (3). —— *He called the Virgin, most Holy* 'Goddess, *and only inspired Daughter of the most* 'High, *and made the Priests, who were his followers,* 'add to the Canon of the Mass the Words, ONLY-'INSPIRED DAUGHTER.'

(2) Vita del Cavagliere Borri, pag. 354, *and following.*

(3) Ibid. pag. 351.

[*D*] *He was burnt in Effigy at* Rome. - - - - - *the third of* January 1661.] The same Thought, which many Writers have ascribed to *Henry Stephens*, is likewise ascribed to him, *viz.* that he should say, he never was so cold as on the day that he was burnt at *Rome*. It is said that *Antonio de Dominis* used the same Raillery. 'Gli pervenne la nuova 'che la sua effigie era abbrucciata, e si lasciò intendere, che non aveva mai avuto tanto freddo 'quanto quel giorno, all' imitazione di Marco Antonio de Dominis, che disse lo stesso, mentre ritrovandosi egli in Inghilterra si faceva della sua 'effigie simil' esecuzione (4). —— *News was brought* 'him that his Effigy was burnt, *and he said that* 'he never had been so cold as he was that Day, *in* 'imitation of Marco Antonio de Dominis, *who said* 'the same when he was in England, *at the time* 'the like Execution was done on his Effigy.'

(4) Id. p. 369.

more Miracles (*f*). In short he broke, and fled one Night from *Amsterdam* with a great many Jewels and Sums of Money which he had pilfered (*g*). He went to *Hamburgh* where Queen *Christina* was at that time; he put himself under her Protection, and persuaded her to venture a great deal of Money in order to find out the Philosophers Stone; which came to nothing. Afterwards he went to *Copenhagen*, and inspired his Danish Majesty with a strong Desire to search for the same Secret. By that means he acquired that Prince's Favour so far as to become very odious to all the great Persons of the Kingdom. Immediately after that King's Death, whom he had put upon great Expences in vain, he left *Denmark* for fear of being imprisoned, and resolved to go into *Turkey* (*b*). Being come to the Frontiers, at a time when the Conspiracy of *Nadasti*, *Serini*, and *Frangipani* was discovered, he was taken at *Goldingen* for one of the Accomplices; wherefore the Lord of the Place invited him to lodge at his House, and secured his Person; and understanding that his Prisoner's Name was *Joseph Francis Borri*, he sent that Name to his Imperial Majesty, to see if he was one of the Conspirators. The Pope's *Nuncio* had Audience of the Emperor at the same time when the Count of *Goldingen*'s Letter was brought. As soon as he heard the Name of *Borri*, he demanded, in the Pope's Name, that the Prisoner should be delivered to him. The Emperor, having consented to it, ordered that *Borri* should be sent to *Vienna*; and obtained a promise from the Pope that he should not be put to death, and sent him to *Rome*, where he was condemned to remain all his Life in the Prison of the Inquisition, and to make the *Amende honorable* [*E*]. Some Years after, he obtained leave to come out, to attend the Duke *d'Estrée*, whom all the Physicians had given over for lost; and he cured him, which occasioned this Saying, that an Arch-Heretic had done a great Miracle in *Rome* [*F*]. The Duke obtained, that his Prison should be changed, and that he should be sent to the Castle of *St Angelo*. There was a Report since that time, that he was permitted to go abroad twice a Week, and to walk in the City with Guards (*i*) [*G*]. Some Pieces were printed at

(*f*) Cominciando à far delle nuove miracolose alla sua fede à le sue miracolose. *Id. pag.* 372.

(*g*) Se ne fuggì da Amsterdam carico di gioje e di molti danari alla sfuggita, portando seco anche alcune coppie. *Ib.*

(*h*) Borri's Journey to the Court of Saxony, has been forgotten in the Book, out of which this Article is extracted. See the Acta Eruditorum, 1688. p. 587.

(*i*) *Taken from a Book, intituled,* Breve relazione della vita del Cavagliere Giuseppe Francesco Borri Milanese, *printed at* Geneva, *(the Title says,* in Colonia appo Pietro del Martello, *in* 1681, *with another Treatise intituled,* la Chiave del Gabinetto del Cavagliere Giuseppe Francesco Borri.

[*E*] *He was condemned to remain all his Life in the Prison of the Inquisition, and to make the* Amende honorable.] The Reader will be glad to find here more at large, what I have touched upon in general, concerning the Punishment inflicted on the Cavalier *Borri*. 'On the last *Sunday* of the Month 'of *October* 1672, he was condemned to make Abjuration of his Errors in the Church *della Minerva*; for which end, he was brought upon a Scaffold raised on purpose for him, where one of his 'Adversaries, who was a Priest, read the Tryal aloud, with his Confession and Abjuration. The 'Sentence was pronounced by the Holy Office, he being on his Knees, with a Torch in his Hands, whilst his Abjuration was reading: which done, 'he arose, and thanked the Sacred College for the Mildness wherewith he had been treated, in not inflicting a greater Punishment upon him, which 'he confessed he deserved. This was done in the Presence of a vast crowd of People, who were curious to see such a famous Man, and such a solemn and extraordinary Action. He was surrounded with a great many Archers, and Officers of the Holy Office. Many Prelates were also present, with the Sacred College, and an innumerable multitude of other Persons. The said *Borri*, seeing so many Archers, and other People of that sort about him, fell twice into a Swoon. The Ceremony being over, he was sent back into Prison, from whence he was carried to *Loretto*, as being too pernicious a Man in *Christendom*, with express Orders to make him say the *Creed* every Day, and the *Penitential Psalms* once every Week (5). —— He was also ordered, by his Sentence, to receive the Sacrament once every Day, when he came to *Loretto* (6). - - - - - Before he came out of the Prison of the Inquisition, he was visited by several Men and Women, and also by some Princes and Princesses, Knights, and other Persons of Quality. When he came out of the Prison, they made him pass through a Troop of the Pope's Lanciers, which made a Lane. He mounted the Scaffold with his Hands bound, and a lighted Taper between them, and kneeled all the while they were reading his Sentence, by which he was condemned to a perpetual Imprisonment, for having been (these are the very Words of the Sentence) an Inventor of a new Heresy: and to wear, for Penance, the Habit of the Inquisition all his Life, with a Red-cross on his Breast, and another on his Back. He was astonished to hear of a perpetual Imprisonment; 'but the Inquisitors comforted him with this Reason, That if that expedient had not been found, 'they would certainly have taken away his Life; 'and that they had done him that favour, because he had made an Abjuration of his Errors 'thirteen Years before (7); which he ratified to 'the Inquisitors *Casanatta* and *Pozzobonelli*: The 'Pope, on hearing of the Confirmation of that Abjuration, was so well pleased, that he gave a plenary Indulgence of all Sins to all those that were 'present at it; for the Ceremony lasted above five 'Hours (8).'

(5) Mercure Hollandois *of the Year* 1672. pag. 463, 464.

(6) Ib. pag. 465, 466.

(7) *The Author of his Life says nothing of that; he says that* Borri *was condemned for refusing to appear, and that he fled from* Milan, *as soon as he knew that he was discovered.*

(8) Mercure Hollandois *of* 1672. pag. 465, 466.

Mr *Baudrand* informed me. I. That it is not true that our *Borri* was sent to *Loretto* after his Abjuration. II. That the Inquisition could not put him to Death, since he was not a Relapse, and that he made an Abjuration of his Errors at the *Minerva*, before the Cardinals of the Congregation of the Holy Office. I wish that all who hereafter shall cite the *Mercure Hollandois* were apprised of these two faults.

[*F*] *He cured the Duke* d'Estrée, *which occasioned this Saying, that an Arch-Heretic had done a great Miracle in* Rome.] The Physicians had given over the sick Person; he was therefore accounted as dead, and therefore his Recovery was looked upon as a Resurrection. *Sendo cosa strana che un Eresiarca abbia fatto un miracolo di resuscitar' un morto, come veniva creduto da' medici* (9).

(9) Vita del Borri, pag. 379.

[*G*] *It has been said, that he was permitted to go abroad twice a Week —— with Guards.*] I have it from very good Hands, that the Queen of *Sweden* sent for him sometimes in a Coach; but that, after the Death of that Princess, he went no more abroad, and that none could speak with him, without special leave from the Pope. I have been assured, that he pretended he was not a Prisoner in the Castle of *St Angelo*, but that he lodged there, as it was a large Palace, to apply himself to Study and Chymical Operations, and that he neglected opportunities of making his escape, which frequently offered.

Note, That Mr *Masclari*, having read this last Passage, informed me, that, when he was at *Rome* (10), he saw the Cavalier *Borri* several times, and that he knows very well, that he 'could come no lower 'than a certain Door in the middle of the Stairs, 'of the Dungeon of the Castle of *St Angelo*: so far 'he waited upon those who came to see him: that 'he had a pretty good Apartment, consisting of 'three Rooms and a Laboratory: that none could 'be admitted to see him without a Note from Cardinal *Cibo*, and that he looked upon that Castle 'as

(10) *That it is* 1679, *and* 1680.

at *Geneva*, in 1681; which are ascribed to him [*H*]. We shall see in the Remarks what was *Sorbiere*'s Opinion of this Man [*I*]. It will be a pretty curious Supplement to this Article. You will see likewise what *Monconis* thought of him [*K*].

Mr *Frischman*

' as a real Prison to him, from which he did not ' despair but that the Duke *d'Estrée* would deliver ' him.' The difference of these Relations may be reconciled by distinguishing times, and those, who know the Character of our *Borri*, may easily see, that, when he had obtained permission to go abroad sometimes, he might perhaps boast, that he was no longer a Prisoner.

[*H*] *Some Pieces were printed at* Geneva *in* 1681, *which are ascribed to him.*] They may be reduced to two, *viz. Letters concerning Chymistry*, and *Political Reflexions*. The first of those Works is entituled, *La chiave del Gabinetto del Cavagliere Gioseppe Francesco Borri Milanese*. It contains ten Letters; the two first, dated from *Copenhagen* in the Year 1666, are in substance the very same with *le Comte de Gabalis*, published by the Abbot *de Villars* in the Year 1670. Let the curious examine which of those two Pieces ought to pass for the Original. The other Letters run upon Chymical Questions, except the last, wherein the Author maintains *Des Cartes*'s Opinion concerning the Souls of Beasts. The Title of the other Treatise is, *Istruzioni politiche del Cavagliere Gioseppe Francesco Borri Milanese date al Re di Danimarca*. They are some Political Aphorisms, with a pretty long Commentary. *Borri*'s Life informs us, that, when he was at *Strasburg*, he published a Letter which went all over the World (11). The *Bibliotheque* of the Physicians mentions two of his Letters printed at *Copenhagen* in the Year 1699, and inscribed to *Bartholinus*, one of them *de ortu cerebri, & usu medico*; the other, *de artificio oculorum humeros restituendi* (12). *Konig* ascribes another Piece to him, intituled, *Notitia Gentis Barrborum*.

(11) Stampò la lettera di restituire l'occhio ad un cavallo, che corre per tutto il mondo. *Vita del Cav. Borri, pag.* 370. *He could cure sore Eyes very well. See the Remark* [*K*].

(12) Mercklinus in Lindenio renovato, pag. 289. *at the word* Franciscus Josephus Burrhus. *The Journal des Sçavans of the* 2*d of* September, 1669, *speaks fully of those two Letters.*

[*I*] *This is* Sorbiere's *Opinion of this Man.*] ' I ' have only to add a few Words concerning the ' famous Cavalier *Borri*, whom I have seen at *Amsterdam*, this last time I have been there. You ' have a mind to know how it came to pass, that a ' such a distance he made so great a noise at *Paris*, ' that some Persons of Quality have been carried ' into *Holland* in Litters to be cured by that Quack; ' and that some ingenious Persons have gone thither on purpose to see so great a Man. I can ' say nothing more to it, Sir, than this, that it is ' as true now, as it was formerly, that our poor ' Humanity might be defined by the inclination to ' Lying, and by Credulity, *Homo animal credulum & mendax*, Man is a credulous and lying Animal, Φιλόλογον ζῶον. Those that can so easily believe the Stories which are told of those Workers ' of Miracles, such as *Borri* was taken to be, before the World was undeceived, must have been ' accustomed, without doubt, in their Infancy, to ' listen attentively to old Wives Tales; it is a ' mark of a good Nature, and a very tractable Disposition. I could make several Reflexions upon ' this (13). —— Some People after they —— have ' laughed at Physicians, on a sudden give intire ' Credit to the promises of a Quack, and suffer ' themselves to be bubbled by his new Method, ' tho' he only sells the same Ware. He, whom I ' am going to describe to you, is a tall black Man, ' pretty well shaped; he wears good Cloaths, and ' and spends pretty high, tho' not so much as is ' imagined; for eight or ten Thousand Livres will ' go a great way at *Amsterdam*. But a House of ' fifteen thousand Crowns bought in a good Place, ' five or six Foot-men, a Suit after the *French* Fashion, now and then a Collation to the Ladies, ' the refusing Money in some Cases, five or six ' Rix-dollars distributed to the Poor in a proper ' Time and Place, arrogant Words, and such like ' Arts, made some credulous Persons, or some who ' could have wished it had been true, say, that he ' gave handfuls of Diamonds, that he had found ' the Philosophers Stone, and that he had the Universal Medicine (14). The Truth is, the Sieur *Borri* ' is a cunning Blade, the Son of an able Physician ' of *Milan* (15), who left him some Estate; but he ' has added to it, what he has got by the Industry ' I am going to speak of. As he does not want ' for Parts, and has some Learning, he has found ' means to prevail with some Princes to supply him ' with Money, by giving them expectation that he ' would communicate to them the Philosophers ' Stone, which he was upon the point of finding. ' He has, without doubt, some Skill, or some Practice, in Chymical Preparations, some Knowledge ' in Metals, some imitation of Pearls and Jewels, ' and, it may be, some purgative or stomachical Remedies, which are commonly very general. As ' most diseases come from that Region, by this Lure ' he has insinuated himself into the good Opinion ' of those whom he stood in need of; and some ' Merchants, as well as some Princes, have fallen ' into the Trap. Witness a Promissory Note for ' two hundred thousand Livres, which he gave to ' one *Demery*, who had supplied his Expences, for ' which the Heirs of that Merchant are at Law ' with the Spagyrist; for the Spark has worded it ' in such an odd manner, that no body knows ' what to make of it. This Cheat, to come into ' Credit, and make himself talked of, set up at ' first for an Heresiarch. He had heard say, that ' Physicians were suspected not to believe enough, ' and therefore he pretended to believe more than ' was required; and striving as it were to pay a ' greater Honour to the Holy Virgin, than what the ' Church prescribes, he began to say, That she ' was a fourth Person of the Divinity. The Inquisition prosecuted him for it; and he was condemned to be burnt for Non-appearance. He went ' to *Inspruc* (16), where the late Archduke be- (16) *See the end of this Remark, n.* 2. ' came the first of his Dupes. And by his means ' he proceeded in his way to *Holland*, and settled at *Amsterdam*, as being a fit place to make ' his Persecution at *Rome* sound aloud; and where ' he might find several People ready to advance ' large Sums, on account of the great Profits ' he would give them expectation of. There he ' set up for a Man of Consequence. At first he ' acquired some Credit among the Citizens; and ' maintained himself there for some time by the ' support of an old Burgomaster, whom he kept ' up with his Cordial-waters, till every body discovered his knavery, and laughed at his artifices. ' They consist chiefly in a Method of debasing ' Coin, with impunity, and in some alteration of ' Metals, which is not yet well known. For as ' to his Cures, People are no more the better for ' them where he is, than they are in this City for ' the Remedies of a famous Mountebank, who has ' almost as great a Reputation in the Country of ' *Liege* and in *Holland*, as *Borri* has in *Paris* ' —— (17). Some say, that *Borri* being at *Naples* (17) Sorbiere, Relation d'un voiage en Angleterre, p. 163. ' in the time of the Plague, and having an excellent Preservative, went into the infected Houses, ' which were forsaken by reason of the Infection ' and Mortality, where he thrived pretty well. ' I do not know what ground there is for it.

There are two things to be observed in this Narrative of *Sorbiere*. I. The first is that the Author of *Borri*'s Life does not say that he was the Son of a Physician, but rather intimates the contrary. ' Nacque in Milano, *says he*, figlio del ' Signor Branda Borri, di Famiglia antica della ' Citta di Milano. —— *He was born in* Milan, ' *Son of* Signor Brandi Borri, *of an antient Family* ' *of the City of* Milan.' He adds that the Cavalier *Borri* boasted that he was descended from *Burrus* Governor of *Nero*. II. The second is, that the same Author says, that *Borri*, when he left *Italy*, went to *Switzerland*, and thence to *Strasburg*, *Amsterdam*, *Hamburgh*, &c. Shunning the Catholic Countries. ' Il Borri, *dit il* (18), uscito d'Italia, (18) Vita del Borri, pag. 368. ' e passati li monti con quella fretta che ricercava ' il suo scampo se ne passo nell' Elvezia, ed indi ' ad Argentina fuggendo à piu potere il passare ' per paesi Catolici.' However it is certain that *Borri* distilled with the Archduke. See *Monconis* Part ii. pag. 149, 404.

(13) Sorbiere, Relation d'un voiage en Angleterre, pag. 155.

(14) Ibid. pag. 158.

(15) *See the end of this Remark, n.* 1.

[*K*] *Likewise what* Monconis *says of him.*] He saw him at the *Hague* in 1663, and heard him say several things concerning Chymical Secrets. The substance

Mr *Frischman*, the *French* Resident at *Strasburg*, wrote a Piece, worth reading, concerning *Borri* [*L*]. The Supplement to Dr *Burnet*'s Travels is not exact on this Subject [*M*]. The *Utrecht* Gazette of the ninth of *September* 1695, informed the Public that *Borri* was lately dead in the Castle of *S. Angelo*, being Seventy nine Years of Age.

substance of which may be seen in the Relation of his Travels (19). *Borri*'s Affairs were already in an ill condition; he was afraid of his Enemies, *and mistrusted those he had most confided in, and spoke of retiring into Turkey* (20). He said, it was indifferent to him, whether the World took him for a learned Man or an ignorant one; and with the same indifferency he neglected to justify the Truth of his Belief (21). He added, 'That no 'Body could be a good Philosopher, without being a good Christian. When I told him, (*continues* Monconis) that he was accused of having 'said, that the Holy Ghost had incarnated himself in the Virgin, and his Gentleman had replied, 'Why is he accused of a thing, of which they 'never had any proof, since they could not 'shew any of his Writings, wherein there was 'any such thing: He answered *Si bene, Yes indeed*, in 'one that the Pope had had, which was the only 'one that remained by chance, when he had 'burnt all the rest; and as for supernatural things, 'no Misfortune did ever happen to him, but he 'was forewarned of it by a Star that appeared 'before him, even tho' he had his Eyes shut.' See, in the hundred fifty fifth Page of the same Relation, the Stories which were told *Monconis* about *Borri*'s Cheats, and in the hundred seventy eighth Page an admirable Cure of an Eye. The Painter *Otho* told *Monconis*, that *Borri* had perfectly cured him *of a Cancer in his Eye, which deprived him of his sight, and hindered him from working, which all the Doctors held incurable* (22).

(19) Monconis, Voyage, Part. II. pag. 135, 137, 145, 146, 147, &c. *of the* Lyons *Edition.*

(20) Ibid. pag. 144, 145.

(21) Ibid. pag. 147.

(22) Ibid. pag. 178.

[*L*] *Mr* Frischman *wrote a Piece worth reading concerning* Borri.] It bears this Title, *Monumentum in laudem gentis Burrhorum Calend. Jan. MDCLX. Francisco Josepho Burrho Medico Italo structum. The four Letters F. R. C. S.* which stand for the Author's Name, signifie *Frischmannus Regis Christianissimi Resident.* He who gives me this Information, explains, in this manner, the Contents of that Piece: 'In quo, *says he* (23), potens ar-'tifex plantas in cineres, earumdem cineres ad 'eandem pristinam speciem, ignis beneficio rite 'suppositi balneo Mariæ deducens, Romæ ut fama 'sed incerta est, similem suam *παλιγγενεσιαν*, 'quæ est combustorum è cineribus resurrectio, 'exspectans, laudatus est. - - - - *Wherein says he,* '*the mighty Artist, reducing Plants into Ashes,* 'and the Ashes into their former shape, by help of 'fire properly disposed in Balneo Mariæ, *expecting* 'for himself a like *παλιγγενεσιαν, which is a* 'Resurrection of things burnt from their Ashes, 'was, as some, though uncertain, reports say, greatly 'commended for it at Rome.' He refers us to *Tuldenus*, who mentions the proceedings of the Inquisition against *Borri*, that is, the Proceedings of 1659, and 1660.

(23) Deckherrus, de Script. adespot. pag. 131. Tuldenus, Hist. Europ. Part. IV. pag. 644. & in Tractat. p. 303.

[*M*] *The Supplement to Dr* Burnet's *Travels is not exact on this Subject.*] *Three Letters concerning the present State of* Italy, are called a Supplement to those Travels: Those Letters were translated out of *English*, and published at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1688. We are told there, that *Burrhi* (for thus the Translator calls him) *is a Gentleman of the* Milaneze, *who had about Eight thousand Crowns a Year, Paternal Estate* (24). He travelled in his Youth, and being returned to *Milan*, he held some Conferences there on the new Philosophy and Chymistry. He was put into the Inquisition; but as nothing could be proved against him, he was set at liberty (25). He went into *Germany* and *Holland*. The Inquisition *complained of him to the Emperor*; he was stopped at *Vienna*, *and afterward sent back into* Italy. He was accused of strange Opinions, *which were all proved against him, tho' he protests, that he never thought of them* (26), *and he was obliged to abjure them in the Year* 1668 (27). He was condemned to a perpetual Imprisonment. Of those Eight thousand Crowns a Year, they leave him but Three thousand (28); for the good Fathers out of Charity retained five thousand for themselves, and the three thousand are so curtailed by those, thro' whose Hands they pass, that he does not receive One thousand five hundred yearly. The Author of the three Letters imagines, that all the ground of *Borri*'s Heresies, is, his *speaking of Religious Things in the mysterious and unintelligible Jargon of certain Chymists*. I know some Persons, who believe, that *Borri* pretended to explain the Trinity, the Incarnation, *&c.* by the Principles of Chymistry. Mr *Baudrand* says, that *Borri* had so small a Patrimony, that he could not live upon it.

(24) *Pag.* 140, *&c.*

(25) *Had he been taken and judged by the Inquisition, the* Italian *Author of his Life would not have said, that he made his Escape, and that he was summoned to appear, which he refusing to do, he was condemned.*

(26) *But he did not deny to* Monconis, *that he had taught the Incarnation of the Holy Ghost in the Holy Virgin. See the Remark* [*I*].

(27) *It was in* 1672. *See above, the Remark* [*E*].

(28) *It is not at all likely, that* Borri *had then so large a Patrimony, and that the Inquisition left him* 9000 *Livres a Year.*

BORRICHIUS (OLAUS), one of the most learned Men of his Age, was the Son of a *Lutheran* Minister in the Diocese of *Ripen* in *Denmark*, and was born the seventh of *April* 1626. He was sent to the University of *Copenhagen* in the Year 1644, where he applied himself six Years to several Sorts of Study; but chiefly to Physic. He taught a Class in the College of *Copenhagen*, and acquitted himself very well of that Function; for he was indefatigable, and a very sober Man. This gained him the Esteem of *Gaspar Brochman*, Bishop of *Sealand*, and that of the Chancellor of the Kingdom, and, by their Recommendation, he obtained a Canonicate at *Lunden*. The Rectorship of the *Illustrious School* of *Herlow* was offered him by Mr *de Rosecrantz*, after he had taught that Class of *Copenhagen* four Years; but he refused it, because he thought it would prove an obstacle to his Design of travelling, and perfecting himself in Physic. He began to practise it in the time of a dismal Plague, which destroyed a great many People in the Metropolis of the Kingdom. When the Contagion was over, he spent a Year more in teaching his Class, and then made ready for his Travels. But he was obliged to put off his Design to another time; for Mr *Gerstorff*, Prime Minister of State, would have him in his House for Tutor to his Children. He was there five Years, after which he satisfied his Inclination to travel; but, before he set out, he had the Advantage of being declared Professor of Philology, Poetry, Chymistry, and Botany, in the University of *Copenhagen*. He set out in the Month of *November* 1660, and having seen some famous Physicians at *Hamburgh*, he came to *Holland*, where he stayed a considerable time. There he met Mr *Gerstorff*'s Sons (*a*), whom he took under his Conduct. He shewed them the *Spanish Netherlands*, and *England*, and carried them to *Paris*, where he stayed two Years; their Guardians called them home, which gave him Opportunity to continue his Travels with more Liberty. He was made Doctor of Physic at *Angers*, and saw the chief Cities of the

(a) *He died after* Borrichius's *Departure.*

Kingdom; afterwards he went into *Italy*, and arrived at *Rome* in the Month of *October* 1665. He was there till the end of *March* 1666. After which he was obliged to return home: the Office, which had been conferred upon him in the Univerſity of *Copenhagen*, required his Reſidence. He croſſed *Germany*, and arrived in *Denmark* in the Month of *October* 1666. His long Travels muſt needs have been very beneficial to him, ſince he made himſelf known to the moſt learned Men in every City he came to [*A*]. He made it appear in the Exerciſe of his Office, that he was very worthy of it; being laborious to the higheſt Degree, and furniſhed with a great Variety of Learning. The Books, which he publiſhed, were an authentic Proof of it [*B*]. He never would marry, for fear of abridging his Liberty of Philoſophizing (*b*). He was promoted to the Office of a Counſellor in the Supream Council of Juſtice in the Year 1686, and to that of the Royal Chancery in 1689. In that ſame Year he began to be troubled with the Stone (*c*). The Diſtemper increaſed daily, and at laſt, finding no other remedy than to be cut, he reſolved to run the Hazard of that rigorous Operation the thirteenth of *September* 1690. It did not ſucceed; the Stone was ſo large and ſo hard that it was not poſſible to extract it. He bore that Accident, and all it's Conſequences, with great Conſtancy and Piety, till he died, which happened the third of *October* the ſame Year. His Will was a Proof that he made a pious Uſe of the Riches he had got (*d*) [*C*].

(*b*) A conjugio tota vita abſtinuit ut eo philoſopharetur expeditius. *Borrich. in vita ſua. See below.*

(*c*) *Taken from his Life, written by himſelf, and prefixed to his Latin Poems in the ſecond Tome of the* Deliciæ quorundam poëtarum Danorum, *collected by* Frederic Rostgaard, *and printed at* Leyden *in* 1693.

(*d*) *Taken from his Funeral* Programma, *made by* John Mulerius, *Profeſſor at* Copenhagen.

[*A*] *He made himſelf known to the moſt learned Men in every City he came to.*] The account of his Life, written by himſelf, and inſerted in the ſecond part of the Delights of the *Daniſh* Poets, contains the Names of ſeveral of thoſe learned Men, and of ſeveral Perſons of Quality, who ſhewed their Eſteem for him in his Travels. The Marquis *de Planezza* entertained him ſplendidly at *Turin*. At *Rome* he had ſeveral Audiences of Cardinal *Pallavicini*, and was often ſent for by the Queen of *Sweden*, who loved Chymiſtry extreamly. *Adhibitus & quandoque colloquiis* CARDINALIS PALLAVICINI, *& ſæpe accerſitus ad diſſerendum cum* REGINA CHRISTINA *de artcantoris Chemiæ ſtudio, veritate, experimentiis, quibus tum ſacris ſe Palladia virago devoverat* (1).

(1) Vita Borrichii in Tom. II. Deliciar. Poëtarum Danorum, pag. 378.

[*B*] *He was worthy of his Poſt of Profeſſor.* —*The Books, which he publiſhed, were an authentic proof of it.*] His *Conſpectus præſtantiorum Scriptorum Linguæ Latinæ*, is but a ſmall part of a great Work compoſed by him on that Subject, which is among his Papers. We have ſeen his *Cogitationes de variis linguæ Latinæ ætatibus & ſcripto G. J. Voſſii de vitiis ſermonis*, and his *Analecta Philologica & judicium de Lexicis Latinis Græciſque*. We have alſo ſeen his *Antiquæ Romæ imago*, and his Treatiſe *De ſyllabarum quantitate*, which he intituled, *Parnaſſus in nuce*. Having obſerved that ſome Apothecaries, and even ſome Phyſicians, do not pronounce right the *Latin* Name of Remedies, he publiſhed a Piece intituled, *Lingua Pharmacopœorum*. His Diſſertations *De Poëtis Græcis & Latinis*, are not the leaſt of his Works. Having ſeen that his *Prodromus de ortu & progreſſu Chemiæ* had been criticized by *Conringius*, he made an Apology for it, intituled, *De Hermetis Ægyptiorum & Chemicorum ſapientia*. He explained a whole Courſe of Chymiſtry twice in public. That Work is not yet printed. His *Latin* Treatiſe *Decimaſtice metallica* has been tranſlated into High-Dutch and Daniſh. There are ſeveral Chymical and Botanic Memoirs of his in the *Acta medica Hafnienſia*. He alſo publiſhed a Book, *De uſu indigenarum plantarum in medicina*; a Treatiſe *De ſomno & ſomniferis*; another *De Cabala characterali*; another *De cauſis diverſitatis linguarum*. Add to this, *Oratio jubilæa Evangelica*, and *Memoria Dn. Oligari Vindri* (2), and *Deuſingius beautontimorumenos*. This laſt Work contains ſome ſatirical Letters againſt *Deuſingius*, wherein he gives himſelf the falſe Name of *Benedictus Blotefandæus*, which is the ſame thing as *Benedictus Nudiertius* (3); for *blot* ſignifies *naked*, in *Daniſh*, and *ſande* ſignifies the *Truth*, as Mr *Placcius* obſerves in the hundred and fifth Page of his *Pſeudonymous* Writers. I omit the Titles of ſome other Books of *Borrichius*, which I might tranſcribe out of that Work of Mr *Mollerus*, which I have quoted [*a*], and wherein he promiſes to ſpeak of that Author at large in his *Cimbria literata*. I ſhall only give the Title of a poſthumous Book, which was printed at *Copenhagen* in the Year 1697. *Olai Borrichii conſpectus Scriptorum Chymicorum illuſtriorum.*

(2) *Taken from his Life*, ubi ſupra, pag. 379. & ſeq.

(3) Jo. Mollerus Spicileg. hypomnematum de ſcriptis Danorum, pag. 36.

(4) Jo. Mollerus, ubi ſupra, & in hypomnematis, pag. 354.

[*C*] *He made a very pious Uſe of the Riches he had got.*] He dedicated great part of them to the good of the Poor, and to the benefit of Students. Read the particulars of it in the following Paſſage: "Inſtituit ut & ſufficeret juventuti Academicæ neceſſariis deſtitutæ adminiculis præſidium aliquod in uberiora ſtudiorum incrementa, & famelicis afflictiſque ſolamen obtingeret: Illis quippe domum plane lateritiam magnificentiſſimæ ſtructuræ reliquit, ubi omnia cernuntur ſplendide apparata, cubicula octo cum ſuis conclaviis, ſedecim deſtinata ſtudioſis, modeſtia, virtute, ac doctrina conſpicuis: amplum auditorium variè exornatum ut in hac palæſtra commodius lacertos moveant juniores ſacris Apollineis devoti; ſupellex libraria exquiſitæ elegantiæ diverſo ſtudiorum generi inſerviens, cui adhærent manuſcripta rariora; cernitur ſibi quoque laboratorium Chemicum medicinam excolentibus profuturum; cernitur hortus floridus arboribuſque conſitus, oculis recreandis, animo paſcendo dicatus. Hoc tam ſumtuoſe ſtructuræ domicilium vocari maluit COLLEGIUM MEDICEUM, quam ut à ſuo nomine appellationem haberet; nihil enim arrogantiæ, nihil faſtuoſi oſtentabat toto vitæ curſu, ſed ſortuna ac felicitate ſua ſumma uſus eſt modeſtia. Utriſque tum hujus Collegii incolis, tum aliis egeſtate, ærumnis & imbecilli valetudine oppreſſis, nec non alumnis ſcholæ Ripenſis ingentem pecuniæ ſummam attribuit, quæ reſignatis poſt obitum teſtamenti tabulis, in Collegio Conſiſtoriali annuo ſpatio reſervatis, explevit numerum viginti ſex mille & trecentorum Joachimicorum (5). ——— *He made a Proviſion, both to afford ſome Aſſiſtance to ſuch Youth in the Univerſity, as were deſtitute of the neceſſary Supports for the thorough Improvement of their Studies, and to adminiſter ſome Comfort to the hungry and afflicted. For he left the former a brick Houſe, a Structure really magnificent, and ſplendidly furniſhed throughout; eight lodging Rooms, with proper Cloſets, deſigned for ſixteen Students, eminent for Modeſty, Virtue, and Learning; a large School with variety of Ornaments, for the Exerciſe of the young Devotees to Literature, where they might exerciſe themſelves conveniently: a Library furniſhed with moſt exquiſite Elegance, for different kinds of Study, and enriched with ſome rare Manuſcripts; there is alſo a Chymical Laboratory for the uſe of thoſe who ſtudy Phyſic, and likewiſe a beautiful Garden ſet with Trees for Recreation and delight. This ſumptuous Edifice he choſe rather to call the Medical College, than to give it any Appellation from his own name, for he had never ſhewn the leaſt Arrogance or Pride in all his Life, but poſſeſſed his Fortune and Felicity with the utmoſt Modeſty. He left both to this College, and to other people, poor, miſerable, and ſick, as alſo to the School of* Ripen, *a prodigious Sum of Money, which, after his Death, on opening his Will, (which had been kept for a Year in the Conſiſtorial College.) amounted to* 26300 *Crowns.*' To ſhew the amount of his Eſtate, I add, that in the Diviſion which

(5) *Taken from his Funeral* Programma, pag. 381, 384. *of the 2d Tome of* Deliciæ quorundam Poëtarum Danorum.

which he made of it between his Relations, and the Students, &c. he beſtowed 26300 Crowns upon the latter, and left 50000 Crowns to the former (6). God grant that this may ſerve for an Example to thoſe, who are able to do the like.

(6) Jo. Mollerus, ubi ſupra, pag. 354.

BORSTEL (Adolphus *de*), a *German* Gentleman, with whom *Balzac* had a Correſpondence, and has given him great Encomiums, he was the Son of *Conrad de Borſtel*, Lord of *Guſten*, *Plotzka*, and other Places, and Prime Miniſter to the Princes of *Anhalt*, and Governour-General of that Principality. He was Envoy to *France* from the King of *Bohemia*, and the Princes, of the Empire in the Reign of *Lewis* XIII; and when his Negotiations were ended, he ſettled in the Kingdom, and procured Letters of Neutrality, and the Office of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the King. He married *Charlotte de Farou de Sainte Marcolle*, by whom he had a Son, who has a numerous Family [*A*]. This Lady married a ſecond time to *Joſeph le Brun*, Knight, Lord of *Broſſe*, Governour of the Town, and Caſtle of *Chinon*. She died in her Caſtle of *Zaille* in *Loudunois* the fourteenth of *March* 1705, aged Forty three Years. She was of one of the beſt Families of *Poitou* (*a*). I ſhall ſay ſomething of the Genealogy of this *Adolphus de Borſtel* [*B*], who had two illuſtrious Nephews [*C*].

(*a*) *Taken from the* Mercure Galant *for* March 1705, pag. 257, &c.

[*A*] *He had a Son, who has a numerous Family.*] He married a Couſin of the Marquis *de Raſſili*, the King's Lieutenant-General in *Touraine*, and Sub-Governour of the Children of *France*. The eldeſt of his Sons has ſerved in the Marines, theſe twelve Years, and is Enſign of the King's Ships: the youngeſt was Page to the Duke *du Maine*, and is Provincial Commiſſary of the Artillery (1).

(1) Id. ibid. pag. 264.

[*B*] *I ſhall ſay ſomething of the* Genealogy *of this* Adolphus de Borſtel.] The Author of the *Mercure Galant* ſays, that the Houſe of *Borſtel* is one of the moſt Ancient and moſt Illuſtrious in *Germany*. It is, continues he, originally from *Zeland*, and a certain Lord *de Borſtel*, who was poſſeſſed of the Towns *Fluſhing* and *de Wert*, married the laſt Counteſs of *Holland*, and by his Marriage became Sovereign of that Province, which the Duke of *Brabant* afterwards took from him. After this Uſurpation, ſeveral of that Houſe ſettled in upper *Saxony*, where they built the Caſtle of *Borſtel*, remarkable in the Maps; and we find, that ſo early as the time of the Emperor *Otho* I, they made a a very great Figure, and had the chief Employments of State both in the Miniſtry, in War, and in Embaſſies (2). Here are a great many faults; for in the firſt place, it was *Francis de Borſel*, or *de Borſelle* and not *de Borſtel*, who married the laſt Counteſs of *Holland*. II. He ought not to have ſaid *de Wert*, but *de la Verat* or rather *de Ter-Veer* (3). III. He did not not become Sovereign of *Holland* by his Marriage: the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Philip* the Good, would have put him to Death, if the Counteſs of *Holland* had not given him all her Dominions to ſave her Husband's Life (4). IV. He ought not to have ſaid the Duke of *Brabant* but of *Burgundy*. V. I obſerve that this Counteſs of *Holland* died in 1436, and that the Emperor *Otho* I died in the Year 973. Judge then, whether, after this pretended Uſurpation in prejudice of the Counteſs of *Holland*'s Husband, ſeveral Perſons of the Houſe of *Borſtel* could ſettle in *Saxony*, build a Caſtle there, and ſhine in Employments, in the time of this Emperor.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 259.

(3) *See the Article* BERSALA, *Remark* [*B*].

(4) *See* Part. II. of Réponſe aux Queſtions d'un Provincial, p. 6.

[*C*] *He had two illuſtrious Nephews.*] One of them, Frederic de Borstel, was Captain of the Life-guard to the late King of *Sweden*, Colonel of the Regiment of *Weſtergothia*, Governor of *Gottenbourg* and *Bahous*, and Major-General of the Forces of his *Swediſh* Majeſty, who, in Conſideration of his Services, made him Baron of the Realm; and the other Ernest Amedee de Borstel firſt Cupbearer to his late Electoral Highneſs of *Brandenbourg*, Colonel of the Regiment of his Guards, Major-General of his Forces, and Governor of the Duchy of *Magdeburg*, which Government is yet in the Hands of *John Henry de Borſtel* (5). The *Mercure Galant* adds, that there is in *France* a Lady de Borstel who married Mr *de Doumany*, Lieutenant of Grenadiers in the Regiment of *French* Guards, who was Maid of Honour to the Electreſs *Palatine*, Mother of Madam (6), that her Mother was Governeſs to the Elector of *Brandenbourg*; and that ſhe has now a Nephew who is firſt Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Electoral Prince.

(5) Mercure Galant, March 1705. pag. 262, 262.

(6) *That is, the Widow of the Duke of* Orleans, *only Brother of King* Lewis XIV.

BOSC (John *du*), in *Latin* Boſchæus, Lord of *Eſmendreville*, Preſident in the Court of Aids at *Rouen*, put to Death by the public Executioner, on account of Religion, in the Year 1562. See ESMENDREVILLE.

BOSC (N. *du*), a *Franciſcan*, lived in the XVIIth Century. He made himſelf known by a Book intituled, *The honeſt Woman*. His good Friend *d'Ablancourt* prefixed a Preface to it (*a*). I have heard ſay, that the Tranſlation of Father *Narni*'s Sermons, which went under the Name of Father *du Boſc*, is a Work of *d'Ablancourt* [*A*]. It is ſaid, that this *Franciſcan*, having lived ſeveral Years out of the Convent by the Pope's Permiſſion, took the Habit again (*b*). He wrote ſeveral Books which are now in no eſteem; his *Heroic Woman* is one of them. The moſt deſpicable of his Works are thoſe he wrote againſt the *Janſeniſts*. No body would vouchſafe to anſwer them [*B*]; and that Silence, which is in reality a kind of

(*a*) Hiſtoire de l'Academ. Franſoiſe, pag. 351.

(*b*) Colomiés, Biblioth. choiſie, *pag.* 171.

[*A*] *I have heard that the Tranſlation of Father* Narni's *Sermons, which went under the name of* du Boſc, *is a Work of* d'Ablancourt.] I have heard the thing related thus: *du Boſc*, having no Money, deſired *d'Ablancourt* to lend him ſome: *d'Ablancourt*, being very ſorry that he had none, offered him a Tranſlation which he had made of Father *Narni*'s Sermons, and gave him leave to diſpoſe of it as he pleaſed. *Du Boſc* accepted the Manuſcript, and agreed with a Bookſeller for the Sum of thirty or forty Piſtoles, and publiſhed it in his own Name. They are but few Authors who would teſtify their Friendſhip by ſuch kind of Preſents (1).

(1) *See Mr* Colomiés *in his* Biblotheque choiſie, pag. 171. *He had heard the thing related much in the ſame manner.*

[*B*] *His Books againſt the Janſeniſts were very much deſpiſed. No body would vouchſafe to anſwer them.*] Mr *Arnauld* has given a very diſobliging reaſon why Father *du Boſc*'s Books were not anſwered. It is in a Paſſage of the third Volume of the *Morale Pratique*, where he lays down ſeveral Rules whereby to judge, whether not anſwering an Adverſary ought to paſs for a proof of Weakneſs. This is his fourth Rule: 'It cannot be ſaid, that 'thoſe, who leave a Book unanſwered, are not able 'to anſwer it, when, in forbearing to anſwer, they 'follow the Judgment of the Public. Now this 'happens when one ſcorns to refute mean Authors,

'who

of blemish upon the Author, has been interpreted to his Glory by some *Anti-Jansenist* [C].

' who, to get a Name, take part in the Quarrels of ' the learned. —— It is for that reason, that, at the ' same time that care was taken to answer Father ' *Annat* and Father *Ferrier*, *Morandé* and *du Bosc* ' were suffered to bark, without doing them the ' honour to think of them (2).

(2) Arnauld, Morale pratique, Tom. III. cap. xi. pag. 261.

[C] *That Silence - - - - - has been interpreted to his Glory by some Anti-Jansenists.*] ' The Question ' about the assistance of Grace for the Free-will of ' Man, was debated under Pope *Clement* VIII, and ' left as it was, that is to say, undecided under ' *Paul* V. Nevertheless, the *Jansenists* have lately ' printed it, to create a belief that That Sovereign ' Pontiff is on their side concerning efficacious ' Grace; but Father *du Bosc*, a *Franciscan*, struck ' them dumb by his Book intituled, *le Pacifique Apostolique*.' These are the words of Dom *Peter de Saint Romuald* (3).

(3) *In the* Journal Chronologique & Historique *under the* 30th *of* November, pag. 574, 575.

BOSC (PETER *du*), a *French* Minister, and the greatest Preacher in his time among those of the Protestant Religion, was the Son of *William du Bosc*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Rouen*, and was born at *Baieux* the Twenty first of *February* 1623. When he had studied Divinity eighteen Months at *Montauban*, and three Years at *Saumur*, he had made so great a Progress, that though he was but in his Twenty third Year, he was qualified to serve the Church of *Caen*. He was presented to that Church the fifteenth of *November* 1645, and received the Imposition of Hands the seventeenth of *December* the same Year. Notwithstanding the Merit of his Colleagues, especially of Mr *Bochart*, and the Nicety of his Hearers, he acquired in a little time the Reputation of one of the chief Men of his Cloth. He was looked upon in his Country as a PERFECT ORATOR, and his Eloquence became so famous all over the Kingdom, that the Church of *Charenton* would have had him for their Minister, and sent Deputies to request him of his Church, in the beginning of the Year 1658. The most powerful Sollicitations were made use of; but neither the Eloquence of the Deputies of *Paris* (*a*), nor the Letters of the most considerable Persons in *France*, among the Reformed [A], could persuade the Church of *Caen* to deprive themselves of such an Excellent Pastor, neither would that Pastor leave his Flock. The Sollicitations of the Church of *Charenton*, which were renewed several times after, with all imaginable eagerness, did not prove more successful. It was impossible that so great Merit, and so advantageous to his Party as he was, should not disquiet and give umbrage to the Enemies of the Protestant Religion. They shewed it in the Year 1664, by surreptitiously obtaining a Letter *de cachet* (*b*), which confined him to *Châlons* till further Order. One *Pomier* (*c*) boasted that he was the Cause of that Disgrace. He deposed falsly, that Mr *du Bosc had spoken of Auricular Confession in the most offensive Terms; insomuch, that he accused him of having compared the Priests Ears to a Common-Shore, a Sink, and a Channel that receives all the Filth of the City.* Which was the Reason why Mr *du Bosc*, as he went through *Paris*, in his way to the Place of his Exile, explained his Opinion about Confession to Mr *le Tellier*, and in what manner he had spoken of it. Mr *le Tellier* seemed satisfied with it, and even told him, that he had never questioned the Falshood of the Accusation. Mr *du Bosc* obtained the Liberty of returning to his Church the fifteenth of *October* 1664, and the Joy that appeared among the Brethren, when he returned to *Caen* the eighth of *November*, is inexpressible. Many considerable Persons of the contrary Party came to wish him Joy, and there was a Catholic Gentleman, who did at that time one of the strangest things that ever was known [B]. That Exile of Mr *du Bosc* shewed him how much he was beloved and esteemed [C]. The Civilities, which he received from the

(*a*) Mr Cachen Minister, and Mr de Massanes, Lay-Elder.

(*b*) Dated the 2d of April.

(*c*) He was of Montauban, and had been a Protestant.

[A] *They made use of - - - - Letters of the most considerable Persons in* France *among the Reformed.*] Mr and Madam *de Turenne*, Mr and Madam *de la Force*, Madam *de la Tremouille*, and Madam *de Rohan*, sent some Letters to Mr *du Bosc*, written in their own Names, or *with their own Hands*, whereby they earnestly sollicited him to accept the Call of the Church of *Paris*. Their Letters are still in his Closet. That which Mr *de Turenne* wrote to him *proprio pugno*, is inserted in the Life of Mr *du Bosc* (1), with two very fine Letters, which Mr *Pelisson* wrote to this Minister, whom he had formerly known at *Montauban*.

(1) *Life of* Mr du Bosc, pag. 7.

[B] *At his return to* Caën, *a Catholic Gentleman did one of the strangest things that ever was known.*] ' An eminent Gentleman of the Romish Church, ' whose Life was not very regular, but who o- ' penly professed to love the Ministers, that had ' particular Talents, and who seemed altogether ' charmed with Mr *du Bosc*'s Merit, having a- ' mind to solemnize that Day with a Drinking- ' bout, took two *Franciscans*, whom he knew to be ' Good-fellows, and made them drink so much, ' that one of them died on the Spot. The next ' Day he went to see Mr *du Bosc*, and told him, ' that he thought it his Duty to sacrifice a Monk ' to the public Joy: that this Sacrifice would ' have been more reasonable, if it had been a Je- ' suit; but that his Offering ought not to dis- ' please him, tho' it was but a *Franciscan*. That ' Tragical Accident, whereof he was only the in- ' nocent Cause, did nevertheless interrupt the Joy ' he had to find himself again with his Family, ' and his Flock. He expressed it in the first Ser- ' mon he made, having taken these Words for his ' Text, *Here I am, O Lord, and the children that ' thou hast given me* (2).'

(2) Ibid. pag. 44.

[C] *His Exile shewed him how much he was beloved and esteemed.*] Mr *de Turenne* desired Mr *Boucherat*, (who is at present Chancellor) (3) to obtain a Letter from the Intendant of *Caen*, to give a good Testimony of Mr *du Bosc* to Mr *Le Tellier* (4). The *Count* de Rouffi, *who had a great Estate near* Châlons, *was so kind as to take care of* Mr du Bosc's *Lodgings, and of all other things which might conduce to allay his Grief* (5). The Duke of *Montausier* undertook to acquaint the King with his Innocence. The advantageous Testimony which he gave him, together with the good Offices of Mr *de Turenne*, and Mr *de Beringhen* chief Equerry to the King, and of several other Persons of Quality of both Religions, proved effectual (6). Mr *de la Frillière* read to his Majesty the Letter which he had received from Mr *du Bosc* (7).

(3) *I write this in* 1699.

(4) *Life of* Mr Bosc, pag. 33.

(5) Ibid. pag. 364

(6) Ibid. pag. 380.

(7) Ibid. pag. 412.

[D] *The*

the Bishop of *Châlons*, ought not to be forgot [*D*]. In the Year 1665 he began to have some Affairs, wherein he signalized his Prudence, his Gravity, and his Eloquence; I mean the Prosecutions commenced against the Churches. He defended that of *Caen*, and many others of the same Province, against the unjust Pursuits of the Bishop of *Baieux*. The King having published a grievous Declaration, in 1666, against those of the Reformed Religion, all the Churches sent a Deputation to *Paris*, to make a most humble Remonstrance to his Majesty. The Churches of *Normandy* deputed Mr *du Bosc*, who set out from *Caen* the third of *July* 1668. As soon as he came to *Paris* the other Deputies chose him to draw up several Memorials (*d*). It being noised abroad that the King intended to suppress some *Chambers of the Edict* (*e*), all the Deputies of the Provinces hastened to Mr *de Ruvigni* the Deputy-General, to speak to him in a Business of such Importance. Their Design was to obtain leave to throw themselves at his Majesty's Feet; it was obtained, but in such a manner that none but Mr *du Bosc* was admitted to the Audience. He made a Speech to the King, who was alone in his Closet the Twenty seventh of *November* 1668, and after he had ended his Discourse, he had the Liberty to represent several things, in all which he succeeded so well, that the whole Court spoke of his Eloquence, and Prudence. After several Conferences with Mr *le Tellier*, and several times going and coming, something was obtained in the Month of *April* 1669, against the Declaration of the Year 1666. After that time Mr *du Bosc* made many Journies for the Affairs of the Churches, and defended them before the Ministers of State, and the Intendants, with all the Force and Ability imaginable (*f*), till he himself was forbid exercising his Ministry in the Kingdom, by an *Arrêt* of the Parliament of *Normandy* the sixth of *June* 1685. If it had been possible to save the Reformed Churches of *France* by way of Negotiation, he was more proper to succeed in it than any other that could have been employed (*g*). *It is certain that he kept off the Evil by his Care and Prudence* (*h*), *and that he knew how to manage those Affairs with so much dexterity, that they could not be in better Hands* (*i*). After his Interdiction he went into *Holland*, where he was Minister of the Church of *Rotterdam* till his Death, which happened the second of *January* 1692. He died like a good Christian, and his Death was answerable to that regular and edifying Life which he always lived (*k*). No Man ever maintained the Gravity of his Character better than he: His Body in this Respect was answerable to his Mind; for he had a majestic Presence, which contributed not a little to the Glory he acquired by his Preaching: this is easy to imagine. He had also very great Talents for presiding in a Synod [*E*], and gained esteem among Persons of Quality [*F*]. They did him Justice in *Holland*, where he was generally esteemed; the very Sectaries could not refuse the Respect which he deserved for his wise Conduct; and they reverenced Mr *du Bosc*, as much as they despised those violent Men, who, by their turbulent and misanthropic Humour, made themselves unworthy of the Approbation of those that are without, the gaining of which the Scripture recommends so expressly to the Ministers of JESUS CHRIST (*l*). He was twice married, and left but two Daughters [*G*]. We

(*d*) *For example, the Observations upon the Declaration of* 1666, *printed at Amsterdam by* James le Jeune *in* 1670, *and the Observations on the Declaration against Relaps'd that relaps'd. They are also printed.*

(*e*) *Those of* Paris *and* Rouen.

(*f*) Mr le Gendre, *vol. infra, gives an exact and particular account of his Conduct and Management of those Affairs.*

(*g*) Si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent.
If by a mortal hand old Priam's Throne
Could be defended, 'twas by his alone.
DRYDEN, Virgil. Æn. lib. ii. ver. 291.

(*h*) *In the Life of* Mr Bosc, *pag.* 2.

(*i*) Ibid. pag. 3.

(*k*) *Taken from his Life written by Mr* le Gendre, *heretofore Minister at Rouen, and now at* Rotterdam.

(*l*) 1 Tim. iii. 7.

[*D*] *The Civilities, which he received from the Bishop of* Châlons, *ought not to be forgot.*] I shall make use of the words of Mr *le Gendre*, Author of Mr *du Bosc*'s Life. 'The Bishop of that place, of 'the Family of *Herse Violart*, was also pleased to 'contribute to his comfort. He received all man- 'ner of civility from that excellent Prelate. If he 'would have accepted his Generosity, he had eat 'at no other Table; he dined with him twice 'every Week regularly. One day as this Lord 'shewed him his House, which was richly furnish- 'ed, and the Apartments very sumptuous, he ask- 'ed him what he thought of it, and whether he 'looked upon that Magnificence to be very Apo- 'stolical? Mr *du Bosc*, who would neither diso- 'blige his Benefactor, nor belie his own Character, 'answered, That he had two Titles in the City, 'that he was Count and Bishop of *Châlons*, and 'that his Dignity of Count gave him quite dif- 'ferent Rights and Privileges from those of Epis- 'copacy; that he saw nothing in his House that 'was above the Magnificence suitable to a Peer of 'France. This gallant Answer did not displease the 'Prelate (8).

(8) Ibid. pag. 36.

[*E*] *He had very great Talents for presiding in a Synod.*] His Historian expresses this so happily that I shall use his own words. (9) 'He was, *says he*, 'one of the Presidents of the Synod held at *Rouen* 'in 1663. Some intricate and difficult Matters 'were examined there; and he acquired no less 'Honour in it than he had done elsewhere. It is 'certain that he succeeded admirably well in those 'Assemblies. The Readiness and Clearness of his Ap- 'prehension, the Force and Solidity of his Judg- 'ment, appeared there with great Lustre. He had 'surprizing Reaches and Hints, which often helped 'those Assemblies out of the most intricate Affairs. 'Add to this that he spoke so pertinently, and 'could give so easy and pleasant a turn to mat- 'ters, that he commonly brought the Assembly to 'his Opinion.'

(9) Ibid. pag. 31.

[*F*] —— *and gaining Esteem among Persons of Quality.*] I have already (10) named several Persons of the first Rank, who had a very particular esteem for him. I add, that the Duke of *Roquelaure*, who was complimented by Mr *du Bosc* in the Year 1674, when he was sent to command on the Coasts of *Normandy*, conceived an affection for him which he expressed all his Life in the most obliging manner. Mr *de Schomberg* and his Lady loved and esteemed him very much, and when he went out of the Kingdom they gave him *the most obliging Letters of Recommendation to several Officers and Commanders of Places, and Garrisons, that were in his Road* (11). The Count *de Roye* was very much pleased that he had to inform him, that the Queen of *Denmark* offered him *a Retreat in her Dominions, and assured him both of a Flock, of which she herself would willingly be one, and an advantageous Settlement for his Family* (12). The Prince and Princess of *Orange* did him all manner of Kindness at his coming into *Holland*, and gave him marks of their Esteem on all occasions. The Text of this Remark will be confirmed by several things which I shall mention below (13).

(10) *In the Remarks* [*A*] *and* [*C*].

(11) *Life of Mr* du Bosc, *p.* 147.

(12) Ibid. pag. 144.

[*G*] *He was twice married, and left but two Daughters.*] He married his first Wife in 1650, and lost her in 1656. She left him two Children, a

(13) *In the Remark* [*H*].

Son

We speak of his Writings in one of our Remarks [*H*]. He is mentioned in the *Menagiana* in a manner no ways disadvantageous to him [*I*].

Son and a Daughter. The Son died in 1676, Lieutenant-Colonel, in the Regiment of *Schomberg*. The Daughter was married in *Normandy* to *Michael de Neel*, Lord of *Boüillonniere*, who fled into *Holland* with his Wife and Children, at the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*. He chose rather to forsake great Riches than abjure his Religion. He died at *Rotterdam* in the Month of *October* 1697. Mr *du Bosc*'s second Wife is yet living (14): He married her about the end of the Year 1657. The Daughter which he had by her was married in *Holland* to *Philip le Gendre*, formerly Minister of *Rouen*, and at present of *Rotterdam*. It is he who composed the Life of Mr *du Bosc*, which I quote so often in this Article.

(14) *I write this the 14th of June 1699.*

[*H*] *We speak of his Writings in one of our Remarks.*] There are two Volumes of *Sermons, and a Collection of divers Pieces*, which was published after his Death. He had published some of those Sermons in *France*: The first of them was St *Peter's Tears*. He preached it on a Fast-day; the Missionaries found something in it, for which they begun a Process against him, and the Duke of *Longueville* was obliged to use 'his Authority to put a stop 'to that Persecution: He did it earnestly, as well 'because he was sollicited to it by the Duchess *de* 'la *Tremouille*, at whose desire the Sermon had 'been printed, and who made it her own concern, 'as because he always had a particular kindness 'for the Author (15). He preached upon the Doctrine of Grace in the Year 1661. The Jesuits pretended, *That he had imputed some Opinions to the Church of* Rome which she does not hold, which obliged him to print his Sermon (16). Some Years after he published two Sermons, intituled, *The Censure of the Lukewarm*. These Sermons, and most of those which had already appeared, were re-printed in *Holland*, with several others which had never been printed. They make two Volumes in 8°, as I have said already. Mr *du Bosc* out-lived the publication of the latter Volume but few Days. The Collection of divers Pieces contains, I. The Requests, Petitions, Memoirs, and Remarks relating to the Affairs of the Reformed, which Mr *du Bosc* managed at *Paris*. II. The Speeches he made, and the Letters which he wrote, and received, on divers Occasions. The first Speech is that he made (17) to the Duchess of *Longueville*, who was charmed with it (18). III. Divers Letters by way of Dissertation upon some Passages of the Scripture, and some Points of Divinity. IV. Some *Greek*, *Latin*, and *French* Verses, which he composed at several times, and some other Poems made in his Praise. The Public is obliged for this Collection to the same Mr *le Gendre*, who composed the curious Life of that Great Man. Those Pieces shew, that Mr *du Bosc* was very fit for Business, a good Divine, a polite Man, and well versed in good Literature. I must not forget the Letter, which he wrote, in the Year 1660, to Mr *Brevint*, Chaplain to his *Britannic* Majesty *Charles* II, wherein he discovers his Opinion concerning Episcopacy. Part of that Letter was inserted in a Book composed on that Subject: The *Presbyterians* complained of it. The whole Letter is to be found in the Author's Life (19). Mr *le Gendre* has added this Remark to it. 'The joy which Mr *du Bosc* expressed in that 'Letter for the Re-establishment of the King of 'England, shews, that he differed not in his Opinion from the rest of our Divines, who have openly condemned the Parricide of *Charles* I. He always looked upon Kings as the lively Images of 'God on Earth, whose Character ought to render them inviolable to their People. No Body ever spoke of them with more respect, no Body submitted himself more cheerfully and freely to the Powers than he. He forgot nothing which might inspire his Flock with the Love and Obedience that is due to them. He chiefly applied himself to it upon extraordinary Occasions, as he did at *Rouen* in 1663, where preaching, in the presence of the Synod, on the first Chapter of the *Revelations*, the fifteenth Verse, he gave a Character of his Most Christian Majesty, altogether fit to confirm his Subjects in all their Duties. That Piece being now scarce, it will perhaps be re-printed to confute the Calumnies of those, who represent the Ministers as Enemies of Royalty (20).' Another thing which must not be forgot, is, that in 1665, there appeared 'a Sermon (21) printed at *Paris* in his Name, wherein they had inserted several things concerning the Blessed Mother of the Son of God (22), which were so ill digested, that they might have created trouble to the Person to whom the Piece was falsly ascribed. But he pursued the Printer so smartly, that they could take no hold of him (23).'

(15) *Life of Mr du Bosc, pag.* 17.

(16) *Ibid. p.* 31.

(17) *In* 1648.

(18) *Ibid. pag.* 50.

(19) *Pag.* 18. *and following.*

(20) *Ibid. pag.* 30, 31.

(21) *Upon St Matthew, chap.* 1. *ver.* 23.

(22) *This related to the false Complaints lately made by a Jesuit in the Pulpit, that Mr du Bosc had said something against the Honour of the Virgin. Mr Bochart and Mr du Bosc went to the Intendant, and confounded the Jesuit in his Presence. Life of Mr Bosc, p.* 45.

(23) *Ibid.*

The Public will quickly see (24) three Volumes of Mr *du Bosc*'s Sermons on the three first Chapters of the Epistle to the *Ephesians* (25), and perhaps they will be followed by a fourth on several Texts.

[*I*] *He is mentioned in the* Menagiana *in a manner no ways disadvantageous to him.*] 'When I 'was at *Caen*, I heard the Minister *du Bosc* preach. 'I never heard a Minister preach but that time. 'He preached very well; but it seemed strange to 'me, to see a Preacher in the Pulpit with a Hat 'on his Head. *Montagne* says, that there is no-'thing more ridiculous than the square Caps of 'our Priests. We are used to it (26).' Mr *Menage* would not have gone to hear Mr *du Bosc*'s Sermon, if he had not been told, that he was a very good Preacher. His Friends, that is to say, the most learned and ingenious Persons of that City, were of Opinion, that he would not know all that was remarkable in it, if he had not heard the *Huguenot* Preacher, whom the *Catholics* themselves admired.

(24) *I write this the 14th of June 1699.*

(25) *Those three Volumes, and the two foregoing have been printed at Rotterdam by* Reinier Leers.

(26) *Menagiana, pag.* 260 *of the 3d Dutch Edit.*

BOSQUET (Francis), Bishop of *Montpellier*, was one of the most learned Prelates of *France* in the XVIIth Century. He was born at *Narbonne*, and performed the greatest Part of his Studies at *Toulouse*. Before he took Orders he had discharged several considerable Offices; he had been Intendant of *Guienne* and *Languedoc*, Attorney-General in the Parliament of *Normandy*, and Counsellor of State in Ordinary (*a*). *John de Plantavit*, whose Friendship he carefully cultivated, from the time he lodged with him in the *College de Foix* at *Toulouse*, resigned his Bishopric of *Lodeve* to him in the Year 1648. Mr *Bosquet* took Possession of it in the Month of *January* 1650. Five Years after he became Bishop of *Montpellier*, and continued so till his Death, which happened the Twenty fourth of *June* 1676. He was in his Sixty third Year, and a Year before his Death he had his Nephew the Abbot *de Pradel* for his Coadjutor. He composed some Books in *Latin*, which are in good Esteem [*A*]. Mr *Moreri*, out of whose Dictionary I have taken the greatest

(*a*) Journal des Sçavans *of the* 31*st of* August 1676.

[*A*] *He composed some Books in* Latin, *which are in good Esteem.*] The first Work he made public, is an Abridgment of the Civil-Law, which *Psellus* had composed in *Greek* Verse for his Disciple *Michael Ducas* in the XIth Century. That Poem of *Psellus* had never been printed: Mr *Bosquet* not only translated it into *Latin*, but also added some Notes, wherein he shews what Authors *Psellus* had made use of, and explains the most difficult Passages. The second Work (1), is the History of the *Gallican* Fra-

(1) *I mention those Books in the same order as they are mentioned in the* Journal des Sçavans, *who re-*

greateſt Part of what I have ſaid in this Article, has very much commended this Prelate, and has not committed many Faults [B]. I had almoſt forgot to ſay, that *Henry*

can Church, from the beginning of Chriſtianity in *Gaul*, to the Reign of *Conſtantine*. There are two Editions of it. The ſame Author publiſhed the Hiſtory of the *French* Popes, who reſided at *Avignon*. It is the Hiſtory of eight Popes: It reaches from the Year 1305, to 1394. He publiſhed alſo ſeveral Epiſtles of *Innocent* III (2), with very learned Notes. The Biſhop of *Montpellier*, and the Abbot *de Lacan*, Nephews of Mr *Boſquet*, intend to publiſh two conſiderable Works of that learned Man: *The one relates to the Liberties of the* Galliſican *Church, and the other contains Notes on all the Canon Law* (3). Mr *Doujat*, who might have read this in the *Journal des Sçavans* of the Thirty firſt of *Auguſt* 1676, confeſſed in the Year 1686, that he had not been able to find out where the Notes of Mr *Boſquet* on the Decree of *Gratian* were. *Plura alia majoris molis opera a litteratis expetita, inprimis verò Commentaria vel Notæ in Decretum Gratiani nondum prodierunt, nec ubi lateant diſcere ulla ratione adhuc potui* (4). If it were poſſible Authors ſhould be acquainted with the moſt common Books, and with the moſt ſcarce Pamphlets; they would learn ſome things by them, the ignorance of which does them no honour. Further, the Abbot *de la Roque* ſhould not have forgot (5) the Year, wherein each of Mr *Boſquet*'s Books were printed. I find (6) that the *Synopſis Legum* of *Pſellus* was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1632, in 8°. The *Oxford* Catalogue mentions, in the ſame Year, the Hiſtory of the Popes who reſided at *Avignon*. We find there that the Epiſtles of *Innocent* II, were printed at *Toulouſe* in 1635. Now as the Abbot *de la Roque* places the Hiſtory of the *Gallican* Church in the ſecond Rank, therefore it muſt have appeared in the Year 1632, at the fartheſt; and ſo, Mr *Boſquet* muſt have publiſhed moſt of his Books at Nineteen Years of Age, and left off writing Books at Twenty-two, which would be a very haſty retreat, and almoſt without example. He deſerves a Place in the Liſt *des Enfans celebres*, if Mr *Baillet* reprints it. I am ſure, the Journaliſt has not obſerved the Order well; for if the Hiſtory of the *Gallican* Church was Mr *Boſquet*'s ſecond Work, it is very unlikely that Father *Morin* ſhould not have mentioned it, when, in 1633, he beſtowed this Encomium upon that young Author: ' Nec ' non eruditus juvenis Franciſcus Boſquetus docta ' ſynopſeos legum Michaëlis Pſelli è Græco in La- ' tinum verſione, & Hiſtoriæ Pontificum qui è Gal- ' liis orti in ea ſederunt correcta editione, horum- ' que eruditis notis illuſtratione, apud omnes anti- ' quitatis amantes merito charus & acceptus (7). —— ' *Likewiſe the learned Youth* Francis Boſquet *is de-* ' *ſervedly loved and eſteemed by all Lovers of Anti-* ' *quity, for his learned* Latin *Verſion of* Michael ' Pſellus's Greek *Synopſis of the Laws, a correct* ' *Edition of his Hiſtory of the Popes of* French *Ex-* ' *traction, who reſided in* France, *and an Illuſtra-* ' *tion of both with learned Notes.*' This Paſſage alone would be ſufficient to convince me, that the *Hiſtoria Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ* was printed after the Year 1633, and after that of the Popes of *Avignon*.

A REMARKABLE Paſſage left out in a ſecond Edition.

The ſecond Edition of that Hiſtory of the *Gallican* Church, is of the Year 1636, in *Quarto*: it is much larger than the firſt, which was in 8vo, but ſome Lines have been left out of it, which Archbiſhop *Uſher* has taken the pains to preſerve (8). They are ſo conſiderable, that I will inſert them in this place of my Dictionary. It appears from them that Mr *Boſquet* acknowledged, that the falſe Zeal of the Monks was the firſt cauſe of the fabulous Traditions, which have covered the Origin of the *Galliſican* Church with ſuch thick darkneſs. ' Quod de Gallicana nobis proxima Eccleſia nota- ' vit nuper prætor Narbonenſis Franciſcus Boſque- ' tus, *incertam longa antiquitate & poſterorum com-* ' *mentis originem* illius extitiſſe, idem in noſtris quo- ' que Britannicis veriſſimum fuiſſe comperimus (9). ' —— *What* Francis Boſquet *late Intendant of* Nar- ' bonne *obſerved of the* Gallican *Church, our next* ' *Neighbours; that it's Original is rendered uncer-* ' *tain, by it's great Antiquity and the Fictions of later* ' *times, the ſame we find true concerning our* Britiſh ' *Churches alſo.*' He thinks, that the heat of their Zeal, and the deſire of inſpiring more Devotion into the People, made them believe what they taught others afterwards, concerning the pretended Wonders and Antiquity of certain Saints. One can hardly have ſo good and charitable an Opinion of the firſt Inventers of Fables; but it would be very unjuſt not to entertain it of thoſe who ſucceeded them. However it be, here follows the Words in queſtion: ' Primos, ſi verum amamus, hu- ' juſmodi zelotas monachos in Galliis habuimus. ' Illi ſimplici ac ſervida ideoque minus cauta & ' ſæpe inconſulta religione perculſi ad illiciendas ' hominum mentes, & auguſtiori ſanctorum nomine ' ad eorum cultum revocandas, illuſtres eorum ti- ' tulos primum ſibi dein credulæ plebi perſuaſos pro- ' poſuerunt. Ex horum officina Martialis Lemo- ' vicenſis Apoſtolatus, Urſini Bituricenſis Diſcipula- ' tus, Dionyſii Pariſienſis Areopagitica, Pauli Nar- ' bonenſis proconſularis dignitas, amborum Apoſto- ' li Pauli magiſterium, & in aliis Eccleſiis ſimilia ' prodiere. Quibus quidem ſano judicio & conſtan- ' ti animo Galli primum Epiſcopi reſtitere. At ubi ' Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ parentibus, ſanctiſſimis fidei ' præconibus, detractis his ſpoliis, injuriam fieri ' mentibus ingenuis & probis perſuaſum eſt, paula- ' tim error communi conſenſu conſurgere, & tan- ' dem antiquitate ſua contra veritatem præſcribere (10). ' —— *To ſay Truth, we had the firſt of this Sort of* ' *zealot Monks in* France. *They out of a ſimple and* ' *fervent, and conſequently leſs cautious and often* ' *inconſiderate, Zeal, in order to allure Mens minds,* ' *and bring them over to the Worſhip of the Saints,* ' *by giving them more auguſt Names, firſt perſuad-* ' *ed themſelves, and afterwards the credulous Peo-* ' *ple, of their illuſtrious Titles. From this quarter* ' *came the Apoſtleſhip of* Martial, *of* Limoges; *the* ' *Diſcipleſhip of* Urſin, *of* Bourges; *the Areopagiti-* ' *cal Office of* Dionyſius, *of* Paris; *the proconſular* ' *Dignity of* Paul, *of* Narbonne; *and the like in other* ' *Churches. Which indeed were at firſt oppoſed with* ' *good Judgment and Reſolution by the* French *Bi-* ' *ſhops. But when the Fathers of the* Gallican ' *Church, and the moſt holy Preachers of the Faith,* ' *had given their Opinion, that ingenuous and honeſt* ' *minds might be hurt by removing thoſe things, the* ' *Errors of this kind grew by Degrees, by common* ' *conſent, and at laſt by their Antiquity out-weighed* ' *the Truth.*' I queſtion whether it was a good piece of Policy to ſuppreſs theſe fine Words in the ſecond Edition. The omiſſion of this Paſſage plainly ſhews that the *Roman* Catholics are extremely cautious with reſpect to Errors; and that they, whoſe Intereſt it is to maintain them, are eaſily offended at any diſcovery of that kind. They ſhould have conſidered, that the ſuppreſſing of thoſe Words would raiſe the Curioſity of moſt People; and that thoſe, who would have read them curſorily, and with little attention, would, for that very reaſon, look upon them as a thing of the greateſt Importance. They might very well think, that the Proteſtants would not fail to make their Reflexions upon it. In a word, we may ſay of this Paſſage, what an Hiſtorian ſaid of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, whoſe Images did not appear in a Funeral Pomp (11). The ſuppreſſing of it gives it a greater luſtre. We obſerve more eaſily when a Man is not at a certain Feaſt, than when he is there. Here is a Paſſage of *Seneca*: ' C. Cæſar villam in Herculanenſi pulcher- ' rimam, quia mater ſua aliquando in illa cuſtodita ' erat, diruit, fecitque ejus per hoc notabilem for- ' tunam: ſtantem enim præternavigabamus, nunc ' cauſa diruitæ quæritur (12). —— C. Cæſar *pulled* ' *down a very fine Houſe near* Herculanum, *becauſe* ' *his Mother had once been confined there, and by* ' *that means made her misfortune remarkable; for* ' *while it was ſtanding People uſed to ſail by, now* ' *they enquire why it was pulled down.*' Compare with this, what I have ſaid in another Place (13).

(2) *That is, the 13th, 14th, 15th and 16th Books of that Pope's Regiſter* in fol. Journ des Sçavans *of the 31ſt of* Auguſt 1676.

(3) *Taken from Mr* Boſquet's *Elogy inſerted in the* Journal des Sçavans *of the 31ſt of* Auguſt 1676.

(4) Doujat, præno. Canonic. pag. 653.

(5) Journal des Sçavans *of the 31ſt of* Auguſt 1676.

(6) Apud Cave Hiſt. literar. pag. 606. *The* Oxford *Catalogue mentions but one* Paris *Edition of* 1633.

(7) Morin. Exercitat. Biblic. pag. 18 *Edit.* in 4to. 1633.

(8) *See* Colomies, Bibliotheque Choiſie, pag. 84.

(9) Uſſerius in Præf. Britann. Eccleſiarum Antiquitatum, *printed at* Dublin 1639.

(10) Boſquet apud Uſſerium An tiquitat. Britann. Eccleſiar. Præfat.

(11) Viginti clariſſimarum familiarum imagines antelatæ ſunt, Manlii Quinctii, aliaque ejuſdem nobilitatis nomina: ſed præfulgebant Caſſius atque Brutus eo ipſo quod effigies eorum non viſebantur. *Tacitus Annal. lib. iii. in fine.*

(12) Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. cap. xxii.

(13) *In the Remark* [RR] *of the Article* ARNAULD (Anthony the Doctor).

[B] Moreri —— *has not committed many faults.*] I. He does not ſpeak exactly, when he ſays, that Mr *Boſquet*

Henry de Mêmes, President in the Parliament of *Paris*, was the first Patron of *Francis Bosquet*, and that Mr *de la Chambre* was very useful to him, by the good Character he gave of him to the Chancellor *Seguier* (*b*). A Passage, which that Prelate left out of his *Gallican* History, when he reprinted it (*c*), shews, that tho' he was cautious in representing the Abuses of his Church, he was not ignorant of them.

(*b*) Journal des Scavans, ubi supra. *See also* Doujat. Prænot. Canon. pag. 63.

(*c*) *See the Remark* [*A*].

Mr *Bosquet studied in the College* de Foix *at* Toulouse; for there are neither Professors, nor any other Teachers, in that College. It is a House where a certain number of Students are maintained, who give a certain Sum at their Entrance into it. There are, or have been, several such Colleges in the same City. In a certain sense it is very true, that Mr *Bosquet* studied in the College *de Foix*; for he lodged there during his Studies, and he was constant in the Library of that College; but this is not what is commonly understood by *Studying in a College*. The expression of the Journalist is therefore fallacious: it gives his Readers a false Notion, that the College of *Foix* is a Place of Learning. II. The Abbot *de la Roque*, is not more exact, when he places the *Pugio Fidei* of *Raimond Martini* among the Works of Mr *Bosquet*; for tho' he adds these Words, *which he took out of the Library of the College* de Foix, he leads his Readers into this Error, that Mr *Bosquet* published the *Pugio Fidei*. We shall see elsewhere (14), what share he had in the Edition of that Book.

(14) *In the Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* RAIMOND (MARTINI).

BOSQUET (GEORGE), Advocate in the Parliament of *Toulouse* (*a*), in the Reign of *Charles* IX, wrote some Books, and among the rest one which was condemned to the Flames [*A*].

(*a*) De Verdier, Bibl. Franç. pag. 448.

[*A*] *He wrote some Books, and among the rest one which was condemned to the Flames.*] His *Latin* Treatise, *on the Edict of* Henry II, *concerning Marriages contracted by Children of a good Family, without the Knowledge or Consent of their Parents*, was printed at *Toulouse*, by *Jaques Colomies*, in the Year 1558, in 8vo. He published, by the same Man, in 1563, *Hugonorum Hæreticorum Tolosæ conjuratorum: profligatio memoriæ posita*, in 4to (1). It is this last work, If I mistake not, to which the following words relate: 'The King '—— has commanded, and does hereby command, that the Book composed by one *George* '*Bosquet*, of the said City of *Toulouse*, containing 'a diffamatory Libel, shall be burnt; and that all 'Bookfellers and Printers be forbid to print or 'cause to be printed, or to sell, the said Book, 'and that all Persons be forbid to buy the same '(2)." These are the Words of an Arrêt of the Privy-Council, held at the *Chateau de Vincennes* the eighteenth of *June* 1653 (3).

(1) De Verdier Biblioth. Franç. pag. 448.

(2) Rene Hist. Ecclesiast. liv. x. pag. 59, 60.

(3) Ibid. pag. 60.

BOSSU (JAMES *le*), in *Latin Bossulus*, Doctor of Divinity in the University of *Paris*, and a Monk of *St Denis*, was one of the most violent Preachers of the *League*, before and after the Death of *Henry* III. I cannot tell whether he declaimed in the Pulpits of *Paris*, but I know very well that those of *Nantes* were the Stage of his Rebellion; and besides, not content to preach with the most brutal Fury against *Henry* III and *Henry* IV, he also printed at *Nantes* some Dialogues (*a*) between a *Catholic* and a *Politician*, wherein he vented the most extravagant Maxims of the Spirit of Sedition. He maintained in the first place, that *Henry* III was worse, and more atheistical than *Judas* (*b*). II. That *James Clement* was inspired by GOD to stab him (*c*). III. That no Prayers ought to be made to GOD for the Repose of his Soul (*d*). IV. That it was lawful for any body to kill him, on account of the notoriousness of his Tyranny, &c (*e*). The abusive Expressions of that furious Preacher against the Parliament of *Paris* sitting at *Tours*, and against all the Catholics who remained faithful to *Henry* IV, cannot be sufficiently detested. He maintained that the Catholics, who had any Commerce with Heretics, were *ipso facto* excommunicated (*f*); and that Heresy being worse than Paganism, and Paganism being true Atheism, Heresy ought to be called *Atheism, and the most enormous of all Sins*; and that Heretics ought to be shunned as the Plague (*g*). At that time *France* was full of such Preachers, and, to compleat her Misfortunes, was constrained not only to let them go unpunished, but to grant them what they desired, I mean that *France* should refuse to submit to it's lawful Prince, unless he turned Catholic. The Triumph of those rebellious Preachers over Justice will serve for a Model in all such like Cases; whereas if those Trumpeters of Sedition had been punished according to their Deserts, such an example would have served as a Curb for the time to come. There is nothing more dangerous in a State than such People; and with respect to this Evil, Sovereigns ought to be put in mind of the Maxim, *principiis obsta*. Mr *Arnauld*, or a very good Friend of his, will not contradict me in it [*A*]. Father *le Bossu* must have been a Man of some Merit, since

(*a*) He calls them Devis.

(*b*) *Second* Devis pag. 80.

(*c*) *Third* Dev's pag. 17, 18. *He says the same of him, who killed the Prince of* Orange.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 8.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 28.

(*f*) Traité contre l'adhesion aux Heretiques, pag. 56.

(*g*) Ibid. pag. 30.

[*A*] *Mr* Arnauld . . . . *will not contradict me in it.*] I have promised in the Article of that Doctor of *Sorbonne* (1), to insert here an important Reflection which was made on a Conventicle, wherein something was hatched against him. It is as follows: 'Indeed, you Gentlemen in Author'rity, you are fine Folks to suffer such attempts. 'Do not you perceive that if the Proceedings of 'that Conventicle should succeed, (for this is not 'a chimerical Conventicle, as those of Mr *Arnauld*) 'there is not one honest Man in *Liege*, but is 'liable to the like insults from them, if he should 'displease them, or be suspected to favour the 'pretended *Jansenism*, of which they make Mr *Ar'nauld* the Head? It is always dangerous to suffer 'such Audaciousness to get head, and it gathers 'Strength daily, when no care is taken to quash 'it in the beginning. Believe me, an Assembly 'of Men, moved by a false Zeal of Religion, 'supported by the Reputation, which their Habit, 'their Condition, and outward Austerity, procure 'them, armed with the Power which the direction 'of Consciences gives them over the Minds of 'the People, and above all animated, encouraged, 'and directed by a Rector of the Jesuits, are more to 'be feared than is imagined; and if your Politicians 'laugh

(1) Cent. (1).

since, besides his teaching Divinity among the *Benedictins*, he was one of the Members of the Congregation *de Auxiliis* under Pope *Paul* V (*b*). Mr *Arnauld* has commended him very much [*B*]. I believe this is the same *Bossu*, whom Mr *du Plessis Mornay* mentions in these Words. 'Le *Bossu* (*i*) Steward of the Bishopric of 'Nantes discovered this (*k*), preached against it, made Remonstrances to Mr *de* 'Mercœur about it, made the Agent of *Spain* protest against it.' This made him forbear speaking to him (*l*). Thus the very Heads of the League were Slaves to the Preachers.

(*b*) See the Compendium of the Acts of that Congregation, printed at Francfort, and at Rotterdam in 1687. pag. 9.

(*k*) That is to say, that the Duke of Mercœur had a Design to confer with a Royalist secretly.

(*l*) That is, the Duke of Mercœur.

(*i*) Memoirs of Du Plessis Tom. II pag. 274. under the 5th of September 1602. See also the Life of Mr du Plessis pag. 186. where Bossu is called Theologal of Nantes.

'laugh at it, I dare say, they understand nothing 'of the matter. Father *d'Ijarin* boasts already that 'he has either a Commission, or a Permission, from 'his Highness to arrest Mr *Arnauld*, wherever 'he shall find him in the Diocese - - - - Believe me 'such Men must not be allowed too much Liberty. 'For if, notwithstanding the Advices given to the 'Superiors, of which they made no account, nor 'do make the use that was desired, we see them 'so heartily disposed to use Violences of that nature, so far as to be willing to take the Execution 'upon themselves by the Sovereign's leave, they will 'make no difficulty of acting without that leave 'in any thing they are pleased to undertake, as 'soon as they see themselves strong enough, and 'sufficiently supported by the Mob (2).'

Of WHAT consequence it is to keep a close Rein on the ECCLESIASTICS.

(2) Question Curieuse si Mr Arnauld est heretique, pag. 197.

[*B*] *Mr* Arnauld *has commended him very much.*] A Letter, written from *Rome*, says he, which was lately shewn me (3), 'contained an Extract of 'the *Memoirs* of Mr *Pegna*, who was Dean of the 'Rota, under *Clement* VIII, and *Paul* V, concerning what had passed under those two Popes in 'the Congregation *de Auxiliis*. Out of those Memoirs they had transcribed the Suffrage of Mr *le* 'Bossu, a Monk of St *Denys*, and Doctor of 'Sorbonne, of the Month of October 1607, one of 'the most learned Directors of that Congregation. He declared by that Suffrage, that he did 'not approve that a certain University should be 'consulted about the Matters that were in agitation there; and among other Reasons he gave 'these two: First, That they had not condemned 'certain Notes on *Cassian*, which tended to give 'a pretended good sense to the erroneous Propositions of that Author, whose Works had been 'censured by Pope *Gelasius*: Secondly, That they 'had divulged the Bull of *Pius* V, and *Gregory* XIII. 'These are that learned Doctor's own Words 'concerning this second Complaint against that 'University, &c.

(3) Difficultez proposées à Monsieur Steyaert Part. ix. p. 251. Cologne 1692.

BOSSULUS (MATTHEW), a *Parisian* (*a*), taught in *Boncour* College at *Paris* in the Year 1583 (*b*) [*A*]. He was a great Orator: he had been Preceptor to Don *Carlos*, Son of *Philip* II [*B*], and taught Rhetoric in the University of *Valencia* in *Spain* [*C*]. I do not find that he has appeared in Print.

(*a*) La Croix du Maine, pag. 183.

(*b*) Id. pag. 389.

[*A*] *He taught in* Boncour *College at* Paris *in the Year* 1583.] In that Year *Bossulus* made a Speech in *Boncour* College, *which lasted about an Hour and a half* (1). *Du Perron* remembered it so well that he could have recited it word for word. He recited a great part of it in the presence of *la Croix du Maine* three Days after. That Speech was an Eulogy on the Art of Oratory and Orators, *Bossulus spoke of a certain Orator, who seemed to come from Heaven, to hinder the two Armies of* Francis I *and the Emperor* Charles V, *from fighting* (2). I wish that Speech was printed, that I might know the Name of that Orator, who did a thing which Signior *Julio Mazarini* imitated so happily near *Cazal*, and which was the beginning of his Glory and Fortune. *Bossulus* wrote only the Heads of his Speeches, he supplied the rest in the Pulpit *extempore* (3).

(1) La Croix du Maine, pag. 183.

(2) Id. Ibid.

(3) Id. pag. 184.

[*B*] *He had been Preceptor to Don* Carlos, *Son of* Philip II.] *Brantome* informs me of this. 'I 'have been told, *says he* (4), that a Book was wrote 'in *Spain*, and even printed, concerning the Stubbornness, Caprice, Whims and Maggots of *Don* 'Carlos, in which is amusement of all kinds for 'the Reader. His Preceptor was Mr *Bossulus* a 'Frenchman, whom we have seen since in *France*, 'one of the most learned and eloquent Men of 'his time, who also spoke several Languages fluently; but lead a wicked Life, in which he was 'capable of giving him fine Lessons.' Here is a Man, who, according to *Brantome* and *la Croix du Maine*, was very Learned and very Eloquent; and for all that, I am sure, he is but little known in the Common-wealth of Letters, and a great many Persons less Learned than he, are a hundred times better known: The reason is, because they published Books; whereas the Press was never employed on his Productions. It extremely concerns learned Men, who desire not to fall into oblivion after their Death, to set up for Authors; without which, their Name seldom out-lives the first Generation, *res erat unius ætatis*. The generality of Readers do not take notice of the Names of those learned Men, whom they only know by the Testimony of others: A Man is soon forgot, when the Encomium bestowed upon him ends thus, *The Public has seen nothing of his*. We must except those, who, like Mr *de Peiresc*, signalize themselves in a singular manner.

(4) Brant. vies des Capitaines étrangers, Tom. II. pag. 117.

THE Learned who desire to be spoken of after their Death, ought to print Books.

[*C*] *He taught Rhetoric in the University of* Valencia *in* Spain.] I found this in a Book of the Jesuit *Andrew Schot* (5). I believe they took *Bossulus* from that Post to place him with Don *Carlos*, or at least, that his teaching Rhetoric served him for a mediate Introduction; and I cannot but wonder, that a Frenchman was chosen for such an Employment. I wonder yet more, that the *French* have spoken so little of a Man of their own Nation, who was honoured with such a Place in the Court of *Spain* in the XVIth Century.

(5) Bibliotheca Hispanica, pag. 33, where instead of Matthæus Bossutus Parisiensis, it should have been Bossulus, &c.

BOSSUS (MATTHEW), born at *Verona* in the Year 1427, deserves an honourable Place among those who have been illustrious for Virtue and Learning. He was sent very young to *Milan* to study the *belles Lettres* under *Francis Philelphus*, and *Peter Perleon*, and made good Improvement; but he had been spoiled as to his Morals, if he had not soon left a City so corrupt as that was in those Times, where he was at his own Disposal, in the midst of Temptations, and without the Assistance of the good Counsels or Censure of a good Tutor. Being called back to *Verona*, he lived under a better Discipline; and found fewer Occasions of perverting himself; He had vigilant Directors who made him weary of the Vanities of the World. He turned his Thoughts another way, and devoted himself to an Ecclesiastical State in the Year 1451, in the Congregation of the Regular Canons of *Lateran*. *Timothy Mapheus*, who was afterwards Archbishop of *Ragusa*, persuaded him to take that good Resolution, and brought him soon after to *Padua*; where he taught Divinity. *Bossus* improved much under him, both in the Sciences, and in the Art of Preaching; and with a great Zeal and Capacity he discharged the

Duties of the Employments his Superiors gave him. He caused many Houses of his Order to be repaired, and particularly the Abbey of *Fiesoli* in *Tuscany*. *Cosmo de Medicis* gave Seventy thousand Crowns for the Reparation of that Abbey: It was an admirable Building, and the Workmanship of *Philip Brunelleschi*, a *Florentine*, one of the most excellent Architects of that Time (*a*). It was in that Church that *Matthew Bossus* gave the Ornaments of the Cardinalate to *John de Medicis* [*A*]. *Laurence de Medicis* would have it so; which I observe only to shew how much he considered *Matthew Bossus*. Pope *Sixtus* IV had as great an Esteem for him; for as soon as he was raised to the Pontificate, he undertook to put a Stop to the Disorders of the Nuns of *Liguria*, and of the Neighbouring Provinces, and intrusted him with that Employment. As a Reward for his Pains, which had not been to much purpose [*B*], he offered him a very good Prelacy three several times, and pressed him to accept it; but *Bossus* excused himself, and by his Intreaties prevailed with the Pope to leave him in the Condition he was in. He stoutly opposed the Decree of *Innocent* VIII, whereby all sorts of Monks were ordered to give the Clerks of his Chamber, yearly, part of their Revenues. He was five times Visitor of the Order, and twice their Procurator-General at the Court of *Rome*. I do not mention several Deputations wherein he displayed his Eloquence, and other most necessary

(*a*) *The Vault of the Cathedral Church of Florence is accounted a master-piece. It must be who had the Direction of it.* Philippo inquam illo Architectorum coriphæo, cujus prodigiosum ingenium super antiques quoscunque ac moderniores unus tholus seu testudo mavvis templi Florentini æternam extollit. *Lyceum Lateranense, Tom. II, lib. xi. pag. 34.*

[*A*] *He gave the Ornaments of the Cardinalate to* John de Medicis.] *John de Medicis* was so young when *Innocent* VIII made him Cardinal, that, to salve appearances, it was thought fit to require of him, that he should be debarred the use of the public Marks of the Cardinalate for three Years. 'Cum puer ad sacrum illum Senatum assumptus, 'fuerit ab Innocentio octavo Pontifice, hac una 'explicita conditione, ne palam insignibus uteretur 'aut se ut Cardinalis haberet nisi triennio expleto 'ad augendam ætatem (1).' That time being expired, *Matthew Bossus* was chosen to instal that Youth in the Dignity of a Cardinal. He performed the Ceremony with a great deal of Gravity in the Abbey of *Fiesoli*. *Laurence de Medicis*, the Father of *John*, chose him for that Function, which was attended with a most magnificent Pomp. You will find an account of that Ceremony in the hundred and eighth Letter of *Matthæo Bossus*. The Author whom I quote, has inserted a long Extract of it in his *Lyceum Lateranense* (2). It appears there, that *John de Medicis* was but fifteen Years of Age (3), when he was named to the Cardinalate by *Innocent* VIII. I need not say that he was made Pope after the Death of *Julius* II, by the Name of *Leo* X.

(1) Celsus de Rosinis in Lyceo Lateranensi, Tom. II. lib. xi. pag. 38.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) *Others say he was but* 14.

[*B*] *The pains —— he took to reform the Nuns —— was to little purpose.*] This business is much to the Honour of the Memory of *Sixtus* IV. One of his first thoughts, after his Exaltation, was to correct the disorders of the Nuns, and particularly to restrain the Licentiousness of those of *Genoa*, who were going the broad way to Perdition. 'Vixdum sacro diademate caput ornaverat magnus 'ille Pontifex Sixtus quartus de Ruere, cum homo 'ligur mentem altam dirigens ad sanctimoniales 'regionis illius, & cohærentis insubriæ, adque Genuenses præsertim reformandas, quarum status 'patulas vias perditionis instraverat; tantam provinciam, tamque laboriosam, tali tempore dubiam, 'implicitam uni Bosso commendatam voluit (4). '— *The great Pope* Sixtus *the fourth* de Rovere, *who* 'was of the Province of Genoa, *had scarce well put* 'on the sacred Crown, *before he turned his Thoughts* 'on the Reformation of the Nuns of his own Coun'try, and the Milanese his Neighbours, but espe'cially those of the City of Genoa, *who were in* 'a State leading directly the broad way to Destruction; this Business, so great and laborious, and, at that time, critical and intricate, be'assigned to Bossus alone.' Our *Matthew* was chosen for such a difficult Employment, and of such a doubtful Success, that he was unwilling to accept of it. Nevertheless, he acquitted himself of it with great Courage and Vigilance. He gave them exhortations both public and private in the most pathetical manner he could, he animated the Magistrates, and shewed them what they ought to do; he despised the Dangers to which his Reputation, and even his Life, were exposed (5), and he had already put things upon a good Foot, when the Governour of *Genoa*, corrupted with Presents, ceased to second him, and spoiled what had been so happily begun. 'Quæ plane res Christo propitio & magistratibus suffragantibus omnibus eo tum 'loci pervasit, atque iis fuit vallata & constituta 'præsidiis, ut qui desiderabatur exitus prorsus foret habitura, nisi urbis tunc Præsidens alienatus 'magna vi munerum, quod maximum esse solet 'ad omne scelus incitamentum, à nobis turpiter 'defecisset, cœptaque omnia pertutbasset, & quæ 'erant jam acta sanctissime avarus ille atque infidus evertisset (6). - - - - *Which business, by the* 'help of Christ, *and concurrence of all the Ma*'gistrates, *was really come to such a point, and was* 'guarded *and secured by such fences, that it must* 'certainly *have had the desired end, had not the* 'Governor of the City *been alienated with large* 'presents, *(the common Temptations to any kind of* 'wickedness) *and basely fallen off from us, and* 'spoiled *all our undertaking, and by his Covetous*'ness *and Treachery undone all we had been doing.*' Some time after, as the Letter from which I have taken this Passage informs us, the Magistrates took more effectual measures to bring it last those disorderly Nuns to Reason. *Bossus* heard that news with great satisfaction. 'Quod ego 'semper, optavi qui Genuensem patriam istam singulari pietate atque constantia sum prosecutus, 'tuis literis audio fieri - - - - - Cives scilicet istos 'ardenter curare atque moliri ut tandem Monialibus suis istis minus honeste, minusque sobrie ac 'religiose versantibus, modus adhibeatur, adhibereque jam cœperint (7). - - - - - - - *What I, who* 'have *a singular and constant Love for my Coun*'try, Genoa, *always wished, I understand by your* 'Letter *is done* - - - - - *that is, the Citizens are* 'studying *and contriving how at last to lay a Re*'straint *on their Nuns, who do not live so honestly,* 'soberly, *and religiously, as they ought, and that* 'they *have begun to restrain them.*' The Magistrates forbad the Superiors of Nunneries to receive any Maids; they deprived them of their great Riches, which occasioned the Luxury, and other Irregularities which they intended to reform. 'Quod scribis modo concordi, publicoque decreto 'quæsitum, simulque definitum omnibus atque propositum, ne puellæ videlicet ea ipsa in Monasteria 'ullo modo amplius excipi possint; videtur mihi 'sane optimus modus, optima ratio, - - - - addunt 'æque fœminis istis magnæ opes & ingerunt fomenta libidinum, ambitionis, delitiarum, & sumptuum, quibus si vel ex parte caruerint, in his 'fortasse frigescet ardens & petulca luxuries. - - - - 'What, *as you write, is now ordered by a Public* 'Decree, *and given in Charge to them all, viz.* 'that no Maids *shall hence forward be received in* 'the Monastery *itself, on any account, seems to me* 'certainly *the very best Method.* - - - *Great Wealth* 'is *to all these Women only a great Increase of* 'Fuel *for Lust, Ambition, Pleasure, and Magnificence,* 'which *if they are but partly deprived of, perhaps* 'their *wanton, flaming, Luxury may cool a little.*' *Note*, That *Bossus*'s Care did not prove altogether useless; for though he made no general Reformation, yet some Nuns were affected with his Discourses, and renounced their disorderly Life (8). He had a peculiar Talent at representing to the Nuns

(4) Lycei Lateranensis, Tom. II. pag. 40.

(5) Quantum exudaverim, quantum dimicaverim, quantum denique ad discrimen usque famæ & vitæ contenderim, potes tu satis meminisse. *Matth. Bossus, Epist. 87. apud Celsum de Rosinis Lycei Lateranensis Tom. II. pag. 41.*

(6) Id. ibid. apud eumdem.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid. Tom. II. pag. 42.

neceſſary Qualifications. He compoſed ſeveral Books which are worth reading [C]; for there is a great deal of good Morality in them, and they are wrote in a polite Stile for that time. His Book on Womens Dreſs, and to prevent the recalling of the Prohibition they were under not to wear Ornaments, is very pious [D]. He was eſteemed by Perſons of the beſt Quality, and the moſt celebrated Scholars of his Time. He died at *Padua*, in the Year 1502, aged Seventy five Years. This Article is taken from the ſecond Tome (*b*) of the *Lyceum Lateranenſe*, of Abbot *Roſini*, printed at *Ceſene*, in the Year 1649, in two Volumes in Folio.

(*b*) Pag. 24. and following.

Nuns their Duty. See the Letters which he wrote to *Iſota Nogarola*, a learned and devout Nun, to *Violante Seraphica*, to *Caſſandra Fidelis*, to *Antonia* of *Reggio*, to *Margaret* of *Mantua*, a Woman of a great deal of Wit, a good Memory, and great Learning, and to *Paulina* (9). He would have the Nuns (and he had good reaſon for it) to converſe but ſeldom with Men, even with the moſt virtuous, and to obſerve a great deal of Circumſpection in that too (10). O what good Advice was this!

(9) Ibid.

(10) De parce cauteque verſando ſanctis etiam cum viris. *Ibid.*

[C] *He wrote ſeveral Books which are worth reading.*] His Dialogues *De veris ac ſalutaribus animi gaudiis; De inſtituendo ſapientia animo: De tolerandis adverſis*, are none of the leaſt of his Works. His Treatiſe *De gerendo magiſtratu, juſtitiaque colenda*, is a good one: Thoſe four Books, with another *De immoderato mulierum cultu*, were re-printed at *Strasburg* in 4to, in the Year 1509, with a Letter of *Politian*, wherein the Author's Life and Learning are very much praiſed (11). His Speeches, Sermons, and Letters are worthy of him, and have been printed a great many times. A new Edition of his Works was publiſhed at *Florence* in the Year 1627 (12). As for the Commentary which he made on ſome Pieces of *Cicero* (13), it is not known whether it was printed, or not. He mentions it in one of his Letters (14). He had the pleaſure to ſee four Editions of his Works; but becauſe they were printed ſeparately, he reſolved to collect them into a Body, and to add to them ſome other Pieces which were ſtill in the Duſt of his Cloſet, or among the Papers of his Brethren. He intituled that Collection, *Recuperationes Feſulanæ*, and dedicated it to Cardinal *John de Medicis* (15). *Note*, That he made a kind of Apology for *Phalaris* Tyrant of *Agrigentum*, and that he ſolidly refuted an apocryphal Book, which the Preſident *Caſſanæus* was not aſhamed to inſert in his Works: Read this *Latin*;

(11) Geſner. in Biblioth. fol. 505. verſo.

(12) Celſus de Roſinis Lycei Lateran. Tom. II. pag. 67.

(13) *Upon five Orations, and upon the Rhetoric.*

(14) *In the Epiſtle to* Bartholomew *of* Placentia. *See* Celſus de Roſinis Lycei Lateran. Tom. II. pag. 68.

(15) Id. ibid. Tom. II. p. 65.

‘ Phalaridem dudum Agrigentinum tyrannum ab oppoſitionibus Benedicti Calchi Concanonici tutatus eſt, occaſione Epiſtolarum quas ille ſcripſit, in quibus præter eloquentiam raram atque mirabilem, multa graviſſima, multa ſanctiſſima, ſummo Philoſopho & Chriſtiano digna comperiuntur. Sacerdotum temporale Chriſti Domini apocrypham cantilenam evidentiſſimis rationibus confutavit ſcribens ad Policletum Phiſicum, quem tamen ineptiſſime Bartholomæus Caſſanæus in ſuo Gloriæ mundi theatro inſeruit ex Libello ineptiore (16).

(16) Id. ibid. pag. 60.

‘ ------ *He defended* Phalaris, *Tyrant of* Agrigentum, *from the Objections of* Benedictus Calchus Concanonicus, *on Account of the Epiſtles wrote by him; in which, beſides a rare and admirable Eloquence, there are many very grave and pious things, and worthy of an excellent Philoſopher and a Chriſtian. He confuted an apocryphal Song, called the Temporal Prieſthood of* Chriſt *the Lord, with the moſt ſolid Reaſons, in a Letter to* Policletus Phiſicus. *And yet* Bartholomew Caſſanæus *has been weak enough to inſert it in his* Theatrum Gloriæ Mundi, *from a Book yet more fooliſh.*’

[D] *His Book on Womens dreſs ------ is very pious.*] *Timotheus Maphæus*, preaching in Lent at *Bologna*, ſhewed ſo clearly in his Sermons, that Women ought to be forbid all ſuperfluity of Dreſs by a public Decree, that ſuch a Law was promulged. *Egiſſet ex pulpito ut publico decreto petulantior mulierum cultus, & inundans veſtimentorum luxuries comprimeretur* (17). Soon after came out an Harangue addreſſed to Cardinal *Beſſarion*, Legate of *Bologna*, wherein it was attempted to be proved, that Women ought not to be deprived of their Ornaments, and that it was proper to revoke the Prohibition. *Maphæus*, who was gone to *Tuſcany*, as ſoon as Lent was over, was not in condition to refute the Cenſurer of the Decree which he had obtained, nor to prevent the impreſſions this Apologiſt for the Women might make on Peoples minds. So the Diſcourſe of the Apologiſt was ſpread without Oppoſition; and as it was pretty eloquent, and maintained a Theſis very agreeable to the World, it was applauded by many: but the wiſer heads were provoked, that the Extravagance of Dreſs, ſo contrary to Modeſty, and ſo dangerous with reſpect to Chaſtity, ſhould find an Advocate to ſupport it with all the turns of Rhetoric. *Alii vero, quorum ſanior erat mens, rectiuſque judicium, dolebant ornamentorum licentiam, injuriâ continentiæ, pudicitiæque diſcrimine, literis illuſtratam* (18). Our *Matthew Boſſus* was therefore earneſtly deſired to refute it. Obſerve, that the Apologiſt concealed his Name, and introduced a modeſt Lady, called *Nicoloſa Sanuta*, pleading the Cauſe of the fair Sex. He repreſented her very angry at the Prohibition, and making Heaven and Earth reſound with her complaints and murmurs. It is not known, whether that Lady took it amiſs, that her Name was made uſe of on ſuch an Occaſion. We only know that ſhe was eſteemed a Woman of Honour: ‘ Operi, ob turpitudinem, nomen non cuderit Auctor ſuum; verum ingenuam matronam Nicoloſam Sanutam loquentem adduxerit, omnia muliebri querimoniâ replentem: cui ignotum gratiámne an injuriam fecerit, cum nobiliſſima fœmina magis præſe ferre videretur pudicitiam, honeſtatem, frugalitatem, antiquos mores atque animi conſtantiam, quam laſciviam & immoderatum ornamentorum affectum (19).’ *Boſſus* undertook to plead the Cauſe of the Preacher *Maphæus*, and addreſſed a very fine diſcourſe to Cardinal *Beſſarion* (20), to ſhew him that he ought not to give leave to the Women of *Bologna*, to uſe their Ornaments again. This diſcourſe had all the effect the Author could deſire; for the Decree continued in it's full Force all the time of that Cardinal's Legateſhip (21). When that was expired, a Piece came out addreſſed by a very learned Perſon (22) to *Sanctes Bentivoglio*, a Man of great Authority in *Bologna*. The Author adviſed him, in this Piece, to give the Women liberty to adorn themſelves, and ſell very foul on thoſe who held the contrary. *Boſſus* wrote a handſome Letter to that Author, and retouched the matter ſo dextrouſly, that he brought him into the right way (23). I do not wonder that he converted his Antagoniſt; but I ſhould have wondered, if he had Eloquence enough to perſuade the Women to conſent to the Decree. There was the Difficulty. *Hoc opus, hic labor eſt.* I have ſaid elſewhere (24), they were obliged to aboliſh ſuch a Law in *Rome*. See alſo Remark [C] of the Article PYTHAGORAS, and the fourth Chapter of the ſecond Book of *Chriſtian Advice for the Education of Children*. Mr *Joly*, the Author, ſpeaks there of this Diſpute of *Matthew Boſſus*, and cites ſeveral curious things from it. I ſhall content myſelf with theſe. ‘ One of the moſt difficult Points to manage with Women, is to root out their curioſity for Cloaths and Ornaments of the Body. The reaſon of it is, Women naturally love to be fine. St *Jerome* † calls the Female Sex *Philocoſmon* ↓, that is to ſay, which loves Finery: and adds, that he knew a great many Women of extraordinary Chaſtity, who dreſſed themſelves ſolely for their own ſatisfaction, without deſign of pleaſing any Man. ‘ This therefore is one of the peculiar imperfections, with which he reproaches the Sex in theſe Words to *Euſtochius*: ‘ Imperfectiſſimus mulierum affectus. Semper in veſtibus, ſemper in auro, lapidibus & ornamentis, extrinſecus gloriam ponunt ‡. ------ *The affection of Women is very imperfect, in that they place all their Glory in the outſide, always in Cloaths, always in Gold, Jewels, and external*

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) Celſi de Roſinis Lateranenſ. Tom. II. pag. 61.

(19) Id. ibid.

(20) *It is intituled,* No fœminæ ornamenta Bononienſibus reſtituantur, ad Beſſarionem Cardinalem atque Legatum cohortatio. *It is alſo cited by the Title of* de immoderato mulierum cultu.

(21) Celſi de Roſinis Lyceum Lateranenſe, Tom. II. pag. 61.

(22) Guarin de Veronne.

(23) Celſi de Roſinis Lyceum Lateranenſe, Tome II. pag. 61.

(24) *In the Article* PRETEXTATE, *about the middle of the Remark* [B].

† In Epiſt. ad Gaudentium, de Pacatulæ Inſt.

↓ Φιλοκοσμον.

‡ Hier. in Virginit. ſervandâ.

'*external Ornaments*. And to *Demetrias*: Quando eras in seculo, ea quæ erant seculi diligebas: polire faciem purpurissо, & cerussa ora depingere, ornare crinem, & alienis capillis turritum verticem struere. Ut taceam de inauribus pretiis, candore margaritarum, rubri maris profunda testantium, smaragdorum virore, cerauniorum flammis, hyacinthorum pelago, ad quæ ardent & insaniunt studia matronarum (25). —— When you were in the World, you loved the things of the World, as to whiten your Face, to set off your Complexion with Vermillion, to curl your Hair, and adorn your Head with strange Hairs. I say nothing of the richness of Diamonds, the whiteness of Pearls fished from the bottom of the Red-Sea, of the beautiful green of Emeralds, the lustre of Rubies, nor the Sky Colour which appears in Saphirs and Jacinths, which are the objects of Passion, Admiration, and Folly of Ladies of Quality.'

(25) Joly, Institution des Enfans, pag. 257, 258.

BOTAL (LEONARD), in *Latin Botallus*, lived in the XVIth Century. He was born at *Asti* in *Piedmont*, and took his Degree of Doctor of Physic at *Pavia*. He came into *France* where he made his Fortune; for he was Physician to the Duke of *Alençon*, and to *Henry* III. He introduced at *Paris* the Practice of frequent Bleeding. Some Persons wrote against him on that Subject, and his Method was condemned by the Faculty of Physic. We shall see, below, Proofs of all this [*A*]. He published several Books of Physic and Surgery (*a*), a new Edition of which was printed at *Leyden*, in the Year 1660, in 8vo, by the Care, and with the Notes of *John van Horne*, a Physician (*b*).

(*a*) *The Titles of them are to be found in* Lindenius Renovatus, pag. 741.

(*b*) Ibid.

[*A*] *He introduced at* Paris *the Practice of frequent bleeding, for which he was written against. Here are the Proofs of all this.*] '*Botal* --- a *Piedmontese*, of the Town of *Asti*, and Doctor of *Pavia*, having found the great effects of bleeding in the Distempers which came under his care, having large Practice in *Paris*, and at Court, in the Service of *Francis* Duke of *Alençon*, fourth Son of *Henry* the Second, he wrote a Book on that Subject, to which one *Bonaventure Grangier* a Physician in *Paris* wrote an Answer, to moderate the frequent Practice of drawing Blood, and shew how to make a proper Use of that great Remedy (1).' Another Evidence, and the more authentic, as he was particularly acquainted with our *Botal*, says thus, 'And not to leave the Subject of Bleeding, I remember, when I was young (2), Physicians were very moderate in it, and took a great deal of care before they ordered it, and more before they repeated it. Mr *Duret*, my Friend, a Physician of a singular good Character, visiting me when I was ill, and playing on the equivocal meaning of the word *Seigneur* [Bleeder], used to say that he was but a very little Seigneur [Lord].

'Afterwards there arrived in *France* one *Botal*, a *Piedmontese*, who was Physician to *Henry* III, who used Bleeding in all manner of Distempers, even in the Gout, and would not stick to repeat it four or five times to one Patient. And as I was remonstrating to him one Day, (for I was his Advocate) that instead of curing Distempers, it was the way to turn them into Consumptions. He answered, that the more stagnated Water you draw out of a pit, the more good comes in it's Place; and the more a Nurse is sucked by her Child, the more Milk she has. That it was the same with respect to Blood and Bleeding. Notwithstanding, this Proposition was at that time condemned by our Faculty of Physic. Nay, there was a Book written expressly against it by *Grangier*, which was received with general Applause. And yet after the Death of *Botal*, his Practice revived in the Opinion of our Physicians, who do not spare repetition of Bleeding, not only to their Patients that are Strangers to them, but even to their own Wives, Children and Brothers by which they have had very good Success.'

(1) Riolan. Recherches des Eschol. de Medicine, pag. 236, 237.

(2) *It is* Stephen Pasquier *who says this, Book x. x. pag.* 548. *of Tom. II.*

Whatever helps to shew the Original and Progress of any thing is so pleasing to a multitude of Readers, that they will not be sorry to find here this Passage entire, and to be informed that I have recited elsewhere (3), the same Author's account of the Bleeding practised by *Averroës*.

(3) *Remark* [*D*] *in the Article* AVERROES, *near the end.*

BOTEREIUS (RODOLPHUS), Advocate in the Grand Council at *Paris*, Author of a History of *Henry* IV. See the Article BOTERO, Remark [*B*].

BOTERO, or BOTERUS (JOHN), Native of *Bene* (*a*) in *Piemont*, flourished towards the end of the XVIth Century. He was Tutor to the Children of *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, and died in the Year 1608 (*b*). He wrote several Books in *Italian*, which have been translated into divers Languages. They are accounts of the Government and Forces of several States of *Europe*, or bare Recitals of modern Transactions. He wrote also Discourses on Politics, &c. [*A*]. Consult Mr *Moreri*, and the Observations I make below [*B*]. *Thuanus* blames the Translator

(*a*) *Hence he is called in* Latin Benensis *or* Benenfis.

(*b*) Baudrand in Catalogo Geographorum ad calcem Lexici Geographici.

[*A*] *He wrote ----- Discourses on Politics*, &c.] I shall take notice of one only: which is intituled, *Della Ragion di Stato, libri dieci, contro libri delle Cause della Grandezza e Magnificenza della Città*. It was printed at *Venice* by the *Giolitti*, in the Year 1589 in 4to. The Author observes in his Epistle Dedicatory, dated at *Rome* the tenth of *May* 1589, that he had spent some Years past in several Journies, to the Courts of Kings and great Princes, both within the *Alps* and without. *Naudé* mentions *Botero*'s Works in several Places of his *Bibliographie Politique*, and seems to value them.

[*B*] *Consult Mr* Moreri, *and the Observations I make below.*] It is pleasant enough to see all *Piedmont* erected into an Abbey: *Boterus* Abbot of *Piedmont* says Mr *Moreri*. A Comma after Abbot would help it a little, but would not hide the Author's negligence in expression. It is certain *Botero* had an Abbey: *viz.* that of *St Michael de Clausula* (1). He published his Works in *Italian*: and therefore it ought not to have been said, that he published his Relations under this Title, *Amphitheatrum seu relationes Universales*. It is falsly said, that *Rodolphus Botereius*, from whom this Author ought to be distinguished, is called indifferently BOTERUS or BOTEREY, and that the History which he published in 1610, reaches *from the Reign of* Henry II, *to the beginning of that of* Lewis XIII, and that it is different from *the* Latin *Work, extant in three Volumes in Octavo, under the Title of Commentaries in XVIII Books*. Here are a number of Faults in a few Lines. I do not well know the *French* name of the Advocate, who gives himself this *Latin* name *Rodolphus Botereius* at the head of his Works. Father *du Breul* cites him often, and calls him sometimes Master *Raoul Boterey* (2), sometimes *Boterays* (3), sometimes *Botrays* (4), sometimes Monsieur *Boterays* (5), sometimes Monsieur *Bouterays* (6). And all this in citing a Poem composed by This Author on the City of *Paris* (7). I think Mr *Baillet* in some of his Works has rendered *Botereius* by *Bouteroue*. The *Bodleian* Catalogue fixes his name *Botereius*; but mentions two others, *Botereus* and *Bouthrays*. Among so many variations I find

(1) Baudrand in Catalogo Geographor. ad calcem Lexici fuis.

(a) Antiquitez de Paris pag. 10, 14. *Edit.* 1639. *in* 4to.

(3) *Pag.* 61.

(4) *Pag.* 426.

(5) *Pag.* 564.

(6) *Pag.* 726.

(7) *Intituled* Lutetia.

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Translator of *Botero*, and calls him Impostor [C]. I will recite his Words, which shew that Engraving is as capable of falsifying History as Printing, and that the Licentiousness in publishing the Print of a fictitious public Monument did not begin in our Days.

I find not the name *Boterus*, which *Moreri* prefixes to the two others. The History published by *Boterëius* in 1610, begins but in the Year 1594, and ends with the Death of *Henry* the Great. And therefore it is not true, that it extends *from the Reign of* Henry II, *to the beginning of that of* Lewis XIII. It is intituled, *de Rebus in Galliâ & pene toto orbe gestis Commentariorum Libri XVIII in tres tomos tributi*. The first Tome contains eight Books, and ends with the Year 1601, the second Tome contains nine Books, and ends with the three first Months of the Year 1610; the third Tome contains but one Book of Twenty four Pages, which is only a relation of the Death of *Henry* the Great, and what followed in a few Days after.

[C] Thuanus *blames the Translator of* Botero, *and calls him Impostor.*] That is on Account of the Absolution of *Henry* IV. The King's Proxies, among other Ceremonies, were obliged to kneel before the Throne of *Clement* VIII, and bow their Heads, while the fifty first Psalm was read (8). At every verse the Pope gave them a gentle tap with his Wand; so the Ritual has appointed, according to the old Practice of the ancient *Romans* in enfranchising Slaves. *Henry* IV was considered as a Person loaded with the Chains of Excommunication, who was going to be solemnly set free. It is certain the Pope gave himself too many haughty airs, and he ought not to think it strange that the Protestants blamed him for it; but then they ought to keep within the bounds of Truth, and not to carry their raillery too far; for then it is no longer a just complaint, but a Lampoon, and malicious Falsification. This does not effect *d'Aubigné*; for as his Catholic Confession of *Sanci* is truly a learned and ingenious, but burlesque, Piece, no Body takes all that he says literally. That is not the Case of *Botero*'s Accounts; they are taken for grave and serious Narrations; and therefore the *Latin* Translator ought not to have falsified them, by pretending that the King's Proxies received a hundred blows with the Cudgel (9), and that the Pope erected a Column for an eternal Monument of his Triumph over *France*. *Thuanus* complains of him thus. ' Relationem de eâ re a Joanne Botero (10) ' Benensi, aliis editis libris non obscuro, vernaculè ' scriptam qui latine vertit, & Coloniæ cum inep- ' tâ admodum & mendaci picturâ typis excuden- ' dam curavit, erga Regem Regnumque injuriosus ' fuit, quippe qui in explicanda vindictæ adhibitæ ' ratione suttibus eosdem procuratores dicit, quod ' maxime apud nos contumeliosum dicitur. De- ' inde procuratores qui vestibus modestiæ sacerdo- ' tali convenientibus induti erant cùm penulis & ' gladiis in scenam inducit, & columnam quasi ' insigne triumphantis de Rege, & regni calamitate ' Pontificis monumentum Romæ erectum confingit ' (11).— John Botero of Bene, *a Man noted for some other Pieces, having published an Account of that Affair* in French, *it was translated into* Latin, *and printed at* Cologne *with a very foolish and lying Frontispiece; the Translator has abused both the King and Kingdom, for in setting forth the matter of inflicting the Penance, he says that the Proxies were beat with Cudgels, which in our Country is the utmost contumely. And then the Proxies, who were cloathed in a modest Habit, suitable to Priests, he has introduced with Cloaks and Swords, and feigns of his own Head, that a Column was erected at* Rome, *as a Monument of the Pope's Triumph over the King, and the Calamity of the Kingdom.*' It is a common Saying, that Pictures are the Books of the ignorant: Authors ought therefore to make Conscience of putting false Prints into their Books: for they deceive such Persons as are least able to guard against Error. They deceive even the learned; for when we see a Print, which was published at the time the thing represented is supposed to have existed, it is looked on as an authentic Proof; so that they who see that figure of a Column which *Thuanus* complains of, dare not doubt but the Pope did really raise himself that pompous Trophy. And when a Man finds himself deceived by a representation of pretended public Monuments, he can no longer tell what to trust to: he cannot tell whether Medals, Inscriptions, and such like Monuments are more sincere than a mercenary Historian kept in annual Pay; and this is a Confirmation of Historical Pyrrhonism. Let us dispel the gloom of this Criticism by the Railleries of the Sieur *d'Aubigné*; ' Do not ' you see, say they, how the State submits to the ' Church, that this brave King, after defeating so ' many Armies, reducing so many Subjects to Obe- ' dience, and subduing so many great Princes, his ' Enemies, is obliged to prostrate himself at the ' Pope's feet, and suffer a drubbing in the Persons ' of Mr the Converter and the Cardinal *d'Ossat*? ' Who lay flat on the Ground upon their Bellies, ' like a Couple of Mackerel on a Gridiron, from ' *Miserere* to *Vitulos*. And besides, say they, this ' Game he was obliged to play over again between ' himself in Person and the Legate, but that was ' done gently, and under the Rose (12). See the ' Remark [K] of the Article HENRY IV, and ' Remark [A] of the Article TEXERA.

(11) Thuanus, Hist. lib. cxiii. sub fin. pag. 698. ad ann. 1595.

(12) Confess. Cath. de Sancy, liv. i. cap. i. *at the beginning.*

CEREMONIES of the Absolution of Henry IV.

(8) *Or the 50; according to the Latins. It is the Miserere.*

(9) At the Creation of several Knights the Ceremonial requires that they shall have a blown on the Cheek, or with a naked Sword on the back. They do but just touch them. If that Act were repeated several times, would an Author have any Ground to say that the Knight received a hundred Blows with the flat of a Sword.

(10) The Edition of *Francfort* in 1628, which I make use of says *Botero.*

BOUCHER (JOHN), a *Parisian* (a), Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and Curate of *St Bennet* at *Paris*, in the time of the League, was a Trumpet of Sedition, and the most mutinous and furious Spirit among the Rebels. *Their first Assembly was held in his Apartment*, in the College of *Fortet*, in the Year 1585 (b). It was he, who, by ordering the Alarm-Bell to be rung in his Church the second of *September* 1587 (c), contributed more than any body else to a Commotion of the People, the Consequences of which were so ignominious to *Henry* III. The Success of that Day made him more insolent, and the next he preached violently against the Person of the King, and against his Counsellors (d). History observes, that the Weakness of this Prince was the principal Cause of the Boldness of the Rebels [A]. *Boucher* prostituted, not only his Tongue, but also his Pen to the Head of the League, and published, among other things, a Discourse on the *Justice of deposing* Henry III [B]. The

(a) Thuanus, lib. xcv. p. 280.

(b) Varillas, Hist. Hen. III. lib. viii. pag. 325. *Edit. of* Holland.

(c) Thuanus, lib. lxxxvii. pag. 127.

(d) Concionatores vero & in iis familiam ducens Bucerus ex Ambone in Regem & ejus Consiliarios palam debacchatus. *Id. ibid.*

[A] *The weakness of* Henry III, *was the principal Cause of the boldness of the Rebels.*] See *Thuanus* (1) and *Mezerai* (2). This confirms what I have somewhere (3) said, that it is not usually Tyranny, but want of Capacity to make themselves feared, that causes Princes to lose their Sceptres and Crowns. The Flatterers of the People would gladly persuade us, that there is nothing to be feared from them as long as they are well governed. But this is an Imposition: an enterprizing Man does what he will with the People, under a soft and gentle Government.

(1) Thuan. Hist. lib. lxxxvii. pag. 126, 127.

(2) Tom. III. in folio. pag. 644.

(3) *In the Remark* [A] *of the Article* AMPHARES, *near the end.*

[B] *He published, among the rest, a Discourse on the Justice of deposing* Henry III.] This we learn from *William Barclay*, in his Answer to that Book, which is part of his Work against the *Monarchomachi* (4). *Thuanus* mentions it still more clearly: See the next Remark. The same *Barclay* observes, that *Boucher* published another Book in *French*, under the Name of *Francis de Verone Constantin.* ' Quo- ' niam

(4) *The 6th Book, the particular Title whereof is,* Anacrisis libro- rum Jo. Bouche- rii de justâ imo injustâ Hen- rici III. abdica- tione e Franco- rum Regno.

The most infamous Satire imaginable [C]. There is a strong probability that he was an Accomplice in the enormous Action of *James Clement* [D]. He was the bolder after the Death of that Prince, because he could then screen himself under a pretence that the Successor was actually and notoriously a Huguenot. That pretence failed him to his great Grief, when *Henry* IV professed himself a *Roman* Catholic; nevertheless he persisted in his first Opinion. He continued to preach, that he ought not to be obeyed, and published nine Sermons, dedicated to the Cardinal of *Placentia*, wherein he maintained that the Abjuration of the * *Bearnois* was but a Feint, and that his Absolution was void [E]. Notwithstanding all his Sermons, and Libels, the *Parisians* submitted to *Henry* IV. The Day after the Reduction of the City his Sermons were burnt at *la Croix du Tiroir* (e). But he persisted in the Party of the Leaguers, and retired into the *Netherlands* (f) with the *Spanish* Garrison, which had been in *Paris* during the League, and

[* *So he called* Henry IV. *born in* Bearn. Rem. Crit.]

(e) Cayet Chron. Novenaire, fol. 225. verso ad ann. 1593.

(f) Mezerai, Abr. Chronol. ad ann. 1594. pag. 824.

'niam — turbas illas civiles prioribus tuis Libris & 'Concionibus excitatas, accensaque in Reges odia, 'posteriore scripto, quod patriâ linguâ, sub Fran'cisci Veronensis Constantini nomine divulgâsti, 'non modo non mitigare & compescere, sed novo 'artificio fovere & propagare de industriâ nisus es: 'patere me tecum vehementius paulò, sed lenius 'tamen quam rei indignitas flagitat, regum & reg'norum omnium nomine de hâc injuria expostulare

(g) Gul. Barclaius lib. v. contra monarchomach. pag. 599.

'(g). —— *Since* —— *in a late piece published by* 'you *in* French, *under the Name of* Francis de Ve'ronne Constantin, *you have endeavoured by a new* 'Artifice, *not to compose and mitigate, but to cherish* 'and propagate the civil Tumults and Hatred of the 'King, *caused by your former Books and Sermons; 'suffer me to expostulate with you in the Name of 'all Kings and Kingdoms, concerning this Injury, 'which tho' I do some what warmly, yet will it be 'much more mildly than the baseness of the thing 'deserves.* The *French* Book he charges him with, is even more wicked than the *Latin* one; for it is the infamous Apology for *John Châtel*, under this Title, *An Apology for* John Châtel, *a Parisian, who was executed, and for the Fathers and Scholars of the Society of* Jesus, *who were banished the Kingdom of* France, *against the Arrêt of Parliament, passed against them at* Paris, *the twenty second of* December (1594); *in five Parts. By* Francis de Verone Constantin. The Name of *Francis de Verone Constantin* is a convincing proof, that *Barclay* attributes this Apology for *John Châtel* to *Boucher*: nevertheless I shall give another Reason; and quote a Passage which will put the thing out of all manner of doubt. 'Cur in spurcissimâ illâ & infami 'tuâ Apologiâ, quam pro parricidâ & perduelle 'manifesto, recenti irâ & inveterato odio furens & 'fremens evomuisti, nefarium perditi adolescentis 'conatum, facinusque omni memoriâ execrandum, 'in Regis itidem Christianissimi, & (si alium Gal'lia unquam habuit) clementissimi perniciem medi'tatum, ut pulcherrimum & prope divinum, atque

(6) Id. ibid. lib. vi. cap. xxv. pag. 795.

'omni ex parte heroicum commendasti (6)? ----- 'Why did you, in that most filthy and infamous A'pology of your's, which you, fretting and foaming 'with fresh rage and inveterate hate, spued out for a 'manifest Murderer and Rebel, and extol an Act 'to be cursed to all Posterity, contrived for the de'struction of a most Christian and (if ever France 'had one) a most merciful King; I say why did you 'extol it as a most beautiful and almost divine 'Action, and in every respect heroic.' *Barclay* after having said this, praises the Apology which the Jesuits had published, wherein they detested *Châtel*'s Action and confessed that he was justly punished, as a Parricide. We shall see in the Remark [H] Citation (15), that Cardinal *d'Ossat* was of *Barclay*'s Mind, concerning the Apology for *John Châtel*.

[C] *It was the most infamous Satire imaginable.*] *Thuanus* says that *William Rose* Bishop of *Senlis*, the little *Feuillant*, the Jesuit *Commolet*, *Genebrard Feuardent*, *Launoi*, (a Minister who turned Papist,) *Boucher*, and some others, defamed King *Henry* III, with a prodigious rage, both with their Tongues and in anonymous Libels, and that at last they gloried in putting their Names to those satirical Writings. He adds that *Boucher* was so bold as to put his Name to the Book in question, which was printed in a fine Letter for *Nicolas Nivelle*, but the Impression was not finished 'till a little after the tragical Death of that King (d). He vented in that Book all manner of abominable stuff against the King: Read what follows: 'Hac fiducia fretus 'librum scripsit Bucherus de justa Henrici III 'abdicatione, nomen suum professus apud Nicolaum 'Nivellum characteribus elegantibus expressum, 'neque dum, cum rex vivere desiit, consummatum 'quo non aliud flagitiosius toto illo effrenatæ li'centiæ tempore publicatum est, eoque rabula 'impudentissimus innumera dictu fœda & auditu 'horrenda per summam calumniam Regi affingebat, 'propter quæ eum tanquam à communione ec'clesiæ ipso jure exclusum, ab omni regni jure 'excidisse, & legitime abdicatum, ac tandem justo 'Dei judicio & impulsu interfectum esse colligebat

(7) Thuan Hist. lib. xcv pag. 280. col. 2.

'(7). —— *Emboldened by this,* Boucher *wrote a 'Book on the Justice of deposing* Henry III, *with 'his Name prefixed, printed by* Nicolas Nivelle, *'in an elegant Letter, but not finished till after 'the Death of the King. A more flagitious thing 'than this had not appeared in all that time of 'exorbitant licentiousness: there the impudent Brawler 'had, in a most reproachful Manner, aspersed the 'King with many abominable and shocking Things; 'for which, as in his account, he was justly ex'cluded from the Communion of the Church: so 'he concluded, he had likewise lost all Right to the 'Kingdom, and was lawfully deposed, and at last 'slain by the just Judgment and Impulse of 'God.'

[§ (d) See the *Catholicon d'Espagne* Edit. 1712, Tom. II. pag. 332. Rem. Crit.]

[D] *There is a strong Probability, that he was an Accomplice in the enormous Action of* James Clement (8).] '*Antony Loysel* has left in writing in his 'Journal, that the same Day the King was wound'ed, and before any News was brought of his 'Wound, he heard a Sermon at *St Merry*'s by 'Dr *Boucher*, who said, to comfort his Hearers, 'that as on that Day, the First of the Month '*August*, in which they celebrated the Feast of 'St *Peter in Bonds*, God had delivered that A'postle out of *Herod*'s Hands, they ought to hope, 'that he would grant them the like favour. Where'upon he did not scruple to advance this damna'ble Proposition, that it was an Act of great Me'rit to kill a King, who is a Heretic or a fa'vourer of Heretics. The other Preachers, going 'Hand in Hand with him, preached at the same 'time with more passion and fury than ever they 'had done against *Henry de Valois*; and the same 'unexceptionable Witness says, that they gave the 'People certain hopes that God would soon 'deliver them from him: Which made many 'Persons believe that they had been acquainted 'with the horrible design of that Parricide (9).' I take this from *Maimbourg*, an Author, who is not hasty in drawing consequences upon such a Subject.

(8) *A Dominican Monk who killed* Henry III.

(9) Maimbourg, Hist. de la Ligue lib. iii. ad ann 1589 pag. 1co. Dutch Edit.

[E] *He published nine Sermons, against the Abjuration of* Henry IV, *wherein he maintained that his Absolution was void.*] He published them the first time at *Paris*: He printed a second Edition of them at *Douay* after he had left *France*: A poor comfort for his vexation to see upon the Throne a Prince, whom he had so much reviled in his Discourses and Writings. *Thuanus* uses him as he deserves. 'Inter eos vero, *says he* (10), unus 'repertus est Joannes Bucherus S. Benedicti Curio 'qui maledicendi rabie efferatus cum in desunctum

(10) Thuan. Hist. lib. cvii. pag. 558. ad ann. 1593.

and marched out the Twenty second of *March* 1594. He obtained a Canonicate at *Tournay*, and died Dean of the Chapter of that City *fifty Years after, but very much altered in his Humour, being as zealous a* Frenchman *among Foreigners, as he had been a furious* Spaniard *in* France (g) [*F*]. His Character may be judged of by the Diſcourſe which I mention in the Remarks; it is a Reproof given him by King *Henry* III [*G*]. On the News that he was to come to *Rome*, Cardinal *d'Oſſat* intreated the Pope to cauſe him to be impriſoned [*H*], and ſpoke vigorouſly

(g) Id. ibid.

' regem contumelioſus fuiſſet, in hunc injurioſus ' eſſe voluit, & IX. longas conciones ad Mederi- ' ci fanum habuit de ſimulata Henrici Borbonii ' Benearni Principis ad eccleſiam reconciliatione, ' & irrita abſolutione, quas anno proximo Kalend. ' Mart. Cardinali Placentino inſcriptas ac typis in ' urbe excuſas, poſtea cum ab ea exularet, Duci ' in Atrebatibus recudendas curavit, furore nondum ' per ſecutam rerum converſionem aut locorum ' aut temporis intercapedinem domito. —— *But* ' *among them was one* John Boucher, *Curate of* ' St Bennet, *a furious railing Fellow, who as he had* ' *contumelioufly treated the late King, was reſolv-* ' *ed to abuſe the preſent; and preached nine long* ' *Sermons in* St Merry's *Church, on the feigned Re-* ' *conciliation of* Henry *of* Bourbon, *Prince of* Bearne, ' *to the Church, and the Nullity of his Abſolution,* ' *which he got printed in the City, and publiſhed* ' *the Year following on the firſt of* March, *dedicated* ' *to the Cardinal of* Placentia, *and again, in his* ' *Exile, reprinted at* Douay, *his rage not being yet* ' *conquered by the Change of affairs that followed,* ' *or the diſtance of time or place.*

The whole Title of that Work according to my Edition is thus: ' Some Sermons concerning the ' feigned Converſion and the Nullity of the pre- ' tended Abſolution of *Henry de Bourbon*, Prince of ' *Bearn*, at *St Denis* in *France*, Sunday the twenty ' fifth of *July* 1593, on the ſubject of the Goſpel ' for the ſame Day, *Attendite à falſis prophetis*, ' &c. *Matth.* vii. delivered in *St Merry*'s Church in ' *Paris*, from the firſt day of *Auguſt* following, to ' the Ninth of the ſaid Month. By *JOHN BOU-* ' *CHER* Doctor of Divinity. *Nonne qui oderunt* ' *te Domine oderam, & ſuper inimicos tuos tabeſce-* ' *bam. Pſalm* cxxxviii. According to the Copy ' Printed at *Paris* for *G. Chaudiere, R. Nivelle,* ' and *R. Thierry*, in *St James*'s Street *M.D.XCIV.*' The Approbation of the Divines of *Paris* is to be ſeen on the back of the Title Page. The Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Cardinal of *Placentia, Legate of the Holy Apoſtolical See in the Kingdom of France,* is dated from *Paris* the firſt of *March* 1594, and ſigned J. B. The Adverti ſement to the Reader ſays that ſeveral things have been added to what had been preached. At the end there are ſome Letters of *Henry* IV, to the *Canton of Bern*, to the Lady *de Tintevelle*, to the Queen of *England*, to the City of *Rochelle* and ſuch others, and to ſome private Perſons, who were *Huguenots*.

[*F*] *He died, Dean of* Tournay; ---- *but very much altered in his Humour, and as zealous a* Frenchman *among Strangers, as he had been a furious* Spaniard *in* France.] The continual railing of the *Flemings* againſt the *French*, could not but awaken by degrees a natural tenderneſs for his Country in the Soul of this mutineer. People at *Paris* were not thoroughly perſuaded that he was changed in the Year 1625. For the Libel which came out at that time againſt *France*, which we ſhall ſee the Title of below, was aſcribed by many Perſons to *Boucher*: But he denied it by Letters; let us ſee what the *Mercure François*, ſays on this Subject: ' To prevent it's being diſcovered ' that this Book was firſt printed in *Italy*, it was ' given out that it was firſt diſperſed in *Flanders* ' before it it was handed about in *France*, and ' that Dr *Boucher* (who is yet living at *Tournay*, ' and who formerly wrote ſeveral Books on thoſe ' matters during the League of 1588, and the ' following Years, and againſt the moſt Chriſtian ' Kings) was the Author of it: But that Doctor ' having notice of it, proteſted in Letters, which he ' wrote to his Friends at *Paris*, that it was falſly ' aſcribed to him, and that upon the Word of a ' Prieſt, he had not ſeen that ſmall Book intitu- ' led *Admonitio*: His Letter was alſo ſhewn to ' the curious, which removed the ſuſpicion that ' was entertained of him, and made it fall on the ' Jeſuit *Eudemon Joannes*, a *Greek* by Nation, ' who came into *France* with the Legate (11).'

(11) Mercure Fran. Tom XI. pag. 1058, 1059.

There never was more indignation ſhewn in *France* againſt any Book than againſt that: It was intituled G. G. R. ' Theologi, ad Ludovicum de- ' cimum tertium Galliæ & Navarræ Regem Chriſtia- ' niſſimum, ADMONITIO, fideliſſimè, humillimè ' veriſſimè facta, & ex Gallico in Latinum tranſlata. ' Qua breviter & nervosè demonſtratur Galliam ' fœdè & turpiter impium fœdus iniiſſe, & injuſtum ' bellum hoc tempore contra Catholicos moviſſe, ' ſalvaque Religione proſequi non poſſe. Auguſtæ ' Francorum, cum facultate Catholici Magiſtratus ' Anno M.D.C.XXV. — *An Admonition moſt faith-* ' *fully, humbly, and truly given to* Lewis XIII, *moſt* ' *Chriſtian King of* France *and* Navarre, *by* G.G.R. ' *Divine, wherein is briefly and fully proved, that* ' France *has baſely and ſcandalouſly entered into* ' *an impious Alliance, and moved an unjuſt War at* ' *this time, againſt the Catholics, which they can-* ' *not carry on without Injury to Religion; at* Soiſſons ' *with Licence of the Catholic Magiſtrate Anno* 1625.' It was condemned by the *Sorbonne*, and by the Aſſembly of the Clergy of *France*: The Lieutenant Civil cauſed it to be burnt by the Common Executioner: The Parliament of *Paris* made ſeveral Decrees to hinder the Cenſure of the Aſſembly of the Clergy from being enervated. See the *Mercure Jeſuite*, in the firſt Volume, a Work that is aſcribed to *James Godefroy* the Son of *Denys* (12).

(12) Vide Præfat. Samuel. Mareſii ad Aſſiniones Cadanæi.

[*G*] *His Character may be judged of by a Reproof given him by King* Henry III.] That Prince ſent for the Parliament and the Faculty of Divinity to the *Louvre*: ' and ſeverely reprimanded the ' Divines for the inſolent and unbridled liberty ' they took to preach againſt him and all his Actions ----- and addreſſing himſelf particularly to ' *Boucher*, Rector of *St Bennet*, he called him a ' wicked Man, and told him that his Uncle *Poiſſe*, ' who had undeſervedly been a Counſellor of the ' Court, was a wicked Fellow, but that he was ſtill ' worſe, and that his Companions were but little ' better: He added that he directed his Speech ' particularly to him, becauſe he had been ſo im- ' pudent as to preach that he had cauſed *Burlat*, ' a Doctor of Divinity of *Orleans*, to be drowned ' in a Sack, though the ſaid *Burlat* was daily ' eating, drinking, and making merry with him; ' telling them moreover, that they could not deny ' that they were notoriouſly wretched and damned ' for two reaſons, firſt for having ſlandered him ' their Natural and Lawful Prince in the Pulpit ' of Truth, and ſpoken ſeveral calumnies againſt ' his Honour, which is forbidden them in the ' Holy Scripture. Secondly, that when they came ' out of the Pulpit, after they had ſlandered and ' told many Lies of him, they went directly to ' ſay Maſs at the Altar, without reconciling them- ' ſelves and confeſſing the ſaid Lies and Slanders, ' though they preached daily that if any one has ' told a Lie or ſpoke evil of any body whatſo- ' ever, according to the Words of the Goſpel, he ' muſt go and reconcile himſelf with him before ' he preſents himſelf at the Altar (13).' Nothing can be more ſolid than this cenſure; but it is not for a King to make uſe of it; he ought to have recourſe to other Arms; and if *Henry* III had been as well verſed in the Art of reigning as in the Morality of the Goſpel, he would not have been reduced to the condition of a *Catechiſt* to the Preachers of *Paris*.

(13) *See the Journal of* Henry III, *on the* 30th *of* December 1587. pag. 109.

[*H*] *On news that he was to come to* Rome *Cardinal* d'Oſſat *intreated the Pope to cauſe him to be impriſoned.*] The account he gives of it to Mr *de Villeroy* will yet further diſcover the Actions and Character of that Man: Wherefore I inſert it at length. ' I told him (14) alſo that Dr ' *Boucher*

(14) Viz. the Pope.

rously to him against this Mutineer. Can any thing be more horrible than the Complaint he made to the Duke of *Maienne*, after the just Punishment of those who had caused the first President *Brisson* to be hanged? Had he not the Impiety to say that these profligate Wretches were Martyrs of JESUS CHRIST [*I*]? I add that he was one of the Adversaries of *Richer*, and published several Pieces against him in *French*, under the feigned names of *Paul Timoris*, and *Pompey Ribemont* (*b*).

(*b*) *See the Journal des Sçavans of the 14th of December 1702.*

Boucher had left that Country before the said Count, to come to *Rome* to visit LIMINA APOSTOLORUM PETRI & PAULI, in the Name of the Bishop of *Tournay* who had given him a Canonicate in his Church: And hereupon I exposed to his Holiness the violence and rage of that Man, the Books he had written against the late King, and since against the Life and Conversation of the King now reigning, justifying the Parricide attempted by *John Châtel* (15), and exhorting every one to finish what that Murderer had begun, and that he had also written several things against the Authority and Power of the Pope and the Holy See, and was yet more obstinate and violent to this Day than ever, and there was but too much Cause and Reason to make him a Prisoner, and punish him severely for his crimes and blasphemies. But if his Holiness's Goodness and Clemency, and the condition of the Times and other considerations, did not permit him to use that Man so rigorously as he deserved, that at least his Holiness should shew him, by not admitting him to kiss his Feet or otherwise, that such Persons were not acceptable to him, nor ought to expect from his Holiness the reception and favours, which are due to good, peaceable, and moderate Men. The Pope answered me, that he remembred he had formerly heard of that Man, and also that the *Sieur Malvaisie*, at that time Nuncio in the *Netherlands*, had wrote to him, that he said the Pope could not observe the King. His Holiness asked me whether he was come. I told him, not that I knew. Well (said he) we shall see (16).' When one considers that the *Spaniards* not only gave a Retreat, but also a Canonicate, to such a Man as he, one cannot forbear saying that in this World all things are sacrificed to Political Interest, and National Hatred. They knew he was a Man, who to satisfy the rage with which he was transported against the Person of *Henry* IV, overturned both the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authority: He took the Power of Absolution from the Pope, he submitted Crowns to the caprice of Subjects, and the Life of Kings to the Daggers of Assassins. Those Principles were as opposite to the Faith of the *Spaniards* as to that of the *French* Nation: Nevertheless they were tolerated in that Doctor, because he hated the King of *France*, and as I have already said, they gave him Benefices. Nay, They let him pronounce and publish the Funeral Oration of *Philip* II (17). I have not been able to find out yet whether he performed his Journey or not. Cardinal *d'Ossat* wrote the twentieth of *January* 1601, that he had been told that *Boucher* remained Sick at *Cologne* (18). He was not the only one whom the *Spaniards* protected and rewarded in the *Netherlands*. Did not *Mongaillard*, so well known by the Name of the *little Feuillant*, one of the *Panegyrists* of the Murderer of King *Henry* III, obtain an Abbey (19)?

(15) *This shews, that Cardinal d'Ossat believed that the pretended* François de Verone Constantin, *who wrote the Apology for* John Châtel, *was no other than* John Boucher. *It was also* William Barclay's *Opinion. See above the Remark* [*B*].

(16) *The Letter wherein Cardinal d'Ossat speaks thus, was written from* Rome *the 1st of* December 1600.

(17) *At* Tournay *the 25th of* October 1598.

(18) *It is the 253th Letter in the Edition of Mr* Amelot de la Houssaie.

(19) *That of* Orval.

[*I*] *He had the Impiety to say that the profligate Wretches, who caused the President* Brisson *to be hanged, were Martyrs of* JESUS CHRIST.] These are *Thuanus*'s Words. ' Joannes Bucerus Curio S. Benedicti homo vecors Catholicorum bonorum ac zelotarum nomine Orationem expostulatoriam ad ipsum (*Meduanum*) habuit, qua publicam ultionem, carnificinam, merito supplicio facinorosos affectos, Dei martyres, insigni impudentiâ vocabat (20). — John Boucher *Curate of* St Bennet, *a furious Man, made an expostulatory Oration to him (the Duke* de Mayenne), *in which he had the consummate Impudence to call the public Vengeance Murder, and the criminals, deservedly put to Death, Martyrs of God.*

(20) Thuan. Hist. lib. cli. pag. 443, 444. ad ann. 1591. *See also* Moreri Tom. III. in fol. *pag.* 998.

REFLEXIONS on the Rewards which the Spaniards bestowed upon those, who made Panegyrics upon the murtherers of kings.

BOUCHET (WILLIAM), Sieur *de Brocourt*, published a Book, intituled, *Les Sérées*, in the Year 1584, and dedicated it to the Merchants of the City of *Poitiers*, who had constituted him their Judge and Consul. He divided it into twelve Chapters, and continued the Work to the third Volume: so his *Sérées* are divided into three Parts, each containing twelve Chapters. The Reason of the Title is because they are Discourses supposed to have passed in Evening Conversations. These Discourses are stuffed with all manner of Jokes and Puns: gross Obscenities are frequent there: but they have this particular Character, that you find a great deal of Learning in them, and that the Author had read a great deal. He was dead when the Epistle Dedicatory of the third Volume was writ, the first Day of *November* 1607. There are several Editions of his *Sérées*: I make use of that of *Paris*, by *Jeremy Perier*, in 1608, in three Volumes in 12mo.

BOUCHET (JOHN), Author of a great Number of *French* Books, some in Verse and some in Prose, was of *Poitiers*, and flourished in the XVIth Century. He was an Advocate, or a Counsellor at Law, if we believe *la Croix du Maine* (*a*); but *du Verdier vau Privas* makes him only an Attorney (*b*). The most considerable of his Works is that intituled, *Les Annales d'Aquitaine* — *The Annals of* Aquitain [*A*]. He published it at *Paris*, in the Year 1537, in Folio (*c*); he afterwards revised it, and had it reprinted at *Poitiers* (*d*), in 1557, in Folio; he continued

(*a*) La Croix du Maine Biblioth. Franç. pag. 208.

(*b*) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 656.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) By Englebert de Marnef.

[*A*] *The most considerable of his pieces is that of* the Annals of *Aquitain.*] ' It is a very laborious Work, and full of fine and very memorable Stories, and, to repeat the Judgment of *Robert Ceneau* called *Cenalis*, Bishop of *Auranches* &c, in a learned Book which he wrote on the *French*; this Book of Annals by *John Bouchet* is one of the most valuable of all our *French* Histories, and deserves to be translated into *Latin* that Foreigners may be acquainted with it (1)' There is no Flattery in this Judgment, but as for Encomiums given to this Author, and to the Annals of *Aquitain* by *John Quintin* (2), I believe we may make large Abatements, without calling in question his Assertion, that *John Bouchet* did not write after common talk, as many others had done, but examined the most certain Monuments: ' De quibus (*Gallis*) tam multa egregiè Bouchetus, ut e dolio (quod aiunt) hausisse videatur: nec ea (crede) ex tonstrinis sutrinisque deprompta, quò maximè nomine malè audit bona nostrorum historicorum pars. Paginas in Annalibus Magistratuum, Fastisque, non sine longæ inquisitionis tædio ac sudore percurrit, lectu fæpe difficiles (scio) exesas jam tineis membranas vel literis exolescentibus, verbisque interpunctis. Veterum monumenta, scalptos lapides, ruderata etiam marmora, omnia (hercule) in historiâ (non mediocre fidei & diligentiæ

(1) La Croix du Maine, pag. 208.

(2) *In a* Latin *Preface to the Annals of Aquitain.*

tinued it to that very Year; for it ends with a long detail of the secret Machinations of the *Spaniards* against several Places in *France*: and as these Enterprizes were carried on during the Truce concluded in the Year 1556, he pretends to prove that King *Henry* II did not break it first [*B*]. *John Bouchet* must have been pretty old at that time; for he tells us that *Peter Bouchet* his Father, Attorney *in the Court Laye* at *Poictiers*, being at Supper in the Year 1480 with another Attorney *his Neighbour, took the Poison which his Neighbour's dissolute Wife had prepared for her Husband, and died the third Day after* (*e*). He says farther, that in the Year 1486 'he saw the Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection of our LORD JESUS CHRIST 'acted and represented by Mysteries and Personages at *Poictiers*, in great Triumph 'and Magnificence: at which were present a great many Gentlemen and Ladies 'of the Province of *Poictou*, and the neighbouring Places (*f*).'

(*e*) Bouchet Annal. d'Aquit. *in the Year* 1480. fol. 162 *Edit.* 1557.

(*f*) Bouchet Annal. d'Aquit. *in the Year* 1480, fol. 168. *Edit.* 1557.

'ligentiæ argumentum) sedulâ manu revolvit, tempora temporibus, gesta gestis, resque rebus, acri admodum, & oculata supputatione componens (3). —— *Concerning whom* (the French) Bouchet *has said so many things excellently well, that he seems (as we say) to have gone to the Fountain, his stories not taken from Barbers Shops or Coblers Stalls, on which account chiefly great part of our Historians are blamed. He, with infinite Labour and Pains, revolved the Annals of Magistrates and public Records, which (I know) are often difficult to read, the Parchment being moth eaten, the letters very old, and the words interpointed. He examined with Sedulity the Monuments of the Antients, Inscriptions, and even Marbles, buried in rubbish; every thing (in short) relating to History (no small Argument of his Fidelity and Diligence), comparing Times with Times, Actions with Actions, and Things with Things, with the greatest Sagacity and Judgment.'*

(3) Joannes Quintinus Heduus, in Epist. ad lectorem Annalibus Aquitanicis præfixâ.

[*B*] *He pretends to prove that King* Henry II *did not break the Truce first.*] He was accused of it, and Appearances were against him. *John Bouchet* is not alone in his endeavours to justify him. The Sieur Francis *de Boyvin*, Baron *du Villars*, has also given a detail of the secret Practices of the Spaniards, and says, that *whoever considers impartially these Maranesque Intrigues, will excuse the Resentment of the French* (4). The Maxim, which he had advanced on Occasion of the like Plots of the Spaniards in the Year 1550, might have place here. 'To say the truth, they break 'the Peace, not who first make War, but who 'arm privately and use secret practices in prejudice 'of Treaties and Alliances, as the Emperor did (5)'

(4) Memoirs de du Villars, liv. viii. pag. 717, 718.

(5) Id. liv. x. p. 15.

In reality, the Aggressor is not he who gives the first blow; but he who first resolves and prepares to do it. This Mr *Puffendorf* has well determined. 'But when we have evident Proof, *says he* (6), 'that another does actually intend, and has taken 'proper measures to do us an injury, altho' he has 'not openly declared such his intention; then we 'may fairly put ourselves on our Defence, and anticipate the Aggressor, before he compleats the Preparations he is making to do us the designed mischief: provided notwithstanding we have endeavoured by friendly Advice, to move him to lay aside his ill purposes, so long that there remain 'no hopes of his being prevailed upon to do so by 'fair and gentle means: In using which friendly 'Advice and gentle Means, care must be taken 'that it be not done when it may prove a prejudice and a disadvantage to our own Affairs. He 'who first forms the design to do an injurious Act, 'and first makes preparation to bring it about, is 'to be accounted the Aggressor, altho' it may perhaps so fall out, that the other using greater diligence may prevent him, and so commit the first 'open Acts of Hostility. It is not absolutely necessary to a justifiable self-defence, that I received 'the first stroke, or that I only ward off and avoid the blows that are actually aimed at me.'

(6) Puffendorf, Duties of the Man and the Citizen, *Book I. Chap. V. §. 17. of the English Translation.*

According to *John Bouchet* and the Baron *du Villars*, this was the Case of *Henry* II, with *Charles* V.

BOUCHIN (STEPHEN), Counsellor, and King's Attorney in the Royal Courts of *Beaune* in *Burgundy*, exercised that Office *for twenty Years, after his Father and Grandfather who had held it for sixty Years* (*a*). He published *some Pleadings and Conclusions*, which he had taken during *his Exercise of that Employ*, and printed a second Edition of them, with Additions, in the Year 1620 [*A*]. He had a great

(*a*) Bouchin, Epistle Dedicatory to his Pleadings.

[*A*] *He printed a second Edition of his Pleadings in the Year* 1620.] This Edition was printed at *Paris* by *Claude Morel* in 8vo, it contains but six Pleas; and yet it is Three hundred and sixty Pages. The matter of these Discourses is pretty curious, and gives him room to quote a great many Love Stories. The first Plea is 'on the Case of one pretended to be under Age, who was accused and 'brought to Trial for having said in several Places, 'that a married Woman had been found divers 'times with the Curate of her Parish, who knew 'her carnally. The second, against a young Woman accused of having, by a pretended Charm, 'hindered the Consummation of a Marriage. The 'third, against a Son accused as a Criminal by his 'Father. The fourth, for a Husbandman condemned in a Fine for stealing some Bread Dough 'in a time of Famine. The fifth, touching the preference of Creditors and Privileged Persons, at 'the sale of Goods left by an Ecclesiastic. The 'sixth, on a Charivary, or Mock Music, given to 'a Woman that was married again immediately 'after the Death of her Husband (1).' They who had given it, the next Day 'demanded Money of 'the new married Couple for the Charge they had 'been at (2);' that being refused, they 'brought 'them before a Judge, who ordered them a small 'Sum (3).' The married folks appealed from the Sentence. *Bouchin* concluded by the Evidence that it was ill judged, and the Appeal good (4).

(1) *Three Weeks after.*

(2) Bouchin, Plaidoies, pag. 301, 302.

(3) *Note he observes, pag.* 316, *that* Thomas Faber *and* Chasseneus *do not approve the Charivary, yet others are of a contrary opinion, and have wrote that non fit injuria secundo nubenti si carivarium detur.*

(4) Bouchin, Plaidoies, pag. 360.

He leaves no manner of common place untouched; he begins with praising Virginity, and Widowers who do not marry again; then he proceeds to declaim against second Marriages; and especially against the impatience of Widows who marry too hastily, and against the impudence of old Men that marry, and lastly against Step-Mothers; and then, on a sudden, excuses or justifies all that he had been condemning, and confirms the whole by Quotations and Examples as before.

To give an Idea of his motley Stile, I will give a Specimen of it from the place where he details the inconveniencies of second Marriages*. 'So 'that one may say with *Hesiod*, that he who mar- 'ries a second time

* Ibid. pag. 330. *and following.*

Naufragus navigat his profundum difficile.

Hesiod, ex I. Epigram.

Ναυηγὸς πλάει δὶς βυθὸν ἀργάλεον,

'he is shipwrecked in a place where there is no 'bottom; after the Death of one Wife to seek a 'second, is, according to the Opinion of the comic 'Philemon, to desire to float again on a Sea of Disquiet and Misery: it is a game where Chance has 'more share than Reason, and an effect of a blank 'Lottery, where every Body is hunting for Benefits, and the luckiest get them; and it is in vain 'for the unlucky to complain, that Cupid has not 'struck them with a golden Dart, armed with a 'shining point.

Cujus

great deal of Reading, but according to the Cuſtom of that time he diſplays it too profuſely [*B*]: for without counting the *Greek* and *French* Verſes, which he cites, there is almoſt as much *Latin* as *French* in his Pleadings. He followed the ſame Method in his Book, intituled, *The Perfect Magiſtrate.*

Ovid. vii. Met. Fab. 26. ver. 673.

- - - cujus ſuit aurea cuſpis.

'which is the Dart that begets Love in Hearts 'wounded with it; but with that which is endow-'ed with a contrary Virtue, and creates Hatred in-'ſtead of Love, being quite blunt and armed only 'with Lead.

Idem. 1 Met. Fab. ix. pag. 469.

- - - fugat hoc, facit illud amorem.

'That if there be in the Wife ſome ſmall remains 'of Beauty plaſtered according to cuſtom,

Plaut. in Merc. Act. 2. Sc. 2.

Quaſi ſit ſignum pictum in pariete,

'ſays *Plautus*,

Plaut. in Moſtellaria, Act. 1. Sc. 2.

Nam iſthæc veteres quæ ſe unguentis unctitans, interpoles
Vetulæ, edentulæ, quæ vitia corporis fuco occulunt,
Ubi ſeſe ſudor cum unguentis conſociavit, illico
Itidem olent, quaſi quom una multa Jura confundit coquus.

'That if they adjuſt their Hair with a little more 'artifice than ordinary,

Ovid. i. Faſt. ver. 406.

- - - comptis arte manuque comis:

'If they dip it in the Water of the River *Gratis* or 'Cybaris, to make it look like thread of Gold,

Id. i. Met. ver. 315. Fab. 18.

Electro ſimiles faciunt auroque capillos:

'If they never go without their Chains and Neck-'laces,

Propert. lib. ii. Eleg. 2.

Auratis circumdata colla catenis:

'And if there is ſtill any thing agreeable.

Ovid. ii. de Arte Amandi, ver. 678.

Et faciunt curâ, ne videantur anus:

'If, contrary to *Soſtrata* in *Plautus*, they are com-'plaiſant and cajoling, the Husband's Head akes, 'and he grows jealous,

Idem. vii. Met. Fab. 26. ver. 715.

Eſſe metus cœpit, ne jura jugalia conjux
Non bene ſervaſſet.

'The Wife as ſuſceptible of Jealouſy as the Huſ-'band, more pale than the jealous *Procris*,

Idem. iii. de Arte Amandi, ver. 703.

Palluit ut ſerâ lectus de vite racemus:

'More dry of this peccant Humour, and yellower 'than Leaves blown off by an ill Wind, or nipped 'by the cold,

Id. ib. ver. 704.

Frondes quas nova læſit Hyems;

Plutarch Roman Queſtions, Qu. 16. Emilius Probus lib. xv.

'And who would not ſuffer her Maids to enter the 'Temple of the Goddeſs *Leucothea*, if it were not to 'box them, may on the other Hand complain with 'old *Syra*, that the Husbands imagine they have 'greater Privileges than the Wives,

Plaut. in Merc. Act. 4. Sc. 6.

Ecaſtor lege durâ vivunt mulieres,
Multoque iniquiore miſeræ, quam viri:
Nam ſi vir ſcortum duxit clam uxore ſuâ,
Id ſi reſcivit uxor, impune eſt viro:
Uxor vero, ſi clam domo egreſſa eſt foràs,
Viro ſit cauſa, exigitur matrimonio.
Utinam lex eſſet eadem uxori, quæ eſt viro.

'She is ſuſceptible of Jealouſy if a Heifer but break 'into her Paſture (theſe are the Words of *Oenone* 'to *Paris*) or if her Husband

Ovid. Epiſt. v. Oenone Paridi.

Fundum alienum arat, incultum familiarem deſerit;

Plaut. in Aſinaria. Act. v. Sc. 2.

'which ſhe does not think more lawful for him 'than for herſelf, *periniquum eſt ut pudicitiam vir 'ab uxore exigat, quam ipſe non præſtet*, ſays the 'Civilian *Papinian*, that if he takes too much Liber-'ty, or arrogates too much to himſelf, ſhe common-'ly follows his Steps,

Vitio eſt improba facta viri:

Ovid. ii. de Arte Amandi, ver. 400.

'which, among other inconveniencies of Marriage, 'cauſes domeſtic quarrels, which happens, it may 'be, for want of having ſacrificed to *Juno Jugalis*, 'the Inventreſs of Marriage, and who takes care of 'the Nuptials,

Toris quæ præſidet alma maritis,

Idem. Epiſt. ii. Phil. Demophoon. ver. 4.

'to whom *Dido*, deſiring to marry *Æneas*, took 'care to make the firſt ſacrifice,

Junoni ante omnes, cui jura jugalia curæ.

Virg. 4. Æneid. 49.

[*B*] *According to the Cuſtom of that time he diſplays his reading too profuſely* (5).] This ill Cuſtom, which prevailed not only at the Bar, but alſo in the Pulpit, is by degrees aboliſhed. Mr *de la Bruyere* expreſſes this change very well. 'It is 'not an Age ago, *ſays he* (6), that a *French* Book 'was a certain Number of *Latin* Pages with a 'few Lines, or a few Words of *French* ſcattered 'here and there in them. Paſſages, Inſtances, Ci-'tations, would not ſuffice barely as ſuch. *Ovid* 'and *Catullus* decided finally concerning Marriages 'and Wills, and came with the *Pandects* to the 'Aſſiſtance of Widows and Orphans; ſacred and 'prophane did not ſhun each other: they were got 'together even into the Pulpit; where St *Cyril*, 'Horace, St *Cyprian*, and *Lucretius* talked alternate-'ly; the Poets were of the Opinion of St *Auſtin* and 'all the Fathers; they would talk *Latin* a long while 'together, and even *Greek* before the Women and 'Sextons. A Man muſt have a prodigious deal of 'Learning to preach ſo ill. Different times, diffe-'rent Cuſtoms: the Text is ſtill *Latin*, all the 'Diſcourſe is *French* and fine *French*, the Goſpel 'itſelf is hardly cited. Now a Man needs but 'little Learning to preach well.' The Advocates were not alone in this Practice; the Advocates-General and Firſt Preſidents ran into it as well as they. This appears by the Collections of Harangues pronounced at the opening of Seſſions, and Arrêts pronounced in the red Robe. Mr *Balzac* very much diſapproved this Cuſtom (7), and makes merry with a Firſt Preſident, who in the middle of his Speech made an Apoſtrophe to the Attorneys, telling them they might learn their Duty in the Scholiaſt on *Homer*, on ten or a dozen Verſes which he re-cited. 'Illum (Fori Principem) certe nos ipſi audi-'vimus, in medio Orationis curſu compellantem 'his verbis Procuratores, quos vocant & Pragmati-'cos. *Docebit vos, o Procuratores, officium veſtrum 'Homerus Iliados x & Euſtathius Scholiaſtes Homeri, 'in illos verſus*, quos memoriter ad decem aut 'duodecim recitabat, nullâ numerorum & accen-'tuum habita ratione, ut ſcires qui loqueretur vere 'principem & legibus ſolutum eſſe. Vetus hic Fori 'Pariſienſis morbus eſt, quo Faii, Pibracii, Briſſo-'nii, docti profecto & egregii viri, miſerum in 'modum laboravere (8). —— *I my ſelf heard him 'the Firſt Preſident*), *in the midſt of his Diſcourſe, 'addreſſing himſelf to the Attorneys and Solicitors, 'in theſe Words*; *Homer* will teach you your Duty, 'ye Attorneys, in the tenth Iliad, and *Euſtathius*, 'the Scholiaſt of *Homer*, on theſe Verſes, *which 'he repeated by heart to the Number of ten or 'twelve, without any regard to Numbers or Accents, 'to let you ſee he was truly free from Leaus. This 'is an old Diſtemper of the Law Courts of* Paris, 'with which your Fayes, *your* Pibracs, *your* Briſſons, 'tho' *really learned and excellent Men, were miſera-*

(5) *Compare this with Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* SEGLA

(6) La Bruyere Characteres de ce Siecle, *in the Chapter on the Pulpit*, pag. 533. *of the* Paris *Edit.* 1699.

(7) *See the 5th and 6th* Latin *Letters of* Balzac.

(8) Balzacius Epiſtolar. Selectæ pag. 54. *Edit.* in Folio.

' bly affected.' I will add to this Paſſage another ' wherein he cenſures the ſame fault in the famous ' *Lewis Servin.* ' Scis enim quo genere dicendi ' uteretur Ludovicus **** (Servinus), & quam exo- ' ticis deliciis gauderet, doctrinaque aliunde appor- ' tata, vir alias priſci moris retinens, & civis patriæ ' amantiſſimus. Apud te ſunt variæ quas reliquit ' orationes. Vide ut etiam de Cloaca aut fullicidio ' verba facturus,

Doctor ab Auroræ populis & littore rubro
Ægyptum viresque Orientis & ultima ſecum
Bactra vehat.

' Raro ibi reperies Prudentum Reſponſa, Paulos, ' Labeones, Scævolas. At paſſim occurrent Rabbi ' Maimon in Hal Beth Habecchira, cap. 4. & in ' Hal. Cele Hammikdaſch, cap. 10, & Rabbi Abra- ' ham ben David, & Rabbi Zacuth in Libro Ju- ' caſin, & Talmud in Maſſecta Joma, &c. - - - - - ' *You know* Lewis (Servin)*'s manner of ſpeaking,* ' *and what foreign Kickſhaws he delighted in, and* ' *Learning imported from abroad; a Man otherwiſe* ' *of uncorrupt Behaviour, and a true Lover of his* ' *Country. You have by you ſeveral of his Ora-* ' *tions, which he left behind him. See how, when* ' *he is to ſpeak about a Sink, or the Eves of a* ' *Houſe,*

The Doctor fetches Egypt *to his Aid,*
From Aſia *brings the Pow'rs of all the Eaſt;*
Not India *ſcapes.*

' *You ſhall ſeldom find, there, the Deciſions of Lawyers,* ' *the* Pauli, *the* Labeones, *or the* Scævolæ. *But,* ' *every now and then, you have Rabbi* Maimon, *&c.*" Let us obſerve, by the way, that even when this Mixture of Literature was moſt in uſe at the Bar, there were Advocates who ſeldom cited Claſſic Authors, either becauſe they ſaw the Abuſe, or they wanted the Art to apply their Learning, or elſe they were not well verſed in the Claſſics. Their Method was certainly better than the other: for what purpoſe could this train of Citations ſerve, but to with-draw the Judge's Attention, and hide the true State of the Cauſe? An Advocate, ſuch as our *Stephen Boucbin*, pleaded more for himſelf than for his Client; he laboured more to ſhew his own Learning than to prepare the Judges to determine rightly. What could *Homer*'s Verſes ſignify to the Judges of *Beaune?* Did the People underſtand Greek in theſe little Juriſdictions? It is to be feared that the oppoſite extream, which we have ſometime ſince fallen into, will make the Advocates deſpiſe Learning as a piece of Furniture entirely uſeleſs: but what can be done? It is deſtined that the Remedy of one Abuſe is the Introduction of another.

BOUGI (*The Marquis of*), Lieutenant-General in the Armies of *France* in the XVIIth Century. See REVEREND.

BOUHOURS (DOMINIQUE), a famous Jeſuit, died at *Paris*, the Place of his Birth, the Twenty ſeventh of *May* 1702, in his Seventy fifth Year. I do not give the Article concerning him, becauſe it is already done in ſeveral Pieces which are in every body's hand, *viz.* in the *Memoires de Trevoux* (*a*), in the *Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres* (*b*), in *Journal des Sçavans* (*c*), and in the *Mercure Hiſtorique* (*d*). I ſhall therefore only refer to them, and obſerve that among theſe ſeveral Elogies, thoſe in the *Journal de Sçavans*, and in the *Mercure Hiſtorique* are the moſt inſtructive.

(*a*) *In the month of* Auguſt 1702. pag. 328, French *Edit. and month of* March 1703. pag. 163. Amſt. *Edit.*

(*b*) Auguſt 1702. pag. 231.

(*c*) July 24, 1702.

(*d*) October 1702. pag. 413.

BOULAI (CÆSAR EGASSE *du*), in *Latin Bulæus*, Regiſter and Hiſtoriographer of the Univerſity of *Paris*, was Profeſſor of Rhetoric many Years in the College of *Navarre*. He publiſhed a Treatiſe of Rhetoric, intituled *Speculum Eloquentiæ*, which was valued. His *Theſaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*, which he publiſhed at *Paris* in the Year 1650, in Folio, is very uſeful not only to thoſe who underſtand nothing but *French*, but alſo to thoſe who underſtand *Latin*. Divers Law Caſes of his compoſing have been publiſhed, relating to the Differences which aroſe concerning *the Election of the Officers of the Univerſity*, or ſuch like matters. Thoſe Pieces ſhew his Zeal for the Faculty of Arts, and the great Knowledge he had of the Uſages and Cuſtoms of that Univerſity. The Work which chiefly ought to immortalize him, is the *Hiſtory of the Univerſity of* Paris, which he publiſhed in ſix Volumes in Folio [*A*]. The Impreſſion of it was ſtopt for ſome time (*a*); but the Commiſſioners appointed by the King to examine what was already printed, and the Author's Deſign, reported that nothing could hinder the Impreſſion from being continued. *Du Boulai* was not of *Tours* [*B*], as has been commonly believed. He died the ſixteenth of *October* 1678.

(*a*) *See the* Mercure Galant, Nov. 1678.

[*A*] *The work which ought chiefly to immortalize him is his Hiſtory of the Univerſity of* Paris, *in ſix Volumes in folio.*] See here what Mr *Baillet* ſays of it. ' The reaſons for cenſuring that great ' Work ſeem to diminiſh, by degrees, and all of ' them will perhaps vaniſh at laſt, that the Pub- ' lic, notwithſtanding that endeavours have been ' uſed to the contrary, may have a juſt value for a ' work, which is indeed a mixture of good and ' bad things, but is otherwiſe very uſeful to give ' Information of the Actions and Writings of the ' learned Men of *France*, and even of thoſe Foreigners ' who have appeared in that firſt Univerſity of the ' Kingdom. And indeed they begin to ſay now ' that it is a good Book generally ſpeaking, and ' that it contains many material Pieces, which it ' would be difficult to find elſewhere ſo well col- ' lected (1)."

(1) Baillet, Jugem. des Sçavans, ſur les Critiques Hiſtor. n. 138.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 170, *and not* 160, *as he is quoted in the* Antibaillet, n. 138.

[*B*] Du Boulai *was not of* Tours.] Mr *Baillet*, who makes him a Native of that City (2), was cenſured for it by Mr *Menage*, whoſe Words are theſe: ' *Cæſar Egaſſe du Boulai* - - - - - - was ' born in the Village of *S. Ellier*, in the *Lower* ' *Maine*, which is the laſt Pariſh of *Maine* on the ' ſide of *Bretagne*. What led Mr *Baillet* into this ' miſtake is, that *du Boulai* was Dean of the *Tribe* ' of *Tours* in the Univerſity of *Paris* (3)." Where- upon Mr *Menage* tells us that in that Univerſity the *French* Nation is divided into five *Tribes*, which bear each of them the Name of an Archbiſhopric. ' Theſe five Tribes are thoſe of *Paris* ' *Sens*, *Reims*, *Tours*, and *Bourges* - - - - - - The ' Members of the Nations are of the Tribe that ' bears the Name of the Archbiſhopric which is ' their Native Country, or of the Biſhopric where ' they where born holding of that Archbiſhopric. ' And therefore *Cæſar Egaſſe du Boulai*, who was ' of the Dioceſe of the Biſhop of *Mans*, firſt Suf- ' fragan of the Archbiſhop of *Tours*, was of the ' Tribe of *Tours*.' Mr *Patin* is therefore miſtaken when he ſays that *du Boulai* was of the Province of *Anjou*. I ſhall recite the whole Paſſage, becauſe the Reader will find by it at what time the Hiſtory of the Univerſity of *Paris* was begun

(3) Menage, Antibaillet cap. 34.

to be printed, and what was then said of it. ‘ The University of *Paris* have appointed a learned ‘ Man, whose Name is Mr *Boulai*, of *Anjou*, who ‘ taught Rhetoric for several Years in the *College* ‘ *of Navarre*, to write the History of their own ‘ Body, *Studii Parisiensis*: It will make several ‘ Volumes in *Folio*; the first will shortly be put ‘ to the Press; it gives an Account of the State ‘ of Learning at *Paris* before the University, and ‘ then explains and proves the Foundation of it ‘ by the good King *Charlemagne* in the VIIIth Cen- ‘ tury, and the Continuation thereof (4).’

(4) Patin, 2 Vol. *Letter* 218, *dated* Novemb. 26. 1660. pag. 258.

BOULEN (Anne), Mistress, and afterwards Wife of *Henry* VIII, King of *England*. See BOLEYN.

BOUQUIN (Peter), a *Carmelite* Fryar, took his Degree of Doctor of Divinity at *Bourges* the Twenty third of *April* 1539 (*a*). He was Prior of the Convent of that City, and might have come to higher dignities in his Order, if he had not rather chosen to leave it in order to go to the Protestants in *Germany* (*b*). He went first to *Basil* in the Year 1541, where he spent the Winter. Afterwards he took a Journey to *Wittemberg* where *Luther* and *Melanchthon* received him very kindly. His design was to go to a good Friend of his in *Pomerania*; but *Melanchthon* made him alter his Design, and engaged him to go to *Strasburg*, where they wanted a Man to fill up the place which *Calvin* had left vacant by his Return to *Geneva*. He read Lectures in the College of *Strasburg* on the Epistle of St *Paul* to the *Galatians*. Some time after he returned to *France*, where he had a Brother who was Doctor of Divinity, and no enemy to the Protestants. He lodged with him at *Bourges*, but did not return into the Monastery. *Hesshusius* taxed him falsly with having returned into it: *Bouquin*, being persuaded by his Brother that there was reason to hope for the Reformation of the Gallican Church, read Public Lectures on the *Hebrew Grammar*, and afterwards on the Holy Scripture. He did it without a Salary; but after he had waited upon *Margaret de Valois* [*A*], when she went by *Bourges* at the time of the Marriage of her Daughter *Joan d'Albret* (*c*), he was gratified with a Pension by order of that Princess (*d*), who besides procured him the Place of Preacher in the great Church of *Bourges* with the Archbishop's Consent. Those Employments and Gratifications continued after the Death of that Lady; for *Michael de l'Hôpital*, Chancellor of another *Margaret de Valois* (*e*), who had the same Inclinations as the first, brought her easily to make no alteration in *Bouquin*'s Fortune. But that Protection was at last insufficient; he found himself exposed to so many dangers, that seeing no likelihood to make his Labours serviceable to the Work of the Gospel, he quitted his Employment. His Resignation did not stop the ill Designs of his Enemies: They brought him into trouble, and he was obliged to plead his Cause before the Parliament of *Paris*, and afterwards before the Archbishop of *Bourges*, not without hazard of his Life. He had the good Fortune to escape all those dangers, and took care not to be any more exposed to them. He returned to *Strasburg* [*B*], where he exercised the Ministry in the *French* Church for some Months. *Otho Henry*, Elector *Palatine*, invited him to *Heidelberg* in the Year 1557, and made him Professor of Divinity. That Employment exercised *Bouquin*'s Patience very much by reason of the Disputes about *Ubiquity*, and the real Presence. Endeavours were used to suppress them at the Conference of *Maulbrun*, at which he was present in the Year 1564; but it had no better effect than most of the Assemblies of that nature, which inflame the Wounds instead of healing it. Being turned out of his Place in the Year 1577, with all the other Professors, who would not adhere to *Lutheranism*, he was invited to *Lausanne*, where he taught Divinity till his Death, that is, till the Year 1582 (*f*). I shall give the List of his Books [*C*], and observe that *Baudouin* says he

(*a*) Catherinot, Calvinisme de Berri, pag. 3.

(*b*) Melchior. Adam. in vit. exter. Theolog. pag. 143.

(*c*) *That is, in the Year* 1548.

(*d*) *Note, that she was not only Queen of* Navarre, *but also Duchess of* Berry.

(*e*) ‘ *Sister of* Henry II. *and Duchess of* Berry. Bouquin *had presented her with his Book, intituled*, L'homme parfait. *See* Melch. Adam in vitis Theolog. exterorum, pag. 145.

(*f*) *Taken from his Life written by* Melchior Adam. *See* vita Theologor. exterorum.

[*A*] *He waited upon* Margaret de Valois.] I add, that he presented her with a Book *of the Necessity and Use of the Holy Scripture*, and that he presented another, intituled Jesus Christ *the Spiritual Spouse*, to the Princess *Joan d'Albret*. He was the Author of those two Pieces (1). Note That no Professor of Divinity had a public Salary at *Bourges* before him, nor was any given after him. *Stipendium ex ærario publico ei numerari jussit*, (Regina Navarræ) *quod nec ante nec post eum Theologorum concessum fuit nemini* (2). Here is a passage of *John Chaumeau* Lord of Lassai: *The Doctors whom I knew in the Noble University of* Bourges, *are Mr* Peter Bouquin, *Professor of the* Hebrew *Tongue*, &c (3).

(1) Melchior. Adam in vitis Theolog. exter. pag. 145.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Chaumeau, Histoire de Berri *printed in the Year* 1566. pag. 242. *See* Colomiés Gall. Orien. pag. 32.

[*B*] *He returned to* Strasburg.] *Melchior Adam* forgot a circumstance which informs us of the Year of that Journey, which is, that *Bouquin* left *Bourges* with the Civilian *Francis Baudouin*, and went with him into *Germany*. *Baudouin* says so himself, and that it was in the Year 1555. ‘ Cum ‘ jam septem annis in ea Schola (*Bituricensi*) Bal- ‘ duinus magna cum laude fecisset officium suum ‘ tandem, qui fuit annus M.D.LV. dare se cœpit ‘ quibusdam eum in Germaniam ad excitanda pu- ‘ rioris jurisprudentiæ studia vocantibus. - - - - - - ‘ Comitem & (ut loqueris) assectam habuit Boqui- ‘ num nunc vestrum Doctorem Theologiæ. Eum ‘ non recusamus testem totius professionis (4). - - - ‘ *When now* Baudouin *had done his Duty with* ‘ *great applause in that School* [Bourges] *for seven* ‘ *Years, at last, in the Year M.D.LV, he began to* ‘ *listen to some who invited him into* Germany, *to* ‘ *reform the Study of the Civil-Law - - - - - He had* ‘ *for his Companion* Bouquin, *now your Doctor of* ‘ *Divinity. I appeal to him as a witness of the* ‘ *whole Journey*’

(4) Balduinus in Resp. ad Calvin. & Bezam. fol. 85.

[*C*] *Here is the List of his Books.*] I give it such as I find it in *Melchior Adam* (5). ‘ De- ‘ fensio ad calumnias Doctoris cujusdam Avii in ‘ Evangelii Professores (6). Examen libri quem ‘ D. Tilemannus Hesshusius inscripsit *de præsentia* ‘ *corporis Christi in cœna Domini* (7). Theses de ‘ cœna Domini. Exegesis divinæ communicationis. ‘ Assertio

(5) Vitæ Theologor. exterorum, pag. 147.

(6) *Printed in the Year* 1558. *in* 4to.

(7) *Printed at* Basil *for* Oporinus 1561.

he assisted him in the Misery to which the Reformed had reduced him [*D*]. Consult the *Gallia Orinetalis* (*g*).

(g) Colomesius, Gall. Orientalis pag. 32, 33.

' Adsertio veteris ac veri Christianismi adversus novum & fictum Jesuitismum (8). Brevis notatio ' præcipuarum causarum diuturnitatis controversiæ ' de cœna Domini (9). Canones quibus defenditur ' *Στάνοτος* in verbis Christi *hoc est corpus meum*, ' & controversiæ de cœna Domini atque similium ' dijudicandæ certissima ratio demonstratur, item ' adsertio ritus frangendi & in manus sumendi panis Eucharistichi (10). The Dates, which I have placed in the Margin, are taken either out of the Epitomy of *Gesner's Bibliotheque*, or out of the Sacramentary History of *Hospinian*. I have found a Book in that History which *Melchior Adam* does not speak of, *viz.* ' Petri Boquini justa defensio ' adversus injustam vim Hesshusii & Villagagnonis ' de judicio Philippi Melanchthonis ad Electorem ' Palatinum misso de cœna Domini (11).

(8) *Printed at* Heidelberg 1579, *in* 8vo.

(9) *Printed in the Year* 1576.

(10) *Printed at* Heidelberg 1563, *in* 8vo.

(11) *Printed in* 1562.

[*D*] Baudouin *says that he assisted him in the misery to which the reformed had reduced him.*] He expresses this in a most odious manner: ' Ipse ' cum volet & audebit Bouquinus idoneus testis ' erit: quem vos quia vos fugiens Gallus Germa' nis initio se dabat tam crudeliter persecuti estis, ' ut nisi subvenisset liberalis misericordia Balduini ' qui miserum aleret, vestra clementia hominem ' fame & frigore enectum jugulasset. Atque is ' tamen dicebatur paulo post mortuo Principe Ot' thone Henrico abs vobis corruptus objecta spe ' offæ novæ, & ubi vobis turpiter servire cœpit ' repente, vestro judicio ex fœtido hirco (sicuti ' paulo ante loquebamini, ad hominis nomen alludentes) factus catellus Melitæus qui vobis esset in ' deliciis (12). —— Bouquin *himself when he is willing and dares do it, will be a proper witness: whom you persecuted because he, being a* French' man, *had at first shunned you and joined the* Germans, *that if the liberal Compassion of* Baudouin, ' *who supported the wretch, had not prevented, your* ' *Clemency would have starved the Man to Death.* ' *And yet, soon after Prince* Otho Henry *was dead,* ' *he being corrupted by you with hopes of a new* ' *Morsel, and basely entering on a sudden into your* ' *Service, was in your Judgment, from a stinking Goat* ' *(as you used to speak but just before, alluding to the* ' *Man's name) become your most favourite Lap-Dog.*' Thus he reproaches *Calvin* and *Beza*, for having first persecuted that Man, and afterwards caressed him, according as they saw him a Friend or an Enemy to the *Lutherans*.

(12) Responsio ad Calvin. & Bezam pro Franc. Balduino fol. 71.

BOURIGNON (ANTOINETTE), was one of those devout Maids, who think themselves directed by particular Inspirations; for which reason she was called a Fanatic. She published a great many Books full of very singular Doctrines, and there was something extraordinary in her Mind from her Infancy to her old Age. She was born at *Lisle* the thirteenth of *January* 1616, so deformed that it was debated for some Days in the Family whether she should not be stifled as a Monster (*a*). Her deformity lessened, and they resolved to let her live. At four Years of Age, she knew already that Christians did not live according to their Principles. She desired to be carried into the Country of the Christians (*b*); for she did not believe that she was amongst them, since she observed that People did not live agreeably to the Law of JESUS CHRIST. One of the greatest Vexations she had in her Family was that they had a Mind to marry her; That was not what she desired; a Nunnery seemed to her preferable to a Husband. She perceived her Mother was too unhappy in a married State [*A*], not to fear the same Inconveniency (*c*): besides she was endowed with a surprizing Chastity [*B*], and she found an extraordinary Delight in weaning herself from the Objects of the Senses to unite herself to her Creator in a most intimate manner. Her Father nevertheless promised

(a) Vie continuée de Mademoiselle Bourignon, pag. 11.

(b) Ib. pag. 16, 27.

(c) Id. pag. 20. & vie exterieure pag. 148.

[*A*] *She refused to marry, seeing that her Mother was too unhappy in a married State.*] If I did not bring a Proof for what I advance here, it might perhaps be thought that I have not well understood the Author whom I quote; for in short this is not to reject Marriage through a motive worthy of Mrs *Bourignon*, to shun it because there is some trouble in it. It might therefore be imagined, that he who published the Life of that Woman, has not said what I relate. Let us prevent that rash Judgment by a good quotation. ' That Child ' - - - - - observing that her Father was harsh ' to her Mother, and that sometimes he fell into ' a Passion with her, after having endeavoured to ' soften him with her little fond Embraces, for ' which her Father had some regard, she would ' step aside, where considering what a miserable ' thing it was to be married to a peevish Husband, ' she addressed herself to GOD, saying, *My GOD, my GOD! Grant that I may never marry:* A ' Prayer very different from that which St *Augustin* ' lamented to have made before his Conversion; ' *Lord, Give me Continency and Chastity; but do* ' *not give it me so soon:* Fearing to be too soon ' cured of that damnable and transient Charm: ' Wherein it is to be believed he has more Accomplices and Brethren, than Mrs *Bourignon*, yet a ' Child, has Imitators in her Prayer (1).' This Author's reflexion is very good. The Gift of Continency is not a thing that many Persons care for (I speak of those who are not engaged to it by a Vow). St *Augustin* asked it, and is afraid of being taken at his Word; wherefore he desires GOD not to make too much haste.

(1) Vie continuée de Mademoiselle Bourignon, pag. 20.

[*B*] *She was endowed with a surprizing Chastity.*] See here what is said of it in her Life. ' GOD ' gave her the Gift of Chastity and Continency ' from her Child-hood in so perfect a manner, that ' she has often said, she never had in her life-time, ' not even by Temptation or Surprize, the least ' Thought which could be unworthy of the Chastity and Purity of the Virgin State. St *Teresa* ' says of herself, that GOD had formerly favoured ' her with the same Grace. But Mrs *Bourignon* ' possessed it in such an abundant manner, that it ' redounded, if one may say so, on those that were ' with her (2). Her Presence and Conversation ' diffused such an odour of Continency, as made ' those who conversed with her forget the Plea' sures of the Flesh; and I leave it to the Expe' rience of those, who read her Books with appli' cation, to judge whether they do not feel some ' Impressions of it, and some Inclinations to that ' Virtue which is so pleasing to GOD (3).' Had I not reason to say that the Chastity of that Maid was *surprizing?* In School Terms it might be called not only *immanent*, but also *transitive*, since it's Effects were diffused outwardly, and did not terminate in her Person. I think your mystical People rather use the Word *penetrative*, than the Word *transitive*; for I remember a Carthusian says, that the Holy Virgin had a PENETRATIVE VIRGINITY, whereby those who looked upon her, though she was so beautiful, had none but chaste Thoughts. He adds that St *Joseph* had the Gift which they call INFRIGIDATION, which kept his Body and Soul free from all sense of Impurity (4). It seems to me that the Talent, which GOD had granted to

(2) We shall see in the following Remark that this did not prove true at all times, and therefore it is said that the Gift of Continency is not a thing to be dependent upon for the present, and for the time to come.

(3) Vie continuée pag. 21.

(4) Peter Garnet felt *in his* Elucidationes sacræ in 5 libros de imaginibus antiquorum Eremitarum, pag. 645, *apud Thomasium in Schediasmate historico. The Book of that* Carthusian, *was printed at* Cologne *in* 1622.

miſed her in Marriage to a *Frenchman*: The time was already appointed for the Wedding, and to avoid the performance of it ſhe was forced to run away on *Eaſter-day*, 1636 (*d*). It was not to throw herſelf into a Cloiſter; ſhe had learned that the Spirit of the Goſpel did not reign in Convents (*e*): But it was to retire into ſome Deſart. She dreſſed herſelf, therefore, like a Hermit, and fled as faſt as ſhe could; but being ſuſpected in a Village of *Hainault* to be a Woman, ſhe was ſtopped (*f*). She never run ſo much hazard, as to her Virginity, as at that time: She fell into the Hands of a Soldier, who did not let go his hold but by a kind of a Miracle. The Curate of the Place (*g*) delivered her from that Danger, and obſerving the Spirit of God in her, he mentioned her to the Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, who came to examine her, and adviſed her againſt a Hermit's Life, and obliged her to return to her Father. She was ſoon after perſecuted again with Propoſals of Marriage, which obliged her to run away a ſecond time. She went to the ſame Archbiſhop, and obtained leave of him to form a ſmall Community in the Country with ſome other young Women of her Humour (*h*): He retracted it a little while after, which obliged *Antoinette* to go into the Country of *Liege*, from whence ſhe returned to *Flanders*, where ſhe ſpent many Years in retirement, and in great ſimplicity of Life, but not without inſpiring a Man with a great deal of Love, who pretended to Devotion in order to get Acceſs to her. He propoſed Marriage to her, and not finding her pliable, he tried to ſupply by the Strength of his Arms what was wanting to the Efficacy of his Diſcourſe [*C*]. But ſhe implored the protection of the Magiſtrates; inſomuch that this falſe Devotee was obliged to addreſs himſelf to another devout young Woman, whom he found more tractable [*D*]. Our *Antoinette*, who had reſolved to renounce her Patrimony for ever, changed her mind

(*d*) Vie exterieure, pag. 150.

(*e*) Ibid. p. 147.

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 151, & ſeq.

(*g*) *It was the Village of* Blacon.

(*h*) Vie exterieure, pag. 166.

to Mrs *Bourignon*, ought to be called by that Name. That Word would admirably repreſent the Effect which ſhe produced on her Neighbours: The Gift of *Infrigidation* ſhould be that which makes thoſe cold who come near us. But ſince uſe muſt determine the force of Terms, I will not inſiſt upon it. I only ſay that the Clauſe, *notwithſtanding that ſhe was ſo very handſome*, which the Carthuſian made uſe of, is not an expletive or a needleſs Parentheſis: It was eſſential to his Subject; the wonder lies in that; for Nature without Grace might very well confer a penetrative Virginity; there needs only a certain degree of uglineſs for that. Wherefore I wiſh the Author of *Mrs Bourignon's* Life had inſerted in the above quoted place, by way of Parentheſis, that the Gift of Continency, which ſhe diffuſed outwardly, did not proceed from any Deformity, or any thing diſagreeable, that was obſerved in her Perſon. I conclude with a Reflexion, which, if put to the Vote, would not be diſallowed. I believe there are not many young Nuns that pray for a penetrative Virginity. The moſt virtuous are contented with the Gift of Continency, and would be very unwilling to mortify all the deſires of the Men that look upon them (5). They would think themſelves too much diſgraced by Nature, did they believe that they need only ſhew themſelves to make Mens Eyes and Hearts chaſte; that Thought would not pleaſe them. I believe, therefore, that the moſt ſublime and rareſt degree of Chaſtity, in a Woman, is to wiſh not only to be chaſte, but alſo to make all thoſe chaſte that are round about her, and with whom ſhe converſes. Generally ſpeaking Women do not deſire that this Gift ſhould have a great Sphere of Activity; it is enough if it poſſeſs the whole ſpace of one Perſon.

(5) *I omit ſome very rare inſtances of Women, who diſfigured their Faces, leaſt they ſhould occaſion a Temptation.*

[*C*] *A Man ------ not finding her pliable in relation to Marriage, tried to ſupply, by the Strength of his Arms, what was wanting to the Efficacy of his Diſcourſe.*] That Man's Name was *John de St Saulieu*: He was the Son of a Peaſant, and if all may be believed that is ſaid of him in the Life of our *Antoinette*, he was a great Rogue. He inſinuated himſelf into that young Woman's Favour by a devout Countenance and Diſcourſes of the moſt ſublime *Spirituality*. "The firſt time that 'he met with her ----- he ſpoke like a Prophet, 'but like a moderate and reſerved Prophet, who 'having made an end of his Prophecy, retires quiet-'ly without explaining any thing, or inſiſting to 'make himſelf believed (6). ---- The ſecond time 'he ſpoke to her he pretended to be a Man illu-'minated, charitable, and familiar with God (7)." After he had pretty well inſinuated himſelf, he declared his Paſſion; but finding that ſhe took it ill, he ſeemed to be ſorry for it: they fell out but were reconciled again, and at laſt he attempted to uſe Force. See here what the Lady ſays of him: 'Being often 'in my Houſe, he was ſo importunate and inſo-'lent with me, that I was obliged to give my Maids 'notice to watch him, and to ſhut the Door of 'my Houſe againſt him: For he came ſeveral times 'with a Knife in his Hand, which he preſented 'to my Throat, if I would not yield to his wicked 'deſires, inſomuch that I was at laſt obliged to 'have recourſe to the Arm of Juſtice, becauſe he 'threatened to break *the Doors and Windows of 'my Houſe, and to kill me, though he ſhould be 'hanged for it in the Market-Place of* Liſle. The 'Provoſt gave me two Men to ſecure me in my 'Houſe, whilſt an Information was making of the 'Inſolencies which the ſaid *St Saulieu* had com-'mitted againſt me (8)." The Concluſion was that the matter was made up between them; he promiſed never to go to any place where ſhe ſhould be, and retracted his Slanders (9); he proteſted that *he knew her to be a good and virtuous Woman.*

(6) Vie continuée, pag. 133.

(7) Ibid. p 134.

(8) Vie exterieure, pag. 196.

(9) *You muſt know that when he ſaw ſhe rejected his propoſal of a Marriage, he gave out every where, that ſhe had promiſed to marry him, and that he had lain with her. The whole Town talked of it; many believed it, and were offended at it.* Traité de la parole de Dieu, pag. 78.

That pious Maid had not always had a good Fame, nor always the Talent of inſpiring Chaſtity. I ſay nothing of the deſign of the Officer of Horſe who ſeized her in a Village, when ſhe was diſguiſed like a Hermit at about twenty Years of Age (10); Soldiers, eſpecially when they are lodged in a Village, are very dangerous upon ſuch an Occaſion, and not very penetrable by a penetrative Virginity: Waving therefore this Adventure, I ſhall ſpeak of the Nephew of the Curate of *St Andrews* near *Liſle*. Mrs *Bourignon* had ſhut herſelf up in a Solitude in the Neighbourhood of that Pariſh. The Curate's Nephew fell in Love with her: *He was ſo ſmitten with her that he was continually walking about the Houſe, and diſcovering his Paſſion by Words and Purſuits* (11). The ſolitary Lady threatened to leave her Poſt, if ſhe were not delivered from that importunate Perſon. The Uncle turned him out of his Houſe. Then the young Man *changed his Love into Rage, and ſometimes diſcharged his Gun through the Chamber of that Recluſe*; and ſeeing that he gained nothing by it, he gave out that he was going to marry her. The thing was noiſed all over the Town; the devout Women were offended at it, and threatened to affront Mrs *Bourignon*, if they met with her in the Streets. The Preachers were obliged to publiſh that there was nothing in the report of that Marriage. I do not think ſhe was ſorry to let the Public know that ſhe had appeared ſo lovely to ſome Men, that they paſſionately deſired to marry her. Old Maids are pleaſed with telling ſuch Stories.

(10) Vie exterieure, pag. 155, & ſeq.

(11) Traité de la parole de Dieu, pag. 64, 65.

[*D*] *And afterwards addreſſed himſelf to another devout Woman, whom he found more tractable.*] *St Saulieu*, having made an Agreement with *Antoinette*, went to *Ghent*. He *had his Will there of a devout Woman 'till ſhe was with Child, and then*

mind and took poſſeſſion of it again (*i*) [*E*]. She became Governeſs of an Hoſpital in the Year 1653 (*k*), and ſhut herſelf up there in the Cloiſter in the Year 1658 (*l*), having taken the Order and Habit of St *Auguſtin* (*m*). By a very ſtrange Fatality, Sorcery proved ſo general in that Hoſpital, that all the Girls, who were kept there, had contracted with the Devil (*n*). Ill Tongues took from thence occaſion to give out that the Governeſs of the Houſe was a Sorcereſs (*o*): The Magiſtrates of *Liſle* fell upon Mrs *Bourignon*; they ſent Sergeants into her Cloiſter; they had her before them, and examined her. She anſwered them pertinently; but believing that her Adverſaries had as much Credit as Paſſion, ſhe did not think it proper to remain expoſed to their Proſecutions, and therefore ſhe fled to *Ghent*. This happened in 1662. She was no ſooner at *Ghent*, but *GOD diſcovered ſome great Secrets to her* (*p*). She got a Friend at *Mechlen* who proved always faithful to her. His Name was Mr *de Cort*; it was, if one may ſay ſo, her firſt ſpiritual Child-birth; but it had this ſingularity, that it gave her the ſame pains as a Child-birth in a proper Senſe [*F*]. That Man being, twice ſucceſſively, divinely warned, and threatned,

(*i*) Vie continuée, pag. 128.

(*k*) *It was the Hoſpital of* Nôtre Dame des ſept douleurs *at* Liſle. Vie exterieure, pag. 203.

(*l*) Ibid. p. 200.

(*m*) Traité de la parole de Dieu, pag. 79.

(*n*) Vie exterieure, pag. 226.

(*o*) Vie continuée, pag. 220.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 226.

then be returned to Liſle. Mrs *Bourignon* affirms it (12), and here are other Circumſtances of it: 'Seeing (ſays ſhe (13), that he could not marry 'me by Love or Force, he accoſted one of my 'devout Maids, who ſeemed alſo a Mirror of Perfection, and got her with child, after which he 'would not marry her, 'till after many Intreaties 'and Endeavours of the ſaid Maid, who at laſt 'mollified his Heart by her great Humility, and 'he married her a little before ſhe was delivered 'of a Child. He lived very unchaſtly as well as 'ſhe.' I do not wonder at it; for, if I may be allowed a proverbial Expreſſion, the moſt difficult ſtep is that of the Door: as ſoon as a devout Woman has once got over that firſt ſtep by ſome Gallantry that has made a Noiſe, her Honour is loſt: Now Modeſty once turned out of Doors ſeldom returns again (14). What the Scripture ſays in general, that the Devil transforms himſelf into an Angel of Light, is particularly very true of the Devil called *Aſmodeus*, who is that of Lewdneſs. The Bigots have invented a thouſand Arts to make a great many devout Women fall into the Snare, who had a ſincere deſire to behave themſelves chaſtly. He, who attacked Mrs *Bourignon*, made her believe, 'that he was quite dead to Nature; that he had 'been ſome Years a Soldier; and was returned 'from the War as unſpotted as a Child, though 'ſeveral Women had inticed him to lewdneſs, and 'had even come to bed to him with an ill Deſign: That he had remained firm, becauſe he 'converſed daily in his Spirit with GOD (15).' He told her alſo, 'That he had loſt the Taſte of 'Meats and Drinks by his great Abſtinencies and 'Mortifications; and that he could not diſcern delightful Meats from coarſe ones, nor Wine from 'Beer or Water: That all thoſe things ſeemed to 'him to have the ſame taſte, that he loved the one 'as well as the other, and could not percieve any 'difference.' By this we may ſee that a Woman's Honour lies in the Centre of a Circle, the Circumference of which is blocked up by a thouſand ſorts of Enemies. It is a Mark which Men try to hit all manner of ways, and even by the Appearances of the moſt myſtical and illuminated Theology. Witneſs *Molinos*, and the Quietiſts of *Burgundy*.

(12) Vie exterieure, pag. 197.

(13) Ibid. p. 194.

(14) Et qui rediit, cum perit, neſcit pudor. *Seneca in Agamemnone, Act.* 2.

(15) Vie exterieure, pag. 192.

[*E*] *She had reſolved to renounce her Patrimony: ſhe changed her Mind, and took Poſſeſſion of it again.*] Three reaſons of Devotion perſuaded her to it (16); for if ſhe had not retaken it, ſhe would have left it to thoſe, it did not belong to, who would have made an ill uſe of it: therefore to ſpare the Crime of poſſeſſing the Eſtate of others, and of employing it to do ill, ſhe thought it her Duty to take it from them, and devote it by GOD's Order to good Uſes. It did not leſſen under her Direction; on the contrary it increaſed: two reaſons contributed to this increaſe; for her Expences were ſmall, and ſhe gave no Alms: So that ſhe might convert the ſuperfluous part of her Income into Stock, which ſhe did not fail to do. Not that ſhe was coveteous; ſhe poſſeſſed her Eſtate without any Affection, and the Poverty of Spirit did not forſake her in the midſt of her Riches. What was it then? She would have enough to make greater Expences for the Glory of GOD, when there ſhould be occaſion for it. The Reaſon why ſhe ſpent ſo little in Alms, was, becauſe ſhe found no body, that was in a real Poverty, and ſhe was afraid People would make an ill uſe of what ſhe ſhould give away. She herſelf informs us of thoſe Articles of her Morals. 'The temporal 'Eſtate I have, *ſays ſhe* (17), fell to me by Succeſſion, 'or increaſed by what I could not ſpend or give, 'becauſe I could not find enough of People truly 'poor, or honeſt Perſons in neceſſity: Therefore 'I have been ſometimes obliged to increaſe my 'Stock out of the ſuperfluous part of my Income; 'becauſe Sobriety requires no great Expences; and 'the truly poor are ſo ſcarce that they muſt be 'ſought for in another World: For the Aſſiſtances 'which are given in this wretched Age ſerve often to commit more Sins. Wherefore he who 'has a greater yearly Income than is neceſſary, is 'obliged to increaſe his Stock in hopes of finding 'an occaſion to employ it to the greater Glory of 'GOD.' They, who accuſe her of Fanaticiſm, would make a wrong choice of their Proofs, if they ſhould alledge theſe. There is nothing here that favours of a Viſionary or of a Fanatic; Every thing in it ſhews a ſubtile Wit, and a nice way of arguing. See below the Remark [*M*].

(16) *I found myſelf obliged to reaſſume my temporal Eſtate, rather than to leave it to thoſe, whom it did not belong to,* (this is her firſt reaſon) *and rather than it ſhould ſerve for doing evil:* (this is the 2d.) *Beſides, God diſcovered to me that I ſhould want it for his Glory,* (this is the 3d.) Vie exterieure, pag. 241.

(17) Ibid. p. 140.

[*F*] *Her firſt ſpiritual Birth gave her the ſame Pains as a Child-birth in a proper Senſe.*] I ſhall ſet down the whole Paſſage, though it be ſomewhat long; whereby it will appear, that the Diſciples of our *Antoinette* were not always upon the high ſtrain, and that they deſcended ſometimes from the Sublimity of their Devotion to the innocent Jeſts of the Men of the World. 'When 'GOD gave him to Mrs *Bourignon*, it was after 'a very particular manner, and as the firſt of her 'ſpiritual Children, for whom ſhe felt great bodily 'Pains, and like the preſſing Pains of Child-birth: 'For it is a certain thing, and known by the Experience of all thoſe who have converſed with her, '(let wicked and impious Scoffers ſay of it what 'they pleaſe) that whenever any perſons received 'ſo much Light and Strength, by her Words or 'Writings, as to reſolve to forſake all, to give 'themſelves to GOD; ſhe felt, wherever ſhe was, 'ſome Pains and Throws like thoſe of a Woman 'in Labour, as it is ſaid of the Woman whom St *John* ſaw in the twelfth of the *Revelations* (18). 'She felt them more or leſs, as the Truths, which 'ſhe had delivered, had more or leſs ſtrongly operated in Mens Souls; which occaſioned an innocent Jeſt of the Archdeacon on Mr *de Cort*: 'For as both of them were diſcourſing with 'Mrs *Bourignon* of the Chriſtian Life, and of their 'good and new Reſolution, and Mr *de Cort* having obſerved that ſhe had felt more pains for 'him than for the other, when they reſolved to 'be born again according to GOD; the Archdeacon, conſidering that Mr *de Cort* was fat and 'corpulent, whereas himſelf was but a little Man, 'and ſeeing that he valued himſelf for having coſt 'their ſpiritual Mother dearer than he, told him 'ſmiling; it is no wonder that our Mother ſuffered more for you than for me, for you are a 'very large Child, whereas I am but a little one. 'Which Repartee made them all laugh (19).'

(18) *It might have been added that St* Paul, *ſpeaking of himſelf in relation to thoſe whom he had converted, makes uſe of a Word, which ſignifies to be in labour.* Τεκνία μου ὠδίνω πάλιν. filioli mei quos rurſus parturio. *Galat. cap.* iv, *ver.* 19.

(19) Vie continuée, pag. 235.

[*G*] *One*

threatened, if he did not obey that Inſpiration (q), had lent almoſt all his Eſtate to ſome Relations, who were endeavouring to drain an Iſland in the Country of *Holſtein*, which the Sea had overflown (r), and thereby he had acquired the Tenths, and the Direction and part of that Iſland [G]. He ſold a Seat there to Mrs *Bourignon*, who was preparing to retire thither in the Year 1668 (s), after ſhe had publiſhed at *Amſterdam* her Book *Of the Light of the World* [H]. She had written many Treatiſes, and Letters, in *Brabant* (t), and even on the Diſputes of the *Janſeniſts* and *Moliniſts*, ſince her Perſecution at *Liſle*. Her ſtay at *Amſterdam* with her dear Proſelyte Mr *de Cort*, was longer than ſhe thought: She was viſited there by all ſorts of Perſons, without excepting the *imaginary Prophets and Propheteſſes* (u). This made her hope that the Reformation which ſhe preached might have ſome effect: Nevertheleſs few perſons took a firm Reſolution to conform to it. *Labadie* and his Diſciples were deſirous to have ſettled with her in *Noordſtrandt* [I]: Mr *de Cort* conſented to it; for they offered great ſums of Money to buy the whole Iſland; but the Lady rejected their Propoſals. She had Conferences with ſome *Carteſians*, and formed a terrible Idea of their Principles [K]. She compoſed more Books at *Amſterdam*, than ſhe got Followers. Her Converſations with GOD were very frequent there: She learnt a great many particular things by Revelation; and it was then that ſhe had the Viſions which I ſpoke of in the Remarks of the Article ADAM (x). Mr *de Cort* died the twelfth of *November* 1669, and made her his Heireſs, which expoſed her for ſome time to more Perſecutions than her Doctrine [L]. Being, moreover, ſick and ill attended, ſhe endured many Miſeries.

(q) Ibid. p. 231.

(r) *The Iſle of Northſtrand.*

(s) Ibid. p. 280.

(t) Ibid. p. 269. & ſeq.

(u) Ibid. p. 284.

(x) *La Remark* [G]. *See* Vie continuée, *ubi ſup.* 21.

[G] *One of her Diſciples had - - - acquired - - - - part of the Iſland of* Noordſtrandt.] He was one of the Fathers of the Oratory, and their Superior at *Mechlen*, and moreover the Director of a Houſe of poor Children (20). The Expences which he had been at to recover *Noordſtrandt* tended to prepare a Retreat there for the perſecuted Friends of GOD. 'He thought that he had been divinely informed, that ſuch was the deſign of GOD (21) 'in preſuppoſing that the *Janſeniſts*, were thoſe perſecuted Friends of GOD, 'he drew many 'of them out of *France*, *Flanders*, and *Holland*, 'into that Iſland, part of which he ſold to them. - - - - He reſigned alſo all the reſt that he had 'there, and all his rights and pretenſions into the 'Hands of the Oratory of *Mechlen* upon certain 'Conditions, which they did not honeſtly perform 'to him, for which he had afterwards redreſs.' All this was attended with great Law-ſuits: the Sieur *de Cort* was impriſoned at *Amſterdam* (22), in the Month of *March* 1669, at the Proſecution of the famous *Janſeniſt*, Mr *de Saintamour*, who went by the Name of *Lewis Gorin*. Before he was put into Priſon he was ſeverely cenſured by a Biſhop (23), who called him a Heretic, and a Man, 'who co-'veted the Riches of this World to the prejudice 'of thoſe whom he had deceived by ſelling Lands 'in *Noordſtrandt*, a Man given to drinking and 'ſuſpected of having loſt his Faith and Chaſtity, 'and who ſuffered himſelf to be ſeduced by a Maid 'of *Liſle*, with whom he lived to the great ſcan-'dal of every body (24).' He remained ſix Months in Priſon, and got out only by a fortuitous Accident. He went into his Iſland, where he was poiſoned, and died the twelfth of *November* 1669. I am but a tranſcriber, and do not warrant the Facts that I borrow from the Books which I quote.

(20) Ibid. p. 230.

(21) Ibid. p. 232.

(22) Ibid. p. 340.

(23) *It was probably the Biſhop of* Caſterle.

(24) Vie continuée, pag. 331.

[H] *Whither ſhe deſigned to retire as ſoon as ſhe had publiſhed - - - - at* Amſterdam, *her* Light of the World.] The firſt Work which ſhe publiſhed is a *Letter to the Dean of* Liſle *concerning the State of the World, and the Judgments of* GOD. It was printed at *Amſterdam* in the beginning of the Year 1668, and *inſerted in the ſecond Part of* the Light brought forth in Darkneſs: *it is the fifth Letter in that Book* (5).

WHICH was the firſt work ſhe publiſhed.

(25) Ibid. p. 283.

[I] Labadie *and his Diſciples were deſirous to have ſettled with her in* Noordſtrandt.] *Antoinette* would not join with them: and therefore underſtanding that Mr *de Cort* had a mind to carry them into *Noordſtrandt*, ſhe ſaid to him (26), *you may then go thither without me; Becauſe I perceive and know that we can never agree together. Their Opinions and the Spirit that governs them are altogether contrary to my Light, and the Spirit that governs me.* 'She had already had ſome inward 'Sentiments about him from God, and a divine 'Viſion, wherein he made her ſee, in the Spirit, a 'little Man very luſty, with a great Pole in his 'Hand, to hinder the fall of a great Building, or 'of a Church that was falling; and by ſome Con-'ferences, which ſhe had with him, wherein ſhe 'endeavoured, but in vain, to diſſuade him from 'going to brave the Synod of *Haerden*, and to con-'vince them of their wicked Doctrine of Predeſti-'nation. She was fully perſuaded that he had no 'other Light than what the Learned of theſe 'times have, Reading, Study, ſome barren Specu-'lations, and ſome Acts of his own Mind; and 'for a Motive of his Conduct, only ſome inſi-'tuation, and the Motions of corrupt Paſſions; 'without being any ways enlightened by GOD 'himſelf, or directed by the calm Motions of his 'divine Inſpirations.' This Paſſage will not be uſeleſs to thoſe who have a mind to know by what Spirit our *Antoinetta* was led. It was a Spirit that would not ſuffer any Companion or Colleague: Wherefore we have ſeen all Sects againſt that Maid, and that Maid againſt all Sects. The very Quakers have alſo wrote againſt her (27).

(25) Ibid. p. 290.

(26) Benjamin Furley, *an* Engliſhman, *a* Merchant *at* Rotterdam, *a moderate Quaker within theſe few Years, and a Man of Genius and Learning, wrote ſtrongly againſt her, and made it his buſineſs to ſhew that ſhe contradicted herſelf.*

(27) Vie continuée, pag. 295.

[K] *She had Conferences with ſome Carteſians, and formed a terrible Idea of their Principles,*] Amongſt others with Mr *Heydanus* and Mr *Burman*. They were but little ſatisfied with her, nor ſhe with them (28). The Method of the *Carteſians* did not ſuit her. She would not have the Light of Reaſon to be conſulted, whereas their Principle is to examine all things by that Touch-ſtone. She affirmed, 'That God had ſhewn and even 'expreſsly declared to her, that this Error of Car-'teſianiſm was the worſt, and the moſt curſed, of 'all the Hereſies that ever were in the World, 'and a formal Atheiſm, or a Rejection of GOD, 'in whoſe place corrupt Reaſon was ſet up (29).' Which agrees with what ſhe ſaid to the Philoſophers: 'That their Malady proceeded from their 'pretending to comprehend all things by the 'Activity of human Reaſon, without giving way 'to the Illumination of divine Faith, which 'requires a Ceſſation of our Reaſon, our Minds, 'and weak Underſtanding, that GOD may diffuſe 'or revive that divine Light in them: Without 'which GOD is not only not well known, but 'alſo he and his true Knowledge are driven out 'of the Soul by that Activity of our corrupt Rea-'ſon. Which is a true kind of Atheiſm and 'rejecting of GOD (30).' This Paſſage is proper to ſhew the Principles of the *Bourignoniſts*. They agree pretty well with thoſe of the *Quietiſts* (31).

(28) Vie continuée, pag. 295.

(29) Ibid. p. 306.

(30) Ibid. p. 296.

(31) *See the Articles* BRACHMANS, *Remark* [K], *and* DIOSCORIDES, *Rem.* [A].

[L] *The Inheritance of Mr de* Cort *expoſed her to more Perſecutions than her Doctrine.*] Many Law-Suits were commenced againſt her to hinder her from enjoying the Succeſſion of her Diſciple; and if ſome were animated with Zeal againſt her Errors, there were ſome whoſe Zeal for her Eſtate was no leſs forward. This latter Zeal heightened the firſt; for ſome of Mrs *Bourignon's* Perſecutors cried

out

Miſeries. She left *Holland* in the Year 1671, to go to *Noordſtrandt*. She ſtopped at ſeveral places in *Holſtein*, and was obliged to diſmiſs ſome Diſciples, who were come to liſt themſelves under her Banner: perceiving that every body minded his own conveniencies and eaſe, ſhe conceived that That was not the way to make a flock of new Chriſtians (*y*). She provided herſelf with a Printing-Houſe (*z*); for her Pen went as faſt as the Tongues of others, I mean like a Torrent. She had her Books printed in *French*, *Dutch*, and *German*. She found herſelf very much defamed by ſome Books which were publiſhed againſt her Tenets and Morals, and ſhe vindicated herſelf by a Work which ſhe intituled *The Teſtimony of Truth*, wherein ſhe mightily inveighed againſt the Clergy. This was not the way to find Peace: Two *Lutheran* Miniſters ſounded the Alarm againſt her, and wrote ſome Books, wherein they ſaid, that ſome Perſons had been burnt and beheaded, whoſe Opinions were more tolerable than thoſe of Mrs *Bourignon* (*aa*). The *Labadiſts* wrote againſt her (*bb*). She was forbid to make uſe of her Preſs. She retired to *Flenſburg* in the Month of *December*, 1673 (*cc*). Her Enemies came to know it, and ſtirred the People ſo violently againſt her, calling her a Witch and *Circe*, that it was very fortunate for her, that ſhe found means to retire privately. Being perſecuted from Town to Town, ſhe was at laſt obliged to leave *Holſtein*; ſhe retired to *Hamburg* in the Year 1676 (*dd*). She was ſafe there only ſo long as they knew nothing of her Arrival; for as ſoon as they had notice of it, they endeavoured to ſecure her; GOD knows how they would have uſed her, if ſhe had been taken. She hid herſelf for ſome Days, and went afterwards to *Eaſt-Frieſland* (*ee*), where the Baron of *Lutſburg* granted her his Protection. She had the Direction of an Hoſpital there, and conſecrated her Cares and Induſtry, but not her Purſe, to the good of that Houſe [*M*]. She found Perſecutors there alſo; ſo that ſhe went into *Holland* in the Year 1680 (*ff*). She died at *Franeker* in the Province of *Frieſland* (*gg*), the thirtieth of *October* the ſame Year (*hh*). The rubs ſhe met with in *Germany* did not hinder her from writing many Books. It would be a very difficult matter to give an account of her Syſtem. No Coherency muſt be expected from a Perſon who aſcribes every thing to immediate Inſpirations. It cannot be denied that it is a ſtrange Error to pretend, as it is ſaid ſhe did, that the true Church was extinguiſhed, and that the Liturgical Exerciſes of Religion ought to be laid aſide. This laſt Tenet lies extremely open to Perſecution [*N*]. It is to be remembered that the Journaliſts have mentioned the Works of *Antoinette Bourignon*

(*y*) Ibid. p. 380.
(*z*) Ibid. p. 384.
(*aa*) Ibid. pag. 388.
(*bb*) Ibid. p. 391.
(*cc*) Ibid. p. 394.
(*dd*) Ibid. p. 446.
(*ee*) In June, 1677.
(*ff*) Ibid. pag. 580.
(*gg*) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, April 1685, Art. 9.
(*hh*) Vie contin. pag. 585.

out againſt her Doctrine, that they might exclude her from Mr *de Cort's* Succeſſion. This may be ſeen at large in her Hiſtory (32).

(32) Vie continuée, chap. xix, & ſeq. pag. 338, & ſeq.

[*M*] *She employed ---- her Care and Induſtry but not her Purſe.*] I have already ſpoke (33) of the Reaſons whereon her Sparing was grounded. What I am going to ſay ſhall be a Supplement to it. When ſhe accepted the care of that Hoſpital, ſhe declared that 'ſhe conſented to contribute her Induſtry as well for the building, as for the Diſtribution of the Money and Inſpection of the Poor: But without engaging any part of her Eſtate (34).' She alledged two reaſons for it; one was that ſhe had already *conſecrated her Eſtate to GOD, for thoſe who ſincerely endeavour to become true Chriſtians*: The other was, that Mankind and all humane things are inconſtant, ſo that it might happen that thoſe, in whoſe favour ſhe might part from her Eſtate, might make themſelves afterwards unworthy of it. This was an admirable Reaſon, never to part with any thing, and to put off all manner of Gifts 'till ſhe ſhould make her Will. The Lady found by Experience that ſhe was not raſhly diffident of the inconſtancy of Men; ſhe was ſo far from finding any body in *Eaſt-Frieſland* that deſerved to have her Eſtate, 'that ſhe could 'not ſo much as find any, upon whom ſhe might 'beſtow part of her Revenue, meeting with none but 'Poor, who had nothing leſs at Heart than to 'think of a Chriſtian Life, who made uſe of what 'was given them to cheat, guzzle, and live in 'Idleneſs. Nevertheleſs, ſhe and one of her 'Friends diſtributed to them for ſome Months 'certain Revenues of that place, which were annexed to that Hoſpital by the Founder: But 'when ſhe was asked whether ſhe would not contribute ſomething of her own, ſhe anſwered in 'writing, that becauſe thoſe Poor lived like Beaſts 'who had no Souls to ſave, and abuſed the Gifts 'of GOD inſtead of giving him thanks for them, 'ſhe and her Friends would rather chooſe to throw 'their Eſtates, which were conſecrated to GOD, 'into the Sea, than to leave any part of them there. 'Which ſhe and her Friends have alſo carefully 'avoided in all their Tranſactions, ſo far as to re'ſerve to themſelves the Reſtitution of the Money 'they ſhould get to the day wherein they would 'retire from that place (35).' Other Countries were not better provided with Perſons that deſerved her Charity. 'Nullos adhuc inveni (*vere pauperes*) & 'ſic coacta ſui mea bona ad hunc uſque diem ſer'vare (36). ---- *I have found none that are truly 'poor, and ſo have been forced to keep my Eſtate 'to this time.* Vellem ut occaſionem haberem ea '(*bona mea*) ad gloriam Dei impendendi, tunc ne uno 'quidem die retinerem: ſed nullam hucuſque in'veni: multi ſunt qui ea acciperent, ſed non im'penderent ad gloriam Dei ut ego facere deſtino *. '---- *I wiſh I had an Opportunity of laying it 'out to the Glory of GOD, and then I would not 'keep it ſo much as one day; but I have found none 'hitherto; there are many who would receive it, but 'would not beſtow it to the Glory of God as I in'tend to do.*' So that this Head of Expence did not coſt her much. It ſeems to me that the Children of this Age are not much more prudent in their Generation, than thoſe Children of Light. We ſhall ſee, in the Remark [*P*], that her Humour was not to ſpare thoſe who ſtole any thing from her. She took it very ill that her Friends had not indicted thoſe Thieves.

(33) *In Remark* [*E*].
(34) Ibid. p. 504.
(35) Ibid. p. 505.
(36) Lumiere en ten. &c. Part IV. pag. 215, apud Seckend. Apolog. Relat. pag. 78.
* Ibid. pag. 61, apud eund. Seckendorf. ibid. pag. 79.

[*N*] *She was for abolishing the Liturgical Exerciſes of Religion. ---- a Tenet which lies extreamly open to Perſecution.*] Two very powerful Intereſts ingage the Directors of Churches to oppoſe that Tenet: the one is the Intereſt of the whole Body; the other a perſonal Intereſt. Take from the Church her public Aſſemblies, her Rites, Liturgy, and Diſcipline, and you take the way to ruin her before the third Generation. So that it is a Maxim deſtructive of the Church. It is moreover perſonally prejudicial to the Directors; for the more that Tenet is followed, the fewer People will be found in Churches; and ſo the Pains that are taken all the Week to prepare a Sermon become almoſt fruitleſs, whether the Preacher deſigns only the Converſion of the Hearers, or only to get Praiſe, or both theſe things together.

rignon [O]. She had this in common with most Devotees, that she was of a choleric and morose Humour [P]. Notwithstanding her peevishness, and all the Fatigues and Crosses of her Life, *one would not have thought her to be much above forty Years of Age*, when she was above sixty (*ii*). She had never made use of Spectacles (*kk*). *The most remarkable Periods of her Life*, as her Birth, her coming to be an Author, and her Death, were signified by Comets (*ll*). The Author of her Life was not aware, that by saying this he gave occasion to think, according to the common Hypothesis, that this Maid was as a scourge of Providence, and not a holy Prophetess. The Vanity and the Danger she found in having her Picture drawn (*mm*), hindered her from suffering it to be done (*nn*). She had a very singular Opinion concerning Antichrist [Q], which seemed to be taken from the Hypothesis of many Doctors concerning the *Incubus's* [R]. See *John Mollerus*, a *Lutheran* Author, in his Introduction to the History of the *Chersonesus Cimbrica*, where he relates several things concerning *Antoinette's* Abode in *Holstein*, and concerning the Writers who attacked her (*oo*).

(*ii*) Ibid. p. 586.

(*kk*) Ibid.

(*ll*) Ibid. p. 590.

(*mm*) *It concerned her extremely that her Face should not be known, by reason of her Persecutors*, Ibid. pag. 586.

(*nn*) Ibid.

(*oo*) Mollerus, Parte II, pag. 151, & seq.

If

[O] *The Journalists have mentioned the Works of* Antoinette Bourignon.] See in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* a Memorial of Mr *Poiret* on that Maid's Life and Doctrine (37). But in the Journal of *Leipsic* (38) there is an Extract of her Works which has occasioned a Dispute. An anonymous Author complained very sharply of that Extract, and accused the Journalist of a great many Falsehoods. A very ample, and elaborate, Apology was made for that Extract (39). Those who will not take the trouble to look over that Lady's Writings, and yet are desirous to know many things concerning her, need only see that Apology.

(37) April 1685, Art. ix, *and* May 1685, Art. viii.

(38) *In* January, 1686, pag 9.

(39) *The* Acta Eruditorum *of* May 1687, *speak of it. The* Index *of the ten first Volumes of that Journal informs us, that Mr* Seckendorf *is the Author of the Apology. Mr* Mollerus *says so likewise in his* Ingoge ad Historiam Chersonesi Cimbricæ, *Part II, p.* 161, 162.

(40) Seckendorf, *in the Apology for the Journal of* Leipsic, *pag.* 76, 77.

(41) Id. ibid.

[P] *Like most other Devotees she was of a choleric and morose Humour*] Mr *Seckendorf* found some Proofs of this in the Lady's own Writings. 'Multa vestigia (says he (40), in scriptis ejus apparent, ex quibus judicari posset fœminam hanc duram, immitem, pervicacem, stomachabundam, rixosam - - - - fuisse. - - - - *Several Marks appear in her Writings by which one may judge, that she was a fowre, stubborn, passionate, brawling Woman.*' It came to that at last that no body could endure her ill Humour, and particularly her Maids were obliged to leave her. 'Unde factum ut nemo ejus morositatem tolerare posset, minime omnium fœminæ quas in sodalitium aut famulitium adsciverat: exercebatur nempe in illas, ut lusit Satyricus, *Præfectura domus Sicula non mitior aula* (41). - - - - - *For which reason no body could bear her ill Humour, especially the Women which she took for Companions or Servants: for she exercised over them, as the Satirist expresses it*, A Family Government as cruel as the *Sicilian* Court.' The following Passage will confirm this: 'If those who lived with her had not had strong Teeth to break some Crusts, very hard to corrupt Nature, they would have left her a thousand times for one. And indeed of so many Persons who have known, and even of those who have followed her, there were not four left that she would have kept with her (42).' Note, that she did not allow that her ill Humour was a fault; she called it love of Justice, and maintained that Anger was a true Virtue, and alledged in her Vindication the Rigours which the Prophets and Apostles used. She severely censured those of her Friends, who had not sued the Boors who had stolen something from her: 'and when her Friends excused themselves, saying they did not know whether she would have had them prosecuted with Rigour; she told them that these were but the Excuses of corrupt Nature, which will not take Pains, nor bear Inconveniencies.' Then she said with a strong Voice, 'Once for all, and I have already so often repeated it, we must prevent Evil, and oppose it with all our might, wherever we find it (43).' How well this agrees with the Patience which is so much recommended to us in the Gospel!

(41) Id. ibid.

(42) Vie continuée, pag. 169. *See the* Apology for the Journal of *Leipsic*, pag. 200.

(43) Vie continuée, pag. 477.

[Q] *She had a very singular Opinion concerning* Antichrist.] She believed he would be a Devil incarnate. When she was asked, whether it was possible that Man should be born by the Operation of the Devil, she answered, 'Yes: Not that the Devil can do this alone without the Co-operation of Man; but having Power over lascivious Men, when they misuse the Principle of Fecundity (which the Scripture calls *spilling it on the Ground*, Gen. xxxviii, 9) the Devil carries it by his diabolical Interposition into his Witches, from whence he causes wicked Men to be born, who are all dedicated to himself, and are true Antichrists: And that the Devil will incarnate himself in that manner (44).' She believed that the Reign of Antichrist ought to be understood two ways, the one sensually and the other spiritually. In the first Sense, it will be the visible Reign of a Devil incarnate, and that is to come. In the second Sense, it is the Corruption and the Disorders which appear in all Christian Societies; and on this head she gives herself a full Scope, and rails most bitterly against all those Societies, and spares the Protestants no more than the Roman Catholics. 'De spirituali Antichristo longe plura tractat & veluti œstro percita campo decurrit per quem magnus equos Auruncæ flexit alumnus. Ante omnia Romanæ Ecclesiæ —— Antichristum, caput, principem & rectorem —— confidentissime assignat —— nihilo tamen mitius Protestantium cœtus tractavit, ideoque in libris de Antichristo omnia in eundem censum refert, nihil relinquens quod non Antichristianum & diabolicum faciat effreni & incredibili maledicentia (45). —— *Concerning the spiritual Antichrist, she says a great deal more, and beats about the Field like one mad. Above all, she calls the head Prince and Governour of the* Roman *Church Antichrist - - - - nor does she treat the Societies of Protestants more mildly, and therefore in her Books concerning Antichrist she brings them all into one Account, leaving nothing which she does not, by her unbridled and incredible Malediction, make Antichristian and Devilish.*' As to the true and sensual Antichrist, *viz.* a Devil incarnate, according to her Principles, she had known him so well in a Night Vision *ratified*, that she gave a Description of him, whereby one might see what Complexion, Stature, and Hair he should have (46). The Verses which contained that Description have been suppressed; I say *the Verses*, for she pretended to make some, without ever having learned the Rules of Poetry. 'Omnia ex Deo didicerit, etiam rythmorum artem, in quâ quidem ita versatur ut facile fidem inveniat se nullo magistro usum esse (47). - - - - *She learnt every thing from* GOD, *even the Art of making Verses, which she does in such a manner that it is manifest she never learned it of any Master.*' I must explain in a few words what is meant by a *ratified Vision*. Mrs *Bourignon* little valued the Visions 'which are made by the Interposition of the Imagination (48).' If she had any of that kind, she suspected them, 'till having recommended them to God in a profound Recollection, and disintangled from all Images, she learned from God what she ought to think of them, and God ratified the Truth of them to her in so pure, so intimate, and so private a manner, in the Recess of a Soul so disingaged and so given over to God, that there could be no mixture of human Thoughts or diabolical Illusions. In that manner God ratified to her the Truth of the Vision of Antichrist.'

(44) Ibid. p. 555

(45) Seckendorf. ubi supra, p. 154.

(46) Vie continuée, pag. 267.

(47) Seckendorf. ubi supra, p. 254.

(48) Vie continuée, pag. 265, 267.

[R] *Which seemed to be taken from the Hypothesis —— concerning the* Incubus's.] The Opinion that certain Persons of an extraordinary Merit have

If she was predestinated to be the Instrument of some Revolution of Religion, that Lot was not assigned to her Person, nor to the Ministry of her Voice: It will rather be an effect of her Writings; for during her Life she had but a very small number of Followers, who after her Death decreased every day in the Countries where she was most admired. They want but little of being reduced to Unity, I mean to one single individual. But it is not the same in Countries which were never honoured with her Presence: Her Books have fructified beyond Sea; some Persons in *Scotland* like her Doctrine, and have undertaken the Propagation of it. They have made themselves formidable; and it was thought necessary to take Pen in Hand in order to stop their Progress. They have taken the same Weapons to defend themselves; and that conflict of Books continues still: You shall see the Extract of a Memorial on that Subject, which a very worthy Man has communicated to me [*S*].

been begotten by those Spirits is very ancient, and wants not Favourers to this Day. See *Leo Allatius* in his Book concerning *Homer*'s Country, where declaring for that Opinion, he maintains, that Children procreated in that manner, are nevertheless formed of human Seed (49). The Count *de Gabalis* explains that ridiculous Whim. 'Sir, said I 'to him, our Divines take care not to say that the 'Devil is the Father of all those Men, who are 'born without our knowing who brings them in- 'to the World. They acknowledge that the De- 'vil is a Spirit, and therefore cannot procreate. 'Gregorius Nyssenus (replied the Count) does not 'say that; for he holds that the Devils multiply 'among themselves like Men. We are not of his 'Opinion, said I, but it happens (as our Doctors 'say) that —— Ha! do not tell, (interrupted the 'Count) do not tell what they say, for then you 'must say a most filthy and immodest thing as they 'do. What an abominable Evasion have they found 'there? It is a wonder, that they should unani- 'mously embrace that filthy Opinion, and take plea- 'sure in placing Hobgobblins in Ambuscades, to 'take advantage of the idle Brutishness of solitary 'Persons, and thereby bring those miraculous Men 'speedily into the World, whose illustrious Me- 'mory they blacken by such a foul Original. Do 'they call that philosophizing? Is it worthy of 'God, to say that he has that Indulgence for the 'Devil to favour those Abominations; to grant 'them the Grace of Fecundity which he has re- 'fused to great Saints; and to reward that filthi- 'ness by creating more heroic Souls for those Em- 'bryo's of Iniquity, than for those who are formed 'in the Chastity of a lawful Marriage? Is it wor- 'thy of Religion to say, as your Doctors do, that 'by that detestable Art the Devil may get a Virgin 'with Child whilst she is asleep without any pre- 'judice to her Virginity? Which is as absurd as 'the Story which *Thomas Aquinas* (otherwise a 'most solid Author, and who knew something of 'the *Cabala*) is so heedless as to relate in his fixth 'Quodlibet, of a Daughter lying with her Father, 'to whom he ascribes the Adventure which some 'heretical Rabbins relate of the Daughter of *Je- 'remiah*, to whom they impute the Conception of 'the great *Cabalist Benjorah* by going into the 'Bath after the Prophet. I could swear that this 'Impertinency was contrived by some —— (50).'

(49) Allat. de patr. a Homeri, pag. 30. *See what shall be quoted out of the* Polygamia triumphatrix *in the Article of* LYSERUS (JOHN), *the Author of that Book.*

[*S*] *Here follows the Extract of a Memorial, which a very worthy Man has communicated to me concerning the writings for and against her Followers.*] I have read there, that the Followers of *Antoinette Bourignon* are perhaps more numerous in *Scotland* than in any other part of the World. Some Laymen, and some Clergymen in *Scotland* have embraced that Sect, some who, by having been too fond of abstracted Speculations, have suffered themselves to be dazzled by the Subtilties of Mr *Poiret's Divine Oeconomy* (51); others, who because they were not satisfied with the present State of Things, were easily charmed by the magnificent Promises of *Antoinette Bourignon*. Inclined to Novelty, and greedy of a Change, they too hastily believed that her System would remedy the Disorders they were displeased with. It was their Desire, and therefore it was soon their Hope, and thus they bestowed many pompous Encomiums upon that new Prophetess, who promised them such an advantageous Change, and such a noble Restoration of the Church. Two or three learned and pious Persons, who relished her Writings, encouraged the thing: Their Authority added weight to the frequent Discourses which were held on that new System; and by often speaking of that Woman's Writings, which promised the Reformation of Faith and Manners, and that of Discipline and Worship, and which contain very sharp Censures against all sorts of People, and particularly against the Clergy, Dispositions to *Bourignonism* were sowed in People's Minds. The first thing that made a noise was the publishing an *English* Translation of one of the most considerable Pieces of our *Antoinette* in the Year 1696 (52). A very long Preface was prefixed to it, wherein the Translator maintained that she ought at least to be looked upon as an extraordinary Prophetess. *Charles Lesley*, a Man of great Merit and Learning, is the first who wrote against the Errors of Mrs *Bourignon* in *Great Britain*. The Books he wrote against the Quakers, have been very much esteemed, particularly his Treatise, intituled, *The Snake in the Grass, Anguis in herba*. Three anonymous Editions of it were published in two Years: in the Preface of the second Edition he took notice of the Errors of *Bourignonism*; but he and several other Persons engaged Dr *Cockburn* to refute them more fully. That Doctor acquitted himself very well of it; he published a Book, intituled, *Bourignonism Detected*. He proposes, and confutes the Judgment of Mr *Poiret*, Mr *de Cort*, and the *English* Translator of the *Lux Mundi*, concerning that Woman, and shews that neither their Authority nor their Reasons are sufficient to persuade that she was inspired, nor that she had received a Commission from God to reform Christianity. He has since published a Letter, wherein he justifies himself for writing on that Subject, and excuses himself for the delay of the new Relations he had promised, and answers some Difficulties. This was followed by a second Narrative printed in *London*, wherein having represented all the magnificent things that Mrs *Bourignon* attributed to herself, he shews that if they were true, she ought not only to be preferred before the Prophets, and the Apostles, but also before JESUS CHRIST. He believed this might be sufficient to undeceive the *Bourignonists*, and therefore he made no haste to publish the other two Relations, wherein he is to shew, I. That the Life of *Antoinette* did not answer the great Part that she pretended to act. II. That she had not the Characters peculiar to those who are raised by GOD. III. That there are good reasons to accuse her either of Imposture, or of Diabolical Illusion. IV. That her particular Doctrines, though veiled with a Pretence of a greater Piety, are contrary to true Piety. The *Bourignonists* of *Scotland*, not profiting by his writings, thought themselves obliged to write in defence of *Antoinette*, and therefore published an Apology for her, and an Answer to Dr *Cockburn*'s Relations. This obliges the latter to go on in his Work, which, though chiefly designed to shew the Fanaticism of Mrs *Bourignon*, serves nevertheless to discover several other Illusions (53).

(50) Quatrième Entretien sur les Sciences secretes, pag. 240, Paris Edit. 1670.

(51) *It is a Book printed at* Amsterdam, 1687, *in seven Volumes in* 12mo.

(52) *That which is entituled* The Light of the World.

(53) *Taken from a Memorial imparted to me* July 2, 1699.

BOURLOTE (CLAUDIUS DE LA), a Soldier of Fortune, who raised himself by his Valour. Look for LABOURLOTE.

BOURSAULT (EDMUND), known by divers Works in Verse and Prose, which have been in good Esteem, had a great share in the Affection of the Duke of *Montausier*. It was by his Order that he wrote a *Book, in* 1671, *for the Education of the* Dauphin. *This Book is entituled* L'Etude des Souverains, *and is stored with illustrious Examples, necessary for young Princes who are to be instructed. The King was very well pleased with it, and the Duke of* Montausier —— *recommended him to his Majesty for Sub-Preceptor to the* Dauphin, *and there was no other Obstacle but his want of the* Latin *Tongue, that kept him from so considerable Honour and Fortune* (a); for it must be observed that Mr *Boursault* had no *Knowledge of the* Latin *Tongue*. He died in the Month of *September*, 1701. He was putting the last hand to a Work entituled *Esope a la Cour* (b). It is a kind of Supplement to the other *Esop*, which he had wrote (c). *The Children he left are a Theatin, a Captain of Foot, and a Nun* (d).

(a) Mercure Galant, *of September* 1702, pag. 398, 399.
(b) Id. pag. 400.
(c) Id. pag. 399.
(d) Idem.

BOXHORNIUS, Professor at *Leyden*. See ZUERIUS.

BRACHMANS, *Indian* Philosophers, of whom *Strabo* relates several things which are very singular (a). They begun so early to take care of their Scholars, that they sent learned Men to the Mother as soon as they knew that she had conceived. Those learned Men seemed to go thither to give their Blessing to the Mother and the Child, that she might have a happy time; but their chief design was to give her good Precepts. If the Mother was pleased with those Discourses, it was taken as a good Omen for the Child. As the Children grew up, they went thro' the Discipline of different Masters; as for the *Brachmans* they kept out of the Town in a Wood, and led a very rigid Life [*A*]. They slept on Hides, they eat no Flesh [*B*], nor

(a) Strab. lib. xv, pag. 490, ex Megasthene.

[*A*] *They led a very rigid Life.*] It appears by a Passage of *Strabo* that they inured themselves to Toil; for he speaks of two *Brachmans*, one of whom made a Trial of Patience by lying on the ground, exposed to the Sun and Rain. The other who was younger made his Tryal, by standing a whole Day sometimes on his Right, and sometimes on his left Leg, holding up a great Piece of Timber with both Hands. They were at *Alexander*'s Court; the youngest returned home, but the other thought it better to follow that Prince, and to comply with the Customs of the *Greeks* (1). This was in some manner to forsake his Order. *Arrianus* says, that *Alexander* admired the Constancy of those *Indian* Philosophers (2). It would doubtless have been very wonderful, if they had done what *Pliny* ascribes to them. They look upon the Sun, says he (3), from it's rising to it's setting with a stedfast and unmoveable Eye, and stand all day long, sometimes on one Foot, and sometimes on another, in the hot burning Sands. Philosophos eorum quos Gymnosophistas vocant ab exortu ad occasum perstare contuentes solem immobilibus oculis, ferventibus arenis, toto die alternis pedibus insistere.' *Solinus* adds, that they sought great Secrets in the Sun (4). He seems to say, that it served them for a Looking-Glass to foretel things to come. It is to no purpose after this to extol and cry up such Saints as *Simeon Stylites*; they do not come up to those *Indian* Philosophers. But the Fact is almost as doubtful on one side as on the other. It looks altogether like a Fable with respect to those Philosophers, and if there was no other reason to question it than this, *viz.* that most of the Authors, who speak of them, do not mention that uneasy Posture, and that perpetual Contemplation, we should have sufficient ground to disbelieve it. It seems to me that standing always on one Foot, and having one's Eyes turned directly to the hottest Sun without the least winking, are such singular things, as no body will ever pass over in silence, who has a Mind to inform any Person what sort of Life those People live, who practise such extraordinary things. And consequently all those who asked any News of those *Indian* Philosophers, would immediately have been informed of such wonderful things. They must needs be publickly known in the Country, and are the best Part of the Story, the marvellous and rarity of the Sect, and therefore every body may and ought to acquaint Strangers with them. So that it is impossible that an Historian, who looks for Information, should not come to the Knowledge of such things; and if he knows them, he ought to make them the chief Article of his Account: he must have lost his Wits if he thinks they do not deserve to be mentioned. How comes it then that there are so many Writers, who do not say one word of them? Doubtless it is because they never heard of them; or because observing that all those who should have mentioned them, did not do it, they concluded that it was all Romance and Imposture. One may apprehend the reason why an Author may relate fabulous Stories; but one cannot apprehend why he should suppress such Truths as these. There are some cases then wherein a Negative Argument may take place; not only when it is grounded on the Silence of the greatest Number, which is our present Case. *Strabo* who had read many Relations, and who also cites some ocular Witnesses, says indeed, that those Philosophers suffered the excessive Heat of the Sun all the Day long, some standing, some sitting, and others lying down; and that they did not move out of their Places, till returned to the Town at Night: but he does not speak of their continual standing on one Foot, nor of their perpetual Contemplation of the Sun. Neither does *Stephanus Byzantinus* speak of it, though he says that the *Brachmans* were chiefly consecrated to the Sun. Βραχμάνων ἰδεῖν φῦλον ἀνδρῶν φιλοσόφων καὶ θεοῖς φίλων, ἥλιῳ δὲ μάλιστα καθωσιωμένων. *Brachmanas visere homines philosophiæ deditos & diis charos, soli vero præcipuè dedicatos* (5). — *To see the* Brachmans *Men given to Philosophy, dear to the Gods, but chiefly dedicated to the Sun.* I must observe that one of the Austerities of some *Indian* Philosophers was to continue a whole Day in the same posture, ἀφ' ἑνὸς σχήματος ἀκίνητον διαπελέσαι τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην (6). It would be a hard Penance for many Persons. See the Remark [*F*] of the Article GYMNOSOPHISTS.

(1) Strabo, lib. xv, pag. 491.
(2) Arrian. de expedit. lib. 7.
(3) Plin. lib. vii, cap. ii.
(4) In globo igneo rimantes secreta quædam. *Solin. cap.* lii.

OBSERVATION on a Case where the Negative Argument is strong.

(5) Hierocles in Philistoricis apud Stephanum de Urbibus in Βραχμᾶνες. *See also* Philostratus in vita Apoll. lib. iii.
(6) Strab. lib xv, pag. 491.

[*B*] *They eat no Flesh.*] *Porphyry* represents them very rigid on that Point: the *Carthusians* do not come near them. They not only did eat nothing but Fruit and Rice; but they would have thought themselves guilty of the greatest Impiety, had they touched any Food that had had Life. Τὸ δ' ἄλλων τινὸς ἅπτεσθαι, ἢ ἄλλως λέγειν ἔμψυχος τροφῆς ἶσον καὶ τῇ ἰσχάτῃ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ τε καὶ ἀσεβείᾳ νενόμισαι (7). They were moreover very devout, and spent the greatest part of the Day and Night in singing Hymns to the Honour

(7) Porphyr. de Abst. lib iv.

nor had any Commerce with Women [C]. They ſpent their time in fine Diſcourſes, and communicated their Science to thoſe who would come and hear them; But none of their Hearers was allowed to ſpeak or to ſpit: Whoever did it was turned out for that Day. When a Man had been thirty ſeven Years in that Society, he was at liberty to leave it in order to live a more eaſy Life: He was then permitted to eat ſuch Beaſts as do not labour for Men, and to marry many Wives; but he was not allowed to philoſophize with them [D]; for if they were bad, it was feared they would divulge the myſterious things among the prophane; and if they grew better by the Leſſons of their Huſbands, it was feared they would live no longer under their Subjection. The *Brachmans* ſaid, our Life ought to be conſidered as the State of Conception, and Death as a Birth to a true and happy Life for thoſe who have philoſophized well. They added, that the accidents of human Life are neither good nor evil, ſince the ſame things pleaſe ſome, and diſpleaſe others, and even are agreeable and diſagreeable to one and the ſame Perſon, at different times. Thus much for Morality. As to Phyſics, they taught ſeveral things which favoured of Folly; their main ſkill did not lie in that; their Actions were better than their Words, and they built a good part of their Syſtem on Fables; but otherwiſe they had the ſame Opinion as the *Greeks* in ſeveral things. They believed that the World had a Beginning, and would have an End; that it was round, and that GOD, who made and governed it, penetrated it every where; that the Principles of the Univerſe differed from each other, but that Water was the Principle of the World, and that there was a Quinteſſence, out of which the Heavens and the Stars were formed. They had alſo ſome Fables, like *Plato*, concerning the Immortality of the Soul, the Tribunals of Hell, and ſuch like things. It is *Strabo*, who ſpeaks thus ſlightly of the greateſt Truths of Religion. *Apuleius*, though he was taken for a Magician, has not ſo deſcribed thoſe Doctrines of the *Brachmans* [E]. They cultivated Phyſic and Aſtronomy very much (b). *Clemens Alexandrinus* teſtifies that they drank no Wine, nor eat any thing that had Life, and that becauſe they were perſuaded of a new Birth, they did not value this Life (c). He looks upon them as

(b) Strab. ibid. pag. 494.

(c) Καταφρονᾶσι δὲ θανάτου, καὶ παρ' ἡδὺν ἡγοῦνται τὸν βίον. πεῖθονται γὰρ εἶναι παλιγγενεσίαν. Mortem autem contemnunt & vivere nihil faciunt, credunt enim eſſe regenerationem. - - - - *They deſpiſe Death, and ſet no value upon Life, for they believe there is a new Birth.* Clemens Alexandr. Stromat. lib. iii, pag. 452.

Honour of the Gods, and praying to them. Each had his Cell, and they could not abide to live in common; Κοινῇ γὰρ Βραχμᾶνες μένειν οὐκ ἀνέχονται (8). Here you ſee true *Carthuſians* among the Pagans, and I do not even know whether they can be compared with *Cenobites*, rather than with *Anchorites*. *Bardeſanes* repreſents them as Men free from Malice, and who thought only of GOD (9). They drank neither Wine nor Malt-Drink; they eat nothing that had Life; they worſhiped no Images. That which is moſt wonderful is, that there was not a ſmall Number of ſuch great Saints; for there were ſeveral Thouſands of them. *Credat Judæus Apella.*

(8) Id. ibid.

(9) Bardeſanes apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. vi, cap. viii.

[C] *They had no commerce with Women.*] *Suidas* ſpeaks quite otherwiſe of them; what he ſays of them deſerves to be taken notice of for it's ſingularity. He ſays, that the *Brachmans* inhabit an Iſland of the Ocean, where the Air is ſo pure that they live a Hundred and fifty Years. They do not live there upon Bread and Water, but upon Water and Apples. They do nothing but pray to GOD. In the Months of *July* and *Auguſt* the Fruits, being then very plentiful, heat them with the Fire of Love, ſo that they go to their Wives beyond the River *Ganges*, and remain forty Days with them, and then return to their Iſland. When a Woman has had two Children, her Husband goes no more to ſee her; and ſhe on her ſide comes no more near any Man: and if any Woman has been five Years barren, her Husband makes no farther attempt upon her; he goes no more over the Sea with the reſt. This was not the way to people the Country: neither was it well peopled, as *Suidas* obſerves; but he ſhould not have forgot to ſay that theſe are meer Stories and Romances forged by idle Writers. It may be they deſigned to make the neighbouring Nations aſhamed by endeavouring to make them believe that there is a Country in the World, where People are far from being ſuch gluttons as they. However it be, I do not think that in all the ſincere Relations of Travellers there is any Country mentioned, where the Inhabitants are ſo chaſt as the *Brachmans* ſpoken of by *Suidas*. There are ſome Sects, and ſome Fraternities every where, that make Profeſſion of renouncing venereal Pleaſures; but the reſt of the Inhabitants laugh at that Morality, and ſcarce confine themſelves to any thing but to ſatiate their Appetites. The moſt ſavage Countries of *Africa* and *America*, the moſt icy parts of *Lapland*, abound with great gluttons in that Reſpect.

[D] *They married many Wives, but were not allowed to philoſophize with them.*] Some would have made uſe of this Paſſage to adorn the common Topic of Women's prating, if *Strabo* had not prevented it by obſerving that the *Brachmans* were only afraid of the Indiſcretion of bad Women. As for good Women, they only feared that as ſoon as they became good Philoſophers, they would free themſelves from the conjugal Servitude. But as all that is ſaid of the *Indian* Philoſophers ſwarms with Contradictions, we read in the following Page that ſome philoſophized with Women, but in ſuch a manner that they went not beyond Speculations; they begun and ended with the Spirit, they had nothing to do with the Fleſh. Συμπλοσοφεῖν δ' ἐνίοις καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπεχομένας καὶ αὐτὰς ἀφροδισίων. Cum horum etiam nonnullis mulieres philoſophari à venereis abſtinentes (10). - - - - - *Women philoſophize with ſome of them, abſtaining from Venery.* The *Brachmans* went quite another way to work; They did not philoſophize with their Wives, but endeavoured to get many Children by them. Ταμεῖν δ' ὑπερλείσας εἰς πολυτεκνίαν. Quamplurimas ducere uxores multiplicandæ prolis gratia (11). - - - - - *They marry ſeveral Wives in order to multiply their Off-ſprings.* If that Paſſage of *Strabo* were not ſo mangled as it is, we might ſee all the Reaſons which he had given for their Conduct. Another Hiſtorian ſays that they philoſophized alſo with them (12).

(10) Strabo, lib. xv, pag. 491. *See alſo* pag. 494.

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 490.

(12) Nearchus apud Strabon. pag. 493.

[E] Apuleius - - - - - *has not repreſented the Opinions of the* Brachmans *as Fables.*] Theſe are his Words; 'Brachmanæ pleraque Philoſophiæ ejus '(*Pythagoræ*) contulerunt, quæ mentium docu-'menta, quæ corporum exercitamenta, quot partes 'animi, quot vices vitæ, quæ Dii manibus pro 'merito ſuo cuique tormenta vel præmia (13). '- - - - - *The* Brachmans *furniſhed great part of 'his* (Pythagoras's) *Philoſophy, what were the pro-'per Improvements of the Mind, what the Exer-'ciſes of the Body, how many parts of the Soul, 'how many changes of Life, what Rewards or 'Torments the* Dii manes *had for every Man ac-'cording to his Deſerts.'*

(13) Apul. Florid. lib. ii, pag. 352.

as one of the two sorts of *Gymnosophists* (*d*) [*F*]; but it is very difficult to determine among so many contrary Relations, whether the *Brachmans* went naked or not [*G*]. *Lucian* calls the same *Indian* Philosophers indifferently *Brachmans* and *Gymnosophists* (*e*). We must take care not to be deceived by his Expressions, when he says in an indefinite manner, that they burnt themselves, not by leaping into the Pile, like *Peregrinus*, but going into it with a grave pace, worthy of their Character of Philosophers [*H*]. If some did it, it does not follow from thence that it was one of their Customs. He observes also, that, by reason of their Sobriety, they lived a long time (*f*). The Treatise of *Palladius de Gentibus Indiæ & Bragmanibus*, which was published at *London* in the Year 1665, deserves to be consulted [*I*]. If we had the Book that the *Brachman* King wrote in his own Language, concerning the Laws and Government of the *Brachmans* (*g*), it is likely we might see something very romantic in it.

(*d*) Id. lib. i, pag. 305.

(*e*) Lucian. in fugitivis, pag. 790, Tom. II.

(*f*) Id. in Macrobiis, pag. 632, Tom. II.

(*g*) Suidas.

The *Brachmans* subsist still in the East. *The third Sect that is in vogue among the* Chinese, *may be called the Religion of the* Brachmans *or* Bramins, *and they call it so themselves. They are Priests who chiefly reverence three things, the God* Fo, *his Law, and*

[*F*] Clemens Alexandrinus ------ *looks upon them to be one of the two sorts of* Gymnosophists.] *Megasthenes* divides the *Indian* Philosophers into *Brachmanes* and *Germanes* (14); the first were more esteemed than the latter: Those that were most esteemed among the *Germanes* were called *Hylobians*. The Reason of that Name was taken from their living in Woods (15). They fed only on Leaves and wild Fruits; their Garments were made of Barks of Trees; they abstained from Wine and from the Pleasures of Love. *Clemens Alexandrinus* follows the same Division of the *Gymnosophists*, only he calls the last sort *Sarmanes*, and subdivides them into *Allobians*, &c (16). I cannot tell whether *Germanes* ought to be preferred before *Sarmanes* (17); but it is certain that the Word Ἀλλόβιοι is corrupted, and that it ought to be read Ταλάβιοι, as in *Strabo*. Now in order to know whether that Division is just, this question must first be decided, whether the *Brachmans* wore any Cloaths; for it is not to be doubted, that by the Word *Gymnosophists* the *Greeks* understood all the *Indian* Philosophers, who did not cover their Nakedness. See the following Remark, and the Article GYMNOSOPHISTS. *Ludovicus Vives* had not examined *Strabo* carefully, when he made him say, that there were two sorts of Philosophers, in *India*; that some made their abode in the Towns, and others in the Woods; that the first were called Civil, and were covered with Shirts and Skins; those were the *Brachmans*; and that the last were naked, or were sometimes covered with Leaves and Barks of Trees; they were called *Hermanes* and *Gymnosophists*, and from them proceeded the *Gymnosophists* of *Æthiopia* (18). This account is far from being exact. I. In the first place, when *Strabo* speaks of certain Philosophers who were called *Civil*, he means a Sect which they opposed to the *Brachmans*, and which did nothing but find fault. II. In the second place, he does not say that That Sect was divided into two Classes, but into three: that of the *Mountaineers*, that of the *Naked*, and that of the *Civil*. Lastly, he says that the last dwelt indifferently in Towns and the Country. How came *Vives* then to find out that the *Gymnosophists* of *Æthiopia* were issued from any particular *Indian* Sect, rather than from another.

(14) Megasthenes, apud Strabonem, pag. 489.

(15) Ξένται ἐν ταῖς ὕλαις.

(16) Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. I, pag. 305.

(17) Porphyr. de Abstin. lib. iv, *divides the* Gymnosophists *into two Sects, viz. into* Brachmans *and* Samaneans.

(18) Lud. Vives in August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xiv, cap. xvii.

[*G*] *Among so many contrary Relations, it is difficult to determine whether they went naked or not.*] We have seen some of the Contradictions, that are to be found in Books concerning the *Indian* Philosophers. It is past doubt, that they had not all the same Customs: By what right should they have been uniform? Was ever such a Privilege seen any where? But this does not fully justify the Authors, who tell inconsistent things of them; for they have not denoted each Sect by their proper Name. Those, who ascribe such or such a thing to them, make use of the same general Names, as those who do not ascribe it to them. Nay, did not *Nearchus* say that *Calanus* was a *Brachman* (19)? Did not *Onesicritus* say that he had discoursed with *Calanus*, and that he found him stark naked (20). One might therefore conclude from those two Witnesses, that the *Brachmans* went naked, and confirm it by *Megasthenes*, who reckoned among other Prerogatives of those, who left the *Brachmans* after having been Thirty seven Years among them, the liberty of wearing a Shirt (21). Yet an Author, named *Hierocles*, says the *Brachmans* wore a very singular Garment (22); it was made of Cloth of Stone, and did not consume in the Fire. *Philostratus* in the Life of *Apollonius* says they wore flaxen Cloth (23). According to *Megasthenes*, the Philosophers, who were the most esteemed in the Sect of the *Germanes*, wore Cloaths made of the Barks of Trees. But *Cicero* says in general, that the *Indian* Philosophers go naked (24). *Hierocles* says that the *Brachmans* lay always in the open Fields (25); but *Onesicritus*, who had seen them, affirms that they came every Night into the Town. *Arrianus* tell us that they spent the Summer under great Trees, and the Winter *sub dio*. Others say that each of them had his Cell (26). It may be they did not follow the same Institute in all Ages, and that, with a distinction of time, one might reconcile some of the Variations of the Authors, who have spoke of them.

(19) Nearchus, apud Strabonem, pag. 493.

(20) Ibid. pag. 492.

(21) Ibid. pag. 490.

(22) Hierocles apud Stephanum de Urbibus in Βραχμᾶνες.

(23) *See what* Pliny *says of the Flax,* Asbestos, lib. xviii, cap. i.

(24) Cicero, Tuscul. lib. v.

(25) Τραπέρας τὸν θέρος χρόνον διατρίβειν. Sub dio totam ætatem degunt. *Hierocles apud Stephan. de Urbib. in* Βραχμᾶνες.

(26) *See Remark* [*B*].

[*H*] *According to* Lucian ------ *they burnt themselves, going into the Pile with a grave Pace worthy of their Character of Philosophers.*] If we believe that Jester, they built the Pile, and stood unmoveable by it whilst the Fire roasted them. Afterwards they stept gravely and majestically into the Flames, and stirred no more than a Statue, after they had laid themselves down in the Fire (27). He opposes this way of burning ones self to that of *Peregrinus*, who threw himself into the Flames, and pretends that the Method of the *Brachmans* is much more glorious. Thus a Banterer finds some subject of Ridicule in every thing. If *Peregrinus* had imitated those *Indian* Philosophers, *Lucian* would have accused him of Irresolution; he would have said, *he hesitates, he has a mind to fortify himself by degrees; he would shew more Courage if he threw himself headlong into the Fire.* See what the Baron *des Adrets* said to a Soldier who durst not throw himself down a Precipice at the first nor the second Trial (28). Let a Man turn himself all ways imaginable, he will never avoid the satirical Stokes of such Men as *Lucian*, nor Slander in general. Read Mr *de la Fontaine* (29).

(27) Lucian de morte Peregrini, pag. 772, 773, Tom. II. *He quotes* Onesicritus, *who had seen* Calanus *in the Flames. See the same Author* in Fugitivis, pag. 790, *in the same Tome.*

(28) *See above, Remark* [*B*], *Citation* (10), *in the Article* BEAUMONT, *&c.*

[*I*] *The Treatise of* Palladius de gentibus Indiæ & Bragmanibus ------ *deserves to be consulted.*] *Edward Bissæus* (30) published it in *Greek* and *Latin* at *London* in the Year 1665, as the *Bodleian* Catalogue has it; but I find the Year 1668, in the Title of my Copy, without any Observation of it's being a second Edition. It is likely that this Difference in the Date comes from the Booksellers, who are wont from time to time to renew the Titles of their Books. *Bissæus* added two other Treatises to that Treatise of *Palladius* (31), one of St *Ambrose*, *de Moribus Brachmanorum*, and the other of an anonymous Author, *de Brachmanibus*. Neither of them had ever been printed before. Those three Pieces are preceded by an exact Collection of what the Ancients have said concerning the *Brachmans*: the Testimonies of the *Greeks* are set down in their Language, and afterwards in *Latin*.

(29) *In the Fable of the Miller. It is the first of the third Book.*

(30) Eques Auratus & titulo Clarencii rex armorum. ------ *Knight, and Clarencieux King at Arms.*

(31) *The same who wrote the* Historia Lausiaca, *and who lived in the IVth Century.*

and the Books which contain their particular Statutes (*b*). They have very odd Opinions about Non-entity, and their Morality has a great affinity with the Visions of our Quietists [*K*]. The Relation of Father *Tachard* shews that the *Brachmans* or *Bramins* of *Bengal* lead a very austere Life, that they walk bare-headed and barefooted on their burning Sand, and that they live only upon Herbs (*i*). The *Brachmans* of *Indostan* have very ancient Books which they call Sacred, and which they pretend GOD gave to the great Prophet *Brahma* (*k*). They preserve the Language in which those Books were written, and use no other in their divine and philosophical Explications. By that means they keep them from the Knowledge of the Vulgar. They believe the Transmigration of Souls, and eat no Flesh. They say that the production of the World consisted in this, that all things came out of the Bosom of GOD, and that the World shall perish by the return of those same things to their first Original. A Spider serves them for an Emblem to explain that Opinion [*L*]. The *Brachmans* of *Siam* believe that the first Men were bigger than

(*b*) Charles le Gobien, *a Jesuit, in his* Histoire de l'Edit. de l'Emp. de la Chine en faveur de la Religion Chretienne.

(*i*) Tachard, Voiage de Siam, *Book* iv, sub fin. pag. 241, *Edit.* Holl.

(*k*) T. Burnet, in Appen. Archæolog. Philosoph.

[*K*] *They have very odd Opinions about Non-entity, and their Morality has a great Affinity with the Visions of our Quietists.*] 'The *Bramans* assert 'that the World is but an Illusion, a Dream, a 'Deceit: and that Bodies, to exist truly, must 'cease to be in themselves, and be confounded with 'Nothingness, which by it's Simplicity makes the 'Perfection of all Beings. - - - - - Their Morality 'is yet more overstrained than that of our Stoics. 'For they carry the *Apathia*, or Indifference, to 'which they refer all Holiness, so far, that a Man 'must become a Stone or a Statue to acquire the 'Perfection of it. They do not only teach that 'a Wise Man ought to have no Passions, but al'so that he ought not to have any Desire. So 'that he ought continually to apply himself to 'desire nothing, to think on nothing, to feel no'thing, and to remove all Thoughts of Virtue 'and Sanctity so far from his Mind, that there 'remains nothing in him contrary to the perfect 'quiet of the Soul. It is, say they, that profound 'drowsiness of the Mind, that Quiet of all the 'Powers, that continual suspension of the Senses, 'which makes the Happiness of Man (32): in that 'State he is no more subject to change; there is 'no more any Transmigration for him, any Vi'cissitude, any Fear of Things to come, because, pro'perly speaking, he is nothing, or if he is any 'thing, he is Wise, Perfect, Happy, in a word, 'he is God, and perfectly like the God *Re*: which 'certainly comes somewhat near to Folly. It is 'against this ridiculous Doctrine that the *Chinese* 'Philosophers display all the Strength of their 'Eloquence. They look upon a perfect Indiffe'rency as a Monster in Morality, and as the over'turning of the civil Society (33).' I omit the solid and short Refutation that follows in Father *Gobien*.

(32) *Compare with this the* Nirvepan *of the* Siamese, *of which I speak in the Article* SOMMONA-CODOM.

(33) *Father* Charles le Gobien, *in his Preface to the* Histoire de l'Edit. de l'Emp. de la Chine.

But I desire you to observe that this Monster of Indifference is the darling Doctrine of the *Quietists*, and that, according to them, one's true Felicity consists in Nothingness. 'Then in the threefold 'silence of Words, Thoughts, and Desires, finding 'ones self in a spiritual Sleep, in a mystical Drun'kenness, or rather in a mystical Death, all the 'suspended Powers are recalled from the Circum'ferences to the Center: GOD, who is that Cen'ter, makes the Soul feel him by divine Touches, 'by a Tast, by Illapses, by unspeakable Suavities. 'It's Affections being thus moved, it lets them 'rest quietly - - - - - and finds a delicious Repose 'which sets it above all Delights and Extasies, 'above the finest Manifestations, and divine No'tions, and Speculations: one cannot tell what he 'feels, nor what he is (34).' Do not imagine that *Mr la Bruyere* has made any Amplification: You will see his Book supported with Proofs. You will find this Passage of *Molinos* in it. 'It is then that 'the divine Spouse, suspending it's Faculties, lulls 'it in a sweet and calm Sleep: It is in that Drow'siness that it enjoys with an unconceivable Calm, 'without knowing wherein it's enjoyment con'sists (35).' You will find there, that 'a spiritual 'Soul ought to be indifferent to all things, either 'for the Body or the Soul, or for temporal or 'eternal Goods, and leave what is past in forget'fulness, and things to come to the Providence of 'GOD, and deny itself the present (36).' And that 'the resignation of the Soul ought to be such 'as to act without any Knowledge, like one that 'ceases to be (37).' That 'the Soul, feels, sees, and 'knows itself no more: it sees, comprehends, and 'distinguishes nothing in GOD; there is no more 'Love, Light, or Knowledge (38).' That 'that 'Soul, not feeling itself, is not at the trouble of 'seeking, or doing any thing: it remains as it is, 'which is sufficient. But what does it? Nothing, 'nothing, and always nothing (39).' That 'the 'Indifferency of this Lover is so great that it can'not incline towards Enjoyment, nor towards Pri'vation. Death and Life are equal to it, and 'though it's Love is incomparably stronger than 'ever it was, yet it cannot desire Paradise, because 'it remains in the Hands of it's Spouse as things 'that are not. This ought to be the Effect of 'the most profound Annihilation (40).' That 'the 'perfect Prayer of Contemplation puts Man besides 'himself, delivers him from all Creatures, makes 'him die and enter into the Rest of GOD; he is 'in Admiration that he is united to GOD, with'out doubting that he is distinguished from GOD. 'He is reduced to nothing, and knows himself no 'more: he lives and lives no more: he ope'rates and operates no more: he is and is no 'more (41).'

(34) La Bruyere Dialogue x, sur le Quietisme, pag. 33, *&c seq.*

(35) Molinos Guid. spirit. *Book* iii, *ch.* xiii, apud Bruyere, *ubi supra*, pag. 35, 36.

(36) Madame Guyon, moien court, apud eundem, Dial. v, pag. 171.

(37) Regle des Associez à l'enfance de Jesus, apud eund, ibid. pag. 172.

(38) Madame Guyon, *in the Book of* Torrents, apud eund. ibid.

(39) *The same*, ibid. apud. eund. Dial. vi, p. 201.

(40) *The same*, Explicat. du Cantique des Cantiques, apud eund. Dial. v, p. 190.

(41) La Combe, analyse de l'oraison mentale, apud eund. Dialvii, pag. 281.

We do not want Persons in *Europe*, any more than in *China*, to confute those foolish Visions eloquently; but to the shame of our Age, and our Climate, they have found Apologists among us, who make themselves formidable. *Note*, That the Doctrine of the *Brachmans* is less dreadful in some respects than that of our Mystics; for the latter place Indifferency, and the perfect Quietness, in a Transformation of the Soul into GOD, which they explain by the Notions of the Consummation of Marriage. 'The essential Union, *say they* (42), in the Spiritual 'Marriage, where there is a communication of Sub'stance, where GOD takes the Soul for his Spouse, 'unites it to himself, not personally, nor by any act or 'means, but immediately, reducing all to an Unity.— 'The Soul ought not, nor can any more make 'any Distinction between GOD and itself: GOD 'is the Soul, and the Soul is GOD, since by the 'Consummation of the Marriage it is returned in'to GOD, and finds itself lost in him without be'ing able to distinguish or find itself again. The 'true Consummation of the Marriage makes the 'Mixture of the Soul with it's GOD. - - - - The 'Marriage is made when the Soul finds itself dead, 'and expired in the Arms of the Spouse, who 'seeing it more disposed, receives it to Union with 'himself; but the Consummation of the Marriage 'is made only, when the Soul is so melted, annihi'lated, and disappropriated, that it can altogether 'run into it's GOD without any reserve. Then is 'made that admirable Mixture of the Creature 'with it's Creator, which reduces them to Unity. '- - - - - - - - If any Saints, or any Authors, have 'established this Divine Marriage in a less advan'ced State than this which I describe, it is because 'they took the betrothing for the Marriage, and 'the Marriage for the Consummation (43).' The Absurdity of this Doctrine as to Metaphysics is monstrous; for if there is any thing certain in the clearest Ideas, it is absolutely impossible that a real Change should be made either of GOD into a Creature, or of a Creature into GOD. *Ovid*, and the other Pagan Poets, were not so senseless as to mention such a *Metamorphosis*. What might not one say against this Cant of the *Quietists*, 'That a Soul is no more in itself, nor by itself; 'that

(42) Madame Guyon, explicat. du Cant. des Cant. pag. 3, & apud eund. Dialvii, pag. 239.

(43) Ibid. pag. 145, *&c.* cited by La Bruyere, Dial. vii, *on* Quietism, pag. 239.

than those of this present time, and that they lived many Ages without any Sickness (*l*); and that our Earth shall be destroyed one day by Fire, and that another will come out of its Ashes, in which there shall be no Sea, nor any change of Seasons, but an eternal Spring (*m*). The *Brachmans* of the Country of *Coromandel* say, there are all at once several Worlds in different parts of the Universe, and that the same World is destroyed and renewed in certain periods of Time; that our Earth begun with the Golden Age, and will be destroyed by Fire (*n*).

(*l*) Tachard Voiage de Siam, pag. 390, apud T. Burnetium, ubi supra.

(*m*) Burnet, ibid.

(*n*) Id. ibid.

'that it is relapsed and swallowed up in GOD by 'a fundamental and central Presence (44),' that it 'admires GOD 'in his abyssal and supereminent Bottom (45).' Can any body forgive them, that 'State of Deification, wherein all is GOD without 'knowing that it is so (46), ------ that State 'of essential Union wherein the Soul becomes 'immutable, and has lost means ---- that Union 'not only essential but immediate and without 'means, more substantial than the hypostatic Union '------ that central Union with GOD,' that has no need of JESUS CHRIST for a Mediator (47). This kind of *Eutychianism* multipliable *in infinitum* would appear horrible to *Eutyches* himself. But if one would excuse all these things, can any body forgive them the obscene Images they make use of, which are so proper to expose Religion, and outdo in a manner all the Licence of the ancient Heathen Poets? Can any one forgive them what they assert, that, in order to lead a Soul to the State of Death, which is a Preparation to Deification, 'GOD permits that the Senses should 'extrovert, *that is to say*, debauch themselves, 'which appears a great Impurity to the Soul. 'And yet the thing is seasonable, and to do otherwise is to purify ones self in another manner than 'GOD commands, and to sully ones self (48).' Some faults are 'committed in that Extroversion, but 'the Confusion, which the Soul receives by it, 'and the Care of making use of it, make the Muck, 'wherein it rots the sooner, and hastens it's Death '(49).' Can any thing be more dangerous to good Manners? It is likely I shall have some occasion to shew that the pretended essential Union of those Persons may very well be called *Seneca*'s Paradice.

(44) La Bruyere, Dial. 7, pag. 261.

(45) *The Abbot* d'Estival, confer. mystic. apud eund. Dial. ii. pag. 35.

(46) Madame Guyon, *in the Book of* Torrente, apud eund. Dial. vii, pag. 258.

(47) La Bruyere, Dial. vi, pag. 222, 223.

(48) Id. Dial. vii, pag. 285.

(49) Ibid. pag. 286.

[*L*] *A Spider serves them for an Emblem to explain that Opinion.*] See here how Dr *Burnet* expresses it: 'Hoc autem more Cabalistico vel Mythologico exprimunt. Fingunt enim immensam 'quandam Aranearn esse primam rerum causam: 'Quæ, materia è suis visceribus educta, hujusce universi telam contexuit, & mira arte ordinavit. Sedet illa interea in arce sui operis, & cujusque 'partis motum sentit, regit, & moderatur. Tandem cum satis lusit in sua tela adornanda & contemplanda, retrahit, quæ evolverat, sibi, atque 'ita omnia reciorbet in seipsam, totaque rerum 'creatarum natura in nihilum evanescit. Hoc modo 'Mundi ortum, ordinem, & interitum, repræsentant hodierni Brachmanes (50). ------ *But this 'they express in a Cabalistic and Mythological 'Manner. For they pretend that a certain immense 'Spider was the first Cause of Things: which 'wrought the Webb of this Universe of Matter 'drawn out of her own Bowels, and disposed it 'with wonderful Art. That she from the Summit 'of her Work continually observes, orders, and regulates the Motion of every Part. At last, when 'she has satisfied herself with the Pleasure of 'adorning and contemplating her Web, she gathers 'up the Thread she had spun, and so absorbs all 'again into herself, and the whole Nature of created Things vanishes. Thus the modern Brachmans 'represent the beginning, order, and end of the 'World.' This Comparison of the Author of the World to a Spider, who having diverted herself with making her Web, draws in, and devours the same Threads that came out of her own Bowels, plainly represents the Doctrine of the Stoics (51). The Extravagancy of that Idea cannot be sufficiently wondered at. Physics, Metaphysics, and Morals, afford us an hundred solid Arguments to confute it: Doubtless I shall have some Occasion to touch upon this Matter. I shall only observe, here, that a Man is very excusible, when the Consideration of the Follies, which the Eastern Nations have believed for so many Ages about the Original of the World, moves him to ascribe them to the Wrath of Heaven, and raises his Astonishment at the Duration and Greatness of it. 'Miseret me quidem Terrarum Orientalium, primæ 'sapientum sedis, florentissimæ olim bonarum litterarum Emporii, à multis retro sæculis in fœdam 'barbariem conversarum.

(50) T. Burnetius, in appendice Archæol. Philos. pag. 472.

(51) *See* T. Burnet, Archæol. lib. i, cap. vii, pag. 326, 327. *Edit.* Amstal. 1694.

Tantæne animis cœlestibus iræ?

'Faxit Deus, ut eâdem non subeamus vices, neque retrahat FRATUS id luminis quo gaudemus 'in Occidente (52). ------ *Indeed I pity the 'Eastern Countries, the first Seat of wise Men, 'once the most flourishing Men of Learning, for 'many Ages past fallen into abominable Barbarity.*

(52) Id. ibid. pag. ultima.

Can Heaven such strong Resentment show?

'*GOD grant it may not come to our turn to do 'the like, and that he in his WRATH do not 'withdraw that Light which we are blessed with 'in the West.*'

BRANDOLINUS (AURELIUS), born at *Florence* in the XVth Century, was surnamed *Lippus*, from a Defluxion of Humours that ran down from his Eyes (*a*). That Distemper, so much an Enemy to Men of Letters, did not hinder him from becoming a very learned Man. He was a great Orator, a great Musician, and a good Poet. His Reputation being spread every where, he was invited to *Hungary* by King *Matthias Corvinus*, to teach the Art of Oratory, which he did many Years at *Buda*, and in *Strigonia*, with great Success. After his return to *Florence* he took the religious Habit of St *Augustin*, and some time after was made a Priest. He applied himself to preaching, and had every where the applause of a great crowd of Auditors. He died of the Plague at *Rome* in the Year 1498. He was Author of some Books which are esteemed (*b*) [*A*]. *Moreri*'s Faults are not so considerable as his Omissions [*B*].

(*a*) Gesner Biblioth. fol. 483, *does not rank his Name right; for he places him under* Lippus Brandolinus Aurelius.

(*b*) *Taken from* Michael Poccianti de Scriptor. Florent. pag. 83. *See also* Ghilini, Tom. II, pag. 32, 33, *who only paraphrases* Poccianthus.

[*A*] *He was Author of some Books which are esteemed.*] He put the *Histories* contained in the *Old and New Testament* into Heroic Verse. He wrote a *Commentary on St* Paul's *Epistles*; a Treatise *de Lege*; two Books of *Christian Pardoxes*; a Dialogue *de humanæ vitæ conditione & tollenda corporum ægritudine ad Matthiam Corvinum Regem*; three Books *de ratione scribendi*. This last Work was very much praised by *Sebastian Corradus*. 'Quamvis penè cœcus, certè lippus, ex ea (Rhetorica) 'præcepta collegit, & à ratione dicendi ad rationem scribendi tam docte transtulit, & tam diligenter accommodavit, ut verissime de eo scripserit 'Seb. Corradus, nihil neque majorum suorum memoria, neque sua, doctius aut elegantius in ea 'scriptum videri (1). ------ *Though he was almost blind, at least sore eyed, he gathered Precepts from that (Rhetoric) and transferred them 'so learnedly from the manner of speaking to the 'manner of writing, and adapted them so carefully, 'that* Sebastian Corradus *said very truly of him, 'that there was nothing writ more learnedly or 'elegantly in the Memory either of his Ancestors 'himself.* Konig, from whom I have these Words

(1) Konig. Biblioth. vet. & nova, pag. 138.

Words, had not done amiss if he had told us where *Corradus* spake so: for one would never conjecture that those Words are prefixed to *Brandolinus*'s three Books *de ratione scribendi*, reprinted at *Basil* in the Year 1565, since Mr *Konig* speaks of that Edition immediately after, without saying any thing to shew that *Sebastian Corradus* was concerned in it. I shall therefore add a Passage which will serve for a Supplement to the other. 'Hoc pacto 'fere Lippus Brandolinus, vir suæ ætatis doctissi- 'mus, si non cæcus certe insigniter lippus, libros 'de ratione scribendi concinnaverat, Rhetoricen à 'clarissimo Hungarorum Rege Matthia Corvino 'evocatus, in Pannonia professus, teste Sebastiano 'Corrado (2), præstantis eruditionis viro. - - - - - - 'In like manner Lippus Brandolinus, *the most learned Man of his Time, if not blind, yet certainly extreamly sore eyed, writ his Books* de ratione scribendi, *when he was Professor of Rhetoric in* Pannonia, *whither he was invited by* Matthias Corvinus, *the most serene King of* Hungary, *as* Sebastianus Corradus, *a Man of extraordinary Learning, testifies.*' I take this from a Piece wherein mention is made of several learned blind Men: It is intituled, *Dissertatiuncula de cæcis sapientia ac eruditione claris, mirisque cæcorum quorundam actionibus.* You will see the Author's Name, and the Year of the Impression, in the Margin (3).

(2) Epistola ad S. P. Q. Rhegiensem *tribus* Brandolini *libris ab Operino excusis præmissa.*

(3) Georgius Trinkhusius *Obrdruf Thuring. Gymn. Rectoris Gerani Commilito, in dissertatiuncula de cæcis sapientia ac eruditione claris, &c.* fol. B 2. *It was printed at* Gera, *in the Year* 1694, *in* 4to.

[*B*] Moreri's *Faults are not so considerable as his Omissions.*] I find but two in the Edition of *Lyons* 1688, the one is that *Lipus* is put instead of *Lippus*: the other is that *descript. Aug.* is put for *de Scriptor. Augustinianis.* Those two Faults are worse in the *Dutch* Editions; for instead of *Lipus* they have put *Lupus*, and instead of *Aug.* they have put *Angl.* This last mistake may persuade the Readers that *Elssius* and *Pamphilius* have composed some Books concerning the *English* Writers. I very much suspect two other Faults of *Moreri*. I believe he is mistaken when he says after *Miræus*, that the Treatises *de humana conditione, de ratione scribendi*, and *de paradoxis Christianis*, were dedicated to *Matthias Corvinus*, King of *Hungary*, and printed since at *Basil* in the Year 1498. The first of those two facts seems to me to be false as to the two last Treatises. Neither do I believe that the *Paradoxes* were printed at *Basil* in the Year 1498, for I see in *Gesner's Bibliotheque* that the first Impression is of the Year 1543. *Paradoxa Christiana nunc primum excusa* 1543. *in* 8vo. *Basileæ apud Rob. Winter* (4).

(4) Gesner, Biblioth. fol. 483.

BRASAVOLUS (Antonius Musa), Physician and Professor at *Ferrara*, flourished before the middle of the XVIth Century; he taught Logic eight Years, and Natural Philosophy nine Years, in the University of *Ferrara*; after which he applied himself to the Explication of the Theory of Physic (*a*). The Commentaries which he wrote on the Aphorisms of *Hippocrates* (*b*) were well esteemed. He wrote several other Books on the Nature of Medicines, and the Method of preparing them [*A*]. He used the Form of a Dialogue between himself and an old Apothecary. His Stile is clear and simple, and without any affectation of Ornament (*c*). He was very impertinently introduced by *Laurence Joubert*, in the *Story of a Buffoon* [*B*]. His Work on the Pox was judged very contemptible by *John de Renou*, a *French* Physician [*C*]. *Jerom Brasavolus* his Son was a Physician, and published something [*D*].

(*a*) *See the Preface to his* Commentary upon the Aphorisms of Hippocrates *in* Gesner Biblioth. fol. 62.

(*b*) Gesner *takes notice of the* Basil *Edition, in Folio, of* 1542. *See his* Biblioth. fol. 62.

(*c*) Gesner, ibid.

[*A*] *He wrote several other Books on Medicines, and the Method of preparing them.*] His *Examen omnium Simplicium quorum usus est in Publicis Officinis* was printed at *Rome* in the Year 1536, in Folio; and at Lyons in 1544, 8vo. You will find in *Lindenius Renovatus* (1) the different Editions of the *Examen omnium Syruporum, Linctuum, Pulverum, Electuariorum, Confectionum Catharticarum, Catapotiorum, vel Pilularum, Throchiscorum, Unguentorum*, &c. The Epitome of the *Bibliotheque* of *Gesner* gives the Titles of several other Works of *Brasavolus*, whether they had been printed, or not printed at that time (2). I have mentioned one in the Remark [*D*] of the Article GONZAGUE (Lucretia).

(1) *In* pag. 78.

(2) *See* Simler's Epitome Biblioth. Gesneri, p. 63, *Edit.* Tigurinæ An. 1583, *in Folio.*

[*B*] *He is very impertinently introduced by* Laurence Joubert *in the Story of a Buffoon.*] Joubert says, that *Alphonsus* Duke of *Ferrara* having asked *of what Trade there were most People*; *Gonella* his Buffoon laid a Wager with him *that there were more Physicians than other sort of People* (3). He feigned the next day that he had got the Tooth-ach, and set down in his Table-book every one that told him a Remedy: the Duke was put in the List, for he had said to *Gonella*, *I know a thing that will put thee immediately out of pain though the Tooth be decayed*; Mr Antonio Musa Brasavolo, *my Physician, never uses a better. Do so and so and you will be immediately well* (4). I omit the rest; you may find it in the Collections of Jests; I only say that *Joubert* was not well acquainted with the date of the Fact: it was before the time of *Brasavolus*, and of *Alphonsus* Duke of *Ferrara*. This *Gonella* was Buffoon to *Nicolas d' Est*, Marquis of *Ferrara*, and we read all the Story in a Writer of the XVth Century (5). But that is the Fate of this kind of Stories; they are carried from Age to Age, and from Country to Country; but an exact Author ought to keep to the Source.

(3) Joubert Erreurs populaires, liv. i, chap. ix, pag. 39.

(4) Id. ibid. pag. 40.

(5) *In* Jovianus Pontanus, lib. vi, de Sermone, cap. ii, pag. 1727.

[*C*] *His Work on the Pox was judged very contemptible by* John de Renou, *a* French *Physician.*] I beg leave to recite the very Words of his Translator: they have not the Politeness of the present time, but every Age has it's manner. I do by no means approve that this Author should out of spite forget Modesty, spite I say to see that the *Italians* call the Pox the *French* Disease. 'It is a Distem- 'per, *says he* (6), which 'till the Year 1493 was 'intirely unknown in *Europe*; the *Italian* Compa- 'nions and Servants of *Christopher Columbus* 'brought it from the *Indies* about that time, and 'communicated it presently to the Women of *Italy*, who prostituting themselves to our *French* du- 'ring the Siege of *Naples*, they infected imme- 'diately all that had to do with them: whence it 'followed that the *French*, after they had taken 'the City of *Naples*, returning home in confusion 'gave this Distemper also to a great number of 'other *Italian* Women, which they lay with here 'and there in diverse places of *Italy*, who also 'communicated it to their Husbands, being willing 'to acquit themselves of their matrimonial Duty. '- - - - At which the *Italians*, being extreamly in- 'raged at the *French* Nation, have, out of spite, 'and to revenge themselves for the Affront, called 'the Disease of *Naples* the *French* Disease. So 'that the Titles of the Books, which they have 'since wrote on that Subject, carry in them the 'Vengeance of their Courage, and the disorderly 'Life of their Wives, which makes me believe 'also that *Brasavolus* finding himself touched, as it 'were by Tradition, with the Injury of his sup- 'posed Predecessors, (I say *supposed* because possi- 'bly from the Spawn of some *Frenchman*) has 'wrote a certain little Book on the *French* Disease, 'in which he makes Two hundred and thirty four 'sorts of it; but I believe that the good Man 'doted when he writ the Book, or else he was 'willing that Posterity should know, that at the 'first Bout which our *Frenchmen* had with his Re- 'lations and Neighbours, there were Two hundred 'and thirty four of them done over; and for as 'much as they never were so well matched as 'then, he though it was his Duty to leave us 'these eternal Memorials to raise our *Frenchmen*'s 'Appetites to return thither again, and when they 'were there, to do the like Favour to all the 'Women they could meet with.' How flat and ridiculous this!

(6) Jean de Renou Antidotaire, liv. ii, cap. xxi, pag. 602, *in* Lenis de Serres's French *Translation, printed at* Lyons, *in* 1637, *in Folio.*

[*D*] JEROM BRASAVOLUS, *his Son - - - - - published something.*] An *Exposition on the first Book of* Hippocrates's *Aphorisms*, printed at *Ferrara*,

Ferrara, in 1595, in 4to, and a Treatise *De Officiis Medici*, printed at the same Place, in the Year 1590 (7), and in the Year 1599, in 4to. I find in *Lindenius Renovatus* (8). *A Commentary on the first Aphorism of Hippocrates*, printed at *Ferrara* in 1594, and attributed to *Antonius Musa Brasavolus*. I rather think it is a Treatise of *Jerom Brasavolus*, as it is said to be in the Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library.

(7) *See* Lindenius Renovatus, pag. 113.

(8) Pag. 78.

BRAUN (GEORGE), in *Latin Braunius* (*a*), Archdeacon of *Dortmund*, and Dean of our Lady *in Gradibus* at *Cologn*, lived 'till the beginning of the XVIIth Century. He published a *Latin Oration against the Priests that kept Concubines*, in the Year 1566. He wrote also the *Life of Jesus Christ*, and that of the *Holy Virgin*, and a Treatise of Controversy against the Protestants [*A*], which was printed at *Cologn* in the Year 1605 in 8vo; but his principal Work is the *Theatrum Urbium*, in several Volumes in Folio (*b*). He was at *Antwerp* at the time of the Insurrection of the People, on the thirteenth of March 1567, and relates how the Lutherans joined with the Catholics to resist the Calvinists (*c*). All the Accounts of that dreadful Action agree as to that Union. I shall extract from his Work of Controversy some Facts, which relate to the establishment of Lutheranism in the City of *Dortmund* [*B*], and to the Variations of the Confession of *Augsburg* [*C*].

(*a*) *He is called* Bruinius *in the* Epitome of the Bibliotheque of Gesner, *pag.* 265, *and* Brunus *in the* Athenæ Belgicæ *of* Swertius, *pag.* 269. *Note, the* Bodleian *Catalogue makes of this Author*, George Braun *and* George Brunius.

(*b*) Swertii Athenæ Belgicæ, pag. 269.

(*c*) Braunius in Catholicorum Tremonensium Defensione, fol. 218, verso.

[*A*] *He wrote a Treatise of Controversy against the Protestants.*] This is the Title, *Catholicorum Tremonensium adversus Lutheranicæ ibidem factionis Prædicantes Defensio: in qua legitimæ rationes & causæ explicantur ob quas Catholicæ Ecclesiæ in quâ nati, Christo initiati & educati, confessione deserta, Augustanam assumere & profiteri negucant.* The Occasion which determined *George Braun* to publish this Work was, that the Magistrates of *Dortmund* (*Tremonia* in *Latin*), an Imperial City of the Circle of *Westphalia*, and the Diocese of *Cologn*, made a Decree the seventh of *October* 1603, that all the Inhabitants, who would not subscribe to the Confession of *Augsburg*, should be deprived of Liberty of Conscience. *Braun* urged ten reasons against this Decree. I shall touch a little of the first, because they are historical Points, of which the Readers, whatever dislike they may have to Controversy, may be glad to be informed.

[*B*] *I shall extract from his Book of Controversy some facts, which relate to the Establishment of Lutheranism in the City of* Dortmund.] The Author represents to the Lutheran Ministers, that they ought to remember the first Step which their Ancestors took to introduce their Faith into the the City of *Dortmund*. It was to present a Petition to the Magistrate, by which they humbly desired Liberty of Conscience, the Communion in both kinds, and a particular Chapel in the Parish Church, without pretending to give the least Disturbance in the World to the Catholic Religion, the public Exercise whereof was established in all the Churches of the City. And promising further, to live in submission to their Superiors, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, who were then of the *Roman* Communion. A Chapel was allowed them, where they might communicate in both kinds. Some time after they obtained one of the Parish Churches, and the Liberty of singing in *German*. The Preacher who officiated there banished the Mass. He had been a Monk, he drew a great Number of Auditors, and succeeded so well that he established Lutheranism in all the other Parishes except that of St *Nicolas*; but that also fell some time after into the Power of a Lutheran Minister (1) who preached violently against the Priests. The Author observes that at the time of the Treaty of *Passau* (2), and a little after the Peace of the Religion had been concluded (3), there was no other than the Romish Religion prevailed in the City and County of *Dortmund*, but that it was suppressed there, and Lutheranism established by public Authority in the Year 1582, when the principal Magistrates and Patricians were absent on account of the Contagion, those who would oppose the Novelty proving to be the weaker Side. When the Confession of *Augsburg* was thus publickly authorized, it was not hard for the Ministers to fix it, and make it triumph throughout the whole City, till they had obtained the Decree I have mentioned (4). The Author compares the Conduct of the Lutherans in this Affair to a Wedge, the thinest Part of which being once entered into a piece of Wood serves by little and little to introduce the thickest parts till the Wood be quite split. 'Talem procedendi modum amplexi 'estis, quem cuneo, cum Stanislao Hosio, compa-'ravero. Is primâ parte tenuis, ità ut in lignum 'impactus magnam ligni disruptionem non videa-'tur esse facturus; & tamen primâ hac suâ te-'nuitate aditum facit sequenti crassitiei, adeò ut 'cum prima pars illa admissa & recepta fuerit, sen-'sim ac paulatim sequentia crassiora admittantur, 'donec solidum lignum penitus decussum disrup-'tumque fuerit. Hujus cunei primam ac tenuio-'rem partem, apud vos Tremonenses, primam 'supplicationem ac petitionem vestram dixero, quâ 'Calicem separatim in unicum tantum sacellum in-'troduxistis. Is receptus, altera pars cunei crassior, 'cantum Germanicum & unius Parochiæ occupa-'tionem extorsit, ex quâ novus novi verbi Mi-'nister ac Prædicans legitimum Evangelicæ Legis 'ac Catholicæ sacerdotium ac juge sacrificium 'sustulit, pedetentim, juxta Lutheri varicinium, 'progrediendo (5). ------ *You have taken such* 'a Method of proceeding, as I, *with* Stanislaus Ho-'sius, *will compare to a Wedge, that is thin at the* 'first end, *so that when it is driven into a Piece* 'of Wood it does not seem as if it would make 'any great Rupture, *and yet by it's thinness at first it* 'makes way for the following thickness, *so that when* 'the first part is admitted and received, the fol-'lowing thick parts are insensibly, and by little and 'little, admitted, till the whole Timber is intirely 'rent and torn in pieces. The first and thin part of 'this Wedge, amongst you of* Dortmund, *I call your* 'first Supplication and Petition, *by which you intro-'duced the Cup, separately, into one Chappel only: 'that received, the other thicker part of the Wedge 'extorted singing in* German, *and the Possession of 'one Parish, from which the new Minister and 'Preacher of the new Word took away the lawful 'Priesthood, and pure Sacrifice of the Evangelical 'and Catholic Law, proceeding, step by step, accord-'ing to the Prediction of* Luther.'

(5) Braunius, ibid. pag. 4.

It is certain, that one of the Pretexts of those who oppose new Religions, is to say that we must not trust the Humility which appears in the respectful Demands which they make at first to be barely tolerated: That it is the Language of a Man who will enter like a Fox, and reign like a Lion, and that they have a Zeal which has an extraordinary Resemblance to Ambition. A private Man, who is ambitious, will be content at first to be advanced five or six steps, soon after he will desire as much more. And then he would be equal to his Principals, and afterwards surpass them. A new Sect seem as if they would think themselves very happy if they obtain only Liberty of Conscience, but after a few Months that will not suffice them, they desire to be admitted to some Offices, and afterwards to share half the Government; and lastly, to be Masters, and will not allow the rest what they obtained of them by favour (6). Those who take literally the Command of JESUS CHRIST *Compelle intrare, Compel them to come in*, imagin that nothing is more justifiable than that Conduct; but it has been shewn that they are grosly mistaken, and that they expose Christianity to the just Detestation of all the World (7).

Most of the other Reasons of *George Braun* are taken either from the Divisions, which prevailed among the Sectaries, or from the Confession, which several

(1) *Named* Herman Embsinghoff.

(2) *In* 1552.

(3) *In* 1555.

(4) Ex Georgii Braunii Causâ primâ, pag. 3, &c.

(6) *I have recited, in Remark* [C], *of the Article* A BAS, *the Words of* Charles IX.

(7) *See the* Philosophical Commentary *upon* Compel them to come in, *Part I, chap.* v.

several Ministers had made, that the new Reformation had augmented the Disorders of Mankind; he cites a great deal: I know not whether he cites faithfully, but what he cites has been a thousand and a thousand times objected by the *Roman* Catholics: and Answers have not been wanting.

[C] —— *And to the Variations of the Confession of* Augsburg.] It is the Subject of the fourth reason of *George Braun*. He says, I. That the Original *German*, and the Original *Latin* of the Confession of *Augsburg*, presented to the Emperor, and to the Diet of the Empire, in the Year 1530, differ both as to the Words and Sense in almost every Article (8). II. That *Melanchthon* printed it in *Latin* and *German*, at *Wittemberg*, in the beginning of the Year 1531, but that he varied from the Original, especially with regard to the tenth Article, which relates to the Holy Supper. III. That in the same Year, in the same City, and in the same Printing-House, *Luther* and *Melanchthon* got two Editions printed in *Latin*, one in 4to, the other in 8vo, which were extreamly unlike both as to the Terms and the things. IV. That the Edition in Quarto admits Transubstantiation, and proves it by the Canon of the *Greek* Mass, and by *Theophylact*, but that the Edition in 8vo contains nothing of that, and that for that reason *Hesshusius*, *Pappus*, and other Lutheran Preachers reject the Edition in 4to, and condemn it as Popish. V. That the *German* Editions, made under the Direction of *Melanchthon* at *Wittemberg* in the Year 1531, and at *Nuremberg* in the Year 1532, differ from the Original, and from the two first *Latin* Editions, in several Points. VI. That every time the Confession was put to the Press, Alterations were made in it. VII. That he was blamed for it by the rigid Lutherans, as appears by the Conference of *Altenburg*, where they enquired which was the true Confession of *Augsburg*, and which was spurious, where the Partisans of *Melanchthon* acknowledged that, with the Consent of *Luther*, in 1530, in 1540, and in 1541, he had altered, corrected, and augmented the Confession, and the Apology for the Confession. VIII. That after the Death of these two Heads of the Party, they continued making Alterations in the Confession of *Augsburg* till the Year 1580, and that the Lutherans knew nothing of any Edition conformable to the original *German*, and the original *Latin*. IX. That they begun to open their Eyes, and not being able to find the true Original in the Cabinets of their Ministers, they desired of the Archbishop of *Mayence* the original *German*, which had been presented to the Diet of the Empire, in the Year 1530, and was kept in the Chancery of the Empire, and that having obtained it they at last published in the *German* Tongue, for the first time, the true and genuine Confession of *Augsburg* in the Year 1580. 'Germanicum ejus originale, 'quod Moguntiæ in Cancellariâ Imperii inter acta 'comitiorum Augustanorum ab anno 1530, usque 'ad eum ipsum annum 1580, delitescens cum blat-'tis & tineis rixabatur, ab Achiepiscopo & Electore 'Moguntino emendiatum, ac tum primum ge-'nuinam Germanicam Confessionem integra fide 'excusam publicarunt (9).' X. That the *Latin* Apology, according to the Original, was not published till 1587, as we learn from *David Chytraus*, who had the Care of it. XI. That the *Latin* Confession, and the *German* Apology, as they were presented to the Emperor, with the *German* Confession in the Year 1530, at the Diet of *Augsburg* were never yet printed (10). I shall make a small Remark on the tenth Fact. *David Chytreus* has inserted in the Work cited by *Braun*, that is to say, in the History of the Confession of *Augsburg*, the true and unsuspicious Apology, according to the first Impression by *George Rhau* at *Wittemberg* in the Year 1531. Now this Work of *David Chytreus* was printed before the Year 1587; for I have the *French* Version of it, printed at *Antwerp* in the Year 1582. I know not whether *David Chytreus*, after he had published the Original of that Version, published a second Edition in the Year 1587, in which he inserted the Apology according to the first Manuscript of *Melanchthon*; if so, there is nothing to be said against *George Braun*.

Observe, that *Luke le Cop*, who translated that Work of *Chytreus* into *French*, and was Member of the Lutheran Church at *Antwerp*, observes in his Epistle Dedicatory, that *the Confession of* Augsburg *as it was translated into* French, *and afterwards printed some where in the Year* 1560, *is so disguised that it ought not to be acknowledged for what the Title imports*. Observe also, that the Bishop of *Meaux* has taken a great deal of Pains to set forth the Alterations of the Lutheran Confession, and the Apology (11); but I do not believe that he advances all the Facts which *Braunius* has recited. *Hospinian*, who has given a very large detail of that Matter (12), was the Bishop of *Meaux*'s Original.

(8) Braunius Defens Catholicorum Tremonensium, pag. 55, 56.

(9) Id. ibid. pag. 91.

(10) *Taken from the* Defensio Catholicorum Tremonensium of Braunius, pag. 55, &c.

(11) *See* Tom. I. *of his* Histoire des Variations *in the Places referred to in the Table of matters under the Word* Augsburg.

(12) *See* Tom. II. *of his* Historia Sacramentaria.

(a) *And not* Francis, *as in* Konig.

BRAUNBOM (FREDERIC) (*a*), a Protestant Author, and a *German*, published in 1613, with great Ostentation, a Book, which he thought full of new Discoveries, on the Explication of the Prophecies of the Old and New Testament [*A*]. He determined all the Periods of the Reign of Antichrist; his Birth, his Youth, the highest pitch of his Strength, the beginning of his Decline, his decrepit Age, and his Death. By his account Antichrist was born in the Year 86, and he was in the state of Adolescency in the Year 376, at the Age of Manhood in 636, in the highest Prosperity in the Year 711; he begun to decline in 1086, his Decay, and the Adolescency of the Reformed Church, fell in the Year 1376; the decrepit State of the former, and the full Strength of the latter, was to happen in the Year 1636. Antichrist was to die in the Year 1640, and the end of the World

[*A*] *He published* - - - *a Book which he thought full of new Discoveries on the Explication of the Prophecies of the old and new Testament.*] The Title of this Book is *Florum Flaminiorum Romanensium, Bapalium sive Papalium Decas una, inter quas inspersæ Notæ Anaschevasticæ in disputationem Martini Becani Antiesuidæ Moguntini de Antichristo reformato, una cum Chronologiâ totius sacræ Scripturæ nova, absoluta, &c. Hanoviæ* 1613 (1), in 4to. 'I dare affirm, *says he*, that I clear up certain 'Things which were not known before, that I 'prove the Truth of Propositions which others had 'advanced; that I correct Falsities, that I settle 'what was before uncertain (2); the first Reformers, *continues he*, understood not the Revelation. Neither *Daniel* himself, nor the Angel which 'instructed him, nor the Soul of JESUS CHRIST, 'understood the Numbers of this Prophet. *Liber Apocalypsis non est intellectus initio reformationis aut parum prò evangelico habitus, & sinistra illa veterum suspitio de hoc sacro volumine antiquata est & sublata per Ecclesiam. Verum id quidem, sed primitiis nostris suspecta erat Ecclesia, nec injuria, licet hoc non in loco* (3). - - - - - - *Non Daniel ipse, non Angelus Danielis instructor, non anima Salvatoris plena Sapientiæ, numeros Danielicos intellexit, quia non curavit, quidam enim tempus, nec ideo Apostolis curandi* (4). — 'The Book of Revela-'tions was not understood in the beginning of the 'Reformation, or hardly taken for Canonical, and 'the Suspicion of the Ancients in prejudice of this 'sacred Volume is removed by the Church. That 'is true indeed, but the Church was suspected by 'our first Leaders, and not without cause, though 'in this place. - - - - - *Daniel* himself, nor the 'Angel who instructed him, nor the Soul of our 'Saviour, who had the Fulness of Wisdom, under-'stood *Daniel*'s Numbers, because he did not take 'notice of them, for it was not yet time for him, 'and therefore not for the Apostles to take notice 'of it.' This nevertheless is what our Author boasts he has explained clearly and with all the Success in the World (5).

(1) *The* Bibliotheque *of* Draudius *observes*, pag. 166, *of the Edition of* Hanau, apud Hæredes Aubrianos, 1615, *in* 4to, *and pag.* 459, *Edit. of* Francfort, apud Weckelianos, 1618, *in* 4to. *Observe, that that of* 1613 *is printed at* Hanau.

(2) Braunbom, pag. 9, apud Contzen in Tractatu cui Titulus de Hæreseon Incremento.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 22, apud eundem, pag. 55.

(4) Id. pag. 27, 28, apud eundem pag. 558.

(5) Nec sine perperrimo successu, pag. 5, apud eundem, pag. 543.

[*B*] *Here*

World should be in the Year 1711. We shall see below some other Particulars of that Work [*B*]. It is not necessary to observe that *Braunbom* applies to the Papacy, whatever he found in the Scripture concerning Antichrist and the great Whore: I shall

[*B*] *Here are some other Particulars of that Work.*] We find there a new beginning of the Christian Æra; the Author was so pleased with the Invention that he exhorts all Christians to bless God for it: *Gaudete mecum & laudate Deum quotquot estis Christiani; inveni Annum Nativitatis Christi qui perierat* (6). This fine Discovery consists in placing the Nativity of our Saviour ten Years sooner than it is commonly placed, and by this he is obliged to say that JESUS CHRIST was baptized in the fifth Year of *Tiberius*, notwithstanding St *Luke* places it in the fifteenth Year of that Emperor (7). He remedies this by supposing, that St *Luke* reckons from the time that *Tiberius* was made Colleague of the Emperor; he founds his new Chronology on five Arguments; I shall not recite them, nor the Answers that have been made to them (8).

(6) Id. apud eumdem, pag. 558.

(7) Luke iii. 1.

(8) *The Jesuit* Contzen *refuted him in a Book quoted above, Cit.* (2).

The Title of his fifth Chapter of the tenth Book is *Mandatum divinum de Pontifice evertendo.* - - - *A Commandment from GOD to ruin the Papacy.* He affirms in this Chapter that every Protestant has received a public Order, like that which *Ehud* (9) received in private: *Ubi publicum præceptum habere omnes Calvinistas asserit quale Ehud habuit privatum & ne desit concitandæ seditioni verba Apoc. xviii. 4, 5, 6, 7, Germanicè recitat. Omnia igitur supplicia irrogare jubet, exurere, carnes edere, nullum supplicium nimium putare* (10). 'Where he asserts that all the Calvinists have a public Command, 'such as *Ehud* had a private one, and that he may 'not want Words to stir up Sedition, he recites in 'German the xviiith of *Revelations*, 4th, 5th, 6th, 'and 7th, Verses. Therefore he commands them to 'exercise all Punishments, to burn them, to eat 'their Flesh, and think no Torture too great.' I leave you to judge whether the Jesuit who answered him spared him on these sanguinary Notions. See below Remark [*C*] towards the end. He made an Objection to his Hypothesis that Popery should perish in 1641. 'The Protestant Princes 'may then, *says he*, spare their Preparations for 'War, since the Pope is not to perish 'till 1641, 'and then he will necessarily perish: It is then a 'foolish piece of Work in Mr *du Plessis* to exhort 'the King of *England* to equip a Fleet to go and 'destroy *Rome*.' 'Hoc monere amicè possum & 'debeo, periculo, sumptu, labore bellandi posse 'supersedere Principes adversæ Religionis; non 'enim nisi anno 1641 morietur Pontifex & certè 'tum morietur. Militari itaque stoliditate Plessæus 'Sereniss. Magnæ Britanniæ Monarcham hortatur, classem instruat, naviget Italiam, Romam 'exurat, Pontificem mactet, carnes edat: præmatura 'sunt vetuli militis consilia, nam ut vita in Annum '1641 suppetat Regi sereniss. & Plessæo, 37 annorum bellum in Italiâ sustinere tres Insulæ queant, 'meritu dubitare posse videntur Proceres Britanni (11). - - - *This I may and ought to advise them, friendly, that the Princes of the contrary Religion may spare the Danger, Expence, and Trouble of making War, for the Pope will not die 'till the Year 1641, and then he will certainly die; therefore it is a piece of military Folly in* du Plessis *to exhort the most serene King of* Great Britain *to fit out a Fleet, sail to* Italy, *burn* Rome, *kill the Pope, and eat his Flesh; the Counsel of the old Soldier is a little too hasty; for suppose the most serene King and* du Plessis *should live to the Year* 1641, *yet there is some Reason for the* British *Lords to doubt whether the three Islands can bear a Thirty seven Years War in* Italy.' This Objection is of no Force; for, I. In the first place, neither the Princes who were preparing for War, nor Monsieur *du Plessis Mornai*, who animated them to it, did rely on the Visions of our *Braunbom*. II. In the second place, there could be nothing more likely to persuade them to make Preparations for War, than the Opinion that Popery should come to an end in the Year 1641. There is nothing animates Persons more than an Assurance that an Enterprize will succeed. No body imagined that Popery would fall by it's own Crazinesse, without some external Force to give it a hard Shock; they imagined on the contrary, that in order to execute the Predictions with more Expedition, they ought to employ all human means, and commonly it is the end and design of those who ballot the Numbers of the Apocalypse, and at last fix the time for Revolutions, to encourage Princes to undertake War. Some give no Credit to the Explications which they themselves publish; they print them only to serve for a Spur to ambitious Princes. Others believe them, but in such a manner, that they become thereby more ardent and active to move all the Springs of the human Passions, and all the Machines necessary for the Execution of great Designs; few People trust Providence less than they, who boast that they have fathomed the depth of his Decrees, and the Riddles of the Prophets.

(9) *He that is mentioned in the Book of* Judges, *chap. iii, who killed the King of* Moab.

(10) Contzen, de Hæreseon, incremento, pag. 556.

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 381.

I believe that many Persons, who made no great Account of *Braunbom's* Prophesies when they first appeared, changed their Opinion when *Gustavus Adolphus* had subdued so many Towns in *Germany*. They thought it very probable that Popery would be in it's decrepit Estate in the Year 1636, and that it would fall intirely in the Year 1641. And thus they conceived a particular Esteem for the Writer; but that vanished in two or three Years after. They had begun to think that *Gustavus* would be another *Alaric*, and another *Totila*, who would destroy *Rome*, and execute upon the Pope the Menaces of so many Commentators on the Apocalypse. His Death in 1632, and the Victory gained by the Imperialists at *Nortlingen*, in the Year 1634, dissipated all these fine Imaginations. If *Braunbom* had chosen the Year 1632, instead of the Year 1636, he would not have been so far beside his Mark; for not only in *Germany*, but also in the *Spanish Netherlands*, the Protestants became Masters of several Cities in the Year 1632; but that still was not a Reduction of Popery to a decrepit State. The Protestants took Cities, but made no Converts. The number of *Roman* Catholics diminished but little; a Controvertist took notice of this to Mr *du Moulin*, who had wrote to *Balzac* during the Conquests of *Gustavus*, that *the Reformed Religion made very great Progress in the* Netherlands *and* Germany. 'De Belgio equidem suadeo, 'ne Molinæus plus nimio glorietur; nam etsi postea sint Batavi non ita pridem Sylva Ducis, Ruremundi, Trajecto, & Limburgo, attamen plurimi '& præcipui avitæ Religionis sunt retinentissimi, '& dummodo excipiantur advenæ & milites,

Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto,

'dum hæretica fit Concio. Leodii propinquâ urbe 'habito, neque rem incognitam scribo. Item ea 'pars Germaniæ, quam Sueci & principes cum iis 'fœderati ad Rhenum & ad Moenum occupaverunt, 'Hæresim verius dixerim patitur quam profitetur (12). - - - - - - *As to the Low Countries, I advised* du Moulin *not brag too fast; for though the* Dutch *have lately got* Boilleduc, Ruermund, Maestricht, *and* Limburg, *yet most, and the better sort, of the People stick very close to their old Religion, and, except only the Strangers and Soldiers,*

(12) Silvester, à Petra Sancta, in Notis in Epist. Molinæi ad Balzacum, pag. 73a Edit. Antwerp. An. 1634.

They here and there are floating seen

'*in the heretical Assemblies. I dwell at* Liege, *a Town just by, and so do not write a thing that I am not acquainted with; likewise that part of* Germany, *which the* Swedes, *and the Princes in Alliance with them, have conquered on the* Rhine *and the* Maine, *may rather be said to suffer than to profess Heresy.*' Besides, *Braunbom* did not believe that That Ruin of Antichrist was to happen without the Assistance of a powerful Confederacy. These four Verses he used to sing upon the Subject:

Dalmata

I ſhall obſerve that he publiſhed his Work the ſame Year that, according to other Divines, the World was to be at an end [C]. This furniſhes me with a Digreſſion againſt

Dalmata & Englandus, Francus, Germanus, & Iſter,
Hi venient Romam dilaniare ſuam.
Quid facient Italus, Luſitanus? quid, niſi plangent
Emptricem mercis diſperiiſſe ſuæ (13).

(13) Braunbom, apud Contzen de Hæreſeon Incremento, pag. 610.

From England, Iſtria, Germany, *and* France,
And from Dalmatia *ſhall the People flock,*
And each Man raiſe his Share of baſed Rome,
Whilſt Italy *and* Portugal *bewail*
The Fall of her who purchas'd all their Wares.

I know not whether he lived long enough to be witneſs of the Falſity of his Prediction in relation to the Death of Antichriſt, but I believe, that if he was alive in the Year 1637, he continued as bold as ever; for it is very common for thoſe, who are raſh enough to take too ſhort a Term, to make it up with Aſſurance, and ſome frivolous Subterfuge, when they find themſelves contradicted by the Event. He was wiſer as to the end of the World; he put that off to a time he knew very well he ſhould not live to (14).

(14) *Compare this with what* Mr de Bauval *ſays in his* Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans, *June* 1702, pag. 252.

[C] *He publiſhed his Work the ſame Year, in which, according to other Divines, the World was to be at an end.*] They thought that becauſe all the Letters of the word *Judicium* are numeral, and make 1613, that the laſt Judgment would be in the Year 1613. 'Noſtro hoc ſeculo ex voculâ 'Judicium, in quo omnes literæ ſunt numerales, 'non pauci collegerunt anno 1613 judicium ulti- 'mum & univerſale futurum, eoque videtur D. 'Menzerus etiam Theologus Gieſſenſis celeberri- 'mus, & ab omni quidem Fanaticiſmo prorſus 'alienus, collimaſſe in Dedicatione Exegeſeos Au- 'guſtanæ Confeſſionis quam hiſce voluit claudere 'verbis: *Anno a nato Chriſto milleſimo ſexcenteſimo 'decimo tertio quem enumerat vox jam olim omi- 'noſa* Judicium (15). —— *In our time from the 'word* Judicium, *in which all the Letters are 'numeral, ſeveral have concluded that the laſt 'univerſal Judgment ſhould come in the Year* 1613; *'and* D. Menzerus, *a noted Divine of* Gieſſen, *and 'intirely free from any Fanaticiſm, ſeems to have 'alluded to that in his Dedication of the Expoſition 'of the Confeſſion of* Ausburg, *which he hath cloſed 'with theſe words:* In the Year of Christ, One 'thouſand ſix hundred and thirteen, which is the 'Number contained in the ominous word Judi- 'cium.' A fine Reaſon indeed! thoſe who built upon it deſerved at leaſt to live till 1614, on condition that they would humble themſelves at the Sight of their Error.

(15) Andr. Carolus Memoir. Eccleſiaſt. Seculi xvii, lib. ii, cap. xi, pag. 321.

What is ſurprizing is, that the ill Succeſs of an infinite Number of Commentators on the Apocalypſe, does not hinder others from falling into the ſame Temerity (16). We ſee that it is a Den like that of the ſick Lion; a great many go there, but no body comes back, that is, with the Treaſure they went to ſeek: ought not they to have remembred the Fox in *Æſop*.

(16) *See the Article* STIPHELIUS.

Olim quod Vulpes ægroto cauta leoni
Reſpondit referam: quia me veſtigia terrent
Omnia te adverſum ſpectantia, nulla retrorſum (17).

(17) Horat. Epiſt. i, lib. i, ver. 73.

My Anſwer muſt be what ſly Reynard *ſaid*
To the old ſickly Lion, I'm afraid
Great King of Beaſts, for all the Treads, I ſee,
Are to thy Den, none back, that frightens me.
Creech.

Ought not one to take good care not to come into that Cavern, where ſo many have been, and returned without the Sybilline Branch, without the Information expected? Notwithſtanding, the Voyage is as often undertaken as ever, and no regard paid to thoſe, who repreſent that there is no Return from thence; that it is like the Grave, and cry with all their Might, you are going

------ per iter tenebricoſum,
Illuc, unde negant
Redire quenquam (18).

(18) Catul. Epigram. iii.

A dark and gloomy way unto the Place,
From whence no Traveller returns.

They embark every Day on this Sea, as if it were not noted for thouſands of Shipwrecks.

Prophetical Calculations of Monſ. Jurieu refuted.

A Miniſter of *Rotterdam* publiſhed in 1686, *An Accompliſhment of the Propheſies*, in which he gave out, among other things, that what *Joſeph Mede* ſaid, that the *Duration of the corrupt ſhould be* 1260 *Years*, and that *the Duration of the pure Church was to be* 360, ſeemed to him inſpired (19). *Joſeph Mede* adds, that *we may begin theſe* 360 *Years*, I. *Either from the Birth of* Jesus Christ; II. *Or from the Time of his Paſſion*; III. *Or from the Time of the Deſtruction of* Jeruſalem; IV. or laſtly, *From the Time that* St John *propheſied* (20). Which ever Account we take, the Miniſter of *Rotterdam* owns, that the Buſineſs anſwers very well as to the Epoche of Antichriſtianiſm (21); but nevertheleſs, the firſt Calculation and the ſecond have proved falſe; for Antichriſtianiſm, which, according to the firſt Calculation, was to have ended in the Year 1620, and according to the ſecond in 1653 or 1654, was ſtill in being in 1686 (22). And ſince it ſubſiſts at the time when I write this in the Year 1702, the third Calculation, by which it was to end in 1690, was no better than the two firſt. The Miniſter ſuſpected it. 'It does not appear, *ſays he* (23), that 'things are ripe, at this Day, for ſo great an Event; 'we muſt not imagine that the Empire of Anti- 'chriſt and Idolatry will fall ſo eaſily, and be 'deſtroyed in four or five Years.' He fixes upon the fourth Calculation, and gives it for true; from whence he concludes, that the Reign of Antichriſt will end *in the Year* 1710, *or in ſome of the Years following to the Year* 1714 (24); ſo he expreſſes himſelf in Page 22; and theſe are his Words in Page 28. 'We will place the approaching 'Fall of the Empire of Antichriſt in the beginning 'of the XVIIIth Century. I believe it would be 'difficult to pitch upon the preciſe Year; for God 'in his Propheſies is not ſo exact, a few Years un- 'der or over make no difference; yet we may ſay 'that it ought to happen between the Year 1710, 'and the Year 1715 (25). This Empire, *ſays he* 'in Page 33, was born about the Year 450; it 'will die about the Year 1710, juſt 1260 Years 'after it's Birth. This may happen ſooner; for the 'Roman Empire under *Valentinian*, whom I reckon 'the laſt of the *Roman* Emperors, was already very 'much diſmembered; but I do not ſee that it can 'go any farther, unleſs perhaps to the year 1714, 'to reckon the 1260 Years from the Death of 'Valentinian; this I own ſeems to me ſomething 'more than bare conjecture (26).'

(19) Jurieu Accompl. des Propheties, Tom. II, cap. ii, pag. 20, *of Edit.* i.

(20) Id. ibid.

(21) Id pag. 21.

(22) Id. pag. 22.

(23) Id. pag. 25.

(24) Id. pag. 28.

(25) Id. pag. 28.

(26) Id. pag. 33, 34.

A Man who had been wiſe enough to have profited by the Errors of another, would have abandoned *Joſeph Mede* as to his fourth Calculation, as well as to the three firſt; for is there any thing more ſcandalous than to ſay on one hand, that the pure Church ſhould continue 360 Years, and on the other, that theſe 360 Years ſhould begin in the Year 94 of the Chriſtian Æra. The Church then had not been pure till that time, ſince it's Purity began only in the Year 94; what can be imagined more abſurd? It is certain therefore, if *Joſeph Mede* deſerves any Credit, that the Duration of the pure Church muſt have ended in the Year 360, or in the Year 393, and conſequently that the Empire of Antichriſt would have ended either in the Year 1620, or in the Year 1653. Now it is as flouriſhing, or rather more ſo, in the beginning of the XVIIIth Century, as in the Year 1653. *Joſeph Mede* therefore has laid down nothing but Reſveries, which ought to have prevented the Miniſter of *Rotterdam* from tumbling into the Mire.

The

againſt thoſe who have ſo often foretold the approaching Fall of Popery, without taking warning by the Diſgrace of their Companions; they ought to be ſent to the School of a Pagan Poet, who would not ſuffer to conſult the *Babylonian* Numbers,

Tu ne quæſieris ſcire (nefas) quem mihi quem tibi
Finem Dii dederint, Leuconoë: nec Babylonios
Tentâris numeros: —— (*b*)

(*b*) Horat. Od. xi, lib. i.

Ah do not ſtrive too much to know
My dear Luconoë,
What the kind Gods deſign to do
With thee and me.
Ah do not you conſult the Stars,
Contented bear thy Doom, &c.

and

The Example of this Man ought to be a warning to new Calculators, and yet they continue to foretel. What appearance is there that his fourth Calculation will ſucceed better than the three firſt? Let us reflect a little upon this Paſſage; we ſhall ſee at what time Popery ſhould have began to be cut down. 'If you account theſe 180 years from 'the year 1517, the time that *Luther* began to 'preach againſt Popery, that brings us to the year '1697; if you count them from the year 1520, 'the Date of the Bull of *Leo* X, that brings us to '1700; take away ten years, becauſe ſeven times 'fifty make but 350, and the prophetic year is of '360 Days, or 360 Years; this falls exactly in 1690, 'and that is the time which I think ought to 'be the beginning of the Vintage; now the Wit-'neſſes ſhall riſe at that time, after which *France* 'ſhall break with the Pope, as I judge, before 'the end of the Century; and in the beginning 'of the next, the reſt of the Empire of Anti-'chriſt ſhall be totally aboliſhed; ſo that all comes 'to my Calculation, which is that we cannot be 'far from the end of the Empire of Popery (27).' We muſt not forget one of the reaſons which made him believe, that the Rupture between the King of *France* and the Pope would have ſo ſpeedy, and ſo happy, Conſequences. It is, *ſays he* (28), that the Biſhops of *France* have lately declared, that *it is not lawful at any time to diſobey the King on pretence of Religion. I look upon*, continues he, *what has happened in* England, *as another Preparative to this Event.* A King *of a Religion contrary to that of the State is ſuffered to reign there peaceably. Providence will accuſtom the People to ſubmit to Princes who are Enemies to the prevailing Religion.* How happy was this Man at Conjectures; he did not know that in two Years time *England* would drive out her Popiſh King, which would be a Proof that Providence did not intend to accuſtom People to ſubmit to a Prince, who was not of their Religion, but rather diſpoſe the *French* Nation, by a freſh and neighbouring Example, to diſobey their King, in caſe he made any Alteration in Religion. Obſerve, that this Writer has reckoned ſeveral Miracles among the Cauſes which drove *James* II out of the Throne (29). He had made therefore an ill Judgment of the Deſign of Providence; but let us leave that and ſhew him more directly the Falſhood of his Prophecy.

(27) Id. chap. ix, pag. 143, 144. *See* chap. xii, pag. 222.

(28) Ibid. chap. xi, pag. 208.

(29) *See* Lettre Paſtorale *of* Feb. 25, 1689.

France has been ſo far from breaking with the Pope between the year 1690 and the year 1701, that, on the contrary, they are become more Popiſh. We know the Advantage which *Innocent* XII obtained, by cauſing things to be placed on the old foot, in the Year 1693 (30). We know the Complaints which have been publiſhed, on the Subject of the Pope's Brief againſt the Archbiſhop of *Cambray*, in 1699. The Miniſter of *Rotterdam* himſelf has maintained, that it is a Bull which *abſolutely deſtroys the Liberty of the* Gallican *Church* (31). 'This is, *ſays he* (32), the moſt terrible Blow that 'could have been given to the Liberties of the 'Gallican Church; there they are all deſtroyed by 'one ſingle Thunderbolt. *Gerſon*, and his Apolo-'giſt *Richer*, the Jeſuit *Maimbourg* himſelf, *Gerbais*, 'Father *Queſnel*, *Ellis du Pin*, and all the reſt, 'to whom the Quarrel between *Innocent* XII and 'King *Lewis* XIV, had given Courage to lift up 'their Heads againſt the Uſurpations of the Court 'of *Rome*, are overthrown, as well as the great 'number of Arrêts made by the Court of Parlia-'ment for the Preſervation of the Liberties of the 'Gallican Church. So many Regulations, Deci-'ſions, and Declarations made by the Clergy of 'France tending to the ſame end, all is come to 'nothing.' If that Author had ſaid all that he thought, he would have added, *this is alſo the moſt terrible Blow that could have been given to my Prophecies.* I am ſure that the Vexation, which he ſhews at the Clergy of *France* (33), is occaſioned partly becauſe his Predictions have been ſo ill ſeconded by *Lewis* XIV, and his Prelates. I omit the other Succeſſes which have happened to Popery, between the year 1690 and 1700; the Edict of the Emperor of *China* in 1692; the IVth Article of the Peace of *Ryſwic*, in 1697; the Ceſſion which the Turk has made of ſo many Places, by the Treaty of *Carlowitz*, in 1698. I omit alſo the Complaints which a Miniſter of *Groningen* has given out in a Piece publiſhed in 1701 (34), which ſhew that the Church of *Rome* has not been weakened in the laſt ten Years of the XVIIth Century, and that on the contrary ſhe has oppreſſed the Proteſtants in ſeveral places (35).

(30) *See the Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* OTTOBONI; *and Mr* Jurieu, pag. 316, *of his* Traité Hiſt. ſur la Theolog. Myſt.

(31) Jurieu, Traité Hiſtor. ſur la Theolog. Myſtique Art. xvii, pag 304.

(32) Id. ibid. pag. 305, 306.

(33) Id. pag. 373.

(34) *Mr* du Vel. *in the Epiſtle dedicatory of his Book, intituled* L'Egliſe Romaine pleinement convaincu d'Anti-chriſtianiſme. *The Roman Church plainly convicted of Anti-chriſtianiſm. He ſpeaks there of the Oppreſſion the Proteſtants ſuffer in the* Palatinate, *in* Mombeliard, *and in* Hungary.

(35) *It was written in* 1702.

The beginning of the XVIIIth Century has produced nothing prejudicial to the Empire of Popery; the Pope was never ſo much taken notice of as he is at this Day by the Catholic Princes. The Emperor, the King of *France*, and the King of *Spain*, ſtrive who ſhall make their Court to him beſt. It is true that the moſt powerful Proteſtant States have made a Confederacy, but they think on nothing leſs than haraſſing the Court of *Rome*; they have Affairs to manage which they think more preſſing, and if they act againſt one Catholic Prince, it is only in favour of another Catholic Prince; and in caſe *France* ſhould turn her Arms againſt *Rome*, they would be the firſt to ſend the Pope Succours: ſo that we do not ſee that the fourth Calculation is likely to have better Succeſs than the other three. And yet there is Mr *Allix*, after the ill Succeſs of Mr *Jurieu*, has entered the Field to declare to the Public, that Antichriſt ſhall periſh either in the year 1716, or in the year 1720, or at leaſt in the year 1736 (36). Mr *Gurtler*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Deventer*, does not expreſs himſelf ſo exactly; he fixes upon no Year, but he believes that the Apocalyptical *Babylon* ſhall fall intirely in the Courſe of the XVIIIth Century (37). I will obſerve by the by, that one of Mr *Jurieu*'s Proofs is very weak: 'It is certain, *ſays he* (38), 'that ſince the year 1620, Images and Saints 'have loſt their Credit prodigiouſly, and we ſhall 'find, ſince that time, more People, who, even in 'Popiſh Countries, diſbelieve theſe falſe Worſhips, 'than were to be found in all Ages before. In 'like manner the Tyranny of the Pope has been 'ever ſince that time manifeſtly declining. In the 'laſt Century the Popes were pretty well reco-'vered of the Blow which the Council of *Conſtance* 'had given them - - - - - but ſince the year 1620 '- - - - - - the Power of the Pope has been con-'ſtantly diminiſhing, and is at this day in ſuch a de-'cayed State, that it will never recover from it any 'more (39).' I ſhall not trouble myſelf to ask how this

(36) *See* l'Hiſtoire Myſtique des Ouvrages des Sçavans, *April* 1701, pag. 234, 236.

(37) Nicol Gurtlerus in Syſtem. Theol. Prophet. cap. xxxiii, pag. 563. *Edit.* Amſterdam, 1702.

(38) Jurieu Accompl. des Prophe. Tom. II, pag. 30, 31.

(39) Ibid. pag. 33.

and who thought that GOD had very wisely covered in thick Darkness the time that is to come:

Prudens futuri temporis exitum
Caliginosâ nocte premit Deus:
Ridetque, si mortalis ultra
Fas trepidat. —— (c)

(c) Horat. Od. xxiv. lib. iii.

Future Events wise Providence
Hath hid in Night from human Sense,
To narrow Bounds our Search confin'd,
And laughs to see proud Mortals try
To fathom deep Eternity,
With the short Line and Plummet of their Mind.

Observe

this Minister will reconcile those things with what he has said in other Books (40). I confine myself to this single Consideration: The Bounds set to false Worship, and to the Pretensions of Popes over the Temporals of Kings, are rather a Pledge of the future Duration of Popery, than a Mark of it's approaching Ruin. The nearer an Evil approaches to it's Height, the nearer it approaches to it's End; it cannot stand long at it's highest Pitch; the enormity of Abuses favoured *Luther*, who probably would have effected nothing against ordinary Evils. If Mr *Jurieu* will not believe me in that, he ought at least to remember what he has said, 'that the 'prodigious Advancement of the Papal Authority, 'which in effect brought Antichristianism to it's 'Perfection, was nevertheless one step to it's Ruin. 'If the Popes had kept themselves within the 'Bounds, which they had kept in the preceding 'Centuries; if they had not meddled with the 'Affairs of the World, to dispose of them abso-'lutely, perhaps we should never have known that 'the See of *Rome* is Antichrist: but then that 'Truth became so obvious, that every body per-'ceived it (41).' One would wonder for several reasons, that the Chagrin he was in, when he composed this Work (42), had not presented to him the black and frightful Ideas, which presented themselves to most of the Commentators on the Apocalypse; he has not taken in *a literal Sense, those Images of devouring Fire, Blood, and Slaughter, which the Holy Ghost* presents in the eighteenth Chapter of the Apocalypse (43): *Certainly*, says he (44), *these are not the ways which GOD makes 'use of to establish his Empire.* We ought not 'to take in a literal Sense the Terms of War, 'and Destruction, which are here used; for Ex-'ample, *that JESUS CHRIST shall tread 'the Wine-press of the Wrath of GOD; and that 'he shall give the Flesh of Kings, of Captains, of 'mighty Men, of Horses, and them that sit on them, 'both bond and free, to the Fowls of the Air*, &c. These 'are Images borrowed from War, and we ought 'to understand them agreeably to the Nature of 'that spiritual War, which the Lord JESUS CHRIST 'shall make against Idolatry, Superstition, Heresy, 'and Tyranny; it is against them that he will 'fight, and not against Men (45): therefore I am 'afraid that they are deceived, who hope to ren-'der to *Babylon* what we have received from her, 'and *to fill to her double in the Cup, in which 'she hath filled to us*, i. e. to return her Blood 'for Blood, Torment for Torment; that is not the 'Spirit of the Church (46).' But notwithstanding, he is of opinion there shall be a great deal of Blood shed; he only qualifies the thing, and that is very commendable. 'I am of opinion, *says he* (47), 'that he will suffer the Destruction of *Rome*, as 'he did that of *Jerusalem*. I believe also, that 'this great change of Religion shall be brought a-'bout without Effusion of Blood, as it happened 'in the last Century; but as the City in this 'Chapter, and generally in the Apocalypse, com-'prehends the whole Empire of *Babylon*, we must 'not imagine that all that great Extent of Coun-'try shall be brought to Desolation.'

Our *Braunbom* was not so pacific; he would have the Sword to be the principal Instrument of the Destruction of Antichrist. He that answered him took it ill that these barbarous Maxims were founded on a Book so obscure, that there had not been two Protestant Commentators that had understood it alike. 'Omnia igitur supplicia irrogare 'jubet (*Braunbomus*) exurere, carnes edere, nullum 'supplicium nimium putare. Verum quænam est 'ista barbaries eorum qui hæc præcipiunt, cum non 'intelligant quid Liber obscurissimus velit? Cum 'contradictionem implicuerint hoc postremum & 'sanguinatis & latrocinantibus Theologis, rogo ob-'testorque ut ex tot suorum Scriptoribus duos non 'sibi mutuo, non sibi ipsis contradicentes in hoc 'judicio, exhibeant; & deinde quâ datâ portâ ruant 'in nostrum sanguinem? Addo unum præstent, qui 'non omnibus aliis contradicat, & ecce jugulum 'præbemus, non jure nec merito; ad unius enim 'homuncionis pronunciatum meliorem orbis partem 'exurere, devorare, nec ipsa iniquitatis æquum 'esse censeret; sed fiducia causæ iniquo judicio ex-'periri placet (48). —— *Therefore He* (Braunbom) *commands them to inflict all kinds of Punishment; 'to burn, eat the Flesh, to think no kind of Tor-'ment too great; but what Barbarity is this of 'theirs who teach these things, not understanding 'the meaning of that most obscure Book, since they 'always contradict themselves? Lastly, I desire and 'beseech these bloody and plundering Divines, out 'of so many of their Writers, to produce me two 'that do not contradict each other, and even them-'selves in this Point, and then rush upon our 'Destruction by what means they can; nay let them 'produce one who does not contradict all the rest, 'and we will yield them our Throats, though with-'out just reason; for even Iniquity herself would 'not judge it right to burn and destroy the greater 'part of the World at the Word of a single little 'Fellow; though in confidence of our Cause we are 'willing to be tried by this unequal Judgment.* The same Author, as we have seen above (49), abused Mr *du Plessis* for having exhorted the King of *England* to attack the Pope. It must be allowed, that this great Man forgot himself very much on that Occasion, and that his Zeal took a Flight, which made him lose sight of what his Age and Prudence might have suggested to him; he was rallied and insulted cruelly (50), and was not well defended by Mr *Rivet*, his Apologist. If you desire to know what that great Man's Exhortation was, read these Words: 'The thing (51) is easy, because she is ripe; the 'Day invites to it, Nature herself aids the Birth, 'the Destinies open the way, God favouring the 'Enterprize, of which he is the Author, and as-'sisting and pushing it forward; let there but ap-'pear any one who will set about it, who is bold 'and resolute enough, it will not be in vain, since 'after so many Poisonings and Patricides, nothing 'is wanting of the full Measure of her Cruelty; 'there wants nothing to bring her Impiety to 'the Height: let us therefore, O King, throw 'away the Pen; satisfied I here lay down mine; 'this Generation requires other Conduct; hence-'forward other Arms are necessary. From *Great 'Britain* may there come forth another *Constan-'tine* to overthrow this *Maxentius*, this other 'Pharaoh, and ruin him intirely; may he confirm 'the Princes and People who are irresolute, unite 'those that are divided, and compose those that 'are in disorder. And further, may the *Alps* car-'ry him on their Necks, the *Po* dividing of it's 'own accord, the *Apennine* making way for him, 'many running to the Signal of Liberty, others 'waiting the Event; may he conduct his Troops

'strait

(40) *In his Preservative, and in his* Jansiniste convaincu de Vaine Sophistiquerie, *where he has endeavoured to prove, that the invocation of Saints is still exercise at this day; and we have seen that he complains, in his* Traité de la Theol. Myst. *that the Authority of the Pope has been refused to it's first Splendor in France.*

(41) Jurieu Accompl. des Prophet. Tom. II. cap. v. pag. 86, 87.

(42) Id. *in his* Avis a tous les Chrestiens, *prefixed to the first Volume, pag.* 5.

(43) Id. Tom. II. cap. xii. pag. 224.

(44) Ibid.

(45) Id. pag. 217.

(46) Id. pag. 228.

(47) Id. pag. 214, 215.

(48) Contren de Hæreseon Incremento, pag. 556.

(49) *In the Remark* [B], Citat. (11).

Reflexions on an Epistle Dedicatory of Mr du Plessis.

(50) *See the Remark* [E], *of the Article* SCIOPIUS.

(51) *That is to say, the Destruction of Popery.*

Observe that I know nothing of *Braunbom*'s Book, but by the Extract of it, given by *Adam Contzen*, a Jesuit, who refuted it (*d*).

(*d*) *In a work intituled* de Hæresm incremento.

'strait to *Rome*, never attacked in vain. Who 'doubts but at the sound of the Trumpets her 'Hills will lower, her Walls fall, even the Cattle 'of *St. Angelo* itself? May this severe Executor of 'the Judgments of God go on, and tearing the 'Thunder from *Jupiter* in the Capitol, cast him 'out of his Seat without Hopes of ever returning 'again; may he sink *Babylon* like a Mill-stone, that 'she appear no more; may the *Tyber* overflow 'her, and Hell itself be let loose upon her. Let 'it not come to pass, O mighty King, that you 'should suffer this Praise to be taken from you, 'or desire that it should be kept for another, but 'may you rather chuse to purchase it with the 'Price of your Blood, of your Life, or of what 'is yet more dear to you; but Thou, O Eternal 'God, for whose Interest and Glory this Busi-'ness is, without whose Aid our Desires, our Sighs, 'and our Attempts are vain, awake, arise, cloath 'thyself with Might and Justice, as with a Coat 'of Mail; call thy Servant by his Name; take 'thine Anointed by the Hand, and walk before 'his Face. May the Hills be made plain, the Moun-'tains laid low, and the Rivers dry up; may the 'Gates open, and the Bars be broken; may the 'People tremble, and this *Jerico* fall by the Breath 'of his Mouth and his Presence. And I, though 'already above sixty years of Age, may I keep close 'by his side: may I put off my old Age in the 'narrow Passes and Rocks of the *Alps*; may I be 'found one of the first in the Attack; that in the 'Triumph, when the Angel sings before us, I 'may redouble these Words, SHE IS FALLEN! 'and may I, when totally swallowed up in this 'holy Gladness, on the brink of Eternity, in Rap-'ture finish my Days. Now, most Serene King, 'may the Good and Great God, who hath set 'you apart for this Enterprize of so ho-'ly a War, preserve you to his Church, your 'Kingdom, and all the Faithful, in Health, and 'Safety from all your Enemies. *Amen* (52).'

(52) Du Plessis Epist. Dedicatoire *of the* Latin *Edition of his* Mystere d'Iniquite. *I use the* French *Edition of this Passage, made by* Rivet, pag. 94, &c. *of* Defence of his Epistles, *and the Preface to this Book of Mr* du Plessis.

Andrew Rivet, who was then Minister of *Thouars*, published (53) *A Defence of the two Epistles and Preface of Mr* du Plessis's *Book - - - - against the Cavils and Calumnies of* Pelletier *and* du Bray. 'You need not ask whether he was obliged to at-'tempt to apologize for the Passage I have just re-'cited; every body will imagine that this was one 'of the Places which afforded the Adversaries of *Mr du Plessis* the finest Field for Declamation. They 'were answered (54), that St *John* having prophe-'sied that the same Princes, who had given their 'Power to the Beast, should devour and burn her, 'he ought not to think it strange, that the Pro-'testants exhorted them to the Execution of that 'Prophecy, that they address themselves to Princes 'whose Hearts God had already touched, to the 'end that, by their Example, they might draw others 'to the Execution of this Judgment of God a-'gainst the Whore: and if they cry, after the Voice 'of Heaven, reward her even as she hath rewarded 'you, render unto her double, according to her Works, 'and in the Cup, which she hath filled, fill to her 'double *; *Rivet* adds, that 'the Epistle to the King 'of *Great Britain* tends to this end, and only 'sets before his Eyes this Prophecy, the Accom-'plishment whereof now is coming (55).' The Advocate and the Client were in the same Illusion; they believed that the Hour of the Accomplishment of the Prophesies was at hand, that the Fruit was ripe and ready to be gathered; they wished for it, and that was the reason they believed it.

(53) *At* Saumur *in* 1612, *in* 8vo.

(54) Rivet. Defense de la Preface, &c. du Mystere d'Iniquite, cap. v, pag. 93.

* Rev. xviii, 6.

(55) Rivet, Defence, *of the* Preface, &c. pag. 94.

Credimus? an qui amant ipsi sibi somnia fingunt (56).

(56) Virgilii Eclog. viii, v. 108.

- - - - May Lovers what they wish believe,
Or dream their Wishes, and those Dreams deceive!
DRYDEN.

The Advocate was more inexcusable, because he had an opportunity of reading some Reflexions which the Client had not seen; he knew very well that the Adversaries of Mr *du Plessis* considered his Epistles dedicatory to King *James* as the Action of an Incendiary, who had a mind to draw into *France a foreign Army, who breathed nothing but Fire, and Blood, and universal Confusion; who would not spare the Blood of the Infant, nor the innocent Mother that suckled it* (57). And that they had boasted, that they were *an hundred for one who were obliged to maintain the Authority of the Pope*, at the hazard of their Lives; that they had spoken of *the Keenness of their Sword*; and put them in mind of *the Croisade* of Simon de Montford, *and the Sieur* de Beaumont; and promised *the Crown of Martyrdom* to those who died in that Contest (58). And that they had declared that *whoever attacks the Pope attacks the Catholics, and whoever is his Enemy is theirs* (59). This was more than sufficient to disabuse Mr *Rivet*, in the Opinion that he had of the near approach of the Fall of Popery. The Expedition proposed to King *James* would have served for nothing but to set all *Europe* in a Flame, and cause a Deluge of Blood to be shed. All the Catholic Princes would have united for the Defence of their Religion; and there was no appearance that the Success of that furious War should be more fatal to them, than to their Enemies: the general Desolation of all the States in *Europe*, the most execrable Horrors of a War for Religion, were the only things that could appear certain. Now who can deny, that a Man, who makes himself the Instigator of such a Croisade, deserves the Reproaches of Inhumanity and Barbarity, which were made to Mr *du Plessis*. His Apologist has not brought him off in this Particular: all his Answers are rambling and illusory.

(57) Rivet. Defence of the Preface, &c. p. 96.

(58) Id. pag. 97.

(59) Id. pag. 190.

One can never lawfully exhort the Princes who are not Catholics to make War upon the Pope, 'till such time as his Followers are reduced to so small a Number, that there will be reason to believe, that, without Effusion of Blood, he may be constrained either to renounce the Papacy, or to retire, with a Passport, to some corner of *Africa*; but so long as the Catholics, and those of a contrary Persuasion in *Europe*, remain in the Condition they were in when Mr *du Plessis* published his Book, and are now at the beginning of the XVIIIth Century, it is endeavouring to introduce Slaughter and Massacre every where, to talk of accomplishing Prophecies. The Books on these Oracles of St *John* are Oil to the Fire; they serve only to invite an Enemy who is already but too much provoked, and to furnish him with this Excuse for his Persecutions, that, in order to prevent his own Ruin, he is obliged to endeavour that of the Protestants, who are perpetually foretelling that he shall, in a little time, be exterminated by the Sword of the same Princes who formerly adored the Beast (60). If any thing can enervate such an Excuse, it is, that they, who have the Sovereign Authority among the Protestants, do not measure their Conduct by the Predictions or Exhortations of their Writers.

(60) *Compare with this what is in the* Journal du Trevoux, July *and* August 1701, pag. 60, *Edit.* Amst.

BREAUTÉ (CHARLES *de*), a Gentleman of the Country of *Caux* in *Normandy*, made himself famous by a Duel, wherein he died. He was extremely brave, and after the Peace of *Vervins*, finding no occasion in *France* to shew his Valour, he went into *Holland* with some *French* Troopers, where he obtained a Troop of Horse (*a*). His Lieutenant had the misfortune to suffer himself to be beat by a Party of the Garrison of *Boisleduc*, which was inferior in Number to that which he commanded. He was taken and conducted to *Boisleduc*, from whence he wrote to his Captain to desire him to procure him his Liberty; but his Captain sent him for answer that he would not acknowledge such Persons for his Troopers, as suffered themselves

(*a*) Thuan. lib. cxxiv, pag. 900.

themſelves to be defeated by a leſſer number of *Flemings*, inſtead of beating them, though they had been twenty to forty, as he offered to do in any Rencounter [*A*]. This Letter being read by the Governor of the Place (*b*), according to Cuſtom, before it was delivered to the Priſoner, appeared ſo ſhocking, that the Commander of the Party of *Boiſleduc* wrote immediately to *Breauté*, to offer to fight him with an equal Number. His Propoſal was very acceptable; but the Superiors on both ſides could hardly be perſwaded to conſent to it [*B*]. Nevertheleſs at laſt they appointed the Day, and the Place, and agreed upon other Conditions. It was reſolved that they ſhould fight on Horſe-back, Twenty two againſt Twenty two [*C*], on the fifth of *February*, 1600. *Breauté* would have had the Governor of *Boiſleduc* to put himſelf at the head of his *Flemings*; but the Archduke *Albert* would not ſuffer it. Their Chief was the Lieutenant of the Governor's Troop, the ſame *Gerard Abraham* who had beat the Party. He ſent word by a Trumpeter that his Men had ſwore not to give any Quarter, for as much as they undertook that Combat much more to defend their Prince's Cauſe, and that of the Catholic Religion, than for their own Honour [*D*]. He and his Brother and four more began the Fight with *Breauté* and five more; the reſt engaged each his Man. *Breauté* killed *Gerard*; the Brother of the latter, and two others, were alſo killed: The fifth was ſo wounded that he died ſome Days after of his Wounds. But this was all the loſs of the *Flemings*; that of the other Party was much more diſmal; for *Breauté*'s Valour (*c*) could not hinder his Men from being beaten with the utmoſt Shame [*E*]. Fourteen of them were killed on the ſpot,

(*b*) *His Name was* Antony Schetz, *Lord of* Grobbendonc.

(*c*) *He had two or three Horſes killed under him.*

[*A*] *He offered in a Letter to beat the* Flemings *twenty to forty in any Rencounter.*] *Thuanus* ſays, that the Writers on the *Dutch* Side do not aſcribe the Cauſe of the Quarrel to *Breauté*'s Letter, written to his Lieutenant, but to ſome falſe Reports: They will have it that it was *Grobbendonc* himſelf who offered the Combat, having heard, by thoſe falſe Reports, that *Breauté* reviled the *Flemiſh* Troops (1). Several *French* Writers (2) ſay, that *Breauté* did not ſend a Challenge till he heard *ſome ſlighting Words ſpoken by* Lekerbitkem, *both of himſelf and of his Nation* (3). *Lekerbitkem* was he who had defeated his Lieutenant.

(1) Thuan. lib. cxxiv, pag. 900.

(2) D'Audiguier, uſage du duël, cap. xx, pag. 343. Boterelus, or Bouterouë, lib. vii, pag. 519. Cayet, Chronol. Septen. fol. 129. *See below the Paſſage of* d'Aubigné, *in the Remark* [*I*].

(3) D'Audiguier ibid.

[*B*] *Combat was offered him with an equal Number —— the Superiors would hardly conſent to it.*] According to *Thuanus*, Prince *Maurice* diſſuaded *Breauté* from that Duel as much as he could: He repreſented to him, that it was an unbecoming thing for a Gentleman of his Quality, who might ſignalize himſelf on more glorious Occaſions, to expoſe himſelf with common Soldiers (4), or perhaps with ſome perfidious Men, who had been the Authors of betraying *Gertrudenberg*. He meant *Gerard Abraham*, and his Brother *Antony* (5); but Prince *Maurice* had done better to have interpoſed his Authority, and not his Remonſtrances. The Archduke *Albert* was very much to be commended for not ſuffering *Grobbendonc* to play the Gladiator, on that Occaſion.

(4) Ignobilibus ac gregariis militibus. *Thuan. lib. cxxiv, pag. 900.* Leckerbeetken *was a Soldier of fortune; but he was at that time Lieutenant of a Troop of Horſe.*

(5) Gerrardus & Antonius Abrahami fratres Lekerbitkenſi vulgo dicti. *Id. ibid.* Leckerbeetken, *i. e. dainty bit, or as* Grotius *expreſſes it,* Cupediarius, *was a Nick-name of that* Abraham.

[*C*] *They agreed on a Combat, Twenty two againſt Twenty two.*] I have followed Father *Gallucci*, tho' I have read no Author that makes the Number of the Combatants to be above twenty. We find in a Hiſtory of the Archduke *Albert*, printed at *Cologn* in 1693 (6), the Names of thoſe that went out of *Boiſleduc* againſt *Breauté*; they are but twenty. The Author informs us, that he ſaw thoſe Names in a Picture of that Fight. This ſhould be an authentic Proof, and yet he contradicts himſelf, for he ſays, Page 334, 'that when *Breauté*'s 'Trumpeter came to tell the *Belgians* at *Boiſleduc* 'that his Maſter ſtaid for them with twenty more; '*Grobendonc* commanded one *l'Epine*, a reduced 'Officer, to take a Horſe out of his Stable, and 'to join the other twenty that were ready to get 'on Horſeback.' So that here are one and twenty Men. He had ſaid, Page 331, 'that it was agreed 'to fight nineteen againſt nineteen; but that the '*Frenchmen* on the *Dutch* ſide broke the Agreement, 'and came into the Field of Battle to the number 'of twenty; that *Grobendonc*'s Lieutenant being 'in preſence with his eighteen Champions com'plained of that Trick,' and that after the excuſes made for it, he ſent to *l'Epine* to come and join him; that *l'Epine* came, and that it was he who took *Breauté*. Here they are but twenty. That Author is not very exact, for he declares, Page 128, that 'it was concluded to fight nineteen againſt 'nineteen, and that *Breauté* at the Head of nine-'teen Troopers —— met *Grobendonc*'s Lieutenant 'at the Head of nineteen *Belgians*.' What I am going to mention is yet leſs exact. He ſays, Page 126, That the Joy the *Dutch* had for the taking of Fort *St Andrew, the eleventh of* May 1600 —— *was abated by an Adventure which deſerves to be mentioned in the beginning of the XVIth Century, viz.* by the Combat of *Breauté, the fifth of* February 1600. I do not queſtion but he took the year 1600 for the firſt of the XVIth Century, and ſo he committed two Faults: For, 1. The year 1600 was the laſt, and not the firſt of the Century. 2. If it was the firſt, it would be the firſt of the XVIIth Century.

(6) Pag. 331, 332.

[*D*] *The* Flemings - - - - - - - - *declared, that they fought more for* - - - - - - - - *the Catholic Religion, than for their own Honour.*] Thus Religion comes in every where. What had it to do with the Fits or Rodomontades of a private Man? it was in truth a Quarrel of Duelliſts for a vain Reputation of Bravery; and yet they had the Dexterity at *Boiſleduc* to intereſt the Church in it. *Breauté* was metamorphoſed there into a new *Goliah*, who inſulted the People of GOD; thoſe that ſhould conquer him were to be accounted, like *David*, the anointed of the LORD. Care was taken to ſupply them with the Bread of the Strong (7). They were not ſent to the Field of Battle before they had confeſſed their Sins and communicated: The *Dominicans* made uſe of all their Devices to increaſe their Courage. The Archduke's Council of Conſcience approved that his Highneſs ſhould conſent to the Duel (8). But who would not admire the reaſon, that made the Champions of *Boiſleduc* engage themſelves by Oath not to give any Quarter? It was becauſe they pretended to fight for Religion; but that very thing ſhould have left ſome Remains of Humanity.

(7) Hiſt. de l'Archiduc Albert, pag. 330, 331.

(8) Ib. pag. 331.

[*E*] *All* Breauté's *Valour could not hinder his Party from being moſt ſhamefully beaten.*] I ſhall ſet down the Words of an Author, who has wrote concerning the uſe of Duelling: 'The two Chiefs 'had diſtinguiſhed themſelves to know each other: '*Breauté* put on a large white Feather, and *Le*'*kerbitkem* a red one. *Breauté* advances to en'counter his Enemy, fires a Piſtol at him, kills 'him, and breaks through his Men with ſuch 'Fury that five of them were killed on the Spot, 'whereof *Lekerbitkem*'s Brother was one. But '*Breauté* was ill ſeconded. For in the firſt place, 'two of the five, who were killed at the firſt 'onſet, died by his own Hand; which ſhews, 'that if his Friends had done like him, the Ene'my had not been half a Match for them. 'Secondly, moſt of them fled at the ſecond on'ſet, and left him with three more in the midſt of 'fifteen, who beſides the Advantage of number had 'alſo that of Weapons (9).' We ſhall ſee the Sequel of this Paſſage in the Remark [*I*].

(9) D'Audiguier, Uſage du Duel, cap. xx, pag. 345, 346. Boterelus *relates the thing much in the ſame manner.*

[*F*] *Three*

ſpot, and, of the eight that fled, three died of their Wounds [*F*]. *Breauté* and one of his Relations, being mortally wounded [*G*], in vain begged their Lives with a promiſe of a good Ranſom; but no regard was given to it [*H*]. His Body, wounded in Thirty ſix places, was carried to *Dort*, and drawn to the life, to have that Picture ſent into his Country. It exaſperated the Friends and Relations of the deceaſed to ſuch a degree, that one of them (*d*) went immediately into the *Netherlands* to revenge his Death. For that purpoſe he challenged the Governor of *Boiſleduc* to fight a Duel with him; but the ſame reaſon, which hindered that Governor from being in the firſt Fight, excuſed him again from this. The Victors, to the number of eighteen, among whom four were wounded, were received in *Boiſleduc*, with the Acclamations of the whole Town. Thus the thing is related by the Hiſtorians of the *Spaniſh* Party, among whom the Author, whom I cite, ought to be reckoned; but all the parts of their Narration are not allowed to be true [*I*]. This has always been the Fate of ſuch Duels; their Succeſs and Circumſtances are always related ſeveral ways. *Breauté* had married the Daughter of *Nicolas de Harlai-Sancy*, by whom he left a Son. She was a Woman equally beautiful and virtuous, and not above twenty Years of Age. Though ſhe was courted by ſeveral People, yet ſhe renounced the Pleaſures of the World, and made herſelf a Nun of St *Thereſa* (*e*), which Order was but newly ſettled in *Paris*. It is ſaid (*f*), that their Son, intending to revenge his Father's Death, ſent a Challenge to the new Lieutenant of the Governor of *Boiſleduc* during the Siege of *Breda*, and that he was killed in that Duel (*g*). I cannot tell whether a Marquis *de Breauté*, who was killed at the Siege of *Arras*, in the Year 1640, was deſcended from the Duelliſt.

(*d*) Gallucci *calls him* Hocvincurtius. *It is probably a fault of the Impreſſion, for* Hocquincurtius; Hocquincourt *is a Family celebrated for Bravery.*

(*e*) Ex Angelo Galluccio de bello Belg. lib. xxi, pag. 567, & ſeq. *Edit* Norimberg.

(*f*) Ex Thuano, lib. cxxiv, pag. 500.

(*g*) Hiſtoire de l'Archiduc Albert, *printed at* Cologne, 1693, pag. 334.

[*F*] *Three of his Party died of their Wounds.*] The anonymous Author, who publiſhed an Hiſtory of the Archduke *Albert*, ſays, *that all the* French *were killed except three, who fled, and were hanged in* Holland (10). What Variations! The anonymous Author of the Memoirs of *L. C. D. R.* printed at the *Hague* in the year 1687, multiplies Lies and Confuſion (11).

(10) Pag. 334.

(11) Memoires de Mr L. C. D. R. pag. 164.

[*G*] *He and one of his Relations were mortally wounded.*] This confutes the ſilly Story which was publiſhed by that anonymous Author, 'that Swords 'could not hurt *Breauté*, becauſe he had a Charm. 'Which was the reaſon why they knocked him on 'the Head with the Stocks of their Piſtols on the 'Draw-bridge of the Gate of *Boiſleduc* (12).' That Author contradicts himſelf; for he ſays, Page 129, *that* Breauté *was burnt in the Head before he ſet his Foot in the Town* (13).

(12) Hiſt. de l'Archid. Albert, pag. 332.

(13) *That is, he was ſhot in the Head by a Piſtol. See the ſame Phraſe*, pag. 196.

[*H*] *He begged his Life with a Promiſe of Ranſom; but no regard was given to it.*] Moſt Hiſtorians, who are not in the *Spaniſh* Intereſt, ſay, that the Ranſom which *Breauté* offered was accepted, and that he was brought alive to *Boiſleduc*; but that the Governor, vexed at the Death of the two Brothers, reprimanded their Comrades ſo ſeverely, becauſe they had not revenged their Death by that of the Priſoner, that they killed him immediately in his Preſence. Thus, as *Thuanus* tells us, the Writers of the *Dutch* Party related the thing. *D'Audiguier* and *Cayet* go yet further; they ſay that *Grobendonc* had no ſooner cenſured them, but they ſtabbed *Breauté* and his Couſin. *Bouterouë* goes farther ſtill; he ſays the Governor ordered expreſly, that the four Priſoners that were brought, whereof *Breauté* was one, ſhould be killed in cold Blood. *Grotius* ſays only, as a certain thing, that *Breauté* had already gone a good way, when ſome Men from *Boiſleduc* killed him with thirty Wounds. 'Pepigiſſe 'vitam Galli aſſeverant, contra Brabanti prædictum 'ne victi aliud quam mortem expectarent. Certè 'jam multum captivus proceſſerat, cum miſſi ex 'urbe orantem ut ſaltem armato & tanquam viro 'occumbere liceret, triginta vulneribus conficiunt, 'digno probroſis hominibus facinore (14). - - - - - 'The French *aſſert, that his Life was granted him 'contrary to the Declaration of the Brabanter, that 'the conquered ſhould expect nothing but Death. It 'is certain, he was gone a good way, as a Priſoner, 'when he was ſtabbed in thirty Places, by Perſons 'ſent from the City; notwithſtanding he prayed 'that, at leaſt, he might die armed, and like a 'Man; an Action worthy the baſeſt of Mankind.' Which irrefragably confutes what is ſaid by ſome, that he was killed by *Leckerbeetken*'s Seconds, who had engaged to do it by an Oath. See the Remark [*D*].

(14) Grot. Annal. lib. 9.

[*I*] *All the Parts of the Narration of the* Spaniſh *Hiſtorians are not allowed to be true.*] This appears by the foregoing Remark. But here is an Omiſſion for which they cannot be excuſed, and which would very much alter the Nature of the Succeſs, if it were true that they were guilty of that Fault. In this Caſe there would remain but little Honour to the Victors. It is pretended, that the Fight was not with equal Arms, ſince the *French* came only with Swords and Piſtols, and the other Party brought their Carabines beſides. Here is the Sequel of the Paſſage of *d'Audiguier*. 'Beſides the Advantage of Number, they had more-'over that of Weapons, and that was it that 'deceived the *French*, who had no other of-'fenſive Arms but Piſtols and Swords, when they 'ſaw the Enemies with great Carabines, which 'they fired at a conſiderable Diſtance at the be-'ginning of the Fight, and then advanced with 'their long Piſtols againſt People who had nothing 'left but their Swords (15).' He had ſaid before, that 'they charged each other, *Breauté* and his 'Men with long Piſtols, and his Enemies with 'long Piſtols and Carabines.' There might be more imprudence in that Caſe on the *French* ſide, than fraud on the other. Perhaps they had only ſaid in their Agreement, that each Party ſhould come armed as uſual; and therefore if it had been the Cuſtom of the *Flemings* to wear Swords, Piſtols, and Carabines; and if it had been the Cuſtom of the *French* to wear only Piſtols and Swords; the *Flemings* would not have acted knaviſhly: the *French* only would have been to blame, for being ſo heedleſs as not to ſpecify the Number and Quality of the Weapons which were to be uſed. But ſuppoſe the Honeſty of the *Flemings* was untainted, it would at leaſt be certain that their Victory would be no ways glorious. However, let us ſee how *d'Aubigné*, a much more credible Writer than *d'Audiguier*, ſpeaks of this Duel. 'When 'that Siege was over (16), there happened a Duel 'between *Breauté* and nineteen more, with the 'Lieutenant of *Grobbendonck*, called *Lekerbitken*, 'on account of ſome injurious Words and Chal-'lenges ſent by ſome Priſoners. Being agreed on 'the Time and Place, *Breauté*, not finding his 'Enemies, went to look for them very near *Boiſle-'duc*, and there the two Chiefs, diſtinguiſhed with 'white and red Feathers, made choice of each other 'before their Troops. *Breauté* killed his Enemy 'at the firſt Charge, as alſo his Brother, who, hav-'ing diſpatched his Adverſary, came to his Aſſiſtance; 'but all the *Wallons*, having other fire Arms beſides 'Piſtols, made a ſecond diſcharge, at which the 'French, having only their Swords, were overthrown; 'and *Breauté*, being forſaken by part of his Men, 'was taken Priſoner, and *Grobbendonck*, hearing of 'the Death of the two Brothers, cauſed him to be 'killed in cold Blood. The Death of that Gentle-'man was lamented by Prince *Maurice*, who had 'uſed his Endeavour to diſſuade him from that 'Combat by reaſon of the Inequality (17).' *Grotius*

(15) D'Audiguier de l'Uſage du Duel. pag. 346. *See alſo* Cayet. Chronol Septen. fol. 191.

(16) He ſpeaks of the Siege of *St Andrew's Fort* in the Iſle of *Bomel*; but he is miſtaken as to the time. He owns that this Siege was undertaken in *May*; but the Duel was fought the fifth of *February*. *Bouterouë* has committed the ſame fault; he places the Duel after the taking of *St Andrew's Fort*.

(17) D'Aubigné, Tom. III, pag. 722.

tius gives the Advantage of the Arms to the *Flemings*, and that of the Place to the others; *Grobbendoncani armis validioribus, Brœutæus loco potior* (18). But how shall we reconcile this Advantage of the Place with what *d'Aubigné, Bouterouë, Cayet, d'Audiguier*, &c. say, that *Breauté*, not finding the Enemies in the place agreed upon, went farther till he met them half a League from *Boisleduc* (19)? And how shall we reconcile this with Father *Gallucci*, who says, that *Lakerbeetken* coming to the Place of Battle, and not finding his Enemy there, sent a Trumpeter to tell him that he staid for him; and that *Breauté* dispatched another to let him know that he was come within a Quarter of a League of the Place, and that he would either die or overcome there (20). An Historian, who is very partial for the *Spanish Netherlands* (21), owns, that *Breauté*'s martial Heat, *which made him advance farther than he should have done*, was the reason why the Duel was not fought in the place designed for it; *They kept*, says he, *to that Field of Battle where they happened to meet*. That Author is far from acknowledging that the *Flemings* had more fire Arms than the others; for he says of the latter, that they had all their Pistols in their Hands, and that the *Belgians* had only their Swords in their Hands. He adds one thing that ought not to be omitted: 'The 'Belgians had the forecast to fasten little Chains behind the Bridles of their Horses, for fear, if the 'Enemies should happen to cut them, they should 'not be able to govern their Horses. The *French* 'on the *Dutch* side had not that forecast, which 'contributed much to their Defeat (22).' We may infer from hence that the *Flemings* fought cunningly; they fell first upon their Enemies Horses; the Bridles being cut it was not easy for the Troopers to save their Horses from being killed. Father *Gallucci* observes, that at the first onset there were above Twenty six Horses killed. *Thuanus* informs us, that almost all the Horses of the *French* were lost there (23). We find the reason of it in the *New History of the Archduke*. I cannot pass over in silence the Confusion of Father *Gallucci*: After he has described the whole Issue of the Fight, he adds, that a little Boy, who had looked on at a Distance, having seen the whole Event (24), got upon a Horse, that he found without a Master, and galloped to carry the News of the Victory to *Boisleduc*. Presently a Citizen fired two great Guns on the Ramparts. That noise made both Parties fear an Ambush, and obliged the *French* to run away. How could they have staid till then before they fled, since the Boy did not ride away till after he had seen the whole Event of the Fight? To mend the Narration, it should be said that the two Guns were fired before the Victory had been fully declared for the the *Flemings*. Now the latter being so near home, *almost in sight of* Boisleduc (25), it is no wonder, if the Cannon of that Town alarmed the *French*, who were still defending themselves. I find but one fault in the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary (26) *viz.* that the Fight was *in the Sight of both Armies*.

(18) Grotius Annal. lib. ix.

(19) Those things might be reconciled, by saying that the place, where *Breauté* met the Enemies, proved advantageous to him by chance. *Grotius* might have made this Observation without swerving from his *Laconic* Stile.

(20) Gallucius de Bello Belg. *Part I, lib.* xii, *pag.* 560.

(21) Hist. de l'Archid. Albert. pag. 300.

(22) Ib. pag. 332.

(23) Dispar fociorum cum Belgis congressus fuit in quo plures Galli occidere, equis fere occisis. *Thuan. lib.* cxxiv, *pag.* 900.

(24) Hoc exitu animadverso.

(25) Hist. d'Albert, pag. 330.

(26) *At the Word* Abrahami.

BRENZIUS (SAMUEL FREDERIC), a *German* Jew, was converted to the Christian Religion in the Year 1614. He immediately published a Book (*a*) concerning the Motives of his Conversion, and forgot nothing that might render his first Religion odious. It is not known whether any private Discontent directed his Pen, or whether the hopes of persuading the World that his Conversion was sincere, inspired him with the Animosity which he shewed in his Book; but it is well known that he strained things [*A*]. He gave a horrid Description of the Malice of the Jews, of their Frauds, Crimes, Impiety and Blasphemies against JESUS CHRIST, and against the Holy Virgin; he exhorted every body to have a care of them, and to look upon them as sworn Enemies to the Christian Name, whose only design is to hate, dishonour, and destroy, the Followers of the Gospel. *Salman Zebi*, who was a pretty learned Jew, took upon him speedily to refute him in a Book, which he intituled *Judaical Treacle*. He fell into another Extreme, I mean that he extenuated too much the Faults of his Party. This is a faithful Representation of most Controvertists [*B*]. The Work of the Proselyte, and the Jew's Answer, were translated out of the *German* Tongue into *Latin*, in the Year 1681, as shall be shewn here-under (*b*).

(*a*) *At* Nuremberg.

(*b*) *Taken from the* Acta Eruditorum, *July* 1682, pag. 305.

[*A*] *He wrote against the* Jews - - - - - *and strained things.*] A Christian Author owns it, *viz.* Mr *John Wulfer*. See the Notes which he added to the *Latin* Translation of the two Books I speak of; for he did not barely translate the Book of *Brenzius*, and that of *Salman Zebi*, into *Latin*, but has also interposed his Judgment about the Accusation of the one, and the Defence of the other. He finds that *Brenzius* is a meer Calumniator in some things. See the following Remark. His Translation and Notes were printed at *Nuremberg* in the Year 1681. He added a little Book to them which *Isaac Viva* had formerly published at *Amsterdam*, with this Title, *Vindex sanguinis*, hoc est, *vindiciæ secundum veritatem quibus Judæi ab infanticidiis & vilissima humana contra Jacobum Gensium* (1) *vindicantur*. The Apology of *Salman Zebi* was printed at *Hanaw*, and the *Jews* animated with envy against the Author, suppressed it with so much care, that no Copies of it were to be found (2).

(1) That James Genssius, *a Divine and a Physician of Friesland, published at* Groningen, *in* 1675, *a Book intituled* Vilissima humanæ.

(2) *Taken from the* Acta Eruditor. *July* 1682, pag. 205, 206.

[*B*] *The* Jew, *who refuted him, extenuated the Faults of his Party too much. This is a faithful Representation of most Controvertists.*] I shall first recite a Passage of the *Acta Eruditorum*. 'Cæterum ut Judæis multa sola criminandi libidine 'falso objicit Brenzius, ita vicissim multa negat, 'vel certe emollit, aut aliter interpretatur Zebi, 'quorum tamen Judæi jure optimo postulantur: 'Uterque interdum commode locutus, aliquando '& mentitus est, quod in animadversionibus suis 'diligentur excussit Jo. Wulferus (3). - - - - *But as* Brenzius *charges several things falsly on the* Jews, *merely from a Desire to blacken them; so, on the other hand,* Zebi *denies, or, at least, softens, or gives another sense to, several things, with which the* Jews *are nevertheless justly chargeable. Both of them have sometimes spoke to the Purpose, and sometimes told lies; as* Jo. Wulferus *has carefully observed in his Animadversions.*' This Behaviour of *Brenzius* may make one suspect his Conversion. It seems to signify that he forsook Judaism, only to revenge himself for some Injury he had received. They who forsake their Religion from such Motives are in great numbers, and commonly publish a hundred Lies against the Party they forsake. The personal Resentment of some Affront, or of an enormous Injustice, animates them to Revenge, and they find no better way to revenge themselves than Calumny. All new Converts in general are almost forced to speak ill of their old Religion (4); for if they did not, they would give occasion to believe that they love it still. Besides, the Stories which they tell, or publish, concerning the domestic Disorders of the Party, which they forsake, please the new Brethren, and dispose them to give the Proselyte a better Reception. Thus you see how contagious the Imperfections of the Heart are: many Persons are obliged to be dishonest, because their Honesty would be taken wrong, and would give offence. But let us make an end of our Commentary. Most Controvertists aggravate the Evil of the other Party as much as they can, and extenuate the Evil of their own Cause as well as they can. When they attack, they excuse nothing; they take nothing in a favourable

(3) Ibid. p. 206.

(4) That is, with respect to Morals, Cabals, and such like things, different from the Confession of Faith.

a favourable Senſe; they give a malicious turn to every thing; they aſcribe the Irregularities of ſome particular Perſons to the whole Communion. But when they make Apologies, they put a favourable Conſtruction upon every thing, they ſet aſide what is moſt odious, and ſhew only their fair Side, and they think it very ſtrange that their Adverſary ſhould be ſo unjuſt as to obſerve their weak Side, and take advantage of the Faults of ſome Authors. We find this double Artifice of Rhetoric ſometimes in the ſame Book. If the firſt Part of a Book is deſigned for an Accuſation, and if the ſecond is deſigned for an Apology; in the firſt you ſee all the Cunning of a Plaintiff Advocate, and in the ſecond that of a Defendant. The Principles upon which the Author builds in the firſt are refuted in the ſecond; as for example; if in the firſt he gives an odious turn to a thing that might be favourably conſtrued; he gives in the ſecond a favourable turn, to a thing that is ſuſceptible of an ill Conſtruction. This ſhews that Honeſty is not the Soul of thoſe Diſputes; it is ſacrificed to the Deſire of getting the Victory. Sometimes certain Authors are aſked, *why have you ſaid ſuch a thing?* They anſwer, *becauſe it is true*: But, replies the Querift, *you ſhould have known that it was not fit to be made public.* Do not thoſe, who ſpeak in this manner, create juſt Suſpicions, that a zealous Hiſtorian ſuppreſſes whatever may be prejudicial? How then can one truſt an Hiſtoriographer, who, out of zeal for his Religion, acts continually the Part of an Apologiſt, or of an Accuſer, and who, properly ſpeaking, turns an Hiſtory into a Book of Controverſy of a new Method?

BREZÉ (PETER *de*), Lord *de la Varenne*, and Great Seneſchal of *Normandy*, was in great Favour in the Reign of *Charles* VII. This made him leſs acceptable to *Lewis* XI, the Son and Succeſſor of *Charles* VII. Therefore it was believed that *Lewis* XI, ſoon after he came to the Crown, made choice of him to command the Succours which he granted to *Margaret* of *Anjou*, Queen of *England*, only to be rid of him, becauſe that Succour was ſo very inconſiderable [*A*]. *Brezé* was fortunate in the beginning, and made a conſiderable Progreſs againſt the contrary Party; but it came to nothing; the *French* were beſieged in the Towns they had taken, and obtained no other Capitulation than their Lives, on condition that they ſhould return into *France* (*a*). An Hiſtorian ſays, that their Commander and the Queen fell among a Company of Highwaymen [*B*]. It does not appear that this Expedition of *England* did any Prejudice to the Fortune of the Seneſchal of *Normandy*; for in the Year 1465 he made a very fine Figure at the Court of *France*. The War for the public Good, ſupported by the Count *de Charolois*, who advanced into the very heart of the Kingdom, was a very troubleſome buſineſs for *Lewis* XI. He adviſed, among others, with *Peter de Brezé*, what he was to do: He ſuſpected him of keeping Intelligence with the Enemy; and having a mind to be ſatisfied in it, he aſked him himſelf whether it was ſo or no? *Brezé*, who turned every thing into Pleaſantry, came off by an Anſwer in that Strain [*C*]. He had the command of the Vanguard at the Battle of *Montleheri* (*b*), which had been the Subject of the Deliberation; and, whether he was exaſperated by ſome Reproach, or becauſe he was naturally brave, he charged the Enemy with ſo little Caution, that he was one of the firſt that was killed [*D*]. He left a Son, who proved more faithful to the King,

(*a*) Belcarius, lib. i, n. 4, ad Ann. 1462.

(*b*) *The 27th of July, 1465, according to* Comines.

[*A*] *He commanded the Succours ſent to the Queen of* England, *which was very inconſiderable.*] It conſiſted only of Two thouſand Men, and ſome Hiſtorians make it much leſs. 'Ludovicus Margaretæ 'Andegavenſi - - - - auxiliarem militem duce Petro 'Brezeo (Varennium nonnulli à Varennio fundo 'appellarunt) Normaniæ Seneſchallo miſit. Hunc 'Carolo patri in primis charum ac magnis munera'ribus publicis donatum certis periculis objectare 'viſus eſt, ſiquidem equites pediteſque eidem bis 'mille duntaxat attribuit (1). —— Lewis *ſent ſome* 'auxiliary Forces to Margaret *of* Anjou, *under the* 'Command of Peter Brezé (de la Varenne *ſome* 'call him *from* Varenne *his Eſtate*) Seneſchal *of* 'Normandy, *with deſign, as it was thought, to* 'expoſe the Man to unavoidable Hazards, *who had* 'been a great Favourite of his Father Charles, *and* 'preferred to ſeveral great Poſts; *for he gave him* 'no more than Two thouſand Horſe and Foot.' Father *d'Orleans* ſays, that the Queen of *England* obtained only about Five hundred Men of Arms under the Conduct of *Brezé* (2).

(1) Belcarius, lib. i, n. 4, ad Ann. 1462.

(2) Revolut. of *Eng.* lib. vi, pag. 291.

[*B*] *He and the Queen fell into the Hands of a Company of Highwaymen.*] *Monſtrelet* ſays, 'That 'Queen *Margaret*, her Son, and *la Varenne* met 'ſome Highwaymen; that ſhe fled into a Wood, 'and ſaid to a Robber that ſhe met, *Friend, ſave* 'thy *King's Son*; and that ſhe went to *Sluys*, and 'from thence to *Bruges*, and the Duke of *Bur*'gundy had her conducted to her Father (3).' This Adventure of the Queen is very well deſcribed by Father *d'Orleans* (4).

(3) Monſtrelet, *cited by* Pierre Matthieu, Hiſt. of *France* XI, lib. ii, pag. 96.

(4) Revolut. of *Eng.* lib. vi, pag. 294.

[*C*] Brezé, *who turned every thing into Pleaſantry, finding himſelf ſuſpected - - - - by* Lewis XI, *came off by an Anſwer in that ſtrain.*] We learn this from *Philip. de Comines*, who had it from *Lewis* I. Let us ſee that great Hiſtorian's Words: 'The King conſulted the ſaid Count *du Maine*, 'the Great Seneſchal of *Normandy*, whoſe Name 'was *de Brezé*, the Admiral of *France*, who was 'of the Houſe of *Montauban*, and ſome others. —— 'He ſuſpected the Great Seneſchal of *Normandy*, 'and deſired him to tell him whether he had 'given his Seal to the Princes that were againſt 'him, or not? The ſaid Great Seneſchal anſwered 'he had, and that it ſhould remain with them, 'but his Perſon ſhould be the King's. This he 'ſaid in a merry way, according to his Cuſtom. 'The King was ſatisfied, and gave him the Com'mand of his Vanguard and the Guides, becauſe 'he was willing to avoid the Battle, as has been 'ſaid. The Great Seneſchal, having got his De'ſire, then ſaid to one of his moſt truſty Friends, 'I will put them to day ſo near together, that 'it will be a hard matter to part them again. 'And ſo he did, and the firſt who loſt their Lives 'there were he, and his Men. The King him'ſelf told me this, for I was then with the Count 'de *Charolois* (5).' I remember a good Jeſt of this Great Seneſchal: *Lewis* XI did every thing of his own Head; *Brezé* upbraided him with it in a pleaſant manner one day as they were hunting. The King was mounted on a little Pad: *Sir*, ſaid he to him, *I think there cannot be a ſtronger Horſe than that Pad. How ſo?* ſaid the King. *Becauſe*, replied the Seneſchal, *he carries your Majeſty and all your Council.*

(5) Comin. lib. i, cap. iii, p. 27.

[*D*] *Whether he was exaſperated by ſome Reproach, or otherwiſe - - - - - he expoſed himſelf ſo, that he was killed one of the firſt.*] Some ſay that the King was at laſt of the opinion of thoſe who would have him give Battle. Nay, ſome ſay that he reſolved upon it firſt of all, and that he called the Great Seneſchal a Coward for being of another Opinion. That Reproach was ſo nettling, that it made *Peter de Brezé* deſperate. 'Cæteri 'Regem

King than his Mother [*E*], and is the fame *James de BREZE, Count de Maulevrier, Great Seneſchal of* Normandy (*c*), who married one of the Natural Daughters of *Charles* VII, by *Agnes Sorel* [*F*], and *cauſed her to be killed at* Romiers, *near* Dourdan, *the Night between* Saturday *and* Sunday, *the fourteenth of* June, *in the Year* - - - - He paid dear for it [*G*]. *From that Marriage came* Lewis de BREZE, *Count de Maulevrier, Great Seneſchal of Normandy* (*d*), who married the famous *Diana* of *Poitiers*, Miſtreſs of *Francis* I, and afterwards of *Henry* II.

(*c*) *See Father* Anſelm's Hiſt. Genealog. de la Maiſon de France. pag. 123. *He quotes* Joh. Chartier, *and* Monſtrelet.

(*d*) *Father* Anſelme, ibid.

This *Lewis de Brezé* died the Twenty third of *July*, 1531. His Widow cauſed a ſtately Monument to be erected for him in the Church of *our Lady* at *Rouen*; but ſhe cauſed a Prediction to be inſerted in the Epitaph which has proved falſe [*H*]. Note, that Father *Anſelme* did not know the year wherein the great Seneſchal *James de Brezé* cauſed his Wife to be killed: If he had conſulted the *Chronique Scandaleuſe* of *Lewis* XI, he would have found there that it was done in the Year 1476. That Adventure deſerves to be related in the very Words of that Chronicle [*I*]. Therefore you have it below with ſome Corrections of Mr *Baudrand*.

' Regem quoque in priorem de pugna ineunda ſententiam conceſſiſſe, immo vero ejus authorem fuiſſe, & Brizeum quod in contraria ſententia eſſet timiditatis arguiſſe traduut. Hinc accenſum ira Brizeum ſe inconſultius in medias hoſtium acies præcipitaſſe, & quadam veluti deſperatione in mortem irruiſſe (6).' This way of ridding himſelf of the Great Seneſchal, was yet more ſure than the firſt; I mean than that which this Prince made uſe of, when he ſent him to the Aſſiſtance of the Queen of *England* with a handful of Men: For what will not a brave Man do after ſuch Reproaches? I am apt to believe that *Varillas* has a little too much embelliſhed the Paraphraſe that he made (7) upon *Belcarius*'s Words, which we have ſeen in the Remark [*A*]: But he might very well ſay, that *Brezé* was a famous Commander. *Oliver de la Marche*, though he was in the Party of *Burgundy*, ſpoke notwithſtanding in praiſe of that Lord. ' My Lord *de Chaverlois, ſays he* (8), kept that ' Day the Field of Battle (anciently called the ' Field of *Pleurs*). The next Day he encamped ' at *Montleheri*, where *James de Montmartin* and ' myſelf had been ſent to view the Ground, and ' there we found the dead Body of the Seneſchal ' *de la Varenne* laid on Straw, (which was great ' pity) and alſo the Bodies of ſeveral other *French* ' Noblemen.

(6) Belcarius, lib. I, n. 20.

(7) Hiſtory of *Lewis* XI, lib. II, *towards the end.*

(8) Memoires, lib. I, chap. 55, pag. 316.

[*E*] *He left a Son who proved more faithful to the King than his Mother.*] Whilſt they were endeavouring to end the War for the public Good, by way of Negotiation, the confederated Princes made themſelves Maſters of *Rouen*. The moſt conſiderable of the Inhabitants were more willing to live under a Duke of *Normandy*, than under a King of *France*; for which reaſon they perſuaded the Widow of *Peter de Brezé* to receive the Duke of *Bourbon* into the Caſtle, and moſt of them took an Oath of Fidelity to the Duke of *Berry*. ' Hi ' Brizei pugna Letherica nuper cæſi perſuaſa uxore ' vidua, quæ veluti urbi præerat cuique Rex plurimum confidebat, Joannem Borbonium in arcem ' admiſerunt, & paucis exceptis in Biturigis verba ' jurarunt. Quo comperto Brizei filius non ſecus ' ac pater Normaniæ Seneſchallus ſacramento ſe ' Biturigi obligare recuſavit, & protinus invita matre ad Regem ſe contulit.' The Son of that Lady, Great Seneſchal of *Normandy*, would not imitate them, and in ſpight of his Mother went to King *Lewis* XI (9).

(9) Belcarius, lib. I. n. 37. ad Ann. 1465.

[*F*] - - - - *And is the ſame* James de BREZE' - - - - - - *who married a Natural Daughter of* Charles VII. *and* Agnes Sorel.] A modern Author calls him *Lewis*. ' *Agnes Sorel, ſays he* (10), had ' two Daughters by the King; *Charlote*, married ' to *Lewis de Brezé*, Seneſchal of *Normandy*, who, ' having ſurprized her in Adultery, ſtabbed her in ' ſeveral places with a Dagger; and *Mary*, who ' married *Oliver de Coitini* (11), Lord of *Rochefort*.' *James de Brezé*, Son-in-law of *Agnes Sorel*, and Son of *Peter de Brezé*, who is the Subject of this Article, puniſhed the unfaithfulneſs of his Wife too cruelly, and out of a Niceneſs ſo much the more blamable, becauſe he ſhould have been prepared to ſee her a Sportſwoman by Deſcent. We ſhall ſee that his Revenge brought him into Trouble, and coſt him dear.

(10) Galanteries of the Kings of *France*, Tom. I. pag. 219.

(11) *He ought to have ſaid* Coitivi.

[*G*] *And that he cauſed her to be killed at* Romiers. - - - - *He paid dear for it.*] He cauſed her to be ſtrangled for Adultery. *Lewis* XI took it very ill, and deſigned to bring him to a Trial for it. The Great Seneſchal redeemed himſelf for a Fine of an Hundred thouſand Crowns, for which he gave, among other Lands, the County of *Maulevrier*. He had alſo cauſed the Lover of his Wife to be put to death, who was a Gentleman of *Picardy*, called *Lavergne*. *Lewis de Brezé*, his Son, marrying *Diana* of *Poitiers* for his third Wife, recovered the Lands that had been given for the Fine. The King granted him that Favour in conſideration of that Marriage (12). Meſſieurs *de Ste Marthe* do not agree to this, in all the Circumſtances. They ſay, that by Letters of the Month of *October*, 1481, King *Lewis* XI gave to *Lewis de Brezé*, eldeſt Son of *James* and of *Charlote de Valois*, his Natural Siſter, the County of *Maulevrier*, the Lordſhips of *Beccrepin*, of *Maulni* - - - - and other Lands in *Perigord* and *Querci*. It was in Favour of the Marriage of that *Lewis de Brezé* with *Jolande de la Haye*, Daughter of *Lewis de la Haye*, and of *Mary* of *Orleans* (13). The Letters of King *Lewis* XI import, I. That thoſe Lands had been *made over to the King, by* James de Brezé, *for an Hundred thouſand Crowns Fine, wherein he had been condemned for having cauſed his Wife to be put to death.* II. That *if* Lewis *died without Sons, thoſe Lands ſhould come to his Brother* John de Brezé, *and after him to* Gaſton de Brezé, *his other Brother* (14). Note, That Meſſieurs *de Ste Marthe* having ſaid this, *pag.* 525, ſay, *pag.* 600, that thoſe Letters of *Lewis* XI were of the Month of *October*, 1491.

(12) This is taken from a Memorial which a Lady of great Merit procured me.

(13) She was Daughter of the famous Baſtard of *Orleans* Count *de Dunois*.

(14) Ste. Marthe Geneaſog. of the Houſe of *France*, Tom. I. lib. VIII, pag. 525.

[*H*] *The Widow of* Lewis de Brezé *cauſed a Prediction to be inſerted in the Epitaph which proved falſe.*] The Epitaph contains theſe four Verſes:

Hoc Lodoice tibi poſuit Breſæe ſepulcrum
Pictonis amiſſo mœſta Diana viro.
Indiviſa tibi quondam & fidiſſima conjux
Ut fuit in thalamo, ſic erit in tumulo (15).

Diana, *mournful for her Husband dead,*
This Monument, Brezé, *has rais'd to thee;*
Faithful to thee as in the Nuptial Bed,
So in the Grave inſep'rable ſhe'll be.

(15) You will find them in the ſecond Volume of an Hiſtory of the City of *Rouen*, *printed in the Year* 1668.

It promiſes that *Diana* ſhall be buried in *our Lady*'s Church at *Rouen*; which did not come to paſs, for her Tomb is at *Anet*.

[*I*] *The Adventure of* James de Brezé *deſerves to be related in the very Words of the* Chronique Scandaleuſe.] Theſe are the Words of *John de Troyes*; for ſo the Author of the *Chronique Scandaleuſe* was called, if we believe *Naudé* (16). ' Upon ' a *Saturday*, the thirteenth of *June*, 1476, the ' Count *de Maulevrier*, Seneſchal of *Normandy*, Son ' to Meſſire *Peter de Brezé*, who was killed at ' the Fight of *Montleheri*, being a hunting near ' a Village called *Romiers les Dourdan*, which be- ' longed to him, and having with him Madam ' *Charlote* of *France* his Wife, and Natural Daughter to the late King *Charles*, and Mrs *Agnes* ' *Sorel*; it happened unluckily, after hunting, that ' they returned to ſup and lie at *Romiers*; and ' there the ſaid Seneſchal went alone into a Cham- ' ber to take his Reſt that Night, and his ſaid Wife

(16) Naudé Addit. to the Hiſtory of *Lewis* XI, pag. 29.

'went likewiſe alone into another. She, as her 'ſaid Husband reported, full of diſorderly Luſt, 'carried in with her a Gentleman of *Poitou*, cal-'led *Peter de la Vergne*, who was Huntſman to 'the ſaid Seneſchal, and made him lie with her; 'which was told the Seneſchal by one *Peter l'Apo-'ticaire*, his Servant and Steward; the Seneſchal 'immediately took his Sword, and broke open the 'Door of the Chamber where the ſaid Lady and 'Huntſman were; the Huntſman he found in his 'Shirt, and ſtruck him with his Sword, and thruſt 'it into his Body, ſo that he killed him: and 'then he went into a Chamber, where he found 'his ſaid Wife hid under a Bed wherein his Chil-'dren were, and took her by the Arm and threw 'her down; and as he threw her down, he 'ſtruck her with the ſaid Sword over the Shoul-'ders, and ſhe being down and on her Knees, he 'thruſt the ſaid Sword into her Paps and Sto-'mach, and ſent her into the other World, and 'had her buried with the Service of the Church 'in the Abbey of *Coulons*. As for the Huntſman, 'he had him buried in a Garden joining to the 'Houſe where he had killed him (17).' In the time of the *Romans* ſuch a Puniſhment would have been permitted; but our Laws do not ſuffer a Husband to revenge the Unfaithfulneſs of his Wife in that manner. Nevertheleſs it is done ſometimes, and thoſe few Examples are but ſeldom uſeful.

(17) Chronique Scandaleuſe of *Lewis* XI, pag. 329, 330. *See alſo* Rob. Gaguin, Annal. lib. x, fol. 276.

Here is what I find in ſome Manuſcript Notes which were ſent me by Mr *Baudrand*: 'It is not 'true that this was tranſacted at *Romiers* near '*Dourdan*; *Lewis de Brezé* ſtabbed his Wife in 'the Village of *Rouvres*, on a little River called '*Vegre*, two Leagues from *Houdan*, and half a 'League from *Anet*. It was in his Houſe, joining 'to the Parſonage, where there are yet ſome marks 'of her Blood, together with her Buſto, as I have 'ſeen it ſeveral times, it being in a Seat that be-'longs to me: And afterwards he cauſed that Wo-'man to be buried in the Abbey of *Coulons*, near 'Nogent le Roy.'

BREZÉ (the Mareſchal *de*), acquired great Glory in the XVIIth Century. His Name was URBAN DE MAILLE BREZE: He was of a very ancient Nobility [*A*], but it is likely that neither this, nor his Courage, did ſo much contribute to his Fortune, as his Marriage with *Nicole du Pleſſis*, Cardinal *Richelieu*'s Siſter. That Match, which would have been made more advantageous to him, if he had been leſs haughty to his Brother-in-law, procured him nevertheleſs ſome noble

[*A*] *He was of a very ancient Nobility.*] Certainly Mr *le Laboureur* has not very fairly cleared that Genealogy, ſince Father *Anſelme*, who epitomized him, could hardly make any thing of it; and yet that good Father applied himſelf very much to that Study. I confeſs ingenuouſly, that I have been obliged to read that place of Mr *le Labourer* more than once to apprehend it well; and it is true, generally ſpeaking, that Figures are not much more neceſſary in matters of Geometry than in matters of Genealogy. This is the Idea I have of the Extraction of the Mareſchal *de Brezé*, after after having read, with great Attention, what *Mr le Labourer* ſays of it (1).

(1) Additions to the Memoirs of *Caſtelnau*, Tom. II, pag. 298, &c.

This Mareſchal deſcended from the Houſe of *Maillé*, which poſſeſſed the Lordſhip of *Maillé* in *Touraine* (2), and was ſo ancient, that there are *twenty Degrees of Deſcent* to be found in it. A Lord of that Family, whoſe Name was *Pean de Maillé*, who lived about three hundred Years ago (3), married *Joan*, Heireſs of the eldeſt Branch of the Houſe of *Brezé* in *Anjou*. By that Marriage the Seat of *Brezé* came into one of the Branches of the Houſe of *Maillé*, *viz.* into the Branch whereof *Pean de Maillé* was the Head. It remained there 'till the Death of the Mareſchal *de Brezé*, deſcended from that *Pean de Maillé* in the tenth Degree. LEWIS DE BREZE', Count *de Maulevrier*, Great Seneſchal of *Normandy*, Huſband of *Diana* of *Poitiers*, Ducheſs of *Valentinois*, ſo well known by the Amours of *Henry* II, deſcended from a younger Branch of the Houſe of *Brezé*; ſo that he was only related to the Anceſtors of the Mareſchal by the Mother's ſide. We muſt conjecture this in reading Mr *le Labourer*, for he does not ſay ſo in expreſs Words, but rather inſpires another Thought. '*Pean de Maillé*, '*ſays he* (4), married *Joan*, Heireſs of the eldeſt 'Branch of the Houſe of *Brezé* in *Anjou*, the 'Name whereof continued 'till *Lewis de Brezé* '- - - Great Seneſchal of *Normandy*, who had 'but two Daughters by *Diana* of *Poitiers*, Ducheſs 'of *Valentinois*.' The firſt ſenſe, and the moſt natural, that preſents itſelf to any one that reads theſe Words, is, That the Seneſchal of *Normandy* deſcended from that *Pean de Maillé*: yet it is not what the Author means; his meaning is (if I can apprehend any thing of it) that though the eldeſt Branch of the Houſe of *Brezé* ended by Marriage in the Houſe of *Maillé*, nevertheleſs the Houſe of *Brezé* continued, from Male to Male, 'till the Great Seneſchal of *Normandy* ſprung from the younger Branch of the Houſe of *Brezé*. We ſhall ſee in a little time (5), that a famous Hiſtorian could not diſintangle himſelf out of this Chaos. I have ſaid that *Pean de Maillé*, who married the Heireſs of the Seat of *Brezé*, was not of the eldeſt Branch of his Houſe: I muſt ſay now, that the eldeſt Branch ended with *Francis de Maillé*, who left but two Daughters, whereof one was married to *Gilles de Laval*, Sieur *de Loüé*; and the other to *Francis de Batarnai*, Sieur *de Bouchage* (6). The Mother of thoſe two Daughters was *Margaret de Rhoan*. Mr *le Labourer* informs us, though in an indirect manner, that the Father of thoſe two Daughters was the Son of *Hardoüin de Maillé* and *Antoinette* of *Chauvigni*, and that this *Hardoüin* was the Son of another *Hardoüin*, and *Petronelle d'Amboiſe*, and Brother of *Jubez de Maillé*, who married *Iſabella de Chateaubrient*. 'Hardoüin de Maillé, ſays he (7), younger 'Brother of *Francis (he had juſt before ſpoken of 'that* Francis de Maillé, *who left but two Daugh-'ters, and with whom the eldeſt Branch ended)* Son 'of *Hardoüin de Maillé*, and of *Antoinette de Chau-'vigni*, Lady of *Chateauroux*, Viſcounteſs of *Broſſe*, '&c. married *Frances*, Heireſs of *la Tour-landri*, 'upon condition that he and his Poſterity ſhould 'bear that Name and Arms; and from him is deſ-'cended the Marquis *de la Tour-landri* and *Jaloſues*, 'who is the Head of it, and whoſe younger Bro-'thers are the Marquiſſes *de Carmen* in *Bretagne*, and 'the Sieurs *de Chedruë*, *de la Gueritaude*, and *du 'Flotti*, deſcended from the Marriage of *Jubez de 'Maillé*, Sieur *de Ville Romain*, with *Iſabelle de 'Chaſtaubriant*; which *Jubez* was Son of *Har-'doüin* Sieur *de Maillé*, the Husband of *Perronelle 'd'Amboiſe*, whoſe Brother was the before mention-'ed *Hardouin*, married to *Antoinette de Chauvigni*.' To bring this within the Comprehenſion of leſs attentive Readers, we muſt ſay, I. That *Hardoüin de Maillé*, the Husband of *Perronelle d'Amboiſe*, had two Sons, *Hardoüin* and *Jubez*. II. That the eldeſt of thoſe two Sons married *Antoinette de Chauvigni*, and had two Sons by her; *Francis*, who left but two Daughters, and *Hardoüin*, who married the Heireſs of *la Tour-landri*. III. That *Jubez de Maillé* married *Iſabella de Chateaubriant*. IV. That the eldeſt Branch of the Houſe of *Maillé* ſubſiſts at preſent in the Family of *la Tour-landri*; and that the Deſcendants of *Jubez*, Uncle of this ſame *Hardoüin*, from whom the Marquis *de la Tour-landri* is deſcended, are the younger Branch of the Houſe of *Maillé*. As to the Branch of *Maillé-Brezé*, it was divided into ſome others: there remained no Male in the eldeſt Branch after the Death of Mareſchal *de Brezé*; but there are yet ſome in the Branch of the Lords of *Benehart* and *Fleuri* (8).

(2) *At preſent erected into a Dutchy and Peerage by the Name of* Lunes. Le Labourer, ibid.

(3) *Mr* Le Labourer *ſaid this in* 1660; *it is the Date of his Book.*

(4) Pag. 299.

(5) *See the Remark* [*E*], *of the Article* BREZE' (CLARA-CLEMENTIA).

(6) Mary de Batarnai, *Granddaughter to this, was the Wife of* William *Viſcount* de Joieuſe, *Mareſchal of* France; *and ſo Mademoiſelle* de Montpenſier, *the Duke of* Guiſe, *of* Joieuſe, *&c. are deſcended from her.* Le Labourer's Additions to *Caſtelnau*, Tom. II, p. 299.

(7) Ibid. p. 298.

Father *Anſelme* is much leſs intelligible than Mr *le Labourer* whom he epitomizes (9). He ſpeaks of two *Hardoüins de Maillé*, whereof one was the Father of the other; the Father married *Antoinette de Chauvigni*, the Son married the Heireſs of *la Tour-landri*. A little after he obſerves, that the Deſcendants of *Jubez de Maillé*, the Husband of *Iſabelle*

(8) *See* Le Labourer, p. 300.

(9) Of the Original and Progreſs of the Families of *France*, pag. 987.

noble Imployments. The Cardinal had ſome Reaſons for revenging himſelf but imperfectly of the bluntneſs of the Mareſchal *de Brezé* [B], and he was ſo far from puniſhing the Father's Inſults upon the Children, that his reſentment moved him to take ſpecial care of them. He cauſed the Mareſchal's only Son to be made Admiral of *France*, and to have the Dignity of Duke of *Fronſac*; and he married the ſaid Mareſchal's Daughter to a Prince of the Blood, to that Duke of *Enguien*, who has made himſelf famous under that Name, and more ſtill under that of *Prince of Condé*. We ſhall ſee the Fate of that Son, and of that Daughter of the Mareſchal *de Brezé*, in the following Articles. As for himſelf, he received the Mareſchal's Staff, with the Government of *Calais*, the Twenty eighth of *October*, 1632, a little after he had ſignalized himſelf in the Battle of *Caſtelnaudari* (*a*). He was Captain of the Life-Guards, and the Year following he was made a Knight of the Holy Ghoſt. He commanded an Army in *Germany* in the Year 1634, and relieved *Heidelberg* (*b*). The next Year, which was that of the Rupture between *France* and *Spain*, he had the Command of the Army of the *Netherlands* jointly with the Mareſchal *de Chatillon*. The firſt Exploit of that War, which was great and glorious to the utmoſt, I mean the Battle of *Avein*, which they won the twentieth of *May*, and which might have been attended with great Conſequences, if a good uſe had been made of it, proved almoſt inſignificant, either becauſe of the great Miſunderſtandings that aroſe between the two Chiefs (*c*), or for other Reaſons which it would be hard to give. Some *French* Writers lay the fault upon the Prince of *Orange*, who, ſay they, was vexed that thoſe, who were deſigned to ſerve under him, ſhould have obtained ſuch a ſignal Victory without his Participation (*d*). They ſo wholly let ſlip one of the faireſt Opportunities to ruin the *Spaniſh* Affairs in the *Netherlands*, that the next Year the *Spainards* came and ravaged *Picardy*, inſomuch that the Mareſchal *de Brezé* was not able to hinder them from forcing the Paſſages of the *Somme* before his face (*e*). Notwithſtanding this Misfortune, he obtained the Government of *Anjou*, and that of the Caſtle of *Angers* that ſame Year. He was made Viceroy of *Catalonia* in the Year 1642, and died in his Caſtle of *Milly* near *Saumur* (*f*), the thirteenth of *February*, 1650. It was the Fifty third Year of his age (*g*). He was twice Embaſſador; firſt to *Guſtavus* [C], and afterwards in *Holland* (*h*). They were Embaſſies of Honour, and not of Negotiation, though they were not altogether without ſome Buſineſs.

(*a*) *Father Anſelme's* Hiſt. of the great Officers, pag. 256.

(*b*) Id. Ibid.

(*c*) Aubert's Life of Cardinal *Richelieu*, lib. vi, cap. lxvii, Tom. II, pag. 262.

(*d*) *See the Memoirs of the Sieur de Pontis*; *and the Remark* [L], *of the Article* LEWIS XII.

(*e*) Aubert, ibid. lib. v, cap. xxxvii, Tom. I, pag. 548.

(*f*) *He was Governor of Saumur. See Rem.* [K], *of the Article* AMYRAULT.

(*g*) *Father Anſelme*, ubi ſupra.

(*h*) *The Year where, in the quality of Embaſſador Extraordinary*, Anſel. Ibid.

Iſabella de Chateaubriant, are the younger Brothers of the Marquis *de la Tour-landri*. 'Jubez *de Maillé*, *continues he*, younger Brother of *Hardoüin*, was married to *Joan*, Heireſs of the elder Branch of the Houſe of *Brezé* in *Anjou*, whoſe Name continued till *Lewis de Brezé*, great Seneſchal of *Normandy*, who married *Diana* of *Poitiers*, Ducheſs of *Valentinois*. *Pean de Maillé*, Lord of *Brezé*, contracted Marriage with *Joan*, Heireſs of *Brezé*, who brought that Seat into the Houſe of *Maillé*, wherein it continued till the Death of the Mareſchal *de Brezé*' What Negligence! what a Chaos! Is not *Jubez de Maille*, *younger Brother of* Hardoüin, a true *individuum vagum*? Is this the way to diſtinguiſh Perſons? Father *Anſelme* had mentioned two *Hardoüins*; ought he not therefore to have obſerved of which of the two that *Jubez* was the younger Brother? It is not true that this *Jubez* married the Heireſs of *Brezé*; and he is the ſame *Jubez*, of whom Father *Anſelme* had ſaid that he was married to *Iſabella of Chateaubriant*. What deceived him is, that, in theſe words of Mr *le Laboureur*, *He married* Joan, *Heireſs of the eldeſt Branch of the Houſe of* Brezé, he believed that by *He* he ought to underſtand preſently *Jubez de Maillé*; but it is certain, that he ſhould have underſtood it of another Perſon. Mr *le Laboureur* is ſomewhat the Cauſe of this Miſtake; for, according to the Rules of Grammar, his *He* ought rather to relate to *Jubez de Maillé* than to any other. *Jubez* prevails in all the foregoing Period; the other Perſons are only inſerted in that Period as Dependencies and Acceſſories of *Jubez*: but this Confuſion, in the words of Mr *le Laboureur*, does not excuſe Father *Anſelme*; a Man muſt uſe his Reaſon when Grammar does not remove Ambiguity. Now if this good Father had made uſe of his Reaſon, would he have given us *Jubez de Maillé* and *Pean de Maillé*, both married to *Joan*, Heireſs of the Houſe of *Brezé*? would he have underſtood by *He* two different Perſons? would he not have fixed on *Jubez*, underſtanding his Author wrong, or on *Pean*, underſtanding him right? One can ſcarce believe how obſcure the *French* Language is, when an Author does not place his Words right, and when his *il*, his *le*, and his *que*, have not their Relation well marked. The Genealogiſts are commonly very careleſs of that Part of our Grammar. We ſhall preſently ſee (10) whether there was any reaſon to ſay, that the Prince of *Condé* under matched his Son by marrying him to Mareſchal *de Brezé*'s Daughter.

(10) *In the Article* BREZÉ (CLARA CLEMENTIA de), *Remark* [B].

[B] *The Cardinal* de Richelieu *revenged himſelf, but imperfectly, of the bluntneſs of Mareſchal* de Brezé.] Mr *le Laboureur* relates, that the Mareſchal 'had 'not always that regard, which the Authority, and 'haughty Humour of his Brother-in law, Cardinal '*de Richelieu*, required from thoſe that belonged to 'him; and that his want of Complaiſance went 'ſo far as to tell him to his Face that he had mar'ried his Siſter only for her Beauty; and that be'ing vexed to ſee himſelf upbraided with the Go'vernment of *Calais*, he reſigned it, and it was 'given to the Count *de Charrots*. Nevertheleſs, *adds 'the Author*, he (11) gave him other Employ'ments; but he (12) always acquitted himſelf of 'them in ſuch an independant manner, that the 'Cardinal made it his chief Buſineſs to raiſe his '(13) only Son *Armand de Maillé*, whom he made 'Duke of *Fronſac*, and Admiral of *France*, and '*Clara Clementia de Maillé*, his Daughter, whom 'he married to *Lewis de Bourbon*, at that time 'Duke of *Enguien*, now Prince of *Condé* (14).'

(11) This *he* is very wrong, according to the Rules of our Grammarians; for it doth not relate to the Perſon which is the Nominative of the whole Period, but to another Perſon.

(12) Here is another Grammatical Fault; this ſecond *he* relates to a perſon different from that to which the firſt relates.

[C] *He was ſent Embaſſador to* Guſtavus.] In the beginning of the Year 1632, when the Affairs of the *Swedes* were in great Proſperity, ſeveral Catholic Princes of *Germany* ſent Deputies to *Lewis* XIII, to recommend to him the Intereſts of their Religion, and to deſire him not to favour the Proteſtant Religion, which was become ſo formidable. *Lewis* XIII exhorted them to forſake the Emperor's Party, and promiſed them, that on that Condition he would reconcile them with the King of *Sweden*: but to ſhew them his religious Zeal, he ſent the Marquis *de Brezé*, Embaſſador Extraordinary to the King of *Sweden*, and charged him to mediate ſome Accommodation favourable to the Princes of the Catholic League. *Guſtavus* was then at *Mentz*, where he received the Embaſſador honourably. *The Marquis's Propoſals and Inſtances, and the King's Replies, took up almoſt a whole Afternoon.* The King acquainted him with the Artifices of the confederate

(13) Another Grammatical Fault; this *his* does not relate to the *Cardinal*, but to another Perſon.

(14) Le Laboureur Addit. aux memoires de Caſtelnau, Tom. II, pag. 298, & ſeq.

confederate Princes; yet upon certain Conditions he granted him a Truce for fifteen Days, on the Assurances that the Embassador gave him, that the King his Master would dispose the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the other States of the Confederacy, *to a reasonable Accommodation; and that, in default thereof, he would not concern himself any more with their Affairs* (15). If *Brezé* negotiated with that great Conqueror, he played also wanton Pranks with him. I have read in a *French* Writer, what I am going to relate: the Reader may abate of it what he pleases, he has my Consent. 'The great *Gustavus* spent all 'his Life in storming Towns, and winning Battles; 'yet, to divert himself, he played every Evening 'at Blindman's Buff with his Colonels and Captains; and Mareschal *de Brezé* said often, that 'he had played several Farces with him, and that 'commonly, laying aside all his Majesty, he acted 'the Part of a Cheat, or a Pickpocket, who was 'surprized, and beaten at the end of the Play (16).'

(15) *Taken from a Book of* Frederic Spanheim, *entituled*, The Swedish Soldier, pag. 200, *& seq.*

(16) Costar's Defence of *Voiture's* Works, pag. 67.

BREZÉ (ARMAND DE MAILLÉ), only Son of the Mareschal of that Name, was born in the Year 1619. He was raised early to great Employments, for he commanded the Naval Forces of *France* on the Ocean, in the Year 1640 [*A*]. He obtained a signal Victory over the *Spainards* near *Cadiz* [*B*]. He was called at that time *Marquis de Brezé*: Some time after he took upon him the Title of *Duke of Fronsac*. I do not relate the Particulars of his Actions; they may be seen in *Moreri*, who took them word for word out of Father *Anselme* (*a*). It is pity that young Lord died so soon; for he was but little above Twenty six Years of Age when he was killed by a Canon-ball on board his Ship near *Orbitello*, in the Year 1646. Father *le Moine*, a Jesuit, who had been his Preceptor, made some Verses on his Death (*b*), in which he said, among other things, that his Spring and Autumn passed together. Several other Poets signalized themselves on the same Subject. *Balzac* admired the *Latin* Verses that the Sieur *de Peyrarede* made upon it (*c*).

(*a*) History of great Officers of the Crown, pag. 326.

(*b*) *They are inserted in the* Peintures morales *of that Jesuit.*

(*c*) *See his* Choice Letters, *Book* III, *Let.* 37. *And the Article* PEYRARÈDE, *Rem.* [*C*].

[*A*] *He commanded the Naval Force of* France, *in the Year* 1640.] Father *Anselme*, whom *Moreri* follows, affirms, that the Marquis *de Brezé* commanded the Gallies of *France* in the Year 1639. I believe he is mistaken; for he says himself elsewhere, that the Marquis *de Pont-de-Courlai* was General of the Gallies from the Year 1635, to the Year 1643.

[*B*] *He obtained a signal Victory over the* Spaniards *near* Cadiz.] Here is what *Aubery* says of it: The Naval Forces of the Western Ocean, 'commanded 'by the Marquis *de Brezé*, attacked and defeated 'the *Spanish* Fleet, bound for the *Indies*, near *Cadiz*; 'so that the General, who was the Marquis *de Castignosa*, was forced to return again into the Harbour with more speed and fewer Galleons than he 'went out with: which disabled the *Spaniards* from 'sending to the *West-Indies* that Year, and consequently from drawing any Assistance of Money 'from thence, as they had promised themselves (1).' When we consider the Naval Victories that the *French* obtained over the *Spaniards* in the time of *Philip* IV, and the Fleets immensly rich, which the *Dutch* did often take from the *Spaniards*, one cannot but be surprized at two things: one is, how that Nation could lose so much; the other is, that the *French*, who are now stronger beyond Comparison, than they were in those times, either in number of Ships, or in Maritime Experience, have not hitherto (2) been able to undertake or execute an thing considerable against that Nation by Sea, during this last War. *Philip* II must needs have put his Kingdom into a very powerful Condition, since it subsists still after the great and innumerable Losses it has sustained for the Space near of a hundred Years.

(1) *In the* Life of Cardinal *Richelieu*, *Book* VI, *cap.* XXXVI, Tom. II, pag. 438.

(2) This Remark is written in the Month of *May*, 1694.

BREZÉ (CLARA-CLEMENTIA DE MAILLÉ), Daughter of the Mareschal of that Name, was married in the Year 1641, to *Lewis de Bourbon*, Duke of *Enguien*, and afterwards Prince of *Condé*. It was thought strange that a Prince of the Blood consented to that Marriage; but the Duke of *Enguien* was not so much blamed for it, as his Father the Prince of *Condé* [*A*]. Many excused him by reason of the trouble he might have brought upon himself by offending Cardinal *Richelieu*, Uncle of Mademoiselle *de Brezé*. The Truth is, that the hatred People had for that Cardinal was the chief cause of the Murmurs; for several Marriages have been made between Princes of the Blood and *French* Ladies, where the under-matching was at least as sensible as in this (*a*), and yet it does not appear that those Marriages have been criticized. The Prince of *Condé* made a diligent enquiry into the Nobility of the House of *Maillé-Brezé*, and found it very illustrious and very ancient [*A*]. A modern Satirist does not know what he says, when he

(*a*) *See the* Remark [*B*].

[*A*] *The Duke of* Enguien *was not so much blamed for his Marriage with the Lady* de Brezé, *as his Father the Prince of* Condé.] A History of the Prince of *Condé* was printed at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1693 (1), wherein it is said, that the Father of the Duke of *Enguien* being at Cardinal *Richelieu's*, some Days after he had somewhat coldly hearkned to the Proposals of the Marriage, fancied that there was a design to arrest him; and that, to prevent that Disgrace, he shewed himself disposed to give his Consent. The Author adds, *Every body blamed the Prince of* Condé (2), *because it was found out by the great Advantages that he obtained, on account of that Match, that he had acted more out of Interest than out of Fear* (3).

(1) The Title says at *Cologne for* F***. That Work is curious, and well wrote. It was reprinted in the Year 1695, revised, corrected, and augmented, by the Author.

(2) *That is, the Father.*

(3) Histoire de Prince de Conde, pag. 15.

[*B*] *The Prince of* Condé —— *found the House of* Maillé-Brezé *very illustrious and ancient.*] 'The late Prince had not so much regard to the Power 'of the Uncle, as not to desire to be informed 'of the Nobility of the Niece, before he made 'that Match; and he was well pleased to hear, since 'he was necessitated to secure himself against a 'Man, whose resentment was very much to be 'dreaded, that the House of *Maillé* had all the 'Qualifications that he could desire, to defend himself against the Censure of the Vulgar, who generally judge rashly of the Conduct of Princes, and who, either out of Ignorance or Malice, would 'have it, that there was a Disproportion between this 'Marriage and those of the other Princes of the Blood. 'This is what I thought fit to refute here; and 'because I should not be allowed to make a long 'Digression in order to give twenty Degrees of 'Generation, I will content myself with a very 'singular Observation, of which no Example is to 'be found, I do not say in any House of *France*, 'but of all *Europe*; which shall serve to shew the 'Antiquity and hereditary Valour of the House of '*Maillé* (4).' This singular Observation will be seen in the Remark [*D*]. Mr *le Laboureur* gives a short Account of the Genealogy of that Family, and then concludes with these Words; 'Thus have I 'shewn

(4) Le Laboureur's Additions to the Memoirs of Castelnau, Tom. II, p. 898.

he relates the thing otherwiſe [C]. We find an extraordinary Paſſage concerning a Knight of that Family [D]. Some very able Hiſtorians have confounded it with

ſhewn, in a few Words, the Condition of the House of *Maillé*, and now I ſhall not ſcruple to ſay, that it is not inferior to that of *Beauvau*, which was the Houſe of the fifth Grandmother of our King, *Iſabella de Beauvau*, Wife of *John de Bourbon*, Count *de Vendome*; and that it is, without any Compariſon, more illuſtrious than that of *Monteſpedon*, which was the Houſe of *Philippa de Monteſpedon*, Wife of *Charles de Bourbon*, Prince of *la Roche-ſur-Yon*, a very proud Princeſs, though deſcended from one *Waſt de Monteſpedon*, a *Fleming*, Valet de Chambre of *John* of *France*, Duke of *Berry*; and than many others, which it would be needleſs to name (5).'

(5) Ibid. p. 300.

[C] ----- *A modern Satiriſt does not know what he ſays, when he relates the thing otherwiſe.*] I mean the anonymous Author, who publiſhed ſome Memoirs in the Year 1687 (6). 'The Duke of *Anguien*, ſays he (7), eldeſt Son of the Prince of *Condé*, had married Mademoiſelle *de Brezé*, the Cardinal's Niece, and his Father had been obliged to agree to that Marriage to ſecure his Life, or at leaſt his Liberty. His Son, who knew the Violence that was done him, looked upon his Marriage as Fetters that were put upon him, and, taking occaſion from thence to ſlight his Wife, he had already upbraided her with a thouſand Faults, which were but too manifeſt. She was of a noble Birth, and doubtleſs ſhe was of an ancient Family; but the Duke of *Anguien* having ſent for a Man, skilled in Genealogies, to know the Origin of it; this Man found himſelf turned ſo many ways, that, whether it was true or not, *he told him that the Houſe of Maillé*, of which ſhe was, came from a Baſtard of an Archbiſhop of *Tours*. This was enough for the Duke not only to inſult his Wife, but alſo to make poinant Jeſts upon the Cardinal; and as nothing paſſed but he was told of it; he was ſo vexed at it, that he waited only for an Occaſion to ſhew his Reſentment. An Occaſion ſoon preſented itſelf: *Boutteville* having fought a Duel, contrary to the Ordinances, and even to the particular Prohibitions that were made him, was ſo cloſely purſued, that he was arreſted before he could eſcape into *Lorrain*. The Count *Des-Chapelles*, his Couſin, who had been his Second, and who fled with him, was likewiſe taken; and as it was a Spight to the Houſe of *Condé*, to put them to death by the Hands of the common Executioner, the Cardinal did it under pretence of Juſtice, but in reality to revenge himſelf for a private Quarrel.' I have already ſaid ſeveral times, and I may perhaps have a hundred Occaſions to repeat it, that the Boldneſs of theſe Libel-makers cannot be ſufficiently wondered at; they aſſert the falſeſt things in the World for Truth, though a great many Perſons may convict them of Ignorance. It is notorious, that *Boutteville* and the Count *Des-Chapelles* were beheaded in the Month of *June* 1627, and that the Duke of *Anguien* did not marry *Clara Clementia de Maillé* 'till the Year 1641. And yet they dare ſuppoſe that the Cardinal cauſed thoſe Duellers to be put to death to be revenged for the Injuries the Duke of *Anguien* did to his Wife.

(6) Memoirs of Mr L. C. D. R.

(7) Pag. 74.

[D] *We find an extraordinary Paſſage concerning a Knight of that Family.*] Here is what I promiſed in the Remark [B]. 'Above four hundred Years ago (8), in a Combat between *Girard de Bidefort*, Grand Maſter of the Templars, and the *Saracens* (9), a young Knight of that Order, *Jakelin de Maillé*, a Native of *Touraine*, (they are his own Words (10), in white Armour, performed ſo many Wonders at the Head of a Troop, which he commanded, that thoſe Infidels believing there was ſomething divine in his Valour, took him for St *George*, honoured by the Chriſtians, and were touched with ſo much Reſpect, as to deſire him to ſurrender, promiſing to ſend him back again; but though he alone was left of all his Troop, and could not long reſiſt the Fatigue of ſo long a Fight in the midſt of ſo many dead Bodies, that lay every where round about him, it was impoſſible for them to daunt his Courage; ſo that the ſame Hiſtorian ſays, that after he had trod to duſt the ſpot of Ground which he maintained, which was in a ſtubble Field, where the Corn had newly been cut, he was at laſt over-powered by the Multitude that fell upon him, whom the Admiration of his Valour made ſo ſuperſtitious, that they gathered the Duſt that was ſprinkled with his Blood, to rub their Bodies with, thinking by that means to get ſome part of his Valour. Laſtly, there was one among the reſt, who, through a great deſire of having an Heir of that Merit, cut off that part wherewith he might raiſe one in his Wife. This cannot be explained more modeſtly; but on the other hand I could not forget ſuch a ſtrange Teſtimony of Eſteem.'

(8) *They are the Words of Mr* Le Laboureur, ubi ſupra, pag. 298. *He ſays he has this Story from a contemporary Author, printed in the Book entituled, Geſta Dei per Francos.*

(9) *He ſhould have ſaid* Turks

(10) *That is the Author quoted by Mr* Le Laboureur, *and printed in* Geſta Dei per Francos.

When one conſiders that the *Geſta Dei per Francos* is a Compilation of ſeveral Authors in two Volumes in Folio, the firſt of which contains 1206 Pages, and the ſecond 361, without any Table of the Matters contained in it, one cannot ſufficiently wonder at the Negligence of a Writer, who, under a general Quotation of the Title of the Book, alledges out of it one of the moſt ſurprizing things in the World. Ought he not to ſuppoſe that all the Readers would be deſirous to ſatisfy themſelves by conſulting the Original? He ſhould therefore have made that Enquiry eaſy to them. Muſt a Reader be obliged to turn over every Page of two great Volumes? Is not this like looking for a Needle in a Bottle of Hay? I will not be guilty of Mr *le Laboureur*'s Careleſſneſs; the more I have felt the ill Effects of it, the more I find myſelf diſpoſed to ſpare my Readers the ſame Trouble; and I ſhall not only quote the Page of *Geſta Dei per Francos*, but alſo ſet down many Words of the Original. 'Saladinus ----- Paleſtinam violenter aggreſſus Admiralium Edeſſæ Manaſaradinum cum ſeptem millibus Turcorum qui Terram Sacram depopulabantur, præmiſit. Hic autem, cum in partes Tyberiadis proceſſiſſet [ceſus] ſibi obvios magiſtrum Militiæ Templi Gerardum de Bideffordia, & magiſtrum Hoſpitalis Rogerum de Molendinis, illum quidem fugatum, iſtum vero interfectum inopino Marte confecit. In quo conflictu, cum noſtrorum pauciſſimi ab immenſo concluderentur exercitu, inſigne quiddam & memoria dignum contigit: nam quidam Templarius, Officio Miles, Natione Turonius, Nomine Jakelinus de Mailliaco, quadam virtutis in ſe omnium provocabat inſultus: cæteris autem commilitonibus ſuis, qui quingenti æſtimabantur, vel captis, vel interfectis, belli totius impetum ſolus ſuſtinuit: & pro lege DEI ſui athleta glorioſus effulſit. ----- Et quia in equo nitido & armis albicantibus tunc caſu pugnator inceſſerat, Gentiles qui Sanctum Georgium in hujuſmodi habitu militare noverant, ſe militem nitentis armaturæ, Chriſtianorum propugnatorem, interfeciſſe jactabant. Erant in loco, ubi pugnabat, ſtipulæ, quas meſſor, poſt grana paulo ante decuſſa, reliquerat inconvulſas. Turcorum autem multitudo tanta irruerat, & vix unus contra tot acies tam diu conflixit, ut campus in quo ſtabant totus reſolveretur in pulverem, nec ulla prorſus meſſis veſtigia comparerent. Fuêre, ut dicebatur, nonnulli qui corpus viri jam examinum pulvere ſuperjecto conſperſerunt; & ipſum pulverem ſuis imponentes verticibus, virtutem ex contactu hauſiſſe credebant. Quidam vero, ut fama ferebat, ardentius cæteris movebatur; & abſciſſis viri genitalibus, ea tunquam in uſum gignendi reſervare diſpoſuit, ut vel mortua membra, ſi fieri poſſet, virtutis tantæ ſuſcitarent hæredem (11). ------ Saladine ----- *attacking* Paleſtine *with great Fury, ſent before the Admiral of* Edeſſa, Manaſaradin, *with Seven thouſand* Turks, *to waſte the* Holy Land. *He being come as far as* Tiberias, *and meeting, by chance, with* Gerard de Biddeford, *Maſter of the Knights Templars, and* Roger de Molendin, *Maſter of the Hoſpital, he attacked them unexpectedly, and beat them, putting the firſt to flight, and killing the other. In which Conflict a very ſmall Number*

(11) Hiſtoria Hieroſolomytana auctoris incerti, in pag. 1151. Operis cui titulus *Geſta Dei per Francos.*

with that of *Brezé* [*E*]. But laying aſide all thoſe things, I ſhall only ſay, that the Hero, who married the Lady *Brezé*, uſed her well enough [*F*]. She on her ſide took part in her Huſband's Misfortunes. Whilſt he was in Priſon, ſhe fled with the little Duke their Son to *Bourdeaux*, whither the Duke of *Boüillon* brought her ſafe (*b*). After ſhe had left that City, ſhe was brought to the Court by the Mareſchal *da la Meilleraye*, and earneſtly begged her Huſband's Liberty (*c*). Her Conduct on that occaſion was praiſed by an Hiſtorian who is no Flatterer [*G*]. That Princeſs obtained nothing; ſhe was only permitted to go where ſhe pleaſed, and ſhe retired to *Montrund* (*d*), as ſhe had done before ſhe went to *Bourdeaux*. She returned to that City, when ſhe heard that the Prince of *Condé* was there, and ſtaid there 'till the Inhabitants ſubmitted, and the Prince retired into the *Spaniſh Netherlands* (*e*). She went to him thither, and took the Duke of *Enguien* with her (*f*), and did not return into *France* till ſhe came with him after the Peace of the *Pyrenees*. She died in the Month of *April*, 1694, at *Chateau-Roux* in *Berry*, whither ſhe had retired after a very ſtrange Accident that happened to her, about the

(*b*) Priolus, lib. v, cap. xiv.

(*c*) Id. ibid. *See al's the end of the Remark* [*G*], *Citation* (20).

(*d*) *It coast a Forteresse in the* Bourbonnais, *which has been dismantled.*

(*e*) Priolus, lib. vi, cap. xxxvi.

(*f*) Condæa cum Enguiano in Belgium ad maritum, Mecœnia Manſio fuit fœminæ principi. *Id. lib.* ix, *cap.* vii.

' *of our Men being beſet by a large Army, a very* ' *notable and memorable thing happened: a certain* ' *Templar from* Tourain, *named* Jaqueline de ' Maillé, *by his peculiar Valour provoked the At-* ' *tacks of every one againſt himſelf: and when all* ' *the reſt of his Companions, who were about five* ' *hundred, were either taken or killed, he alone* ' *ſuſtained the brunt of the whole Fight; and approved* ' *himſelf a glorious Champion for the Law of his* ' GOD. - - - - *And becauſe the Warrior by chance* ' *at that time fought on a white Horſe, and in white* ' *Armour, the Infidels, who knew that* St George ' *uſed to fight in that manner, boaſted that they* ' *had killed the Knight of the white Armour, the* ' *Champion of the Chriſtians. There was, in the* ' *Place where they fought, Stubble, which, the Corn* ' *being but newly reaped, was laſt ungathered.* ' *And ſo great a Multitude of* Turks *fell upon* ' *him, and he alone fought ſo long againſt ſo great* ' *an Army, that all the Field where they ſtood was* ' *trod to duſt, and not the leaſt appearance of the* ' *Stubble remained. There were ſome as it was* ' *ſaid, who ſprinkled the dead Body with Duſt, and* ' *afterwards put the ſame Duſt on their Heads,* ' *imagining they had received ſome Virtue by touch-* ' *ing him. But one, as it was reported, was* ' *more earneſt than the reſt; and cuting off the* ' *Man's Genitals kept them as it were for Pro-* ' *creation, that the very dead Members, if poſſible,* ' *might raiſe him an Heir of ſo great Valour.*' This happened in the year 1177.

[*E*] *Some able Hiſtorians have confounded the Houſe of* Maillé Brezé *with that of* Brezé.] When *Varillas* ſpeaks of the Cardinal of *Lorrain*'s Deſign to marry his elder Brother to one of the Daughters of the Ducheſs of *Valentinois*, he adds this Reflexion: ' That Match was only unequal ' ſuppoſing the Cuſtom of the Princes of *Lorrain*, ' who married none but Princeſſes; for the Houſe ' of *Maillé*, whereof that of *Brezé* was a Branch, ' was accounted, without any Contradiction, one ' of the nobleſt and moſt ancient Houſes of ' *France*; and it was well known, that beſides ' the famous *Jaqueline de Maillé*, ſo much cele- ' brated in the Hiſtory of the *Levant*; it had af- ' forded ſome Governors of Provinces from the ' time of St *Lewis* (12).' The Author of the Life of Admiral *de Coligni* (13) has taken notice of that Fault. ' Mademoiſelle *de Brezé*, ſays ' *he* (14), was the Daughter of Mr *de Brezé Mau-* ' *levrier*, Seneſchal of *Normandy*, and of *Diana* ' of *Poitiers*. She was of an illuſtrious Family ' among the Nobility; and though ſhe was not of ' that which Mr *de Varillas* mentions, yet ſhe had ' ſome Perſons among her Anceſtors who had been ' Governors of Provinces for above three hundred ' Years. Her Coat of Arms was alſo very diffe- ' rent from that of the other *Brezés*, whoſe Sir- ' name is *Maillé*, whereas her's was *Brezé*. But ' what deceived Mr *de Varillas* is, that there is ' none left of that Family; and he thought, as ' well as *Mezerai*, who ſays the ſame thing, that ' it was the ſame as that of the *Maillé Brezés*.' *Varillas* made a public Confeſſion of his Fault, wherein he has committed three or four other Miſtakes. Theſe are his Words: ' I ingenuouſly con- ' feſs, that I believed, on the Credit of a Genealogy ' which I ſaw thirty Years ago in the Houſe of ' *Garmen*, that *Peter de Brezé*, Great Seneſchal ' of *Normandy*, came from the Houſe of *Maillé*; ' but I have found out ſince, that this *Brezé*, ' Husband of *Diana* of *Poitiers*, who was after- ' wards Ducheſs of *Valentinois*, was of the ancient ' Houſe of *Brezé* in *Normandy*, and that it was ' only for want of Male Iſſue from him, that the ' Heireſs of that Family of *Brezé* brought the ' Name of it into the ſecond Houſe of *Brezé*, a ' younger Branch of that of *Maillé*, which ſub- ' ſiſts no more but in the Perſon of the Princeſs ' Dowager of *Condé* (15).' I. The Husband of *Diana* of *Poitiers* was called *Lewis de Brezé*, and not *Peter de Brezé*. II. The Houſe of *Brezé* was not of *Normandy*, but of *Anjou*. III. It was not for want of Male Iſſue from the Husband of *Diana* of *Poitiers*, that the Heireſs of that Houſe brought the Name of it into the ſecond Houſe of *Brezé*, a younger Branch of that of *Maillé*. Mr *le Laboureur* ſays, *That* Pean de Maillé, *who lived above three hundred Years ago, married the Heireſs of the eldeſt Branch of the Houſe of* Brezé *in* Anjou (16). Mr *Varillas* himſelf tells us (17), that the whole Succeſſion of the Wife of the Seneſchal of *Normandy* was ſhared between her two Sons in-law, who were the Duke of *Bouillon* and the Duke of *Aumale*. IV. Laſtly, The Branch of *Maillé Brezé* was not reduced to the only Dowager of *Condé*; for Mr *le Laboureur* ſpeaks (18) of the Marquis *de Benehart*, who had two Brothers and two Siſters, and who deſcended from that Branch.

(15) Varillas, *in the Preface to* The Hiſtory of *Hen.* II.

(16) Le Laboureur's Additions to *Gaſtelnau*, Tom. II, pag. 299.

(17) Hiſt. de Hen. II, lib. I, pag. 37.

(18) Pag 300.

[*F*] *Her Husband uſed her well enough.*] I have read a thing in *Morigni*'s Letters that may do Honour to the Prince of *Condé*'s Memory. The Title of that Letter is, *A New-Years-Gift to the Duke of* Enguien; it was written from *Franefort*, in 1658. *Morigni* relates, That in a dangerous fit of Sickneſs, which the Prince of *Condé* had lately had, ' he had expreſſed his Zeal for Religion, his Sub- ' miſſion to Providence, and his Satisfaction to ' have the Internuncio for a Witneſs of his Reſpect ' for the Head of the Church, and of the Hu- ' mility wherewith he adored the Myſteries of it; ' and that he had given ſincere Marks of Co- ' JUGAL Love, of fatherly Tenderneſs, of ' Cordiality for his Friends, and of Kindneſs to all ' his Servants and Domeſtics; which were ſo many ' Chriſtian and Moral Battles, wherein he had tri- ' umphed over the blackeſt Calumny of his Enemies.'

[*G*] *Her Conduct - - - - - was praiſed by an Hiſtorian who is no Flatterer.*] Theſe are *Priolo*'s Words: ' Condæana ad Regis & Reginæ conſpe- ' ctum admiſſa ſine ulla vultatis ſuſpicione inno- ' centiam ſuam tacita exprobratione ingeſſit. nullius ' tamen demiſſionis verba protulit, ſed ſuppliciter ' triſtis tanta modeſtia ſermonem commendavit, & ' tam concinne mœrens viſa, ut in eoſdem cum ' illa affectus ſentirent ſe omnes mutari (19). - - - - ' *The Princeſs of* Condé, *admitted into the Preſence* ' *of the King and Queen, without the leaſt Token* ' *of Meanneſs, tacitly upbraided them with her In-* ' *nocence; but uttered not one Word below her Cha-* ' *racter, but, ſupplicantly ſorrowful, ſhe managed* ' *her Diſcourſe with ſuch Modeſty, and ſo handſome-* ' *ly bemoaned what ſhe had ſeen, that ſhe infuſed* ' *the ſame Affection into all the by-Standers.* ' Nihil promiſſum de viri liberatione quam tam ar- ' denter genibus advoluta Regis & Reginæ poſtu- ' lavit, ſed data copia eundi quo vellet & rece- ' dendi. Repente, relicta aula, per Andegavenſes & ' Turones

(19) Priolus, lib. v, cap. 27.

(12) Hiſtoire de *Hen. II. Book* i, *pag.* 45. *Edit.* Holl.

(13) *Printed at the* Hague, *in* 1686.

(14) Pag. 86.

the latter end of the Year 1670. One of her Domeſtics was ſo mad as to draw his Sword upon her, and to give her a thruſt with it. He made his eſcape, but was taken up a little while after. It is ſaid, that That Princeſs, ſo far from deſiring that he ſhould be put to death, begged his Life, out of a ſenſe of Humanity and Meekneſs. This Adventure occaſioned many Reflexions [*H*], which was unavoidable in a City ſo full of Noveliſts as *Paris* is; I mean your Political Praters, and who pretend to gueſs right.

' Turones Montem-Rotundum petiit ubi mariti in ' libertatem aſſerti inculpata vitæ norma mandata ex- ' pectavit (20). - - - - - - *Nothing was promiſed her* ' *concerning the Releaſe of her Husband, which ſhe* ' *ſo earneſtly begged on her Knees, at the Feet of* ' *the King and Queen; but leave was given her* ' *to go and retire wherever ſhe would. Immediate-* ' *ly ſhe left the Court, and going through* Anjou ' *and* Touraine, *retired to* Montrond, *where ſhe* ' *waited the Commands of her Husband, when* ' *he ſhould be ſet at Liberty, leading a blameleſs* ' *Life.*'

(20) Id. lib. v, cap. 14.

[*H*] *One of her Domeſtics - - - - did ſtrike her with his Sword - - - - this Adventure occaſioned many Reflexions.* I have juſt now read ſome Circumſtances of that Action, and of it's Conſequences, in Mr *Patin*. ' Three Weeks ago, *ſays he* (21), ' a Man, who had been one of the Prince's Foot- ' men, came into the Place of *Condé*, and drew ' his Sword upon the Princeſs, whom he found ' at Advantage, and run it into her Body, but ' the Wound is not mortal. It is thought he had ' a mind to rob her, but he fled, and is not taken. ' All the Devils are not in Hell, nor all the Mad- ' men in *Bedlam*; many People are weary of their ' Life. At laſt he is taken, and his Name is *du* ' *Val*; he asked her for ſome Money which he ' pretended was due to him. He is going to be ' tried. This matter is variouſly whiſpered. - - - - ' The Footman *du Val*, who wounded the Prin- ' ceſs, is condemned to the Gallies, and chained ' with the reſt; but they are not yet gone, for he ' is ſtill at *Paris*. As for her, it is ſaid ſhe will ' ſoon be carried to *Chateau roux* in *Berri*, by ' the King's Command, and her Husband's Order. ' The Secret of it is not known (22).' The Prince of *Condé* a little while before he died ' wrote a ' whole Page with his own Hand, and having ' cauſed the Ducheſs of *Enguien* and *Gourville* to ' read it, he ordered it to be ſealed, and given ' to the Duke his Son after his Death. The Prince ' ſpoke in that Writing of his Wife the Princeſs ' of *Condé*, and even deſired the King to take ' care of that Princeſs, and to preſcribe her the ' manner how ſhe ought to behave herſelf (23).'

(21) Patin's *Letter is dated* January 14, 1671. *It is the* 531*ſt.*

(22) Patin, ibid. *Letter* 532, *page* 585.

(23) Hiſtoire du Prince de *Condé*, liv. v, pag. 575.

BRISEÏS, a Concubine of *Achilles*, was accidentally the cauſe of a thouſand Diſorders in the *Grecian* Army at the Siege of *Troy* [*A*]. Her right Name was *Hippodamia* (*a*); that of *Briſeïs* is one of thoſe Names which the Grammarians call *Patronymical* (*b*). She fell into the Hands of *Achilles* when that Hero had taken *Lyrneſſus*, and killed her Huſband *Mynes*, who was King of that Place. *This is Homer's* Opinion, which ſome Authors do not follow [*B*]. *Achilles* had that Prince's Widow for his ſhare of the Booty, and loved her very tenderly (*c*). She hoped he would take her with him into *Theſſaly* to marry her [*C*]. When *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* were reconciled, the firſt made many Preſents to the other, and returned him

(*a*) Euſtathius & Scholiaſtes Homeri in Iliad. lib. i. Dict. Cretenſ. lib. ii.

(*b*) *That is, formed out of the Father's Name.* Briſeïs's *Father is called* Briſeus *by* Homer, Il. lib. i, ver. 392, lib. ix, ver. 132, 276, *and* Briſes *by* Dictys Cretenſis, lib. ii.

(*c*) *See the Remarks* [*E*], *and* [*F*].

[*A*] *She was accidentally the Cauſe of a thouſand Diſorders in the* Grecian *Army at the Siege of* Troy.] This is the Chain of all thoſe Events. In a Council of War *Achilles* was of opinion that *Chryſeïs*, the Concubine of *Agamemnon*, ſhould be returned to her Father: After a great deal of abuſive Language on both ſides, *Agamemnon* was forced to yield to that Advice; but to make himſelf amends he, ſeized on *Briſeïs* (1). *Achilles* being provoked with this Affront, laid down, his Arms, and from that time the *Trojans* obtained ſeveral Advantages, which put the Army of the *Greeks* in an ill Condition (2).

(1) Hom. Il. i. d.

(2) Id. tota fere Iliade.

[*B*] *She fell into the Hands of* Achilles —— *at the taking of* Lyrneſſus. *This is* Homer's *Opinion, which ſome Authors do not follow.*] He ſays in the ſecond and nineteenth Book of the *Iliad*, that *Achilles* took *Briſeïs* in the City of *Lyrneſſus*; and it is eaſy to conclude from thoſe two Paſſages, that *Mynes*, who reigned, and was killed there, was *Briſeïs*'s Huſband. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer* (3) and *Euſtathius* ſays ſo in expreſs Words. *Dictys Cretenſis* is of another Opinion; he ſays that *Eetion* (4) was King of *Lyrneſſus*, and Huſband of *Aſtynome*, the Daughter of *Chryſes*, when *Achilles* took that Town (5). He adds, that, after that Conqueſt, *Achilles* went ſpeedily to attack *Pedaſus*, a Town of the *Leleges*, where reigned *Briſes*, whoſe Daughter, *Hippodamia*, was taken. *Cedrenus* follows the Opinion of *Dictys Cretenſis* (6). We muſt remember, that *Briſeïs* and *Hippodamia* are one and the ſame Perſon here. However it be, *Moreri* is greatly miſtaken in ſaying, that *Briſeïs* was a *Trojan* Lady.

(3) *In* Iliad. II, ver. 199.

(4) Meziriac *on* Ovid's Epiſtles, pag. 255, *conjectures that it ought to be read* Eetion.

(5) Dict. Cret. lib. 2, pag. 172.

(6) *See how* Meziriac, ibid. pag. 256, *corrects* Cedrenus's Text.

[*C*] *She hoped* Achilles *would take her with him —— to marry her.*] It was *Patroclus* who inſpired her with ſuch hopes, and perhaps he did it only to ſoften her Grief for the Death of her Husband and of her Brothers, and for the Ruin of her Country. However it be, the Remembrance of thoſe hopes melted *Briſeïs* into Tears, when, at her Return to *Achilles*, ſhe ſaw the dead Body of *Patroclus*.

Οὐδέ μὲν οὐδ' ἐμὲ ἔασκες, ἐτ' ὤφρ' ἐμὸν ἀκὺς Ἀχιλλεὺς
Ἕκτορι δῖον ἄκοιτιν ἐπὶ πτόλιν ἠΰκομόων
Κλείσειν, ἀλλ' ἐμ' ἔφασκες Ἀχιλλῆϊ θείοιο,
Κνημίδων ἄλοχον ἠδὲ, ἐξέμεν τ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν
Ἐς Φθίην, δαῖσαι δὲ γάμον μετὰ Μυρμιδόνεσσι.
Τῷ σ' ἐλεεῖον κλαίω τειθηπέα μείλιχον αἰεί.

Minime tamen, minime ſinebas me, cum vicem velox Achilles
Interfecit, evertitque urbem divini Mynetis,
Flere, ſed me dicebas Achillis divini
Charam uxorem *te* futuram eſſe, ductumque in navibus
Ad Phthiam, celebraturumque nuptias inter Myrmidones,
Ideo te infatiabiliter deſideo mortuum, ſuavem ſemper (7).

(7) Homer, Iliad. lib. ix, ver. 295.

Thy friendly hand uprear'd me from the Plain,
And dry'd my Sorrows for a Husband ſlain.
Achilles' *Care you promiſed I ſhould prove,*
The firſt, the deareſt, Part'ner of his Love:
That Rites Divine ſhould ratify the Band,
And make me Empreſs in his Native Land;
Accept theſe grateful Tears, for thee they flow,
For thee, that ever felt another's Woe.

POPE.

[*D*] *When*

him *Breſeïs*, and ſwore ſolemnly that he had not touched her [*D*]. If it be not falſe that he foreſwore himſelf, it is at leaſt very likely. I do not know what became of that Woman after *Achilles* was killed. *Horace* argued wrong, when he alledged *Achilles*'s Example, to prove that a Man ought not to be aſhamed of loving his Servant-Maid. Mr *Menage*'s Criticiſm upon this is very well grounded [*E*].

Dares

[*D*] *When* Agamemnon —— *reſtored her to* Achilles, *he ſwore ſolemnly, that he had not touched her.*] I ſwear, ſaid he, by the great God *Jupiter*, by the Earth, by the Sun, and by the Infernal Furies, who puniſh Perjuries, that I never laid my Hands on her, either to enjoy her, or on any other Account.

Μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ κούρῃ Βρισηΐδι χεῖρ' ἐπανεῖκα
Εὐνῆς οὐνεκα πρόφασιν κεχρημένος ὅτι τευ ἄλλα,
Ἀλλ' ἔμεν, ἀπρολίμας ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ἐμῇσιν.

Me non puellæ Briſeïdi manum intuliſſe,
Neque concubitus cauſa egentem, neque alicujus alterius *rei*,
Sed manſiſſe intactam in tentoriis meis (8).

The black ey'd Maid inviolate removes,
Pure and unconſcious of my manly Loves.

POPE.

(8) Id. ibid. ver. 261.

Ovid brings in *Briſeïs* ſwearing, that ſhe lived like a chaſt Widow in *Agamemnon*'s Tent, whilſt *Achilles* comforted himſelf in the Arms of another Miſtreſs for the loſs of *Briſeïs*.

Nulla Mycenæum ſociaſſe cubilia mecum
Juro: fallentem deſeruiſſe velis.
Si tibi nunc dicam; Fortiſſime, tu quoque jura
Nulla tibi ſine me gaudia facta, neges (9).

(9) Ovidius in Epiſt. Briſ. ad Achill. ver. 109.

. . . . . *I ſwear,*
And laſt of all, by thine own Head, and mine,
Whom Love, tho' parted now, did ſometimes join,
That I preſerve my Faith intire and chaſt;
That I no foreign Love or Pleaſure Taſte:
That no Aſperſion can my Honour touch:
O that Achilles *too could ſay as much!*

CARYL.

Ovid did not believe that Oath of *Briſeïs*; for he alledges *Agamemnon* as an Example of one of his Remedies for Love. That Remedy conſiſts in driving away one Paſſion by another, in applying one's ſelf to *Briſeïs*, as *Agamemnon* did, in order to forget *Chryſeïs*. *What would it avail me to be a King, if I did not lie with this Woman? I had as good yield my Royalty to the vileſt Fellow.*

Nam ſi rex ego ſum, nec mecum dormiet illa,
In mea Theſſales regna licebit eat.
Dixit, & hanc habuit ſolatia magna prioris.
Et prior eſt curâ cura repulſa novâ (10).

(10) Ovid. de remed. Amor. ver. 43.

This is what *Ovid* makes *Agamemnon* ſay; after which he affirms, that *Briſeïs* ſucceeded with that Prince in the Function of *Chryſeïs*. *Agamemnon*'s Temper renders the thing very likely. He was a very laſcivious Man; for, whilſt the Fleet lay at Anchor for a fair Wind, 'He ran all over *Bœotia* after 'a pretty Youth whoſe Name was *Argynnus*, whom 'he purſued diſhoneſtly; till at laſt, not being able to 'prevail, he bathed himſelf in the Lake *Copais* 'to extinguiſh his Heat (11).' With what Suddenneſs and Fury did he fall in Love with *Caſſandra*, the Daughter of *Priamus*, in the Temple of *Minerva* (12)? His Oath did not perſuade *Achilles*. See one of *Libanius*'s Speeches, wherein *Achilles* ſays to *Ulyſſes*, 'He ſwears that he has not touched *Briſeïs*; be it ſo. But will any Body believe it? 'The Shame of it will therefore ſtick to me in 'every Body's Opinion; and to tell you in one 'word what I think, I give no Credit to *Agamemnon*'s Oath. Καὶ τῶν ὁμεῖται μὲν Ἀγαμέμνων. δεδόσθω δὲ ὡς ἀληθῶς. πείσει δὲ ἄρα. μένει δὲ τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης. ὅλως δὲ, ἐδαμόθεν ἡ πίστις αὖς ὁμνύει.

(11) Vigenere on Philoſtratus, *in the Picture of Ajax the Locrian.* Ex Plutarcho, de ratiocinio beſtiarum.

(12) Id. ibid.

[*E*] Horace —— *alledged* Achilles's *Love to* Briſeïs —— *to prove* —— *that a Man might love his Servant. Mr* Menage's *Criticiſm upon this is very well grounded.*] Theſe are his Words; 'I had 'deſigned to make an Ode on *William Colletet*'s 'loving Servant-Maids, in Imitation of *Horace*, who 'made one upon one of his Friends, who had the 'ſame Paſſion; but I have not done it. Examining 'that of *Horace*, I found it was all wrong. He 'praiſes his Friend for imitating the Ancients, who 'had alſo loved and married their Servant-Maids. 'He quotes *Achilles* for an Example, who mar-'ried *Briſeïs*; but *Briſeïs* was no Servant, ſhe 'was a Slave who was a Queen, and had been 'taken by the Right of Arms (13).' This Thought of *Horace* is very odd, and contains a pitiful Argument (14). *Achilles* was not aſhamed to love a Queen, whom the Chance of Arms put into his Hands; *Agamemnon* did not bluſh in the midſt of his Triumph to love the Daughter of King *Priamus*; therefore you need not bluſh to love a Slave you have bought. I own that he endeavours to mend the Matter a little, by ſuppoſing it was likely his Friend's Maid might be of a good Family, conſidering the good Qualities wherewith ſhe was endowed; but this does not repair the Fault. We ſhould now-a-days call a Man fool and extravagant, if he encouraged his Friend to love a Servant-Maid, under pretence that ſome Generals of Armies, who had taken a Count, or a Prince of the Empire, Priſoner, with his Wife and Daughters, would make no difficulty to entertain their ſhe Priſoners with amorous Addreſſes, and to marry them. I know very well, that Men do not judge of the ſame Things alike in all Ages, and that I ought not to inſiſt upon my Parallel without any Reſtriction; but *Horace*'s Argument will never be juſtified, and at the worſt it will appear, that, in *Homer*'s Time, the Ideas of Reaſon were ſtill very much confuſed, ſince *Achilles* expreſſes himſelf thus in the *Iliad*: *I loved* Briſeïs *with all my Heart, though the Force of Arms made her fall into my Hands.*

(13) Menagiana, pag. 258, *of the firſt Edition of* Holland.

. . . . . ὃς καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν.
Ἐκ θυμῷ φίλον ἀεργυπλήν περ ἐοῦσαν.

. . . . . ut & ego hanc
Ex animo amabam, armis captam licet exiſtentem (15).

(14) Horat. lib. ix, ver. 342, 343.

Slave as ſhe was my Soul ador'd the Dame.

POPE.

If *Alexander* had argued thus in Relation to *Darius*'s Wife and Daughters, would it not have been ſaid, that he did not know what he ſaid? Perhaps I venture a little too much, ſince we read, in *Quintius Curtius*, that this Conqueror juſtified his Marriage with *Roxana*, by this Reaſon, that *Achilles* did not ſcorn to lie with a Priſoner. *Achillem quoque quo genus ipſe deduceret cum captiva coiſſe* (16). *Ovid* makes uſe of the ſame Argument as *Horace*, to juſtify the Trade he drove with the Maid of his *Corinna*. He was not contented with the Miſtreſs's Favours; he went as heartily to work with the Chamber-Maid, proteſting, nevertheleſs, when *Corinna* complained to him about it, that a Man muſt have loſt his Judgment, to mind Servant-Maids.

(15) Homer Iliad. ix, ver. 342, 343.

(16) Q. Curtius lib viii, cap iv, n. 25.

Quid quod in ancilla ſi quis delinquere poſſet,
Illum ego contendi mente carere bona?
Theſſalus ancillæ facie Briſeïdos arſit:
Serva Mycenæo Phœbas amata duci.
Non ego Tantalide major, nec major Achille:
Quod decuit reges cur mihi turpe putem (17)?

(17) Ovid. Amor. lib. ii, Eleg. viii, ver. 9.

What

Dares Phrygius represented *Briſeïs* as a charming Woman [*F*]. He ſays her Eyebrows joined each other, which would not paſs in our Age for a Beauty. *Du Soubait*, in his Tranſlation of the *Iliad* (*d*), very ridiculouſly calls *Briſeïs* a Virgin [*G*], when ſhe was taken from *Achilles*'s Tent, and brought to that of *Agamemnon*.

(*d*) *Printed at* Paris *in* 1620, *in* 8vo.

What though I call it a diſgrace to prove
Stoln Sweets, or make a Chamber-Maid my Love;
Achilles *wanton'd in* Briſeïs *Arms,*
Atrides *bow'd to fair* Caſſandra's *Charms:*
Since I am loſt than theſe, then what can bring
Diſgrace to me, that ſo became a King?
CREECH.

Pheroras, *Herod*'s Brother, was ſo paſſionately in love with a Servant-Maid, that he choſe rather to perſiſt in that mean Amour, than to marry *Herod*'s Daughter. *Pheroras impuros ancillæ complexus Herodis filiæ impollato cubili prætulit* (18). If ever any Body makes the Catalogue mentioned by Mr *Menage* (19), he will do well to enlarge it with thoſe who have imitated *Pheroras*.

(18) Joſeph. Antiq. ſud lib. xvi, cap. xi, pag. 564. apud Drelincourt. Indic. Achill. pag. 62. *Edit.* 2.

I muſt ſay ſomething, by the by, of Mr *Dacier*'s Remark on theſe Words of *Horace*,

(19) Menagiana, pag. 253, *of Edit.* 1. *of* Holl.

Hunc amor, ira quidem communiter urit utrumque (20).

(20) Horat. Epiſt. ii. lib. i. ver. 13.

One robb'd of what he eagerly deſir'd,
Was rais'd by Love; but both by Fury fir'd:

Here is a Judgment of *Horace* that is very remarkable, ſays Mr *Dacier* (21). Speaking of *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*, he ſays, 'that Love burns the latter, 'and that both are equally inflamed with Anger, 'Achilles is not therefore in Love; which is true. 'Homer, who was thoroughly acquainted with the 'Paſſions, did very well ſee that Love could not [illegible] cites two Paſſages of *Homer*, which make him conclude, 'That *Achilles* is only ſenſible of the 'Affront put upon him, by taking a Prize from 'him, wherewith his Valour had been honoured; 'Love has no ſhare in his Complaints. It is not 'ſo with *Agamemnon*; he loved *Briſeïs*: he expreſſes his Paſſion thus.' Mr *Dacier* quotes here ſome Verſes of the *Iliad* which concern *Chryſeis*, and not *Briſeïs*, and then he adds. 'It was very im'portant to diſtinguiſh thoſe two Characters of 'Achilles and *Agamemnon*: For many have been 'miſtaken about it, thinking that *Homer* had made 'Achilles in love with *Briſeïs*. *Horace* took care 'not to commit that Fault.' It would be difficult to reconcile this with the Verſes of the ninth Book of the *Iliad*, which I have quoted above (22). See alſo *Plutarch*, who affirms, that *Achilles* was in love with *Briſeïs* (23), and therefore it muſt be ſaid, that when *Propertius* obſerved that *Achilles* ſuffered many Things for the Love of the fair *Briſeïs*, *Omnia formoſam propter Briſeïda paſſus* (24), he did not make uſe of the Privilege of Poems of Gallantry, wherein Love is brought in as the Cauſe of all; he went upon the Notion of *Homer*, who grounds *Achilles*'s Anger on taking away from him an Object that was dear to him (25). All the other Poets went upon the ſame Notion: ſee the *Index Achilleus*, Article 184, 185.

(21) *In the* 8th *Vol. of his* Remarks *on Horace*, pag. 147. *Edit.* Holl.

(22) *Citat.* 15.

(23) Ὅτι τῆς Βρισηΐδος ἐρᾶν. *Plut. de audend. Poetis, pag.* 33.

[*F*] Dares Phrygius *repreſents* Briſeïs *as a charming Woman.*] He ſays, ſhe was very handſome, fair, of a middle Size, and of a ſtrait Shape; that ſhe had fine Eyes, the Eyebrows joined, a ſweet, modeſt, and mild (26) Humour, without any Art: *Briſeïdam formoſam, nec alta ſtatura, candidam, capillo flavo & molli, ſuperciliis junctis* (27), *oculis venuſtis, corpore æquali, blandam, verecundam, animo ſimplici, & piam.* All the Authors, who have ſpoke of her, make her very handſome: ſee the *Index Achilleus*, Article 305.

(24) Propert. lib. ii. Eleg. viii.

(25) Iliad, lib. ix. ver. 342.

(26) *The* Latin *Word may ſignify* devout.

(27) *See concerning thoſe kind of Eye brows, the Authors quoted in the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *Novemb.* 1684. *Artic.* viii.

[*G*] Du Souhait —— *very ridiculouſly calls* Briſeïs *a Virgin.*] He renders theſe Words of the firſt Book of the *Iliad*. Πατρόκλῳ ἄξαγε κούρην (28), thus, *Patroclus brings him the Virgin.* See alſo his Tranſlation of the 345th and 346th Verſes of the ſame Book. *Patroclus*, ſays he, *in Obedience to his Friend delivered the Virgin.* He repeats the ſame Word in other Places. This is altogether impertinent: There is no Conſequence to be drawn from one Language to other Languages; and therefore under pretence that the *Greeks* might give a Woman the Name of κόρη, which was chiefly deſigned to ſignify a *Maid*; it does not follow, that in *French* thoſe that have been married, or Concubines, may be called, *pucelles, filles, vierges*, (*Maids or Virgins*). That a Tranſlator could not be ignorant, that *Briſeïs* had loſt her Husband at the taking of *Lyrneſſus* (29), and that ſhe had lain a long time with *Achilles*. The *Latins* were as free as the *Greeks* in the uſe of the ſame Words to ſignify a Maid, and a Woman; they called thoſe *Puellas & Virgines* who had had Children, or who had a Husband. Dr *Drelincourt* has produced a great many Examples of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in the 370th Article of the ſecond Edition of his *Index Achilleus* (30). He has acquainted me with the Miſtake of the Sieur *du Soubait*. He does not mention it in his Book, as he mentions that of *Dauſquejus*. 'Quam (Briſeïda) Dauſquejus oſcitanter cum Chry'ſeïde confundit, *Not. ad Sil. Ital.* lib. xv. pag. 656. (31). —— *Whom* (Briſeïs) Dauſquejus *care'leſly confounds with* Chryſeïs.' Theſe are *Dauſquejus*'s Words, 'Agamemnon in Achillem fuit in'jurius abrepta Chryſeïde ejus captiva. —— Aga'memnon *did wrong to* Achilles *in taking away his* 'Priſoner Chryſeïs.

(28) Homer, Iliad. lib. i. ver. 337.

(29) Homer *ſays ſo in expreſs words*, Iliad. lib. xix. ver. 291.

(30) *See concerning the firſt Edition of that Work*, Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans, *Janv.* 1693, *pag.* 511, *and the* Dutch *Journal intitled* Boekzaal van Europe, *September* 1693, pag. 286; *concerning the ſecond ſee the Journal of Mr* Chauvin, *intitled* Nouveau Journal des Sçavans dreſſé a Rotterdam par les Sieur C°°°, July *and* Auguſt, 1694, pag. 438; *and concerning the third, the* Journal des Sçavans *of* Jan. 6. 1698, pag. 8.

(31) Drelincourt. in Indice Achilleo. n. 184. pag. 63. *Edit.* 2.

BRISSOT (PETER), one of the moſt able Phyſicians of the XVIth Century, was the Son of an Advocate of great Repute, and was born at *Fontenai-le-Comte*, in *Poitou*, in the Year 1478. About the Year 1495, he was ſent to *Paris*, where he went through a Courſe of Philoſophy under *Villemor*, one of the moſt famous Profeſſors of thoſe times. It was by the Advice of that Profeſſor that he reſolved to be a Phyſician: He ſtudied Phyſic there four Years, and then began to teach Philoſophy in the Univerſity of *Paris* (*a*). After he had done it for the ſpace of ten Years, he left it off to prepare himſelf for the Examinations, which he was to undergo at *Paris*, before he could be admitted Doctor of Phyſic. He began to prepare himſelf for it in 1512, and took his Doctor's Degree the Twenty ſeventh of *May*, 1514. Being one of thoſe Men, that are not contented with Cuſtom and Tradition, but will examine Matters carefully, he made an exact Compariſon between the Practice of thoſe Times, and the Doctrine of *Hippocrates* and *Galen*; and he found that the *Arabians* had introduced many things into the Practice of Phyſic, that were contrary to the ancient and true Method of curing Diſeaſes, and to the Doctrine of thoſe two great Maſters, as alſo to the Knowledge that Reaſon and Experience might furniſh. He therefore went about to reform Phyſic, I mean to re-eſtabliſh the Precepts of *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, and to explode the Doctrines of the *Arabians*. It was almoſt impoſſible, at that time, to imagine another Reformation. Firſt of all, he undertook publickly to explain

(*a*) *In* 1502.

Galen's

Galen's Books, instead of those of *Avicenna*, *Rhasis*, and *Mesuë*, that were commonly explained in the Schools of Physic. He caused one of *Galen*'s Works to be printed at his own Charge (*b*), according to the Edition and Translation of *Leonicenes*, and explained it so learnedly, that he made it appear, that the *Arabian* Physicians understood nothing of it. Then he proceeded to the Explication of another Piece of *Galen* (*c*), and to that of *John Mesuë* (*d*). He mistrusted this last Explication, either because he was ignorant of Botanics, or by reason of that Physician's Obscurity. He resolved therefore to travel, in order to acquire the knowledge of Plants, and put himself in a capacity of reforming Pharmacy. But, before he left the City of *Paris*, he made the Public sensible of an inveterate Error. The constant Practice of Physicians, in the Pleurisy, was to bleed, not on the side where the Distemper was, but on the opposite Side; I mean, that, if the Pleurisy was on the left Side, they let Blood in the right Arm, and *vice versa*. *Brissot* had a Disputation about it in the Schools of Physic, confuted that Practice, and shewed that it was falsely pretended to be consonant to the Doctrine of *Hippocrates*, and *Galen*. Moreover, he made use of a quite contrary Practice, the Success whereof proved wonderful, and by that means he suppressed that Abuse. *Brissot* being fully resolved to travel, even as far as the new World, if there was occasion, left *Paris* in the Year 1518, and went into *Portugal*. He stopped there in the City of *Ebora*, where he practised Physic. His new way of bleeding in the Pleurisy did not please every body; but he justified it by a learned Apology, which he wrote in answer to a long and disobliging Letter he had received from a Physician (*e*). He would have published that Apology, if Death had not prevented it, in the Year 1522 [*A*]. His Friend *Antony Luceus* (*f*) caused it to be printed three Years after at *Paris*. It was re-printed at *Basil* in the Year 1529. *Renatus Moreau* published a new Edition of it at *Paris*, in the Year 1622, with a Treatise of his own, *De missione sanguinis in Pleuritide*, and the Life of *Brissot*, out of which I have taken this Article. The Endeavours that were used to suppress the Practice, which this *French* Physician endeavoured to introduce in *Portugal*, deserve a Reflexion [*B*]. *Brissot* composed some other Books, but the Manuscripts were lost. He would never marry, being of opinion, that Marriage did not well agree with the Muses (*g*). He cared so little for Gain, that it is said, that, when he was called to any sick Person, he looked into his Purse, and, if he found but two Testoons in it, he refused the Practice. He loved his study so well, that it was difficult to take him from it (*b*).

(*b*) Opus θεραπείας ad Glauconem.

(*c*) Viz. περὶ τῆς τέχνης ἰατρικῆς.

(*d*) *He explained it in private*, [privatim], *to the Apothecaries.*

(*e*) *His Name was* Denys, *and he was Physician to the King of* Portugal.

(*f*) *A Native of* Ebora.

(*g*) Cœlebs vixit connubii tædia vitans, quocum & Musis perpetuum dissidium interesse dictitabat. *Ren. Moreau in ejus vita.*

(*b*) Laboris tam patiens, studii tam avidus, ut libris tanquam suis Polypus adhæreret. *Id. ibid.*

[*A*] *His Death prevented it in the Year* 1522.] *Merklinus* is therefore in the wrong, to say that he flourished under *Clement* VII (1); for that Pope was not elected before 1523. The Author, whom I censure here, has forgot the first Edition of *Brissot*'s Apology. It is that of *Paris*, printed for *Simon Colinet*, in 1525, instead of which he mentions one in the Year 1538, printed for the same, and at the same Place, and altogether unknown to the curious *Renatus Moreau*; which might in some manner make it suspected of Falsity.

(1) Merklinus in Linden. renov. ex Justo in Chronol. Medicorum.

(2) *Moreau* says, that Town belonged to the *Portuguese* at that time. He is mistaken, and I believe that University was pitched upon only for it's great Reputation, there being yet no University in *Portugal*. Mr *Baudrand* informs me, that this Fault of *Moreau* is very gross, and that *Salamanca* never belonged to the Kings of *Portugal*, having been always of the Kingdom of *Leon*, ever since the expulsion of the *Moors* from those parts.

[*B*] *The Endeavours that were used to suppress his Method in* Portugal *deserve a Reflexion.*] The Dispute between *Denys* and *Brissot* raised a kind of Civil-War among the *Portuguese* Physicians. The Business was brought before the Tribunal of the University of *Salamanca* (2), where it was thoroughly discussed by the Faculty of Physic; but whilst they were examining the Reasons *pro* and *con*, the Partizans of *Denys* had recourse to an Expedient which seldom fails those who are the strongest: they bore down the others by the Authority of the Secular Power, and obtained a Decree forbidding Physicians to bleed in the same side in which the Pleurisy was. At last the University of *Salamanca* gave their Judgment, importing that the Opinion ascribed to *Brissot* was the true Doctrine of *Hippocrates* and *Galen*. The Followers of *Denys* appealed to *Cæsar* about the Years 1529. They thought themselves superior both in Authority and Number, so that the matter was brought before *Charles* V. They were not contented to call the Doctrine of their Adversaries false, but they said moreover that it was impious and mortal, and as pernicious to the Body as *Luther*'s Schism to the Soul. They did not only blacken their Adversary's Reputation by private Arts, but also openly accused them of Ignorance and Rashness, of attempting on Religion, and of being downright Lutherans in Physic. It fell out unluckily for them that *Charles* III, Duke of *Savoy*, happened to die of a Pleurisy, after he had been bled according to the Practice which *Brissot* had opposed. Had it not been for this, the Emperor, as it is thought, would have granted every thing that *Brissot*'s Antagonists desired of him. But though that Accident should have made the good Cause triumph, no other Good resulted from it, but that the thing remained undecided. It is true that from that time several Books were published all over *Europe* on that Question, wherein the Practice of the *Arabians* was highly condemned (3). *Renatus Moreau*, in the Work which I have cited, gives a very curious List of those Books, and of those wherein that Practice was approved. But who would not admire, on the one side, the Infatuation of Men, in favour of the Opinions commonly received, though they be ever so ill grounded; and on the other side the Readiness of Magistrates to declare for or against certain Remedies: for since it happens but too often that they condemn some, which in time are generally approved, for very good Reasons grounded upon Experience, it may be said that they judged without Knowledge, being led away by the most noisy and violent Cabal? Antimony is a Proof of what I say. See *Furetiere*'s Dictionary (4).

An Instance of the ill Custom of interesting Religion into the Disputes of the Learned, to alarm the People and the Magistrates.

(3) Ex vita Brissoti per Renatum Moreau.

(4) *At the Word* Antimoine.

BRITANNICUS (John), an *Italian*, was one of the best Scholars of the XVth Century. He was born at *Palazzolo*, near *Brescia*. He published Notes on some Classical Authors, on *Persius*, *Terence*, *Statius*, *Ovid*, and *Juvenal*; some Rules of Grammar, several little Tracts, and Letters, and a Panegyric upon *Bartholomew Cajetan*, a brave and learned Man (*a*). *Britannicus* taught with great Application: He did it long enough at *Brescia*, to acquire the Method and Practice of teaching

(*a*) Leonardo Cozzando, della Libraria Bresciana, pag. 155.

a Form. He died in that City in the Year 1510 [*A*]. When he dedicated his Commentary on *Juvenal* to the Senate and City of *Brescia*, he gave a reason for it, which was, that the Commentaries, he had already dedicated to them, had procured him a considerable Present [*B*]. Was not this asking for another? Those who have said that he was the first who commented upon that Poet are very much mistaken [*C*]. He took the Name of *Britannicus* because his Ancestors were of *Great Britain* (*b*).

(*b*) Ghilini, Teatr. d'Huom. Illustri, Parte I, pag. 78.

[*A*] *He died ----- in the Year* 1510.] Who would believe this, when he reads in a Work printed in the Year 1545, *Joannes Britannicus claret in civitate Brixiana, & varia composit opuscula* (1). ----- Joannes Britannicus *flourishes in the City of* Brescia, *and writes several Works.* 'Honcit 'Gesner. [*will some say*] had found these Words in 'some Book wherein they were true, and, without thinking that the time was altered, transcribed them Word for Word. It were better to 'write fewer Books, and to take the Pains to accommodate to the present time what our Predecessors said.' I answer that he had this from *Trithemius*, and that his Preface may hinder any body from being deceived in it. *Ghilini*'s Mistake is more gross; he believed that *Paul Manutius* flourished at the same time as *Britannicus* did. 'Non li fu difficil cosa non solo d'aggugliare il 'valore di Paolo Manucci ----- ma di superarlo 'ancora (2). ----- *It was not hard for him not* 'only *to equal the Merit of* Paulus Manutius ---- 'but *even to exceed it.*'

(1) Bibliot. Oseri, fol. 393.

(2) Ghilini, Teatr. *Parte I, pag.* 78.

[*B*] *His Dedications had procured him a considerable Present.*] These are his Words: 'Quod 'autem lucubrationes meas vobis amplissimi Patres dicandas esse censuerim, illud me maxime impulit quod memineram superioribus annis quum in 'Achilleida Statii, & Satyras Persii commentarios 'edidissem, vobisque nuncupassem alteros, ita placitos fuisse, ut me non mediocris solum laus & 'gratulatio vestra secuta sit, sed insuper AMPLISSIMUM MIHI MUNUS publico totius Senatus-consulto decretum fuerit (3). ---- *But what moved* 'me, *Most Noble Fathers, to dedicate my Lucubrations to you was this, that I remember some Years* 'ago, *when I published Notes on the* Achilleid *of* Statius 'and *the* Satires *of* Persius, *and dedicated the latter* 'to *you, you were so pleased that I not only had* 'great *Commendation and Thanks from you, but* 'further, *a very handsome Present was decreed* 'me *by a public Act of the Senate.*'

(3) Britann. Epistol Dedicat. Juvenal.

[*C*] *Those who have said that he was the first who commented upon* Juvenal, *are very much mistaken.*] *Cælius Secundus Curio* published some Notes on that Poet in the Year 1551. He declares that he found it a very laborious Piece of work, because none but *Britannicus* had yet explained that Author. 'Unum modo Joannem Britannicum habuit 'explicatorem, qui quamvis illa ætate eruditissimus 'fuerit, non tamen Poëtæ sensum est assecutus: 'neque mirum, fuit primus, neminem habuit quem 'sequeretur (4). ---- *He has had only one Ex-* 'positor, *who though he was a very learned Man* 'at *that time, yet did he not hit the Sense of the* 'Poet; *and no wonder, for he was the first, and* 'had *no body to follow.*' It is a greater Fault than is commonly believed, not to read the Prefaces and the Epistles Dedicatory. But especially those that write Books are very much in the wrong not to read them: if *Curio* had read the Epistle Dedicatory of *Britannicus*, he would not have given out such an inexcusable Falsity. *Britannicus* acknowledges that some learned Interpreters had commented upon *Juvenal* before him: 'Juvenalis Satyras 'etsi temporibus nostris à nonnullis aliis egregie litera'tis commentatoribus vel cum magna ipsorum laude 'enarratæ fuerant, aggressi sumus, quod omnino 'animadverteremus in toto opere multa ab iis sive 'incuria quadam, sive consulta opera prætermitti 'esse (5). ----- *I have attempted the Satires of* 'Juvenal, *notwithstanding they have been explained in* 'our *time by some other learned Commentators, with* 'great *Reputation, because I have observed through* 'the *whole Work that they have omitted many* 'things *either through Negligence or Design.*'

(4) C. Sec Curio in Epistola nuncupatoria.

(5) Britann. In Epist. Dedicator. Juvenal.

BROCARDUS (JAMES), an *Apocalyptical* Author, and one of the honest Visionaries of the XVIth Century, was a *Venetian* (*a*). He embraced the Protestant Religion, and expressed a great Zeal against Popery. He published several Books in *Holland* [*A*], wherein he maintained that the particular Events of the XVIth Century had been foretold by the Prophets. After he had applied the Oracles of the Scripture according to his Fancy to things already happened, he took the liberty to apply them to future Events, and, by virtue of such and such Passages, he foretold that such and such a thing would happen to the Prince of *Orange*, *Philip* II, Queen *Elizabeth*, the Emperor, *&c.* The Synods of the United Provinces were afraid, not without reason, that People would think they approved those extravagant Notions, if they were wholly silent about them. Wherefore the National Synod of *Middleburg* condemned, in 1581, that Method of explaining the Scripture, and enjoined *Lambert Daneau*, Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, and *Martin Lydius*, Minister of the Church of *Amsterdam* (*b*), to speak to *Brocard* about his Visions. The Author, from whom I have this, thinks he remembers that *Brocard*, not being able to answer the Objections raised against his System, promised to leave off meddling with such Prophecies (*c*). That Visionary had inveigled a *French* Gentleman, who was a good Protestant [*B*], so as to persuade him by I know not how many

(*a*) Vignier, *in the Theatre de l'Antechrist, Partie I, cap. 20. Where he lets him Salva pinus; and* Spondan *a,* Pedemontanus.

(*b*) *He was afterwards Professor at* Franeker.

(*c*) Voetius, Disput. Theologic. Tom. II, p. 1075, *who quotes the Preface of* Lambert Daneau's Commentary on the Minor Prophets.

[*A*] *He published several Books in* Holland.] His *Commentary on St* John's *Revelations*, and his *Mystical and Prophetical Explication of* Leviticus, came out at *Leyden*, in the Year 1580. Two other Books, *Liber ad Christianos de Prophetia quæ nunc completur in his quæ sunt secundi adventus Domini; liber ad Hebræos de prima & secundo ejusdem adventu*, were printed at *Leyden* about the same time (*a*). We shall see hereafter (*b*) at whose Charges those Books came out of the Press. If the Author had not wrote in *Latin*, it might be thought strange, that no Bookseller would venture to be at the charge of printing them: for such Works in the Vulgar Tongue sell well enough in troublesome Times, or when great Changes are desired. His Treatise *De Antibaptismo jurantium in Papam & in Ecclesiam Romanam, deque earum idolo zeli*, was printed at *Leyden*, in the Year 1580, and contains Seventy seven Pages in 8vo. I shall speak hereafter of his Commentary on *Genesis*. See the Titles of some other Treatises in the Remark [*C*].

(*a*) Vide Voetium Disput. Tom. II, pag. 1075.

(*b*) *In the Remark* [*B*].

[*B*] *He had inveigled a* French *Gentleman, a good Protestant.*] His Name was *Segur-Pardaillan*. 'Jacobus Segurius Pardallanius, è præcipua Aquitaniæ nobilitate, homo Calvinisticæ factioni addictus (3). ----- Jacobus Segurius Pardallianus 'one of the principal Nobility in Guienne, *a Man* 'of *the Calvinistic Faction.*' It is a very Illustrious Family in *Guienne*. *Thuanus* speaks of him thus: 'Segurius

(3) Thuan. lib. lxxix. ad Ann. 1583. pag. 500.

many Paſſages of the Scripture, which he explained in his way, that a Proteſtant Prince would quickly overthrow the Pope's Throne, and make himſelf the Head of all the United Chriſtians. That Gentleman, who was a faithful Servant to the King of *Navarre*, thought Heaven deſigned the King his Maſter for ſuch a glorious Enterprize, and, big with theſe hopes, propoſed to him to ſend an Embaſſy to the Proteſtant Princes, offering to be his Embaſſador. There being nothing in his Propoſal but what ſuited with the Neceſſities of the Time, it was approved of, and he was actually deputed to thoſe Princes (*d*). He was a little ridiculed when it came to be known by what Motive he was influenced, and for what reaſon he had been at the Charge of printing the Books of his Prophet (*e*). Here is an Inſtance of what ſuch People can do; they will occaſion the attempting of a thouſand things, which no body would think of; they are perfect Incendiaries. Doubtleſs many of them are no Impoſtors; they are infatuated with their Notions; they believe what they foretel: but ſome of them deſign only to cauſe Wars and Inſurrections; they have more Wit than Honeſty, and are the plague of Mankind. I do not think that *Brocard* was a Man of that Stamp. The Catholic Writers abuſe him at a ſtrange rate [*C*]; the Proteſtants are tender of his Reputation [*D*]: but the National Synod of *Rochelle*, in 1581, gave him no quarter [*E*]. I find

(*d*) *In the Year* 1583.

(*e*) *See the Remark* [*B*].

' Segurius homo probo & vivaci nec inerudito ingenio, ceterum credulo, ante aliquot annos, dum ' in Belgio eſſet, arctam familiaritatem cum Jacobo Brocardo Subalpino coluerat, vaticinationum ' argutias ad inſaniam ſectante, cujus & ſcripta ' hujuſmodi vanitatis plena ille poſtea ſumptibus ' ſuis publicanda curavit. Ab eo cum accepiſſet, ' locis ſcripturæ, ut dictis fidem faceret, ad id detortis, fore, ut non ita multos poſt annos Pontifex à principe Proteſtante de ſede deturbaretur, ' iſque princeps caput concordiæ Chriſtianæ futurus eſſet, eum principem inſito erga herum ſuum ' affectu protinus Navarrum fore ſibi perſuaſerat, ' eoque majore ſtudio & ardore pro auctoritate, ' qua in aula Navarri pollebat, legationem eam, ' cui & obeundæ ſe obtulit, promovit, quæ alioqui abſque hoc ſecreto ridiculo, quod tandem ' emanavit, & ab adverſariis poſtea in Germania ' illi improperatum eſt, tanquam in ſpeciem utilis ' & neceſſaria multis probatur (4). —— Segurius, ' *a Man of a good and lively Genius, not unlearned but credulous, ſome Years ago, when he was in the* Netherlands, *cultivated a cloſe Familiarity with* James Brocard, *a* Subalpine, *a Man fond of the Secrets of Prophecy even to Maduſs, whoſe Books, ſtuffed with theſe kind of Vanities, he afterwards publiſhed at his own Expence. Having learned from him by ſundry Places of Scripture wreſted to that Purpoſe, in order to gain Credit, that the Pope was in a few Years to be overthrown by a Proteſtant Prince: and that That Prince ſhould become head of all Chriſtianity united; he, out of hearty Affection to his Maſter, immediately judged that That Prince ſhould be the King of* Navarre; *and he more zealouſly and induſtriouſly uſed all the Intereſt he had therefore in the Court of* Navarre *to promote that Embaſſy, which he offered himſelf to undertake, which, if it had not been for this ridiculous Secret, which was at laſt diſcovered, by the oppoſite Party, who upbraided him with it in* Germany, *is thought by many to have been otherwiſe uſeful and neceſſary to amuſe his Enemies.*' *Surely,* ſays *David, Men of low degree are Vanity, and Men of high degree are a Lie* (5).

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) Pſal. lxii, 9.

[*C*] *The Catholic Writers abuſe him at a ſtrange rate.*] *Martin del Rio* maintained, That *James Brocard* was the Devil's Inſtrument, and that his Revelations were diabolical. ' Quid quæſo aliud eſt ' liber ille manuſcriptus Jacobi Brocardi Calviniſtæ ' revelationum ad Elizabetham Angliæ Reginam, ' & Præfatio in Geneſim, aliaque nonnulla ejuſdem ' opuſcula, niſi farrago quædam dæmoniacarum revelationum, quarum præcipuam de anno 1580, ' jam tempus mendacii convicit (6)? —— *What elſe I pray is that Manuſcript of Revelation to Queen* Elizabeth, *by* James Brocard, *the Calviniſt, and his Preface to* Geneſis, *and ſome other Works of his of that kind, but a heap of deviliſh Revelations; the principal of which, concerning the Year* 1510, *Time has already proved to be falſe.*' We learn from this Paſſage, that ſome Manuſcript Copies of the Revelations, which this Man inſcribed to Queen *Elizabeth*, were handed about, and that his chief Prediction concerned the Year 1580, and proved falſe: I would fain know what it was. We have ſeen that *Thuanus* does not ſpare that Myſtical Commentator. *Spondanus*, who gives the ſubſtance of what *Thuanus* ſays concerning *Pardaillan*'s Embaſſy, is no leſs ſatirical: ' Qui (*Segurius*) cum ante aliquot annos in Belgio ' à Jacobo Brocardo Pedemontano inepto & fatuo ' hariolo (cujus & ſcripta inanium vaticinationum ' plena edita fuere) accepiſſet ſore non ita multos ' poſt annos ut Romanus Pontifex à principe quodam Calviniſtarum de ſede deturbaretur, iſque ' Caput concordiæ Chriſtianæ futurus eſſet, *&c* (7): ' —— *Who* (Segurius) *having learned ſome Years before in* Holland, *from* James Brocard, *a* Piedmontois, *a ſilly fooliſh Predictor, (who was alſo Author of ſome Pieces full of empty Predictions, which have been publiſhed) that in a few Years the Pope ſhould be pulled down from his See by a Calviniſt Prince, who ſhould become Head of the Chriſtian League, &c.*' He laughs at *Pardaillan*'s Credulity, and ſays, that a Piece was publiſhed at *Ingolſtadt* againſt his Deputation, entitled *Incendium Calvinianum* (8). He is ſo ingenuous as to confeſs that there are ſome Fanatics in his Communion, who put upon great Deſigns, and fill with vain Hopes, thoſe that truſt to their Promiſes, and he gives a freſh Inſtance of it. He names no body; but if I am not very much miſtaken, he means *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*. All this is to be found in a long Parentheſis; for long Parentheſes are but too common with him. ' Id etiam ' teſtimoniis Sacræ Scripturæ firmans, *he ſpeaks of* James Brocard, (quales fuerunt ſingulis ſæculis ' qui ejuſmodi ſua deliria apertiſſimis ſibi, ut ſingunt, ſed occultiſſimis aliis ſcripturæ auctoritatibus falciare non dubitarunt: & fuit non ita pridem ' vir apud nos probæ ac religioſæ vitæ magnique ' apud eos qui ejus opera utebantur habitus, qui ' ſimilibus fanaticis perſuaſionibus, ex Joannis Apocalypſi ſomniatis, nobilem principem in grandes ' impenſas vana ſpe cujuſdam imperii conjecit, qui ' tamen nec parvum ſuum ſtatum defendere potuit, ' & fere omnium rerum inops mortuus eſt) (9). - - - ' *Confirming this alſo by Teſtimonies of Holy Writ, (ſuch there have been in all Ages who do not ſtick to build ſuch like Whimſies of their own on certain Scripture Authorities, which as they pretend are plain to them, but moſt obſcure to every body elſe: there was lately in our Country, a Man of a good and religious Life, and a very uſeful Man to thoſe who ſtood in need of his Aſſiſtance, who having formed the like fanatical Dreams out of St* John's *Revelation, cauſed a noble Prince to put himſelf to great Charge in vain hopes of a certain Empire, who could not ſo much as defend his own little State, and died in want of almoſt every thing). Florimond de Remond* inſults poor *James Brocard* very rudely. See the following Remark

(6) Mart. del Rio, Diſquiſ. Magicar. lib. iv cap. 3 queſt. iii. ſect. vi. pag. 197, 198.

(7) Spondan Annal. Eccleſ. ad Ann. 1583. n. 9.

(8) *The Jeſuits, ſays* Thuanus, lib. lxxix. pag. 503, *were the Authors of that Piece. They ſuppoſed ex omnia* Navarro ab Artuſionenſi infinuata hujus teliæ textore, quo cladem quam rebus ſuis pertimeſcebat, excitato in Gallia & Germania motu, à ſe averteret.

(9) Spond. Annal. Eccleſ. ad An. 1583. n. 9.

[*D*] *The Proteſtants are tender of his Reputation.*] *Voëtius* rejects the Opinion of *Brocard*, who believed that the HOLY GHOST denotes all ſorts of Events by one ſole literal Senſe, which may be a thouſand

I find in *Bongar's* Letters, that our *James Brocard* retired to *Nuremberg*, where he met with some charitable Patrons, who did him very good Offices [*F*]. He had not yet received, in 1593, the Three hundred Crowns which *Segur* left him by his Will (*f*). He was still living in 1594. The Writers of the League took advantage of his Predictions; but they committed two Faults, of which Mr *du Plessis Mornai* quickly informed the Public [*G*].

(*f*) *See the Remark* [*F*].

We have already seen, in general (g), that *Florimond de Remond* treated him ill; but in this new Edition I shall insert his own Words [*H*].

(g) *In the Remarks* [*C*] *and* [*D*].

thousand times mystically applied to particular Occurrences; but he adds, that he was otherwise a good Man, very orthodox and pious. 'Fuit hic 'Brocardus cætera vir probus, orthodoxiæ ac pietatis studiosus, uti videre est ex libello ipsius, tit. 'De Antibaptismo jurantium in Papam & Ecclesiam 'Romanam, deque eorum idolo zeli (10). —— This 'Brocard *was otherwise an honest Man, a Lover of Orthodoxy and Piety, as appears from his Book, intituled*, De Antibaptismo, &c.' *Nicolas Vignier* goes farther, for he grants, That in some things he had the real Gift of Prophecy. These are his Words: 'I must say something of *James Brocard*, a *Vene*'*tian*, who is very much abused by *Remond*. It 'were to be wished, that this Man, who was no 'Ecclesiastic, had not been so forward to publish 'his Thoughts upon the Holy Scripture. For tho' 'he does not depart from the Purity of the Gospel 'Doctrine, and the Analogy of Faith, yet he too 'frequently lays aside the true meaning of the 'Words, and the literal Sense, to run into mystical 'Interpretations. Nevertheless, forasmuch as GOD's 'Power is infinite, and he imparts his Gifts to whom 'he pleases, those who have been familiarly ac'quainted with the said *Brocard*, witness that he 'had wonderful Revelations of particular things, the 'Truth whereof was confirmed by the Event, as 'the *Venetians*, among others, experienced by the 'loss of *Cyprus*, and of their *Arsenal*, as he had 'foretold them (11).'

(10) Voetius disput. Theol. Tom. II, pag. 1075.

(11) *Vignier*, Theatre de l'Architect, *Partie I. cap.* xxii. *p.* 339.

[*E*] *The National Synod of* Rochelle, *in* 1581, *gave him no quarter.*] That Assembly drew up an Act importing, That having seen and examined a *Latin* Book upon *Genesis*, written by *James Brocard*, a *Piedmontese*, and printed at *Rochelle*, they have declared, and do declare, that it is full of Impiety and horrid Profanations of the Holy Scripture, and pernicious Errors, especially about Revelations and Prophecies: And that therefore they exhort all the Faithful to beware of being deceived by such a Book (12). Here is a Synod much more vigorous than that which was held at *Middleburg* in the same Year. What might be the Reason of this Difference? Are the *French* less moderate than the *Dutch*? This Reason cannot be alledged; for I could instance some Synods, wherein the *French* Spirit prevailed, that shewed a greater Moderation than that of *Middleburg*. Perhaps some will say, that *Brocard* was in *Holland*, when these two Synods condemned him; which was the Reason why he had some Friends at *Middleburg*, and none at *Rochelle*: but I would advise no body to rest satisfied with such a Solution.

(12) *See Mr* Quick's Synodicon in Gallia Reformata.

[*F*] *He retired to* Nuremberg, *where he met with charitable Patrons, who did him very good Offices.*] *Bongars* praises their Charity, and the Person to whom they were so kind. 'I hear, *says he in a* '*Letter to* Camerarius (13), that your Republic has 'kindly received the good old Man *J. Brocard*, 'who in his Youth appeared among the most polite 'and learned Men. I have been lately well pleased 'to see him in your Town, and am obliged to Mr '*Bongar* for it. By this means you heap up for 'yourselves a Treasure in Heaven.' This he wrote the third of *February* 1591. He expresses the same Affection for *Brocard*, in a Letter of the sixteenth of *November* 1594. 'Non possum quin & tibi gra'tias agam ob miserum, bonum tamen, senem Bro'cardum tam benigne & liberaliter habitum (14). —— *I cannot but even thank you for your kind* '*and generous Treatment of the poor, but good, old* Brocard.' 'I am mightily pleased *(says he in another Letter dated from* Francfort *the Twenty* '*fourth of* July 1593 (15), with the great Affection 'you express for M. *Brocard*. He does certainly 'deserve that some Persons, of such a Probity as 'your's is, should take care of him. As for me, I 'am hardly in a Capacity to oblige him. I leave no 'Stone unturned to procure him the Payment of 'Three hundred Gold Crowns, which Mr *Segur* 'left him by his Will.'

(13) Bongars *Letter* vi, *to* Camerar. pag. 129. Tom. I. *printed at the* Hague, 1695.

(14) Id. Epist. lxxxiii. Tom. II. pag. 335.

(15) Id. Epist. lxix. pag. 302.

[*G*] *The Writers of the League* ----- *committed two Faults, of which Mr* du Plessis Mornai *informed the Public.*] They mentioned *Segur's* Embassy among the Expedients which the King of *Navarre* made use of after the Death of the Duke of *Anjou*, to secure his Succession to the Crown of *France*. 'He has sent, *said he* (16), *Segur Par*'*daillan*, one of his Gentlemen, into *Germany*, '*Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *England*, to renew the 'ancient Confederacies he has contracted with all 'the Heretics, and to make new ones, and set all 'his Friends against you, that being assisted with 'their Forces he may usurp a Crown, from which 'he is excluded by Reason. To this he has been 'instigated by the Minister *Brocard*, a Trumpet 'of *Satan*, who, being out of his Wits, is fully 'persuaded, and has made him believe, that he is 'spoken of in the *Revelations*, and that he is to 'be King of *France*, and to expel the Pope from 'his See.' Mr *du Plessis Mornai* answered, that *Segur* was sent Embassador a Year before the Duke of *Anjou* died, and that *his Highness* was then *in very good Health*. ----- *Note*, adds he (17), *that* Brocard *is an old* Italian, *who neither is, nor ever was, a Minister, who was condemned by their Synods, who never saw the King of* Navarre, *nor ever set his Foot in* France. He does not deny *Segur's* Credulity, nor *Brocard's* prophetical Fancies; he answers nothing upon that Head. One may conclude from his Silence, and from a Passage of *d'Aubigné*, that those things were real Matter of Fact. *D'Aubigné's* Words are these: 'Some body proposed 'the Opinion of the late *Segur*, who said, That 'Madmen are accounted Prophets in *Turkey*, and 'that every thing went on prosperously in that 'Country; so that *France* would be in a happy 'State, if *Brocard's* Prophecies were more credi'ted (18).'

(16) Avertissement des Catholiques Anglois aux François Catholiques, p. 33.

(17) Du Plessis Memoires, Tom. I. pag. 631.

(18) Baron de Fœneste, *Book* III. *chap.* xxii. pag. 179.

[*H*] *I shall here insert the Words of* Florimond de Remond.] 'They are Persons, who --- have had, 'as they say, Inspirations from Heaven, like this 'new Prophet, *James Brocard*, of whom a Gen'tleman of our *Guienne* (19) has formerly told me 'several strange things. He revered him as a 'second St *Paul*, and had such Confidence in him, 'that he reckoned the ruin of the Church already 'certain; this poor Man built on that the hopes of 'his Fortune, when I told him that these were 'Rêveries: these Rêveries, says he, are no less 'than the best digested Thoughts of the greatest 'Man that has been these several Centuries. Not 'long ago one of my Friends, who cannot yet shake 'off that Opinion, entertained me pleasantly with 'the Sallies and Whimsies of that Spirit which had 'filled their Heads with a Notion of a great Battle, 'which was to be fought on the *Rhine*, where the 'Catholic Name was to be entirely extinguished. 'On the Descent of that great and terrible Army 'of so many thousand *Pistoleer Reisters*, *Suiss*, and *Lansquenets*, who came to fall upon us; they ex'pected to see the Accomplishment of their Pro'phecy, on the Banks, not of the *Rhine*, but of the 'Loire, where GOD stopped their Progress. These 'are nothing but Rêveries and Nonsense like those 'of the Protestants in the Year 1546, which *Are*'*tius* himself laughed at, as our pretended Reformed 'do at what *Brocard* foretold should happen in the 'Year 1580, which was promised, as he said, by '*Jeremiah*. In order to see what this *Brocard* was 'of whom they made so great Account, I took the 'Pains, or rather I put myself on the Rack, to read 'his Works; for what greater Torture is there, than 'to see Books from which, after a great deal of 'Pains and Sweat, you can learn nothing, nor gain 'any thing but the Trouble? ------ Such is this '*Brocard* ------ after I had carefully read him 'over

(19) Segur Pardaillan. *See Remarks* [*B*] *and* [*C*].

'over and over, and not found a single Page in 'which he does not mention Antichrist; I could at 'last learn nothing unless it be this, that some Phren-'sy seized him at *Venice*, in the Year 1583, which 'he calls a Vision, or Revelation of the HOLY 'GHOST, when, coming from a Debauch, he set 'himself to read to the Bible. Whereupon he tells 'a thousand Whimsies of the Spirit that appeared 'to him, and how he was carried to the Inquisi-'tion, which is nothing else, says he, but the Abo-'mination of Desolation foretold by *Daniel* and 'St *Paul*. He does not say how he got out, or 'whether he promised to be wiser for the time to 'come. Scarce all the Hellebore, that *Anticyra* ever 'produced, would have sufficed to cure this distem-'pered Brain, which has formed a Notion of a second 'coming of the Son of GOD, in this Century, and 'a thousand other Rêveries, which were revealed 'to him by an Angel that GOD sent to him, as 'he has said both in his Notes on *Genesis*, and in 'a Discourse dedicated to the Queen of *England*, 'which I have seen in Manuscript (20).'

(20) Florim. de Remond. de l'Antichrist, cap. ix, n. 5, fol. 53.

BRODEAU (JOHN), in *Latin Brodæus*, born at *Tours*, was a learned Critic. He flourished in the XVIth Century. His chief Works are, a Commentary upon the *Anthologia*, ten Books of *Miscellanies*, Notes upon *Oppian*, *Euripides*, &c. Consult *Moreri*'s Dictionary; but observe the Faults he has committed, which I shall take notice of [*A*]. *Lipsius* falsely believed that *Brodæus* was a young Man [*B*]: He had more reason to be sorry that he was not celebrated in proportion to his Merit. I must observe, that, if he was Sixty three Years of age when he died in 1563, as *Sammarthanus* affirms, *Sigismund Gelenius* had been wrong informed concerning his Age, for he makes him but Twenty nine Years old in 1594, and makes this a ground for greater Commendations [*C*]. I am now prepared to give a Supplement touching the Nobleness of his Extraction [*D*]. If I did not observe it before, nor the Merit of some of his Relations, it was because I referred to *Moreri*, who has made ample mention of them, and I could add nothing to what he has said.

[*A*] *Observe the Faults of* Moreri, *which I shall take notice of*.] I. If *Brodæus* died in 1563, being Sixty three Years of Age, as *Moreri* affirms, after *Scævola Sammarthanus*, he did not live in the XVth Century; and yet *Moreri* says he did. II. He did not well understand the *Latin* Words of *Sammarthanus* concerning the learned Men with whom *Brodæus* contracted a Friendship in *Italy*. *Brodæus* went twice into that Country with the *French* Embassadors: He went to *Venice* in the Retinue of *George de Selve*, and to *Rome* in that of *George d'Armagnac*, and, during those two Journies, he contracted Acquaintance, and particular Friendship, with *Sadolet*, *Egnatius*, *Bembus*, *Flaminius*, and other Men eminent for their Learning. *Hos Brodæus omnes* PARTIM *Venetiis* PARTIM *Romæ* - - - - *& vidit familiariter, & propter studiorum conjunctionem facile sibi conciliavit* (1). Mr *Moreri*, instead of mentioning *Brodæus*'s Stay at *Venice* and at *Rome*, as *Sammarthanus* does, ascribes all to his Stay at *Rome*. It was *in the Capital City of the Christian World*, says he, *that* Brodæus *got the Friendship of* Sadolet *and* Bembo, *both Cardinals, and of* Baptist Egnatius, *and many learned Men*. Those who know that *Egnatius* was Professor at *Venice*, and did not stir out of his House at that time, must needs own, that it had been better for *Moreri* to translate *Sammarthanus* faithfully. III. It was not *by the Advice* of those Illustrious Friends, that he *applied himself to the Study of the Mathematics, and the* Hebrew *and* Chaldaic *Languages*. What was *Moreri* dreaming of, when he found that pretended Advice in the Words of *Sammarthanus*, which signify only that *Brodæus* exceeded those Gentlemen, in that, besides polite Learning, which he cultivated as well as they; he understood also Mathematics, *Hebrew* and *Chaldaic*: 'Hoc 'etiam aliquanto superior, quod ad eas quibus 'pariter incumbebant elegantiores literas, ille & 'Mathematicas artes & Hebræam Chaldæamque 'linguam insuper adhiberet (2).' IV. *Moreri* should not have said, that *he died in the beginning of the Civil Wars of Religion*, but about the end of the first Civil Wars of that kind. *Sub exitum primi civilis ob religionem belli cæpit levi tentari fabricula, sed ad extremum exitiali*. These are *Sammarthanus*'s Words, which, however easy, were not understood by *Moreri*. V. *He grew old at* Tours *in* St Martin's, *which he called a College*. So have been translated these Words of *Thuanus*, *Apud B. Martinum cui Collegii nomen dederat* - - - - - *consenuit* (3). It is certain, if a School-boy did not translate better, he would be laughed at by his Schoolfellows, and would well deserve Correction. This Blunder was not committed by *Moreri*, but by the good *du Rier* of the *French* Academy. *Moreri* only copied it from Mr *Teissier* (4). *Thuanus* means, that *Brodæus* grew old in St *Martin*'s Church, where he was a Canon.

(1) Sammarthanus, Elog. lib. ii, pag. 125.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Thuan. lib. xxxv, pag. 785. ad Ann. 1563.

(4) Elog. tirez de Mr de Thou, Tom. I, p. 227.

[*B*] Lipsius *falsly believed, that* Brodæus *was a young Man*.] *Colomesius* made this Observation before me. *Nescivit Lipsius Brodæum obiisse sexagenario majorem. Juvenis etiam vocatur a Claverio in Claud.* 1602, *pag.* 9 (5). Lipsius *did not know that* Brodæus *died above sixty Years of Age. He is also called a young Man by* Claverius. These are *Lipsius*'s Words: 'Joh. Brodæus hæc de Ulyssis 'errore in Miscellaneis scite coarguit: Brodæus, vir, 'sive adolescens potius, acris ingenii, probi judicii, 'lectionis diffusæ, quem non magis in ore famæ 'esse miror, imo indignor (6). - - - - - Brodæus, 'in his Miscellanies, has very well refuted all this 'concerning the wandering of* Ulysses: Brodæus *is* 'a Man, *or rather a Youth, of an acute Genius,* 'good Judgment, extensive reading: *I wonder, nay* 'am grieved, *that he is not more famous*.' The most learned Critics, *Scaliger*, *Grotius*, and many others, bestowed great Encomiums upon *Brodæus* (7); nevertheless it may be said, That some Writers, inferior to him in Learning, have been much more talked of; which, it may be, proceeded from his great Modesty, which hindered him from putting himself forward. See how *Baptist Sapin* Counsellor to the King praises him for his Modesty (8).

(5) Colomes. Gall. Orient. page 32.

(6) Lipf. in Germaniam Taciti.

(7) Colomés Gallie Orient. pag. 32, & 267; *Sir* Thomas Pope Blount censur. Author. p. 464, *have collected them*.

[*C*] Gelenius *makes him but twenty nine Years of Age, in* 1549, *and makes this a Ground for greater Commendations*.] It is in the Epistle dedicatory to *Brodæus's Notes on the Epigrams in the Anthologia*: this Epistle dedicatory is dated from *Basil*, the first of *September*, 1549; these are *Gelenius*'s Words: 'Commentariorum Autor est juvenis mul-'tijugæ lectionis, idemque μνημονικώτατος. Joannes Brodæus, Turonensis, ut mirum sit in ejus 'ætatem tam variam exactamque omnis generis 'Librorum cognitionem cadere. Aiunt enim vix-'dum undetrigesimum annum ingressum. - - - - - 'The Author of these Commentaries is* John Brodæus *of* Tours, *a young Man of great Variety* 'of Reading, *and an extraordinary Memory, that it* 'is a Wonder so various and exact a Knowledge of 'Books of all kinds could be got at his Age; for 'they say he is scarce yet entered into his Twenty 'ninth Year.' 'I am almost twice his Age, adds 'he, and yet he has cited Authors of which I 'did not so much as know their Names.' The other Commendations which he bestows upon him are very exquisite.

(8) Præfat. in Brodæi notas ad Euripidem 1561, apud Colomesium, Gallie Orient. pag. 30.

[*D*] *I am now prepared to give a Supplement touching the Nobleness of his Extraction*.] JOHN BRODEAU, Marquis of *Chattes* and *Candé*, formerly a Justice in Eyre of the Woods and Forests in *France*, is the eldest of the Family. He retains the original Titles of the House, which first became Illustrious in *Victor Brodæus*, who was ennobled

by *Philip Auguſtus*, in the Field before *Aerſt*, in *Egypt*, for his Father's and his own Glorious Actions (9). *Peter Julian Brodeau*, Lord of *Marcheville*, is the eldeſt of another Branch, who has been twelve or thirteen times at Sea in the King's Service in Quality of Commiſſary; he has been in ſeveral different Actions, and has been wounded in ſome of them, particularly at the Battle which the Mareſchal *de Tourville* gave to *Papachin*, Vice-Admiral of *Spain* (10). ------ He has for ſome Years quitted the Sea Service, and addicted himſelf to Letters (11); he publiſhed a new Syſtem of the Univerſe, in the Year 1702. You will find the Analyſis of it with great Commendations in the *Mercure Galant*, and alſo an Account of other Works which he intends to publiſh (12). You will find him there Author of a Work, intituled, *Jeux d'Eſprit & de Memoire*, of which above Six thouſand Copies have been printed in *France* (13); and alſo of another Book printed at *Tours*, in the Year 1703, and intituled, *Moralitez curieuſes ſur les ſix premiers Jours de la Creation du Monde* (14). ---- *Curious moral Reflexions on the ſix firſt Days of the Creation of the World.* JULIAN SIMON BRODEAU, his Brother, Lord of *Oiſeville*, heretofore Counſellor in the Parliament of *Metz*, is now Lieutenant-General at *Tours* (15); they are Sons of *Julian Brodeau*, who died Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, the Twenty ſixth of March, 1702 (16); who was the Son of *Julian Brodeau*, that famous Advocate of Parliament, who, always preferring his Function before the moſt exalted ones of the Robe, choſe to die in it (17). He has publiſhed, among other Books, the Life of *Charles du Moulin*, and *Notes on the Decrees of* Loüet, which makes *Bouleau* ſay in his firſt Satire, *Et feuilletant Loüet allegué par Brodeau*, ---- *And peruſing* Loüet, *prolonged by* Brodeau. The Father of this Advocate was called *Charles Brodeau*, and was Advocate-General to *Henry* the Great, at that time King of *Navarre*, and Son of *Francis Brodeau*, Counſellor of State, and Maſter of Requeſts to *Antony* of *Bourbon*, King of *Navarre* (18).

(9) Mercure Gallant *of the Month of* May, 1702, pag. 164, 165.

(10) Idem. May, 1702, pag. 135.

(11) Idem. 186.

(12) Idem. 171.

(13) Id. Feb. 1703, p. 70, 72.

(14) Id. pag. 69.

(15) Idem. May 1702, pag. 91.

(16) Id. p. 163.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) Id. p. 164.

BROSSE (JAMES *de la*), a great Warrior in the XVIth Century, was born in the *Bourbonnois* [*A*]. It is ſaid that he was thirty Years of Age, when he began to bear Arms (*a*). He quickly got a great ſkill in the Art of War, and acquired the Eſteem of *Francis de Lorrain*, Duke of *Guiſe*, whoſe Lieutenant-Colonel he afterwards was. He was made Governor of a Duke of *Longueville* (*b*), and then he was appointed, together with *Sanſac*, *to watch over the Conduct of* Francis II, *and teach him good Maxims* (*c*). *Brantome* ſays, that he was *the mildeſt, and the moſt courteous Soldier that ever was ſeen*, and that he *gave his Advice in ſuch gentle and obliging Words, that every body eſteemed him for it*; *whereas* Sanſac (*d*) *was on the contrary a bectoring and churliſh Man, both in War and at Hunting* (*e*). *La Broſſe* being entirely devoted to Meſſieurs *de Guiſe*, he was choſen to command Two thouſand Men, which were ſent into *Scotland* to the Queen-Regent their Siſter, in 1559 (*f*). He departed from his Character, which was Mildneſs and Clemency, and complied with the Humour of Cardinal *de Lorrain* [*B*], or rather he was obliged to act as he was directed by him. That proved very prejudicial to *France*, becauſe *the Scotch*, *in concert with the Engliſh*, made it their Buſineſs to get themſelves rid of his Troops. The *French* were beſieged in little *Leith*, and ſhewed as much Courage and Conduct as could be expected from Troops conſummate in the Art of

(*a*) Brantome, apud le Laboureur's Additions to the Memoirs of *Caſtelnau*, Tom. II, pag. 96.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Id. Tom. II, pag. 97.

(*d*) Concerning the Difference of thoſe two Perſons, ſee *Belcarius*'s Words in the Rem. [*A*].

(*e*) Brantome, *cited by* le Laboureur, Tom. II, *pag.* 97.

(*f*) Buchanan. rerum Scotic. lib. xvi, pag. 583.

[*A*] *He was born in the* Bourbonnois.] *Le Laboureur*, who knew ſo many Families, and Genealogies, owns (1), 'That he knows nothing of the 'Birth of this Mr *de la Broſſe*, becauſe there is 'nothing extant about it, and becauſe his Family was 'extinct by the Death of himſelf and his Son at the 'Battle of *Dreux*.' I have found by chance, in *Belcarius*'s Hiſtory, what Province he was of. 'Franciſcus Rex præclaram indolis, cujus adoleſcentiæ moderandæ Jacobus Broſſianus Boius ac Sanſacus attributi erant, ille vir prudentiſſimus & rerum bellicarum peritiſſimus, iſte ingenio turbido, ſed non malo, id (2) non permiſiſſet, nam ſupra ætatem ſapere jam cœperat, ut mihi idem Broſſianus ſæpius confirmavit, eramus enim VICINI ac perfamiliares (3). ---- Francis, *who was a King of* 'an extraordinary Genius, *whoſe Governors in his* 'Youth were James de la Broſſe, *of the* BOURBONNOIS, *and* Sanſac, *the former a very prudent* 'Man, *and well ſkilled in Military Affairs*; *the* 'latter *of a turbulent, but not evil, Diſpoſition*, 'would never have ſuffered it; *for he began then to* 'have Underſtanding above his Age, *as the ſaid* la 'Broſſe has often told me, *for we were* NEIGHBOURS, *and very intimate*.' *Mezeray* was not ignorant that *la Broſſe* was a Native of that Country. 'The Earl of *Lenox*, ſays he (4), brought 'ſome Troops of *Francis* I into *Scotland*, in the 'Year 1543, but that young Man, having loſt their 'Muſter-Money at play, went into the Service of 'the King of *England*, who married him to his 'Niece. *La Boſſe* (5), a Gentleman of *Bourbonnois* was 'ſent in his Room, and then *Lorges* Earl of *Montgo-* 'mery.' Thus he ſpeaks under the Year 1545. He ſays under the Year 1559, That *a Succour of three thouſand Men was ſent to the Queen Regent of* Scotland, *Commanded by* la Broſſe, a Bourbonnois. I think he is in the wrong to believe, that this Gentleman was ſent thither before the Year 1545.

(1) Additions to *Caſtelnau*'s Memoirs, Tom. II, pag. 96.

(2) To wit, that *Catherine de Medicis* ſhould govern the Kingdom.

(3) Belcar. lib. xxviii, n. 37, 52.

(4) Mezeral, Abr. Chron. Tom. IV, pag. 632.

(5) *It is ſo ſpelt in the* Dutch *Edition*; *It ſhould be* Broſſe.

[*B*] *He complied with the Humour of the Cardinal of* Lorrain.] Hear Mr *le Laboureur*: 'Henry Clutin, 'Lord of *Ville-Pariſis*, commonly called *d'Orſel*, who 'was ſent to her as her Lieutenant, and afterwards 'la *Broſſe*, though he was naturally inclined to 'Mildneſs, and *Nicolas de Pelvé*, Biſhop of *Amiens*, 'who were likewiſe ſent thither, exaſperated the 'People by their Maxims and bold Undertakings, being not ſufficiently ſupported by *France*, 'from whence they received more Counſels and 'Orders, than Money and Troops, but particularly from the Cardinal of *Lorrain*; who 'is accuſed of an Intention to carry things to 'the laſt Extremity with the ſame Boldneſs 'and Confidence he ſhewed in the Adminiſtration 'of Affairs in *France* (6).' One of *la Broſſe*'s Maxims was, 'That in order to ſecure *Scotland*, 'it was neceſſary to ſettle in it a Colony of a 'thouſand *French* Gentlemen, who ſhould be put 'in Poſſeſſion of the Eſtates of thoſe, who were 'to be out-lawed on Account of Religion (7).' The *Scotch*, being informed that he had given ſuch Advice, conceived a great Averſion for the *French*. They diſcovered it by ſome intercepted Letters, if we may believe *Buchanan*. 'Labroſſius equeſtri 'loco natus, ſed (8) qui magnum in militari uſum 'habebat ---- cenſebat, omnem, ſine diſcrimine, 'Scotorum Nobilitatem eſſe extinguendam: in eorum autem prædiis mille Catafractos equites, Gallos, collocari poſſe: reliquam multitudinem ſervorum loco habendam. Id conſilium, literis ejus 'ad Gallum interceptis, divulgatum, mirum, quantum Gallorum odium, jam aliis de cauſis natum, auxit (9). ---- La Broſſe, *who was Son of a Knight*, *but had great Experience in Military Affairs* ---- *was of opinion, that all the Nobility of* Scotland *ought to be cut off without Diſtinction: and a thouſand* Frenchmen *at Arms be placed on their Eſtates*; *and that all the reſt ſhould be counted Slaves. This Advice being diſcovered by intercept-*ing

(6) Le Laboureur's Additions to *Caſtelnau*, Tom. I, p. 436.

(7) Mezeral, Vie de François II, pag. 26, Tom. III, *of the Folio Edit.*

(8) This *ſed*, [*but*] does not ſeem worthy of *Buchanan*; for Men of a noble Extraction do commonly apply themſelves to the Art of War.

(9) Buchan. rerum Scotic. lib. xvi, ſub fin.

of War (g); but at last they were obliged to capitulate, and to leave that Country for ever. *La Brosse* performed his Duty very well during the Siege, notwithstanding he was Seventy five Years old [C]. He was killed at the Battle of *Dreux*, with his Son, in the Year 1562 (b). He was Knight of the Order; and, if he had not been killed in that Battle, he would certainly have been made Marshal of *France* [D]; for *he received the Pension* of a Marshal *from the time that he and* Sanfac *were appointed to attend* King Francis II (i). None but he and *Sanfac* took care of the King's burial.

(g) *See* Brantome *in his Encomium upon the Vicount* de Martigues, *who commanded in the place.*

(b) See some curious Circumstances in the Remark [D].

(i) Brantome, *in his* Encomium upon the Marshal *de Vieille-Ville.*

' ing his Letters to France, *most strangely encreased the Hatred which had been conceived against* ' *the* French *on other Accounts.*' *Belcarius* does not deny that *Pellevé* and *la Brosse* advised to confiscate the Estates of the *Calvinists* Gentlemen, and to give them to a thousand *French* Gentlemen, and to lay a Tax, as in *France*, upon all other Families (10).

(10) Belcarius, lib. xxviii, n. 51.

[C] La Brosse *performed his Duty very well during that Siege, notwithstanding he was Seventy five Years of Age.*] The General for the King, in ' the Town, was that venerable old Man, and great ' Captain, the good Mr. *le Brosse*, Seventy five ' Years of Age, an old Register of War, whose ' Valour, wise Conduct, and Intrepidity were of ' great Use in the Siege (11). If he was then Seventy five Years old, he could not be eighty when he was killed at the Battle of *Dreux*; for there are but two or three Years between this Siege and that Battle. However, I will not be too critical upon *Brantome*; for he uses a Restriction: That old Man, says he, died at the Age of eighty Years or very near.

(11) Brantome, *in his* Encomium upon Mr *de Martigues*, pag. 246.

[D] *If he had not been killed at the Battle of* Dreux —— *he would certainly have been made Marshal of* France.] At that time this Dignity was bestowed only on a Vacancy: There was one after the Battle of *Dreux*, where the Marshal *de St André* lost his Life. *Brantome* says, that the Duke of *Guise* would have procured that Dignity to M. *de la Brosse*, ' for he had a great Affection and Esteem for ' him; and he deserved it, having been a Man of ' Honour, and without blemish. And though the ' Duke of *Guise* was a very great Captain, he always consulted that good and honourable old Man, ' who, both in my Opinion and that of other People, was very well skilled in the Art of War (12). ' I remember (*continues* Brantome) that very early ' in the Morning on the Day that the Battle of ' *Dreux* was fought, in being very mild Weather, ' as they were drawing up the Army in Order of ' Battle, that good Man passed by M. *Beaulieu*, ' Captain of the Guards, and me. We put off ' our Hats to him very respectfully; he did the same ' to us, and said, How, Gentlemen, do you pull off ' your Hats this cold Weather? We answered him, ' Sir, who deserves it better than you, who are one ' of the most honourable and ancient Captains of this ' Army? Gentlemen, replied he, I am one of the ' most inconsiderable; and then he added, I do not ' know what will be the Success of this Battle, but ' I fancy I shall be killed. And indeed I have lived too long, and it is a shame for me to bear a ' Lance, and imbrue it in Blood, when I should ' be at Home begging of God, that he would ' forgive me the Sins of my Youth: And thus he ' left us, because the Duke of *Guise* sent for him, ' being always desirous to consult him.'

(12) *In his* Encomium upon the Marshal *de Vieille-Ville apud la Laboureur*, Tome II, pag. 976.

BROSSIER (MARTHA), a Woman who pretended to be possessed by the Devil, was like to have occasioned great Disorders in *France*, towards the latter end of the XVIth Century. Her Father, who was a Weaver at *Romorantin*, found it more convenient to ramble about with his three Daughters, one of which had the Art of making a thousand Distortions, than to stay at home and mind his Trade. He therefore went up and down through the neighbouring Towns, showing his Daughter *Martha* as a Woman possessed by the Devil, who stood in great need of the Exorcism of the Church. A prodigious multitude of People resorted to that Spectacle. The Cheat was found out at *Orleans*, and for that reason, in the Year 1598, all the Priests of the Diocese were forbid to proceed to Exorcisms on pain of Excommunication. Nor was the Bishop of *Angers* (a) more easy to be imposed upon [A]. He quickly smelt out the Cheat; for, having invited *Martha* to Dinner, he caused some Holy Water to be brought her instead of common Water, and common Water instead of Holy Water [B]. *Martha* was catched; she was not at all affected

(a) *His Name was* Charles Miron.

[A] Martha's *Cheat was found out at* Orleans —— *Neither was the Bishop of* Angers *more easy to be imposed upon.*] The thing is related by *Thuanus* in this Order: I do not know whether he narrowly considered the Matter; for the other Historians tell us, That the Cheat was found out first at *Angers*, and then at *Orleans*; nay, they say, that the Theologal of *Orleans* promoted this Imposture by his too great Credulity, before *Martha* had been examined by the Bishop of *Angers* (1). ' This Trick being found ' out, that Prelate was contented with having deceived the Devil, who had a mind to deceive the ' World †, and sent her away, threatning to punish ' her, if she returned into his Diocese. She was ' carried to *Orleans*, where two cunning Devices ' were thought of, in order to try her. I. They ' presented to her *Despauterius*'s Grammar in an ' old binding. *Martha*, looking upon it as the ' Scourge of the Devil, trembles at the bare Sight ' of the Cover, and the two Copper-clasps. They ' opened that Book, and bid her read in it. She ' lights by chance upon some Verses made up of ' hard Words without any Signification ‡, which ' she takes to be the most violent Exorcisms, and, ' having imperfectly pronounced them, throws her- ' self upon the Ground making a thousand Motions. ' II. As it is said, That the Devils are pleased with ' Perfumes, and grow fat with Vapours ‡, they ' presented to her a Perfume, composed of Drugs ' and Herbs, so stinking, that as soon as the Va- ' pour came near her Nose, as she was let tied to a ' Chair, and struggling with her Feet, being over- ' come with the Fire, and the horrible stink, she ' cried out, *Gentlemen, forgive me, I am choaked, he is gone.* By that means the Official of *Orleans* ' discovered the Imposture, and forbad the Clergy ' of his Diocese to exorcise her upon pain of being ' suspended (2).'

(1) Cayet, Chronol. Septenaire, *Book* ii, *fol.* 89, verso. Matthieu, Hist. de la paix, lib. ii, narrat. iii, pag. 335.

† Imposturam fecit & passus est. D. Gallieni. Trebell. Pollio.

‡ Martha *lights upon these Words of* Despauterius Nexo xui, xum velit Texo xui, indéque textum.

‡ Mali dæmones gaudent libarilae & nidore quibus eorum corpuscula hum pinguescit, vivit enim id vaporibus, & roboratur nidoribus. *Porphyr. de Abstinentia.*

(2) Matthieu, ibid. pag. 337. *See also* Cayet, ubi supra, fol. 90.

[B] *The Bishop of* Angers —— *caused some common Water to be brought to her for holy Water.*] I do not know what to think of a Story of *d'Aubigné* concerning that same Prelate (3). ' The Bishop ' ordered the Demoniac to be brought to him, and ' made a very strict Enquiry about her: He desired to know what were the most violent Signs ' that gave occasion to believe that she was stuffed ' with Devils. One of the Protocoles answered him, ' That the Violence of her Torments appeared by ' two things; one was, when her Skin was touched ' by a Cross wherein there was a piece of the true ' Cross; the other Proof was manifest, by her roaring and contortions, when some Text of the Gospel was read to her. The Bishop had about his ' Neck one of those Crosses, whereof I shall speak

(3) Confess. Cath. de Sancy, lib. i, cap. vi, pag. 358.

fected when she drank the Holy Water, but she made a thousand Contorsions when the common Water was presented to her. Thereupon the Prelate calls for the Book of Exorcisms, and reads the beginning of the Æneid. *Martha* was trapped a second time; for thinking those *Latin* Verses of *Virgil* were the beginning of the Exorcism, she put herself into violent Postures as if she had been tormented by the Devil. This was sufficient to convince the Bishop of *Angers* that she was an Impostor: however he only reproved her Father in private. The Knave did not care to go back to *Romorantin* with his Daughter, as the Prelate had advised him; but, on the contrary, he carried her to the great Stage of the Kingdom, I mean to *Paris*, where he hoped to be supported by credulous and ill-affected People, and by those whom the Edict of *Nantes* had lately exasperated against the King. He pitched upon *St Genevieve*'s Church to act his Farce. The Capuchins, who immediately took up the Business, lost no time, and quickly exorcised the wicked Spirit of *Martha*, without a previous Enquiry, as it is ordered by the Church, into the Life and Health of that Woman. The Postures she made, whilst the Exorcists performed their Function, easily made the common People believe that she was a Demoniac, and the thing was quickly noised about all over the Town. The Bishop (*b*) being willing to proceed orderly in the matter, appointed five of the most famous Physicians in *Paris* to examine the thing: They unanimously reported, that since it did not appear that *Martha* had any Skill in *Greek* or *Latin* [*C*], *The Devil had no hand in the matter, but that there was a great deal of Imposture, and some Distemper in it* (*c*). Two Days after, two of those Physicians seemed to waver, and, before they answered the Bishop, desired the three others might be sent for, and time granted them till the next Day. Thus on the first of *April*, 1599, a critical Day for the Cause, Father *Seraphin*, on the one side, renewed his Exorcisms, and *Martha* re-iterated her Convulsions on the other: She rolled her Eyes, lolled out her Tongue, quaked all over her Body

(*b*) Henri de Gondi.

(*c*) Unanimi ab illa consensu, Episcopo rogante, responsum est, nihil à spiritu, multa fictu, pauca à morbo esse. *Thuanus, lib.* cxiii, pag. 880.

' in the Chapter concerning Relics; for his Father, ' who informed me of the most secret Passages of ' the late King's Life, had received the same Jewels ' with others, and cleverly cured them of their ' Cancers; (this by the by). The Leader of the ' Demoniac, who saw that Cross about the Bishop's ' Neck, turned up her Petticoats, as she lay on the ' Ground, to her Knees, and made a Sign to the ' Prelate to touch her with the Cross subtilly. But ' that wicked Man pulled the Cross from his Neck, ' and with his other Hand cunningly took a Key out ' of his Pocket, and the Jade no sooner felt the ' cold Key upon her Thigh, but she frighted the ' Assistants with her Gambols. In order to a second ' Tryal, the Gospel was to be read in her Pre- ' sence. The Bishop took a *Petronius* out of his ' Pocket, which he carried instead of a Breviary, and ' began to read, *Matrona quædam Ephesi*, &c. Then ' she fretted and fumed, and when the Bishop came ' to these Words, *placitone etiam pugnabis amori*, she ' fell into a Swoon. That Prelate, who is half ' *Lutheran*, says he cannot countenance those Im- ' postures. —— He has been severely reprimanded ' for it, and therefore he proved more favourable to ' the second Demoniac called *Martha*, who was late- ' ly brought to him by a *Capuchin* who had instructed ' her. She has two Devils, the one called *Belzebub*, and the other *Astaroth*, &c.'

EXAMINATION of a Story related by *D'Aubigné*.

I must needs say, that I suspect the Truth of this Story; and when I compare what *Thuanus* says of that Bishop's Conduct towards *Martha* with *d'Aubigné*'s Narrative of his Conduct to a former Demoniac, I find nothing in it but what puts me in mind of the Custom and Method of satirical Writers. One would think, that the Rules of their Art impose upon them the Necessity of altering such Circumstances as are not diverting enough, or so disadvantageous as they would have them, and to put, in the Room of them, some that are more ridiculous, or more disobliging. To say that a Prelate recited a Verse out of *Virgil*, instead of the Formulary used in Exorcisms, is not a satirical Stroke; but to say that he took a *Petronius* out of his Pocket, which he carried about him instead of a Breviary, and that he pitched upon the Story of the *Ephesian* Matron, is a cruel Raillery upon a Prelate. The unhappy Rules of Satire required therefore, that, instead of keeping to *Thuanus*'s Account, *Petronius* should be put in the Room of *Virgil*, &c (5). But because it was well known that *Petronius* had not been made use of upon *Martha Brossier*, there was a necessity to mention another Woman possessed by the Devil instead of her. And because *Thuanus* observes, that this Passage of the Exorcism, *An homo fatuus est*, struck the greatest Blow, there was a necessity to suppose a like Circumstance in the pretended Exorcism of *Petronius*, and, in order to it, to pitch upon these Words, *Platitone etiam pugnabis amori?* A satirical Writer ought to be mistrusted; for he does not relate things as they are, but as he wishes they were, that he might be a Slanderer, without being a Liar. They are generally his own Ideas; he gives us not Realities. The Liberty *d'Aubigné* took, contrary to the Accounts of all Historians, can never be excused, if it be seriously considered. He charges the Bishop of *Angers* with a fraudulent Conduct towards *Martha*; This may give occasion to draw Conclusions; and it is to be feared some Consequences will be drawn from it, against his other Stories, and that, when this is observed, People will say,

> Accipe nunc Danaum insidias, & crimine ab uno
> Disce omnes (6).

(6) Virgil. Æn. lib. ii, ver. 65.

> *Now see how well the* Greeks *their Will digu'st'd,*
> *In this our Crime, behold the rest compriz'd.*

[*C*] *She seemed not to have any Skill in* Greek *or* Latin.] See the Remark [*B*] of the Article GRANDIER.

Observe, that the People had been made to believe, that *Martha Brossier* understood and spoke many learned Languages. Being at *Clery*, she was asked how the Devil got into her Body (7)? and she answered, *That it was for the Glory of God.* This was a wrong Answer. Being asked *the Manner how the Thing was done*; *She answered, why it was done* (8). ' Nevertheless from that very time it was ' said, that she understood and spoke *Greek*; and ' because upon such Occasions a common Report ' increases daily, it was further said, that she spoke ' *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, and *Chaldaic*; so that it was ' impossible to bring off the People from their Be- ' lief that *Martha* was truly possessed by the Devil ' (9).' This is a remarkable Instance, how easily the Bulk of Mankind suffer themselves to be imposed upon, and what a vast Difference there is between the Judgment of the Vulgar, and that of the Learned, who examine Things with an unprejudiced Mind. The latter found that the pretended Demoniac understood neither *Greek* nor *Latin*, and alledged this Ignorance as a Proof of the Cheat; but *the greatest Part of the People believed*, that *Martha Brossier spoke* High-Dutch, English, Latin, Hebrew, *and all sorts of Languages* (10).

(7) Πῶς ἦλθες εἰς τὸ σῶμα. Matthieu, ibid. pag. 335.

(8) Id. pag. 336.

(9) Id. pag. 335, 336.

(10) Cayet. Chronol. Septenar. fol. 90.

(5) *In the* Baron de Faneste, *chap.* v, *of the second Book*, pag. 60. D'Aubigné *supposes that the Bishop read an Epigram of* Martial.

[*D*] *She*

Body; and when the Father came to these Words, *& homo factus est*, she fell down, and skipped and capered from the Altar to the Door of the Chapel. Whereupon the Exorcist cried out, that if any one persisted still in his Incredulity, he needed only sight that Devil, and try to conquer him, if he durst venture his Life. *Marescot*, one of the five Physicians, answered, that he accepted the Challenge, and immediately took *Martha* by the Throat, and bid her stop. She obeyed, and alledged, for her Excuse, that the evil Spirit had left her, which was confirmed by Father *Seraphin*. *Marescot* inferred from thence, that it was he that had frighted the Devil away. The Bishop ordered, that the Exorcisms should be carried on: At first *Martha* was not moved with them; only when she saw that *Marescot* was ready to struggle with her, she said, that he, *Riolan* and *Hautin*, would do better to mind their Physic: But when she knew they were gone, she threw herself upon the Ground, and began again her mad Tricks. They returned, and quickly made her quiet, and maintained to Father *Seraphin* that there was nothing supernatural in the Case, exhorted the Maid to deceive the People no longer, and threatned her with the Rack. They consulted again about it, and laying great stress on *Martha*'s confessing, when asked several Questions in *Greek* and *Latin*, that she was ignorant of those two Languages, they all concluded, except one, that she was not possessed by the Devil (*d*). It is true, there was another (*e*), who notwithstanding the Signs of Imposture, which he acknowledged, gave his Opinion, that she should be observed three Months longer. Two Days after some other Physicians were sent for, the first being dismissed. Father *Seraphin* attended by one of his Fraternity, who was an *Englishman*, repeated his Exorcisms; and then *Martha*, besides her usual Postures, answered some Questions that were asked her in *Greek* and *English* (*f*) [*D*]. Whereupon, the Physicians asserted, that she was truly possessed by the Devil: *Marescot* confuted all the Arguments they alledged for it. People being divided in their Opinions about it, and there being reason to fear that some Answers might be suggested to that Maid, which might raise a Sedition, under pretence of the Edict granted to the Protestants; *Henry* IV was advised not to neglect the matter. He was sensible of the Importance of it, and enjoined the Parliament of *Paris* to use their Authority in the Affair. The Parliament ordered *Martha* to be put into the Hands of the Lieutenant-Criminal, and the King's Attorney in the Chatelet. They kept her forty Days, during which time they shewed her to the best Physicians, who asserted, that they observed nothing in her that was beyond Nature. In the mean time the Preachers gave themselves a prodigious Liberty (*g*) [*E*]: They cried out, that the Privileges of the Church were incroached upon, and that such Proceeding was suggested by the Heretics. *Andrew du Val*, a Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and *Archangel Du-Puy*, a Capuchin, were the most furious among those seditious Declaimers. The Parliament had much ado to silence the latter; but at last they made him sensible of their Power, and on the Twenty fourth of *May*, 1599, the Provost was ordered to carry *James Brossier* and his three Daughters to *Romorantin*, and the Father forbid to let his Daughter *Martha* go abroad without leave from the Judge, on pain of corporal Punishment (*h*). *Thus the Devil was condemned by an Arrêt* (*i*). We shall see, in another place (*k*), what became of her.

(*d*) *His Name was* Duret.

(*e*) Called *Hautin*, *Alunus*. The Author of the Notes upon the *Confession Catholique de Sancy*, pag. 486, of the Edition of 1693, calls him *Aubin*, and ascribes to him a Book against the Judgment of the Monks. He says he follows *Thuanus*, but I find no such thing in that Historian.

(*f*) Observe, that she always answered in *French*.

(*g*) Non propterea plebis jam commotæ fremitus aut concionatorum ex ambone licentiosæ voces cessarunt, libertatem ecclesiasticam à magistratu regio erepti quiritantium. *Thuan. lib.* cxxiii, *pag.* 882.

(*h*) *Taken from the* 123*d Book of* Thuanus's *History.*

(*i*) Du Chesne, Antiq. des Villes de France, pag. 269.

(*k*) *In the Text of the Article* ROCHEFOUCAUD (ALEXANDER DE LA).

[*D*] *She answered some Questions that were asked her in* Greek *and* English.] *Marescot* was in the right to say (11), I. That it was not certain that *Martha* had answered the Questions put to her in *Greek* and *English*. II. That if she had answered them, it was a meer Trick, she being taught to give a certain Answer to some *Greek* and *English* Words, that had been agreed upon: For, said he, if she understands *Greek*, why did she say, that she understood not *Latin*, when she was asked some Questions in that Language, which is so common among us? And why, being afterwards interrogated in *Greek*, did she make no answer? What *Montagne* says somewhere, was never better practised than upon this Occasion. The Exorcists, perceiving that *Martha*'s Ignorance of the learned Languages was objected to them as a great Difficulty, helped the Matter as well as they could, by suggesting to *Martha* an Answer to some Questions in *Greek*; and having an *English* Monk at their Disposal, it was an easy thing to add the *English*-Tongue to the *Greek*. But let us hear *Montagne*: 'I have 'seen, *says he* (12), the Rise of several Miracles 'in my time; and though they are stifled in the 'Birth, yet one may see what course they would 'have taken, if they had lived their full time; 'for it is but finding the end of the Thread, 'and you may wind off as much as you please; 'and there is a greater Distance from nothing to 'the least thing in the World, than from the 'least to the greatest. The first Persons, who are 'well seasoned with the beginning of a Miracle, 'when they come to publish their Story perceive 'by the Opposition that is made where the Difficulty of gaining belief of it lies, and patch up 'that Place with some false Piece.'

(11) In the Confutation of the Writing of the Physicians who declared that *Martha* was possessed by the Devil. *Apud Thuan. lib.* cxxiii.

(12) Essais, lib. iii, cap. xi, pag. 438.

[*E*] *The Preachers took a prodigious Liberty.*] When I think that the wretched Daughter of a Weaver, carried from Town to Town like a Bear, and at last engrossed by two or three Monks, who pretended that she was a Demoniac, made *Henry* IV, the Parliament of *Paris*, and all honest *Frenchmen*, very uneasy; when I think that such a Creature gave occasion to fear that a large Kingdom would fall again into a Combustion, which was but just quenched; when I think that, upon the News of her going to *Rome*, the Agents of the *French* Court were ordered to omit nothing with the Pope in order to ward off that Blow (13): I say, when I consider all these things, I cannot but pity the Fate of Sovereigns, and their unavoidable Dependance upon the Clergy. Whether they be devout or not, they will be always obliged to have a regard for them, and to fear them; they are a true *Imperium in imperio*. It is true, the Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST is not of this World; he says so himself (14): but those, who pretend to represent him, are frequently Masters of the Kings of the Earth, and will give, or take away Crowns. And those, who talk so much of the *Church Militant*, are more in the right than they think. This Title of her's cannot be called into question; she is too much concerned in

(13) *See the Text of the Article* ROCHEFOUCAUD (ALEXANDER DE LA).

(14) John xviii 36.

Wars, her Arms are too formidable, to contend with her about it. It is true, she pretends to be unarmed; but what does this signify to those who are afraid of her, since she has a thousand ways of arming the World, and shewing the Falsity of the Maxim, *Nemo dat quod non habet.* - - - - - *No body gives what he has not.* How many Men has she, of each of whom one may say what the Poet says of *Misenus?*

- - - - - - - - quo non præstantior alter
Ære ciere viros, martemque accendere cantu (15).

(15) Virgil, Æn. lib. vi, ver. 164.

BROUGHTON (Hugh), an *English* Divine, who died in the Year 1612, was very learned, and published a great Number of Books. He was so laborious, that, unless some considerable Affair hindered, he studied twelve or fourteen, or often sixteen Hours a Day (*a*). His *Commentaries on the Apocalypse, and on the Prophet* Daniel [*A*] are very poor, and he himself is a furious and abusive Writer, if we may believe the *Scaligerana* (*b*). He was extraordinarily attached to the Discipline of the Church of *England*, and rigorously condemned that of the Presbyterians. The Oration he addressed to the Inhabitants of *Geneva* (*c*) [*B*], shews it in a very lively manner; he aimed particularly at *Theodore Beza*, and it is he who reproached him with what we have seen elsewhere [*C*]. He wrote him very rough Letters, and communicated the Copies of them to the Jesuit *Serarius*, with full Permission to publish them [*D*].

(*a*) Samuel Clark's Observation. selectæ ad Rem. Literariam Spectant. Tom. III, pag. 198.

(*b*) Broughton scribit in Apocalypsim profecto magnas nugas, ut fecit in Danielem: est furiosus & maledicus. *Scaligerana secunda*, pag. 38.

(*c*) *See the Title of it below, in the Remark* [*B*].

[*A*] *He wrote a Commentary on the Prophet* Daniel.] What he writ in *English* on this Prophet was translated into *Latin*, and published at *Basil* in the Year 1599, by a young Man, who was afterwards Pensionary of the Province of *Zeland*, named *Adam Borsel* (1).

(1) Vossius Polit. Eccles. Tom. III, pag. 778.

[*B*] *He addressed an Oration to the Inhabitants of* Geneva.] It was printed in *Greek*, at *Mentz*, *apud Joannem Albinum*, in the Year 1601 in 8vo, under this Title. Λόγος πρὸς τοὺς Γενευσίους περὶ τῆς καθόδου εἰς ᾅδου, τί δέλει τὸ ῥηθὲν. *Oratio ad Genevenses de descensu ad inferos, quid locutio velit. An Oration to the Inhabitants of* Geneva *concerning the Signification of the Expression of descending into Hell.* It contains Ninty three Pages in 8vo, and is a very learned Piece. 'Præclara est '& rebus scitu dignissimis referta. Facilè trecenti 'auctorum textus ut plurimum sine auctorum nomine '& librorum allegatione recitantur in opusculo illo. 'Desuscatum est ejus de Beza, Bilsono, Barlæo '(2), ac aliis judicium, & nemini non placere potest '(3). - - - - - *It is excellent, and full of things worthy to be known; there are at least three hundred Authors cited in that little Work, generally without the Authors names, or Titles of their Books; his Judgment concerning* Beza, Bilson, Barlow, *and others is clear, and must please every Body.*'

(2) It should rather have been *Barlow*, for it is De *Barlow* that he abuses.

(3) Observat. Select. ad Rem. Literariam Spectant. Tom. III, pag. 190, *Edit.* Hale Magdeb. Ann. 1702.

He complains, that he had heard it said at *Geneva* that a certain *English* Lord was an Apostate from the Faith, because he believed that the Discipline of *Geneva* was not Apostolical. 'Quæ Broughtonus se 'cum Genum essat, audivisse refert de imputata Domino suo Apostasiâ ex hoc Capite quod non crederet Genuenses τὴν ἀποστολικὴν πρασσεῖν πολίτειαν. Verba ejus adscribere non pigrabimur; ità verò illa habent: Παρ' ὑμῖν ἂν ἀκήκοα, τὸν ἐμὸν κύριον ἀποστῆναι τῆς πίστεως, ὅτι οὐ πείθεται ὑμᾶς τὴν ἀποστολικὴν κρατεῖν πολίτειαν. Quinam ille fit Dominus quodam modo ex sequentibus colligere pronum est; nam paulo post, ut Broughtonum Latinè loqui non nemo fecit, Genuenses ita compellat: *Diligentium prætered adhibete ut tandem Beneficia adfictatis eis, qui vobis succurrerant in extremâ paupertate vestra ollo chiliadibus coronatorum, quibus mei Dominus, Henricus Comes Vindocinensis & Franciscus Walsingamus & Gualterus Mildemaus, &c. vobis intulerunt* (4). - - - - - *What* Broughton *says, when he was at* Geneva, *concerning the Imputation of Apostacy to his Lord, on this Account, because he did not believe that they of* Geneva *held the Apostolic Discipline. I have transcribed his Words, which are these: When I was amongst you I heard that my Lord had apostatized from the Faith, because he does not believe that you hold the Apostolical Discipline. Who that Lord is may in some measure be gathered from what follows: for a little lower,* Broughton, *as some body has translated him, speaks thus to the People of* Geneva: *Furthermore, take care at length to requite those who assisted you in your extream Necessity with eight thousand Crowns, with which my Masters,* Henry *Earl of* Winchester, Francis Walsingham, *and* Walter Mildmay, *&c. assisted you.*' A Physician of *Vratislaw* has a *Greek* and *Latin* Copy of that Oration, accompanied with Notes; and he designs to depose it in some public Library, or impart it to the first Person that comes, who has a Mind to print it (5).

(4) Ibid. p. 198.

(5) Ibid. p. 200.

[*C*] *It was he who reproached* Theodore Beza *with what we have seen elsewhere* (6).] That is to say, the continual Alterations of his Notes on the New Testament in every new Edition. Mr *Colomies* believed that the Letter wherein this Charge is found was *Drusius*'s (7); but he is mistaken, and probably only followed the Error of the Jesuit *Rosweide*. We will go to the Source; the Jesuit *Serarius* having said that *Casaubon* had observed some Faults committed by *Beza* on the New Testament, adds, that another Author, not a Catholic, promised to point out a greater Number of them. Presently he repeats the reproachful Terms used by this other Author in accusing *Theodore Beza* of Ignorance, and cites *Oratio* πρὸς τοὺς Γενευσίους (8); some Pages after he recites the Passage in question, and observes that he takes it from a Letter written to *Theodore Beza* by an Innovator, whom he had cited before (9): it is certain he means the Author of the *Oratio* πρὸς τοὺς Γενευσίους; and yet the Jesuit *Rosweide* was of Opinion, that *Drusius* was the Author of that Letter; for in copying the Passage mentioned by *Serarius*, he puts in the Margin *Jo. Drus. epist. ad Bezam* (10). But *Sixtinus Amama* shewed him that *Drusius* was not the Author of that Letter, and that *Serarius* pretended to attribute it to *Hugh Broughton*, a Man who had had great Differences with *Theodore Beza* and *Liveleius*. 'Novit universa Anglia, omnis Germa'nia, quam acris contentionis ferrum (nec enim est 'quod hoc dissimulemus, nec est quod Papistæ eo 'nomine nobis insultent;

Trojanos intra muros peccatur & extra)

'cum Beza & Liveleio reciprocaverit. Norunt 'hoc optime Moguntini Jesuitæ qui à se oleum in 'hunc ignem contra Legis præscripta injectum non 'sibunt inficias. Drusii itaque non est. Nota, Hy'lus, & libri ejus repugnant. Norunt omnes qui 'ipsum, tesles sunt libri ejus quam de Liveleio 'præclare senserit. Culpam ergo agnoscat Ros'weidus aut alia prodat documenta (11). - - - *All* England *and* Germany *are acquainted what a warm Contest he had with* Beza *and* Liveleius *(for we have no occasion to dissemble it, nor had the Papists room to insult us in that Account;*

That Crime's committed both in Camp and Town),

'*The Jesuits of* Mentz *know it very well, nor will 'they deny that they poured Oil into that Flame 'contrary to the Direction of the Laws; therefore 'it is not* Drusius's: *the Character, Stile, and his 'Books, shew the contrary. All who knew him 'know, and his Books testify, how good an Opinion 'he had of* Liveleius; *therefore let* Rosweide *ac'knowledge his Fault, or bring other Proofs.*'

(6) *In the Rem.* [*E*], *of the Article* BEZA.

(7) *See the same Remark.*

(8) Serarii Mi-nerval, lib. ii, cap. vi, pag. 39. *See also* lib. iv, cap. lii, pag. 89.

(9) Id. ibid. lib. ii, cap. x, p. 47.

(10) Rosweyd. in Anti Casaubono, pag. 32.

(11) *See the Letter which* Sixtinus Amama *wrote to* Sibrandus Siccama, *prefixed to the second Edition of the Treatise of* Drusius de Hasidæis, &c. fol. †††3, verso.

[*D*] *He communicated to the Jesuit* Serarius *Copies of his Letters to* Beza, *with full Liberty to publish them.*] A Canon of *Cologne* soon discovered this Game; for he inserted in a Book, which he published

published in the Year 1602, a Letter communicated to him by this Jesuit, which *Broughton* had wrote to *Theodore Beza* a little before. It is very proper to shew the Animosity of this *English* Doctor.

'Idem iste Brochtonus in Epistolâ Græcâ ad Bezam * tria crimina gravissima illi exprobrat, quam Epistolam Græcam fideliter Latine translatam, ut ab omnibus melius intelligatur, ad eorum aperienda & publicanda dissidia, subjicio. Multa habeo adversus te, ô Theodore, de quibus me accusasti: quare te omnino injuriarum postulare cogor. Primum crimen est, quod duo testes Magnates Angliæ contra testificari perhibentur, quæ jam typis excuduntur. Posteaquam eorum gratiâ quæ de rebus Bizantiorum ad te scripsi, me, sicuti nunc omnibus palam feci, vanum hominem cognominasti: Nisi ostendas hos testes non loquepletes, ac fide dignos esse, tuam stoliditatem promulgabo. Volui etiam Genevæ typis mandare nuncupationem, ac illam Hebræi Epistolam illustre encomium Heroinæ Angliæ continentem. Ac permittente Synhodo & Syndico tu obstitisti, pari modo admonitus, quam inconsiderate & absurde, & cum fidei periculo, interpretemini illud, descendere ad inferos, obduratus es, neque cedis. Tertium est illud quod mendaciter contra Senatum vestrum locutus es: quasi mihi ut homini turbulento, & in Angliæ Reginam maledico, necem allaturus esset. Hæc enim ad Primatem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ scripsisti. Expecto quid sis ad ista solide responsurus. Literas tuas celebri medico tradas, Domino novæ turris, hospiti meo: Ipse dabit operam ut ad me perferantur. Quod si nihil respondebis, polliceor tibi rem omnibus Ecclesiis me patefacturum, etiam exhausta jam prope tibi vita. Opinor autem & mihi ipsi adhuc paululum vitæ superesse, ideoque conabor offensionis expers videri. Vale, Francofurti decima Aprilis 1601.

Tuus BROCHTONUS.

* Hanc Epistolam Brochtonus Francofurto Moguntiam misit ad Doctissimum virum Nicholaum Serrarium qui mihi communicavit. Auctor ut Serrario publicaret permisit. - - - - - - Broughton *sent this Epistle from* Francfort *to* Mentz, *to the most learned* Nicolas Serrarius. *The Author gave* Serrarius *leave to publish it.*

'Inscriptio Epistolæ erat,

'Theodoro Bezæ, multi nominis Viro, Genevæ (12). —— *This same* Broughton, *in a* Greek *Letter to* Beza, *upbraids him with three heinous Crimes. The* Greek *Letter I subjoin, faithfully translated into* Latin, *that it may be understood by every body, in order to discover their Contests, and make them public. I have many things against thee,* O Theodore, *of which thou hast accused me, wherefore I am absolutely obliged to charge you with having done me wrong. The first Fault is what is disproved by the Testimonies of two* English *Peers, which are already in the Press, in as much as you have called me a vain Man, on account of what I writ concerning the Affairs of* Constantinople, *as I have now published to the World; unless you shew that these Witnesses are not substantial and credible, I will proclaim your Folly. I had a mind also to print a Discourse at* Geneva, *and that Epistle of the* Hebrew, *containing a notable Encomium on the Heroin of* England, *and when the Synod and Syndic had given me leave, you opposed it. In like manner, when you were admonished how inconsiderately, absurdly, and to the hazzard of the Faith, you interpret that of descending into Hell, you hardened yourself and would not yield. The third is what you falsely have said against your Senate, as if they were about to put me to Death, as a turbulent Person, for speaking ill of the Queen of* England; *for so you wrote to the Primate of the Church of* England. *I want to know what solid Answer you will give to these things. You may deliver your Letter to a noted Physician where I lodged; he will take care to convey it to me; but if you make me no Answer, I promise you I will lay the matter before all the Churches, even though your Life be almost at an end; for I think I have yet a little time before me, wherein I will endeavour to approve myself void of Offence. Farewel,*

Yours BROUGHTON.

'Francfort 10 April 1601.

The Letter was directed,

'To the celebrated *Theodore Beza, at* Geneva.

(12) Ex Corneill Schultingii, Epist Dedicator. Tom IV, Biblioth. Catholicæ & Orthodoxæ, fol. 3.

The same Author had just before cited several things taken from a Letter, which *Broughton* wrote to *Serarius*, which was prodigiously violent against *Theodore Beza*. 'Pacificus, ut apparet, Calvinista Hugo Broughton in Epistola manuscripta ad doctissimum virum D. Nicolaum Serrarium docentem Moguntiæ in Collegio Societatis Jesu, ait Genevensem rabiem prorumpere in Cyclopicam immanitatem, nullam fovere lenitatem, neque placide differere, unde fiat, ut Pacifici cum seditiosis in unam mentem coalescere non possent (13). . . . . In eâdem epistolâ scribit se de Bezæ mendaciis conquestum fuisse ad summates Angliæ, ad Senatum Genevensem, ad Tigurinos, Morgissanos, Basilienses, & complures alios. Nam cum scriberet de usu Sadaiæ Arabici ad Mosen & Persici commentarii; & scriberet Græcè de multiplici Rabbinorum varietate, Beza non destitit ipsum vexare maledictis omnino nolens credere talia studia sibi nota vel utilia fuisse. Rabiem autem Bezæ inde ortam fuisse conjicit, quod fando aliquid pervenerit ad illius aures spretum suum studium ad Novum Testamentum: quod cum LXX postulent 2000 vocabula sic exponi ut apud se ex altera parte respondeant linguæ Judaicæ, & plurima sint à 8. Apostolis divinitus accommodata ad Prophetas, & ferè totum Novum Testamentum conflatum ex stylo piorum Rabbinorum, ut etiamnum hodie existent vestigia sparsim in eorum libris, & minima pars sit merè graiugena oratio usu ex ethnico, hoc ultimum attulit secum Beza, inops abs reliquis, uti sese sæpè affirmâsse contestatur. Detestatur idem hoc etiam in Beza quod testimonia veteris Testamenti citata ab Apostolis directè ad suam caulam, ut etiam Judæi antiquissimi assentiuntur, secus Beza cum Calvino interpretatur, ut cabalistica vis tantum concedatur Apostolis; quod & recentes Judæi libenter jam annos 500 ut Aben-Ezra in Præfatione ad Mosen abjectare conspiciuntur. Hæc in Beza, inquit, reprehendi sæpius, & hinc illius persequutio & maledicta adversum me (14). - - - Hugh Broughton, *a peaceable Calvinist, as it should seem, in a manuscript Letter to the learned Dr* Nicolas Serrarius, *a Tutor in the College of the Jesuits at* Mentz, *says, that the Rage of those of* Geneva *broke out into monstrous Cruelty, exercises no Lenity, nor can dispute patiently, whence it comes that the pacific cannot join in one Mind with the seditious. . . . . In the same Letter he writes, that he had complained of* Beza's *Life to the chief Men in* England, *the Senate of* Geneva, *of* Zurich, *of* Morges, *of* Basil, *and several other places; for when he wrote of the use of the* Arabian Sada *on* Moses, *and of the* Persian *Commentary, and wrote in* Greek *concerning the great Variety of the Rabbins,* Beza *was continually speaking ill of him, nor would by any means believe, that he was acquainted with those Studies; or that they were of any use; and he conjectures that* Beza's *Rage rose from this, that he had by some means or other heard that he had spoke slightly of his Commentary on the New Testament. For whereas the* LXX *requires Two thousand Words to be so explained, that they may exactly correspond to the* Hebrew *Tongue, and a great many things are by the Apostles divinely accommodated to the Prophets, and almost the whole New Testament composed in the Stile of the pious Rabbins, of which there remains some Footsteps to this day in their Books, and very little of it is meerly Helenistical according to the Heathen use: Beza has at last introduced this, being unprovided with any thing else, as he himself has often affirmed. He likewise detests this in Beza, that he interprets the Testimony of the old Testament, cited by the Apostles, directly to their purpose, as the most ancient Jews allow, differently from* Calvin, *leaving to the Apostles nothing more than the force of the Cabala, which the later Jews have generally laid aside for these 500 Years, as* Aben Ezra *in his Preface to* Moses: *This, says he, I have often blamed in* Beza; *and hence comes his Persecution and Railing against me.'*

(13) Ibid. fol. 2, verso.

(14) Idem.

BRUYN (JOHN *de*), Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics at *Utrecht*, was born at *Gorcum*, the Twenty fifth of *August* 1620. He went through a Course of Philosophy at *Leyden*, under the Professor *Heerboord*, and then pursued his Studies at *Bois-le-duc*, where he was very much esteemed by *Samuel Maresius*, who taught there Philosophy and Divinity. From thence he removed to *Utrecht*, and applied himself diligently to the Mathematics, under the Professor *Ravensberg*, who had a particular Affection for him. He went afterwards to *Leyden*, where he obtained leave to teach Mathematics. *Ravensberg*, finding himself declining, so earnestly recommended him to the Magistrates and Curates of the University, as a very fit Man to fill up his Place, that they made him Professor of Natural Philosophy and Mathematics; and because the Professors of Philosophy had agreed among themselves, that every one of them might teach at home such a part of Philosophy as he should think fit, *de Bruyn*, not contented to teach what his public Professorship required, made also Dissections, and explained *Grotius*'s Book *De Jure Belli & Pacis*. He had great skill in dissecting Animals; he was a great lover of Experiments; and made also Astronomical Observations. The Dissertations he published, *De vi altrice*; *de corporum gravitate & levitate*; *de cognitione Dei naturali*; *de lucis caussis & origine*, &c [*A*], are manifest Proofs of his Worth. In the Year 1652, he married the Daughter of a Merchant of *Utrecht*, Sister to the Wife of *Daniel Elzevir*, the famous Bookseller of *Amsterdam*, by whom he had two Children, who lived but few Days. He departed this Life the Twenty first of *October*, 1675, after he had been a Professor for the space of Twenty three Years (*a*).

(*a*) Taken from his Funeral Oration pronounced by M. *Gravius*, *Novem.* 5, 1675.

[*A*] *He wrote a Treatise* De lucis caussis & origine.] He had a Dispute upon this Subject with *Isaac Vossius*, to whom he wrote a Letter of Sixty eight Pages in 4to, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1663, wherein he critizes *Vossius*'s Book, *De natura & proprietate lucis*, and strenuously maintains the Hypothesis of *Cartes*. He wrote also an Apology for the Cartesian Philosophy against a Divine, named *Vogelsang*.

BRUN (ANTONY *le*), Embassador of *Spain*, at the Conferences held at *Munster*, was an excellent Negotiator. He was a Native of *Franche Comté*, and discharged the Office of Attorney-General in the Parliament of *Dole*, when he was sent Embassador to *Munster*. All the Plenipotentiaries of *Spain* took Place of him; but he exceeded them all in Capacity: He knew better than they the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*, and being a Man 'of a more complying Humour [*A*], 'and of a more pleasant Conversation, he was better qualified for a Negotiation. 'The King of *Spain* was particularly beholden to him for the Peace which the 'Dutch made at *Munster*, exclusively of *France*. As a Reward for that Service, 'he was appointed Embassador to the States of the United Provinces, and then a 'considerable Office was bestowed upon him in the Finances at *Brussels*. —— He 'was very well beloved at the *Hague*, where he would have been very useful to 'his Master, had not his Employment ended with his Life, when he began to 'be well known, and esteemed on account of his Merit (*a*).' He left behind him four Sons (*b*), I do not know what was their Fate. He was an intriguing Man, and made himself dreaded by the *French* Embassadors [*B*], not without Reason, since he overcome the Difficulties which kept back the Treaty of Peace between *Spain* and the United Provinces [*C*]. He received an Affront for concerning himself

(*a*) Wicquefort, de l'Ambassadeur, Tom II, pag. 422, 423.

(*b*) James Richard, *King of Arms of the King of Spain, and his Consul at Amsterdam*, *De scription of Franche Comté in Blaew's Atlas.*

['*A*] *He was of a complying Humour.*] Others say, that he was a very popular Man, and consequently very fit to impose upon the Multitude. *Ingenio popolari aptissimum face plebi faciundo* (1); and that *Servien*, who affected Statelineſs in every thing, was not for that very reason so well qualified to succeed in *Holland* as *le Brun*, who had a Citizen-like Behaviour. 'Huic *(Servieno)* omnia nobilia, magnifica, excelsa fuere: Bruno vero vulgaris & popularis omnis ratio: eo factum ut quo similior his cum quibus agebat, ita & apud ipsos validior fuerit (2). —— *He* (Servian) *was in every thing noble, magnificent, and lofty: but* le Brun's *manner was altogether low and popular; wherefore as he was more like those with whom had to do, so he had more Prevalency with them.*'

(1) Labardæus de rebus Gallicis, lib. v, pag. 258.

(2) Id. pag. 259.

['*B*] *He made himself dreaded by the* French *Embassadors.*] That was the Reason why Mr *Servien* would not consent that Mr *le Brun* should be permitted to go to the *Hague* in his Return from the *Low-Countries* to the Conferences of *Munster*. 'When 'the seventy Articles had been signed, the eighth 'of *January*, 1647, between the Plenipotentiaries 'of *Spain*, and those of the United Provinces, 'Antony le Brun, one of the Plenipotentiaries of 'Spain, set out from *Munster* the very next Day, 'to carry the News of it to *Brussels*. Whilst he 'was there, he sent to the States desiring a Pass-port to go to the *Hague*. His Design was to ob'serve and thwart *Servien*'s Negotiation, who was 'about a Treaty of Guarantee; but *Servien* oppo'sed the granting the Passport, and so contrived 'the Matter, that the States having consulted the 'Prince of *Orange*, refused Mr *le Brun* (3).' Mr *de la Barde* expresses with greater force Mr *Servien*'s Uneasiness upon hearing that Mr *le Brun* was to come to the *Hague*. Mr *Servien* declared, says he (4), that if the Passport was granted, he would immediately retire. He adds, That the Princess of *Orange* favoured *le Brun* upon that Occasion; but the Prince was of Opinion, that *Servien* should be satisfied, and so *le Brun* was obliged to negotiate by way of Letters. He wrote to the States *Servien* answered his Letter (5); *le Brun* made a Reply (6). Mr *de la Barde* observes, that there was a personal Hatred between those two Embassadors.

(3) Wicquefort, de l'Ambassadeur, Tom. I, pag. 413, 414.

(4) Labardæus, lib. v, pag. 252.

(5) Id. pag. 253.

(6) Id. pag. 259.

['*C*] *He overcame the Difficulties which kept back the Treaty of Peace between* Spain *and the United Provinces.*] The Difficulties were Foreign and Domestic. The former were started by the *French* Embassadors, and were the least considerable. If Mr *le Brun* had not been warmly and dexterously seconded by Mr *Pauw* and Mr *Knuit*, the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, and had nevertheless concluded the Treaty of Peace, he would much more deserve to be praised for it than he does; for it must be confessed,

self with the domestic Differences that arose in *Holland*, in the Year 1650 [D]. But, because he was not easily discouraged, he countenanced those who desired, that the Dignity of Stadtholder should be suppressed [E]. He made use not only of Libels [F], but also of false Suppositions [G], for the Service of his Master. The *French* Writers took delight in reflecting upon him [H].

This

confessed, That those two Plenipotentiaries did very much clear and smooth the Difficulties for him. Every thing was made use of, even Contradictions, to oppose those who were for continuing the War. The Misery and Power of *France* were both alledged to that end (7). Sometimes she was represented so exhausted that she could no longer support her Allies; and sometimes so powerful, that it was to be feared the Continuation of the War would make her formidable to her Neighbours. Mr *Servien* one Day so strangely inveighed against Mr *Pauw* and Mr *Knuit* in the Assembly of the States-General, that he made bold to say, That they were the Pudenda of the Republic. *Le Brun* turned the thing to their Advantage; he called them the virile Parts of the State, which *Servien* designed to cut off, that the Republic might lose that manly Vigor, without which it could not maintain itself. 'Quandoque dicendi studio cum apud 'Fœderatos Ordines de republicâ differeret, elatus 'eò evasit, ut ambos pudenda reipublicæ appella'ret, quod est ab Bruno haud illepidè correctum, 'ubi Serviani Scripto postea respondit, eosdem rei 'Sociarum Civitatum publicæ virilia appellando, 'quæ Servianus exsecare vellet, ut huic minus 'masculæ virtutis inesset, quo tutari se aut adver'sum hostes possent, aut adversum socios æque 'prope damnosos, qui videlicet omnem societatis 'fructum sibi habere studerent, de eosdem rei 'modis nihil solliciti (8). - - - - *One time, in a Speech 'which he made before the States-General, in the 'Heat of his Discourse, he launched out so far as 'to call them two the Pudenda of the Common'wealth, which was wittily enough corrected and 'turned to their Advantage by* le Brun, *in his 'Answer to* Servien's *Memorial, by calling them 'the virile Parts of the Commonwealth, which* Ser'vien *had a Mind to cut off, that the Common'wealth might have less manly Virtue, to defend 'themselves against their Enemies, and against their 'Allies, who are almost as hurtful to them, in 'that they sought to reap all the Benefit of the 'Alliance themselves, taking no care of the Interest 'of their Allies.*' But if what Mr *de la Barde* says were true, there would be less reason to wonder, that the Intrigues of two *Dutch* Embassadors, seconded by *le Brun*, should have overcome the Obstacles to the Peace. He will have it that the Princess of *Orange*, being offended that Cardinal *Mazarin* had not paid her all the Honour she expected, endeavoured to make a separate Peace during the Sickness of her Consort. 'Hic (*Knutius*) Zelandiæ 'publice Legatus, privatim Araussi cliens erat, qui'tum ob perditam valetudinem, sicuti ferme ho'mines tali suo tempore, in uxoris Solmiæ fuit 'potestate: quæ quoniam ab Mazarino haud satis 'se cultam arbitrabatur, eo nobis infesta erat, at'que omni ope nitebatur, uti pax Hispanos inter, '& Socias Civitates, post-habito fœdere nostro, sanci'retur, de qua re Knutium continuo, sicuti & Batavo'rum Civitas Pavium, fatigabat (9). - - - - - - *He 'was in his public Character Embassador of* Zeland, *privately a Creature of the Prince of* Orange, *who, by reason of his ill State of Health, 'was then, as Men commonly are at such times, 'intirely led by his Wife* Solmia, *who, because she 'did not think she had sufficient regard paid her 'by* Mazarine, *was therefore our Enemy, and used 'her utmost Endeavour to settle a Peace between 'the* Spaniards *and United Provinces, exclusive of 'our Alliance, about which she was continually tei'zing* Knuit, *as the State did* Pauw.'

(7) *See a piece printed in* 1648, *intitled* la Confession de l'Imprimeur.

(8) Labardæus, pag. 259.

(9) Id. pag. 247.

[D] *He met with an Affront for concerning himself with the domestic Differences of the* Low-Countries *in* 1650.] M. *de Wicquefort* gives the following Account of it: 'In the Year 1650, there arose some 'Differences between the Prince of *Orange* and the 'States of *Holland*. Some of their Deputies were 'confined to the Castle of *Loevestein*, and the Prince 'brought the Troops of the State before the City 'of *Amsterdam*. *Antony le Brun*, Embassador of *Spain*, otherwise a dexterous and very wise Mi'nister, thinking to please the Prince, offered him 'the Forces of the King his Master to reduce that 'Town; but the Prince answered him, That *the 'King of* Spain *needed not concern himself with the 'domestic Affairs of his Country*, and that nei'ther he nor the States wanted his Assistance: That 'if the King should cause his Troops to advance, 'those small Differences would be quickly laid a'side, and all the Forces of the States would im'mediately be re-united to oppose the Foreign 'Troops. And indeed, those differences were quick'ly over; and the same Embassador, thinking to 'mend his first Fault, committed a second, by ask'ing Audience of the States, to compliment them 'about the Reconciliation. It was granted him; but, 'when they came to know the Subject of it, they 'sent him word, tho' he was already at the Foot 'of the Stairs where their Deputies were to re'ceive him, That they were obliged to desire him 'not to take it ill, that he should be put off till 'another time: So that he went home with a kind 'of an Affront, *for having had a mind to speak 'of a domestic Affair*, which he should have taken 'no notice of (10).

(10) Wicquefort de l'Ambassadeur, Tom. II, pag. 93, 94.

[E] *He countenanced those, who desired that the Dignity of* Stadtholder *should be suppressed.*] M. *de la Barde* gives us the substance of M. *le Brun's* Speech both to the States-General, and the States of the Province of *Holland*. What he said was very obliging to the most Serene House of *Orange*: he spoke not in that manner till after he had been at *Brussels*, to confer with the Ministers of his Catholic Majesty. On the contrary, the Court of *France* sent an Embassador Extraordinary to the States in favour of that House (11).

(11) Labardæus de Rebus Gallicis, lib. ix, pag. 623.

[F] *He made use not only of Libels.*] He published several during the Conferences of *Munster*, wherein he abused *France*. Those Pieces were written in a pleasant Stile, and with a great deal of sprightliness; but his Satires were too comical, and too much like Burlusque, if we believe the Author I have quoted. 'Hic (*Brunus*) fori rerum in qui'bus ætatem egit prudens, neque aliarum ignarus 'est, cæterùm ingenio populari, aptissimoque suco 'plebi faciundo. Eâ gratiâ libellos sæpiùs apud Mo'nasterium Vestfalorum edebat, haud illepidos hos 'quidem, sed qui saperent Atellanum, & quibus 'plebejâ planè lascivit ipsi ab natura insita male'dicta in Legatos, cæterosque Gallos jaceret, om'nemque eorum tam in bello gerendo, quàm in 'pacis negotio rationem vituperaret (12). - - - - - -

(12) Id. lib. v, pag. 250.

This le Brun *is very well acquainted with all 'the business of the Bar, in which he has spent his 'time, and has a good knowledge of other Things; 'but is of a popular Disposition and well cut out 'to impose on the multitude. For that purpose he fre'quently published Books at* Munster, *which were 'not unpleasant, but smelled of the Buffoon, wherein, 'with more mobbish wantonness, natural to him, he 'cast his reproaches on the Embassadors, and on the 'French in general, blaming all their Conduct 'both in managing War and Peace.*

[G] - - - - *but also of false Suppositions.*] M. *de Wicquefort*, speaking of some Embassadors, who spread false News, does not forget to say, That some 'do no scruple to publish Letters, pretending they 'have been intercepted, to cry down the Affairs 'and Conduct of those, whose Prosperity makes them 'uneasy. *He says, That* during the War of the 'Barberini, the *Spanish* Embassador dispersed a Let'ter at *Venice*, wherein Cardinal *Mazarin* exhorted 'Cardinal *Bichi* - - - - to do nothing too hastily 'etc. That those Letters were sent to all the Courts 'of *Europe*, but that the Cheat was quickly found 'out. *Le Brun (continues he)*, Embassador of *Spain* 'at *Munster*, went more cunningly about it, but 'with no better success. He knew the Plenipo'tentiaries of *France* were not well pleased with 'those of *Sweden*, and that they would express their 'Discontent in their first Dispatches to the Court; 'wherefore

This Article had been printed ſome Months, when I received a Memorial, which enables me to give a clearer and more certain Account of Mr *le Brun*. Meſſire *Antony le Brun*, born at *Dole*, in the Year 1600, was a conſiderable Man, not only for his Parts and Imployments, but alſo for his noble Extraction, and his Father's Merit [*I*]. He was Attorney-General in the Parliament of *Dole*, and diſcharged the Duties of that Office with great Ability, during which time he was imployed in all the State Negotiations which concerned the Province. See the Hiſtory of the Siege of *Dole*, written by Preſident *Boivin*. He was ſent afterwards by *Philip* IV to the Diet of *Ratiſbon*, and from thence to the Court of the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. He was then made Counſellor of the Council of State for the Affairs of *Flanders* and *Burgundy*. I have ſaid before, that he was one of the Plenipotentiaries of his Catholic Majeſty, at the Conferences of *Munſter*, that he continued there alone, intruſted with that important Negotiation for a conſiderable time, and that after he had concluded the Treaty of Peace between *Spain* and the United Provinces, he was ſent Embaſſador to the *Hague*. The Services he did there to *Philip* IV, were ſo acceptable to That Prince, that he made him Counſellor in the Supreme Council, and in the Council of State, and then the Head of his Finances in the *Low-Countries*. This laſt Office was always filled up by Perſons of Quality, and often by Knights of the *Golden Fleece*. The Count *d'Iſemburg*, aſſociated to Mr *de Brun* in that Office, was one of thoſe Knights. Mr *de Brun* was honoured at that time with the Dignity of Baron, for him and his Male Iſſue (*c*). He died at the *Hague*, during his Embaſſy, and was buried in the Church

(*c*) You will find among his other Titles, that of Baron *d'Aſpremont* in *Blaeu's Atlas*, in the Map of *Franche Comté*, dedicated to him.

' wherefore he found means to get a Letter, ' wherein the Humour and the Proceedings of *Oxenſtern*, and his Father the Chancellor, were ſharply reflected upon. *Le Brun*, who thought it neceſſary to go beyond the Letter, altered ſome Paſſages in it in ſuch a manner, as was not only very offenſive to thoſe two Miniſters, but might have occaſioned a Rupture between the two Confederated Crowns. He went too far in the Matter, and thereby gave an advantage to the *French*, who being able to diſcover the falſity, found it no difficult thing to render every thing elſe ſuſpicious, and to cauſe a belief that it was all a Cheat (13).'

(13) Wicquef. de l'Ambaſſadeur, Tom. II, p. 138, 139.

One may argue, upon this Occaſion, quite contrary to *Virgil* If Servants, ſaid he, are ſo bold, what will not Maſters do?

(14) Virgil, Eclog. III, v. 26.

Quid dominî faciant audent cum talia fures (14)?

What Nonſenſe would the Fool, thy Maſter, prate,
When thou, his Knave, can'ſt talk at ſuch a Rate:

DRYDEN.

But we may ſay, if the Embaſſadors of the greateſt Kings do not ſcruple to divulge falſe News, and Calumnies forged by themſelves, what may not one expect from thoſe Men, who without a Name, and without being owned, take upon themſelves to write about the preſent Affairs for a Livelihood, and to ſatisfy their detracting Humour. Is it any Wonder, that ſuch People ſhould venture to publiſh the moſt abſurd Fictions, and give out, as Matter of Fact, the Falſities which they invent to indulge their Paſſions, and comply with the public Diſtemper? They meet with ſome Caſuiſts, who flatter that Paſſion; for I make no doubt, that there are ſeveral *Eſcobar*'s and *Baunî*'s, who abſolve private and public Perſons, that forge Calumnies for the Good of their Country; and I know that a Proteſtant Miniſter, the ſame who by ſo many Paſtoral Letters ſet up, as it were, for an Oecumenical Paſtor, or an Univerſal Biſhop, has declared, That every thing is lawful and fair againſt an open Enemy (15). *Wicquefort*, who was a Statesman, and not a Divine, had a better Senſe of Morality, as it appears from the following Words: Having ſaid, that a Miniſter of the Court of *Vienna* (16) forged a very ſcandalous Piece in the Year 1672, as if it had been a Diſcourſe made by the Commander *de Gremonville*, a Miniſter of *France*, to the Emperor's Council againſt the United Provinces, he adds: ' A Public ' Miniſter ought to abhor thoſe Impoſtures and ' wicked Contrivances; he ought to be above thoſe ' mean Tricks, which are only the Productions of ' a weak and perverſe Mind (17).

(15) He only excepts Aſſaſſination in another place. See the *Entretiens ſur la Cabale Chimerique*, pag. 86, & ſeq.

(16) Probably the Baron *Liſola*.

(17) Wicquef. ibid. pag. 140, 141.

[*H*] *The* French *Writers took delight in abuſing him.*] The following Paſſage is in a Book written by *Naudé* (18). His Deſign is to ſhew, That the *Spaniards* prevented the Concluſion of the Peace at *Munſter*, and he uſes theſe Words. ' The particular ' Agreement of the *Dutch* was no ſooner concluded; ' but *Pegneranda* made it his whole Buſineſs to break ' with us, and to raiſe Difficulties, not only about ' the Articles, not yet agreed upon, but alſo about ' thoſe wherein there was no longer any difficulty; ' inſomuch that he went away from *Munſter*, where ' he only left *le Brun* without any Power; which ' the whole Aſſembly was the more offended at, be' cauſe tho' he had been provided with a full Power, ' no body could believe that the King of *Spain* would ' truſt his moſt important Intereſts to a *Burgundian*, ' or have that great Work concluded . . . . . by a ' Man of ſo inconſiderable Quality, at the very ſame ' time when he recalled his chief Plenipotentiary, ' whom *le Brun* was uſed to obey, as a Servant obeys ' his Maſter (19). Every body will perceive, that *Naudé* knew not how great a Truſt the Court of *Spain* repoſed in M. *le Brun*. Another *French* Writer, who could not deny it, and who acknowledges the Credit of that Miniſter, finds fault with him only about the Meanneſs of his Equipage. ' Ab Hiſpa' niæ rege comes Penneranda cui additus Antonius ' Brunus à Sequanis, qui duobus ſervulis, ſciſſili veſte, ' & rheda ſemilacera, plus ponderis rebus addidit, ' quam dimidia pars totius cœtus (20). ..... *On the* ' *part of the King of* Spain *was Count* Penneranda, ' *with whom was joined* Antony de Brun, *a* Burgun' dian, *who, with two Servants, a ragged Coat, and* ' *a worn out Chariot, was of more weight in the Af*' *fairs, than half the whole Aſſembly.*

(18) *Intitulé*, Jugement de tout ce qui a été imprimé contre le Cardinal Mazarin, depuis le 6. Janvier juſques à la declaration du 1 Avril, 1649.

(19) Pag. 587.

(20) Priolus de rebus Gallicis, lib. x. n. 3. pag. 344.

[*I*] *He was conſiderable for his noble Extraction, and his Father's Merit.*] It has been a Noble Family ever ſince the time of *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*. It appears by ſome public Acts, regiſtred in the Chamber of Accounts at *Dole*, that *John Brun* was an Eſquire, and poſſeſſed ſome Lands and Lordſhips in Fief, which he held of that Duke, and for which he paid him Homage in the Year 1447. The Act of that Homage is ſigned by the ſame Duke. The Arms of that Family (21) are, *Or, three Grapes purple, ſupported by two Lyons Or, armed, and languid, Gules.* The Father of our *Antony de Brun*, was *Charles Brun*: He was Counſellor in the Parliament of *Dole* in the Year 1595. The King of *Spain* ſent him twice to the Court of *France*, when Marſhal *de Biron*, Governor of the Duchy of *Burgundy*, occaſioned ſome Troubles, and when the Neutrality of the two *Burgundies* was renewed. He was likewiſe ſent to the Duke of *Savoy*, the Duke of *Lorrain*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, for ſome important Affairs of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. He was alſo deputed by his Parliament, and his Province, to pay the Homage of Fidelity to the Archduke *Albert*, and the Infanta *Iſabella Clara Eugenia*, when the King of *Spain* yeilded to them *Franche Comté* and the Low Countries. He acquitted himſelf of thoſe Imployments to the Satisfaction of the Public and

(21) They may be ſeen in the Map of the County of *Burgundy*, in *Blaeu's Atlas*.

Church of the *Carmelites* at *Mechlen* (*d*). I ſhall ſpeak of his Children [*K*]. Theſe Words of *Balſac* ought not to be forgotten: 'I refer it to the *French* and *Burgundians*, to M. *Brun*, the *Demoſthenes* of *Dole*; and to M. *le Maiſtre*, the *Cicero* of *Paris* (*e*).'

(*d*) Taken from a Manuſcript Memorial.

(*e*) Balzac, Diſcourſe 2, to Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, printed with the Socrate Chretien, pag. 472.

and of his Prince. His other Son, *JOHN BRUN*, was Counſellor in the Parliament of *Dole* (22).

(22) Taken from a MSS. Memorial.

[*K*] *I ſhall ſpeak of his Children.*] He married Donna *Magdalena de Acoſta*, a noble and ancient Family of *Spain*, by whom he had many Children of both Sexes. Don *LORENZO de BRUN*, one of them, Baron *d'Aſpremont*, *&c.* was Captain of *Cuiraſſiers* in the Service of the King of *Spain* againſt the *Portugueſe*, when he was killed at the Battle of *Villaviciosa*. Two of his Brothers died in the ſame Service, without being married. There remains a fourth, who married in *Languedoc*, and has a Family. He reſides in *Burgundy* (23), and is Knight of Honour in the Parliament of that Province. A Seat of his has been erected into a Marquiſate (24).

(23) I think *Franche Comté* is meant by it.

(24) Taken from the ſame MSS.

BRUN (CHARLES *la*), Chief Painter to the *French* King, Director of the Manufactures, *&c* [*A*], was one of the greateſt Men that ever *France* produced for Painting. His being elected Prince of the Academy of Painters at *Rome*, where they pretend to have exceeded, for ſo many Ages, all other Nations in the Knowledge of the Liberal Arts, is a ſufficient Proof of his Ability. He was born in the Year 1618, with ſo many Diſpoſitions to become a great Painter, that, at three Years of Age, he took Coals out of the Fire, and ſketch'd upon the Hearth, and againſt the Chimney, having no Light but that of the Fire. When fourteen Years old, he drew the Picture of his Father (*a*), who was a Sculptor, and performed it ſo well, that the Picture is ſtill accounted a very good Piece. At that time there was no Painter in *France* more eſteemed than Mr *Vouët* [*B*]. Mr *le Brun*, who lived in his Houſe, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf from his other Scholars, got the Affection and Eſteem of Chancellor *Seguier*, who gave him a good Penſion, and afterwards ſent him to *Rome*, where he maintained him for ſome Years. His eaſy way of drawing, and the Correctneſs of his Works, ſurprized the moſt famous Painters, and the beſt Sculptors of *Italy*. He ſaw there the fineſt Pieces that could be ſeen, both Ancient and Modern, and perfected his good Taſte, which has been ſo much admired ſince. He always preſerved a deep ſenſe of Gratitude for Chancellor *Seguier*, and gave an admirable Inſtance of it after the Death of his Patron, by the divine Service that was performed for him in the Church of the Fathers of the *Oratory*, and by a *Mauſoleum* erected there according to the Draught he had made of it, and under his Direction. At his return from *Rome* he very much diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the beſt Painters of *Paris*; and the firſt Preſident *de Bellievre* proved a new Patron to him. He painted Madam *du Pleſſis Belliere*, Mother to Marſhal *de Crequi*'s Lady, ſo well, that her Picture was, and is ſtill, accounted a Maſter-piece. Cardinal *Mazarin* came to know him by ſome other Pictures which he drew for the ſame Lady; and, as he was a good Judge of Painting, he expreſſed a great Eſteem for Mr *le Brun*'s Pencil, and made him famous every where. After the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, the King, being reſolved to make the Liberal Arts flouriſh, found no body better qualified than Mr *le Brun* to preſide at the *Gobelins* with the ſeveral Employments he beſtowed upon him; which put him in a capacity of diſcovering the whole Extent of his noble Talents. He was not only an excellent Painter, but alſo a Man of a vaſt and inventive Genus, and fit for every thing. He knew the Hiſtory and Manners of all Nations. In an Hour's time he cut out Work enough for many different Artiſts. He ſupplied the King's Sculptors and Goldſmiths with Deſigns, and gave many of them to paint whole Apartments, and to make Cabinets and Hangings. When he was about the large Picture of *Darius*'s Family, from which one of the five Pieces of Tapeſtry of *Alexander*'s Hiſtory was made, and which is now in the King's great Apartment at *Verſailles*, His Majeſty ſpent near two Hours every Day at *Fontainbleau* to ſee him paint, and ſome time after ſent him his Picture, and then a Patent of Nobility (*b*), and a Coat of Arms (*c*). The Great Duke of *Tuſcany* conceived ſo great an Eſteem for him, that he did him the Honour to aſk him for his Picture, and to inform him that he would willingly keep Correſpondence with him. The great Eſteem he was in at the *French* Court appeared during the Sickneſs of which he died on the twelfth of *February*, 1690 [*C*]. He

(*a*) *Mr Borrault*, in his *Hommes Illuſtres*, pag. 216, ſays that *le Brun*, being but ten or twelve Years of Age, drew the Picture of his Grandfather, who was a Sculptor at *Paris*.

(*b*) *Dated* December, 1662.

(*c*) Which are a Son in a Field Argent, and a Flower de-luce Azure, with a Creſt Felle.

[*A*] *Director of the Manufactures*, &c.] To fill up this *&* *cætera*, I obſerve, That Mr *le Brun* was Director of the Royal Manufactures of the Houſehold Goods of the Crown; Director, Chancellor, and Rector, of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, and Prince of St *Luke*'s Academy at *Rome*.

[*B*] *At fourteen Years of Age he drew his Father's Picture - - - - There was not at that time any Painter in* France *more eſteemed than Mr* Vouët.] I mean *Simon Vouët*, who had two Brothers Painters alſo. See the Book entitled *Noms des Peintres les plus celebres*, or, *Names of the moſt famous Painters*, printed at *Paris*, *Anno* 1679, pag. 48.

He had a Penſion from the King, and lodged in the Galleries of the *Louvre*. It was he, who painted the Vault of the Chapel of St *Germain en Laye*, and the moſt excellent Painters in *France* as *Mignard*, *Bourdon*, *Tetelin*, and *le Sueur*, were his Scholars. He was a Native of *Paris*, and died in the Year 1649.

[*C*] *The great Eſteem he was in at the* French *Court appeared in his laſt Illneſs.*] The King and the greateſt Lords often ſent to know how he did. Mr *de Louvois* ſent him the moſt famous Phyſicians. He was viſited by the Prince of *Condé*, and many Lords of the firſt Rank.

He was buried in the Chappel he had built for himself, in the Church of St *Nicolas du Chardonneret*, his Parish, where he founded two Masses to be said every Day for ever. He also left a Fund to marry three poor Maids every Year. He died without Issue, and therefore Mr *le Brun*, his Nephew, Auditor of the Accompts, will be his only Heir after his Wife's decease (*d*).

(*d*) The Text and Remarks of this Article are but an Abridgment of what is to be found concerning Mr *le Brun* in the *Mercure Galant*, for the Month of - - - - - 1690.

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary, we have seen an Encomium upon Mr *le Brun*, written by Mr *Perrault*, in his *Hommes Illustres*. I could take many Particulars out of that Book, but I rather chuse to refer the Reader to it. The Widow of that excellent Painter died in the Year 1699.

BRUNUS (LEONARD). Look for ARETIN (LEONARD).

BRUNUS (JORDANUS), a Native of *Nola*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, was a Man of great Parts, but he made an ill use of his Knowledge; for he wrote not only against *Aristotle*'s Philosophy [*A*], at a time when such a thing could not be done without occasioning great Disorders, and exposing one's self to many Persecutions, but also against the most important Truths of Religion [*B*]. Being expelled from *Italy* he retired into a Country less dangerous for such Philosophers as he was (*a*). He run over *Germany*, *France*, &c. and it had been well for him if he had gone on, for, when he returned into *Italy*, he was burnt there, say some, as an impious Man, in the Year 1600. I shall set down the Titles of some of his Works [*C*], and mention some things relating to four or five of his other Books [*D*]. He

(*a*) See the second Letter of *Acidalius*: it was written in 1592, to Baron *Forgats*, who was then at *Padua*. *Acidalius* asks him whether it was true, according to common Report, that *Jordanus Brunus* taught at *Padua*.

[*A*] *He wrote against* Aristotle's *Philosophy.*] See the Book intituled, *Jordani Bruni Nolani Camœracensis Acrotismus, seu rationes articulorum Physicorum adversus Peripateticos Parisiis propositorum*, &c. It was printed at *Wittemberg* in the Year 1588, in 8vo. You will find in it a Letter which *Brunus* wrote to *Henry* III, one that he wrote to the Rector of the University of *Paris*, and one he wrote to the Friends of the true Philosophy. *Parisiensibus & aliis ? generosiss. Galliarum regno philosophiæ simulatricis philosophiæ dogmatum amicis & defensoribus.* You will find in it, *Excubitor, seu Jo Hennequini Apologetica declamatio habita in auditorio regio Parisiensis Academiæ in festo Pentecostes anno* 1586, *pro Nolani articulis*; and at the end of the Articles are these Words: 'Articuli de Natura & Mundo à Nolano in Principibus Europæ Academus propositi: quos Jo Hennequinus nobilis Parisiensis sub ejusdem felicibus auspiciis contra vulgaris & cujuscunque adversariæ Philosophiæ Professores triduo Pentecostes in Universitate Parisiorum defendendos evulgavit: brevibus adjectis ratiocinibus (1). — — *Theses concerning Nature and the World, proposed by* Nolanus *in the principal Universities of* Europe, *which* John Hennequin, *a Noble* Parisian, *put up to defend in the University of* Paris, *the third Day after Pentecost, against the Professors of the common or any contrary Philosophy; with short Reasons added thereto.*' It appears from these Words, that *Brunus* acted the part of a Knight Errant in point of Philosophy, being always ready to engage any one that was willing to enter the Lists with him, *&c.*

(1) *Taken from Nicodemo*, Addizioni alla Bibliot. Napolet. p. 90. *That Book was printed at Naples, in the Year* 1683.

[*B*] *And the most important Truths of Religion.*] It is said that he wrote some Books, wherein he maintained, that there are a great many Worlds, all eternal; that the *Jews* only descended from *Adam* and *Eve*, and that all other Men were sprung from a Race created by GOD long before; that all the Miracles of *Moses* were an Effect of Magic, and exceeded the Wonders performed by the other Magicians only because he had made a greater Progress in Magic; that he himself forged the Laws he delivered to the Israelites; that the holy Scripture is a meer Fiction, *&c. John Henry Ursinus*, who informs me of this, adds, that *Brunus* was burnt at *Rome*, in the Field of *Flora*, for those impious Doctrines, on the ninth of *February*, 1600 (2). He mentions all these things upon the Credit of *Scioppius*, who had given a full Account of them in a Letter. *Nicodemus*, in his Additions to the *Bibliotheca Napoletana*, says, that it is not certainly known whether every thing related by *Ursinus* be true. It is somewhat strange that one should not know at eighty Years end whether a *Dominican* (3), was burnt at *Rome* in a public Place for his Blasphemies. When Facts of this nature are uncertain, they are very like to be false.

(2) Joh. Henr. Ursinus in Præfatione Tractatus de Zoroastre.

(3) *Ursinus says that* Brunus *was* professione Dominicanus.

[*C*] *I shall set down the Titles of some of his Works.*] He fell into *Raymund Lullius*'s Notions, and refined them, and invented several Methods of Artificial Memory; all this, say they, discovers a great Genius; but there is so much Obscurity in them, that they can be of no use. See *Morhofius*'s *Polyhistor* (4). However it be, here are the Titles *De specierum scrutinio & Lampade combinatoria Raymundi Lullii*, Prague, 1588, *in* 8vo. That Book *was put in the Index of the Inquisition* (5). It has been reprinted several times with a Tract of the same Author, *de progressu logicæ venationis*, among *Lullius*'s Works. 'Jordanus Brunus de monade, numero & figura: item de innumerabili, immenso, *&c. Francfort*, 1591, *in* 8vo. 'Jordani Bruni Nolani de imaginum, signorum, & idearum compositione, ad omnia inventionum, dispositionum, & memoriæ genera libri tres (6). *Francfort*, 1591, in 8vo. De umbris idearum, *Paris.* 1582. Cantus Circæus ad memoriæ praxim ordinatus quam ipse judiciariam appellat, *Paris.* 1583. De compendiosa Architectura & complemento artis Lullii, *ibid* 1580 (7). Artificium perorandi.' *Alstedius* published it at *Francfort* in 1612 (8). *Vossius*, page 510 of the first Volume of his Theological Disputations, quotes *Jordanus Brunus de Hæreticis*; but he should have said *Conradus Brunus.*

(4) Pag. 365, & seq.

(5) Toppi Bibliotheca Napoletana, pag. 152.

(6) Nicodemo, ubi supra.

(7) Du Verdier in Supplem Bibl. Gesn. pag. 33.

(8) Morhof. Polyh. pag. 355.

[*D*] - - - - - - *and some things relating to four or five of his other Books.*] I have seen none of *Brunus*'s Books mentioned in the foregoing Remarks; but I have seen some others which are not to be found in the Catalogues I have consulted (9). I have seen the Book intituled *Giordano Bruno Nolano, De causa, principio, & Uno.* It was printed at *Venice* in the Year 1584, in 12mo, and dedicated by the Author to *Michael de Castelnau, Seigneur de Mauvissiere*, Embassador of *France* to Queen *Elizabeth*. I find in the Epistle Dedicatory, that this Lord protected *Giordano Bruno* against the Malice of his Enemies. *Mi riduco à mente come - - - - - mi fiete sussistente & salde difensore ne gl' injusti oltraggi ch' io patisco.——Brings to my Mind how effectual and solid a Protector you have been to me against the unjust Outrages which I suffer.* The Author pretends that his heroical Firmness prevented his falling into Despair; for his ill Fortune was attended with a thousand Disgraces: nothing was wanting to complete it but the malicious disdain of a Mistress. 'Wherefore I had need to have been of a truly heroic 'Spirit, not to submit, despair, or yield to such a 'rapid Torrent of criminal impostures; whereby 'they have with all their Might drawn upon me 'the Envy of the Ignorant, the Presumption of Sophists, the Detraction of the Malevolent, the Murmurs of Slaves, the Whispers of Mercenaries, the 'Contradiction of Domestics, the Suspicions of the 'Stupid, the Scruples of Tale-bearers, the Zeal of 'Hypocrites,

(9) I speak thus as far as I can remember, and I even except *la cena de' Cineri*; for it is a Book, the Title of which is to be found in *du Verdier*, *ubi supra*.

He wrote some that were not Philosophical; for in the Year 1582 he published an *Italian* Comedy at *Paris*, intituled *Candelaio* (*b*). He gave himself the Title there of *Academico*

(*b*) Du Verdier in Supplem. Bibl. Gesn. pag. 33.

' Hypocrites, the Hatred of the Barbarous, the Fury ' of the Vulgar, the Madness of the Popular, the La- ' mentations of the Abandoned, the Cries of the Chas- ' tised; certainly there wanted nothing, but the ' unkind foolish and malicious Disdain of a Woman, ' whose false Tears alone are more powerful than ' the most swelling Waves, and rigid Tempests of ' Presumption, Envy, Detraction, Murmurs, Trea- ' chery, Disdain, Hatred, and Madness.' *Deue bisognava che fusse un animo veramente heroico per non dismetter le braccia, disperarsi, & darsi vinto à si rapido torrente di criminali imposture, con quali à tutta possa m'haue fatto empeto l'invidia d'ignoranti, la presuntion di sophisti, la detrattion di malevoli, la murmuration di servitori, gli susurri di mercenarii, le contradittioni di domestici, le suspitioni di stupidi, gli scrupoli di riportatori, gli zeli d'hypocriti, gl' odii di barbari, le furie di plebei, furori di popolari, lamenti di riprocssi, & voci di castigati. Oue altro non manchava ch' un discortese, pazzo, & malitioso sdegno feminile, di cui le false lachrime soglon esser piu potenti, che quantosivoglia tumide onde, & rigide tempeste di presuntioni, invidie, detrattioni, mormorii, tradimenti, ire, sdegne, odii, & furori.* The same Epistle Dedicatory contains the Substance of the five Dialogues of which that Work consists. The first is an Apology for *la Cena de le Cineri*, which is the Title of a Book I shall speak of hereafter. The second treats of the first Cause or Principle, and shews how the efficient and formal Cause are reunited in one Subject, which is the Soul of the World; and how the formal general Cause, which is but one, differs from the formal particular Cause, which is infinitely multiplied. The Author declares, among other things, that his System removes the fear of Hell, which, says he, spoils the sweetest Pleasures of Life (10). He shews in the third Dialogue, that *David* of *Dinant* was in the right to look upon Matter as a Divine Thing. He maintains that the substantial Form is never destroyed, and that Matter and Form differ only as Power and Act: from whence he concludes, that the whole Universe is but one Being. He shews in the following Dialogue, that the Matter of Bodies is not different from that of Spirits; and lastly, he concludes in the fifth Dialogue, that the Being which really exists is One, Infinite, Immoveable, and Indivisible. *Senza differenza di tutto & parte, principio & principiato. - - Without distinction of Whole and Part, Cause and Effect:* That an infinite Extension is necessarily reduced to an *Individuum*, as an infinite Number is reduced to Unity. This is a general Notion of what he expresses more particularly in his Summaries, and more at large in his Dialogues; from whence it appears, that his Hypothesis is in the main altogether like *Spinozism*. There is at the end of the first Dialogue a Digression in Praise of Queen *Elizabeth*.

(10) Spento à fatto il terror vano & puerile de la morte, si conosco una parte de la felicità che apporta la nostra contemplatione, secondo i fondamenti de la nostra philosophia: atteso che lei toglie il fosco velo del pazzo, sentimento circa l'Orco & avaro Caronte, onde il piu dolce de la nostra vita ne si rape & avelena.

Here follows another Book, which he dedicated to the same Mr *de Castelnau*. *Giordano Bruno* Nolano. *De l'infinito Universo & Mondi. Stampato in Venetia. Anno M.D. LXXXIV.* in 12mo. It consists of five Dialogues, wherein he alledges many Reasons to shew that the Universe is infinite, and that there is an infinite number of Worlds. He declares for *Copernicus's* Opinion concerning the Motion of the Earth round the Sun. I have also seen his *Spaccio de la bestia trionfante, proposto da Giove.* Effettuato dal consiglio, *Revelato da Mercurio, Recitato da Sophia, Udito da Sauline*, Registrato dal Nolano. Divisio in tre Dialogi, subdivise in tre parti - - - *Stampato in Parigi M.D.XCIV.* in 12mo. He dedicated it to Sir *Philip Sidney*, who had done him many good Services in *England*. 'Tis a Moral Treatise, oddly composed; for the Author represents the Nature of Vices and Virtues under the Emblems of the Celestial Constellations turned out of the Sky to make room for new Asterisms, which represent Truth, Goodness, &c. *Du Verdier Vau-privas* reckons, among the Works of our *Jordano*, *la Cena de le Cineri descritta in cinque dialogbi, per quattro interlocutori contra considerationc circa dei Segetti. Stampata nell' anno* 1580 (11). The Copy I have seen is in 12mo, and was printed in 1584. That Book was dedicated by the Author to Mr *de Castelnau, unico refugio de le Muse*, during his Embassy in *England*. The reason of the Title is, that those Conversations are supposed to have been a Table-talk the first day in *Lent*. The Opinion of *Copernicus* is maintained among other things in that Work; and it is added, that there is an infinite number of Worlds like this, and that they are all intellectual Animals, which have Vegetative and Rational *Individuums* as there are upon Earth. The contrary Opinion is called childish. ' La quarta afferma ' esser conformi in materia quelto mondo nostro ' ch' è detto globo della terra, con gli mondi che ' son gli corpi de gl' altri astri, & che è cosa da ' fanciulli haver creduto & credere altrimente. Et ' che quei son tanti animali intellettuali: & che ' non meno inquelli vegetano & intendono molti ' & innumerabili individui semplici, & composti, che ' veggiamo vivere & vegetar nel dorso di questo (12). ' - - *The fourth affirms, that this World of ours, which* ' *is called the Globe of the Earth, is composed of* ' *like matter with the Worlds which are the Bodies* ' *of the other Stars; and that it is childish to be-* ' *lieve otherwise. And that they are so many intel-* ' *lectual Animals, and that there are in them in-* ' *numerable, vegetable, and intelligent Individuals,* ' *simple and compound, as well as we see here on* ' *the Surface of this Globe.*' Lastly, I have seen *li Heroici Furori* of that Writer. They contain two Parts, each of which is divided into five Dialogues. The Author wrote them during his stay in *England*, and dedicated them to Sir *Philip Sidney*. There are many *Italian* Verses in that Work, and many Cabalistical Notions; for, under certain Figures, which seem to represent the Transports and Disorders of Love, he pretends to raise the Soul to the contemplation of the most sublime Truths, and cure it of it's Imperfections. There are some Poems at the end, wherein he celebrates the Beauty of the *London* Women.

(11) Du Verdier, Supplem. Bibl. Gesn. pag. 33.

(12) Giordano Bruno, Epist. Dedicat. della Cena de le Cineri.

Two general Observations may be made upon the Notions of this Author: One is, That his chief Doctrines are a thousand times more obscure, than the most incomprehensible things that have been advanced by the Followers of *Thomas Aquinas*, or *John Scotus* (13). For can any thing be more contrary to the Notions of our Minds, than to maintain that an Infinite Extension is wholly in each point of Space, and that an Infinite Number does not differ from Unity? ' L' uno, l'infinito, lo ente & ' quello che è in tutto, è per tutto anzi è l'istezzo ' UBIQUE. Et che cossi la infinita dimenzione ' per non essere magnitudine coincide con l'indi- ' viduo, come la infinita moltitudine, per non es- ' ser numero coincide con la unita (14).' The other Observation is, That he ridiculously fancies, that whatever he says is repugnant to the System of the *Peripatetics*, which is the Sophism called *Ignoratio Elenchi*. There is nothing but a Dispute about Words between Him and Them, as to what concerns the Immutability or Destructibility of Things. They never pretended that Matter, as it is a Substance, and the common Subject of Generation and Corruption, is capable of any change. But they maintain, that the Production and Destruction of Forms supposes, that the Subject, which acquires and loses them successively, is not immutable and unalterable. *Brunus* cannot deny it, but by taking the Words in a particular sense; and therefore it is only a misunderstanding and an equivocation. It appears from the following passage, that he acknowledges a Mutability in his one Being: ' Per il ' che, *says he* (15), non vi sonorà mal nel orecchio la ' sentenza di Heraclito, che disse tutte le cose ' essere uno, il quale per la MUTABILITA' ' hà in se tutte le cose; & perche tutte le forme ' sono in esso, conseguentemente tutte le diffini- ' tioni gli convegnono; & per tanto le contradditto- ' rie enunciatione son vere. Et quello che fà la ' moltitudine ne le cose non è lo ente, non è la ' cosa: ma quel che appare, che si rapresenta al ' senso & è nella superficie della cosa. - - - - *Ahere-* ' *sors*

(13) That is, Followers as to Philosophy.

(14) Giordano Bruno, Epist. Dedicat. del tratto de la causa, Principio & Uno.

(15) Id. Dialogo quinto del medesimo trattato, pag. 127.

Academico di nulla Academia, detto il Faſtidito. Some ingenious Perſons pretend that Mr *Des Cartes* has borrowed ſome of his Notions from him [*E*].

'*fore the Opinion*, Heraclites, *will not ſound ill in* '*your Ears, which ſays that all things are one, be-*'*cauſe* MUTABILITY *contains all things, and* '*becauſe all Forms are in it, conſequently all Defi-*'*nitions agree to it; and thus contradictory Propo-*'*ſitions are true, and the cauſe of the multitude of* '*Things is not the Being, not the Subſtance, but thoſe* '*things that appear are only repreſented to the ſenſes,* '*and are the ſuperficies of the Subſtance of the thing.*' A Peripatetic would grant him the greateſt part of what he ſays here, if the Equivocations were once removed. Pray take notice of this Abſurdity: He tells us, that Being is not the Cauſe of the Exiſtence of many Things; but that this Multitude conſiſts in what appears on the Surface of the Subſtance. In anſwer to which, I ask, Whether thoſe Appearances, which ſtrike our Senſes, exiſt or do not exiſt? If they exiſt, they are Beings: and therefore Beings are the Cauſe of the Multitude of Things. If they do not exiſt, it will follow that Non-Entity acts upon us, and becomes ſenſible; which is abſurd and impoſſible. There is no getting out of this Difficulty, but by the Help of an Ambiguity. *Spinoziſm* is liable to the ſame Inconveniencies.

Sorel mentions and confutes ſome of our *Bruno's* Opinions, and even endeavours to excuſe him; but he does not go the right way about it. Read what follows. 'Though *Jordanus Brunus*, ſays (16) he, might be in an Error as well as ſome others; yet we ought to conſider the Nature of his Work, which is a Poem, and that ſince Authors have been allowed at all times to make uſe of Fables and Fictions in ſuch Books, it is no wonder he did it. His Performance ſeems to be the more diverting, becauſe he has ingeniouſly deſcribed an Infinity of Worlds, and informs us, how *Metrodorus*, *Leucippus*, *Epicurus*, and ſome other Philoſophers, underſtood it. — He always affirms, that GOD is every where, and fills up all Things, aſcribing to the ſupream Eſſence whatever is due to it; and as he does not meddle with any Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, he might have come off, notwithſtanding ſome few Words in his Commentaries, that ſeem to thoſe who underſtand them to be a little too free, by giving out all thoſe things as meer Hypotheſes and Suppoſitions, which he did not approve, and had wrote in *Germany*, where he had been for ſome time, and where thoſe Opinions were acceptable, and there was more Liberty than in *Italy* (17).' It may be anſwered, I. That ſince *Sorel* acknowledges (18), as he has done, and was obliged to do, that *Bruno's* Poem is like that of *Lucretius*, he ſhould not have ſaid, that the Author might very well inſert ſeveral Fictions in it; for there is a great difference between that ſort of Poems, and thoſe of *Taſſo* and *Arioſto*; thoſe are dogmatical Books, but theſe are full of Fictions. A Man is no leſs anſwerable for an impious Thing which he dogmatically advances in a Syſtem written in Verſe, than when he teaches it in a Syſtem written in Proſe. II. It ought to be known, that *Bruno* wrote ſome Books in Proſe, wherein he advances the ſame Opinions as in his Poems. *Sorel* was not altogether ignorant of it (19). III. God's Immenſity, *&c.* are not Doctrines leſs impious in *Jordanus Brunus* than in *Spinoza*: Thoſe two Writers are extravagant *Unitarians*; they acknowledge but one Subſtance in Nature. *Sorel* cannot be excuſed for not knowing this. IV. It is not true, that the Opinions concerning an infinite World, and innumerable Earths and Suns, were acceptable to the *Germans* at that time. *It is a ſad thing* (thus he concludes (20) *that a Man who wrote very fine Books, ſhould meet with ſuch an unfortunate Death.* Theſe Words depend upon what he had been ſaying in the foregoing Page: 'Father *Merſenne* mentions ſome of *Bruno's* Opinions in his Book againſt the Deiſts, wherein he repreſents that Author as an Atheiſt and a Teacher of Impiety, who was burnt at *Rome* by a Sentence of the Inquiſition. Perhaps it was for ſomething elſe than what is contained in his Books *de Minimo*, and *de Immenſo* (21).'

We are told of one *Brunus*, who wrote a Panegyric upon the Devil (22). I do not doubt but that it is the ſame *Brunus* of *Nola*, who is the Subject of this Article.

[*E*] *Some ingenious Perſons pretend, that* Mr Des Cartes *borrowed ſome of his Notions from him.*] Mr *Leibnitz* cites a learned Mathematician, who obſerves, that Mr *Des Cartes* ſuppreſſes the Names of the Authors whom he pirates, and that he is indebted to *Jordanus Brunus*, and to *Kepler* for his *Vortices*. See the Journal of *Leipſic* 1682, pag. 187. The learned Mr *Huet*, Biſhop of *Auranches*, gave a long Liſt of the Hints that this *Brunus* might have furniſhed *Des Cartes*. 'Extitit inter novitios Philoſophos Jordanus quidam Brunus Nolanus, quem Carteſianæ doctrinæ anteſignanum jure dicas: adeò accurate omnem propemodum ejus compoſitionem præſignavit in eo libro quem de immenſo & innumerabilibus inſcripſit (23). —— 'There was, among the new Set of Philoſophers, one Jordanus Brunus of Nola, who may juſtly be called the Founder of the Carteſian Philoſophy: he has ſo exactly pointed out almoſt his whole Compoſition, in his Book concerning Immenſity and Innumerables.'

(16) Sorel, ubi Infra, pag. 238, & ſeq.

(17) Sorel de la perfection de l'homme, p. 241.

(18) Ibid. p. 242.

(19) Brunus Nolanus - - - - compoſed ſome Poems, on which he himſelf wrote a Commentary in Proſe, —— *The firſt Poem is* de Minimo —— *then comes his Poem* de Menſura & Figura —— *to make way for his Poem* de Immenſo & innumerabilibus ſeu de Univerſo & Mundis. Id. ibid. pag. 238.

(20) Id. ibid p. 242.

(21) Sorel de la Perfection de l'homme, pag. 241.

(22) Joannes Bruno Italus laudavit diabolum Wittembergæ publice, *Krekm. Syſt. Rhet. ſpeciali. lib. in fine Vide* pag. 1647, Tom. II. *Oper. Edit. Genev.* 1614, *in Fol.* If I am not miſtaken, the Word *Johannes* crept in inſtead of *Jordanus*.

(23) Huetii Cenſura Philoſophiæ Carteſianæ, cap. viii, pag. 215. *Edit.* Paris 1698.

BRUSCHIUS (GASPAR), was born at *Egra*, in *Bohemia*, the nineteenth of *Auguſt*, 1518 (*a*). He had a great Inclination, and a great Facility, to make Verſes. He could make a very great Number *extempore*, which were not bad (*b*). Nothing was more fluent, nor of a more eaſy and natural Strain, than his *Latin* Verſes. He began early to publiſh ſome of them on ſeveral Subjects. He got a Reputation by them, and attained to the poetical Crown, to the Dignity of *Poet Laureat*, and of Count *Palatin*: He received that Honour at *Vienna* from *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria*, King of the *Romans*, in the Year 1552 (*c*). His buſineſs thither was to preſent a Work to *Maximilian*, King of *Hungary*, which he had dedicated to him (*d*). It was the *firſt Century of the* German *Monaſteries*. In his return from *Vienna*, he ſtopped at *Paſſau*, where he found a Protector and Benefactor in the Perſon of *Wolfgang* of *Salms*, Biſhop of that Place. He reſolved to ſettle there, and to remove his Library and Family thither (*e*), and hoped he might go on there conveniently with a great Work that he had undertaken. It was *The Hiſtory of all the Biſhoprics and Biſhops of* Germany. He had travelled much (*f*), and looked well whether this new Settlement continued long; for I find that *Bruſchius* was at *Baſil* in the Month of *June*, 1553 (*g*), and had got the Cittadel of *Oporin*, *Arcem Opo-rinianam*, ſo they called that famous Printer's Houſe (*h*), which ſtood on a riſing Ground (*i*). There it was that he publiſhed ſome Writings he had finiſhed at *Paſſau*, ſome in Proſe, and others in Verſe. He ſpake very freely in them of the Corruption of Manners that he had obſerved in *Vienna*, and of the Ravages which the Troops of *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, that were ſent to the Aſſiſtance of *Hun-*

(a) Bruſchius in Prolmatio, pag. 336.

(b) Melch. Adam in vitis Philoſ. pag. 183.

(c) Bruſch. ubi ſupra, pag. 320, ult.

(d) Id. ib. p. 324.

(e) Id. ibid. pag. 338, 366.

(f) Ib. pag. 328.

(g) Ibid. p. 326.

(h) Ibid. 325.

(i) Melch. Adami Vitæ Philoſoph. pag. 183.

gary

gary againſt the *Turks*, had committed on the very Lands of the *Romans* [*A*]. He was married (*k*), but had no Children, when, in the Month of *January* 1553, he recommended his Nephew *Gaſpar Bruſchius* to the Principal of the College of *Paſſau* (*l*). He was far from being rich, and would have had much ado to maintain himſelf, if he had not been aſſiſted by thoſe for whom he made Verſes. He received Preſents alſo from the Abbots and Abbeſſes, whoſe Monaſteries he deſcribed. He was very well received by the Abbeſs of the Convent of the *Caczi* (*m*); he ſupped and danced with her, and obtained ſome Preſents from her, a Gold Crown, and a Handkerchief, *&c* (*n*). The Liberalities of ſome Abbots, while he was with *Oporin* at *Baſil*, enabled him to buy a new ſuit of Clothes: But when he found that appearing well dreſſed in the Streets, procured him many marks of Reſpect from the Vulgar, he tore his new Finery to Pieces, as a Slave which had uſurped his Maſter's Honours [*B*]. Some ſay, that his *Treatiſes*

(*k*) Bruſch. in Poemat. p. 366.

(*l*) Id. ibid. pag. 381.

(*m*) Melch. Adam in Vitis Philoſoph. pag. 113.

(*n*) Deſcriptis illius Cœnobii Cæcilienſis) antiquitatibus, diſceſſuro ἡ χρηστὴ ἀββατοισα dono dedit coronatam aurum, ſudarium, cornua ibicis, & alia plurima. - - - - - *When he had deſcribed the Antiquities of that Convent, and was about to depart, the good Abbeſs made him a preſent of a Gold Crown, a Handkerchief, a Roebuck's horns, and ſeveral other things.* Id. ibid.

[*A*] *He ſpoke freely of the Corruption of Manners which he had obſerved in* Vienna, *and of the Ravages which the Elector of* Saxony's *Troops committed on the Lands of the King of the* Romans.] I ſhall tranſcribe ſome of his Verſes: they will ſerve two Purpoſes, to comment on my Text, and to give a Specimen of that Author's Muſe.

Luxuriat tanquam tuta omni parte Vienna,
Luxuriat miris Auſtria tota modis.
Et cum copia nunc ſit Bacchi, ita vivitur illic
Ac ſi Turca ferox nullus in orbe foret:
Aut procul ad Tanaim à noſtris diſſitus oris
Non noſtras raperet barbarus hoſtis opes.
Tantum indulgetur genio, meeantur at omnes
Auſtriaci recte hoc nomen agreſte viri:
Quo Paſchaleri populo dicuntur ab omni
Quim latè nomen Rhenus, & Iſter habent;
Paſchata dum ſemper celebrant, jejunia nunquam,
Dum ſemper Baccho, dum Cereique vacant.
Nullus ibi aut rarus timor eſt Dominique Deique,
Rarus honos legum, rara pudicitia.
Et quia vulgus ibi variis ex partibus orbis
Collectum eſt diſcors nil niſi colluvies.
Nunc Hiſpanorum ſuccumbunt enſe Croatæ:
Nunc Germani etiam Pannoniique viri.
Vidi Germano ſtillantes ſanguine ſævos
Hiſpanorum enſes non equidem ipſe ſemel:
Imo impunè etiam fieri hoc, nec rurſus ad ullum
Supplicium hæc adeo noxia monſtra rapi (1).

(1) Bruſchius in Poematiis cum Tractatu de Lauſatico & Patavio Germanico impreſſis, pag. 338.

Vienna *lies in Luxury and Eaſe,*
All Auſtria *revels in ſurpriſing ſort:*
Diſſolv'd in flowing Wine they live ſecure,
As tho' no Danger threaten'd, no furious Turk
Were in the World, nor any barb'rous Hoſt
Come from the diſtant Banks of Tanais,
Plunder'd our miſerable Countries Store.
So pamper'd are their Lives, they merit well
The Nick-name Paſchalers, *by which they're known*
Far as the Rhine *and* Danube *take their Courſe.*
With them the Eaſter o'er: no Lent they know,
To Wine and Feaſting they devote each Day.
Rev'rence of Deity, Regard for humane Laws,
Or Chaſtity, with them, are Virtues rare:
And as the People are a lawleſs Mob
Gather'd from various Climes: Croatians now,
Now Germans, *and in turn* Pannonians, *fall*
A Sacrifice to Spaniſh *Cruelty:*
Reeking with German *Gore I've often ſeen*
The Spaniards *Swords, and yet no Juſtice dare*
Free and unpuniſh'd the dire Monſters ſlay.

Thus much for what Concerns the Corruption of Manners at *Vienna*, and the Impunity that the Audacioufneſs of the *Spaniards* found there. Here follows the Deſcription of the good Diſcipline of the Auxiliary Troops:

Deſcendit nuper dux auxiliaribus armis
Saxonicus, ſecum millia multa trahens:
Ingentes equidem peditumque equitumque cohortes
Inſtructos animis militiaque viros:
Sed quos abſimiles Turciſque Getiſque profecto
Si recte inſpicias, dixeris eſſe parum.
Qui quamvis Chriſto ſint per baptiſma renati
Infertique Deo, & turba profeſſa Deum
Quem ſcelerum ultorem norunt, quem ſumere pœnas
A raptoribus, à furibus atque ſciunt,
Per fas perque nefas nihilominus obvia quæque
Sunt auſi hoſtili diripuiſſe manu.
Vidi egomet, quantam furtis cladem atque rapinis
Intulerint Boiis Auſtriaciſque caſis.
Imo caſis non tantum & haris: ſed & omnibus aris
Divorum templis, munoribuſque ſacris.
Nil fuit intra etiam divum penetralia tutum,
Nec puerile genus, nec muliebre genus.
An tales homines evertent Turcica regna?
Barbarico qui ipſi ſunt magis hoſte mali?
Si corvus corvum, lupus aut laniabit avaro
Dente lupum, noſtro milite Turca cadet (2).

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 365.

The Saxon *Duke came lately to our Aid,*
With many thouſand Troops, a mighty Force,
Of Men well ſkill'd in Arms, of Brav'ry try'd,
Both Horſe and Foot, but mark them well you'll find
'Twixt them and Turks *the Diff'rence is but ſmall:*
Who notwithſtanding they're to GOD united
By Baptiſm, and to CHRIST regenerate;
Profeſſing Worſhip of a righteous GOD
Avenger of all Crimes, and whom they know
Of Theft and Rapine Puniſher ſevere,
Yet impious dare with hoſtile Hand to ſpoil
Whate'er they meet with. I myſelf have ſeen
How deſolate their Plunderings have made
The Dwelling of the poor Inhabitants
Of Auſtria *and* Bohemia: *nor content*
With plundering theſe they ravag'd Altars too,
Devoted Off'rings, Temples, could not 'ſcape,
Nor ought to be moſt ſacred Cloyſters ſafe.
Nor Sex, nor Age would their fell Rapine ſpare.
Shall theſe Men then deſtroy the Turkiſh *Pow'r,*
Themſelves than our Barbarian *Foes far worſe.*
When Vulture Vulture kills, or ravenous Wolf
With greedy Jaws his fellow Wolf purſues,
Then ſhall theſe Raveners the Turk *deſtroy.*

One of the Calamities of War is, that the Soldiers deſigned to repulſe the Enemy are almoſt as much to be feared by the poor People, as the Enemy himſelf.

[*B*] *Seeing that a new Suit of Cloaths gained him Reſpect - - - - he tore it to pieces as if it - - - uſurped it's Maſter's Honours.*] Let us recite the Relation of *Melchior Adam* in this Place. 'Baſi-
'leæ in arce Oporinianæ (ſic enim domum Oporini
'ob ſitum excelſum vocabant) tenui re familiari
'vivens, à vicinis Abbatibus ſtipe corrogata, novis
'veſtibus ornatus in publicum aliquando prodiit.
'Illi plebecula ſplendorem veſtitus more ſuo admi-
'rata, exurgendo caputque aperiendo honorem ho-
'minis exhibuit. Tunc ille honorem non ſibi,
'ſed veſtibus deferri animadvertens, demum rever-

Treatiſes of the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Germany favour too much of *Lutheraniſm*, with which he was already tainted [*C*]. This will be ſeen in one of my Remarks (*o*), and ſomething alſo concerning his Writings [*D*]. He was killed in a Wood,

(*o*) *In the Remark* [*C*].

' titur, & veſtimenta partim concidit, partim deturpat: tanquam improba mancipia ſui domini
' gloriam præripientia accuſans (3). —— *When he lived at Baſil, in* Oporin's *Tower (for ſo* Oporin's *Houſe was called from it's Situation on an Eminence), on a ſmall Income, Collection being made for him by the neighbouring Abbots, he happened to go abroad, dreſſed in a new Suit of Cloaths. The People, according to their Cuſtom, admiring the fineneſs of his Dreſs, paid their Reſpects to him by riſing up and uncovering their Heads. He perceiving that the Reſpect was not paid to him, but to his Cloaths, returned Home, and cut his Cloaths in ſome places, and dawbed them in others, accuſing them as wicked Slaves that robbed their Maſter of his Glory.*"

(3) Melch. Adam. in vitis Philoſoph. pag. 283.

[*C*] *Some ſay that his Treatiſes of the* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of *Germany favour too much of Lutheraniſm, with which he was already tainted.*] Let us cite *Gewoldus*: ' Leviſſimam quamque occaſionem arripit perquam avide, *ſays he* (4), Romæ
' & Romano Pontifici obloquendi: ſed jam tum
' in Lutheri hæreſin, Cereris Bacchique mancipium, Bruſchius totus propendebat. —— Bruſchius *takes every, the moſt ſlight, Occaſion of ſpeaking ill of* Rome *and the Pope: but he, a Slave of Gluttony and Drink, was then ſtrongly inclined to* Luther's *Hereſy*.' He acknowledges however that the Work which that Writer compoſed on the Monaſteries of *Germany* is not deſpicable (5). The Jeſuit *Gretſer* ſhall be my ſecond Witneſs. ' Bonam operam navavit Gaſpar Bruſchius Ægranus, tametſi jam quinti Evangelii genio affiatus, cum Catalogos Epiſcopatuum, & qui
' eos adminiſtrarunt Epiſcoporum, *&c.* collegit,
' quam veſtigia vix poſtea cernas, accuratiora quædam diœceſeon, & præſulum indices texuerunt (6).
' —— Gaſpar Bruſchius *of* Ægra *did a good Work, notwithſtanding he was already tainted with the Spirit of the fifth Goſpel, in collecting Catalogues of the Biſhoprics and the Biſhops that held them; others have followed his Example, and compoſed more accurate Indexes of ſome Dioceſes and Biſhops.*' Note, that *Nicolas Serrarius*, and *Chriſtopher Brower*, have ſpoken of our Author with much Contempt, the firſt in his Hiſtory of *Mentz*, and the laſt in his Antiquities of *Fulda*. See *Zeillerus* at the Place I have cited. It will appear in the following Remark, by the Title only of ſome of *Bruſchius*'s Books, that he reliſhed *Luther*'s Opinions pretty early.

(4) Chriſtoph. Gewoldus, Tom. I, Metropol. Saliſburg. fol. 436. apud Zeiller. de Hiſtor. Parte II, pag. 26.

(5) Id. Tom. II, Metrop. fol. 595. apud Zeill. ibid.

(6) Gretſ. Hiſtor. Catal. omnium Epiſcop. Eyſtett. Init. præfat. apud Zeill. ibid.

[*D*] *Here is ſomething concerning his Writings.*] The Catalogue of them is to be ſeen at the end of a Book of the Abbot *Engelbert* (7), which he himſelf publiſhed: as alſo in the Epitome of *Geſner*'s *Bibliotheque*, to which I refer my Reader: Nevertheleſs, I ſhall ſet down ſome Titles. In 1537 *Bruſchius* publiſhed, at *Tubingen*, *Tabula Philoſophiæ partitionem continens*. So that he was an Author at the Age of nineteen Years. The Title of one of his Books is, *Capita doctrinæ Chriſtianæ verſu elegiaco comprehenſa*: another is intituled, *Narratio tumultus cujuſdam Magdeburgi à Monacho quodam Carmelita excitati, heroico carmine ſcripta*. He tranſlated *Melanchthon*'s *Catechiſm* and his *Poſtilles* into *German*, as alſo a *Letter* of his to the Count *de Weda*, and the Treatiſe of *George Major de Authoritate Verbi Dei*. He tranſlated a *German* Book into *Latin*, wherein *Luther* had explained the *Dominicals*, and his *Treatiſe of Conſolation*; and wrote a *Preface* to ſome *Canticles* of the ſame *Luther*. Theſe Labours are Proofs of Lutheraniſm. Here are other Titles: *De omnibus totius Germaniæ epiſcopatibus epitomes tomus primus, Archiepiſcopatum Moguntinum cum aliis 12 epiſcopatibus qui Moguntino ſubſunt comprehendens*, at *Nuremberg* 1549. *Monaſtericorum Germaniæ præcipuorum ac maxime illuſtrium centuria prima*, at *Ingolſtadt*, 1551. Theſe two Books are not in Verſe, as is affirmed in the Supplement to *Moreri*. Our *Bruſchius* laboured much on the Deſcription of the *Fichtelberg*, and on that of the four Rivers which have their Source in that Mountain (8). He made a Map of it, with a Treatiſe wherein he gave a very large Deſcription of the City of *Egra*, and the adjacent Countries. That Treatiſe was inſerted in the Coſmography of *Munſter*, and was reprinted at *Wittemberg*, in 1540, in 4to (9). His Treatiſe *de Laureaco, veteri admodumque celebri olim in Norico civitate, & de Patavio Germanico, ac utriuſque loci Archiepiſcopis ac Epiſcopis omnibus*, was printed at *Baſil* by *Oporin*, in 1553, in 8vo, with a Collection of the *Latin Poems* he made in *Bavaria*. The City which he calls *Laureacum* (*a*), was formerly an Archbiſhop's See. It was ſituated at the Place where the River *Ens* diſcharges itſelf into the *Danube*, three Miles below *Lintz* (10). As for the *Patavium Germanicum*, it is the City now called *Paſſau*. He declares in the Epiſtle Dedicatory of this Treatiſe, That if he relates things contrary to the common Tradition, and if he ſpeaks diſadvantageouſly of ſome Prelates, it muſt be imputed to the Obligation he was under of following the Laws of Hiſtory.

(7) Engelbertus Abbas Admontenſis.

(8) Mœnus, Egra, Naba, Sala.

(9) *See the* Bibl. German. *of* Michael Hertzius, n. 90.

(*a*) It is yet a Town called *Lorch*, in the Map of the *Danube*, by *N. de Fer.* REM. CRIT.

(10) Bruſchius de Laureaco, p. 20.

- - - - - multa hic ſcripta legentur
Dicta videbuntur quæ nec clementer in ipſos
Pontifices quoſdam Latios, neque ſat reverenter
De ſummis aliquot veſtræ Paſtoribus urbis.
Invenietis & hic non pauca inſerta, quibus cum
Pugnabunt veſtri Annales fortaſſis. Ad iſta,
Quod res eſt, breviter reſpondeo: plurima ſummis
Eſſe à præſulibus Romanæ facta cathedræ,
Quæ laudare bonus (niſi quis vel tartara cœlum,
Cuncta vel atra velit candentem dicere lucem)
Nemo poteſt; quæ qui laudaverit haud bonus ille
Eſſe poteſt: veluti qui non reprenderit; idem
Nec bonus eſſe poteſt, verum ex Acheronte profectus
Eſt Dæmon. Sive eſt igitur de Patribus urbis
Romuleæ, ſeu de veſtris Primatibus iſtic
Dictum aliquid durum: ſic dictum credite vero
Ut ſervandus honos fuerit ſuus & mihi leges:
Hiſtoriæ quoque non violandæ, aut tranſgrediundæ (11).

(11) Id. ib. Epiſtle Dedicat.

- - - - - - *many things*
Will here be found, which on ſome Popes perhaps,
May ſeem to bear too hard, and not to ſhew
Sufficient Reverence to your City Primates;
And ſome things, poſſibly, may not agree
Exactly with your Annals. Briefly thus
I anſwer: 'Tis *the Truth, that many Facts*
Have by the Heads o'th' Roman See *been done*
Which no good Man can praiſe; none who'd not fain
Hell Heaven, or Darkneſs Light: for who commends
Or ſpares to blame 'em, is a Devil ſent from
Th' infernal Regions. And if therefore ought,
Or of the Popes, or City Primates ſaid,
Has too ſevere a Look, judge it to be
Spoke from a ſtrict regard to Truth, and to
The Laws of Hiſtory, which to violate
I dare not.

The Principles, he ſets forth in theſe Verſes, are the jeſteſt in the World, and it is very ſtrange, that an Hiſtorian, who follows them religiouſly, ſhould be reputed a Satiriſt. The Corruption of Manners has been ſo great, as well among thoſe who have lived in the World, as among thoſe who have lived out of it (12), that the more a Perſon endeavours to give faithful and true Relations, the more he runs the hazard of compoſing only diffamatory Libels. Doubtleſs there is a great Difference between Hiſtory and Satire, but a ſmall matter ſuffices to metamorphoſe the one into the other. If

(12) *That is to ſay Churchmen.*

on

Wood, in the Year 1559. *Thuanus* relates this, where he mentions a Prophecy that *Bruſchius* had publiſhed [*E*].

on the one hand, you take from Satire that Spirit of Sharpneſs, that Air of Anger, which diſcovers that Paſſion has a greater ſhare in the Scandals reported, than a love of Virtue; and if you add the Obligation, one is under, of relating indifferently the good and the bad, it is no longer reputed Satire, but Hiſtory. Let a Hiſtorian, on the other hand, faithfully relate all the Crimes, Weakneſſes, and Diſorders of Mankind, his Work ſhall be reputed rather a Satire, than a Hiſtory, if he diſcover but ever ſo little Emotion in himſelf at the thoughts of ſo many condemnable Facts which he expoſes to public View. I do not believe that That Coolneſs of Temper, with which a Judge ought to pronounce Sentence againſt Robbers and Murderers, is always to be exacted from a Hiſtorian. Some pointed Reflexions do not become him ill.

[*E*] *He was killed in a Wood, in the Year* 1559. Thuanus *relates this in mentioning a Prophecy which* Bruſchius *had publiſhed*] He ſays, I. That *Regiomontanus*, the ableſt Aſtronomer ſince *Ptolomy*, had predicted, that the Year 1588 ſhould be memorable for great Revolutions. II. That that Prophecy, contained in four *German* Verſes, was publiſhed in the Year 1553. III. That *Gaſpar Bruſchius*, who inſerted it in a ſmall Book of the Abbot *Engelbert* (13), *de ortu & fine Romani Imperii*, put it into *Latin*, and altered the Senſe of it, though he underſtood the *German* Tongue very well. IV. That his bad Tranſlation was a new Prophecy more ſurprizing than that of *Regiomontanus*; for he noted that thoſe great things ſhould happen under one *Sextus*. *Thuanus* adds, That he had often admired that Conduct of *Bruſchius*, and thereupon obſerves, that he was killed in the Year 1559, a long time before *Sixtus* V, who was Pope in 1588, attained to the Papacy. Here are his Words: ‘ Joannes - - - - Regiomonta-
‘ nus - - - - - diu ante id prænonuerat, quatuor verſibus ſeu rhythmis vernacula lingua exaratis, qui
‘ in Caſtellenſi ſuperioris Norici cœnobio hodie le-
‘ guntur, ante XXXV annos à Gaſpare Bruſchio
‘ Egrano, cum Engelberti Abbatis Admontenſis,
‘ qui ſub Rodulfo Habſpurgio floruit, libello de
‘ ortu & fine R. Imperii publicati, quos cum ille
‘ interpretaretur, quod mihi mirari ſæpius ſubiit,
‘ quanquam minime linguæ ſuæ ignarus, tamen
‘ dum verba Germanica aliter, quam ſcripta erant,
‘ latine reddit, vaticinium Regiomontani longe alio
‘ majore cumulavit. Si quidem id, quod ab illo
‘ prædictum erat, ſub Sexto quodam eventurum
‘ tradit; atqui diu eſt, ex quo Bruſchius fatis con-
‘ ceſſit; anno videlicet hujus ſeculi LIX à ſicariis
‘ juxta Rotenburgum ad Duberam interfectus, multo
‘ antequam Sixtus V ſummum magiſtratum in ec-
‘ cleſia iniret, & Regiomontani verba, ſicuti dixi,
‘ id minime ſignificant (14). —— Johannes Re-
‘ giomontanus *had foretold that long before, in four*
‘ *Verſes written in the* German *Tongue, which*
‘ *are ſtill to be found in the Convent of* Caſſel, *in*
‘ Upper Auſtria, *and were publiſhed about Thirty*
‘ *five Years ago, by* Gaſpar Bruſchius *of* Ægra,
‘ *with a Book concerning the beginning and end of*
‘ *the* Roman *Empire, written by* Engelbert, *Abbot*
‘ *of* Admont, *who flouriſhed under* Rodolphus *of*
‘ Habſpurg. *In tranſlating theſe Verſes,* [though *he*
‘ *was very well ſkilled in that Tongue, yet by*
‘ *reading the* German *Words in* Latin, *otherwiſe*
‘ *than they were written, he has encreaſed the Pro-*
‘ *phecy of* Regiomontanus *with another much greater,*
‘ *which I much wonder at. For he ſays, that what*
‘ Regiomontanus *had foretold, was to happen under*
‘ *one* Sixtus; *but it is long ſince* Bruſchius *died,*
‘ *for he was murdered in the LIXth Year of this*
‘ *Century, near* Rottenburg, *upon the* Tauber, *long*
‘ *before* Sixtus V *came to the Papacy, and* Regio-
‘ montanus's *Words, as I have ſaid before, have no*
‘ *ſuch Signification.*’ *Note*, That it was believed, that ſome Gentlemen, againſt whom *Bruſchius* was about to write ſomething, cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. He was murdered in the Foreſt of *Scalingenbach*, between *Rottemberg*, on the *Tauber*, and *Winſhiem*. See *Cruſius* in his Annals of *Swabia* (15). If the ſame Advice had been given our Poet, which *Horace* received, to forbear ſlandering, or elſe expect to loſe his Life (16), it would at leaſt have been as prophetical as the four Verſes mentioned by *Thuanus*.

(13) *He lived under* Rodolphus *of* Habſburg.

(14) Thuan. lib. xc, init. pag. 176.

(15) Parte III, lib. x, cap. vii, apud Zeiller de Hiſtor. pag. 270.

(16) O puer ut ſis vitalis metuo, & majorum ne quis amicus
Frigore te feriat. *Horat. Sat.* I, *lib.* ii, *v.* 60.

BRUTUS (Lucius Junius), Son of one of *Tarquin*'s Siſters (*a*), was obliged to feign himſelf ſtupid, that he might not be thought capable of revenging the Death of his Father and Brother; for if *Tarquin*, who ordered them to be put to Death, had found him a Man of Parts and Courage, he would not have let him live (*b*). This feigned Stupidity got him the Sirname of *Brutus* (*c*). Under this falſe appearance of Brutiſhneſs, he impatiently waited for an Opportunity to expel *Tarquin*. He found it, when *Lucretia* killed herſelf after the Injury ſhe received from the Tyrant's eldeſt Son; and he made ſo good uſe of it, that in a little time the City of *Rome* was changed from a Monarchy to a Commonwealth. This Revolution happened in the Two hundred and forty fifth Year of *Rome*. The Dignity of Conſul was inſtituted to be enjoyed by two Perſons for one Year. He and *Collatinus*, the Huſband of *Lucretia*, were the firſt on whom it was conferred. He did not long ſurvive his Work, I mean the eſtabliſhing of Liberty; for before the Year of his Conſulſhip was expired, he was killed in a Battle [*A*], having engaged in ſo ſharp a Combat, hand to hand, with one of *Tarquin*'s Sons [*B*], that they

(*a*) *See Remark* [*D*].

(*b*) Dionyſ. Halicarnaſſ. lib. iv.

(*c*) Id. Ibid. Livius, lib. i, Plut. in Valerio Public.

[*A*] *Before the Year of his Conſulſhip was expired he was killed in Battle.*] *Livy* and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* ſay it expreſsly. *Florus* committed a great Fault then, which I do not find cenſured in the *Variorum* of *Holland*. He pretends that the Death of *Brutus* followed the Peace which *Proſenna* made with *Rome*. ‘ Et rex quidem tot
‘ tantiſque virtutum monſtris valere liberoſ-
‘ que eſſe juſſit. Tarquinii tamdiu dimicaverunt
‘ donec Aruntem filium regis manu ſua Brutus oc-
‘ cidit, ſuperque ipſum mutuo vulnere expiravit,
‘ plane quaſi adulterum ad inferos uſque ſequere-
‘ tur (1). —— *The King, terrified with ſo many*
‘ *and ſo great Prodigies of Valour, left them to*
‘ *enjoy their Liberty. The* Tarquins *fought ſo long*
‘ *until* Brutus *killed* Aruns, *the King's Son, with*
‘ *his own Hand, and expired upon him of a Wound*
‘ *he had received from him, as if he purſued the*
‘ *Adulterer to the Shades.*’

(1) Florus, lib. i, cap. x.

[*B*] *Having engaged in - - - - - Combat hand to hand againſt one of the Sons of* Tarquin] The Paſſage of *Florus*, which we have juſt now cited, might induce us to take theſe Words literally: yet it is better not to take them ſo; for it is certain that *Brutus* and *Aruns* (2) fought on Horſeback, and that they run at each other with their Lances. Thus *Livy* and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* relate it. Notwithſtanding all the Violence which animated *Brutus* againſt the *Tarquins*, yet it was not he that was the Challenger, but *Aruns*, who, having ſingled out *Brutus*, run towards him, inſulted, reviled, and provoked him to a ſingle Fight. But *Brutus*, who accepted the Challenge, met the Aggreſſor with equal Fury. Each thought only on killing his Enemy, without defending himſelf: ‘ Adeo infeſtis ani-
‘ mis concurrerunt, neuter dum hoſtem vulneraret
‘ ſui protegendi corporis memor, ut contrario ictu
‘ per parmam uterque tranſfixus duabus hærentes
‘ haſtis

(2) *That was* Tarquin's *Son's Name.*

they died on the ſpot. He lived long enough to ſhew, by a vigorous Action, that he preferred the Safety of his Country to that of his own Sons (*d*) [*C*]. The *Roman* Ladies mourned for him a whole Year, becauſe he had ſo well revenged violated Chaſtity (*e*). I cenſure but one Paſſage in *Moreri* [*D*].

(*d*) Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. iv, v. Livius, lib. i, ii. Plut. ubi ſupra.

(*e*) Matronæ annum ut parentem eum luxerunt, quod tam acer ultor violatæ pudicitiæ fuiſſet, *Livius, lib. ii, p. 41.*

Among all the Attempts that ever have been formed to change the Civil Government, and dethrone Kings, there is hardly any ſo reaſonable as this; for in ſhort, this King of *Rome*, whom our *Brutus* endeavoured with ſo much Succeſs to expel, was doubly a Tyrant [*E*]; his Reign was unjuſt and violent, and he had uſurped the Sovereign Power: He had dethroned his Father-in-law who was the rightful Poſſeſſor, he cauſed him to be murdered, and in this he acted againſt the People's Intention; nor did he ever get his Uſurpation approved by Law, but maintained himſelf in it by all kinds of Violence. It was happy for *Rome* that ſhe had never had a Tyrant King before, or a Citizen ſo great a Lover of Liberty as *Brutus*; for had it been reduced to a Democracy under the preceeding Reigns, before it had been brought to a due Conſiſtence, it could never have ſubſiſted, but

(3) Livius, lib. ii. *See alſo* Dionyſ. Halycarn lib. v. & Plutarque in Valer. pag. 101.

'haſtis moribundi ex equis lapſi ſint (3). —— *They* 'engaged with ſuch Fury, that neither of them, ſo 'he could but wound his Enemy, took any care to 'defend himſelf; ſo they were both of them run 'through their Shields, and fell dead from their 'Horſes, ſtuck on the two Spears.'

[*C*] *He ſhewed that he preferred the Safety of his Country, before that of his own Sons.*] He had married a Wife of the *Vitellian* Family (4), by whom he had two Sons, who had not yet attained to Man's Eſtate (5). They ſuffered themſelves to be engaged by two of their Uncles on the Mother's ſide, and by ſome others, who loved the Kingly Government better than a Common-wealth, in a Plot to recal *Tarquin*. The Conſpiracy was diſcovered, and *Brutus* himſelf condemned his Children to death, and had them executed in his Preſence. 'Conſules in ſedem proceſſere ſuam: miſſi 'quos lictores ad ſumendum ſupplicium audacis 'virgis cædunt, ſecurique feriunt: cum inter omne 'tempus pater, vultuſque & os ejus, ſpectaculo eſſet, 'eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pœnæ miniſterium (6). —— *The Conſuls took their Seats, and* 'the Lictors, who were ordered to do the Execution, 'ſtripped them, and ſcourged them, and then cut 'off their Heads. The Father's Countenance and 'Aſpect was all the while the Object of every one's 'Obſervation, the Love of his Country eminently 'appearing during the Execution of public Juſtice.'

(4) Livius, lib. ii. Plut. in Val. Public. pag 98.

(5) Dion. Halic. lib. v.

(6) Livius, lib. ii. Vide quoque Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. v. & Plutarch. in Valer. Public. pag 99.

[*D*] *I cenſure only one Paſſage in* Moreri.] He ſays that *Brutus* was Son of a *Daughter of Tarquinius Priſcus*, King of *Rome*. I own this is the Opinion of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*. *Brutus*, ſays he (7), was the Son of *Marcus Junius*, deſcended from one of *Æneas*'s Companions, and his Mother was *Tarquinia*, Daughter to the firſt *Tarquin*. This does not hinder my ſaying that Mr *Moreri* aſſerts a Falſity, and that he ought to ſay, with *Livy* (8), That *Tarquinia*, the Mother of *Brutus*, was Siſter of the laſt *Tarquin*. My Reaſon is this. It is certain *Brutus* was very young when his Father was killed (9); he was much about the Age of *Tarquin*'s Sons, and was educated with them: It is true, it was rather to ſerve them for a Buffoon, than for any thing elſe (10). It is moreover certain, than his Father was not put to death, 'till after *Tarquin*'s Uſurpation (11); it may therefore reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that *Brutus* was not above fifteen Years of Age when *Tarquin* uſurped the Crown. His Mother muſt needs then have been very old when ſhe was brought to bed of him, if ſhe had been the Daughter of *Tarquinius Priſcus*. She muſt have been the Daughter of *Tanaquil*, for *Tarquinius Priſcus* had no other Wife but *Tanaquil*. That *Tarquinius* came to *Rome* by the Advice of his Wife, in the Reign of *Ancus Martius*. He had attempted in vain to have a Share in the Government of his own Country. Conſidering the manner in which ſhe argued with her Husband, to engage him in that Journey to *Rome* (12), ſhe could not be a Girl of fifteen or twenty; ſhe muſt be at leaſt about Twenty five Years of Age; her Ability in explaining Auguries confirms my Suppoſition. They muſt have been married a conſiderable time, ſince they hoped for nothing in their own Country. One is not diſheartened 'till after divers Attempts. They lived ſeveral Years at *Rome*, and made themſelves ſo conſiderable there, that *Tarquin*, being choſen Tutor to the King's Children, ſecured to himſelf the Succeſſion of *Ancus Martius*. It is not too much to allow ten Years to an Abode which had Conſequences ſo very important. Say then, that they came to *Rome* ten Years before *Ancus Martius* died. By this means *Tanaquil* muſt have been Thirty five Years of Age when her Husband became King of *Rome*. Nor can her laſt lying-in be later than the fifteenth of her Husband's Reign. Let us ſuppoſe then that the pretended Mother of *Brutus*, the Daughter of *Tarquinius Priſcus*, was born in the fifteenth Year of her Father's Reign. Thus ſhe muſt have been Twenty three Years of Age when her Father died (13); to which if we add the Forty four Years that *Servius Tullius* reigned, we ſhall find that ſhe was Sixty ſeven Years of Age when *Tarquin the Proud* ſeized on the Throne. Now we ſuppoſe that *Brutus* was then fifteen Years of Age, he muſt then be born when his Mother was Fifty two Years old. If that be not impoſſible, it is at leaſt very improbable. Now a judicious Hiſtorian never puzzles himſelf, but in the utmoſt neceſſity, with Chronological Accounts, which claſh with Appearances It is dragging, as we may ſay, the Devil by the Tail, to be obliged to place the Marriage of Daughters at twelve or fifteen, to adjuſt his Account, and make them fruitful 'till fifty. See *Laurentius Valla*, who reckons, That if the Mother of *Brutus* had been the Daughter of *Tanaquil*, it ought to be concluded that ſhe was the Mother of a young Man at above ninety Years of Age (14).

(7) Lib. iv.

(8) Livius, lib. i, pag. 43.

(9) Id. ib Dionyſ. Halicarn. lib. iv.

(10) Id. ib.

(11) Dion. Halicarn. ibid.

(12) Livius, lib. i, pag. 23.

(13) *The Reign of* Tarquinius Priſcus *laſted* 38 *Years.*

[*E*] *The King whom* Brutus - - - - - - - - - *expelled from the Throne was doubly a Tyrant.*] We muſt not therefore alledge this Conduct of the *Romans*, as an Example of the Rights of the People exerciſed againſt a lawful Sovereign who abuſes his Power. *Tarquin the Proud* was not only a Tyrant in his Adminiſtration, but was alſo a Tyrant by Uſurpation. Read theſe Words of *Livy*: 'Conſcius deinde male quærendi regni ab ſe ipſo ad'verſus ſe exemplum capi poſſe, armatis corpus 'circumſepſit. Neque enim ad jus regni quic'quam præter vim habebat; ut qui neque populi 'juſſu, neque authoribus patribus regnaret. Eo ac'cedebat, ut in charitate civium nihil ſpei repo'nenti metu regnum tutandum eſſet: quem ut 'pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum 'ſine conſiliis per ſe ſolus exercebat, perque eam 'cauſam occidere, in exilium agere, bonis mulcta're poterat, non ſuſpectos modo aut inviſos, 'ſed unde nihil aliud quam prædam ſperare poſ'ſet. Ita patrum præcipue numero imminuto, 'ſtatuit nullos in patres legere, quo contemptior 'paucitate ipſa ordo eſſet, minuſque per ſe nihil 'agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus tra'ditum à prioribus morem de omnibus Senatum 'conſulendi ſolvit; domeſticis conſiliis Republi'cam adminiſtravit; bellum, pacem, fœdera, ſocie'tates per ſe ipſe cum quibus voluit, injuſſu populi ac 'Senatus, fecit, diremitque (15). —— *Beſides being* 'conſcious that Example might be taken againſt 'him, from himſelf, of ſeizing the Kingdom by ill 'means, he ſet Guards about his Perſon; for he 'had no other Right to the Crown than Force, as 'reigning neither by Conſent of the People, nor the 'Authority of the Senate; to this may be added, 'that as he repoſed no Confidence in the Love of 'the

(14) *See his Diſſertation againſt* Titus Livius, *on the Queſtion, If* Tarquinius Superbus *was the Son of* Tarquinius Priſcus.

(15) Titus Livius, Dec. I, lib. i, pag. 30, 31.

but must have been destroyed by the Factions and Discords which the Tribunes of the People raised at every turn, under the specious Pretence of Liberty [*F*]. Nothing is finer in all the Romances that have appeared under the Name of Mr *de Scuderi*, than what concerns *Brutus* in the Romance of *Clelia*.

However austere and stern his Virtue was, nevertheless he mitigated an Article of Religion so remarkably, that instead of human Sacrifices, it cost only the Heads of Poppies [*G*].

' *the People, his Government was to be secured by* ' *Fear; which that he might spread the more, he* ' *himself took Cognizance of all capital Causes,* ' *without any Counsel, and by that means could put* ' *to death, banish, or fine, not only whom he sus-* ' *pected, or hated, but others, for no other reason* ' *but to plunder them; by this means, having les-* ' *sened the number of the Senators, chiefly he re-* ' *solved to chuse none into the Senate, that the Or-* ' *der of it might become contemptible by the small-* ' *ness of their Number, and not take it so much* ' *amiss, that all things were done without them;* ' *for he was the first King who changed the Custom,* ' *practised by his Predecessors, of consulting the Se-* ' *nate in every thing. He administred the Govern-* ' *ment by private Counsels; he, of his own Head,* ' *went to War, made Peace, Treaties, or Alliances* ' *with whom he pleased, or broke them again, with-* ' *out consulting either the People or Senate.*' This is a very elegant Description of Tyranny.

[*F*] *If* Rome *had had a Tyrannical King, or such a Citizen as* Brutus, *sooner - - - - she must have been destroyed by the Factions - - - - - which the Tribunes of the People raised on pretence of Liberty.*] This Reflexion is not mine; it is *Livy's*, and serves to shew that Author's Judgment and good Sense. ' Neque ambigitur, *says he* (16), quin ' Brutus idem, qui tantum gloriæ Superbo exacto ' rege meruit, pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, ' si libertatis immaturæ cupidine priorum regum ' alicui regnum extorsisset. Quid enim futurum ' fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs trans- ' fuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi ' aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, so- ' luta regio metu, agitari cœpta esset tribunitiis ' procellis? & in aliena urbe cum patribus serere ' certamina, priusquam pignora conjugum ac libe- ' rorum, charitasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore ' assuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? dissipatæ ' res nondum adultæ discordia forent; quas fovit ' tranquilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo ' perduxit, ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis jam ' viribus ferre possent. - - - - - - - *There is no doubt but even* Brutus, *who merited so much Glory for expelling* Tarquin *the Proud, would have done the Public a great Prejudice, if out of too hasty desire of Liberty he had wrested the Kingdom from any of the former Kings; for what would have been the Case, if that Multitude of Shep-* ' *herds and Strangers, who had fled from their* ' *own People, had obtained either Liberty, or Im-* ' *punity, by the Privilege of an inviolable Sanctua-* ' *ry, and being freed from the Fear of a King,* ' *had began to be agitated by the Commotions of* ' *the Tribunes, and to enter into Contests with* ' *the Nobility in a strange City, before the Pledges* ' *of Wives and Children, and Love of the Place* ' *itself, to which they had been long accustomed, had* ' *cemented their Minds? their State, not yet come to* ' *Perfection, would have been destroyed by Discord,* ' *which was cherished by an undisturbed and mo-* ' *derate Monarchical Government, and nursed up to* ' *it's full Strength, when it was able to bear the* ' *good Fruit of Liberty.*' The first Inhabitants of *Rome* had need of a Monarch. Their new City would soon have sunk, if it had been exposed in it's Infancy to the continual Contests of the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. It is next to a Miracle that they suffered it to maintain and aggrandize itself.

(16) Ibid. Dec. I, lib. ii,

[*G*] *He mitigated an Article of Religion so remarkably, that instead of Human Sacrifices they only offered the Heads of Poppies.*] *Tarquin the Proud*, having re established, according to the Order of *Apollo*, the Compital Games in honour of the *Dii Penates*, and the Goddess *Mania*, they thought themselves obliged to sacrifice Children to *Mania*, the Mother of the *Lares*, for the common Good of their Families; for the Oracle had told them, they must offer Heads if they would preserve Heads. This Custom continued some time; but *Brutus*, after the Expulsion of *Tarquin*, interpreted the Words of the Oracle favourably, and ordered them to offer the Heads of Garlic and Poppies, and by that means abolished the Cruelty of the Sacrifice. This we learn from *Macrobius*: ' Qualem nunc permutatio- ' nem sacrificii - - - - - - memoratî invenio postea ' Compitalibus celebratam, cum ludi per urbem in ' compitibus agitabantur, refituti scilicet à Tarquinio ' superbo Laribus ac Maniæ ex responso Apollin's: ' quo præceptum est, ut pro capitibus, capitibus ' supplicaretur; idque aliquandiu observatum, ut ' pro familiarium sospitate pueri mactarentur Maniæ ' Deæ matri Larum: quod sacrificii genus Junius ' Brutus Consul, pulso Tarquinio, aliter constituit ' celebrandum; nam capitibus allii & papaveris ' supplicari jussit, ut responso Apollinis satisfieret de ' nomine capitum, remoto scilicet scelere infaustæ ' sacrificationis (17). - - - - - *Such an Alteration of a* ' *Sacrifice - - - - - as you have now mentioned, I* ' *find afterwards practised in the* Compitalia, *which* ' *Games were celebrated throughout the City in the* ' *open Streets, being restored by* Tarquin the Proud, ' *to the* Lares *and* Mania, *by the Direction of the* ' *Oracle of* Apollo: *whereby it was ordered that* ' *they should sacrifice Heads for Heads, which* ' *was observed for some time, and Children were* ' *offered to* Mania, *the Mother of the* Lares, *for* ' *the Safety of Families: which kinds of Sacrifice* ' Junius Brutus, *after he had expelled* Tarquin, ' *ordered to be celebrated otherwise; for he com-* ' *manded them to offer only Heads of Garlic and* ' *Popies, to satisfy the Oracle, as to the Names* ' *of Heads, and remove the Wickedness of the abo-* ' *minable Sacrifice.*' This Author adds, that they hung up the Effigy of *Mania* at the Doors of the Houses, to avert the Dangers, with which the Family might be threatened. That Effigy doubtless was very hideous; for ugly Masks, such as fright Children, were called *Maniæ* (18). I wish *Macrobius* had attempted to resolve a Question proposed by *Plutarch*, *Why they prayed to the Goddess* Geneta Mana, (the same with *Mania*, she who presided at Births) *that nothing that was born in that House might become good* (19)? *Plutarch's* Answers are not very satisfactory to nice Minds. He says, in the first place, I. That perhaps this was only understood of Dogs, a domestic Animal, which one would wish to be bad, and apt to create Terror: but what appearance is there that the Ancients should use a general Expression (20), if they understood no more than one Species. In the second place he conjectured, II. They wished that nothing might die, and cites an Authority to prove that the Expression *make good* sometimes signified *to kill*. This is straining things with a Witness. A *French* Writer (21), has conjectured that Goodness was used then for that dull Simplicity which we understand, when we say a Man is a good natured Fellow. *Boxhornius* had used this Explication of *Berault*, but he owns it is more subtile than true (22).

(17) Macrob. Saturnal. lib i, cap. vii, pag. 154, Lond. *Edition*, 1694, *in* 8vo.

(18) Scholiastes Persii in Sat. vi, ver. 56.

(19) Plutarch. in Quæst. Romanis, pag. 277, *Edit.* Francof. Anno 1620, *where there is twice* ἄχαρις *instead of* χάριτος.

(20) Κατεύχονται μηδένα χρηστὸν ἀποθάνειν τῶν οἰκογενῶν: Voto petunt nequis domi natorum bonus fiat. *Id. ibi.*

(21) John Berault *in his* Notes on *Barclay's Euphormion, says, in his Epistle Dedicatory*, that he has seldom found any body who has not, had the misfortune to have, at his Birth, the assistance of the Goddess *Genita Mana*, to whom the Antients made Vows, that nothing good might be born in their Family; *Nequis masculorum domi probus. It may be doubted whether the Word* probus, *which does not signify* soft and simple, *as* Plutarch's *Word* χάριτος *does sometimes, be here properly used.*

(22) Boxhornius in Plutarchum de Quæst. Roman. pag. 124.

BRUTUS (MARCUS JUNIUS), the Son of *Marcus Junius Brutus*, and of *Servilia*, the Sister of *Cato*, was one of the Murtherers of *Julius Cæsar*. He was the greateſt Republican that ever was known. He did not believe that any body was obliged to keep Faith, or the ſacredeſt Oaths, to thoſe who uſurped a tyrannical Power in *Rome* [*A*]. He was ſo full of the great and noble Ideas of Liberty, and that Love of his Country, which the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors have deſcribed ſo pompouſly: I ſay he was ſo bewitched to theſe, that neither the Obligations he had to *Julius Cæſar*, nor the certain Proſpect he had of aggrandizing himſelf as much as he pleaſed under that new Maſter of *Rome*, could balance the Ambition he had of reſtoring things to their firſt State by the Murther of the Tyrant. He conſpired againſt him with ſeveral others, and their Plot was ſo well concerted and carried on, that *Julius Cæſar* was ſtabbed in the Senate, the fifteenth of *March*, 709. The People applauded that Action at firſt, but all on a ſudden, like a Sea agitated by contrary Winds, they grew exaſperated againſt the Murtherers. Theſe were forced to ſeek their Safety by flight. *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were not diſcouraged; they endeavoured to ſupport their Party in the Provinces abroad; they made a ſtand in *Macedonia*, at the head of ſome very good Troops; but Fortune declared for the Oppreſſors of Liberty. Theſe two grand Republicans, who were called the laſt of the *Romans* [*B*], were defeated by *Octavius* and *Marc Antony*, and reduced to the neceſſity of killing themſelves, in the Year of *Rome* 711. *Brutus* is condemned for having employed his laſt dying Words in decrying Virtue (*a*) [*C*]: he was not ſo much in the wrong as is imagined [*D*]. It is

(*a*) *See* Plutarch *in the Life of* Brutus.

[*A*] *He did not believe that any one was obliged to keep Faith - - - - - with thoſe that uſurped a tyrannical Power in* Rome.] In one of his Speeches to the *Roman* People, in the Capitol, he told them, Οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐμὲ Ῥωμαίοις πρὸς τυράννους, ὦ ἄνδρες: *Cum tyranno Romanis nulla fides, nulla juris jurandi religio* (1). —— *The* Romans *are obliged to no Faith with a Tyrant, nor to keep any Oath.* This Maxim ſeemed unreaſonable to *Grotius*: See how he has refuted it in the ſixteenth Paragraph of the thirteenth Chapter of the ſecond Book *De Jure Belli & Pacis*. *Boëclerus* approves this Refutation in his Notes on the Fifty ſixth Chapter of the ſecond Book of *Velleius Paterculus*. However, this Maxim of *Pagan Rome* is more excuſable, than that which *Chriſtian Rome* is ſaid to have eſtabliſhed in the Council of *Conſtance*, That Faith is not to be kept with Heretics.

(1) Applan. de bellis Civil. lib. ii, pag. 283.

[*B*] *He and* Caſſius *are called the laſt of the* Romans.] *Cremutius Cordus*, according to *Tacitus*, ſaid this of *Caſſius* only: 'Poſtulatur - - - - - quod 'editis Annalibus laudatoque M Bruto C. Caſſium 'Romanorum ultimum dixiſſet (2). —— *He was* 'arraigned - - - - - *for that in the Annals which* 'he had publiſhed he had commended M. Brutus, 'and called C. Caſſius *the laſt of the* Romans.' But *Suetonius* affirms, he ſaid it of both. 'Ob- 'jectum & Hiſtorico quod Brutum Caſſiumque ul- 'timos Romanorum dixiſſet (3) - - - - - *It is ob-* 'jected to that Hiſtorian, *that he had called* 'Brutus *and* Caſſius *the laſt of the* Romans.' That Hiſtorian, whom *Suetonius* does not name, is undoubtedly *Cremutius Cordus*. The Elogy he gives theſe two Republicans was given to *Caſſius* by his Companion *Brutus*, when the News of his Death was brought him (4).

(2) Tacit. Annal. lib. iv, c xxxiv.

(3) Sueton. in Tiber. cap. lxi.

(4) Plut. in Brut. pag. 1005.

[*C*] *He employed his laſt dying Words in decrying Virtue.*] *Unhappy Virtue*, cried he, *how have I been deceived in thy Service! I believed thee wert a real Being, and devoted myſelf to thee on that Account; but thou art only a vain Name, a Phantom, the Prey and Slave of Fortune.* He was not the firſt that made uſe of theſe Words. A *Greek* Poet had put them in *Hercules*'s Mouth (5). I do not believe that it is known who that Poet was, ſince a learned Man was contented to give him the indefinite Title of a Tragic Poet. It is in a Tranſlation of one of *Plutarch*'s ſmall Pieces, that theſe Words are to be found: Though all is not ſeen in it that *Dion* makes *Brutus* ſay, yet in recompence ſomething is to be ſeen in it, that *Brutus* never did ſay, but which is a Conſequence natural enough from what he ſaid. According to *Plutarch*, he, who made theſe Complaints for having followed Virtue as a real Being, added, that he had forſaken Injuſtice, the fruitful Source of Riches; and Intemperance, the plentiful Diſpenſer of all kind of Pleaſures. Ἄρα σε τὴν πολυπόνου δόξαν, καὶ τὴν γόνιμον ἀνάγκης ἄδοξος ἀκολασίαν. *Omiſſa divitias largiente injuſtitia, & omnis voluptatis ferax intemperantia* (6). I cannot tell why the Tranſlator, of whom I ſpeak (7), has given quite another Senſe to the Original. That which he ſubſtitutes does not countervail what he has omitted, and does not ſo well repreſent the Indignation of a Perſon who repented for having followed the Ways of Virtue, and who reckons it an ingrateful and barren Soil. *Note*, That *Florus* has given his Approbation of this Complaint of *Brutus*. 'Sed quamvis efferveſcit eſt fortuna, *ſays* 'he (8), quam virtus! & quam verum eſt quod mo- 'riens efflavit, non in re ſed in verbo tantum eſſe 'virtutem! victoriam illi prælio errore dedit. —— 'But how much ſtronger is Fortune than Virtue! and 'how true is that which he uttered when he was 'dying; that Virtue was not a Thing but a Name; 'the Victory in that Battle was owing only to a 'Miſtake.'

(5) Ἀνεβόησας τῷτε δὴ τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ὦ τλῆμον, ἐρεπτόμενος ἄρ' ἦθος. Ἐγὼ δέ σε ὡς ἔργων ὄντως οὐ δ' ὡς οὐδένειαν τύχης Altaque voce recitato Herculis ifto dicto, O infelix virtus itane quam nihil quam nomen eſſe ego te tanquam rem aliquam exercui, quum tu fortunæ ſervieris. *Dio*, *lib.* xlvii, *ſub fin.* *See* Plutarch, *de ſuperſtit. init.*

(6) Plut. de Superſtit. pag. 165.

(7) *Mr* le Fevre *of* Saumur.

(8) Florus, lib. iv, cap. vii. circa fin. pag. 216.

I and

is a pity he sullied, by the Murther of his Benefactor, a Combination of the greatest Qualities that a Man can possess [*E*]. His Action was condemned by several *Romans* of those Times (*b*), and it can hardly be denied that it was at least ill suited to Circumstances, I mean that it was unseasonably committed. You will find the Proof of this in *Dio Cassius* [*F*]. He followed the Sect of the *Stoics*: He loved

(*b*) *See, in Remark* [*F*], *Citation* (13), *the Words of* Tacitus.

and Innocency might be placed in the Number of those things, on which *Solomon* pronounces his definitive Decree, *Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity*. To trust to one's Innocency, would be to trust to a broken Reed, which peirces the Hand of him that leans upon it. God, as being the Disposer of Events, and the Distributer of good and bad Success on Earth, has submitted Virtue and Innocency to general Laws, no less than Health and Riches. One of the most considerable States of *Europe* lost and gained by turns, as long as it made only unjust Wars; nay, it gained more than it lost. Ever since it has been engaged only in just Wars, it does nothing but lose. How happens this? It was powerful at that time, and now is not so. To conclude, whoever shall go upon *Brutus*'s System, and look upon Virtue as the Fountain of good temporal Successes, may happen one Day to complain, as he did, of having taken that for a Reality which is only a Name.

A Computation of those who pretend that Injustice is a means of Prosperity.

But let us beware of the heady Reflexions of those extravagant Spirits, who pretend, that to have an ill Cause is the readiest way to carry it. Say we on the contrary, that, all things being in other Respects equal, Reason and Justice on one's Side is a good Step towards the Victory. How great soever the Disorders of human kind are, they are not yet come to such a Height, that it can with truth be said, that Right averts or retards the Victory. I was not long ago (9) in Company where the Discourse turned upon two Princes, who had been named for a very high Dignity: Opinions were not much divided; almost all agreed, that such an one would baffle the Pretensions of his Competitor (10). They grounded themselves on several Reasons which were particularized, as the Interest of all *Europe* to favour one of the two Pretenders, the Situation of the Countries from whence each was to expect Assistance, the overgrown Power of the Promoter of him whose ill Success was foretold, and an hundred other Considerations besides (11). 'And now you think you 'have said all, *said a* Frenchman *suddenly, who had not spoken a Word before*, but it is a Mistake, I 'will give you one Reason stronger than all. Such 'an one has Right of his side; his Election is regular, and therefore he must sink: The Election 'of the other has all possible Defects; it is contrary to the most essential Formalities, and to 'the fundamental Laws of the Nation; that alone 'were enough to secure him the Superiority and 'the Triumph.' This Argument was laughed at; but some, who were by, were willing to give themselves the Trouble of examining it in cold Blood, and these alledged, That Injustice, in itself, is fitter to prejudice a Cause than to forward it, and that it is only by accident that Justice is an Obstacle to good Success on several Occasions. It happens very often that they who are concerned for a good Cause, are less active than their Adversaries. They flatter themselves, like *Brutus*, that Heaven will declare for them; they imagine, that Right needs less Support than Injustice; hereupon they slacken their Vigilance, and sometimes they are such honest People, that they would not make use of ill means to support the good Cause. But they, who are engaged in bad Causes, scruple not to add Iniquity to Iniquity; and if they doubt the Success, they have recourse, with an extream Activity, to all imaginable Expedients; they forget nothing that may either forward their own Work, or retard the Progress of the Enemy (12). It may also be supposed in the Hypothesis of good and bad Angels, that, from the same Principles, the latter are much more active. However it be, there is no arguing from the Justice, or the Injustice of a Cause, to it's good or ill Success; and except in Cases where God works by Miracle, which happen but seldom, the Fate of a Business depends on the Circumstances, and the Concurrence of the means that are used; whereby it sometimes happens that Injustice miscarries, and that one may say, *tandem bona causa triumphat*, — *The good Cause triumphs at last*.

(9) *This was written in* 1698.

(10) *That really happened.*

(11) *See above, Citat.* (82), *of the Article* Bellarmin.

[*E*] *He sullied, by the Murther of his Benefactor, a Combination of the greatest Qualities that a Man can possess.*] The most extravagant Flatterers of the Descendants of *Cæsar* found only that one Exception to *Brutus*. 'Hunc exitum M. Bruti partium septimum & trigesimum annum agentis fortuna esse voluit: corrupto animo ejus in diem quæ illi omnes 'virtutes unius temeritate facti abstulit (13). —— *Fortune had decreed this for the last Scene of the 'Life of* M. Brutus, *who was in his Thirty seventh 'Year: his Mind being disordered from the Day, 'when he tarnished all his Virtues by one rash 'Action.*' I confess, he, whom he killed, deserved Death; an hundred thousand Lives, if he had had them, would not have sufficed for the Expiation of his Crime; but it was not the Business of three or four private Persons to undertake to punish him. Let us then apply the Maxim *Pessimè justa alio injustissima.* — *The Punishment is just, the Action most unjust*. Besides, the Attempt was against the Interest of the Country; the Event shewed it, and it was not hard to foresee it. See *Seneca*, who proves solidly that, as things then stood, they were not to hope for a Return of the Republican Government. The Manners of the *Romans* were altered; the Prize of Ambition was too great; the Post, from whence they would make the Conqueror of Great *Pompey* fall, was so coveted, that it was easy to foresee that, as they thrust one Person out of it, several others would present to fill it up. 'Cum vir magnus fuerit (M. Brutus) in aliis, in hac re videtur 'vehementer erasse; ibi speravit libertatem futuram, ubi tam magnum præmium erat & imperandi, & serviendi; aut existimavit civitatem in priorem formam posse revocari, amissis priscinis moribus; futuramque ibi æqualitatem civilis juris, & 'staturas suo loco leges, ubi viderat tot millia hominum pugnanti, non ut servirent; sed utri. Quanta vero illum aut rerum natura, aut urbis suæ tenuit oblivio, qui uno interempto, desuturum credidit alium, qui idem vellet, cum Tarquinius esset 'inventus post tot reges ferro ac fulminibus occisos(14)?' —— Marcus Brutus, *though a great Man in other 'Respects, seems to have been very much mistaken in 'this Affair: in that he hoped that Liberty could be 'there where there was so great a Prize, both for 'commanding and obeying; and judged that the City 'might be reduced to it's former State, when their 'ancient Manners were lost. That there could be an 'Equality of civil Right, or the Laws maintain 'their Ground, where he saw so many Thousands 'of Men contending, not whether they should be 'Slaves, but to whom. How intirely had he for'got either the Nature of Things, or his own City, 'who believed that when one was killed there would 'be never another to attempt the same thing, when 'Tarquin arose after so many Kings had been killed 'with the Sword and Thunder?*'

(12) Note, *that for some Occasions they miscarry, because they dare not be wicked enough.*

(13) Paterculus, lib. ii, cap. lxxii.

(14) Seneca de Benef. lib. ii, cap. xx.

[*F*] *That Action was* ---- *unseasonably committed. You will find the Proof of this in* Dio Cassius.] That Historian observes two things. I. That a wicked Fury seized some who envied *Julius Cæsar*, and hurried them on to kill him unjustly. II. That though they alledged the fair Pretence of re-establishing Liberty, yet their Action was really impious, and threw back the State into Seditions, when it began to taste the Advantages of a good Administration. He afterwards declares, that Monarchy is to be preferred before Democratical Government, and that both *Greek* and *Roman* History shew, that Cities and private Persons have enjoyed greater Blessings, and felt less Adversity under the Authority of a single Person, than under a popular Government; that if there have been States which have flourished under such a Government, it lasted no longer than till they had attained a certain Point of Greatness and

loved Books, and had wrote some [G]: He was a good Orator; and as he had for his own part always made choice of a concise and grave Stile (c), no wonder if he thought *Cicero*'s Eloquence wanted Nerves [H]. He had an excellent Panegyrist in the Person of that Orator, by whom he had been infinitely esteemed from his Youth (d). He was older than *Paterculus* supposes [I]. No one ought to affirm that he was descended from that *Brutus* who expelled *Tarquin* [K], or that he had been

(c) Gravitatem Bruti. *Quintil. lib.* xii, *cap.* x, *pag.* 680.

(d) *See* Cicero in Bruto, in Philippicis & alibi.

Power, beyond which nothing but Discord had been seen, the Fruits of Envy and Ambition; and therefore since the City of *Rome* saw itself at that time Mistress of a great many Nations, and glutted with Riches and Glory, it was impossible but the Inhabitants should give a loose to their Passions in the midst of the Republican Liberty; and yet more impossible, that, while none of them restrained their Desires, they should agree among themselves. Ἀδύνατον μὲν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ σωφρονῆσαι, ἀδυνατώτερον δὲ μὴ σωφρονῆσαι ἅπαντας. *In popular republican state impossible that wise minds should moderate; that continuance should not concorde permanent; id adhuc minus fieri poterat* (15). That if *Brutus* and *Cassius* had well considered these things, they would never have killed the Head of the Republic, nor thereby plunged themselves and the whole *Roman* Empire into endless Calamities (16). Note, that *Xiphilin* has disapproved *Dio Cassius* in this (17); but I do not believe any Person can reasonably deny, that at that Point of Greatness to which the *Romans* had attained, which had accustomed them to Luxury and Ambition, they could have enjoyed any Tranquillity, either in the Provinces or Capital City, under a Democratical Government. *Rome* had already been a pretty long time a Republic only in Name. The Alteration of Government will always be inevitable in popular States which amuse themselves with Conquests. If they intend to preserve their Liberty, they must avoid all offensive Wars as the Plague, and the ultimate wish of their Interest of Land; they must aggrandize and fortify themselves *intensively*, and not *extensively*, if I may be permitted to make use of the School Distinction.

(15) Dio Cassius, lib. xliv, p. 273.

(16) *Taken from* Dio Cassius, lib. xliv, *Init.*

(17) Xiphil. Epit. Dio, lib. xliv, *Init. pag.* 25.

I have said in the Body of this Article, that several *Romans* disapproved *Brutus*'s Action. I am to produce a Witness. 'Die funeris (Augusti) militem velut præsidio fletere, multum inridentibus qui ipsi viderant, quique à parentibus acceperant diem illum crudi adhuc servitii, & libertatis imprope repetitæ, cum occisus Dictator Cæsar alia pessimum alia pulcherrimum facinus videretur' (18). —— *On the Day of Augustus's Funeral the Soldiers stood upon Guard, which was very ridiculous in the Eyes of those that had seen or heard from their Fathers of that Day, when Slavery was yet new, and the Renewal of Liberty unsuccessfully attempted, when the killing of the Dictator* Cæsar *seemed to some* A VERY WICKED, *and to others a very laudable Action.*' Consult *Fortunatus* on this Passage of *Tacitus*, and *Bochartus* on the Fifty sixth Chapter of the second Book of *Paterculus*.

(18) Tacit. Annal. lib. i, c. viii.

[G] *He loved Books, and he had wrote some.*] *Plutarch* relates, that, in the greatest Heat of the Civil Wars, *Brutus* employed some part of the Night in Study (19). He abridged the *Roman* History of *Fannius* (20), and that of *Antipater* (21). He wrote a Book *de Officiis*, cited by *Charisius* and by *Priscian*. Doubtless it is that which *Seneca* calls περὶ καθήκοντος (22). *Cicero* (23) and *Seneca* (24) speak of that *de Virtute*. *Diomedes* makes mention of that *de Patientia*. There are still extant some of *Brutus*'s Letters, either in *Greek* that were printed apart, or in *Latin* among those of *Cicero*. He had made an Elogy on *Cato*, and *Cæsar* found that Piece not very well written. *Bruti Catone lecto se sibi visum disertum* (25). — *When he had read* Brutus's Cato *he imagined himself learned.* The Oration he made in the Capitol upon the Murther of *Cæsar*, pleased *Cicero* very well, though they had not the same Taste in Oratory. See the first Letter of the fifteenth Book to *Atticus*. I cannot tell whether he finished the Abridgment of the History of *Polybius*, on which he was at work in *Pompey*'s Camp, the very Night that preceeded the Battle of *Pharsalia* (26).

(19) Plut. in Bruto, pag. 1000. E.

(20) Cicero, ad Attic. lib. xii, Epist. v.

(21) Id. ibid. lib. xiii, Ep. viii.

(22) Seneca, Epist. xciv.

(23) Cicero Tusc. i, & de fin.

(24) Seneca Consol. ad Helviam, cap. ix.

(25) Apud. Cicer. Epist. xlvi, ad Attic. lib. xii.

(26) Plut. in Brute, p. 985. E.

[H] *He thought* Cicero's *Eloquence wanted Nerves.*] The Author of the Dialogue *de causis corruptæ eloquentiæ* informs us of this: 'Ciceronem, *says he*, malè audiviſſe à Bruto, ut ipſius verbis utar, tanquam fractum atque elumbem. —— Cicero *was blamed by* Brutus, *to use his own Words, as feeble and weak.*' *Cicero* was even with him: he thought *Brutus*'s Stile negligent and loose: *Ciceroni visum Brutum otiosum atque disjunctum* (27). *Brutus*'s Stile has another Defect, which is that it was full of Verses; *Versus bi fere excidunt, quos Brutus ipse componendi ductus studio sæpissime facit* (28). *Cicero* confesses, that *Brutus* found fault freely enough with his Taste, in point of Eloquence. See the twentieth Letter of the fourteenth Book to *Atticus*.

(27) Dial. de Causis corr. eloq.

(28) Quintil. lib. ix, cap. iv. pag. 448.

[I] *He was older than* Paterculus *supposes.*] He was born ten Years after *Hortensius* began to plead (29), which was under the Consulship of *Lucius Crassus*, and *Quintus Scævola* (30). That Consulship falls in with the Year of *Rome* 658 (31). *Brutus* then must have been born in the Year 668. So that having died in the Year 711, he lived Forty three Years. *Paterculus* must therefore be in the wrong, to give him but Thirty seven Years of Age (32).

(29) Cicero in Bruto, pag. 447.

(30) Id. ibid. pag. 343.

(31) Sigonius in Fastis.

(32) Patercul. lib. ii, cap. lxxiii.

[K] *It should not be affirmed that he was descended from that* Brutus *who expelled* Tarquin.] *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* maintains, that our *Marcus Brutus* was not descended from him (33). He says it is the Opinion of the Historians who had examined this Matter with the greatest exactness (34), whereof they bring divers proofs, and among others this following: The *Junius*'s and the *Brutus*'s of later times were Plebeians, Tribunes of the People which they had held. Now it is certain that the *Junius*'s of *Tarquin*'s Time were of a *Patrician* Family. The Historian, I have cited, thinks this a very strong Reason Τεκμήριον δυσεπιλύτον. *Signum tui facile contradici non possit. Dio* plainly declares, that the first *Brutus* caused the two only Children he had to be put to Death, who were yet but Youths (35). This, without doubt, is of greater weight than *Plutarch*'s Authority, who says, that *Brutus* had several Children. Ἀδελφὴν γὰρ εὐῆν ὁ Βροῦτος ἔσχε καὶ παῖδας ἐξ αὐτῆς πλείονας. *Sororem eorum* (Vitellionum) *habebat Brutus in matrimonio, & ex ea numerosam prolem* (36). —— Brutus *had married their Sister* (*the* Vitellii) *and had by her a numerous Offspring.* *Cicero* having spoken in his *Philippics* as an Orator, and not as an Historian, is not very fit to weaken the Testimony of *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* and of *Dio*: However, he is a good Authority to shew that the *Brutus*'s of his Time pretended they were issued from him, who delivered *Rome* from the Tyranny of *Tarquin*; and *Dio* does not deny but they made use of the Conformity of Names, at *Rome*, to incite *Brutus* to conspire against *Cæsar*, as the ancient *Brutus*, of whom he was descended, say they, had conspired against *Tarquin the Proud* (37). Some may be pleased to find *Cicero*'s Words here. 'Fuerit ille L. Brutus qui & ipse regio dominatu Rempublicam liberavit, & ad similem virtutem & simile factum stirpem jam prope in quingentesimum annum propagavit (38). Si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis auctoribus, Brutos ego impellerem, quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem quotidie videret, alter etiam Ahalæ. Hi igitur his majoribus ab alienis potius consilium peterent quàm à suis, & foris potius quam domi (39). —— Lucius Brutus, *who both freed the Common-wealth from Kingly Government; and left Posterity, of like Virtue, to perform a like Action, almost five hundred Years after. If we wanted Leaders to deliver our Country, when these Men have lead the Way, I would stir up the* Brutus's, *who both every Day see the Image of* Lucius Brutus, *and one of them that of* Ahala *too. Shall these Men therefore, descended from such Ancestors, ask counsel Abroad, rather than at Home?*' No great stress is to be laid on these Words, because an Orator

(33) Dionyſ. Halic. lib. v.

(34) Ὡς οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀφ' ἑστίας ἐκτετακότες γράφειν ἱστορίαν, ut qui tragœdias Romanas investigarunt, scripto tradiderunt.

(35) Dio, lib. xliv.

(36) Plut. in Valerio, pag. 98. D.

(37) Dio, ubi supra.

(38) Cicero, Philipp. x.

(39) Id. Philipp. 2.

been adopted by *Julius Cæsar* [*L*]. Yet *Moreri* says it positively. I say nothing of his Faults of Omission.

I cannot pass over in Silence the Proof, that our *Brutus* gave of his Love of Justice in the beginning of the War between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*. He was the Son of a Man whom *Pompey* had ordered to be put to death, so that he had the greatest Reason in the World to hate *Pompey*: he had not dissembled his hatred; he never vouchsafed to salute or speak to him; this caused a Belief that he would take *Julius Cæsar*'s part; nevertheless he embarked in *Pompey*'s Cause, which he took to be the best, and justest [*M*], and most for the Interest of his Country, which he judged ought to be preferred before any personal Considerations (*e*). I shall not mention the Tenderness *Cæsar* expressed for him before the Battle of *Pharsalia*, by the Orders he gave his Commanders to give him good Quarter, or even to let him escape if they could not prevail with him to yield (*f*): Nor will I mention the kind Reception he gave him after the Battle: but I shall say a Word or two of the private Conversation he had with him concerning the Rout that *Pompey* might have taken. *Brutus* spoke his Opinion after such a manner, as made *Cæsar* judge that *Pompey* had bent his Course towards *Egypt* (*g*), and in that he was right. Some pretend that *Brutus* was much to blame in giving such a hint to the Conqueror [*N*].

(e) Plut. in Bruto, pag. 987. *See him also in* Pompeio, p. 653.

(f) Id. in Bruto, ibid.

(g) Id. ibid. pag. 986.

is not so much concerned whether such Facts be true or no; he is satisfied if only a part of the People believe them (40). But here is an Historian, who appears of *Cicero*'s Side, and alledges Proofs. *Plutarch* affirms, that *Marcus Brutus* was descended from him who expelled *Tarquin*, and that none but *Julius Cæsar*'s Friends, in hatred to the Murderer, maintained, that the first *Brutus* left no Posterity, and that the other *Brutus*'s were descended from the Steward of the first (41). He adds, that the Philosopher *Posidonius* affirmed in one of his Books, that *Lucius Brutus* had three Sons, the last of whom was the Stock of the Family of the other *Brutus*, and that there were illustrious Men of that Family in his own time, whose countenance resembled the Statue of *Lucius Brutus*. Add to this, that the reason, which seems so strong to *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, is not unanswerable, seeing there are examples of *Patrician* Families which became *Plebians* (42). A learned Man sets forth, that, according to *Plutarch*, the Enemies which *Brutus* had made himself, by the Murther of *Julius Cæsar*, maintained, that this had happened to the Family *Junia*. 'Sed & fieri potuisse ut Junia gens 'à patriciis ad plebem transiverit, & scribit Plu- 'tarchus id ab iis qui ob Cæsaris necem Brutis erant 'infensi fuisse jactatum (43).' Had *Plutarch* said this, he must have clashed directly with common Sense. What is to be done in this Conflict of Arguments and Witnesses? Quite the contrary to what Mr *Moreri* has done: that is, we must remain neuter; but if one would be decisive, he ought to prefer the Authority of *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, and *Dio*, to that of *Cicero* and *Plutarch*.

(40) *See what will be said in the Article* CASSIUS, *a Family, Remark* [*B*].

(41) Plut. in vita Brut. init. pag. 984.

(42) Suetonius, *in the second Chapter of the Life of* Augustus, *gives the Octavian Family as an Example.*

(43) Abram. in Cicer. Philippicam I, pag. 488.

[*L*] *Or that he was adopted by* Julius Cæsar.] I do not think any credible Author ever said this. It should have been said, that *Cæsar* called him his Son (44), and that he even believed himself to be his Father, because of his Galantries with *Servilia* the Mother of *Brutus*. See that Lady's Article, Remark [*B*].

(44) *Thus he called him, when he saw him among the Number of the Conspirators.* Sueton. in Julio, cap. lxxxii.

[*M*] *He engaged in* Pompey's *Party because he took it to be the best, and the justest.*] He was not one of those who hate the Tyrant, but not the Tyranny; or of those that love not Liberty, but the Person of him who declares for it. He hated *Pompey*, and yet he sided with him: he had all the reason in the World to love *Cæsar*, and yet he conspired against him; it was because he believed that *Pompey* maintained the Cause of the Country, and that *Cæsar* was become a Tyrant. That Integrity of Heart in him was never contested; People judged otherwise of his Colleague *Cassius*; and most were perswaded that he laboured more for his private Interest, than for the Advantage of *Rome*. Ἡνίδε μᾶλλον ἄνδρα πολεμεῖν, καὶ πολανᾶσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν, δυοῖν τινα δυνασείαν καλασκευαζόμενον, ἢ ἐλευθερίαν τοῖς πολίταις. Omnino arbitrabantur (Cassium) bellum gerere & circumcursitare, & discrimina subire potius ad quærendam sibi potentiam, quam civibus libertatem (45). —— *They were intirely of Opinion, that* Cassius *waged War, and encountred Dangers, rather to seek Power for himself, than Liberty for the City.* This may be confirmed by another Place of *Plutarch*. Ἀλλὰ Κάσσιος, ἀγὴς θυμοειδὴς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἰδίᾳ μισοκαίσαρ ἢ κοινῇ μισοτύραννος. ἐξεκαυσέν καὶ καλέπαιξεν· λέγεται δὲ Βρούτου μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν βαρύνεσθαι, Κασσίου δὲ τὸ ἄρχεσθαι μισεῖν. Verum ferocis vir animi Cassius, magisque privatim Cæsari, quam publicè tyranno infestus, incendit & stimulavit Brutum. Dicitur Brutus regnum non tulisse, Cassius odisse regem (46). - - - - - - *But* Cassius, *a Man of a furious Spirit, and rather a private Enemy to* Cæsar, *than a public one to the Tyrant, provoked and excited* Brutus. Brutus, *it is said, could not bear a Monarchy.* Cassius *hated the Monarch.* It was thought that *Pompey* would not have made a good use of a Victory in case he had obtained it, but that he would have maintained himself in an absolute Power under the Title of perpetual Dictator or Consul, or some other less invidious Name: *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Carbo*, took up Arms only to become Tyrants: the Conquest of their Country was the Prize they proposed to themselves (47): but People had quite another thought of our *Brutus*: his very Enemies acquitted him in this Point. Several had heard *Marc Antony* say, that he was the only Man among the Conspirators, who was carried away by the seeming Beauty of that Action. *Plutarch*'s Words have much force. Βρούτου δὲ λέγεσθαι μηδὲ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς πρόσωπον μεῖναι, ἀλλὰ Ἀντωνίου γε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀκοῦσαι λέγοντος, ὡς μόνον ἐκεῖνο Βροῦτον ἐπιβῆναι Καίσαρι, πρὸς ἄλλα δίκαια τὴν λαμπρότητα καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον καλὸν τῆς πράξεως, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα συνῆναι, μισοῦντας καὶ φθονοῦντας. At Bruto perhibent ne hostes quidem eam objectasse varietatem: imò ex Antonio etiam multos audivisse, quum diceret solum se putare Brutum adortum Cæsarem facti splendore & opinato bono adductum, alios in illum conspirasse odio provectos & invidia (48). - - - - - *But they say, that even* Brutus's *Enemies never charged him with such Dissimulation: nay, that several People had heard* Antony *say, that he believed, that* Brutus *was the only Person, who was induced to attack* Cæsar *from the Glory, and supposed Good, of the Action; that the rest had conspired against him out of Hatred and Envy.* This probably was the thing which obliged *Marc Antony* to do so much honour to the dead Body of *Brutus* (49), and *Octavius* to leave the Statue of that illustrious Conspirator intire at *Milan* (50).

(45) Plut. in Bruto, p. 997. D.

(46) Id. ibid. pag. 987.

(47) Id. ibid. pag. 997. D.

(48) Id. ibid. D.

(49) Id. ibid. pag. 1009. C.

(50) Id. ibid. pag. 1011. D.

[*N*] *He conversed with* Cæsar *concerning the Rout which* Pompey *had taken - - - he is blamed for giving such a Hint to the Conqueror.*] I cannot approve the Apology which Don *Francisco de Quevedo* endeavours to make for that Action. He pretends, that, as things then stood, *Brutus* was permitted to revenge his Father's Death, by discovering to *Cæsar* the Road by which he was to pursue the conquered. If there were no better Thoughts than this, in that *Spantard*'s Book (51), it never would have been so much esteemed as it justly is. I should rather alledge in *Brutus*'s Justification, I. That he was not entrusted with *Pompey*'s Secret concerning the Choice of a Place of Retreat. II. That he did not see how, by communicating his Conjectures to *Cæsar*, he could make the unhappy Fate of the Fugitive worse; for perhaps he imagined, that *Egypt* regnabat

(51) *It is a Commentary on a part of the Life of* Brutus, *by* Plutarch. *It has been translated out of* Spanish *into* Latin, *by* Graswinckle. *That* Latin *Translation was printed at the* Hague, Anno 1661, *in* 4to, *but does not come up to the O-*

Egypt would be thought so good a Retreat, that they would not think fit to attack the Great *Pompey* there. However it be, we may here admire the Sagacity of his Judgment: he guessed very right what Way the conquered Chief had chosen. He was no worse a Prophet in another Conjuncture, which was, when he condemned *Marc Antony*'s Imprudence, who, having had it in his Power to be named among the *Brutus*'s, the *Cassius*'s, and the *Cato*'s, had joined himself as a Second to *Octavius*. *If they* [Marc Antony *and* Octavius] *are not beaten together*, said he, *they will soon be seen in Arms against each other* (52).

(52) Plut. in Bruto, pag. 997.

BRUTUS (John Michael), a learned Man in the XVIth Century, was a Native of *Venice*; and there happened something, I know not what, which obliged him to leave it [*A*], and might make him be looked on as an Exile. He studied at *Padua*, and applied himself chiefly to hear the Discourses and Lectures of *Lazarus Bonamicus* (*a*). He travelled much [*B*]; but that ambulatory Life did not hinder his becoming a learned Man and an Author. He wrote politely; though he condemned the Scruples of the *Ciceronian* Sect (*b*), and he may pass for a very good Humanist. His Notes on *Horace*, *Cæsar*, *Cicero*, &c. are very good Proofs of it. We shall see what he answered to those who accused him of Plagiarism [*C*]. He was

(*a*) John. Mich. Brutus, Epist. pag. 596, *Edit.* 1698.

(*b*) Ibid. p. 588.

[*A*] *He was a native of* Venice, *and there happened something, I know not what, which obliged him to leave it.*] The Words that I am going to copy, which are taken from the One thousand and sixty seventh Page of the new Edition of his Letters, testify that he did not leave his Country willingly, and that, nevertheless, he left it without any blemish to his Honour. 'Nam 'quod illa (*patria*) hoc tempore careo, neque ul- 'la illius culpa hoc, neque dedecore ullo meo accidit, 'sed fortunæ injuria. Ejus enim mihi iniquitate 'ereptus est inter meos locus quem Majores per 'CCC annos retinuerunt honestissimum. —— *For* 'that I am now deprived of it (my Country) is 'owing neither to any Fault of my Country, nor 'any Disgrace of mine, but to the Iniquity of For- 'tune, For by her Frowns I was robbed of that 'Place amongst my Countrymen, which my An- 'cestors had held with the greatest Honour for Three 'hundred Years.' This, you will say, does not prove that he was of *Venice*; but you will not doubt it if you consult the Sequel of that Passage: 'Quo 'quidem, *continues he, speaking to a* Venetian, 'who exhorted him to write the History of the 'Republic of Venice, cum adsum, non possum æquo 'animo carere, fore ut aliquando eundem cum pri- 'stina fortuna recuperem, tua gratia fretus non 'despero. Sed ne hæc nos cura magnopere angat, 'quot patria nostra habet (1), qui has illi partes 'possunt egregie præstare? Neque enim etsi est 'Petrus Bembus jam, & Andreas Navagerius mor- 'tuus, summi homines, & quorum est apud posteros 'merito futurum semper illustre nomen, simul etiam 'cum iis est lumen eloquentiæ in civitate extinctum. '------ *Without which, If I return, I cannot* 'live to my Satisfaction; but relying on your Fa- 'vour I do not despair, but that I shall one Day 'recover it together with my former Fortune. But 'least this Thought disturb us too much; how many 'are there in our Country who could perform this 'excellently? For though we have lost* Peter Bembus 'and Andreas Navagerius, *both very great Men, 'whose Names will be deservedly famous to all 'Posterity, yet is not the Spirit of Eloquence ex- 'tinguished in the City.'

(1) *He says, at* pag. 1071. *As ne cui tamen videar* esse oblitus hanc mihi patriam esse.

(4) Jo. Mich. Brutus Epistol. pag. 1064. *See also* pag 432.

[*B*] *He travelled much.*] He passed part of his Life in *Spain*, *England* (2), *France*, *Germany*, *Transilvania*, and in *Poland*. He says, he had suffered several Hardships in his Travels in *Spain* (3), but that he had seen most of the other Courts of *Europe* quietly, and thereby had acquired Experience enough to write the History of it. 'Magna 'quædam res est *historiam scribere: qua quidem* 'ego in re ita sum per multos annos versatus, ut 'me longa jam exercitatio doceat, quam prudenter 'ea sit & cunctanter attingenda. Qua autem ego 're confisus & scribere jam instituerim, & nunc 'quidem ------ scribendi studio infiammam, dicerem, 'si id mihi per meam modestiam liceret: certe ut 'non me destituat spes eo perveniendi, quo con- 'tendo, non ingenio confido magis, cujus haud me 'pœnitet tamen, quam diligentia & studio, usu 'quidem rerum tanto, quantum esse in eo homine 'æquum est, qui magnam Europæ partem, aulas 'fere Regum omnium maximorum, per summum 'otium lustravit. Itaque si quæ mihi incommoda '(id quod necesse fuit) tot terras obeunti obtige- 'runt, sit quidem fructu, quem ex his caplo, maxi- 'mo quidem ac uberrimo, eorum etiam ut mihi 'sit jucunda recordatio (4). ------ *It is a great* 'Work to write a History: in which I have been 'so conversant for several Years, that long Practice 'has taught me how cautiously and deliberately it 'is to be undertaken. What emboldened me first 'to undertake to write, and now to continue writing, 'I would say if my Modesty would give me leave: 'it is certain I am not without Hopes of attain- 'ing what I aim at, not so much out of an Opi- 'nion of my Genius (tho' with that I am not dis- 'satisfied) as Diligence and Care, and such a know- 'ledge of Affairs, as might be expected of a Man 'who has seen great part of* Europe, *and the 'most considerable Courts in it, at full Leisure. 'Wherefore, if I have met with any Inconvenien- 'cies (as of course I must) in travelling through 'so many Countries, the great and valuable Ad- 'vantages I reap from them make the Remembrance 'of them pleasant.' He is right in maintaining, that the Knowledge which is acquired by travelling is very useful to those who compose a History. They ought all to deserve, that what was said of *Ulysses* might be applied to them:

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes (5).

(5) Horat. de Arte Poët. vers. 142.

[*C*] *We have his Notes on* Horace, Cæsar, Cicero. ------ *We shall see what he answered to those who accused him of Plagiarism.*] His *Observations on the four Books of the* Odes *of* Horace, *and on the* Epodes, were printed at *Venice*, by *Paulus Manutius*, with those of *Lambinus*, in the Year 1566, in 4to. His *Scholia on Julius Cæsar* were printed by the same *Manutius* in the Year 1564, in 8vo. They are inserted in the Edition of *Jungerman* at *Francfort*, in the Year 1606, as the Journalists of *Utrecht* (6) observe, who observe also that he caused the Works of *Cicero*, with Notes, to be printed in *duodecimo*, by *Anthony Gryphius*, in the Year 1572. They tell us, what I have to say on the other Point of my Text. He had been accused of having made use of *Lambinus*'s Observations on *Cicero*; he wrote to *Lambinus*, That he might go to the Fountain-head as well as he, and when he made use of another Writer's Thoughts, he cited him punctually; whereby he secured himself from all Reproach of *Plagiarism*; for this was borrowing and not stealing: 'Falsam hanc opinio- 'nem Lambino eripere conatur, his inter alia ver- 'bis utens: *Quisquis is est, qui me in his, quæ* 'scripta edidi, surripuisse ab ullo affirmet, quæ 'transferrem in mea; is neque plane me novit, & 'facit ipse ut se prodat, tacente etiam me: Ut enim 'qui aqua indigent, ubi facultas sit, è fonte sume- 're, quam è rivo, malunt; egentes, divitum adire, 'quam infimorum, domus: Ita, mi Lambine, ut bene 'sis à literis & ab ingenio paratus, cum mihi 'iidem fontes pateant, è quibus tu hausisti, (nondum 'enim exaruerunt) æque pateant eorum penetralia, '&c. stulte faciam, si de tuo surripiam, non minus 'quam tu, si inducas animum surripere de meo (7). 'Postea addit, se sumpsisse quidem ab aliis, non 'vero surripuisse. Sumere enim eum, qui, à quo 'mutuetur, indicet: & laudet, quem auctorem ha- 'beat: Surripere vero qui taceat, qui ex alterius

(6) *In* July *and* August, 1698, pag. 566.

(7) Brutus, pag. 599. Epistol. *Edit.* 1698, *cited* ibid.

(2) *See* p. 1109, *of his Letters, Edit. of* Berlin, 1698.

(3) Ibid. pag. 1065.

'industria

was not content with only writing Books, but he took pains also to search for Manuscripts, and publish them [D]. He passed some Years at *Lyons*, from whence he went in all likelihood to *Basil*. He there received great Civilities from the learned *Theodore Zuinger*, Author of the *Theatrum vitæ humanæ* (c). He was in *Transylvania* from the beginning of the Year 1574 (d). He was invited thither by Prince *Stephen Battori*, in order to compose a History of that Country (e) [E], and values himself mightily on the Reception he met with there (f). One of his Letters, dated from *Crasow*, the Twenty third of *November*, 1577, informs us, that he had followed that Prince, then King of *Poland*, to the Expedition of *Prussia* (g). He had a convenient Apartment assigned him in the Castle of *Cracow* (h), that he might apply himself more conveniently to his Function of Historiographer [F]. He left *Poland* after the Death of that Monarch (i), and lived with *William* of *St Clement*, Embassador from the King of *Spain* to the Imperial Court. He was honoured with the Title of his Imperial Majesty's Historiographer (k). He was at *Prague* on the first of *January*, 1590, which is the Date of that Book which he dedicated to the *Spanish* Embassador whom I have mentioned (l). He must have been at that time Seventy three Years of Age, since, in a Letter, dated the nineteenth of *August*, 1582, he takes notice that he had attained to his Sixty fifth Year (m). He makes mention of his Daughter's Marriage, in a Letter dated from *Clausemburgh*, the Twenty third of *January*, 1574 (n). He had a great share in the Friendship of *Duditbius*, and *Crato*. The latter had persuaded the Emperor *Maximilian* to retain him in his Service (o). I cannot tell what became of *John Michael Brutus*, after the Year 1590, nor where, or when, he died. His Writings, which were become very scarce, were so earnestly sought after by the best Judges, that there was great Joy in the Republic of Letters, on hearing that Mr *Cramer* (p) had undertaken to

(c) Id. ibid. pag. 590, item. p. 09.
(d) Id. ibid. pag. 525.
(e) Id. ibid. pag. 571. *See also* pag 293.
(f) Id. ibid. pag. 330.
(g) Id. ibid. pag. 328, 329.
(h) Ibid. pag. 898.
(i) Ibid. pag. 900.
(k) Ibid. pag. 355.
(l) Ibid. pag. 510.
(m) Ibid. pag. 283.
(n) *I speak of him towards the end of the Remark* [C]. *of the Article* GRETSERUS *He had been Preceptor to the Prince Electoral of* Brandenbourg.
(o) Idem. ibid. pag. 366.

(8) Journal of *Utrecht*, *July* and *August*, 1698, pag. 565, 566.

' industria fructum quærat; quod quidem à se omnino alienum esse dicit (8). - - - - - *He endeavours to convince* Lambinus *of his Mistake, using these Words among others:* Whoever he be that affirms, that, in any Writing which I have published, I have stolen any thing from any Author's Work to insert in my own; he is, in short, both unacquainted with me, and betrays himself, though I were silent: For as they, who want Water, would rather, when they have Opportunity, take it from the Fountain than from the Stream; and the Poor go rather to the Houses of the Rich than of the meaner sort; so, my *Lambinus*, tho' you are well furnished with Learning, and a good Genius, as the same Fountains from whence you drew are open to me (for they are not yet dry), and their inmost Recesses are as open, *&c.* I should act as foolishly in stealing any thing of your's, as you would if you should take it in your Head to steal from me. *He afterwards adds, that he has borrowed from others, but not stolen: for that he is a Borrower, who tells from whom he borrows, and gives the Author the Honour: But he steals, who says nothing, who seeks to reap the Benefit of another's Industry; which he says he utterly abhors.*' These Gentlemen cannot tell us, whether his Book *de Instauratione Italiæ* was ever published: Neither do I know any thing of it. He mentions it in the Six hundred and twentieth, One thousand and seventh, One thousand and Seventy first, Pages of his Epistles, and cites Fragments of it. By the way, what he composed on *Cæsar* did not consist wholly in *Scholia* and in *Variæ Lectiones*. He gives a more advantageous Idea of it in the Passage I am going to transcribe: ' Habeo in manibus Cæsaris Commentarios, multis à me animadversionibus emendatos, quibus justum volumen accedet, in quo, certo ordine, politissimi scriptoris voces phrasesque omnes, tum, quod permagni faciendum est, rerum omnium descriptiones, in locos communes redactæ habentur; ut si cui sit scribenda historia & lauta supellex, & loculenta ex tanti scriptoris monumentis, ad ea ornanda atque illustranda quæ velit, suppeditentur. Eum librum Basileæ excusum animus est inscribere Transylvaniæ principi (9). - - - - *I have in hand* Cæsar's Commentaries *which I have improved with a great many Animadversions; to which will be added an entire Volume, in which all the Words and Phrases of that most polite Writer, and, what is most valuable, all his Descriptions of things reduced to common places in proper Order. So that any Writer of History may here be furnished, from the Monuments of so great a Writer, with a smooth, elegant, and beautiful Stock, to adorn and illustrate whatever he has a mind. This Book I think to print at* Basil, *and dedicate it to the Prince of* Transylvania.'

(9) Brutus Epist. pag. 220.

[D] *He took pains to search for Manuscripts and to print them.*] He was the first that published the ten Books of *Bartholomew Facius, de rebus ab Alphonso I. rege Neapolitano gestis.* He got them printed at *Lyons*, by *Gryphius*, in the Year 1560, in 4to. Two Years after he published, in the same place, *Francisci Contareni libros tres de rebus in Hetruria à Senensibus gestis*; a Work that was reprinted at *Venice* in the Year 1623, in 4to. In the Year 1582, he published in *Poland* the three Books of *Callimachus Experiens de rebus gestis Uladislai Ungarorum & Polonorum Regis* (10).

(10) Idem. ibid. pag. 366.

[E] *He was in* Transylvania - - - - - *invited thither by Prince* Stephen Battori, *to write a History of that Country.*] *Simon Forgats*, who had a Design to write a History of *Hungary*, desired to have *John Michael Brutus* with him, to be assisted in that Labour (11), and to that end proposed to him such honourable and advantageous Conditions, as he thought might draw him into *Transylvania*. *Brutus* was then at *Venice*, and did not seem very fond of that Journey (12); for nothing was concluded eight Years after (13); at last the Business was brought about; he sent word by a Letter, dated from *Basil*, the first of *June* 1572, that he would speedily set forward (14), and yet he took a Journey into *France* before he began the other. I find that he wrote a Letter to the Prince of *Transylvania*, dated from *Lyons* the first of *June* 1573 (15), and that he departed from *Lyons*, the seventeenth of *October* of the same Year (16). He arrived at *Vienna* in *Austria* the twenty fourth of *November* following (17).

(11) Ibid. p. 222.
(12) Ibid. p. 225.
(13) Ibid.
(14) Ibid. p. 226.
(15) Ibid. p. 86.
(16) Ibid. p. 222.
(17) Ibid.

[F] *He applied himself - - - - - to his Function of Historiographer.*] He was to begin where *Bonfinius* had ended, and to carry on the History of that Country to his own time (18). It appears by a Letter he wrote to the King of *Poland*, the first of *December* 1579, that he applied himself diligently to that Function, and that of the twelve Books, into which the Work was to be divided (19), four, which reached to the Year 1542, were finished. He owns that he makes use of *Paulus Jovius*'s History; but that he rectifies it in several Places, where that Author is mistaken, or wanted ample and exact Instructions. He proposed, after he had finished these twelve Books, to write the History of *Stephen Battori* in particular (20). A Letter, which he wrote the fifteenth of *January* 1578, testifies the extream Passion he had to perform all the Duties of an Historian well; for he desired very earnestly that he might be permitted to consult the Records, and to send for the Library which he had left in *Transylvania* (21). He observes,

(18) Ibid. p. 294.
(19) Ibid. p. 74, 75.
(20) Ibid. p. 80.
(21) Ibid. p. 296, 297.

to publish a new Edition of them. The first part of that design is already accomplished [G], and the rest is promised in a little time. It is said, that the *History of* Florence, composed by our *Brutus*, and printed at *Lyons*, in 1562, is not favourable to the House of *Medicis* (q), and that it displeased the Duke of *Florence* very much. Among the Letters of this Author, I have not found that which he had promised to add to them, wherein he designed to treat of an ill Custom introduced a long time ago, of giving the same lofty Titles to Persons whom we write to in *Latin*, as are given in the Vulgar Tongue [H]. Ancient *Rome* had no such Usage in the time of it's greatest Glory, and of it's most accomplished Politeness. *Brutus* would not conform to the new Stile, not even in writing to some *Polish* Lords [I]. Let us not forget that he endured much Vexation in *Poland*; he had Enemies

(q) *This does not agree with what has been written by* Francis Lut*sius to the Author.* Ibid. pag. 2145.

observes, that it was not large, but consisted of choice Books, and of the best Editions; *at numero non ita copiosa est, at libris optimis, atque ex elegantissimis editionibus est instructa* (22). He had put the Charges of the Carriage of his Books in the Articles of Agreement, and he declared that he could not live without his Library. *Præmissis, cum aliis impedimentis, bibliotheca, qua quidem carere, ut dixi, nisi ut vita simul mihi carendum sit, haud facile possum* (23). He observes also that the Booksellers of *Basil* were enquiring already for his History of *Hungary* (24). He informs us in a Letter written from *Cracow*, the seventh of *February* 1580, that as to the Bulk, his Labours equalled the three first Books of *Cæsar* (25), and reached to the taking of *Lippa*: He adds, that he had made very good use of the Work of *Ascanius Centorius* (26), and that they who would examine after what manner he wrote, would not think it strange that his Book was so small. 'Multum inquis? imo 'tum videbitur multum, ubi leges non quantum 'scripserim solum, sed quid & quemadmodum id 'adeo scripserim (27). —— *Much do you say? you will think it a great deal when you read not only how much I wrote, but what, and how it is done.*'

(22) Ibid. p. 207.

(23) Ibid. p. 219.

(24) Ibid. p. 206.

(25) Ibid. p. 230.

(26) Ibid. p. 228.

(27) Ibid. p. 230.

[G] *Mr* Cramer *undertook a new Edition of his Works, the first part of which Design is already accomplished.*] See the Book intituled, *Joh. Michaelis Bruti opera varia selecta, nimirum epistolarum libri V. de historiæ laudibus, sive de ratione legendi scriptores historicos liber: præceptorum conjugalium liber, epistolis & orationibus compluribus editione Cracoviensi auctiora.* It was printed at *Berlin* in the Year 1698, in 8vo, and contains Eleven hundred and Fifty five Pages. That second Edition is more ample the first, which is that of *Cracow* 1582; for two Letters are added to it, which Mr *Grævius* had obtained from the Library of *Breslaw*, and the Letters of our *Brutus*, which were inserted in the Collection *Epistolarum Clarorum Virorum*, which he had caused to be printed at *Lyons*, in the Year 1561.

[H] *He designed to speak of an ill Custom ... of giving the same lofty Titles in* Latin, *that are given in common Languages.*] This I found in a Letter which he wrote to *Crato* in the Year 1582. 'Credo te miraturum, cum mihi summi homines 'multi, in his sint maximi reges appellandi, parcum 'me esse his, titulis honestandis, cum nullo meo in'commodo liceat in hoc genere officii effuso esse. 'De quibus titulis adeo mihi parum opportunis 'animus est epistolam scribere, quam aliis attexam '(28). ..... *I believe you will wonder, as I am to mention in this Work several Men of the first Rank, and great Kings, that I am so sparing in giving them Titles, of which I might, without any Inconvenience to myself, be profuse. Concerning these Titles, which are very disagreeable to me, I purpose to write a Letter, which I will join to the rest.*' He afterwards exclaims against the reigning Vanity among the meanest private Persons, of expecting, in the Addresses of Letters, and in public Acts, the Title of *magnifici, clarissimi, atque amplissimi*, and the necessity of having recourse to the Substantives, Majesty, Highness, &c. in speaking to Kings and Princes. He adds, That on pretence that the Title of Excellency was abased by having been bestowed on Physicians and Lawyers, the Lord of a small State had used so many Arguments and Intreaties with the Pope, that at last he had granted him the Title of Highness. See here his Words at length: 'Tanta autem hominum 'levitas in hac nescio qua gloriolæ titillatione, ut 'nullus sit hoc tempore in Europa regulus, quin 'se Altum, Sublimem, Excelsum appellari velit: 'nullus tam tenuis census privatus, quin sibi cla'met insignem fieri injuriam, nisi illi magnifici, 'clarissimi, atque amplissimi nomen in literarum 'inscriptionibus, publicis actis, regum diplomatis 'extet, quasi titoli viros pariant, non titulos viri. 'Quid? quod cum est nobis cum regibus & viris 'principibus loquendum, cogimur ab iis recedentes 'per abstracta nomina, quibus vulgo utuntur in Philosophorum scholis, cum eorum majestatibus loqui, altitudines affari, & quas vos Germani 'inexistis celsitudines, nostris Sublimitates invidentes. Nihil verius est quam tenuis ditionis 'principem hoc tempore, cum Excellentia con'tempta, quasi obsoleviset inter medicos & legulejos, ac minorum gentium regulos, majora ambiret, diu egisse apud pontificem maximum, ut 'se altitudinis titulo honestaret; cum minus illo 'æquo uteretur, non prius orare, fatigare precibus, 'contendere desiisse, quam exoratum in sententiam 'traduxerit. Quod frustra contendisse N. civitas 'dicitur, cum Serenitatis titulum Venetorum princi'pi, propter civitatis amplitudinem concessum, 'pontifex negaret se passurum vilescere per minores 'potestates evulgatum (29). ..... *The Vanity of Men is so great in this unaccountable Itch after a little Glory, that there is not at this time a petty King in Europe, but requires the Titles of High, Sublime, Mighty. No private Man, of ever so low Condition, but thinks he is highly affronted, if he has not the Titles of Magnificent, Famous, Great, in the Addresses of Letters, public Acts, and Kings Patents, as if Titles made Men, and not Men Titles. Why, when we are to speak to Kings or Princes, are we obliged to take no notice of them, but speak in abstract Terms, such as are commonly used in the Schools of Philosophers, to their Majesties, or address their Highnesses or Celsitudes, which you* Germans *have introduced to match the* Italian *Titles, Sublimities? It is certain that a Prince of a small State, not satisfied with Excellency, as if the Title were debased among Physicians, Lawyers, and petty Princes, lately desired a greater, and treated a long while with the Pope to obtain of him the Title of Highness; the Pope making some difficulty of it, he never ceased praying, soliciting, and pressing him, 'till he had obtained his Purpose. A certain State, as it is said, solicited the like in vain, the Pope alledging that he would not suffer the Title of Serenity, given to the Duke of* Venice, *on account of the largeness of that State, to be debased among smaller Powers.*' The last part of this Passage informs us, that the Pope was inexorable with regard to a small Republic which desired the Title of Serenity. Things are strangely altered for the worse, since the Death of *John Michael Brutus*. Such a Title, as would have satisfied the most excessive Vanity in the Year 1582, is at present an intolerable Burden, of which People endeavour to be delivered by the Acquisition of some more pompous and sublime Expression. I shall doubtless have a favourable Occasion of giving Collections on this Subject.

(28) Id. Epist. lib. iii, pag. 357, 358.

(29) Id. ibid.

[I] Brutus *would not conform to the new Stile, not even in writing to some* Polish *Lords.*] There are but few Countries in which they are more nice in this Point than in *Poland*, and yet our *Brutus* dispensed with all Ceremonies that might make him deviate from the Purity of the ancient Language of *Rome*. This was his only Motive: Pride had no part in his Conduct; he considered no other Interests than those of a good *Latin* Writer. 'Hæ meæ sunt 'literæ ad te primas, (*says he, in a Letter to* John

Enemies there, who did him several ill Offices, and blasted his Reputation (r): his Salary was so ill paid, that he was afraid he should be obliged to contract new Debts (s), and that Fear could not but be most uneasy to a Man like him, who had more than once felt the Rigour of Creditors. He had reduced himself for a long time to a small Expence, the better to maintain his Credit, without troubling any body [K], and by that Frugality had laid up something out of his first Year's Salary, which served to pay the most pressing Debts. He proposed to save as much out of his second Year's Salary, and still with the same good Design (t).

(r) Brutus, Epist. pag 312, & alibi.

(s) Ibid. pag. 320.

(t) Ibid. pag. 302.

' Ponetowski) quas ut soleo ad regem etiam, Ro-
' mano more. Alia possum à me omnia impetrare,
' te colere, observare, ferre in oculis, id quod mea
' sponte, tuo merito maximo faciam: cum Latine
' quid ad te scribendum, patere me nulla tua cum
' offensione ex usu Latini sermonis scribere: non
' enim ad amplitudines nescio qua tuas, & magnifi-
' centias, cum nullæ sub orbe lunæ sint, sed ad te
(30) Brutus Epist. lib. iv, pag 443-430. *See also* pag. 556.
' cum scribendum mihi esse intelligo (30). - - - -
' *This is my first Letter to thee, which I write*
' *in the* Roman *Manner, as I use to do even to*
' *the King. I can bring myself to every thing else,*
' *can love you, obey you, and always regard you,*
' *which I shall do very willingly, as you highly*
' *deserve; when I have any thing to write to*
' *you in* Latin, *permit me, without any Offence,*
' *to write according to the use of the* Latin *Tongue;*
' *for when I write I do not understand that I am*
' *writing to your Greatnesses, your Magnificences,*
' *which exist no where on this Side the Moon. I*
' *write to you.*' See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (31).

(31) *For the Month of* September, 1684, Art. 4, pag. 688, 689, *Edit.* 1686.

[K] *He had reduced himself to a small Expence, the better to maintain himself without incommoding any Body.*] See how he expresses himself: ' Ut
' mihi liceret nullo cujusquam incommodo tueri
' meam fidem, hoc à me impetravi jam pridem, ut
' victu frugi uterer, mensa tenui, parvo lare, uno
' aut altero puero, LX annos nata muliercula quæ
' domestica ministeria obiret (32). This was declar-
ing that he bid farewel to all good Cheer, that he was content with one Servant or two, and that he got a Woman of sixty Years of Age to keep his House. Doubtless he made choice of one of that Age to avoid all Suspicions, to which those expose themselves, who have neither the Prudence, nor it may be the Virtue requisite to make a good Choice of the Governess of a Family. What would not his Enemies have said, if they had seen the House of an *Italian* Widower governed by a young Maid?

(32) Brutus, ibid. pag 302.

BRUTUS (STEPHEN JUNIUS), a disguised Author of a Book of Politics, intituled, *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos*. See LANGUET.

BUCER (MARTIN), a Protestant Divine, born at *Schelestadt* (a), in 1491, and who died at *Cambridge*, in 1551 (b). He was one of the ablest Ministers of that Century. He not only preached and composed Books and Lectures, but was also very fit to manage Business; and there were but few Ecclesiastical Negociations in which he was not employed. He laboured with great Zeal, and with much Dexterity, to pacify the Differences between the *Lutherans* and the *Zuinglians*, but could not compass it. He wished that both Parties had been less rigid; and if all the Heads had been Persons of a reconciling Temper like him, that great Affair might have succeeded happily. He did not throw away his time, in *England*, in running down the Hierarchy; he did nothing less than follow *Calvin*'s Opinion in this Point [A]. The Bishop of *Meaux* endeavours to make him pass for a Dissembler,

(a) Melch. Adam. in vit. Theolog. pag 211. *Correct* then Prateolus in Elencho Hæretic. pag. 106; *Father* Gaultier, In Tabulis Chronol. pag. 756, *and several others who make him a Native of* Strasbourg.

(b) Melch. Adam. ibid. pag. 220.

[A] *He did not throw away his Time, in* England, *in condemning the Hierarchy; he did nothing less than follow* Calvin's *Opinion in this Point.* I have read in one of *Vossius*'s Letters, that *Calvin*'s Friends accused *Bucer* of introducing a new kind of Popery, which they called *Bucerism*, in opposition to *Calvinism*. This *Bucerism* consisted principally in his approving of Episcopacy. ' Traducebant Calvini amici Bucerum quasi novum Papismum eri-
' gere. - - - - - Bucerum negat à se hoc nomine
' accusari Calvinus, sed optare tamen ut ne ansam
' præbeat calumniæ dum hic mediam - - - - insistit
' viam. Quod cum ex cunctis ejus pateat scriptis,
' tum præcipuè à forma reformationis, præscripta
' Hermanno Archiepiscopo Colonienſi, & illis quæ
' Anglicanæ Reformationis ergò scripsit. Cum vero
' Bucerus propius ad Romanam Ecclesiam accede-
' ret, quam Lutherus; Calvinus longius ab ea abi-
' ret, quam idem Lutherus; extra Lutheranismum,
' duæ ortæ Appellationes, Bucerismi, & Calvinismi:
' & fatebatur Calvinus, Bucerismum esse magis to-
' lerabilem, quam Clavinismum, si non ad obrussam
' Scripturæ rem exigi oporteret. Nunc Bucerum
' paci nimium dare, se omnia metiri veritate. Sed
' Calvini verba audiamus. *Frustra mihi excusas,*
' *novo Papismo erigendo - - - - - te non studere; sed*
' *vellem aliis omnibus sit exploratam esse puritatem*
' *tuam, ut ne suspicionis locum relinqueres. Frustra*
' *etiam id te dare operam, ne quid Calvinismi ad-*
' *misceatur. Si à scripturâ semel desciscendum sit,*
' *non ignoro, quam sit tolerabilior Bucerismus, quam*
' Calvinismus, &c (1). - - - - - Calvin's *Friends*
(1) Vossius, Epist. ccclvii, p. 403, col. 1.
' *traduced* Bucer, *as if he was setting up a new*
' *Kind of Popery.* - - - - Calvin *denies that he ever*
' *laid this to* Bucer's *Charge, but wishes that he do*
' *not give a handle for Calumny, while he thus fol-*
' *lows the middle way, which is manifest from all*
' *his Writings, but especially from the Form of Re-*
' *formation, prescribed to* Herman, *Archbishop of*
' Cologn, *and what he wrote for the Reformation*
' *of* England. *Now as* Bucer *came nearer the*
' *Church of* Rome *than* Luther; Calvin *departed*
' *further from it than the same* Luther; *so*
' *that there arose two Denominations besides Lu-*
' *theranism*, viz. *Bucerism and Calvinism*: *and*
' Calvin *confessed that Bucerism was more tolerable*
' *than Calvinism, if the matter were not to be tried*
' *by the Scriptures, and that* Bucer *studied Peace too*
' *much: but he himself measured all things by*
' *Truth. But let us hear* Calvin's *Words.* You have
' no occasion to make any excuse to me, that you
' are not erecting a new Popery; but I would
' have your Integrity so well known to all the
' World, that no room might be left for Suspicion.
' It is also needless for you to endeavour not to take
' in any thing of Calvinism: if we might vary
' from Scripture, I know very well how much
' more tolerable Bucerism is than Calvinism, *&c.*'
Here is another Passage in which *Calvin* exhorts *Bucer* to order matters so, that the Reformation of *England* may be well purged of all Remains of Popery. He lets him know that if he does not take pains, he will never be able to wipe out the ill Suspicions which several had conceived of his inclining to both sides. ' Dominum Protectorem, ut
' volebas, conatus sum hortari, ut flagitabat præsens
' rerum status: tuum quoque erit modis omnibus
' instare, si modo detur audientia (quod te facere
' sum persuasus) præsertim vero, ut ritus, qui su-
' perstitionis aliquid redolent, tollantur è medio.
' Hoc tibi nominatim commendo, ut te invidia li-
' beres, qua te falso gravari apud multos non igne-
' ras: nam mediis consiliis vel auctorem, vel appro-
' batorem semper inscribunt. Scio hanc quorundam
' animis

(c) See his first Volume of his Histoire des Variations.

sembler, and alledges the Testimony of *Calvin* for it (c) [*B*]; but it is better to believe that for the sake of Unity, and out of an ardent and sincere Desire of Peace, *Bucer* invented Expressions that were likely to please both Parties. It is very probable that he always believed good Works meritorious [*C*]. There has been

animis suspicionem altius infixam esse, quam ut eam revellere facile sit, etiam si nihil omittas. Et sunt qui te maligne nullo errore inducti calumnientur. Denique fatale quodammodo hoc tibi malum est, quod fugere vix possis. Cavendum tamen ne imperitis detur male suspicandi occasio, improbi vero obloquendi prætextum arripiant (z). - - - - - *I shall endeavour according to your Desire to advise the Lord Protector, as the present State of Affairs require; it will be your Business to press him every way if you can but gain Audience (as I am perswaded you do), but chiefly that all Ceremonies may be abolished, which any way favour of Superstition. This particularly I recommend to you, that you free yourself from the Envy, which you know you labour under, without cause, among several Persons; for they always call you the Author, or Approver of indifferent Counsels. I know that this Suspicion is so deeply rooted in some People's Mind, that you will scarce be able to remove it, though you omit nothing: and some there are who slander you, not out of Mistake, but meer Malice. In short this Evil is as it were destined for you, and you will hardly be able to escape it, but you must take care not to give occasion to the Ignorant to think ill of you, or a handle to the Wicked to reproach you.*' It does not appear that *Bucer* took any notice of these Admonitions. Yet *Calvin* testifies that he expected great things from him, if Death had not taken him away too soon. Dum mecum reputo, quantam in unius hominis morte jacturam fecerit Dei Ecclesia, fieri non potest quin novo subinde mœrore excrucier. Angliæ multum profuisset. Plus aliquanto in posterum sperabam ex ejus scriptis, quam hactenus præstiterat (3). - - - - - *When I consider with myself, what a Loss the Church of GOD has suffered, by the Death of this one Man, I cannot but every now and then renew my Grief; he would have done great Service to* England. *I hoped for something greater from his Writings hereafter, than he had hitherto performed.*'

(z) Calvinus, Epist. ad Bucerum. *It is the 93d in my Edition, which is that of* Herow, 1597, pag. 199.

(3) Ibid. Epist. cxxiii, pag. 246.

[*B*] *The Bishop of* Meaux *calls him Dissembler, and alledges the Testimony of* Calvin.] These are Mr *de Meaux*'s Words (4): 'Now whether *Bucer* had a formal Design to trifle with the World by affected Equivocations, or whether any confused Idea of Reality made him believe that he might sincerely subscribe to Expressions so evidently contrary to the figurative Sense, I leave to the Judgment of the Protestants. What is certain is, that *Calvin*, his Friend, and in some measure his Disciple, when he would express a blameable Obscurity, in a Profession of Faith, said that *There was nothing so perplexed, so obscure, so ambiguous, so winding in* Bucer *himself*.' These are *Calvin*'s own Words: 'Tu Buceri obscuritatem vituperas & morbo. At nihil est in Bucero adeo perplexum, obscurum, flexiloquum, atque, ut sic loquar, tortuosum (5).' I do not rely on the disadvantageous Judgment that a Divine of *Saxony* made of *Bucer*, after the Conferences of *Marpourg*, in the Year 1529. 'In Zuinglio, *says he*, agreste quoddam est & arrogantulum: in Oecolampadio mira bonitas naturæ & clementia: in Hedione non minor humanitas ac liberalitas ingenii: in BUCERO calliditas vulpina, perverse imitata acumen & prudentiam (6). —— *There is in* Zuinglius *something rustic and a little arrogant: in* Oecolampadius *a wonderful good Nature and Clemency: in* Hedion *no less Humanity and good Nature: in* BUCER *a Fox-like cunning, wretchedly imitating Sagacity and Prudence.*'

(4) Histoire des variations, liv. iv, n. xxv pag. 167, *Edit.* Holl.

• Ep. Calvin. pag. 50.

(5) Calvin, Epist. xliv, pag. 94.

(6) Justus Jonas in relatione de conventu Marpurgensi apud Seckendorf. Histor. Lutheran. lib. ii, pag. 140.

[*C*] *It is very probable that he always believed good Works meritorious.*] 'While we are on this Subject, it will not be useless to consider what this Doctor thought of it, who was one of the Heads of the second Party of the new Reformation, in a solemn Conference where he spoke in these Terms: *Seeing GOD will judge every one according to his Works, it must not be denied, that good Works performed through the Grace of JESUS CHRIST, and which he operates himself in his Servants,* DO MERIT *eternal Life; not indeed by their own Dignity, but by the Acceptance, and the Promise of GOD, and through the Covenant made with him: For if it is to such Works the Scripture promises the Reward of eternal Life, which therefore is not less a Grace in another Respect, forasmuch as those good Works, to which so great a Reward is given, are themselves the Gifts of GOD* †.' This is what *Bucer* writes in 1539, in the Dispute of *Leipsic*, that it might not be thought that these were things written in the beginning of the Reformation, and before People had time to look about them. Upon the same Principle, the same *Bucer* decides in another Place, that it must not be denied that *one may be justified by Works, as St* James *says, seeing GOD will render to every one according to his Works* ‡. *And*, continues he, *the Question is not concerning* THEIR MERITS: *We do not reject them in any wise, and we acknowledge that eternal Life is* MERITED *according to that Word of our Lord*: He who forsakes all for my Sake, shall receive an hundred Fold, and inherit everlasting Life. One cannot possibly acknowledge more clearly the Merits which every one may treasure up for himself, even with regard to Life eternal. But *Bucer* goes yet farther: And as the Church was accused of ascribing Merits to the Saints, not only for themselves, but also for others, he justifies it in these Words: *As for what concerns the Public Prayers of the Church, which are called Collects, wherein mention is made of Prayers, and of the Merits of the Saints; seeing that, in those same Prayers, whatever is asked of that kind, is asked of GOD, and not of the Saints, and also that it is asked through JESUS CHRIST; it follows, that all they who offer up that Prayer, acknowledge that all the Merits of the Saints are Gifts of GOD freely granted.* And a little after: *For we confess also, and preach with Joy, that GOD does not only reward the good Works of his Servants in themselves, but also in those for whom they pray, seeing he has promised that he will do good to those who love him unto a thousand Generations.* Thus *Bucer* disputed for the Catholic Church in 1546, in the Conference at *Ratisbon* (7).' To these Passages may be added that which *Vossius* mentions in the Letter I have cited: 'Non possum non sanius judicium optare quibusdam, qui hoc nostro sæculo plurimos admodum turbarunt hoc paradoxo; sola nos fide servari. Cum viderent tamen hoc eo rapi, ac si justitiam sola animi existimatione finirent, & bona opera secluderent. Quæ jam illa Charitas, quæ huic malo uno verbulo mederi dedignatur, ut dicerent, fide formata justificamur, aut per fidem bonorum operum voluntatem ac ita justitiam consequimur, aut fides fundamentum & radix est justæ vitæ, *ut Augustinus* dixit. Neque veris enim quisquam est offendendus, *&c* (8). - - - - *I cannot but wish a more sound Judgment to some Persons, who have disturbed many in this our Age with this Paradox; that we are saved by Faith only. Though they saw that the thing was carried so far as to confine Righteousness only to the Opinion of the Mind, and excluding good Works. Where is their Charity, who refuse to cure this Evil by one Word or two? it is only to say, that when Faith is formed we are justified, and that through Faith we obtain a Disposition to good Works, and consequently a righteousness: or that Faith is the Foundation and Root of a righteous Life, as* Augustin *said. For no Man is to be offended with Truth, &c.*' *Vossius* observes, that these Words are taken from the Edition of *Strasburg* 1529, and that they have been corrupted in the Edition of *Geneva* 1554. He observes in general, that, to know that Minister's Moderation, his Writings must be consulted as printed in *Germany*, and not the Editions of *Geneva*. 'Consulendæ sunt editiones illæ quas nobis Germania produxit,

† Disp. Lipsi. an. 1539.

‡ Resp. ad Abrinc.

(7) Bossuet, *Bishop of* Meaux, Histoire des variations, liv. iii, n. 42, 43, pag. 124, 125.

(8) Bucerus commentur. in Psalm. ii, apud Vossium Epist. ecclvii, pag. 403, col. 2. *Note, that I have corrected the Faults that are crept into this Passage of* Vossius.

been much Talk of a Letter which he wrote to *Calvin* [D]. He had several Children.

non quæ ex ſententia Calvini caſtratæ prodierunt Genevæ. —— Cum vero omnia fere Buceri ſint moderatiſſima, tum imprimis præfatio in commentarios ſuper quatuor Evangeliſtas in editione Argentoratenſi anni CIↃ IↃ XXX. quæ & ipſa præterita in editione Rob. Stephani CIↃ IↃ LIII (9). - - - - *We muſt conſult theſe Editions which we have from* Germany, *and not thoſe which were caſtrated at* Calvin's *Pleaſure at* Geneva. - - - - - *Now as all* Bucer's *Works were very moderate, ſo particularly was his Preface to his Commentary on the Evangeliſts, in the Edition of* Strasburg, *in the Year* 1530, *which was intirely omitted in* Robert Stephens's *Edition in the Year* 1553.'

(9) Voſſius, ibid.

Voſſius is miſtaken when he ſays, that the Preface to *Bucer*'s Commentary on the four Evangeliſts was ſuppreſſed in the Edition of *Geneva*, printed by *Robert Stephens*, in the Year 1554 (10). *Grotius*, to whom he wrote this, makes this Remark in his *Votum pro Pace*: but he gave no good Anſwer to *Andrew Rivet*, who affirmed to him, that this Preface is contained in *Robert Stephens*'s Edition (11). The Integrity of that Printer was much better juſtified in this Article, than in reſpect to his Depravation of a Paſſage in the Commentary on the ſecond *Pſalm*. *Rivet* endeavours to perſuade, that the Difference which is between the Edition of 1539, and that of 1554, is owing to the Author's correcting himſelf, and retracting from time to time. The Paſſage which I am about to cite, being very proper to ſhew the Genius of this Author, may ſeem in a manner neceſſary. 'Solitum - - - - - fuiſſe Bucerum, quod pleriſque doctis accidit, quam diu vivunt Lucubrationes ſuas recenſere, addere vel demere quædam, nonnulla etiam retractare. Id de ſe profitetur Bucerus *in præfat. in Enarrationem Evang.* quam neſcio cur dicat D. Grotius *omiſſum fuiſſe in Stephanica editione*. In meo enim exemplari eam reperio totam integris ſex foliis conſtantem, in qua hæc lego. *Perturbat poſtremo & hoc nonnullos quod non dubitant pleroſque offenſum iri, quod videmur jam ipſi parum nobis conſtare.* Et poſt pauca: *Quia Dominus donavit ut quædam loca nunc ſolidius intelligam quam aliquando intellexi, id quod cum mihi tam benigne largitus eſt, cur non impartirem liberaliter fratribus & domini benignitatem ingenue prædicarem? Quid inconſtantiæ ſit proficere in cauſa ſalutis? & quis in hoc ſæculo vel ſuperiora Scripturas tractavit qui non expertus ſit hoc quoque in ſtudio priorum dierum diſcipulum eſſe poſteriorum?* Poſtea exemplum Auguſtini profert in retractationibus: optatque ut hac tempeſtate plures edi retractationum libros videremus. Si Bucerus profitetur ipſe quod multa retractavit ex prioribus ſuis meditationibus, qua conſequentia, vel etiam conſcientiâ, poſteriores ejus editiones corruptas eſſe probabit aliquis, ſi in illis non omnia totidem verbis reperiuntur in nonnullis locis expreſſa (12). —— Bucer *uſed, as often happens with learned Men as long as they live, to reviſe his Lucubrations, to add or take away ſome things, and even to retract ſome.* Bucer *declares this concerning himſelf in his* Preface to his Commentaries on the Goſpels, *which* Grotius *affirms to have been* omitted in *Stephens*'s Edition. *For what reaſon I know not; for I have it intire in my Copy, conſiſting of ſix whole leaves; in which I have theſe Words.* Laſtly, this alſo diſturbs ſome, becauſe they make no doubt but many will be offended that I now ſeem not very conſiſtent with myſelf. *And a little after*: Becauſe the Lord has given me to underſtand ſome Places more fully than I formerly did, which as it is ſo bountifully given to me, why ſhould I not impart it liberally to my Brethren, and ingenuouſly declare the Goodneſs of the Lord? what inconſtancy is there in profiting in the Work of Salvation? and who in this Age, or the laſt, has treated of the Scripture, and has not experienced, that even in this Study the former Day is the Scholar of the latter. *Afterwards he produces the Example of* Auguſtin *in his Retractations, and wiſhes that we had more Books of Retractations publiſhed at this Day. If* Bucer *himſelf declares that he retracted many things of his former Meditations, by what conſequence, or even with what conſcience, can any Body aſſert, that the later Editions of his Works are corrupted, if in ſome Places of them every thing be not found expreſſed in the very ſame Words?*' I ſhall obſerve, by the by, that *David Paræus* made a Confeſſion like this of our *Bucer* (13), and that he was inſulted on that Account by a Jeſuit of *Mentz* (14).

(10) Thus it ought to be read, as *Voſſius* had ſaid a little before, and not 1553.

(11) *See* Apologeticus pro vera pace Eccleſiaſtica, *by* Rivet, Tom. III, pag. 1071, *the* Grotianæ diſcuſſiones Ibid. pag. 1140, *and the End of the Remark* [K].

(12) Rivetus in Apologetico pro vera Pace Eccleſ. Operum, Tom. III, pag. 1071.

[D] *There has been much Talk of a Letter he wrote to* Calvin.] It is ſaid he writ to him, *You judge according as you love, or according as you hate; or you love and hate from meer Fancy.* *Voſſius*, who was a good *Arminian* in his Heart, takes this up a little too ſmartly, and tells us (15) what *Calvin* anſwered to ſo injurious a Reproach. 'Calvinus 'ſic à magno viro increpitus reſpondere: hæc (16) 'eſſe genii potius ſui, quam judicii; & (ut Calvini 'ipſius verba ad Bucerum retineam) ſic ſcribere, *Ut 'verum fatear, nulla mihi cum maximis, & plu'rimis vitiis meis, difficillor eſt luſta, quam cum 'iſta impatientia; neque certe nihil proficio, ſed 'nondum id ſum conſecutus, ut bellum plane do'muerim.* Hæc ſane ſatis modeſte, ſi id poſtea conſecutus. Illud vero concoquere non potuit, quod idem Bucerus, qui eum vel norat, vel noſſe putabat, non veritus eſſet ſcribere; *Judicas prout 'amas, vel odiſti; amas autem, vel odiſti, prout 'lubet.* Quod cum legiſſet, literas ſcripſit, quarum hoc initium. *Cum literæ tuæ mihi ſub 'cœnam allatæ eſſent, tanto gaudio perfuſus ſui, 'ut non meminerim tribus totis menſibus lætiorem mihi horam affulſiſſe. At cum eas ſuper cœnam, utcumque percurriſſem, lectione ipſa ſic fui 'flagellatus, ut proxima nocte irrequietus ſemper 'æſtuarim, nec toto poſt triduo fuerim apud meip'ſum,* &c. - - - - - Calvin, *when thus rebuked by this great Man, anſwered, that That was the Fault of his Temper rather than of his Judgment, and (to keep to* Calvin's *own Words to* Bucer) *writes thus*; To tell the Truth, I have a harder Struggle with this Impatience than with all my other great and numerous Vices; and I do profit a little, but have not yet prevailed ſo far, as intirely to have conquered that Paſſion. *This is modeſt enough if he had afterwards attained a Victory. But he could not digeſt what the ſame* Bucer, *who either knew him or thought he knew him, ventured to write.* You judge as you love or hate, and you love or hate juſt as you pleaſe; *on reading of which he wrote this Letter, which begins thus*: When I received your Letter, juſt before Supper, I was ſo rejoiced, that I do not remember that I have been ſo well pleaſed this three Months; but when I had curſorily run it over, at Supper, I was ſo nettled with the reading of it, that I could not reſt all Night, nor was I myſelf again for three Days, *&c.*' In all probability we ſhould never have known of this Letter, if *Francis Baudouin*, who lodged with *Calvin*, had not been ſo diſhoneſt as to reveal the Secret. He did it by degrees: Firſt, he only ſaid, that, in *Bucer*'s Judgment, *Calvin* kept no meaſure either in his Love or Hatred, or that he either raiſed People above the Heavens, or ſunk them down to Hell. *Calvin* proteſted with an Oath, that *Bucer* had never cenſured him ſo: 'Quin etiam Buceri judicium recitat (*Balduinus*) quod ab ipſo improbiſſime confictum eſſe Deum & Angelos ejus teſtor. Bucerus, inquit, aliquando tibi dixit, 'nullum te ſervare odii vel amoris modum, ſed 'ea te eſſe vehementia, ut vel ſupra cœlos attol'leres, vel ad inferos uſque dejiceres. Ita vero 'mihi propitius ſit Deus, ſi quid unquam tale audierim. Quin potius vir ille, quem loco patris 'reverebar, tanta comitate viciſſim fraternam mecum amicitiam coluit, ut ægerrime paſſus ſit Argentina me avelli. Certe ad extremum uſque contendit, quibuſcunque fieret modis me retinendum. 'Extant etiam ejus ad Senatum noſtrum literæ, quibus conqueritur cum maxima Eccleſiæ totius jactura me hoc retrahi: ac demum eo uſque provehitur, ut dicat me inter ſanæ doctrinæ miniſtros

(13) *In his* Prolegomena *on the Prophet* Hoſea.

(14) *See the Jeſuit* Malhuſinus, *in Chap. II. of the* Auctarium primum Speculi miſcellarum Davidis Parei.

(15) Epiſt. 457. pag. 403, col. 2.

(16) *That is to ſay, to be tranſported againſt thoſe who are not of his Opinion.*

dren [E], but I cannot well tell what became of them. What several Writers affirm,

(17) Calvinus in Responſ ad Balduinum, pag. 367, col. 2. Tractatuum Theologicorum.

' niſtros nemini eſſe ſecundum, paucos vero habere
' pares (17). ---- *He* [Baudouin] *recites the Judg-*
' *ment of* Bucer, *which I call* God *and his An-*
' *gels to witneſs is a wicked Fiction of his own.*
' Bucer *ſays he told you once that you kept no mea-*
' *ſure in your Hatred or Love, but were a Man*
' *of ſuch Vehemence, that you either extol a Man*
' *above the Skies, or debaſe him to Hell. But*
' *may* God *ſo proſper me as I never heard any*
' *ſuch thing; on the other hand, that Man, whom*
' *I revere as a Father, cultivated a mutual brother-*
' *ly Friendſhip with me, with ſo much Affection, that*
' *it grieved him very much that I left* Strasburg.
' *It is certain he ſtrove to the utmoſt to retain*
' *me by any means whatſoever. There is extant*
' *alſo a Letter of his to our Senate, wherein he*
' *complains that I was recalled hither to the great*
' *Loſs of the whole Church, and in ſhort goes ſo*
' *far that he ſays, that I am inferior to none of*
' *the Miniſters of ſound Doctrine, and have but*
' *few Equals.*' *Baudouin* confeſſes, in his Anſwer, that he had not ſeen what *Bucer* had wrote to *Calvin*, but he brags he had *Calvin*'s Anſwer to *Bucer*. He ſays that Anſwer was of *Calvin*'s own Hand, and that he ſhewed it to ſeveral, who knew the Author's Hand-writing, and he maintains, that That Letter teſtifies that *Bucer* had taxed *Calvin* with judging according to his Paſſion, *judicas prout amas, amas autem prout libet* (18). It appears by that Work of *Baudouin*, that his Adverſary had complained that what *Bucer* had ſaid in general, and without excluding himſelf, was applied to him perſonally *judicamus prout amamus*, &c (19). But *Baudouin* maintains, that *Calvin* had made the Application of it to himſelf. The only thing that ſticks in this Proceſs, is *Calvin*'s Oath; yet it is eaſy to ward that Blow, by maintaining that *Baudouin* had expreſſed himſelf in ſuch a manner as to make People judge, that *Bucer* had made uſe of that hard Cenſure in Converſation. Now it is certain, that *Calvin* had never received this Reproach in ſuch a manner; ſo that he might ſafely ſwear what he did. Read what follows: it is the Apology that *Beza* made for him in this Point: ' At enim, inquis, imprecatus eſt ſibi Calvinus ſi
' quid unquam tale ex Bucero audiſſet. Verum
' cur tu omittis quod ad rem maxime facit, ſycophanta? Nam hæc ſunt Calvini verba, *Bucerum*
' *inquit Balduinus aliquando mihi dixiſſe, nullam*
' *me ſervare odii vel amoris modum: ſed ta me eſſe*
' *vehementia, ut vel ſupra cælos attollerem, vel ad*
' *inferos uſque dejicerem. Ita vero mihi propitius ſit*
' *Deus, ſi quid unquam tale audierim.* Video, manifeſte, ſycophanta, etiamſi iracundia & odio cæcus nihil videas, quæ de Buceri objurgatione obſcure ſcripſerus, Calvinum ut de quopiam colloquio accepiſſe, ac proinde memorem ejus ſuaviſſimæ, & nunquam interruptæ conjunctionis, quæ inter ſe & Bucerum fuiſſet, non temere in vocem illam erupiſſe. Nihil hoc igitur ad literas, quas ipſas etiam corrumpis. Neque enim ſcripſerat Bucerus, cujus ἀνθρωπαρεσκον habemus, *Ita judicat ut amat*, ſed, *Ita judicamus ut amamus*: ſic nimirum ut ſeſe in hoc etiam numero comprehenderet, & commune hominum vitium deploraret (20). ---- *But*
you ſay, Calvin *curſed himſelf if he ever heard*
any ſuch thing from Bucer; *but why, Sycophant,*
do you omit what is moſt to the purpoſe? for theſe
are Calvin's *Words: Baudouin* ſays, that *Bucer*
once told me, that I kept no meaſure in my Hatred or Love; but was a Man of that Vehemence, that I either extolled a Man above the Skies, or debaſed him to Hell. But may God ſo proſper me as I never heard any ſuch thing. *You*
ſee manifeſtly, Sycophant, though you are ſo blind
with Rage or Hatred that you can ſee nothing, that
what you wrote obſcurely of Bucer's *Rebuke*, Calvin *underſtood as of ſome Converſation, and there-*
fore, remembring the ſweet and uninterrupted Friend-
ſhip that had been between him and Bucer, *did not raſhly break out into that Expreſſion;*
therefore this is nothing at all to the Letter,
which you have corrupted too; for Bucer, *whoſe*
Letter I have in his own Hand-writing, did not
write You judge as You love, *But We judge*
as We love: ſo that he comprehended himſelf in
the Number, and deplored a common Fault of
Mankind.' *Beza* remarks among other things, that thoſe two great Men ſoon altered their Stile in writing to each other, and that there are Letters of *Bucer* to *Calvin* of a later date, and full of Mildneſs.

(18) Franciſcus Balduinus in Reſponſione altera ad Jo. Calvinum, pag. 56. Edit. Colonienſis apud Jo. Bathenium, 1562.

(19) *See* Theodore Beza, reſponſ. ad Franciſcum Balduinum pag. 221.

(20) Beza, ubi ſupra, pag. 222.

[E] *He had ſeveral Children.*] *Herman de Wida*, Archbiſhop of *Cologne*, having a mind to ſettle the Reformation in his Dioceſe, ſent for *Martin Bucer* in the Year 1542 (21); moſt of the Canons oppoſed the Enterprize, and publiſhed a Work wherein they mixed a great many Invectives againſt *Bucer*. They taxed him, among other things, with Bigamy. *Melanchthon*, in confuting that Piece, did not forget this Article: He maintained, that the Nun, whom *Bucer* had married for his firſt Wife, did well in forſaking the Church of *Rome*, after ſhe had diſcovered the Idolatry of it's Worſhip. He added, that ſhe had led a very exemplary Life, by her Chaſtity, Modeſty, and Piety, that ſhe had been brought to Bed thirteen times, and that ſhe died of the Plague, which ſhe might have eſcaped if ſhe would have left her Husband. ' In matrimo-
' nio tredecies puerpera, pietate, pudicitia, & in
' omni actione modeſtia multis bono exemplo fuerit.
' —— Tandem peſte quam, niſi marito ex ſtatione
' ſuæ non recedenti adeſſe maluiſſet, effugere po-
' tuerit, obierit (22).' It would have been pity ſo fruitful a Girl ſhould have remained in a Nunnery. And as there may be many others, as fit to people the World, who are hindered by Monaſteries, one may eaſily judge what a prejudice theſe Monaſtical Vows do to the temporal Good of the State. *Bucer* married a ſecond time to a Widow, which gave the Canons of *Cologne* occaſion to reproach him with another Irregularity; becauſe, according to St *Paul*, a Biſhop ought to be the Husband of one Wife only, that is, as they pretended, that he ought not to marry a ſecond time, nor to marry a Widow. ' Verbum Dei docet adſciſcendum
' Miniſterio, oportere eſſe virum unius uxoris,
' 1 Tim. iii. & Tit. i. quod Canones Apoſto-
' lorum, & Apoſtolici patres in hoc uſque tem-
' pus ſic intellexerunt, ut ſecundis nuptiis copula-
' tus, aut qui viduam accepit, non poſſit eſſe ex nu-
' mero eorum qui miniſterio ſacro deſerviunt (23).
' —— *The Word of* GOD *directs, that who is*
called to the Miniſtry ſhould be the Husband of
one Wife, 1 Tim. iii. *and* Titus i. *which the Ca-*
nons of the Apoſtles, and the Apoſtolical Fathers have
ever to this Day underſtood in this Senſe, that he
who enters into a ſecond Marriage, or marries a
Widow, cannot be one of thoſe that ſerve in the
holy Miniſtry.' *Melanchthon* confutes this Objection eaſily. Mr *de Meaux* ſays, that *Bucer* married a third time; he ſays (24), ' That *Bucer* was a Man
' pretty well learned, of a flexible Spirit, and
' more fertile in Diſtinctions than the moſt refined
' Scholaſtics, a fine Preacher, ſomewhat heavy in
' his Stile; but was reſpected for his Stature, and
' the ſound of his Voice. He had been a *Jacobin*, and married as others did, and, as one may
' ſay, more than others; for, his Wife dying, he
' married a ſecond and a third time. The holy
' Fathers did not receive thoſe into the Prieſthood,
' who had been twice married while Laymen. This
' Man, being a Prieſt and a Monk, married three
' times during his new Miniſtry, without ſcruple.
' It was a Recommendation among the Party, and
' by thoſe bold Examples they affected to confound
' the ſuperſtitious Obſervances of the ancient Church.'
What Mr *de Meaux* obſerves, that in thoſe Times Marriage was a Recommendation in the Party, is not altogether falſe: for it is certain, that if a converted Clergyman did not marry, he cauſed a Suſpicion that he had not renounced the Doctrine of Celibacy. I believe *Bucer* inſinuated this Reaſon to *Calvin* when he preſſed him to marry (25). *Sanders* reports, that the Viſitors, who were appointed in *England* under *Edward* VI, exhorted the Clergy to marriage, as a certain Token that they had abjured Popery. ' They made ſtrict enquiry about
' the Continency of the Paſtors; and had the Impu-
' dence to aſk them publickly, How, being in
' health

(21) *See the Remark* [C], *of the Article* WIDA.

(22) Melanchthon, Parte II, oper. apud Seckendorf. Hiſt. Lutheran. lib. iii, pag. 440, littera u.

(23) Sententia delectorum per venerabile Capitulum Eccleſiæ Colonienſis de vocatione Matthæi Bucceri, fol. 161.

(24) Hiſtoire des variations, liv. iii. n. 3, pag. 89, 90.

(25) *See the* Critique Generale de l'Hiſtoire du Calviniſme de Maimbourg, Lettre 9, pag. 155, *of Edit.* 3.

firm, that he died a *Jew*, and what *Sanders* reports of a certain Converſation, ought to be looked upon as notorious Calumnies [*F*]. You find in Mr *Teiſſier* the Elogies which the learned Hiſtorian of the Reformation of *England* has given this Miniſter (*d*). *Moreri*'s Dictionary hath touched upon the chief Actions of his Life, which is the reaſon why I do not give all the extent that I might have done to this Article. I ſhall take notice of Mr *Moreri*'s Miſtakes [*G*], which will give

(*d*) Teiſſier, Addit aux Eloges, Tom. I. p. 30.

' Health and Youth, they they could poſſible live
' chaſte? Whether they had the Gift of Chaſtity,
' and what aſſurance they had that it ſhould be always
' vouchſafed to them? They adviſed them therefore
' to marry rather than burn, or fall into ſuch
' Sins, the very thought of which gives a Deteſtation.
' Laſtly, they told them plainly, that they took all
' thoſe for Papiſts, and the King's Enemies, who
' preferred a dangerous Celibacy before a chaſte and
' honeſt Marriage; eſpecially, having before their
' Eyes the holy Examples of two famous Archbi-
' ſhops, who had made no ſcruple of marrying (26).

(26) Sanderus de ſchiſme d'Angleterre, liv. II, pag. 253. *I follow the Tranſlation of* Maucroix.

[*F*] *It is a Calumny to ſay, that he died a* Jew, *and alſo what* Sanders *reports of a certain Converſation.*] The Jeſuit *Poſſevin*, ſpeaking of *Bucer*, made uſe of the following Parentheſis: ' At vero
' Bucerus (quem morientem ſcribunt eſſe profeſſum
' nondum natum eſſe Meſſiam) Sectariis latiorem
' viam ſtravit (27). — *But* Bucer *(of whom it is
written, that at the Point of Death he denied
that the Meſſiah was come) opened a broader way
for the Sectaries.*' In another Part of the ſame Book, he relates this as certain Fact: ' Bucerus
' cum animam ageret faſſus eſt verum Meſſiam ad-
' huc non veniſſe, venturum tamen (28). — ' Bucer *when he was expiring confeſſed, that the
true Meſſiah was not come, but that he would come.*' Obſerve, that, according to this Jeſuit, this was *Bucer*'s Confeſſion of Faith on his Death-Bed. But to refute this Fable, we only need alledge *Sanders*, who accuſes this Divine of no more than a private Inclination towards *Judaiſm*, and of making one who had no Religion his Confident in a Point of Libertiniſm. Theſe are his Words: you will find that *Bucer* died in the Profeſſion of Lutheraniſm; ' As for *Bucer*, he was inclined to *Ju-
daiſm*; and he was alſo deſcended from a *Jewiſh* Family. It is certain, that, ſome time after his Death, and in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, the Baron *Paget*, Counſellor to the Catholic King, did ſay, that he had ſerved him one Day for an Interpreter to *Dudley*, Duke of *Northumberland*; and that that Duke having aſked him, *What he thought of the Real Preſence of the Body of JESUS CHRIST in the Holy Sacrament?* He anſwered, *That unleſs the Truth of the Goſpels was queſtioned, none could doubt of the Real Preſence*; *but*, added he, *I do not believe all that the New Teſtament tells us of JESUS CHRIST and of his Actions; although hitherto I have not been permitted to deny it* (29). He ſpoke in this manner before a Man, who he knew had not much Religion. However, in his Diſcourſes and Writings, he always, to his Death, made Profeſſion of Lutheraniſm, accommodated to the new Opinions of *England* (30).' They, who know this Author, need not to be told, that he may be relied on in things which ſerve for the Juſtification of Proteſtants; but is unworthy of all Credit in matters to their Diſadvantage. But let us not forget to note, that *Poſſevin* is only the Copier of *Lindanus*, a very bad Author. This *Lindanus*, having mentioned ſeveral Variations in belief, of which he accuſes *Bucer*, concludes thus: ' Sane ut in
' Chriſtianiſmo fuit inconſtantiſſimus, ſta in paterno
' Judaiſmo conſtantiſſimus. Præter uſuras enim de-
' fenſas licitas, etiam Chriſti adventum ſub mor-
' tem narrant occulati teſtes revocaſſe in dubium
' (31). — *Indeed as he was very unſteady in Chriſtianity, ſo he was always ſteady in the Judaiſm
of his Father. For, beſides that he defended
the Lawfulneſs of Uſury, it is alſo related by Eye
Witneſſes, that juſt before his Death he queſtioned
the coming of CHRIST.* Some Pages after, he repeats the ſame thing: ' Alii, *ſays he*, Chri-
' ſtum noſtrum negant verum illum promiſſum
' fuiſſe, ſed alium cum Judæis expectandum, uti
' Bucerum moribundum teſtatum reliquiſſe narrant
' fide digni, adeoque quidam clariſſimi viri, ſe ab
' ejus diſcipulis in Anglia accepiſſe (32).

(27) Ant. Poſſevinus de Atheiſmis hæreticorum, cap. VIII, pag. 23.

(28) Poſſevin. Ibid. cap. ult. pag. 84.

(29) I have not the *Latin* of *Sanders*; but I have the *French* Verſion, printed in the Year 1587, where this Paſſage ſtands thus. *I would not believe all that is written in the New Teſtament, concerning the Actions and Life of Jeſus Chriſt, neither would I, on the other hand, openly deny it.*

(30) Sanderus Hiſtoire du ſchiſme d'Angleterre, liv. II, pag. 237, *according to the Tranſlation of Mr* Maucroix. *Edit. of* Holl.

(31) Lindanus in Dialogo 2. Dubitantii, pag. 146.

' *Others ſay, that our CHRIST is not the true
CHRIST promiſed, but that we muſt expect
with the* Jews *another*; *as ſome credible Wit-
neſſes affirm, that* Bucer *declared at the Point of
Death: and ſeveral very eminent Men have
heard the ſame from his Diſciples in* England.' *Prateolus*, and divers others, have not failed to copy this (33). But they have not copied what *Surius* reports, and what he dares not affirm, which is, That that Miniſter cauſed his Son to be circumciſed. The Reaſon why *Surius* does affirm it, is, becauſe the grave and moſt learned Perſon, from whom he had it, knew it only by hear-ſay. ' Au-
divi ego, *ſays he*, ex quodam gravi longeque do-
' ctiſſimo viro, fuiſſe eum Judæum, & cùm quan-
' doquè puerum quendam neſcio ex qua fœmina
' ſuſtuliſſet, eum circumcidiſſe. Utrùm autem hæc
' prorſus certa ſint, non poſſum affirmare, præſer-
' tim quòd ille quoquè, qui hæc referebat, ſe ab
' aliis accepiſſe diceret. (34). — ' *I have heard
a grave and very learned Man ſay, that he was
a* Jew, *and that he circumciſed a Son, which he
had by I know not what Woman. But whether
thoſe things be certain I cannot affirm, becauſe he
who told me them ſaid he had only heard them
from others.*'

(32) Id. Ibid. pag. 185.

(33) Prateolus in elencho hæreſi. pag. 107.

(34) Surius, Commentar. rerum in orbe geſtarum ad Ann. 1551, pag. 583.

It is an ancient Saying, that every Romance has it's Foundation in Hiſtory. I cannot tell whether that Fable, concerning *Martin Bucer*'s pretended Judaiſm, has not taken it's Original from ſome Diſcourſes, in which he might have declared, that the Meſſias is not yet come, but that he will come under the chief Characters which the Prophets attribute to him, and under which the *Jews* expect him. I mean, in a triumphant State, and as a Conqueror, who ſhall eſtabliſh Piety and Peace every where. If Mr *Jurieu* has been ſuſpected of favouring Judaiſm, becauſe he publiſhed ſuch an Opinion, and if it has been ſuppoſed, that the Synagogue of *Amſterdam* wrote him a very thankful Letter upon it (35), the Controverſiſts might very well, in *Bucer*'s Time, have built that ſilly Romance on a like Doctrine, in caſe *Bucer* had maintained it. It is certain, that in thoſe Times the Spirit of Lying, and the boldneſs of groſsly exaggerating Calumnies, were at the Height. Had Mr *Jurieu* lived in the XVIth Century, he would have found himſelf accuſed of *Judaiſm* by many a Writer, and of receiving a yearly Penſion from the Synagogue.

(35) *See a Pamphlet intituled*, Lettre des Rabbins des deux Synagogues d' Amſterdam à Mr Jurieu, traduite de l'Eſpagnol ſuivant la copie imprimée à Amſterdam chez Joſeph Athias. A Bruxelles 5446.

[*G*] *I ſhall take notice of Mr* Moreri's *Miſtakes.*] I. *Bucer*'s pretended Apoſtacy is wrong placed in the Year 1530; for he was thoroughly confirmed in *Luther*'s Opinions after the Conferences he had with him at *Worms* in the Year 1521, and ever after made open Profeſſion of it. ' Paulo poſt,
' anno *milleſimo quingenteſimo viceſimo primo*, cum
' ad comitia *Wormatiam Vangionum* Lutherus evo-
' catus eſſet: Bucerus eodem venit, cumque Luthe-
' ro compluſculos dies familiariter tranſmiſit: ſen-
' tentiamque ejus amplexus, apertè eandem poſtea
' eſt profeſſus (36). — ' *A little after, in the
Year* 1521, *when* Luther *was called before the
Diet of* Worms: Bucer *came thither alſo, and
paſſed ſeveral Days with* Luther *in familiar Con-
verſation: and, embracing his Opinion, profeſſed it
openly from that time.*' Two Years after, he was admitted into the Number of the Reformed Preachers in *Strasburg*, and he ſubſcribed a Book with them, which they publiſhed in the Year 1524, ſetting forth the Reaſons which had induced them to renounce Popery. He aſſiſted, in 1529, as Deputy of the Church of *Stras urg*, in the Conferences of *Marpourg*, where they endeavoured to pacify the Diſſentions between the *Lutherans* and the *Zuinglians* (37). II. It is falſe, that he begun by being a *Sacramentarian*. He followed *Luther* as his Converter from the beginning. III. It is falſe,

(36) Melch. Adam. in vita Bucer. pag. 212.

(37) *Taken from* Melchior Adam, ubi ſupra. *See* Seckendorf. Hiſtor. Luther. lib. I, pag. 240, n. c, *where he ſays that* Bucer *paſſed for a* Lutheran, Ann. 1522.

give me occasion to speak of some Facts. But I ought not to forget that our *Bucer*, in some Cases, shewed that he did not disapprove pious Frauds [*H*].

When

false, that *he made a separate Sect*. He continued always united with one of the Protestant Communions, though the stricter sort of each Party did not approve his Remissness. IV. There is nothing more absurd, than to impute to him as particular Errors, 'That the Body of JESUS CHRIST 'is present in the Eucharist, only in the Act of 'Receiving; That Baptism does not procure Sal- 'vation to Children; That there is no Sin by In- 'credulity; That Priests are not obliged to Celibacy '(38).' The first of these four Propositions is the common Doctrine of the *Lutherans*. The second and the fourth are the common Doctrines of all Protestants. The third is not imputed to *Bucer* by those who have made the Catalogue of Heresies: On the contrary, *Pratcolus* imputes to him the maintaining, that Incredulity is the only mortal Sin than can be committed (39): A slanderous Accusation, if ever there were any such. Note, that the Jesuit *Gaultier*, citing *Sanders*, says, that *Bucer* taught, that even Children who have received Baptism are not saved. It is perhaps what *Moreri* would say, but knew not how to express himself. Hereupon I observe, that, seeing the Protestants teach, that the Children of the Faithful are saved, though they die before Baptism; their Opinion is, that they, who are baptized, do not owe their Salvation to that Sacrament; so that the pretended Error, which *Moreri* imputes to *Bucer*, is a general Protestant Doctrine. As to Father *Gaultier*'s Proposition, I am sure that it is falsly imputed to our *Bucer*, unless it be explained in this Sense, which is, that GOD, not having grounded the Decree of Reprobation upon the actual Sins of the Children of *Adam*, he may have reprobated Children as well as the Adult; and in this Case it might happen, that some Children, who died after Baptism, would be damned. Let us say, to the Shame of those Makers of Catalogues of Heresies, as *Lindanus*, *Sanders*, *Pratcolus*, *Gaultier*, &c. that, for the particular Heresies of *Bucer*, they give us the most general Doctrine of the Protestants. Note, that *Pratcolus* imputes to him the Doctrine of the unprofitableness of good Works. Compare this with the Author of the History of Variations, and you will be strangely surprized (40). Note also, that *Surius* says, that, at the Conference of *Ratisbon*, *Malvenda* reduced *Bucer* to such Extremities, that he forced him to say, I. That all Sins are Sins of Incredulity. II. That there are none of Weakness and Ignorance; that they are all maliciously committed, and against the Dictates of Conscience (41). As to the first Proposition, Mr *Seckendorf* maintains, either that *Bucer* did not say so, or that it was only said according to the Orthodox Sense that *Luther* gives it, which amounts to this, That as the Sins of the Faithful never exclude from Paradice, the Sins of Unbelievers alone are damnable (42). As to the second, he believes, that it is falsly imputed to *Martin Bucer* (43). Let us add, That this Minister, if we believe *Surius* (44), found himself obliged to assert, That a Man, who sins mortally, ceases from believing the Trinity, the Birth and Death of JESUS CHRIST, *&c.* Mr *Seckendorf* seems to own, that this Doctrine was advanced (45), and by the manner in which he says *Bucer* defended himself, it seems he was in some Confusion. Indeed can any thing be more monstrous than to maintain, That all those, who fall into the Sin of Fornication, look on every thing that is contained in the Gospel as a Fable?

(38) All this is struck out of the *Moreri of Holland*.

(39) Asserit nullum esse peccatum mortale nisi incredulitatem. *Pratcol. ubi supra.* Father Gaultier *copies this from* Pratcolus.

(40) See above, the Remark [C], where it is shewn, that he ought the Merit of Good Works.

(41) Surius, Comment. Rer. in orbe gestarum, ad Ann. 1546, pag. 587.

(42) Seckendorf. Histor. Lutheran. lib. iii, pag. 626. *See the same* Seckendorf, ibid. pag. 195.

(43) Ibid. pag. 626.

(44) Surius, Comment. Rer. in Orbe gestarum, pag. 195.

(45) Seckendorf. Histor. Lutheran. lib. iii, pag. 626.

[*H*] *He did not disapprove pious Frauds.*] He had a great Quarrel with *Pomeranus* for having caused *Martin Luther*'s Commentary on the *Psalms* to be printed with Alterations (46). He likewise foisted some things into *Luther*'s *Postills*, which favoured the *Zuinglians*, and obliged that Reformer to complain severely that the best of his Works was corrupted. Mr *Seckendorf* observes, that the Reproaches thrown on him by *Luther*, on that Account, were suppressed in the Edition of *Wittemberg*, and that *Bucer* made some Excuses. 'Of- 'fendent etiam Bucerus Lutherum, quod in editam 'ejus *Postillam*, quam vocant, ecclesiasticam, quæ- 'dam inforsisset, quæ pro Helvetica sententia de 'cœna facerent, ideo in libello illo *de verbis insti- 'tutionis* vehementer de Bucero queritur, quod 'librum suum homiliarum, quem optimum ex om- 'nibus, quos unquam scripserit, vocat, quique etiam 'Pontificiis placeat, corruperit. Ista exprobratio 'in editione Tomorum Wittenbergensi expuncta 'fuit, indignante & publica apologia culpam à se 'amoliente *Georgio Rorario*, ut *d. Tom. III. Alt. fol.* 740. legi potest. Eandem vero querelam in 'epistola ad *Johannem Secerium* Basileensem Typo- 'graphum prolixe post repetit; (Id. ext, 13.) Sept. 'hujus anni, vide *Epistolar. Lib. II. pag.* 348. *b.* 'Non defuit tamen Bucero excusatio (47). - - - - (47) Id. ibid. 'Bucer *had also offended* Luther, *by inserting some 'things in his* Ecclesiastical Postill, *as they call it, 'which made for the* Helvetic *Opinion concerning 'the Holy Supper, and therefore in his Book*, de 'Verbis Institutionis, *he complains vehemently of* 'Bucer, *that he had corrupted his Book of* Ho- 'milies, *which he says was the best of all that 'he had wrote, and which did even please the 'Papists. This Reproof was suppressed in the* Wit- 'temberg *Edition of his Works, at which* George 'Rorarius *was very angry and made a public Apo- 'logy to clear himself of that Fault. He after- 'wards repeated the same Complaint at large, in 'a Letter to* Johannes Secerius, *a Printer at* Basil. 'However Bucer *was at no loss for an Excuse.*' I cannot tell whether he alledged the Maxim which *Erasmus* attributes to him, That a Deceit, which hurts no Body and is useful to many, is an Action of Piety. *Erasmus* refutes him in this, on Occasion of a Work which *Bucer* had dedicated to the *Dauphin* under a false Title. 'Is ficto titulo scripsit 'librum ad primogenitum Regis Galliæ, admixtis 'aliquot verbis Gallicis, quo videretur à Gallo 'scriptus ad Gallum: Pius, inquit, *dolus est, qui 'nocet nemini, prodest multis.* Primum, nulli 'nocet hæresis? Hoc protinus audiret ab alio; 'nam hoc de istis pronunciatum est. Non laudatur 'tantus Princeps ac natio religiosissima quæ gra- 'vatur invidiâ? Quod autem simile exemplum ab 'Apostolis, aut probatis Ecclesiæ doctoribus pro- 'fectum est? Si hic fucus nulli nocet, cur *Luthe- 'rus* tam indigne tulit suos libros per hunc fuisse 'corruptos? Cur Pomeranus de simili temeritate 'illius questus est? Quod ab aliis & ab ipsis adeo 'legibus falsi gravissimo crimine notatur, huic 'lepido Evangelistæ pius dolus est (48). - - - - *He 'dedicated a Book, under a feigned Title, to the* 'Dauphin *of* France, *intermixing some* French 'Words, *that it might seem to be wrote from a* 'Frenchman *to a* Frenchman. It is a pious Fraud, 'says he, which hurts no body, and is profitable 'to many. *First, Does Heresy hurt no body? This 'would be immediately asked him by another; for 'these Doctrines are called Heresy. Is not so great a 'Prince and a most religious Nation hurt, when 'loaded with Envy? What Example of the like 'Practice do you find among the Apostles or the ap- 'proved Doctors of the Church? If this Cheat 'hurts no body, why did* Luther *take it so ill that 'his Books were corrupted by this Author? Why 'did* Pomeranus *complain of the like Temerity of 'his? What is called by others, and even by the 'Laws, a heinous Crime and Cheat, is, by this 'fine Evangelist, called a pious Fraud.*' I do not mention the false Name he gave himself in the Title Page of one of his Books; for it is a very innocent thing, and was the Cause that his Book was read by Adversaries, who would not have dared to touch it had they known the Author. Read these Words of *Naudæus*: 'Martinus 'Bucerus, cum suos in librum Psalmorum Com- 'mentarios à Catholicis legi vehementer cuperet, 'eosdem sub Aretii, quæ Græca vox est Martino 'respondens, & Felini quod verbum Germanicum 'Buceri significationem Latinè repræsentat, publici 'juris fieri voluit, ne si proprium suum nomen il- 'lis affixisset, quod pridem antea cucullati sacer- 'dotes diris devoverant, statim eorundem lectione 'catholicis

(46) Id. lib. ii. pag. 82. n. 3. ad Ann. 1529.

(48) Erasmus Epist. lix, lib. xxxi. pag. 2110.

When I said (c), that, in order to procure a good Understanding between the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, he chose general and ambiguous Expressions, I might have added, that he acted in the same manner, in order to calm the Disquiet of his Conscience, by a Formulary which did not clearly contain the Opinion either of *Luther* or *Zuinglius*; he was embarrassed between these two Opinions; one appeared to him too strong, the other too weak [*I*]. Probably one might observe the same on

(c) *See above, after Cites.* (c).

(49) Gabr. Naudæus in Judicio de Augustino Nipho, pag. 19. *Compare this with Remark* [D], *of the Article* ERASMUS, *in the first Paragraph.*

'catholicis omnibus interdiceretur (49). —— Martin 'Bucer, *being very desirous to have his Commentaries on the* Psalms *read by the Catholics, published them under the Name of* Aretius, *which is the* Greek *Word answering to* Martin, *and* Felinus, *a* German *Word expressing the Signification of* Bucer *in* Latin, *fearing, that if he had put his true Name to them, which was cursed long before by the Monks, the Catholics would immediately be forbid the reading of them.*' The Inquisition of *Spain* supposes, that *Bucer*'s Book, *Adversus merita bonorum operum*, was published as a Work of the Bishop of *Rochester*, *De misericordia Dei*.

[*I*] *He was embarrassed between the Opinions of* Luther *and* Zuinglius *concerning the Eucharist; one appeared to him too strong, the other too weak.*] The Doctrine of the *Lutherans* seemed to him to attribute too much Reality to the Presence of JESUS CHRIST in the Sacrament of the Eucharist: he could not digest the Consequences of it; but he thought also, that the Opinion of the *Zuinglians* was too narrow, and did not come up to the Ideas which the Scripture, and ancient Tradition, imprint on our Minds. This gave him a deal of uneasiness. See what a Minister of *Breda* tells us on this Subject. 'Legatur Vita *Martyris* & quæ ibi 'de fluctuatione *Buceri* dicuntur. Videatur quoque in Centuria prima Epist. select. à Belgis vel 'ad Belgas Ep. 5. quæ est *Buceri* ad *Joannem à Lasco*, Curatorem Ecclesiarum Frisiæ Orientalis, 'ubi tam sollicite explorat, an etiam agnoscet à *Lasco* 'præter vim obsignandi, vim exhibendi ipsum 'Christum & Dominum, eamque corporis & sanguinis ejus communionem dari ac percipi, qua 'sumus membra ejus ex parte, & caro de carne 'ejus, & os de ossibus ejus, qua manemus in ipso, '& ipse in nobis, & dari eam atque percipi dum Dominus ipse est in suo ministerio efficax, verba & 'symbola uti Domini, & ut ab ipso Domino dispensatione libera per ministrum accipiuntur, quam vocant *unionem*, non sensualem, non localem, non naturalem, sed *Sacramentalem & pactis*, propter illas 'scripturæ phrases, quæ loquuntur de Mysterio incorporationis Ecclesiæ, & de communione & manducatione & potatione carnis & sanguinis Christi. Et paulo post dicit Luthero satisfieri, si tantum non 'inania signa CHRISTI absentis in Cœna sentiamus '& explicetur, etiam hic dari & percipi ipsum 'Dominum, modo quo ipse novit. Et ibidem, pag. 33, hæc Buceri conquerentis verba ad animum revocentur: *Cruciat me*, inquit, *merito, nos quibus Dominus cætera regni sui mysteria tam benigne revelavit, non potuisse jam intra totos 34 annos convenire de hoc sacratissimo, & omnino populari mysterio, quod non minus intelligere quam usurpare omnes debent* (50). —— *Read the Life of* Peter Martyr, *and what is said there of* Bucer's *Fluctuation; see also the first Century of Epistles from* Dutchmen *or to* Dutchmen, *Ep.* 5, *which is from* Bucer *to* John de Lasco, *Overseer of the Churches of* East-Friesland, *where he so earnestly enquires, whether* de Lasco, *besides a Power of signifying, acknowledges a Power of exhibiting* CHRIST *himself; and that the Lord, and the Communion of his Body and Blood, is given and perceived; whereby we are Members of him in part, and Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone; whereby we abide in him, and he in us, and that it is given and perceived, when the Lord himself operates in his Ministry, and when the Words and Symbols are received as the Lord's, and as it were from the Lord himself, by free Dispensation through his Minister, which they call an* Union, *not sensual, not local, not natural, but sacramental, and of the Covenant on Account of those Texts of Scripture, which speak of the Mystery of the Incorporation of the Church, and of the Communion, and eating and drinking of the Flesh and Blood of* CHRIST. *And a little after he says, that* Luther *is satisfied, if we own in the holy Supper any thing more than bare Signs of* CHRIST *absent, and it be explained that the Lord himself is given and perceived here also, in the manner which he knows; and,* ibid. pag. 33, *remember these Words of* Bucer *complaining*: I am grieved, *says he*, and 'not without Reason, that we, to whom the 'Lord hath so bountifully revealed the other 'Mysteries of his Kingdom, have not been able 'now in Thirty four Years to agree concerning 'this most sacred and most general Mystery, which 'all Christians ought to understand, as well as use.' You see, in these last Words, the Pangs which *Bucer* felt, on consideration that the Ministers, Reformers of the Church, had not been able to agree concerning the Sacrament of the Holy Supper, after Thirty four Years Labour. It has been observed, that his irresolution did not continue to his Death, and that he died in the Calvinistical Faith. The Author of this Remark is a Lutheran Doctor, who accuses him of acting with so much Fraud and Inconstancy, that it was impossible to discover his real Sentiments: 'Buceri nomen nunquam red-'ditum fuisset celebrius, nisi instar Protei alicujus 'in omnes formas sese transmutasset, & jam a 'nostris, jam a Zuinglianorum partibus stetisset, 'omniaque sua consilia, dicta, facta, sic insidiose & 'veteratorie inflexisset, ut cuinam Parti ex animo 'faveret, satis perspectum cognitumque esse haud 'posset. Quamquam in fide Calviniana tandem 'spiritum exhalasse, ex postremo ipsius scripto, non 'tamen ad finem perducto, satis evidenter colligitur (51). —— Bucer's *Name would never have been famous, had not he,* Proteus *like, transformed himself into all Shapes, and lived, one while on our side, another on that of the* Zuinglians, *and so craftily and disingenuously turned all his Counsels, Words, and Actions, that it could never be perfectly discovered which Party he favoured in his Heart, though it is manifest, from the last Piece which he wrote, but did not entirely finish, that he died in the Calvinistical Faith.*' But, least this Lutheran should be suspected of decrying him in this manner from Party Interest, he cites two Calvinistical Writers, who have painted the Genius of *Bucer* in the very same Colours: 'Hoc pulchellum elogium ne à Lutheranis ex præ-'postero quopiam affectu confictum videri possit, 'produco Lavaterum Scriptorem alioqui Sacramentarium, Buceri genium & ingenium his floscul is depingentem: *Bucerus ambiguis & obscuris loquendi formulis sententiam suam proposuit, ut in utram partem magis propenderet, colligi plane non potuerit.* Toto certaminis hujus tempore ejusmodi phrasibus ipsum studuisse, Josias Simlerus, Scholæ Tigurinæ Professor, in Oratione de Vita & obitu Petri Martyris testatur, quem & ipsum persuadere aliquando conatus fuit suum ut exemplum secutus, talibus loquendi modis, ex quibus nihil certi concludi posset, ut ita utrique parti inserviens, ambiguis illis & flexiloquis loquendi formulis difficilium hoc paulatim sopiret atque tolleret. Hasce infidiosas ac subdolas molitiones Tigurini animadvertentes minime probarunt, & libere atque aperte professi sunt, non velle se concordiam fucatam atque infidiosam, quæ juxta Buceri declarationem, cothurni instar, utrique parti accommodari posset (52). - - - - *That it may not be thought, that this fine Elogium is feigned by the Lutherans out of Prejudice, I produce* Lavaterus, *a Calvinist Writer, who paints* Bucer's *Genius and Temper in these Colours*: *Bucer* offered his Opinion in ambiguous and obscure Phrases, so that it was absolutely impossible to gather from them to which side he inclined most. Josias Simler, *Professor at* Zurich, *in an Oration on the Life and Death of* Peter Martyr, *testifies that* Bucer

(50) Ludovic. Gerardus à Renesse, Notis in Apologet. Reformat. in Belgio Eccles. Epist. p. 102, 103.

(51) Leon. Hutterus in Irenico vero Christiano, sive de Synodo & Unione Evangelicorum non facta concilianda; Tract. Theolog. adversus D. Paræi Irenicum pag. 130. *Edit.* Wittemb. apud Paul. Helwigium An. 1628, in Folio.

(52) Ib. Ibid.

on his Opinion concerning the Merit of good Works [K]. He ſpoke more ſtrongly of them than the other Miniſters, and, if he varied from himſelf in that Point, it ought to be imputed to the Difficulties he met with in the Matter, or to the Improvement he made as he grew old. He gave this laſt Reaſon in excuſe of himſelf, when he found that ſome People were offended that he was not ſufficiently uniform in his Works (*f*). However learned and ſolid his Lectures were, three Defects were obſerved in them. I. The Abundance of his Learning ſometimes led him too far from his Subject. II. He did not always remember the Number of Heads into which he had, at firſt, divided his Matter. III. There was a certain Obſcurity in his Stile, as he himſelf owned; ſo that his Hearers, if they were not very attentive, could not underſtand him (*g*).

(*f*) *See above, Addit. to Remark* [C].

(*g*) Joſias Simlerus in vita Petri Martyris, apud Melch. Adam. vit. ext. Theologorum, pag. 37.

'Bucer *ſtudied ſuch Expreſſions throughout the* 'whole Conteſt, *and was endeavoured to perſuade* 'Peter Martyr *to follow his Example, and uſe* 'ſuch Expreſſions, *as nothing certain could be con-* 'cluded from, *that ſo, pleaſing both Parties, by* 'theſe ambiguous and equivocal ways of ſpeaking, *he* 'might by degrees compoſe and end the Difference. 'The Zurichians, *obſerving theſe inſidious and crafty* 'Contrivances, *diſliked them, and freely and open-* 'ly profeſſed, *that they would not have a patched* 'and inſnaring Agreement, *which, according to* 'Bucer's *Declaration, like a Buskin, ſerve either* 'ſide.' I do not find the laſt Lines of this Paſſage in the Life of *Peter Martyr*, extracted by *Melchior Adam*, from the Book which this *Lutheran* Doctor cites (53); but I find there, that *Martyr* conformed himſelf for ſome time to *Bucer*'s Language, and afterwards left it, when he ſaw the dangerous Conſequences of it, which were, that, on the one hand, it did not fully ſatisfy the *Lutherans*, and on the other gave Offence to the weak and perplexed, and embarraſſed them in ſuch a manner, that they could not tell what to believe on that Point (54). *Martyr* and *Bucer* nevertheleſs were good Friends, and fully perſuaded of each other's Orthodoxy (55). Obſerve, that *Bucer*, during his Reſidence in *England*, was exhorted to ſpeak more fully and clearly concerning the Eucharift (56).

(53) Oratio Joſiæ Simleri de vitâ & obitu Petri Martyris.

(54) Melch. Adam. in vitâ Petri Martyris, pag. 38.

(55) Ib. pag. 39.

(56) Id. in vitâ Calvini, pag. 80.

[*K*] ---- *one may apply* ---- *this Obſervation to his Opinion concerning the Merit of Works.*] The *Lutheran* Doctor, whom I cite, accuſes *Bucer* of having uſed a Stile accommodated to the *Romiſh* Opinions, concerning Juſtification, in the Formulary of Faith, preſented by four Imperial Cities (57), to the Diet of the Empire in the Year 1530: theſe are the Doctor's Words: 'Articulo IV Confeſſionis Civitatum explicandum erat, Quomodo fidei juſtificatio adſcribatur; ſed Bucerus ſtylum, ne pontificios offenderet, ad ipſorum ſorum ſic attemperavit: *Quod Concionatores noſtri Fidei tantum tribuunt, non eo ſit ſenſu, quaſi ſalus & pietas noſtra conſiſtat in otioſis cogitationibus, vel in fide quæ ſit charitatis expers, quam fidem informem ſive informatam nominare conſueverunt: ſed ideo hoc ſit*, quia fateri cogimur, neminem vere pium eſſe aut ſalvari poſſe, qui Deum non ſumme diligat, & conformis ipſi fieri ſummo ſtudio aemitatur. Et poſt pauca: *Fides, per quam regeneratur, eo eſt fides quæ per charitatem eſt efficax*. Hæc Bucerus. Quid vero hoc eſt aliud, quam ſenſu Pontificio docere nos juſtificari coram DEO FIDE FORMATA (58)? —— *In the IVth Article of the Confeſſion of the Cities, they were to have explained, how Juſtification is aſcribed to Faith; but Bucer, that he might not offend the Papiſts, accommodated his Stile to their manner of ſpeaking, thus*: Whereas our Preachers attribute ſo much to Faith, it is not done in this Senſe, as if our Salvation and Godlineſs conſiſted in idle Thoughts, or in Faith, which is void of Love, which they uſed to call Faith without Form, or unformed; but it is done, becauſe we are obliged to confeſs, that no Man is truly godly, who does not love GOD above all things, and endeavours with all his Might to be conformable to him. *And a little after*: The Faith, by which we are regenerated, is a Faith which worketh by Love. *Thus far* Bucer. *But what is this elſe than in the Senſe of the Papiſts to ſay, that we are juſtified before* GOD BY FAITH FORMED.' He had juſt before ſaid, that *Bucer* retracted ſome time after; and confeſſed that he had granted certain things in Favour of the Catholics, which he would no longer allow (59). You need not ask whether he was not loaded with many Reproaches on that Account. You will preſently be ſatisfied: 'Quia verſipellis iſte Bucerus fuit Autor Confeſſionis Tetrapolitanæ, fatente ipſo quoque Paræo, facile judicari poteſt, quo candore & ſpiritu in ea concinnanda uſus fuerit: eo nimirum quiſquiſpiam ſibi conſtat, ſed tamquam Vertumnus aliquis, nec calidus nec frigidus eſt. Cujus rei Argumento eſſe poteſt, quod ipſe Bucerus paulo poſt bene multa Confeſſionis hujus ſuæ capita publice tractavit, & faſſus eſt ſe in gratiam 'Pontificiorum multa tum conceſſiſſe, quæ jam 'concedere amplius nolit (60). —— *As that Turn-* 'coat, Bucer, *was Author of the Confeſſion of the* 'four Cities, *as even* Paræus *himſelf allows, it is* 'eaſy to judge what Candour and Spirit he uſed in 'compoſing it; even this, that he is no where con-'ſiſtent with himſelf, but*, Vertumnus *like, is* 'neither hot nor cold. *A Proof of which is this,* 'that Bucer *himſelf, a little after, publickly retracted* 'ſeveral Articles of this his Confeſſion, and owned, 'that he had then granted ſeveral things for the 'ſake of the Papiſts, which now he would no longer grant.' It is obſerved, that, in all the fourth Article, which is deſigned for the Doctrine of the Juſtification of a Sinner, there is not one Word concerning the Merit of JESUS CHRIST, the chief and ſole Foundation of our Salvation (61); and that *Bucer*, acknowledging his foul Play, rectified the thing ſome time after: 'Agnovit hanc κυβείαν & aleatoriam verſutiam Bucerus ipſe, qui hunc ipſum Articulum retractavit poſtea, ſic ſcribens [a]: *Verbum* (efficax) *tolli debet, aut ita declarari, ut intelligatur de fiducia apprehendente miſericordiam propter Chriſtum promiſſam & erigente perterrefactas mentes* (62). ----- Bucer *himſelf acknowledged this Game and Craft, and retracted that Article afterwards, writing thus*: The Word *(efficacious)* ought to be left out, or explained ſo that it might be underſtood of an Aſſurance expecting Mercy, promiſed for the ſake of CHRIST, and raiſing deſponding Souls.' To convince him of the like unfair Practice on the Article of good Works; theſe Words of the Confeſſion are urged: 'Renovatio & reſtitutio hominis, quæ fit & conſiſtit per fidem, declaratur PERFECTAQUE fit operibus charitatis: ---- Tantum vero abeſt ut bona opera rejiciamus, ut libere fateamur Hominem 'numquam PERFECTE beatum effici poſſe, niſi per 'Chriſti Spiritum eo perducatur, ut NULLUM penitus ei deſit opus bonum omnium eorum ad 'quæ à DEO eſt conditus (63). ---- *The Regeneration and Reſtoration of Man, which is cauſed by, and ſubſiſts in, Faith, is declared and made* PERFECT *by Works of Charity* ---- *but we are ſo far from rejecting good Works, that we freely confeſs, that a Man can never become perfectly happy, unleſs he be guided by the Spirit of* CHRIST, *ſo that* NO *good Work is wanting in him, for which he was created by* GOD.' I think Reaſon and Charity require us to believe, that he acted in all this according to his own Perſuaſion, and not out of Policy. We have ſeen above (64), what he wrote conſtantly on the Head of good Works. The Paſſage, which I have cited from his Commentary on *Pſalm* ii (65), is ſufficient, in the Opinion of *Grotius*, to ſhew, that the Proteſtants and Catholics would eaſily agree on that matter, provided they would but baniſh ſcholaſtic Chicanery and Party Animoſity (66). *Grotius* pretends, that this Paſſage ought to be read according to the Edition of *Strasburg*, and not according to that of *Robert Stephens*, which is wholly corrupted (67). He

(57) Strasburg, Conſtance, Memmingen, *and Lindau.*

(58) Hotterus de Synodo Evangelicor. &c. pag. 130, 131.

(59) Id. ibid. pag. 130.

(60) Id. ibid.

(61) Id. ibid. pag. 131.

[a] Vid. Librum, Actorum Ratiſpon. pag. 85.

(62) Hotterus de Synodo Evangelicor. &c. p. 132.

(63) Id. ibid.

(64) *In the Remark* [C].

(65) *In the ſame Remark, Citation* (8).

(66) Grotius in Voto pro Pace Eccleſ. ad Art. iv, apud Rivetum, Operum Tom. III, pag. 1042.

(67) *See the Remark* [C], *Citation* (11).

He refers us also to the Preface of *Bucer's Commentary on the four Evangelists*, which, says he, was also omitted in *Robert Stephens*'s Edition. *Andrew Rivet*'s Answer to *Grotius* is remarkable; he declared to him (68); I. That the Passage in *Bucer*'s Commentary on the IId *Psalm*, as *Grotius* has related it, contains nothing but what the Calvinists admit, when rightly understood. II. That *Robert Stephens*'s Edition wants nothing as to the Sense of those Words, which *Grotius* recites from the Edition of *Strasburg*. III. That if the Words are not the same in *Robert Stephens*'s Edition, and in that of *Strasburg*, *Grotius* ought to remember that this Work of *Bucer*'s was first printed under the Name of *Aretius Felinus*, in the Year 1529; a second time under the Name of *Martin Bucer*, in the Year 1532; and a third time, at *Geneva*, by *Robert Stephens*, in the Year 1554: And that the Author owns, that in revising his Works he left out, he added, and even retracted, certain things (69): therefore it cannot be pretended that the last Editions of his Works were corrupted by the Booksellers. May not the Difference between the latter and the former proceed from the Author's Retractations; besides, *Bucer*'s Confession is in his Preface to his Commentary on the Gospels, and *Rivet* assures us that it was not suppressed by *Robert Stephens*, as *Grotius* had given out (70). After this *Rivet* cites several Passages of *Bucer*, which prove his Orthodoxy, as to the Doctrine of Justification. *Grotius* made very little answer; he only says, that if a Man has a Mind to be believed when he affirms, that the Difference of the Editions of *Bucer* comes from the Author, he ought to give some Proof of it, and that there are some Editions of *Geneva*, in which the Preface to the Commentary on the Gospels is not inserted (71). He is condemned by his Silence as to *Robert Stephens*'s Edition, from whence it appears that he and *Vossius* had spoken of it without having seen it (72); an inexcusable Fault!

(68) Rivetus in Apologet pro versâ p.ce Eccles. Operum, Tom. III, pag. 1-71.

(69) *See above, the Addition to the Remark* [C].

(70) *See in the same Addition, Citation* (12), *the Latin Words of* Rivetus.

(71) Grotius in Discuss. Apologet. ict Rivetiani, pag. 47. *See* Rivetus's *Works*, Tom. III, pag. 1140.

(72) *See Remark* [C], *Citation* (9), (10), *and* (11).

BUCHANAN (George), was a very able Man, and one of the greatest *Latin* Poets of the XVIth Century. He was born in a Village in *Scotland*, in the Year 1506. His Family, which was far from rich, had like to have fallen into extreme Poverty by the Death of his Father, and the breaking of his Grandfather. His Mother, who was left a Widow with eight Children, educated them as well as she could; but she had a Brother that took some care of this. Having found him fit enough for Learning, he sent him to *Paris*. The young Man lived there two Years, and afterwards was obliged to return to *Scotland*, by reason of his Poverty, and want of Health. When he found himself recovered, he would try his Fortune in the War, among the *French* Troops which were landed in his Country; but he soon fell sick again. After his recovery he went to *St Andrews*, where he studied Logic under the good old Man *John Major*. He followed him into *France* that same Year, and after he had passed two Years at *Paris*, struggling with his ill Fortune, he was called to teach Grammar in the College of *St Barbara*. This he did for three Years. He was brought back into *Scotland* by a young Count (*a*), who had kept him five Years with him in *Paris*. He would have returned into *France* again, but the King of *Scotland* stopped his Journey, by making him Preceptor to his Bastard Son. He had wrote a Poem which displeased the *Franciscans*. These good Fathers, instead of putting on that Spirit of Patience which so well becomes Churchmen, were incensed at it, and to revenge themselves the more artfully, they cried out, that *Buchanan* was an impious Man, and an Heretic. These Clamours were the occasion of his inclining to *Lutheranism*, a little more than he did before (*b*). About this time the King returned from *France* (*c*), and made the Churchmen uneasy; for they were afraid, that Queen *Magdalen*, whom he brought along with him, had imbibed the new Opinions from her Aunt, the Queen of *Navarre*. The Death of Queen *Magdalen* soon dispelled their Fears. Some time after a Plot was discovered against the King, in which this Prince believed, that the *Franciscans* had not discharged their Duty to him. He commanded *Buchanan* to write some Verses against them. The Poet obeyed without any Reluctance, but kept within Bounds, and made use of Expressions which might be taken in a double Sense. The King, not thoroughly satisfied with those Verses, commanded him to write sharper, and was obeyed according to his Desire. *Buchanan* presented him the famous *Sylva*, which is called *Franciscanus*. Some time after he was informed, that Cardinal *Beton* was plotting his Ruin; whereupon he fled into *England* [*A*]; but Matters being in such Confusion there, that in

(*a*) Gilbertus Kennedus Cassilisiæ Comes. — Gilbert Kennedy, *Earl of* Cassil. Buchanano in Vita propria Poëmatiis præfixa.

(*b*) Dum impotentiæ suæ indulgent illum ipsum sua Sacerdotum licentiæ insensum acrius incendunt, & Lutheranæ causæ minus infquum reddunt. *Id. ibid.*

(*c*) *That is to say, in* 1537. Buchanan, *in his Life, very seldom puts down the Years.*

[*A*] *He fled into* England.] I cannot tell why he suppresses his being put in Prison; for it is suppressing it, to say only in an indefinite Manner, that he deceived his Guards. 'Brevi post per amicos 'ex aula certior factus se peti, & Cardinalem Be'tonium à Rege pecunia vitam ejus mercari ELU'SIS CUSTODIBUS in Angliam contendit. — *A* 'little after, being informed by his Friends at Court 'that there was a Design against him, and that Car'dinal Beton offered the King Money for his Life, 'he deceived his Keepers, and fled into England.' He was Preceptor to the King's Bastard: and therefore it may reasonably be supposed, that the Guards whom he deceived were not Jailors of public Prisons, but only certain Men who had orders to observe him, as a suspected Person. So that he has not explained himself clearly enough. The History of the Reformation of *England* is more particular in the matter: we there find the very time that he was imprisoned, a Circumstance, which *Buchanan* ought at least to have set down in the Margin, if he was afraid that the Date of the Years would make his Periods less smooth. We have it then from Dr *Burnet*, that in the Year 1539. 'The Clergy, being incensed by the Satires 'that *Buchanan* had written against them, caused 'him to be imprisoned, and as the King left all 'things to them, that great Man would doubtless 'have been condemned to death, if he had not 'had the Ingenuity to make his Escape out of 'Prison (1).' I have said that *Buchanan* was Preceptor to the King's Natural Son; and I have reason to suppose it: for, as he himself has said that the King bestowed that place upon him, it is to be presumed he would have it believed that he was invested with it, since he neither expressly, nor by any incompatible Fact, notes that he had it not. Now this he has not done: I may therefore suppose that he enjoyed it. But to dissemble nothing in this matter, I must own he makes use of an Expression, from whence it might be concluded that he had not that Employ. He says, that, being by chance at Court,

(1) History of the Reformation of *England*, Part I, lib. iii, pag. 725. *Note, that* Buchanan, *in his* History of Scotland, *lib. xiv, pag. 509, says, that he escaped by a Window in his Chamber, while the Guards slept.*

in one and the same Day *Lutherans* were burnt on one side, and *Papists* on the other, he passed again into *France*: And for fear Cardinal *Beton* (*d*) should play him a Trick there, he retired privately from *Paris*, and went to *Bourdeaux*, whither *Andrew Goveanus*, a learned *Portuguese*, invited him. He taught three Years in this Place [*B*], but not without some dread of the *Franciscans*, and of Cardinal *Beton* (*e*), whose Threats he was informed of. After this he followed *Andrew Goveanus* into *Portugal*, I say *Goveanus*, who had Orders from the King his Master, to bring him a certain number of Persons fit to teach Philosophy, and Literature, in the University he had newly founded at *Coimbra*. All went well as long as *Goveanus* lived, but after his Death, which happened not long after, the learned Men who followed him, and particularly *Buchanan*, were vexed all manner of ways. They reproached him with his Poem against the *Franciscans*; they found fault with his eating Meat in *Lent*, wherein he only conformed to the Custom of the Country (*f*). It was pretended, that in his Discourse he had discovered some Indifference to the Catholic Church. They teazed him for above a Year together, and after all, for fear of discovering, that they had unjustly harassed a Man of Reputation, they condemned him to remain some Months in a Monastery, in order to be better instructed. It was there he undertook his Paraphrase of the Psalms, an excellent Work, notwithstanding all the Criticisms of *Lewis de la Croix* (*g*). Having obtained his Liberty, he passed into *England*, but made no stay there. He chose to return into *France*. He arrived there at the time of the raising of the Siege of *Metz* (*h*). Some Years after he entered into the Service of the Mareschal *de Brissac*, and was made Preceptor to his Son. That Mareschal commanded then in *Piedmont*. *Buchanan* continued five Years in that Employ, sometimes in *Italy*, and sometimes in *France*. He quitted it in 1560. Returning into *Scotland*, after the Troubles, which Messieurs *de Guise* caused there, had been suppressed, he went over openly to the Communion of the Reformed Church. He was made Preceptor to *James* VI, King of *Scotland*, in the Year 1565. This is all that he has thought fit to inform us of concerning his Life (*i*). I cannot tell why he hath affected to say nothing of his great Prosperity. That Silence might appear mysterious to those who are inclined to give things a wrong turn. Such Persons might be capable of believing that *Buchanan*, full of Confusion and Remorse in his old Age, for having given himself up to the Faction which forced Queen *Mary* out of her Kingdom, from whom he had received so many Benefits, and whom he praised so highly, durst not shew what he had done in those Times, nor awaken in

(*d*) *He was Embassador of Scotland in France.*

(*e*) *This Cardinal wrote to the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, to get Buchanan taken up, but he gave the Letter to some intimate Friends of Buchanan* Buchanan in vitâ propriâ.

(*f*) Crimini dabatur carnium esus in quadragesimâ, à qua nemo in tota Hispaniâ est qui abstineat. *Ibid.*

(*g*) A Portuguese Jesuit, Author of a Version of the Psalms in *Latin* Verse. In the Preface to which he censures *Buchanan*.

(*h*) That is to say, 1552.

(*i*) Taken from his Life, written by himself, in 1580. It is printed before his Poems.

Court, he was sent for by the Prince. *Rex Buchananum FORTE tum in aula agentem ad se advocat.* Has not the Preceptor of a King's Natural Son his ordinary Residence at Court? Is it ever said of such a one, that he was by chance at Court at such a time? I answer, I. That it is at least very possible that he is not there sometimes; that suffices me. II. That it is not the part of a good Writer to relate matters so, that recourse must be had to conjectures to know that things are altered (*z*). This is the chief aim of my Criticism. *Buchanan* wrote his History politely; says much in few words, but skips over things that he ought not to forget. It is more difficult than is commonly thought, not to fall into this Defect. Consider my marginal Note.

(*z*) There are some Abridgments of History, in which you will find (for Example) that the Spaniards took a Town such a Year, and retook it the Year following, the Author never observing that they had lost it again; I have met with some Persons who maintain that this is no fault: *A Reader*, say they, *will easily enough conclude, that the Spaniards had lost it, since they were obliged to retake it.* I insist that it is a Fault, but it is a Fault common to most Abridgments.

[*B*] *He returned* —— *to* Bourdeaux, *and taught three Years there.*] Here I shall place the impertinent Story that I have read in the fiftieth Page of *The Doctrine Curieuse* of Father *Garasse*. 'It is said, that *George Buchanan*, Regent of the first Class in the College of *Guyenne* in *Bourdeaux*, having taken a little more Wine than he ought, went, when the Class Bell rung, and took a turn as far as *England* in his Morning-Gown and Slippers, having opportunely found a Ship just weighing Anchor in the Harbour of the Carthusians. A fine walk, *continues the same Author*, to be taken in a drunken Fit.' This Lie is too ridiculous to be confuted. *Buchanan* left *France* at that time to go into *Portugal*. I shall occasionally examine a place of the *Anti-Baillet* that does not seem to me very exact. 'Moreri has wrote in his Dictionary, *these are the Words of* Mr Menage (3), that *Turnebus*, *Buchanan*, and *Muret*, taught at the same time in the College of Cardinal *le Moine*, *Turnebus* the first, *Buchanan* the second, and *Muret* the third Class. I have heard Father *Bourbon*, who very well knew things of this kind, say the same. —— If *Buchanan* taught in the College of Cardinal *le Moine* at the same time that *Muret* taught there, as I am in some manner perfuaded he did, because Father *Bourbon* says so, it must have been between 1544. (which is the Date of his Elogy to *Tassæus* and *Turnus*) and 1545, for he taught before in the College of *Guyenne* in *Bourdeaux*, where he passed three Years as he himself tells us in his Life: and in 1539, the first of *December*, he made a Speech there to the Emperor *Charles* V, as he was going from *Spain* to *Flanders*. And if *Muret* had taught before that time in the College of Cardinal *le Moine* with *Buchanan*, he must at least have taught there in 1538, and at that time he was but fourteen Years of Age.' My Observations on this long Passage are these. I. It does not appear by *Buchanan*'s Life that he taught in any College of *Paris* after his Return thither upon having escaped out of the Prisons of *Scotland* in 1539. So that the time when he taught in *Paris*, if we believe his Life, precedes the Voyage that he made into *Scotland* with the Scotch Earl. Now after that Voyage he had a Mind to return to *Paris*: but was hindered by the King his Master, who made him Tutor to his Natural Son. That Prince returned from *France* with Queen *Magdalen*, whom he had married in the beginning of 1537. It is plain then that *Buchanan* must have left *Paris* to return into *Scotland* in the Year 1536 at latest, and consequently is is false that he taught at time with *Muret* in a College of *Paris*; for in that case *Muret* must have been a Schoolmaster before ten Years of Age (4). II. Mr *Menage* ought not to have laid it down as possible, that *Muret* and *Buchanan* taught at *Paris* in the Year 1538, seeing it is certain, that *Buchanan* was then in *Scotland*. III. Since he has placed the Birth of *Muret* in 1526, he ought not, as he does in the same Page, to make him fourteen Years of Age, in the Year 1538. IV. He ought to have said expressly that *Buchanan* was at *Paris* in the Year 1544. This is plain from his Elegy to *Tassæus* and *Turnus* mentioned by Mr *Menage*. V. He ought to have said that *Buchanan* spake of *Gelida* in that Elegy as of a Colleague (5), and to have drawn a Proof from thence that *Buchanan* taught at that time

COLLEGES where *Buchanan* taught, and at what Time.

(3) Menage, Anti-Baillet, chap. lxxxiii. *He does not cite the place in Moreri; it is in the Article* MURET.

(4) Menage, Anti-Baillet, *chap.* lxxxiii, *says, that* Muret *was born in* 1526.

(5) Cæteraque ut cessent, Gelidæ piâ cura sodalis. Et patris & patriæ sustinet usque vicem. *Mr* Menage, *pag.* 332, *rightly corrects* gelide *for* Gelidæ.

in the Mind of his Readers, the remembrance of some Books he had written to the taste of those who were then in Power [C]. These Books have rendered him so odious to the *Roman* Catholics, that to this the horrible Slanders, published by them against him, may justly be imputed. He has been defamed as the most prophane and impious Drunkard that ever lived [D], and as a Traitor, a Conspirator,

time in the College of Cardinal *le Moine*; for it is certain, that *Gelida* taught in that College. VI. If, notwithstanding *Buchanan*'s Life, I was to say, that he taught at *Paris* in the Year 1539, I would rather take Mr *Menage*'s Year (6), than the time which elapsed between his Return to *Paris* at the raising the Siege of *Metz*, and that of his being made Tutor to *Timoleon de Cossé*, the Marshal *de Brissac*'s Son. That Interval comprehends three Years; for he was Preceptor during five Years (7), and he quitted that Employ in the Year 1560 (8).

[C] *He wrote Books —— to the Taste of those who were then in Power.*] We shall speak hereafter of his *Dialogue concerning the Right of Kings*. He wrote two other Books, which were still more agreeable to the Interests of his Faction than that. The one is the History of *Scotland*, in which he says many ill things of the Queen's Manners and Conduct; the other is that which he intituled *Eclaircissement* (9). See how Mr *Varillas* speaks of it. 'I ought to advertise the Curious, *says he* (10), 'that *Buchanan*'s History of *Scotland* is not the 'worst of his Works against that Princess, and that 'there is another to which he durst not set his 'Name, more satirical, beyond all Comparison, than 'the other. It was not to be found in the King's 'Library in my time; but Mr *Clément*, Counsellor 'in the Court of Aids, lent it me out of his own 'Study. It is written in *French*, and printed at 'Rochel in the Year 1572. For filth and foul 'Language no Book I ever saw comes near it; 'and the single Passage of the pretended Lewd-'ness of Queen *Mary Stuart*, countenanced and 'imitated by her Maid of Honour, *Mademoiselle de* 'Rets, falls little short of those of the Ancient 'and Modern Authors, who have taken the greatest 'Liberty in defiling their Reader's Imagination.' It is needless to say, that nothing could be more agreeable to the Interests of that Queen's Enemies than *Buchanan*'s Satires; for one of these two must have been the Case, either that they who forced her out of her Kingdom were the greatest Villains in Nature, or that she was the most infamous of Women. These are two Scales of a Balance equally poized; you cannot load the one without lightening the other precisely to the same degree: just so whatever serves to acquit the Queen, aggravates her Enemies Guilt in the same Proportion, and whatever serves to load the Queen extenuates their Crimes in a like degree. It is certain then, that *Buchanan*'s Satires were an Apology for his Faction, and the bitterer they were, the more they justified those who had turned out *Mary Stuart*. To judge of it from common prejudice, one would be apt to suspect, that a Satire of such important and necessary use, is a Fiction invented for the Interest of the Cause. But as there are real Tyrannies and Infamies which make Subjects revolt, it is not always true that the Manifesto's of those who do rebel are meer Calumnies: and therefore, without listening to our prejudices, we ought impartially to examine *Buchanan*'s Cause. Note, that in order to make the Comparison of the Scales, *in equilibrio*, just, we must enter into that Writer's Principles, and suppose, like him, that the King of *Scotland*, and they who represent the Nation, are two collateral Powers; for the Comparison would not be just in a Monarch properly so called; the Injustice of the Sovereign does not justify Revolts.

[D] *He has been defamed as the most profane and impious Drunkard that ever lived.*] I have already cited an Author who reproaches him with a ridiculous Voyage in a drunken Fit (11); but here is a much worse Story; he reproaches him with having had the Glass and Death between his Lips at the same instant, and with scoffing at the Ministers who exhorted him to pray to God. I shan't cut off a tittle of the Story. It is useful to let the Readers see, by sensible examples, how far the Boldness of public lying may go, when once the Impudence grows so great as to get all the Stories printed that run about the Streets. See then what Father *Garasse* says: 'I will tell our new Atheists the wretched end of a 'Man of their Belief and Humour, as to eating 'and drinking. It was *George Buchanan*, a perfect 'Epicure during his Life, and a perfect Atheist at 'his Death. This Libertine, having spent his Youth 'in Debauchery at *Paris*, and at *Bourdeaux*, more 'sollicitous after the Ivy of an Alehouse, and the 'Bush of a Tavern, than after the Laurels of *Par-*'*nassus*, and being called back to *Scotland* towards 'the latter part of his Days, to instruct the young 'Prince, who is at present the Most Serene King 'of *Great Britain*, continuing his gluttonous 'Courses, fell into a Dropsy by drinking, tho' it 'was said of him by way of banter, that his Di-'stemper was, *vino intercute*, not *aqua intertile*. 'How sick so ever he was, he abstained no more 'from drinking Bumpers, than when he was in 'Health, and drank his Wine as pure as he for-'merly did at *Bourdeaux*. The Physicians, who 'visited him by Order of the King their Master, 'seeing their Patient's Excess, told him plainly 'and angrily, that he did what he could to de-'stroy himself, and that, in his way of living, he 'could not hold out above fourteen Days or three 'Weeks at longest. He desired them to call a Con-'sultation to know how long he might live, in 'case he abstained from Wine; they did so, and 'the result was, that he might live five or six 'Years longer, if he could command himself so 'long; upon which he made an Answer agree-'able to his humour. *Get you gone*, said he, *with* 'your Prescriptions, and your Course of Diet, and 'know, that I would rather live three Weeks and 'be drunk every Day, than six Years without drink-'ing Wine; and immediately discharging his Phy-'sicians, like a desperate Man, he ordered a Hogs-'head of *Graves* Wine to be set at his Bed's-head, 'resolving to see the bottom of it before he died, 'and behaved himself so valiantly, that he emptied 'it to the Lees, literally fulfilling the Contents 'of that pretty Epigram of *Epigenus* concerning a 'Frog, which, being fallen into a Hogshead of 'Wine cried out,

Αὐ τίτες ὕδωρ
Πίνετε, μαῖνα σώφρονα μαινόμενοι.

Alas! some drink Water, being sober mad.

'When he had Death and the Glass between his Lips, 'the Ministers made him a Visit to settle his Mind, 'and prepare him to die with some Sentiments of 'Religion: One of them exhorted him to repeat 'the Lord's-Prayer; and he opening his Eyes, and 'looking fiercly at the Minister, *What is that*, 'said he, *that you call the Lord's-Prayer?* The 'Standers by answered, That it was the *Pater-*'*noster*; and that if he could not say that Prayer, 'they desired him at least to say some other Chri-'stian Prayer, that he might go out of the World 'like a good Man: As for me, said he, in his un-'disturbed and perfect Senses, *I never knew any* 'other Prayer than this:

Cinthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis
Contactum nullis ante cupidinibus.

I who to Love a Stranger ever had been,
By Cinthia's sparkling Eyes was first enslav'd.

'And scarce had he repeated ten or twelve Verses 'of that Elegy of *Propertius*, when he expired a-'mong the Glasses and Pints; so that it may truly 'be said of him, *purpureum vomit ille animam*; 'and such is commonly the End of all Epicures (12). We find the same Story in the *Grammaticus profa-*'*nus* of the Jesuit *Stradæ* (13), who brings (14) no other

(6) That is, from 1544, to 1545.

(7) *And not ten, as* Varillas *affirms*, Hist. de l'Heresie, lib. xxvii, pag. 143.

(8) *See the Life of* Buchanan.

(9) Varillas, Histoire de l'Heresie, lib. xxvii, pag. 170.

(10) *Preface to the fifth Tome of the* Histoire de l'Heresie.

(11) Garasse, Doctrine curieuse, pag. 50.

(12) Id. ibid. pag. 748.

(13) *In the first Tome*, pag. 164.

(14) Ibid. pag. 181.

rator, a Slave of Impurity and Satire, and a Falsifier of History [*E*]. He died at *Edinburgh*, the eighth of *September*, 1582 (*k*). His Dialogue *De jure Regni apud Scotos*, with which the Protestants have so often been reproached, was the reason why some of them mention him as a Man of no Name or Consequence [*F*]. There is ground to doubt the Repentance, which the Annalist of Queen *Elizabeth* attributes to him [*G*]. Be that how it will, we cannot refuse him the Praise of a fine

(k) Thuan. lib. lxxvi. pag. 445. *Father* L'Enfant is out, *in placing this Death to the 25th of April.*

other Authority, than a Work, which appeared in the Year 1615, under the Title of *Elixir Calvinisticum*, &c. A Piece attributed to Father *Garasse*, as we shall see hereafter (15).

(15) *In the Remark* [*S*]. *of the Article* SCIOPPIUS.

[*E*] *And as a Traytor, a Conspirator - - - - - and a Falsifier of History.*] These are the Slanders which his Countryman *Barclay* made use of to paint him out. 'Ac Buchananum quidem non solùm depravatis desperatisque moribus ex libero Liberi Veneris que manicipium factum sciunt omnes, quotquot eum probè noverunt; sed & hæreticum insignem, & mendacem historicum sacra juxta ac profana audaci conatu temerantem ostendit illud ejus opus, cui, *Rerum Scoticarum historia*, titulum dedit - - - - - - Quod cùm ita sit, ecqui mirum videri possit, in egregium nequitiæ artificem evasisse eum, qui in primis juventæ annis, sceleri omnium maximo flagitiosæ vitæ rudimentum posuit? Jam vero historiam reliquam ea fide scripsit, quam in meo me pudet populari reperire: probissimos quosque lancinat maledictis, pios per calumniam opprimit: quò autem quisque sceleratior, & promptior ad malum manu, eò pluribus ille laudibus celebratur. Quid multis? in illa ejus historia, quæ ultra Boethii nobilis historiographi epitomen se profert, tot mihi mendacia occurrunt, ut cùm vera videam, vix vera esse, nisi cunctanter, credam. Id ipsum & alii mecum queruntur gnari temporum, quæ res gestas posteritas ab eo libris mandatas continet *. Sed erit spero veri, patriæque amantior aliquis, qui venenatum ejus stylo mucronem retundet, & fraudem fide solida patefaciens incorruptos eorum temporum annales evulgabit. Hoc igitur homine relicto, qui ut viri adhuc viventes clarissimi norunt, ventri & veneri obediens, multarum in principes conjurationum fautor, quarundam etiam author, hæreticos quà domi, quà foris, quà privatim, quà publicè pertinax propugnator extitit: ad Stephanum Junium Brutum venio (16). —— *And indeed it is not only notorious to all that know* Buchanan, *that, by his depraved and abandoned Life, he was become a mean Slave to Wine and Venery; but also his Book, intituled,* The History of the Affairs of *Scotland, shews him to have been both an egregious Heretic, and a lying Historian, audaciously corrupting sacred things as well as prophane. — This being the Case, can it seem strange that he became an extraordinary Artist in Mischief, who by his flagitious Life, in his early Youth, laid a Foundation for the most consummate Wickedness? He has writ all the rest of the History with so little Fidelity, as I am ashamed to find in one of my Countrymen: the best Men he wounds with Slanders, and loads the pious with Calumny: and the more wicked and ready to mischief any one is, the more he commends him. In short, in that History of his, which is continued after the Epitome of the noble Historiographer* Boethius, *I find so many Lies, that when I meet with any thing that is true I am very slow in believing it to be so. The same Complaint is likewise made by others, who remembred the time when the things mentioned in this latter part of the History were transacted. But I hope there will be found some better Friend to Truth and his Country, who will blunt his poisoned Pen, expose his Frauds with solid Truth, and publish impartial Annals of those times. Leaving therefore this Man, who, as is well known to eminent Men still living, was a Slave to his Belly and Lust, an Abettor of several Conspiracies against Princes, and Author of some, an obstinate Defender of Heresy both at home and abroad, both in public and private: I come to* Stephen Junius Brutus.'

* Nempe septum posteritatis quos de industria in materiis & filii Regum necem & ignominiam malitia mala compensit. — *He the seven last Books which he maliciously composed on purpose for the shame and destruction of the Queen Mother, and the King.*

(16) Colli. Barclaius, adversus Monarchomach. lib. iii, cap. i, pag. 370.

[*F*] *The Protestants —— have sometimes spoke of him as a Man of no Name or Consequence.*] See here the Words of Mr *Daillon*: a *French* Minister, Refugee in *England*: 'Let them not do us the Injustice to reckon among our Doctors a *Scotch* Poet without any Character, who diverted himself with setting forth his Dreams on Politics (17).' Another *French* Minister did not speak of *Buchanan* with that Disdain; yet he condemned him, and thought it very unjust, That That Author's Republican Maxims should be imputed to those of the Protestant Religion. 'These Maxims of *Buchanan*, 'says he (18), and of *Paræus*, are not our Maxims; 'we have renounced them over and over, nor are 'they to be found in any of our authentic Writings. '—— They are assuredly false in the extent which 'these Authors give them (19).' For a Man who had set up for a Prophet, he had but a very short Prospect of Futurity, as to his own Fate;

(17) Daillon, Examen de l'oppression des Reformez, pag. 11.

(18) Jurieu, Reponse à l'Histoire du Calvinisme de Maimbourg, Tom. II, pag. 287. *Edit in* 4to.

(19) Ibid. pag. 288.

Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futuræ,
Et servare modum rebus sublata secundis (20).

(20) Virgil Æneid. x. ver. 501.

Poor mortals, blind to Fate, do never know,
To bear high Fortune, or endure the Low.

Little did he imagine, that five Years should not come about before he himself would write Pastoral Letters, filled with the Maxims of these two Authors. However it be, that Dialogue of *Buchanan* made a great Noise. One *Adam Blackwood*, of the same Country with *Buchanan*, and Counsellor in the Presidial Court of *Poitiers*, refuted his Countryman as well as he could. A *German*, named *Minianus Vinzetus* did the same. *Barclay*, another *Scot*, and much an abler Man than they, came to the Charge, and had the Malice to say, that *Boucher*, a Doctor of *Sorbonne*, had borrowed his Weapons of *Buchanan*, and some other Heretics (21). The Protestants of *Scotland* made a much more decisive Answer; for the Parliament of the Kingdom condemned that Dialogue of *Buchanan*, his History, and his *Detectio*, and forbad the Sale of them. See in the Remark [*G*], the Citations from *Camden*.

(21) Colli. Barclaius, adversus Monarchomachas, init.

[*G*] *There is room to doubt the Repentance, which* Camden *attributes to him.*] Let us first set down this famous Historian's Words: 'Quid Georgius 'Buchananus hac de re cum in historia, tum in libello, cui Detectio titulum fecit, prodidit, ex libris impressis nemo non novit. Cum autem ille partium studio & Moravii munificentia abreptus ita scripsit, ut libri isti falsitatis damnati sint ab ordinibus Regni Scotiæ, quorum fidei plus tribuendum: & ipse ingemiscens coram Rege, cui fuit Pædagogus, subinde se reprehenderit (ut accepi) quod tam virulentum calamum in Reginam benè meritam strinxisset, moriensque optaverit ut tantisper supersesset, donec maculas, quas maledicentia falso aspersisset, revocatâ veritate, vel sanguine eluisset; nisi (quod ipse dixit) hoc vanum esset, cùm præ ætate delirare videretur (22). —— *It is well known to every Body, from the Books themselves, what* George Buchanan *said of this Affair, both in his History, and in his Detection. But as he was led by Zeal for a Party, and the Munificence of the Earl of* Murray, *to write in such a manner that his Books were condemned for Falsity by the Parliament of* Scotland, *who are more to be credited: and he has often blamed himself with Sighs (as I have heard) in the Presence of the King, whose Preceptor he was, that he had drawn so virulent a Pen against so deserving a Queen, and wished when he was dying, that he might have a little time left to wipe off the Stains which his Slanders had thrown upon her, by witnessing the Truth even with his Blood; but that (as he said) it would be to no purpose, because his Age would make People think that he doted.*' The same Author, under the Year 1584, speaks thus: 'Probrosa 'in Regem, ejus matrem, & Consiliarios scripta, 'nominatim vero Georgii Buchanani Historia, & *de jure regni apud Scotos Dialogus*, interdicta *ut quæ multa culpanda & delenda continerent* (23). —— *Libels*

(22) Cambd. in Annal. Elizabethæ ad Ann. 1567. *init.*

(23) Idem. ad Ann. 1584, pag. 410.

fine Genius, and a fine Writer [*H*]. He has ſucceeded wonderfully in all kinds of *Latin* Verſe, and has wrote very well in Proſe. I cannot tell whether we ought to believe that he had been a Monk [*I*]. He himſelf ſays nothing of it; others affirm it; and his Silence is not a deciſive Proof againſt them. But one may be

' *bels on the King, his Mother, and his Counſellors, were prohibited, and particularly* George Buchanan's *Hiſtory, and Dialogue* de jure Regni apud Scotos, *as containing many things which ought to be ſuppreſſed.*' The ſame Hiſtorian elſewhere aſſures us, than *Buchanan* had no regard to the Deſires of thoſe who would have had him a little before his Death to write for the Rebels Cauſe, and that he ſeemed troubled at having formerly devoted his Pen to them. ' Buchananum tamen inducere non poterant ut hoc eorum factum vel ſcripto libello, vel perſuaſione per nuntium approbaret, qui ſe factioſorum cauſam contra principes jam antea ſuſcepiſſe, dolenter ingemuit, & paulo poſt obiit (24).' Who would not look upon this Teſtimony of *Camden* as ſolid? Yet great abatements muſt be made, for two Reaſons; one is, that it is reported, his Manuſcript was corrected to King *James*'s Mind and Fancy, as we ſhall ſay in a proper place. The other is taken from a Marginal Note which Mr *Varillas* had read. Let us hear him ſpeak: ' There are in the King's Library the five Volumes of the Preſident *Thuanus*'s Hiſtory, in the Margins whereof the youngeſt of Meſſieurs *du Puy* had written with his own Hand the moſt curious Facts that his Brother and he had judged fit to be retrenched from it when it was printed. I have read in the Additions to the fourth Volume, that when *Buchanan* was ready to expire, *James* VI, King of *Scotland*, whoſe Preceptor he had been, made him a Viſit, and adviſed him, for the Diſcharge of his Conſcience, to retract what he had wrote to the Diſadvantage of his Mother, Queen *Mary Stuart*, and that *Buchanan* plainly refuſed it (25).' Thus Mr *Varillas* ſpeaks in his Preface. He touches the ſame Fact in the Body of the Book, but reports it otherwiſe: ' In the Original, *ſays he* (26), of *Thuanus*'s Hiſtory, in the place where the Death of *Buchanan* is ſpoken of, there is written with that illuſtrious Preſident's own Hand, that *James* VI, King of *Scotland*, whoſe Preceptor *Buchanan* had been, honoured him with a Viſit when he was at the Extremity, and preſſed him to retract what he had ſaid againſt the Queen his Mother. That *Buchanan* anſwered, that his Conſcience did not reproach him on that Head, and that he had written the Truth.' Between ſuch contradicting Teſtimonies, as that of *Camden*, and that in *Thuanus*'s Margins, can any one have a reaſonable Certainty of *Buchanan*'s laſt Diſpoſitions? Not in the leaſt: Each of theſe Teſtimonies weakens the other; but we muſt allow that the firſt is without Compariſon ſtronger than the laſt; that is printed; the other is but a Manuſcript: The laſt, according to the Preface of Mr *Varillas*, is only in a Copy of *Thuanus*, but, according to the Body of the Book, it is in the Original of *Thuanus*: according to the Preface, it is of Mr *du Puy* the Younger's Hand; according to the Body of the Book, it is of *Thuanus*'s own Hand. Theſe Variations, and theſe Shufflings, maintain the Preference that *Camden* deſerves. Add to this, that if *Thuanus* approved that Meſſieurs *du Puy* ſhould retrench that Part of his Hiſtory, it is a Sign that he gave no full Credit to it; for his Zeal for the Memory of *Mary Stuart* did not hinder his letting a hundred Things be printed which he had copied from *Buchanan* (27). King *James* reproached *Thuanus*'s Son ſo ſharply for it, that he threw him into a Fit of Sickneſs of three Months (28). I have heard a *Scotch* Lord ſay, that when *Buchanan* was asked on his Death-bed, *Whether he did not repent of what he had written againſt the Authority of Kings, and in particular againſt the Honour of* Mary *Queen of* Scots; he anſwered, *I am going to a Place where there are not many Kings.*

(24) Id. Ibid. ad Ann. 1582, pag. 374.

(25) Varillas's *Preface of the 5th Volume of his* Hiſtoire de l'Hereſie.

(26) Id. liv. xxviii, pag. 171.

(27) *See* Father Orleans's Revolutions d'Angleterre, Tom. II, pag. 490, 491.

(28) Varillas, Reponſe à la Critique de Burnet, pag. 77, 78. *Edit* Holl. *Doctor* Burnet, Defenſe de la Critique, pag 62, *owns the Reproach.*

[*H*] *We cannot refuſe him the Praiſe of a fine Genius, and a fine Writer.*] The way that *Thuanus* has taken to praiſe *George Buchanan* is admirable: Nothing could better give a great Idea of the *Scotchman*'s Parts. ' His Hiſtory of *Scotland*, *ſays he*, ' does not ſeem to be the Work of a Man who ' taught a School, but that of a Perſon employed all his Life-time in the moſt important Affairs of ' State. The Meanneſs of his Condition and Fortune did not hinder *Buchanan* from judging well of the greateſt matters, and writing of them with much Prudence. He was one of thoſe extraordinary Men, who have the Happineſs not to become ' Pedants among the Drudgeries of the School.' The *Latin* of *Thuanus* expreſſes this more nobly and amply; therefore I ſet it down. ' In ſenili otio patriam Hiſtoriam ſcribere aggreſſus eſt. Quam tantâ puritate, prudentia, & acumine ſcripſit (quamvis interdum libertate genti innatâ contra Regium faſtigium acerbior) ut ea ſcriptio non hominem in pulvere literario verſatum, ſed in media hominum luce & in tractandis Reipublicæ negotiis totâ vitâ exercitatum redoleat. Adeo ingenii felicitas & animi magnitudo omnia obſcuræ & humilis fortunæ impedimenta ab eo removerant, ut propterea non minus rectè de maximis rebus judicare & ſcribere prudenter poſſet. Et ſanè memini P. Ronſardum virum acerrimi judicii (qui licet in diſpari fortunâ conſtitutus, totâ vitâ ſcholaſtico otio oblectatus fuerat) cum de Buchanano, Hadr. Turnebo, Ant. Goveano, M. Ant. Muretо (quibuſcum arctâ amicitia conjunctus fuerat) verba faceret, dicere ſolitum, illos Homines nihil Pædagogicæ præter togam & pileum habuiſſe, & tamen de vulgo Pædagogorum ſic cenſere, nunquam incorrigibilis ineptiæ ex Pædagogicâ contractæ characterem vel longiſſimi ævi curriculo deleri poſſe (29). —— *In his retirement in his old age, he undertook to write the Hiſtory of his Country, which he wrote with ſuch Purity, Judgment, and Spirit, (tho' ſometimes, according to the Freedom natural to his Country, a little too ſharp againſt the Prerogative of the King) that That Piece does not ſhew a Man converſant in the Duſt of Schools, but in full view of mankind, and employed all his Life in tranſacting Affairs of State. The happineſs of his Genius, and greatneſs of his Mind, had ſo removed all impediments of his low and mean Fortune, that he was not on that Account leſs capable of judging and writing skillfully of the greateſt matters; and indeed I remember* Ronſard, *a Man of great Penetration, who, though in different Circumſtances, had been delighted all his Life in Scholaſtic Amuſements, when he ſpoke of* George Buchanan, Hadrian Turnebus, Antony Govean, M. Ant. Muret, *with whom he was intimately acquainted, uſed to ſay, that thoſe Men had nothing of the Pedagogue about them beſides the Gown and Cap; and yet, as to the Generality of Pedagogues, he was of Opinion, that the marks of incorrigible Pedantry, contracted from that Profeſſion, could never be aboliſhed in the Courſe of the longeſt Life.*'

(29) Thuan. Hiſtor. lib. lxxvi. pag. 445, 446. *See alſo* Burnet's Hiſtory of the Reformation of *England, Part I, lib.* iii.

[*I*] *I cannot tell whether we ought to believe that he had been a Monk.*] Mr *le Laboureur* affirms it in ſo poſitive a manner, that, to queſtion it, a Man muſt be habituated to follow the *Carteſian* Maxim: Never to ſubſcribe to any thing without an exact Examination. ' *George Buchanan*, ſays he (30), ' a *Scotchman*, firſt a *Franciſcan* in *France*, afterwards Preceptor of the Count *de Briſſac*, and a zealous *Huguenot*, as well known for his Vices, as eſteemed for his fine Wit, if he had not devoted it to Libertiniſm, and for his Learning if he had not abuſed it, was the moſt cruel Enemy of the Perſon and Reputation of that Princeſs, who had ſcreened him in that Kingdom from the Rigour of the Edicts, and ſnatched him, as it were, out of the Fire, and the Hands of the Executioner. He was upon the point of being condemned as an Heretic and Renegado Fryar, and ſhe ſaved him.' *Brantome* ſays indeed, that ſhe ſaved his Life (31), but not as a Renegado Fryar. I much queſtion Mr *le Laboureur*'s Relation: For the firſt piece of Poetry, by which *Buchanan* provoked the *Franciſcans*, is a Dream, wherein he ſuppoſes that St *Francis* appeared to him to exhort

(30) Additions aux Memoirs de Caſtelnau, Tome I, pag. 546.

(31) They are Impoſtors who have ſaid or writ it; and among the reſt, *Buchanan*, in which he but ill requited the kindneſs the Queen had done him in *France*, and in *Scotland*, for the Favour of his Life, and diſcharge from his Sentence. *Brantome, Eloge de Marie Stuart.*

be very well assured, that he did not die an Atheist, in the manner that Mr *Moreri* represents [*K*]. This is not the only Falsity in his Dictionary concerning *Buchanan* [*L*]. Mr *Varillas* was not altogether so exact as is necessary in speaking of this able Man [*M*].

Thuanus

exhort him to take the Habit of his Order (32). Durst he have feigned that he made Answer, *I will not*, if he had actually been a *Franciscan*? The Persecutions, which that first Satire drew upon him from the *Franciscans*, did not blunt his Pen as to them, and chiefly when his Master the King of *Scotland* ordered him to lash them. How comes it that they did not claim him as a Deserter, when they saw him Preceptor to the King's natural Son? How happens it that they accused him only of *Lutheranism*? How comes it that they could only threaten him, while he taught at *Bourdeaux* in the Sight, and to the Knowledge of all *France*? Could a Renegado Fryar, and one suspected of *Lutheranism*, escape in *France* in those times from *Franciscans* stung with Satire. How comes it, if he was a *Franciscan* in *France*, that he durst live in *Paris*, and teach in the College of St *Barbara*? But lastly, how comes it that *Buchanan*, in the Hands of *Portuguese* Inquisitors, who used their utmost Endeavour, for above a Year together, to convict him of Heresy, did not discover that he was charged with having wickedly violated his Vows, and basely deserted the Religion of St *Francis*? If such a thing had been true, it could not have been kept secret, nor been difficult to prove. How comes it once again, that he came safe and sound out of the Hands of these barbarous Inquisitors? When these Demands are satisfied, I may believe he was a *Franciscan*. Neither can I apprehend how the Queen of *Scotland* could have preserved him in *France* from the Rigour of the Edicts. Did he not live with the Mareschal *de Brissac* till the Year 1560? Did he not dissemble his Sentiments on the Head of Religion? Did he not forbear discovering them openly till he came into *Scotland*? What is most probable is, that That Queen annulled the Sentence that had been passed upon him in the Year 1539, after he had escaped out of Prison. This was certainly the only Favour that *Brantome* meant.

(32) Buchanan, in Vitâ sua. *That Poem is in the Collection of Pieces, entitled,* Fratres Fraterrimi.

Mr *Varillas* says (33), that *Buchanan* was a *Franciscan* in 1539, when he was imprisoned upon Account of Heresy; that, coming very young into *France*, he took the Habit of St *Francis* there; that from thence he went to *Portugal*, and there discovered the first Signs of his being a *Lutheran*; that he was eighteen Months in Prison there, and got off by abjuring *Lutheranism*; that he returned into his own Country; that upon his Relapse he was put into the King's Prison; that he would have been condemned to be burnt, if he had not had the Ingenuity to make his Escape out at a Window, and that he relates the Particulars pleasantly (34). This is a continual Series of Lies. It was almost ten Years, before he escaped out of the Prisons of *Scotland*, that he went to *Portugal*. I leave the Care of correcting the other Faults to the Reader.

(33) Histoire de l'Heresie, lib. xxvii, pag. 788.

(34) He says but few Words, upon it, and that without any kind of Merriment.

[*K*] *He did not die an Atheist in the manner that Mr* Moreri *relates.*] This is what he says; 'The 'King sent his Physicians to him, whom he re-'fused to see; and he treated a Minister no better, 'who found him busy reading *Pliny*'s Natural His-'tory. The Minister would have given him the 'Bible, but *Buchanan*, rejecting it with great Indig-'nation, *Go*, said he, shewing him *Pliny*'s Histo-'ry, *I find more Truth in this Book than in all 'your Scriptures.* Thus that Atheist ended his 'Days, and all *Scotland* has witnessed this Fact.' Some Lies cannot be read without Indignation; but as for this, it is more fit to excite Laughter than Anger. *All* Scotland *has witnessed this Fact.* Can any Man cite so much as one grave Author supported by any tolerable Proofs? I should not think I risked very much, if I defyed all Mr *Moreri*'s Friends to do this. And indeed, if that fine Story had the least Ground, *Spondanus*, who is not himself when he speaks of *Buchanan*, would not have failed to have adopted it. I find something like it in the Calendar of Father *l'Enfant*, a *Jacobin* Fryar (35), who quotes the Chronological Treasure of *Peter* of St *Romuald*; but he does not say, *That all* Scotland *has testified that Fact*, but that *all* Scotland *can attest it* (36). This last Expression is more tolerable than the former.

(35) *This I call what the Author entitles,* Histoire generale de tous les siecles de la nouvelle loi. *This Work is in 6 Tomes in* 12mo, *printed at* Paris, 1683.

(36) Under the 25th of *April*, pag. 347.

[*L*] *It is not the only Falsity in his Dictionary concerning* Buchanan.] Mr *Moreri* affirms, I. *That* Buchanan *took the Habit of St* Francis: I do not believe any thing of it (37). II. *That he was convicted of a Design to eat the Paschal Lamb, after the manner of the Jews, and condemned to be burnt.* *Spondanus* reports the same thing, but in stronger Terms; for he affirms that *Buchanan* was taken in the Fact, eating the Paschal Lamb, after the manner of the *Jews*, with some others in the time of *Lent*: *Quod cum aliis quibusdam agnum Paschalem more & ritu Judaico tempore Quadragesimæ comedere repertus fuisset* (38). If this had been true, they would not have let him live three Years in *Bourdeaux*, nor come out of the Prisons of the Inquisition in *Portugal*. III. That, having escaped the Punishment of Fire by Flight, he came into *France*, where he taught a considerable time at *Paris*, in the College of Cardinal *le Moine*, and elsewhere. It is certain, that, when he had escaped out of the Prisons of *Scotland*, he durst not stay in *Paris*, for fear of Cardinal *Beton*, and that he went to *Bourdeaux*. 'Ut Lutetiam venit Cardinalem 'Betonium pessime erga se animatum ibi legatione 'fungi comperit. Itaque ejus iræ se subtraxit, 'Bur-'degalam invitante Andrea Govæano profectus (39). '—*WHEN he came to* Paris *he found Cardinal* 'Beton, *his inveterate Enemy, on an Embassy there. 'Therefore he withdrew himself from his Anger, 'and went to* Bourdeaux, *at the Invitation of* 'Andrew Govæanus." See the Remark [*B*]; you will there find, that if he ever taught in the College of Cardinal *le Moine*, it was not 'till after he had taught three Years at *Bourdeaux*; and thus *Moreri*'s Narrative is defective.

(37) See my Reasons in the Remark [*I*].

(38) Spondan. Annal. Eccles. ad Ann. 1539, n. 7. *He cites* David Camerar. de Scot. lib. iv, cap. ii. Lang in vit. Calvin. cap. i.

(39) Buchan. in vita sua.

[*M*] *Mr* Varillas *was not altogether so exact as is necessary in speaking of this able Man* (40).] If he had been so on such a Subject as this, we should have had great Reason to wonder at it. 'We had seen Authors before him, *says he* (41), 'who wrote Satires against crowned Heads, and 'caused them to be printed in their Life-time, or 'gave them to their Friends to publish them after 'their Death, but we had not 'till then seen any, 'who, after having declared himself against his So-'vereign Lady, so far as to go into *England* to 'depose as a Witness against her, in the criminal 'Process then depending, had continued to per-'secute her after she was beheaded; yet this is a 'Crime which they, who are most partial in fa-'vour of *Buchanan*, must own he was guilty of.' Mr *Varillas* finds some Singularities in the most ordinary Conduct. Never was any Prince judicially dethroned or beheaded by a People, who have Authors among them, without their having first published a thousand scurrilous things against him. Reason will have it so; for they, who proceed to such Extremities, ought at least to testify to the World, that they desire it may be thought they had Reason to act so: And how could they do this, if they scrupled to publish that Prince's ill Life? So that *Buchanan* did no more than go on in the beaten Road. He must not be censured for printing the History of *Mary* after her Death; for if he was in the right in other Respects, that is, if he advanced nothing but the Truth, he would have been very much to blame in suppressing it. This would have been sacrificing living Innocency to a Crime punished with Death (42); it would have been sparing the Memory of a guilty Queen at the Expence of two Nations. Mr *Varillas* is deceived, then, both as to the Fact and as to the Right. As to the Fact, since he says, that never any Example of *Buchanan*'s Conduct was seen. As to the Right, seeing he condemns a Conduct which in case of

(40) *Preface to the Volume of the* Histoire de l'Heresie.

(41) Add to this what is said in the Remark [*I*].

(42) See the Remark [*C*], at the end.

Fidelity

Thuanus informs us of a Particular, which my Readers will be glad to find in this Place [*N*].

Fidelity in the Hiſtorian, is entirely agreeable to Order and right Reaſon. But his ſtrangeſt Miſtake of all is, his pretending that *Buchanan*, who died five Years before the Queen of *Scotland* was beheaded, continued to perſecute her after ſhe was beheaded, and that this is a Crime, his greateſt Friends dare not deny. *No Man in* Scotland, ſays he (43), *was more devoted to Queen* Mary Stuart *than he, 'till ſhe ceaſed to be fortunate.* To me it ſeems that Mr *Varillas* ſtretches a little too much, and yet it is true, that *Buchanan* did at firſt follow that Queen's Party, and praiſed her highly at the Head of his Tranſlation of the *Pſalms*. Mr *Varillas* ſays (44), *That the Earl of* Murray *offered him one of the beſt Places in* Scotland, *which was that of Keeper of the Privy Seal, on Condition he would aſſiſt him to deſtroy Queen* Mary Stuart. This I once thought an Hyperbole, as well as the Primacy which others ſay was promiſed *Buchanan* (45); but I now know that he was Keeper of the Privy Seal, a very conſiderable Place in *Scotland*. In the Preface of *Francis* I, Mr *Varillas* obſerves, *That they had horribly calumniated* Mary of Lotrain, *Queen of* Scotland, *and that all Authors, who ſpake of her, had let themſelves looſe againſt her, on the bare Depoſition of an ungrateful Perſon* (46), *to whom ſhe had given his Life.* He adds, that he has vindicated the Reputation of that Princeſs. Here are at leaſt two Faults; for it is no where ſaid of that Queen, that ſhe *ſaved the Hiſtorian* Buchanan's *Life*; and a Princeſs is not juſtified againſt the Calumnies of an Hiſtorian, when it is declared, that nothing ſhall be ſaid in her Juſtification which that Hiſtorian does not agree to. Now this is what Mr *Varillas* declares with reference to *Buchanan* (47).

(47) Hiſt. de François I, liv. xi, pag. 118, 119.

(43) *Varillas's Preface to the firſt Tome of the* Hiſt. de l'Herese.

(44) Ibid.

[*N*] Thuanus *informs us of a Particular, which my Readers will be glad to find in this Place.*] *Thuanus* relates, That *Elias Vinetus* received Letters every Year from *Buchanan* by *Scotch* Merchants, who came to load Wine at *Bourdeaux*. *Vinetus* ſhewed theſe Letters to *Thuanus*, who obſerved a great deal of Courage in the laſt, tho' it was wrote with a trembling Hand. *Buchanan* complained there not ſo much of the Inconveniences of Old-age, as of the Wearineſs of his long Life: *De ſenectutis incommodis non tam quereba tur, quam de vitæ longioris tædio* (48). He ſaid, that he had left the Court, and was retired to *Stirling*, where he endeavoured only one thing, which was to ſhake off the Company of thoſe who were not like himſelf, with as little Noiſe as poſſible. He meant the Living, and looked upon himſelf as dead. *Interea hoc unum ſatago, ut quam minime cum ſtrepitu ex inæqualium morum hoc eſt mortuis à vivorum contuberuio demigrem* (49). His greateſt Enemies cannot deny but that he was in his Life, once, at leaſt, a Philoſopher, for ſuch Sentiments as theſe would not be diſowned either by the *Stoics* or by the *Brachmans*, unleſs perhaps in regard of ſome ſmall Acceſſories.

(48) Thuan. de Vita ſua, lib. ii, pag. 118. ad Ann. 1582.

(49) Id. ibid.

(45) Spe Induſtus à Moravio ſi hic regno potiretur, ſe in Patriarch am aſſumendum. *Strada de bello Belg. Decad. II, lib.* viii, *ad Ann.* 1587, *pag.* 558. Father *Gauſſin* ſays the ſame in his *Holy Court.*

(46) Buchanan.

BUDÆUS (WILLIAM), in *French* BUDÉ, born at *Paris*, in the Year 1467, and deſcended from an ancient and illuſtrious Family [*A*], was one of the moſt learned Men of his Time in *France*. It may be ſaid that he began to ſtudy ſomewhat late; for although he was ſent early enough to Schools to learn *Latin*, and afterwards to the Univerſity of *Orleans*, to ſtudy the Law, yet he hardly knew any thing at his return from *Orleans*, where he had paſſed three Years. The Barbarouſneſs, which reigned at that time in Colleges, was the cauſe of his going to *Orleans* without underſtanding the *Latin* Authors, and the want of underſtanding them hindered his making any Progreſs in the Civil Law [*B*]. After he returned to his Father's Houſe he loſt much more Time: He ſpent his Days in hunting, and the Pleaſures of Youth, but quitted them after ſome Years, and had ſuch an Inclination for Learning, that the Ardour, wherewith he applied himſelf to Study, is not to be expreſſed. He denied himſelf all kind of Diverſions, and grudged even the neceſſary Hours for his Meals and Sleep. On the very Day of his Wedding, he withdrew from the Company at leaſt three Hours, to ſpend them with

[*A*] Budæus *born at* Paris *in the Year* 1467, *deſcended from an ancient and illuſtrious Family.*] *Lewis le Roi*, the only Author whom I have followed, does not ſet down the Year of his Birth; but as he ſays, that *Budæus* died the Twenty third of *Auguſt*, 1540, in his Seventy third Year, he gives me a Right to place his Birth in the Year 1467. *Moreri*'s Dictionary has a very groſs Fault. There *Budæus*'s Birth is placed in the Year 1476 (1), and his Death on the 26th of *Auguſt* 1540. Yet he is made to live Seventy three Years.

(1) This Fault is originally a Fault of the Preſs. The Tranſpoſition of a ſingle Figure has changed 1467 into 1476.

What we find concerning his Genealogy, in the Work of Mr *Guichenon* is this: 'John *Budé*, Eſq; 'Lord of *Verace*, who ſignalized himſelf at the 'Battle of *Pontcharra*, where he was Lieutenant of a 'Company of *Gendarmes*, belonging to the Lord 'of *Briquemaut*, in the Year 1591 - - - - was Iſſue of 'that ancient Family of the *Budés*, Lords of *Ierre*, 'of *Villiers* on the *Marne*, *Marly*, *Troiſſi*, *la Motte*, 'of *St Loup*, and other Places, which takes Place 'among the beſt Families of the Iſle of *France*, 'and of *Paris*; for he was the Son of another 'John *Budé*, Eſq; Lord of *Verace*, and of *Mary* 'de *Jouan*, Daughter of *Regerin de Jouan*, Eſq; 'Lord of *Jomvilliers* in *Beauſſe*: The ſaid *John* '*Budé* was Son of *William Budé*, Knight, Lord 'of *Marly* and *Villeneufve*, Counſellor and Maſter 'of the Requeſts to the great King *Francis*, and 'of *Roberta le Lyeur*, Daughter of *Roger le Lyeur* 'Lord of *Bois-benard*, and *Malemains*, and *Iſabella* 'de *Lailly*. - - - - - This *William* - - - - - was Son 'of *John Budé*, Lord of *Ierre*, of *Villiers* on the 'Marne, and of *Marly*, and of *Catherine le Picart*, Daughter of *John le Picart*, Lord of 'Platteville, *Sivrey*, and *la Boiſſeliere*, and of 'Catherine de Poncher, Daughter of *Francis de* 'Poncher, Knight and Chamberlain to the Kings, 'John, Charles V, and Charles VI, Bailiff of 'Touraine, and of *Margaret de Dormans*: And the 'ſaid *John Budé*, Lord of *Ierre*, was Son of 'Dreux Budé, Lord of the ſame Places; and the 'ſaid *Dreux Budé*, Son of another *Dreux Budé*, 'Lord of *Villiers* on the *Marne*, and of *Ierre*, 'and this *Dreux Budé* was Son of *John Budé*, 'who lived under *Charles* V (2).

(2) Guichenon Hiſt. de Breſſe, Parte III, pag. 251, 252.

[*B*] *He went to* Orleans *without underſtanding the* Latin *Authors, and his Ignorance in them hindered him from making any Progreſs in the Civil Law.*] 'Quo in Gymnaſio triennium verſatus operam pene omnem perdidit. Neque enim ignarus Latinæ Linguæ & ab aliis diſciplinis impæratus artem illam reconditam & multiplicem ſubtilemque cui ſeſe dediderat cognitione & ſcientia 'poterat comprehendere (3). - - - - - *In which* 'Univerſity *he ſpent three Years, and loſt moſt of his time. For as he was ignorant of the* Latin 'Tongue, *and unprovided with any other Literature, he could not learn nor comprehend that abſtruſe, extenſive, and ſubtile Art, to which he had applied himſelf.*'

(3) Lud. Regius in Vita Budæi initio.

with his Books. *It was in vain to tell him that he would impair his Health* [C], and ſlip Opportunities of making his Fortune: Nothing was able to abate his Ardour. The vaſt Learning he acquired by addicting himſelf ſo cloſely to Study, would be leſs matter of Wonder, had he had good Maſters who might at leaſt have ſerved for Guides; or if he had had Companions whoſe Parts had given him, together with a great Emulation, an inſtructive Parallel: But he found none whoſe Diſciple he could be [D], nor any one to keep up with him in that Career. So that it may be ſaid, he ſtudied only under himſelf [E]. One of the things he ſtudied with the greateſt Application, was the *Greek* Tongue, and he begun it when he had a mind to give public Marks of the Progreſs he had made in Learning: For the firſt Work he publiſhed, is a Tranſlation of ſome Treatiſes of *Plutarch*. He afterwards publiſhed his *Notes on the Pandects* [F], and then his Treatiſe *de Aſſe*, &c. The Glory of being the firſt who cleared the nice Matter concerning the Coins and Meaſures of the Ancients, had been conteſted with him [G], but he ſhewed that they ſhould not eaſily wreſt that Crown from him. How great ſoever

[C] *He applied himſelf ſo cloſely to ſtudy - - - - that he was told that he would impair his Health*] Some very ingenious Perſons pretend that the Event ſhewed the Vanity of thoſe Threats, and that he *preſerved his Health entire* (4). But others ſay, that he fell into a long and tedious Sickneſs, and that a Head-ach, which returned every Day, obliged the Phyſicians to order him a kind of Trepanning (5). The Operation was very painful, but very unſucceſsful. 'In gravem & diuturnum morbum eſt prolapſus, quo annos plus viginti ita afflictatus eſt, ut omnis prope hilaritas è fronte, alacritas ex animo, feſtivitas in occurſu, urbanitas & comitas in convictu eximeretur, ingraveſcens quoque indies literarum amor infringeretur, ne veſtigium quidem ejus nec ſimulachrum, ſed quædam effigies ſpirantis mortui appareret (6). - - - - - *He fell into a grievous and lingring Diſtemper, with which he was afflicted for above twenty Years; ſo that he loſt all his Chearfulneſs of Countenance, Alacrity of Mind, Pleaſantneſs in Addreſs, Civility and Mildneſs in Converſation, and even his growing Love of Learning was quite overcome; ſo that there remained not the leaſt Sign or Likeneſs of the Man, but a kind of Effigy of a breathing dead Man.*' It is no wonder that ſuch long and ſtubborn Indiſpoſitions ſhould make him chagrin, and produce ſo many Alterations in his Body and Mind.

(4) *See* Enfans celebres par leurs études, *Article* LXXXVIII, *Paragraph* 10.

(5) Lud. Regius in vita Budæi, pag. 50, 52.

(6) Id. Ibid.

[D] *He found no Body whoſe Diſciple he could be.*] Some Limitation muſt be given to theſe general Terms; for it is certain that *George Hermonymus*, a Native of *Lacedæmon*, *John Laſcaris*, and *James Faber* of *Etaples*, had taught our *William* ſomething. As ſoon as he heard that *Hermonymus* was arrived at *Paris*, he ſecured him to himſelf by a great Salary: 'Quem Budæus nactus magna mercede conductum ad ſe accerſivit, & antequam dimitteret amplius quingentis nummis aureis donavit (7). - - - - - *Whom when* Budæus *found, he agreed with him for a large Salary, and took him to his Houſe, and before he diſcharged him gave him above Five hundred Pieces of Gold.*' *Hermonymus* read *Homer*, and other principal Authors to him; but as he did not underſtand them himſelf, ſo he was not able to explain them. 'Huic Græco cum aliquot annos operam dediſſet, & eo prælegente audiviſſet Homerum authoreſque alios inſignes, nihilo doctior eſt factus. Neque enim præceptor ille plura docere quam ſciret poterat (8). - - - - *When he had ſtudied ſome Years under this* Greek, *and had heard him read* Homer, *and other noted Authors, he was not a whit the better; for the Maſter could not teach him more than he knew.*' *John Laſcaris* came to *Paris*, a little after. He conceived a great Eſteem for *Budæus*, ſeeing him inclined to the *Greek* Tongue; but he gave him only twenty Leſſons in all (9). *James Faber* taught him the Mathematics; but the Scholar apprehended with ſo much Eaſe all that the Maſter propoſed, that he quickly drained him of all his Knowledge. The latter, though he was largely paid for his Leſſons, was ſooner weary of teaching, than the other of being taught. 'Mathematicas diſciplinas a Jacobo Fabro nobili Philoſopho didicit: ad quas tantum ingenii & alacritatis initio attulit, ut evolare non excurrere videretur. Itaque dum Faber multa proponit, Budæus omnia aſſequitur, eò res venit, ut prius ille docendo defatigaretur, etſi magnam mercedem accipiebat, quam hic diſcendo. Neminem prætera audivit (10).

(7) Ibid. pag. 38.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid. pag. 39. *See alſo* Budæus's *Letter to* Tonſtal; *it is the* 30*th of the* 2*d Book of thoſe of* Eraſmus, *pag.* 155.

(10) Lud. Reg. in Vita Budæi, pag. 39.

[E] *It may be ſaid, that he ſtudied only under himſelf.*] He repreſented the two notable Circumſtances of his Studies in *Greek* Words; the one that he begun them late; the other, that he had no Maſters; I ſay he repreſented them, by the Terms of *αὐτομαθὴς τὰ καὶ ὀψιμαθὴς*, in a Letter he wrote to *Eraſmus*, which was ſhewed to *Cuthbert Tonſtal* (11). He afterwards wrote a Letter to the latter, wherein he made him a pretty long Deſcription of his manner of ſtudying. He owns, that after his Return from the Univerſity of *Orleans*, he paſſed ſome Years in doing nothing, but what young Folks do who know nothing. 'Domum reverſus ſalutem dixi literis, ſtudiis utique indulgens juventutis illiteratæ, quoad poſt aliquot annos intra paternos parietes clàm ſtudere mecum ipſe inſtitui (12).' He ſays in another place, that beſides thoſe two Things, there was a third which obliged him to apply himſelf extraordinarily to ſtudy; to wit, that he had not much Penetration. 'Omnia majorem in modum facere atque etiam maximum mihi neceſſe erat homini nec ingenio felici prædito, & qui in adoleſcentiæ clauſula non dico diſcipulus, ſed tantum tyrunculus hujus ſtudii eſſe cœpiſſem, & vero gentilis illius Ariſtippi qui Metrodidactus adpellatus eſt: denique qui à memet ipſo omnia mutuarer, ſi quidem nullus erat unde rogare poſſem (13). - - - - *I was obliged to labour the harder in every thing, even very hard, not being a Man of a happy Genius; and becoming, I will not ſay a Scholar, but a Beginner in thoſe kind of Studies, not 'till my Youth was almoſt ſpent, and alſo a-kin to* Ariſtippus, *who was called* Metrodidactus; *and in ſhort took every thing from myſelf, having no body to enquire of.*'

(11) *It is the* 11*th of the* 1*ſt Book, pag.* 32.

(12) Epiſt. XXX. lib. II. Eraſmi, pag. 155.

(13) Budæus de Philologia, lib. I, Operum Tom. I, pag. 35.

[F] *He publiſhed Notes on the Pandects.*] That is to ſay, on the Twenty four firſt Books of the *Pandects*. The Epiſtle dedicatory to the Chancellor of *France*, *Joannes Deganaius*, *John de Ganay*, is dated at *Paris*, the fourth of *November* 1508. *Badius* publiſhed an Edition in 1530, corrected and augmented; he had printed the Sequel of that Work in the Year 1528.

[G] *The Glory of being the firſt who cleared - - - - - the Coins and Meaſures of the Ancients was conteſted with him.*] An *Italian*, called *Leonardus Portius*, pretended to have the only rightful Title to that Glory; as ſoon as *Budæus* heard of it, he was down-right angry, and declared, he was indebted to no living Perſon for what he had publiſhed on that matter, and that *Portius* had pirated him. 'Quod cum eſt ad Budæum allatum, graviter exarſit, quod nihil tam præter opinionem accidiſſet, quam ut depelleretur de ejus laudis poſſeſſione, quam caducam & vacuam primus bona fide occupaſſet, & ſine cujuſquam injuria quaſi uſucepiſſet. Igitur vehementiſſima animi, ingenii, virium, contentione jus ſuum defendit, atque hoc ipſum palam teſtatus eſt, à nullo ſe unquam homine duntaxat qui viveret, his de rebus quas tradidiſſet, quicquam didiciſſe vel fando vel legendo: tantumque abeſſe ne quid à Portio acceperit, ut omnia quæ ſub nomine Portii ad eam prodierant, illa uno eodem continuato perpetuoque

soever the Services are that he did the Republic of Letters by his Writings, we may affirm that it is not on that account that it is most obliged to him. He behaved himself in such a manner, that his great Learning did not render him odious to the Inquisitors; so that his Reputation remaining sound and entire, was a powerful Protection to Literature, which many endeavoured to stifle in the Birth, as the Mother and Nurse of Opinions which did not please the Court of *Rome* [*H*]. He was

' perpetuoque furto essent ex suo Asse translata. Ac
' æmulo illi sempiternam notam ac ignominiam
' inussisset, nisi intercessissent amici (14). —— *When*
' Budæus *heard this he was extreamly angry, for*
' *nothing could have happened more contrary to his*
' *Expectation, than that this Honour should be taken*
' *from him, which he fairly took Possession of when*
' *it was decayed, and belonged to no body, and had*
' *obtained as it were by Prescription without Injury*
' *to any body. And therefore he defended his Right*
' *with exceeding Warmth and Vigour, and publickly*
' *declared, that he had not learnt from any Man liv-*
' *ing, either by Discourse or Reading, any thing at*
' *all relating to what he had writ, and that he was*
' *so far from taking any thing from* Portius, *that*
' *all that had been printed under the Name of* Por-
' tius, *on that Subject, was one entire and absolute*
' *Transcript from his Book* de Asse. *And he would*
' *have branded his Rival with a Mark of perpetual*
' *Infamy, if Friends had not interposed.*' *John Las-*
caris, who was a Friend to both, hindered that Quarrel from going any further, and, by dint of Intreaty, obtained that *Budæus* should not insert in the second Edition the sharp Discourse that he had made against *Portius*. The Author confessed, when the Heat of his Anger was over, that he had been too passionate; and this made him resolve never to be moved more by the Attacks which might be made on him. He let People say what they pleased, and peaceably suffered *Agricola* to assume what share he pleased in that Honour (15).

(14) Lud Regius in vitâ Budæi, pag. 61.

(15) Ibid. pag. 64.

At the time that he writ his Book of *The Institution of a Prince*, he had only received some Applause for his Work *de Asse*. He gloried in it, but without exceeding the Bounds of Modesty. As he expressed himself in a manner that may serve for a Pattern to other great Persons, I shall make no difficulty to recite his own Words, though his Stile is somewhat harsh. ' A vostre tresdesiré & ' tresheureux advenement à la trosnoble Coronne de ' FRANCE, (*he addresses himself to* Francis I.) ' qui fut le jour des Calendes de Janvier. —— Je ' parachevay & mis en avant & evidence, le livre des ' poix & mesures, nombres, monoyes, & toute la ' maniere de compter des anciens tant Grecs, que ' Latins, auquel j'ay monstré & estimé les richesses ' des grands Royaulmes, Principaultés, Domina-' tions, & Empires, dont les Histoires font mention. ' Et le tout reduict à la monoye de present. Et ' en ce faisant, ay esclarcy & interpreté grand nom-' bre de lieux & passaiges, sans rien obmettre à mon ' pouvoir & sçavoir tant ès histoires, que ès aultres ' Autheurs Grecs & Latins. Lesquelz au paravant ' estoient mal entenduz, combien que plusieurs gens ' sçavants s'en feussent mis en effect: & pense qu'il ' me sera permis, d'en dire ce petit mot, sans aul-' cune arrogance, puis que aulcuns plus sçavants que ' moy estrangers, & aultres le confessent, ainsy que ' aulcuns de leurs Livres le tesmoignent, qui par ' elux ont esté depuis publiés par impression. Et en ' cela seulement je me vouldroye maintenir avoir ' mieulx faict, ou par adventure mieulx remonstré ' en cest endroict, que les autres. Car j'ay esté tout ' seul opinant de ceste matiere contre tous ceulx, ' qui paravant moy ont escript, & mesmes depuis ' cent ans, ou au moins tout aulrement qu'ilz n'ont ' faict. Qui a esté la cause & le moyen du grand ' labeur, & du temps de quinze moys que j'ai occu-' pé à entendre & escripre ceste matiere, & la me-' ner jusques à resolution finale, & conclusion du ' Livre (16). —— Nul ne s'est encore depuis appa-' ru, qui en ce m'ayt ouvertement contredict. ' Mais y en a (comme dict est) qui l'ont expresse-' ment approué: combien que au reste des choses ' concernentes le faict des bonnes lettres, je me ' repute moindre que les aultres, ainsy que la rai-' son le veult, & ma congnoissance le juge: Et ' mesmement que ceulx mesmes, contre lesquelz ' j'ay esté d'opinion contraire en ceste matiere. Car ' je confesse avoir beaucoup apprins d'eulx en aul-' tres choses, comme de gens de souveraine science ' & industrie. Dont la plus part sont allés de vie, ' à trespas. Mais un homme moyen en intelli-' gence de sçavoir, & moindre que mediocre, com-' me je suis, peult bien surmonter un grand & ' excellent homme en une intention, en laquelle ' il s'est fort addonné, jaçoit ce que en aultres ' choses il ne soit egal à luy (17). - - - - *At the*
' *time of your most desired and happy Accession to*
' *the most noble Crown of* FRANCE (he addres-
' ses himself to *Francis* I) *which was on the first of*
' January. - - - - *I finished and published my Book*
' *on Weights, Measures, Numbers, Coins, and the*
' *several ways of accounting among the Ancients,*
' *both* Greeks *and* Latins, *in which I have shewn,*
' *and made an Estimate of, the Riches of the great*
' *Kingdoms, Principalities, Dominions, and Empires,*
' *mentioned by Historians, and reduced the whole to*
' *the Money of the present Time. In the Course of*
' *the Work I have cleared up and interpreted a great*
' *many Places and Passages, omitting nothing in my*
' *Power, either in the Historians, or the other Greek*
' *and* Latin *Authors; which before were not well*
' *understood, though several learned Men had at-*
' *tempted them; and I believe I shall be allowed to*
' *say thus much without Arrogance, since both Foreig-*
' *ners and others, more learned than myself, own it,*
' *as some of their Books since printed testify. And*
' *it is in this only that I would insist that I have*
' *done better, or given clearer Explications in this*
' *particular, than others. For I was single in my*
' *Opinion of this Matter, contrary to, or, at least,*
' *widely differing from all who had writ before me,*
' *even for a hundred Years. For which reason, it*
' *has cost me a great deal of Labour, and fifteen*
' *Months time to understand and write these matters,*
' *and bring the Work to a Conclusion.* - - - - *No-*
' *body has hitherto appeared since, who has openly*
' *contradicted me; but there are some (as has been*
' *said) who have expressly given their Approbation*
' *of it. Notwithstanding, in other things relating to*
' *Literature, I think myself inferior to many others,*
' *as in reason I ought, and my own Understanding*
' *tells me I am, even than some whose Opinions I*
' *have contradicted in this Matter. For I confess I*
' *have learned a great deal from them in other*
' *things, as being Men of superior Learning and*
' *Industry. The greatest part of them are dead and*
' *gone. But a Man of moderate Understanding and*
' *Learning, as I am, and less than ordinary, may*
' *easily surmount great and excellent Men in a Design*
' *to which he has applied himself very much, though*
' *in other respects he be in no wise equal to them.*'

(17) Id ibid. pag. 287.

(16) Budæus *of The Institution of a Prince, chap. 45. pag. 286.*

[*H*] *His Reputation was a powerful Protection to Literature, which many endeavoured to stifle in the Birth, as the Mother and Nurse of Opinions, which did not please the Court of* Rome.] It is better, for some Reasons, to explain this in *Louis le Roi*'s Words than my own. ' Cum in maximis, *says he* (18), ' opinionum procellis & turbulentissimis tempesta-' tibus ingens Græcæ linguæ conflata esset invidia, ' quod harum stirps, & semen malorum omnium ' videretur, cum odii faces undique ab improbis ' præferrentur, cum in perturbatione veteris disci-' plinæ spem haberent inimici ad elegantiam lite-' rarum non dignitatem modo extinguendam (19), ' sed etiam gloriam per principes viros infringen-' dam, cum in his asperitatibus rerum eruditi ple-' rique de religione suspecti haberentur, nec satis ' esset inter impertitorum greges tuti: hic suis ' non modò integra mente, verùm etiam existima-' tione permansit. Nihil in ejus vita aut in oratione ' quisquam potuit invenire, quod jure reprehen-' deret. Quod labenti rei literariæ certissimum ' præsidium attulit. Nisi enim is contigisset orbæ ' politiori doctrinæ quasi legitimus tutor, qui erat ' apud Principem, in senatu, in concionibus exa-' gitatam tueretur, ac tantisper dum invidia consi-' deret,

(18) Lud Regius in Vitæ Budæi, pag. 83.

(19) *Compare with this Erasmus's Letter, cited above in the Remark* [*I*] *of the Article* BORE (CATHERINE DE).

was mightily admired by the Court of *France* [*I*], as soon as his Learning was known; but he forbore going to Court as much as possible, till he discovered *Francis* the First's Inclination for Learning. It was when the Court was at *Ardres*, at the time of the Interview between that Prince and the King of *England*, that *Francis* I ordered our *William Budæus* first to attend him [*K*]. From that time forward

'deret, domi septam teneret liberali custodia, atque à sceleratorum hominum impetu prohiberet, haud dubiè nostris finibus coacta esset excedere. '—— *In the greatest Storms, and turbulent Tempests of Opinions, when the Greek Tongue was extremely ill thought of, as seeming to be the Source and Fountain of all these Evils; when wicked Men every where studied to throw an Odium on it; when the Enemies of ancient Learning had hopes in the Confusion, not only to extinguish the Elegance and Dignity of Literature, but also to destroy it's Reputation by help of great Men, and in that uneasy State of Affairs, many learned Men were suspected of Heresy, and were scarce safe among the ignorant Multitude: He alone stood untainted either in Mind or Reputation. No Man could find any thing blame worthy in his Life or Discourse, which proved a powerful Protection to the falling State of Literature. For had not he appeared as a lawful Guardian of abandoned polite Literature, to defend it with the King, in the Senate, and public Assemblies, and generously taken it home and kept it a while there, under cover, from malicious Men till Envy, was quieted, it would certainly have been driven out of our Country.'

[*I*] *He was much admired by the Court of* France.] He was known there before the Death of *Charles* VIII. That Prince, having heard that *Budæus* was a very learned Man, was desirous to see him, and ordered him to come to Court; but did not live long enough to advance him. He informs us of this himself. 'A Carolo ego commodum in aulam 'accersitus fueram, cum ille repentino casu subtrahor 'est: exierat jam rumusculus quidam studiorum 'meorum qui ad eum permanaverat nihil minus 'me agente (30). —— *I had been called to Court by King* Charles, *when he was suddenly taken off: Some Report had been spread of my Learning, which reached his Ears, while I thought nothing at all of it.*' Guy of *Rochefort*, Chancellor of *France*, procured that Honour for our *Budæus*, as is observed in the eighty ninth Page of his Life. *Lewis* XII, Successor of *Charles* VIII, employed *Budæus* twice on Embassies into *Italy*, and afterwards made him one of his Secretaries. 'De 'maximis rebus legatum in Italiam misit cum ali-'quot proceribus suis: quibus in legationibus sic fi-'dem suam, diligentiam, ingenium regi probavit, 'ut magnam gratiam ab eo ipso iniret, ac paulo 'mox in scribarum regiorum numerum adscribe-'retur (31). —— *He sent him, with some of the Nobility, Embassador into* Italy *on very important Affairs; in which Embassies he gave the King such proofs of his Fidelity, Diligence, and Ability, that he was taken into great Favour, and was soon after made one of the King's Secretaries.*' He would have been made Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, 'had he not chose to husband his 'time for his Studies, rather than engage in an Office 'that would have occasioned too great a Diversion.

[*K*] *It was when the Court was at* Ardres, —— *that* Francis I *ordered him to attend him the first time.*] I do not think myself in the wrong, in generally following this Rule, That an Author who, writes the Life of a Man, is more to be relied on, than they who only mention him occasionally. Yet this does not hinder me from believing, that, in certain Cases, we ought to prefer what we read in other Books, before that which we find in a written Life: I give an Example of it in this Remark. *Lewis le Roi* does not only not say, that *Francis* I sent *William Budæus* to *Rome* to negotiate with Pope *Leo* X, but expressly remarks that *Budæus* was not sent for to the Court of *Francis* I, before that Prince was at *Ardres* to confer with the King of *England*: 'PRIMUM evocatus *Ar-'dem*, quem in locum rex quoque Britannorum 'Henricus convenerat, cum tanti conventus splen-'dore excitatus, tum admirabili fama incredibilium 'virtutum sui principis incensus, sanè quam libenter 'regis imperio obtemperavit, atque eò magis quod 'virtutis, & literarum ergo se intelligebat accersiri (22). —— *He was first called by the King to* Ardres, *whither* Henry, *King of* Great Britain, *was also come to a Conference; excited by the Splendor of so great an Appearance, and animated with the extraordinary Fame of the incredible Virtue of his Prince, he very gladly obeyed, and the rather because he understood that he was sent for on Account of his Virtue and Learning.*' The Interview of *Ardres* happened in the Year 1520. It would therefore be false, according to *Lewis le Roi*, that our *William* negotiated for *Francis* I, with *Leo* X, in the Year 1515. Yet I dare not dispute the Embassy which Mr *Varillas* mentions under the Year 1515. 'Budæus was not unskillful in Negotiations, although he had lived at *Paris* without any other Conversation but that of his Books. The Academy of *Rome*, which had never been so polite since the Age of *Augustus*, as it was at that time, gave him an extraordinary Reception, and he quickly acquired the Familiarity of the Pope, because he excelled chiefly in the Knowledge of the *Greek* Antiquities, which the Pope himself pretended to (23).' The same Author adds, that the Objections, which the Pope made, supplied *Budæus* with a Field large enough to shew his profound Learning, and that the Pope who desired nothing more than to prolong the Negotiation, and conclude nothing, took care not to interrupt him, or make him perceive the Digressions in which he engaged himself insensibly. 'But *on the contrary, his Holiness created from* time to time new Occasions for them.' *Add to this, what he says in his Preface;* 'Budæus's Example serves admirably to shew that a Person is not the more fit to negotiate nice Affairs, because he is one of the most learned of his Age: And I ought to receive Thanks for having remarked this, if it were only for the Rarity of the Matter:" But how could Mr *Varillas* say, *That* Budæus *had lived in* Paris *without any other Conversation than that of his Books*, if the two Embassies under *Lewis* XII be true? Does not he make it plainly appear, that he was not only ignorant of what *Lewis le Roi* said, but also of what *Budæus* insinuates? *Budæus* represents to *Cuthbert Tonstal*, how he had managed himself in his Studies; he owns he had seen divers learned Persons in *Italy*, and adds that he had no leisure to be acquainted with them, because he was charged with public Affairs. 'Interim bis Romam adii urbesque insignes 'Italiæ, doctos ubi homines per transennam vidi 'potius quam audivi, & literarum meliorum Pro-'fessores tanquam à limine salutavi, quantum scilicet 'homini licuit Italiam raptim peragranti nec libera 'legatione (24). - - - *In the mean time I went twice to* Rome, *and the most noted Cities of* Italy, *where I had a slight Glance of the learned Men rather than heard them, paid my Respects to the Professors of Literature at their Doors, as it were, as much as a Man could do, who passed through* Italy *in a hurry, and confined by an Embassy.*' Lastly, I observe, that he was become a Courtier of *Francis* the First's Court, before that Prince's Interview with *Henry* VIII. This appears from a Letter of *Erasmus*, dated in *February* 1519 (25), wherein he writes to *Budæus*: 'Quomodo tibi successerit 'expeditio quemadmodum vocas aulica, partim ex 'tuis ad Ludovicum Vivem literis intellexi. - - - 'How your Court Expedition, as you call it, succeeded, I partly learn from your Letter to Ludovicus Vives.' It appears yet more plainly from a Letter of *Budæus*, wherein he speaks of a Journey he was to take with *Stephen Poncher*, newly promoted to the Archbishopric of *Sens*. 'Episcopus Parisiensis jam Senonensis Archiepiscopus factus 'est liberalitate regia, etsi nondum res peracta est. 'Totus jam est mihi, nec nobis licet cum eo loqui.

'Quodam

(30) Budæus de Philologia, lib. 1.

(31) Lud. Regius in Vita Budæi, pag. 88.

(22) Ibid. pag. 90.

(23) Varillas, Histoire de François I, lib. 1, pag. 32. *He cites in the Margin*, In the Negotiation of *Budæus*, Master of Requests, and Library-Keeper to the *King, with Leo* X, in 1515. Sammarthanus *in his Elogies, pag. 6, speaks thus.* Vir tanta animi contentione bluis operatus à civilibus interim negotiis & Reipubl. curam non abfuit. Nam & à Francisco primo in aulam sæpe accersitus & Romam de belli societate cum Leone summo Pontifice adversus Cæsarem & Helvetios contrahenda unà cum aliquot regni proceribus ab eodem principe legatus est. *He says nothing of Embassies under* Lewis XII.

(24) Epistol. Erasmi xxx, lib. ii, pag. 556.

(25) *The 70th of the 3d Book, pag.* 262.

forward he took pleaſure in hearing him diſcourſe; he committed his Library to him, and gave him a Place of Maſter of Requeſts. At the ſame time the Town-Houſe of the City of *Paris*, elected him Provoſt of the Merchants. He was one of the chief Promoters of the Deſign, which *Francis* I. afterwards executed, of founding Profeſſorſhips at *Paris* for the Languages and Sciences. He had a Difference with *Anthony du Prat*, Chancellor of *France*, which was the reaſon why he appeared no oftener at Court than his Place required; but the time came when he was ſeldom any where elſe; for his good Friend *Poyet* was promoted to the Office of Chancellor, and would have *Budæus* almoſt conſtantly with him. The exceſſive heats of the Year 1540 obliged *Francis* I. to make a Progreſs to the Coaſts of *Normandy*, in hopes of finding a cooler Air. *Budæus* went that Progreſs, and fell into a Fever, which made him earneſtly wiſh himſelf at home: He had his Wiſh, but did not recover; he only had the Satisfaction of dying amidſt his own Family, which was numerous (*a*) [*L*]. The Date of his Death has been falſified by ſeveral Writers [*M*], which is very ſtrange, conſidering the Glory that diſtinguiſhed his Reputation. The manner, in which he deſired to be buried, produced ſome Suſpicions about his Religion [*N*], which were much increaſed by

(*a*) *Taken from his Life, compoſed by* Lewis le Roi.

' Quodam tamen die, cum in interiori cubiculo ' Principis eſſet, dixit mihi ſe ad te ſcribere ſta- ' tuiſſe. Iturus eſt propediem in legationem Nar- ' bonem verſus cum aulicorum diſpenſatorum de- ' curione: cum quo etiam ire me Rex juſſit, ut ' numerus ſim potius quam ut aliquam operam ' certam navem in ea provincia: ſic enim inter- ' pretor (26). ---- *The Biſhop of* Paris *is now by* ' *the King's Bounty made Archbiſhop of* Sens, *though* ' *the Buſineſs is not quite finiſhed. He is now* ' *wholly taken up with the Court, and I cannot* ' *ſpeak with him. But one Day, in the King's* ' *Bed-chamber, he told me he deſigned to write to* ' *you. He will go ſhortly on an Embaſſy to* Nar- ' bonne *with one of the Crown Officers: the King* ' *has alſo ordered me to go with him, to fill up the* ' *Number, rather than to do any particular Buſi-* ' *neſs, for ſo I underſtand it.*' He does not note the Year in the Date of that Letter; but it is plain, he wrote it while the Court was in a Ferment on Occaſion of the Death of the Emperor *Maximilian*. That Emperor died the twelfth of *January*, 1519.

(26) Epiſt. Eraſmi lix, lib. iii, pag. 245.

[*L*] *His Family ---- was numerous.*] He left ſeven Sons and four Daughters; there is nothing more ſaid of them in his Hiſtory: but I have read in other Books, that, becauſe he had a great Number of Sons and Grandſons, he deſired he might be buried by Night, foreſeeing, that if they buried him by Day, there would have been too much crying of little Children, and of thoſe of his Family. The Author, who informs me of this, notes that *Budæus*'s Wife was ſo far from hindring her Huſband from ſtudying, that ſhe ſerved him for a Helpmate as well in the Cloſet as in the Bed, and looked out the Paſſages and the neceſſary Books for him. I do not tranſlate literally, as will ſoon be perceived, but I think I do not deviate from my Author's Thought. ' Nec Budæum à literis uxor avo- ' cavit, ſed magis in iis confirmavit, quam ſibi in ' Muſarum ſacrario ſemper aſſidentem, & aliquid li- ' brorum in manibus habentem, non tantum vitæ, ' ſed ſtudiorum quoque ſociam & commiſtionem no- ' minabat: nec eundem magnus liberorum nepo- ' tumque numerus in ſtudiis interpellavit, qui qui- ' dem dicitur fuiſſe tantus, ut antequam morere- ' tur, noctu ſuum funus efferri, tumularique man- ' daret, ut aliquo modo compeſceret fletum eju- ' latumque puerorum, quem futurum non obſcure providebat (27). —— *Nor did* Budæus*'s Wife di-* ' *vert him from Literature, but rather confirmed* ' *him in it; as ſhe was extreamly fitting by him* ' *in his Study, with ſome Book or other in her* ' *Hand, he called her his Companion, and Fellow-* ' *Soldier, not only in Life but in Study: nor did* ' *the great Number of his Children and Grand Chil-* ' *dren interrupt him in his Studies, though they are* ' *ſaid to have been ſo many, that, before he died, he* ' *ordered that his Corps ſhould be buried privately in* ' *the Night, to prevent, in ſome Meaſure, the weep-* ' *ing and crying of Children, which he foreſaw there* ' *would be.*' I have read one of *Budæus*'s Letters (28), wherein he only ſays, that the Careſſes of his Wife were not able to divorce him from his Books: He does not ſay, that he found in her a Help as to his Studies. He repreſents himſelf as married to two Wives; one, who brought him Sons and Daughters, the other Philology, which produced him Books. He had been married twelve Years when he writ that Letter, and he had had ſix Sons and one Daughter (29) by that time. Philology was not ſo fruitful; *Budæus* had produced fewer Books than Children. He had laboured more with the Body than the Soul, but he hoped that at the long-run he ſhould leave more Books than Children. He ſaid the Fertility of the Soul ſhould have it's turn, it will raiſe itſelf on the Ruins of that of the Body: The prolific Virtue is not given all at once to the natural Organs, and to the Pen. ' Sic enim ſtatue- ' bam mihi eſſe faciendum, ut conjugem quidem ' legitimam haberem liberorum parentem, ex Philo- ' logia autem libros, id eſt, nominis mei æternam ' memoriam, prolemque immortalem gignerem. ' Liberos jam plures aliquanto quam libros genui, ' plus corpori fortaſſe quam animo indulgens. Poſt- ' hæc (ut ſpero) marceſcente corpore, animus in- ' dies vegetior & vividior fiet, utrumque autem ſi- ' mul ex æquo prolificum eſſe nequit, ſed cum ' emeritæ facultates corporis eſſe cœperint, tum de- ' mum viribus animi ſtipendia plenè procedent (30). ' —— *For I had come to this Reſolution in myſelf,* ' *that I would take a lawful Wife by whom I might* ' *have Children, and of Philology beget Books, that* ' *is, an eternal Memorial of my Name, and an im-* ' *mortal Offspring. Now I have got more Children* ' *than I have brought forth Books, perhaps becauſe I* ' *indulge my Body more than my Mind. Hereafter* ' *(I hope) as my Body declines, my Mind will grow* ' *ſtronger and more lively; both cannot be alike proli-* ' *fic at once; but when the Faculties of the Body be-* ' *gin to wear out, then the Powers of the Mind come* ' *to their full Strength.*' We ſhall ſpeak below (31) of the Change of Religion of that Family.

(29) Morery *is therefore miſtaken, when he ſays* Budæus *had four Sons, and two Daughters.*

(30) Epiſt. xxx, Eraſmi, lib. ii, pag. 250.

(31) In the Remark [*O*].

[*M*] *The Date of his Death has been falſified by ſeveral Writers.*] *La Croix du Maine* makes him die the Twenty fifth of *Auguſt*, 1540; *Spondanus* the twentieth of *Auguſt* (32); and *Peter de St Romuald* the third of *Auguſt* the ſame Year (33); Father *Caraſſe* in 1539 (34); Mr *de Launoi* the firſt of *September* 1573 (35). The Truth is, that he died the Twenty third of *Auguſt*, 1540. He who thought to correct *Reuſnerus* by Mr *de Launoi* is deceived: ' Launoius ----- dicit Budæum obiiſſe ' A. 1573. Calend. Septembr. ut falli neceſſe ſit ' Nicolaum Reuſnerum qui in Iconibus ejus obitum ' refert ad A. 1540 (36). ---- Launoi ----- ' *ſays, that* Budæus *died in the Year* 1573, *on the* ' *firſt of* September; *therefore* Nicolas Reuſnerus ' *muſt be miſtaken, who in his* Icones *places his Death* ' *in the Year* 1540.'

(32) Spondan. ad Ann. 1540, n. 30.

(33) Pet. de St Rom. Journal Chronolog. Tom. II, pag. 137.

(34) Caraſſe Doctrine Curieuſe, pag. 920.

(35) Laun. Hiſt. Gymn. Navarræ, pag. 882.

(36) John Albertus Fabor Decade Decad. fol. v, verſo.

[*N*] *The Manner, in which he deſired to be buried, produced ſome Suſpicions about his Religion.*] He declared by his Will a Year before he died, that he would be buried without any Ceremonies. Theſe are his Words: ' I deſire to be carried to the ' Grave by Night, and without Invitation, only ' with one Torch, or two at moſt, nor will I have ' it proclaimed in the Church, or in the City, that ' I am to be buried this or that Day. For I never ' approved mournful Ceremonies and funeral Pomps.

(37) Anonymus in diſſertatione de literati matrimonio, pag. 367. *It is printed with* Baudii Amores.

(28) *It is the* 206th *of the* 2d *Book, among thoſe of* Eraſmus.

by his Widow's making open Profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion at *Geneva*, with ſome of her Children [O]. It is nevertheleſs certain, that in his Writings he ſeems very

' . . . . . I forbid any to be made for me, as ' well for this, as for other things that cannot be ' done without Scandal': Nor will I have any Fu- ' neral Ceremony, or other Repreſentation, about the ' Place where I ſhall be buried, for the Year after ' my Deceaſe, becauſe they ſeem to me Imitations ' of the Cenotaphs, which the *Gentiles* anciently ' made uſe of (37).' A Jeſuit, who was in other reſpects eaſily provoked, and ſoon ſtartled at the leaſt Innovations, condemned thoſe who did not put a good Conſtruction upon this Conduct. He will have it, that this learned Man acted thus from a Principle of Humility only, and by an Effect of that ſtudious Humour, which had made him live ſo much in private. He ſays (38), 'That good Soul having ' lived among the Dead, that he might live for ' ever among the Living, and having entirely ſepa- ' rated himſelf from all Company, to addict him- ' ſelf to Solitude in his Life-time, retains the ſame ' Humour at his Death: for he ordered by his laſt ' Will, that his Body ſhould be carried by Night, ' without Flambeaux, or Funeral Pomp, from *Sainte* ' *Avoye* Street, where he died, to the *Celeſtines* (39), ' which is a pretty long way: and would be buried ' without Ceremony, without Attendance, and ' without Invitation, or ringing of Bells. It is true, ' that this Novelty gave occaſion to different Diſ- ' courſes, the Preachers of thoſe Times taking the ' matter in the worſt ſenſe, becauſe of the Times ' which began to ſmell of the Faggot, and were al- ' ready imbued with certain ſuſpicious Opinions; ' for it was in the Year M.D.XXXIX (40), when ' *Luther* had ſet almoſt all *Germany* on Fire: but ' *Budæus*'s former Life, the Integrity and Innocency ' of his Manners, the public Opinion, and his he- ' roic Actions at *Venice* and *Paris*, for the Honour ' of Religion, and the Advancement of Learning, ' were faithful Witneſſes of the contrary; inſomuch, ' that the wiſeſt remained edified by his Humility, ' whereas others were offended at the Novelty: and ' indeed it is true, that *Budæus* might do what he ' did from a Sentiment of Humility, as we have ' ſeen divers Saints do, who have deſired that their ' Bodies ſhould be denied Chriſtian Burial, or buri- ' ed without Honour.' A little after, he continues thus: ' *Melin*, of *Saint Gelais*, knowing that *Bu-* ' *dæus*'s Intention was good, and agreeable to his ' Humour, which had been always ſolitary, and ' an Enemy to the hurry of Company, wrote an ' excellent Epigram in Honour of the deceaſed, ' whereby he made it appear, that *Budæus*, in hum- ' bling himſelf, had acquired more Glory than others ' do by the moſt pompous Obſequies.' For he ſaid,

Qui eſt celui que tout le monde ſuit?
Las! c'eſt Budé au cercueil étendu.
Pourquoi n'ont faict les cloches plus grand bruit?
Son nom ſans cloche eſt aſſez eſpandu.
Que n'at-on plus en torches deſpendu,
Suivant la mode accouſtumée & ſaincte?
Afin qu'il fuſt par l'obſcur entendu,
Que des François la lumiere eſt eſteinte.

Who's this that ev'ry one attends on here?
Alas! it is Budæus *on the Bier.*
Why toll not then the Bells? His Name around
Is ſpread, ſufficiently, without their Sound.
But why have no more Torches been procur'd?
To ſhew the Light of France *is now obſcur'd.*

The Prior *Ogier* was not ſo indulgent as *Garaſſe*: he blames him for having defended the Conduct of *Budæus*. It may be, he would have blamed his criticiſing him, if *Garaſſe* had done what one of his own Fraternity did, in ſpeaking of the Chancellor *de l'Hopital* (41): for they, who turn Critics, commonly eſpouſe the oppoſite Part. Let us ſee the Words of the Cenſurer of the *Doctrine Curieuſe*: ' Pag. 919, He endeavours to juſtify *William Bu-* ' *dæus* againſt the Accuſations of the Doctors and ' Preachers of his Time, who had conceived ſome ' Suſpicions of him after his Death, becauſe of the ' Novelty of his Funeral. They had certainly ſome ' Ground to make a ſiniſter Judgment of him. For, ' beſides the bad Impreſſions which the Novelty of ' his Funeral made, at a time when all our Forces ' ought to have been bent againſt the growing He- ' reſy, and nothing relaxed of the ordinary Ceremo- ' nies of the Church; he was of the Opinion of ' that good Grammarian, of whom *Garaſſe* ſpeaks ' in the ſeventh Section of the third Book, who ' thought that diſputing on any material Queſtions of ' Divinity, was ſo much time ill employed. See ' how he ſpeaks in one of his Epiſtles to *Eraſmus*. ' *Reddiderat epiſtolam juvenis, is quem mihi com-* ' *mendaſti, Sorbonæ nunc agentem,* Μαλλον δὲ ἐν ' *σορβωνικῇ λίμνῃ διαλιβοτομία, ἵτω γάρ σι-* ' *κύτως ἀποκαλοίμεν τὴν τῶν σοφιστῶν διατρι-* ' *βήν.* —— *I had received your Letter from the* ' *young Man, that you recommended to me, who now* ' *ſtudies in the* Sorbonne, *or rather, is floundering in* ' *the* Sorbonnic *Mire; for ſo I may very juſtly call* ' *the Exerciſes of Sophiſts.* If *Garaſſe* had known ' of this Paſſage (42), I believe he eſteemed the ' *Sorbonne* ſo much, that he would have ſent *Budæ-* ' *us* among the Buffoons of *Rome*, as merrily as he ' packs off that good Grammarian to the Country of ' the Drolls, among the merry Andrews of ' *Athens* (43).'

[O] *His Widow made open Profeſſion of the Pro-* *teſtant Religion at* Geneva, *with ſome of her Chil-* *dren.*] The Paſſage of *Melanchthon*'s Letters, which I am going to cite, teſtifies, that the Example of that Woman was of great weight; becauſe it was believed, that her Husband's good Diſcourſes had much aſſiſted her to know the Truth. ' Venit huc ' quiſpiam ex Gallia nobilis vir ac doctus, qui nar- ' rat honeſtiſſimam matronam viduam Budæi, una ' cum filiabus, Lutetia migraſſe ad Calvini Eccleſi- ' am, ut ibi & vocem Evangelii audiat, & longius ' abſit à ſævitia quæ in regno Gallico adverſus Evan- ' gelii ſtudioſos exercetur. Hoc exemplo matronæ ' valde moveri multos homines in Gallia idem affir- ' mat; propterea quod mortui mariti ſui doctiſſimi ' & graviſſimi viri judicio exiſtimatur hanc doctri- ' nam ampleCti, de qua ipſum multa piè diſſeruiſſe ' ante mortem conſtat (44). — *There is arrived here* ' *from* France *a noble and learned Man, who ſays,* ' *that the honourable Lady, the Widow of* Budæus, ' *with her Daughters, are come over from* Paris *to* ' Calvin's *Church, both that ſhe might hear the* ' *Word of the Goſpel, and be farther removed from* ' *the Cruelty exerciſed in the Kingdom of* France, ' *againſt the Profeſſors of the Evangelic Faith. He alſo* ' *affirms, that a great many Perſons in* France *are* ' *moved by this Lady's Example; becauſe ſhe is ſuppoſed* ' *to have embraced this Doctrine from the Judgment of* ' *her deceaſed Husband, who, it is certain, reaſoned,* ' *in many things, very pioufly before his Death.*' In a Letter from *Melanchthon* to *Camerarius*, dated the eleventh of *September* 1549, at pag. 908, of the *London* Edition, are theſe Words: ' Hæc narratio ' ſi vera eſt, admirationem magnam res pariet. Budæi ' conjugem anum cum filiabus ſiunt migraſſe Gene- ' vam ad Calvini Eccleſiam, in quâ & alii multi nobiles ' homines in Gallia exulare dicuntur. —— *If this Ac-* ' *count be true, it will be matter of Admiration. They* ' *ſay, that* Budæus's *Widow, and her Daughters,* ' *are gone over to* Geneva *to* Calvin's *Church, where* ' *they alſo ſay many other Noblemen of* France ' *are in Exile.*' The Daughters of the great *Budæus* were not the only Perſons of the Family that retired to *Geneva*: LEWIS BUDÆUS, their Brother, went thither alſo, where he was Profeſſor of the *Hebrew* Tongue. He publiſhed a *Latin* Tranſlation of the *Pſalms* with *Notes*. See the *Gallia Orientalis* of *Colomiés*, Pag. fifteen and ſixteen. We have ſpoken before (45) of JOHN BUDÆUS (a), who was one of the three Deputies that were ſent into *Germany* about the Affairs of the Church. MATTHEW BUDÆUS, their Brother, is praiſed by *Henry Stephens* as a Man who underſtood the *Hebrew* Tongue thoroughly (46). The Poſterity of *Budæus* ſubſiſts ſtill in *Geneva*, and makes a conſiderable Figure there.

[(a) *The*

(37) *See Mr de Launoi, Hiſt. Colleg. Navarr. pag. 881.*

(38) Garaſſe, Doctrine Curieuſe, pag. 920.

(39) *According to* Lewis le Vasſeur, *it was at* St Nicholas *in the Fields, that he was buried.*

(40) He miſtakes; it was in 1540.

(41) Malmbourg. Hiſt. du Calviniſme, pag. 805, *upon which ſee the* Critique Generale, *Lettre* xvi, *pag.* 274, *of the third Edit.*

(42) Launoi, pag. 877, *ſhows that this Paſſage makes nothing againſt* Budæus's Catholiciſm.

(43) Ogier Jugement & Cenſure du livre de la Doctrine Curieuſe, pag. 190, 191.

(44) Melancht. Epiſt. pag. 585, *Edit.* Baſil 1565, apud Colomeſium in Gallia Orient. pag. 16.

(45) *In the Remark* [G], *of the Article* BEZA.

(46) Henr. Stephan. in præfat. Diccarchi apud Colomeſium in Gall. Orient. pag. 257.

very oppoſite to the Reformers [*P*], though he had ſometimes ſpoken very vehemently againſt the Court of *Rome*, and againſt the Corruptions of the Clergy (*b*). It is ſaid that he never would ſuffer his Picture to be drawn [*Q*], and that, going to make a Speech to *Charles* V, he was at a ſtand [*R*]. His Stile both in *Latin* and *French* was ſomewhat harſh [*S*]. His Father, as I have already ſaid, was of a conſiderable Family; and yet I have read that it was ennobled on account of our *Budæus* [*T*]. This Man, being nettled at ſomething that *Eraſmus* had done or ſaid, reſented it highly, and never would do him the Favour to quote him, but criticized him ſometimes without naming him [*U*]. Emulation between two Men of their Rank might eaſily degenerate into Hatred (*c*). They who have ſaid, that, notwithſtanding their Difference, *Budæus* brought it ſo about that *Eraſmus* was ſent for to *Paris* (*d*), know nothing of the Matter; for the Quarrel between them was not begun, when *Budæus*, acquitting himſelf of the Commiſſion that was given him to make Offers to *Eraſmus*, in the Name of *Francis* I, adviſed him to accept them (*e*). An Addition of all his Works were printed at *Baſil*, in the Year 1557, in four Volumes in *Folio*, with an ample Preface by *Celius Secundus Curio*.

(*b*) *See in the 2ceth Book of* The Catalogue of the Witneſſes of the Truth, pag. 1034, & ſeq. *ſeveral Extracts of the Book* de Aſſe. *See alſo the Remark* [*D*], *of the Article* JULIUS II.

(*c*) *See the Remark* [*U*], *at the end.*

(*d*) Du Verdier, Proſopogr. pag. 2404.

(*e*) Epiſt. Eraſmi xv. lib. 4.

No

[(*a*) *The Citizen of* Geneva, which calls him Lord of *Verace* *, obſerves, that he was Diſciple of *Duaren*; and this Book, printed in 1609, ſpeaks alſo of a Siſter of *John Budæus*, a Lady of eighty Years of Age, who was alive at that time; beſides one *William Budæus*, likewiſe Lord of *Verace*, and Grandſon of the great *Budæus*; for it is in that ſenſe, the *Guilelmi nepos* in *Thuanus* ‡ is to be underſtood, and not in that of *Nephew*, as *Videl* has taken it †. This *William Budæus*, I ſay, Lieutenant of the *Gens d' Arms* of *Briquemaut*, commanded the *Scouts* at the Battle of *Pontcharra*. REM. CRIT.]

* Pag. 43.

‡ *Book* cli.

† Hiſtoire du Conneſtable de Leſdiguieres. *Book* iv, *chap.* iv.

[*P*] *In his Writings he appears very oppoſite to the Reformers.*] See his Work entituled, *De Tranſitu Hellenismi ad Chriſtianiſmum*, and which he dedicated to *Francis* I, in the Year 1535, a little after *Calvin* had dedicated his *Chriſtian Inſtitutions* to that Monarch. *Budæus* recommends the ancient Faith to him, and praiſes him for the famous Proceſſion that was made to expiate the wicked Attempt of the Heretics (47); (this was the Language of thoſe Times.) Mr *de Launoi* cites this Paſſage (48), and adds another to it, which diſcovers our *Budæus*'s Zeal againſt thoſe who were called Innovators.

(47) *See the Hiſtory of* Lutheraniſm, *by* Maimbourg, Tom. I, pag. 233, Edit. de Hollande.

(48) Hiſt. Gymnaſii Navarræ, pag. 878, & ſeq.

[*Q*] *It is ſaid that he would never ſuffer his Picture to be drawn.*] I can give you no other Proof of this, than theſe four Verſes:

Nec voluit vivus fingi pingive Budæus,
Nec vatum moriens quæſiit elogia.
Hunc qui tanta ſuæ mentis monumenta reliquit
Externa puduit vivere velle manu.

Budæus, in his Life, would ne'er conſent
To have, or Buſt, or Picture, of himſelf,
Nor dying, ſought he Poets Elogies:
By his own Works, he, to himſelf, has rais'd
A Monument of everlaſting Fame,
Aſhamed to owe it to another's Hand.

The Author, whom I quote in the Margin, ſays, that this is *Budæus*'s Epitaph, compoſed by *Stephen Paſquier* (49).

(49) St Romuald, Journal Chronologique, *under the third of* Auguſt.

[*R*] *——— and that going to make a Speech to* Charles V, *he was at a ſtand.*] I have read this no where but in the firſt Volume of Father *Abram* on *Cicero's Orations*. ‡ Petrus Meſſius libro iii. variarum lectionum cap. viii. multis magnorum Oratorum exempla corradit, quod initio dicendi perturbatos repentè memoria deſeceit. Ut Demoſthenem coram Philippo, Theophraſtum coram Areopagitis, Herodem Atticum coram M. Antonino, Heraclidem Lycium coram Severo Auguſto, Bartholomæum Socinum coram Alexandro Sexto. Addi potuiſſet & magnus ille Budæus, qui Carolum V. Cæſarem Pariſios venientem oratione excepturus repentè obmutuit (50). ——— Petrus Meſſius, *in the Third Book of his various Readings*, chap. VIII, *collects a great many examples of great Orators, who have been diſcompoſed in the beginning of their Diſcourſe, and on a ſudden their Memories have failed them: As* Demoſthenes *before* Philip, Theophraſtus *before the* Areopagites, Herodes Atticus *before* M. Antoninus, Heraclides Lycius *before the Emperor* Severus, Bartholomew Socinus *before* Alexander *the Sixth. He might alſo have added the great* Budæus, *who, when he was going to addreſs the Emperor* Charles V, *on his arrival at* Paris, *was ſuddenly ſtopped, and could not proceed in his Speech.*'

(50) Nicol Abramus in Cicer. Orat. Tom. I, pag. 409.

[*S*] *His ——— French Stile was ſomewhat harſh.*] Some have found Fault with his expreſſion in the Book of *The Inſtitution of a Prince*, addreſſed to *Francis* I, where, in his Dedication to the King, he calls his manner of writing, *Un Style de haute lice & reſplendiſſant. — A Style of a high ſtrain and glittering*: Beſides, he was obſcure and unpoliſhed; witneſs theſe Words of the ſame Epiſtle: *Je vous requiers de recevoir mon offre avec grand liesſe & alacrité, offre d'exigue eſtimation compare à voſtre hautour* (51). ——— I deſire you to receive my Offering with great joy and alacrity, an Offering of exiguous Eſteem compared with your Highneſs.' See what *Genebrard* and *Daniel Augentius* ſay of him in *du Verdier's Bibliotheque*.

(51) St Romuald, Journal Chronol. of Auguſt 3.

Having conſulted the Epiſtle Dedicatory of *The Inſtitution of a Prince*, I find nothing at all in it of what *Saint Romuald* aſſerts here. My Edition is that which Meſſiere *John de Luxembourg*, Abbot of *Fory*, *Rivou*, and *Salmoiſy*, had printed in his Abbey of *Rivou*, in the Year 1546, in Folio. Note, by the way, a Fault of Mr *Joli*, who ſays, that That Work was not printed till the Reign of *Henry* II, in 1547, in Folio and in 8vo (52). It is beſides very evident, from the Epiſtle Dedicatory, and from all the reſt of the Book, that the Author knew himſelf when he owns, That *he neither could, nor would praiſe himſelf. ——— for knowing the Purity of the* French *Diction ------ and that he was very little verſed in the* French *Stile* (53).

(52) Joli Cödicille d'or, p. 36.

(53) Budæus, ubi ſupra, *in the Epiſtle Dedicatory.*

[*T*] *His Family was ennobled on his Account.*] His Heirs were declared Noble, by an Arrêt of the Court of *Aids*, in the Year 1578, on Account of his Perſonal Merits (54).' I believe the Monk, who relates this, had none of the exacteſt Memoirs. See above, Remark [*A*]

(54) St Romuald, Journ. Chronol. *under* Auguſt 3. *See the* Invent. de l'Hiſt. Journaliere, p. 269.

[*U*] *He would never ——— quote* Eraſmus *; and by criticized him without naming him.*] They came to defending and proving, which had no very good effect. See the Letters which they wrote to each other, among thoſe of *Eraſmus*. To me it always ſeemed that *Eraſmus* was more moderate and civil to *Budæus*, than he was to *Eraſmus*. Was it not very unſociable, not to grant the favour of one Citation? ‡ Id parum amicæ voluntatis argumentum crediderunt, quod à Budæo in tot numero libris mentio ullquam facta ſit Eraſmi, quanquam ut fieret multis precibus ab Eraſmo ambiretur. Præterea putant id quoque ad iſta quæ dixi accedere, quod Budæus diſſimulanter Eraſmum in ſuis libris nonnunquam perſtringere videtur, velut in Commentariis, quando videt illos, qui de ſingulorum ingenio, & eloquentiâ ſententiam ferre audent, qui Laurentio inferiores præſcribunt loquendi formulas, qui leviora quædam ſcripta in vulgus edunt, quæ nec ſolem nec ætatem ferant (55).

(55) Lud. Regius in vita Budæi, pag. 77.

It

No Elogy can be finer than that which *Ludovicus Vives* made on our *Budæus* (*f*); for in few Words he represents him as a Prodigy of Learning, and ascribes such moral Virtues to him as deserve the Admiration of all the World. I think it may justly enough be said of this great Man, that he made himself more feared than beloved in the Common-Wealth of Learning, and this does not seem to me a Perfection, but rather a shrewd Sign of Haughtiness and Impatience, and of his arming Cap-apee against those who criticize him. The Concern that a Professor of *Venice* expressed, when some body had taken notice publickly that he did not follow the Opinion of the learned *Budæus*, would alone be a sufficient Demonstration that he had made himself very formidable [*X*].

(*f*) Ludov. Vives in lib. ii. cap xvii. Augustini de Civitate Dei.

' —— *It was looked upon as a mark of a very unfriendly Disposition, that* Budæus, *in so many Books, had made no mention of* Erasmus, *notwithstanding* Erasmus *had frequently desired him to do it. To all this may also be added, as it is thought, that* Budæus *sometimes seems to reflect underhand on* Erasmus *in his Writings, as in his Commentaries, when he derides those who presume to judge of the Genius and Eloquence of particular Persons, who, tho' inferior to Laurentius, prescribe Forms of speaking, who publish some trifling Pieces among the Vulgar, which will neither bear the light nor time.*' See above (56) the Clamour that was raised against *Erasmus* because it was pretended, that he compared *Budæus* to *Badius*. I shall quote another Passage which shews what are commonly the Consequences of the Emulation of Great Men. ' Et ' difficillimum inter illos nullam intercedere obtrectationem, inter quos tantæ laudis est æmulatio, ' quantum fuit incidere necesse inter Erasmum ' atque Budæum, cum se uterque in literis esse ' principem cuperet. Nam quicquid est ejusmodi, ' in quo excellere præclarum existimant, in eo ' plerumque sit tanta contentio, ut vix possit be- ' nevolentia servari (57). —— *It is very hard to avoid all slander between two Men, where there is an emulation of so great Honour, as must needs be between* Erasmus *and* Budæus, *when each of them studied to be thought chief in Literature, for whatever is such, that it is thought extraordinary to excel in it, there is generally so great contention about it, that good Will can hardly be preserved.*'

(56) *In the Remark* [*K*], *of the Article* BADIUS.

(57) Lud. Regius, ibid. pag. 76.

[*X*] *The Concern that a Professor of* Venice *expressed, when some body had informed the Public, that he followed not the Opinion of* Budæus.] We have seen (58), that there arose a Dispute between *William Budæus* and *Leonard Portius* about the Coins and Measures of the Antients. Now it happened that *John Baptista Egnatius* followed, in some part of his Commentary on *Suetonius*, the Calculations of *Portius*; and that *Erasmus*, adding a Preface to that same Commentary in a new Edition (59), said expressly, that *Egnatius* was not of *Budæus*'s Opinion. It happened that *Egnatius* was much vexed at that Remark of *Erasmus*. He feared the Consequences of it, immediately came upon his Justification, and had recourse to the Intercession of an eminent Man, whom he conjured to pacify *Budæus*: I say, he conjured him by the most moving Arguments. This will appear more plain from his *Latin*. ' Cum nudius ' tertius in Tranquillum Cæsaresque meos Basileæ ' nuper excusos annotationes, & in his nescio quid ' ab Erasmo nostro de nummis scriptum legissem, ' ubi dissentire me a Budæo doctus alioqui vir & ' amicissimus asserebat, dum Portium sequor: ani- ' madverti aliquanto altius vulnus descendisse, quam ' ego ab initio suspicatus essem, affecitque me vis ' minime expectata, uti solet, non admirationis so- ' lum, verum etiam molestiæ. Quæ enim mihi ' cum Budæo studiorum dissensio esse potest, ubi ' tanta sit animorum conjunctio? aut quæ testifica- ' tio mea honestior aut amplior esse potuit tum be- ' nevolentiæ erga Budæum meæ, tum judicii, quam ea, quæ à me in eis annotamentis adhibita est? ' Uti facile declararim me tantum in hoc studiorum ' genere Budæo tribuere, quantum mihi ipsi vix op- ' tarem: ut si aliter vel Budæus vel Erasmus sentit, ' næ ambo cum summo animi mei morore id sen- ' tiant. Quare ego te Grolierie per eam animi pro- ' pensionem, quam in doctos præ te fers, oro; per ' humanitatem & divinam istam tuam beneficentiam ' obtestor; per eam pietatem, quam tibi reliquæque ' genti debeo, adjuro, uti hunc Budæo scrupulum ' per literas etiam tuas eximas, meque illi ita conci- ' lies, ut intelligat vir doctissimus, esse in terris ho- ' die neminem, cujus ego doctrinam magis admi- ' rer, de cujus ingenio libentius prædicem, quem- ' que ego pluris faciam (60). —— *The other Day, reading my Notes on* Suetonius, *lately printed at* Basil, *and in them something writ by our* Erasmus, *concerning Coins, wherein this learned and otherwise friendly Man asserts, that I dissent from* Budæus, *and follow* Portius; *I observe, that the Wound goes deeper than I thought at first, and this unexpected Attack not only raised my Wonder as usual, but gave me some uneasiness. For what difference can I have with* Budæus *in studies, where there is so near a Conjunction of Minds? or what more honourable or ample Testimony could I have given, either of my Respect to* Budæus, *or his Judgment, than I have done in these Commentaries? Wherein I have freely declared, that I attribute so much to* Budæus, *in this kind of Learning, as I could scarce wish for myself: so that if either* Budæus *or* Erasmus *be of another Opinion, I am very sorry for it. Wherefore I beseech you,* Grolierius, *by that respect which you shew to learned Men; I beg of you, by your Humanity and Divine Beneficence; I conjure you, by the Duty which I owe to yourself, and the rest of your Nation, to satisfy* Budæus *in this Matter, by your Letter, and reconcile me to him, by letting that most learned Man know, that there is no Man this Day upon Earth, whose Learning I more admire, whose Genius I am more ready to commend, or that I have a greater Value for.*' He says several other things as strong, which shews his Affection, Veneration, and Admiration, for *Budæus*, and afterwards turns all his Anger against *Erasmus*: This place is very insulting. ' Quare non possum non vehe- ' menter admirari, quid tandem Erasmo in mentem ' venerit, ut etiam aliud agens de studiorum dissen- ' sione nostrorum, præsertim falsa, publicandum sibi ' censuerit, cum Budæi vestigia me sequi profite- ' ar, cum doctrinam hominis tantopere laudem, & ' ejus præsertim libros quinque de Asse. Sed homo ' alioqui doctus cum numerorum rationem non pro- ' be calleat, & scriptione multa sese oblectet, & sibi ' plus æquo placeat, dum modo aliquid edat, quid ' tandem dicat non satis pensi habuit. Ita fit, ut dum ' verborum copiæ studet, minus res observet. Quod ' si maturare sibi pateretur diutius ea quæ parturit, ' pareret ille sæpe eos liberos, qui & vitales essent, ' nec vitiosi illi & morbosi sæpe in lucem prodi- ' rent (61). ----- *Wherefore I cannot but very much wonder what* Erasmus *had got in his Head, that, when he was about another Affair, he should think of publishing any thing, especially Falsehoods, concerning the Difference of our Opinions, when I declare that I follow the Footsteps of* Budæus, *when I so highly commend the Learning of the Man, and especially his five Books de Asse. But this Man, though otherwise learned, not being well skilled in Calculations, and delighted in writing a great deal, and too full of himself, so he do but publish any thing, does not take sufficient care what he says. Hence it is, that while he is studying the Copiousness of Words, he too little observes things: but if he would give himself a little more time to perfect his Productions, he would often bring forth such Children, as would be long lived, and not imperfect, and distempered, as most of his are.*'

(58) In the Remark [*G*].

(59) That of Basil, apud Iohannem Frobenium, 1518, *in Folio, in which there are several other Historians besides Suetonius.*

(60) Jo. Baptistæ Egnatius Epist. ad Jo. Grolierium; *it is dated from* Venice, *the* 5*th of* January, 1518, *it is the* 35*th of the Century, published by* Goldast.

(61) Id. ibid. pag. 150, 151.

BULGARUS, one of the moſt famous Civilians of the XIIth Century, was ſurnamed *Golden-mouth*, on account of the graceſulneſs of his Speech (*a*). He was one of the four Profeſſors (*b*) whom *Frederic Barbaroſſa* conſulted in the Year 1158, to know how far the Emperor's Rights ought to extend in *Italy* (*c*), and he ſhewed himſelf ſo able a Lawyer in this Conſultation, that the Prince conferred a Judge's Place upon him (*d*). He behaved himſelf in it with a great deal of Integrity, inſomuch that his Judgments ſerved for a Rule in all the Tribunals of *Italy*, in Caſes that were doubtful. He perſuaded the Inhabitants of *Bologna* to ſubmit to that Emperor. He had taught, that, when a married Woman dies before her Father, the Huſband is obliged to reſtore her Dowry. The Caſe happened to himſelf, and he conformed generouſly to his own Doctrine. One of his Scholars did not ſhow himſelf ſo diſintereſted [*A*]; for being ſummoned to put that Doctrine in Practice, he ſaid he had altered his Opinion. *Bulgarus* had ſeveral Children who all died before him. He was much afflicted at it, and, to repair the Loſs as much as poſſible, he married a ſecond Wife; but inſtead of marrying a Maid, as he thought, he unhappily made choice of a Wife that paſſed for a Woman. The Day after his wedding he read a Lecture, and explained that Law which begins, *We undertake a Buſineſs that is not new.* His Auditors applied theſe Words to the Condition in which they ſuppoſed he had found his Wife [*B*], which ſet them all a laughing. It is not known in what Year he died, nor where he was buried. There is no reaſon to ſay, as ſome have done, that he tranſlated into *Latin* the *Greek* Laws that are in the Pandects, for he was abſolutely ignorant of the *Greek* Tongue. He publiſhed ſome Gloſſes on the Civil Law, and an excellent Commentary *in regulas Juris* (*e*).

(*a*) Panzirol. de clar. legum interpret. lib. ii, cap. xv, p. 127.

(*b*) In Civil Law, in the Univerſity of *Bologna*.

(*c*) Panzir. lib. ii, cap. xiv.

(*d*) Ob inſignem quam oſtendit doctrinam pro eo (*Friderico Ænobarbo*) Bononia ad jus dicendum Vicarius creatus fuerit. *Id. ibid.* cap. xv, pag. 127.

(*e*) *Taken from* Panzirolus, ubi ſupra.

[*A*] *He conformed generouſly to his own Doctrine --- One of his Scholars did not ſhew himſelf ſo diſintereſted.*] His Colleague, *Martin Goſia*, had maintained the oppoſite Opinion; and therefore they choſe to aſk his Advice after the Death of *Bulgarus*'s Wife. Her Father would fain know from that Profeſſor, Whether he might legally demand Reſtitution of his Daughter's Dowry? He was anſwered, That his Son-in-law was condemned from his own Mouth, and, if he refuſed Reſtitution, might be ſhamefully convicted of being a bad Interpreter of the Law. Hereupon, the Father-in-law brought his Action, but the Son-in-law did not ſtand it out long. This ſhews he had ſome conflict in his Mind between the Deſire of keeping the Dowry, and the Fear of being reproached with denying his own Doctrine. It is plain, he did not make too much haſte to put in practice what he had taught; for his Father-in-law was forced to commence a Suit againſt him. It is very likely, he repented that he maintained a Doctrine ſo contrary to his Intereſt, and that if he had foreſeen the Prejudice it would do him, he would have dogmatized after another manner. However, let us not refuſe him his due Praiſe. At laſt, he choſe rather to part with his Money, than expoſe himſelf to the Shame of contradicting his own Theory, and ſo ſtopped his Antagoniſt, who was preparing to inſult him. 'Martinus Goſia æquitatis 'ratione ſubnixus eam (*dotem*) velut matris patri- 'monium †, poſteritate acquiri tenebat, qui ex 'hoc facto à Bulgari Socero conſultus: *Si mihi*, 'reſpondit, *qui contra te ſentio, hic caſus contigiſſet, jure fuiſſem abſolvendus; ſed Gener tuus, qui diverſum docuit, ſua ſe jam ſententia condemnavit, & niſi ut falſus interpres à me turpiter 'reprehendi maluerit, petitam dotem reddere cogetur.* Ita dimiſſus cum Generum interpellaſſet, Bulgarus, ne vel ſordidæ avaritiæ, aut falſæ doctrinæ notari poſſet, ad confirmandam, quam tenuerat, opinionem, reſtituta pecunia, Martinum Antiſophiſtam prudenter eluſit ‡, magnaque cum laude conſervata exiſtimatione, patrimonii quam famæ diſpendium pati maluit. Sed Albericus ejus diſcipulus, etſi cum Præceptore ſentiret, cum ſibi idem accidiſſet, ſententiam ſe mutaſſe dixit, nec præclarum Præceptoris exemplum ſecutus eſt (1). ——Martin Goſia, *inſiſting on the Equity of the thing, held, that it,* (the Dowry) *as being the Patrimony of the Mother, became the Husband's Property if there were any Iſſue; he being conſulted on this Affair by* Bulgarus's *Father-in-law, anſwered:* If this Caſe had happened to me, who am of a different Opinion, I might fairly have been excuſed; but your Son-in-law, who has taught otherwiſe, has already condemned himſelf by his own Judgment, and unleſs he has a mind to be ſhamefully reproached by me as a bad Interpreter of the Law, he will be obliged to return the Dowry. *Diſmiſſed with this Anſwer he ſued his Son-in-law; and* Bulgarus, *for fear he ſhould be accuſed either of ſordid Avarice or falſe Doctrine, to confirm the Opinion which he had taught, reſtoring the Money, prudently eluded* Martin, *the Antiſophiſt, and, by ſo doing, very honorably preſerved his Credit, chooſing rather to ſuffer in his Eſtate than in his Reputation. But* Albericus, *his Diſciple, though he was of his Maſter's Mind, when the ſame Caſe happened to him, ſaid, he had changed his Opinion, and would not follow the noble Example of his Maſter.*'

† In leg. 3. §. ſed utrum ff. de minor.

‡ Odofr. in l. dot à patre C. ſol. matr. & in l. jure. ff. de jur. dot.

(1) Panzirol. de claris legum interpret. lib. ii, cap. xv, p. 128.

[*B*] *His Auditors applied the firſt Words of a Law to the Condition wherein they ſuppoſed he had found his Wife.*] They who ſpeak in Public, are expoſed to a thouſand Inconveniences; for they unwarily ſay Things that may be applied to their own Adventures, and this ſometimes expoſes them to Affronts before the whole Audience. They are chiefly to be pitied, when, on the ſide of Matrimony, their Domeſtic Affairs give occaſion for bad Reports, and unlucky Jeſts. Be it how it will: Let us ſhew, that *Panzirolus* has ſupplied us with the Fact that we have mentioned (2). 'Deficiente ſobole, ad procrean- 'dam prolem uxorem ætate matura, & quæ vulgo 'mulier credebatur, pro virgine duxit, poſtridieque 'cum interpretaturus legem, cujus initium eſt, *Rem 'non novam, neque inſolitam aggredimur*, dum 'ea verba recitaret, audientibus riſum movet, qui 'hoc ad conjugem, quam corruptam invenerat, 'retulerunt. Itaque univerſi libri, quos tum ſe- 'cum gerebant, plaudentes ſtrepitum excitarunt ‡. '---- *Having no Iſſue left, in an advanced Age, he married a Woman for a Maid, who was commonly thought to be otherwiſe; the next Day he interpreted the Law, which begins:* We undertake a Buſineſs which is not new nor ſtrange; *and when he ſpoke thoſe Words, he raiſed a Laugh in the Audience, who applied this to his Wife, whom he had found debauched. And they all made a loud Clap with the Books they had in their Hands.*' A very good Anſwer might have been made in favour of *Bulgarus*; But what would it have ſignified againſt Scoffers? Nothing could have ſilenced a Company of Scholars, reſolved to divert themſelves at the Expence of that great Civilian. They would only have laughed louder at any one, who had repreſented to them, That the Words of the Law, applied to the Marriage of the Profeſſor, might bear a good Senſe, though it were ſuppoſed, that he found his Wife ſuch as he had wiſhed her to be; for even in that Caſe, he might ſay, that the Buſineſs he undertook was no new thing, and that he was uſed to it. It was his ſecond Marriage, and he had had ſeveral Children by his firſt Wife. But ſome may ſay, he ſpoke in the Plural: We *undertake a Buſineſs that has*

(2) Panzir. ibid.

‡ Glo. & Odofr. in l. Rem. non novam. C. de judic.

not the Charms of Novelty; we *are accustomed to it* (3). I reply, That it is permitted in all Languages to speak of one's self in the plural Number; and that therefore it could not be pretended that *Bulgarus* spoke jointly of himself and his Wife. So that he might have been justified by solid Remarks: But once more, This would not have served his turn; the Laughers would still have laughed on. The Fault was committed, and it was irreparable: He had read Lectures to his Wife, which had taught her nothing that was new to her. This is an inexhaustible Source of jesting.

(3) Rem. non novam neque infolitam aggredimur.

Note, That *Francis Duarenus* supposes, that this Professor did not expose himself to Laughter by marrying a Wife, who had lost her Virginity criminally, but for marrying a Wife who had lost it in an honourable way. He supposes, that *Bulgarus* had married a Widow, and upon this, he exclaims against those who marry Widows. It is in the Chapter where he shews, That they who marry a second time, are excluded from the Priesthood by the Canons; and that he, who marries a Widow, is reputed as one twice married (4). ' Lege Mosaica præceptum fuit ut pontifex virginem tantum uxorem ducere posset: Levit xxii. ' Adde si lubet quod ridicula vulgo res est, & cavillis hominum obnoxia uxorem viduam ducere, ' quod vel tritum apud juris civilis doctores dicterium Bulgari Jurisconsulti discipulorum in præceptorem satis offendit. gl. rem non novam C. de judic. (5) ----- *It is commanded in the* ' *Mosaic Law, that a Priest should not marry any* ' *other than a Virgin*, Levit. xxi. *Add to this,* ' *that it is a ridiculous thing in the Eyes of the* ' *World, and obnoxious to Cavils, to marry a Widow,* ' *as appears from the Scoffs of the Disciples of* Bulgarus, *the Civilian, against their Master, a trite* ' *Story among the Doctors of the Civil Law.*'

(4) *See above, Citation* (23), *in the Article* BUCER.

(5) Franciscus Duarenus de sacris Ecclesiæ ministeriis ac beneficiis, lib. iv, cap viii, pag. 387, Part II, operum, Edit. Genev. 1608.

BULLINGER (HENRY), one of the Reformers of the Church in the XVIth Century, was born at *Bremgarten* (a), the eighteenth of *July*, 1504. At twelve Years of Age he was sent to *Emmerick*, in the Country of *Cleves*, to study Classical Learning. It was a good School at that time; *Mosellanus* was one of those who taught there. *Bullinger* continued there three Years, and maintained himself by what he got in singing from Door to Door. His Father was rich enough to allow him a Pension; but he only gave him a suit of Cloaths when he sent him to *Emmerick*, and some small matter to pay his travelling Charges; for any thing farther he left him to the Charity of his Neighbours: He put his Son to those Streights, that he might make him one Day more sensible of the Prayers of the needy. Our young Scholar bore this Mortification so patiently, and submitted so freely to the Discipline of the School, which was severe enough, that he even desired to try another kind of Life much more rigid. He would have been a *Carthusian* Frier, but his elder Brother dissuaded him from it. At fifteen Years of Age he was sent to *Cologne*. The barbarous manner, in which Philosophy was then taught, served only to make him apply himself the more earnestly to Classical Learning. He even wrote, in the Year 1520, something against the School Divines [*A*]. He lived at *Cologne* till 1522, and the Nature of his Studies there disposed him to forsake the *Romish* Communion as soon as occasion offered. Having passed some Months at his Father's House, he was invited (*b*) by the Abbot of *Cappel* (*c*) to teach in his Convent. He discharged that Duty with much Reputation till 1527. The Reformation of *Zuinglius* was received in the Abbey of *Cappel* in the Year 1526, in which *Bullinger* was the chief Instrument. He heard *Zuinglius*'s Lectures at *Zurich*, five Months, in the Year 1527. He took to the Study of the *Greek* Language again, and began that of the *Hebrew*, and preached publickly by a Mission from the Synod. He accompanied *Zuinglius*, in the Year 1528, at the famous Dispute that was held at *Bern*. The Year following he was made Pastor of the Reformed at *Bremgarten*, and married *Anne Adlischwiler*. That Marriage produced six Sons, and five Daughters [*B*], and continued till the Year 1564. His Wife died of the Plague at that time. He never would marry a second, for which he was blamed [*C*]. He was scarce settled quietly in his Church with regard to

(a) A small Town on the Frontiers of the *Canton* of *Zurich*, which is under the eight *Swiss Cantons*. *Simler in vita Bullingeri.*

(b) In the beginning of the Year 1523.

(c) An Abbey of the *Cistercian* Order, near *Zurich*.

[*A*] *He wrote* - - - - - *something against the School-Divines.*] It consisted of five Dialogues: The two first attack those Divines directly; the two following were an Apology for *Reuchlin* against *Pfeffercorn*, a converted *Jew*; the Title of the fifth was *Promonetes*. They were never printed (1).

(1) Simlerus in vita Bullingeri, fol. 6.

[*B*] *He had six Sons, and five Daughters.*] The two first were Ministers; the third was put into the Service of the *Landgrave of Hesse*, and died in *France* in the Troops of the Prince of *Orange*, in the Year 1569; the three last died Children. Three of his Daughters were married to Ministers of *Zurich*; to *Hulric Zuinglius* (2), to *Lewis Lavater*, and to *Josias Simler*; they died all three of the Plague; the second in the Year 1564, the other two in the Year 1565 (3).

(2) Son of the Reformer *Zuinglius*.

(3) Simlerus, ibid. fol. 12.

[*C*] *He never would marry a second time, and was blamed for it.*] Care has been taken in the History of his Life to refute those captious Spirits, who censured him for not marrying a second Wife. They tell us first of his Orthodoxy; they declare, that he did not doubt, but GOD permitted the Ministers of the Gospel to marry a second time; and then add, that he answered those who advised him to marry a second Wife, That the first was still living in his Heart, and in the Children she had brought him; and that he had a Daughter that governed his Family very prudently; and after all, the burthen of sixty Years, which he laboured under, stifled all such Thoughts. The Censurers grounded their Exceptions chiefly on Reasons of Health: They believed, if he had married again, that he would not have been troubled, as he was, with a pain in his Reins. That is confuted by this Reason, That married Men are no less subject to this Inconvenience, than they who lead a single Life. ' And besides, *continue they*, can it be ' thought, that a Man of *Bullinger*'s Age and Prudence could not tell what agreed best with his ' Constitution, or that he should neglect any means ' of Health?' In short, they had recourse to secret Reasons, which might perhaps be the Cause that he continued a Widower, though perhaps to the Prejudice of his Health. As it is probable several Readers may imagine, that what I have said is mostly a Gloss of my own framing, I shall recite the *Latin* of *Simler*. ' Post hujus obitum ' quamvis annos fere XI. superstes fuerit, nunquam ' tamen adduci potuit ut aliam uxorem duceret. ' Non quod secundas nuptias Christiano homini at- ' que etiam ecclesiæ Ministris non concessas esse ' crederet, sed primam uxorem in animo suo ad- ' huc vivere dicebat, quæ tot sui charissima pignora ' reliquisset, & quia filiam haberet quæ familiam optime ' administraret,

to those of the *Romish* Communion, when he was engaged in Disputes with the *Anabaptists*; he disputed publickly against them, and wrote Books in which he confuted their erroneous Opinions. The victory, obtained by the Catholic Cantons over the Reformed in the Year 1531, obliged *Bullinger* to forsake his Country, together with his Father, Brother, and Colleague. He retired to *Zurich*, and there filled the Place vacant by the Death of *Zuinglius* (*d*). He edified that Church by his Preaching and Writings. He was obliged in the first place to refute the Impertinencies and Boasts of *John Faber* (*e*): He shewed him that the Goodness of a Religion was not to be judged of by the good or bad Success of a Battle. From that time he was employed in several Ecclesiastical Negotiations, by which *Bucer* laboured to reconcile the *Zuinglians* and the *Lutherans*. *Bullinger* behaved himself in such a manner, that the Suspicions which had been entertained of him did not last long: he shewed that the Love of Concord should never bring him to promote a Formulary, that was captious and contrary to sound Words. He wrote Books every Year, which I shall not particularly mention, yet will not omit that which he published against *Luther* in the Year 1545. The *Swiss* Churches had kept a long Silence, notwithstanding *Luther* wrote in a very passionate manner against their Doctrine concerning the Sacrament; at last it was thought fit to answer him in his Life-time, least, if it were deferred till after his Death, Occasion might be given to some disadvantageous Surmises. Besides, it was thought that a very vigorous Answer would make *Luther* more moderate for the future [*D*], and prevent his abusing the Respect that was shewn him. *Bullinger*, who advised Silence, was the Man charged with the Business of answering him, and he acquitted himself worthily. *Luther* dying a little after, there were, doubtless, some rash Spirits (for there are but too many such in all Communions) who said, among other things, that the Vexation of finding himself uncapable of answering *Bullinger*'s *Apology*, had broke his Heart. The *Landgrave* of *Hesse*, knowing that People complained of the Church of *Zurich*, on the account of these Insults, advertised our *Bullinger* of it, who wrote an *Apologetic Letter* to him in the Name of his Colleagues: In the Year 1549, He and *Calvin*, who was come to *Zurich* for that purpose, drew up a Formulary of the Conformity of Faith between the Church of *Zurich*, and that of *Geneva*. *Calvin* undertook that Journey, because he was suspected of an Opinion which favoured that of *Luther* on the Eucharist. The same Year *Bullinger* alledged so many Reasons against the renewing the Alliance, to which King *Henry* II courted the *Swiss*, that That Proposition was rejected. One of his Rea-

sons

(*d*) He had been killed in the Battle which the Protestants lost on the 11th of *October*, 1531.

(*e*) He had been the principal Antagonist of *Zuinglius*.

‹ administraret, se hac ætate (erat autem sexagenarius) nolle de nuptiis & conjugio solicitum esse. ‹ Equidem non desunt qui hoc ejus factum & consilium damnant, hoc maxime nomine quod eum melius consulturum fuisse suæ valetudini existmant si alteram uxorem duxisset: homines ridiculi; quasi in conjugio viventes non æque nephritidis & dysuriæ doloribus obnoxii sint atque cœlibes. ‹ An vero existimant cum nullam suæ valetudinis rationem habuisse, & tantæ ætatis atque prudentiæ hominem ignorasse quidnam suæ naturæ conveniens sit? Atque ut maxime vera sit eorum ratio, eas tamen ille forte habuit consilii sui rationes ‹ vulgo incognitas, ut etiam cum damno valetudinis id sibi persequendum statuerit (4). —— *He* ‹ *outlived her near XI Years, but never could be* ‹ *perswaded to marry another Wife. Not that he* ‹ *believed second Marriages to be unlawful for a* ‹ *Christian, or even a Minister of the Church, but* ‹ *he said his first Wife still lived in his Mind,* ‹ *who had left so many dear Pledges of herself, and* ‹ *as he had a Daughter who managed his Family* ‹ *very well, he would not, at his Years (and he* ‹ *was sixty), think of Marriage. Indeed there are* ‹ *some who blame this Action and Resolution of his,* ‹ *chiefly on this Account, that he would have taken* ‹ *a better Course to preserve his Health, if he had* ‹ *married another Wife; ridiculous! as if married* ‹ *People were not equally subject to nephritic Pains* ‹ *and the Strangury with single Persons. Or do* ‹ *they imagine that he had no regard to his Health,* ‹ *or that a Man of his Age and Prudence did not* ‹ *know what agreed with his Constitution? And* ‹ *suppose their Reasons were true, perhaps he had* ‹ *some private Reasons for his Conduct, which he* ‹ *resolved to follow, even at the Expence of his* ‹ *Health.*' The best of all this, is, the Seriousness wherewith it is set forth.

(4) Ibid. fol. 22. verso.

[*D*] *He was appointed to answer* Luther, *it being thought that a very vigorous Answer would make* Luther *more moderate for the future.*] I declare before-hand, that I do not apply what I am going to say to any particular Person, especially, that I by no means glance at *Luther* in it; but it is certain, that one can hardly tell what course to take with certain fiery and impetuous Tempers. Turn which way you please, you find yourself uneasy with them. Answer them, and you raise their Choler an hundred times higher (5) Do not answer them, and they become tenfold more fierce and insolent: they insult you, and attack all others with much greater Boldness. The Experience of Impunity makes them hope that all will give way to them, and that there is nothing better than hectoring and bouncing. So that there are Difficulties on both sides, whether you do, or do not resist them. However, I do believe, that, according to human Prudence, it is better to resist them by answering in their own way and Stile, than to keep silence. Those violent Spirits are not all equally untractable, some of them may be kept within bounds, if they are put upon the defensive. What I am going to copy deserves to be weighed; the Ministers of *Zurich* experienced the Importance of it. ‹ Alii vero omnino respondendum ‹ censebant & quidem acriter, quod nec privatim nec ‹ publicè læsus tanta petulantia vivis & defunctis insultaret. Etsi enim Lutherus benè meritus sit de ‹ Ecclesia, non tamen tantum illi tribuendum, ut ‹ unus plus reliquis omnibus posset, & ut ob unius ‹ offensionem cavendam veritas turpi silentio prodatur. Ac fore utilem hujusmodi responsionem cum ‹ quoad ipsum Lutherum, qui dum omnes illi indulgent atque omnia permittunt, magis in illa sua ‹ nimia vehementia confirmatur; quod si fortiter se ‹ illi viri boni & docti opponant, rem diligentius ‹ expensurum, & moderatius acturum; tum ad alios ‹ commovendos ne tyrannidem in renascentem ecclesiam inducant. - - - - In hanc sententiam con‹ cesserunt Tigurini (6). - - - *Others were of Opi*‹ *nion, that he ought, by all means, to be answered,* ‹ *and that sharply; because, without any manner of* ‹ *Provocation, either public or private, he so petu*‹ *lantly insulted both the Living and the Dead. For* ‹ *notwithstanding* Luther *deserved well of the* ‹ *Church,*

(5) Bacchæ bacchantî si velis adversariere, ex insana insanior fies. *Plaut. in Amphitr. Act.* 2, *Sc.* 2, *ver.* 79.

(6) Simlerus, ubi supra, fol. 20. verso.

sons was, that it was not lawful for a Man to let himself to hire, to kill those who have done him no wrong (*f*) [*E*]. He wrote a Book in the Year 1551, to shew that the Council of *Trent* had no other Design than to oppress the Truth, and that therefore no regard should be had to the Pope's Behaviour to the Cantons, in inviting them to send Deputies to the Council. That Book never appeared but in *Italian*: It was translated into that Language, with some Additions, by *Paul Vergerius*. The Dispute between *Bullinger* and *Brentius*, about the Doctrine of Ubiquity, began in the Year 1561. *Bullinger* published a Book, wherein he shewed, that JESUS CHRIST, as to his Human Nature, is no where but in Heaven, at the right Hand of GOD. *Brentius*, a zealous Ubiquitarian, answered that Book. *Bullinger* replied to him (*g*). *Brentius* published another Work, against which *Bullinger* did not fail to draw his Pen (*h*). *Brentius* returned to the Charge (*i*), and so did *Bullinger* (*k*). He wrote a Book, in 1571, against the last Will and Testament of *Brentius*, which *William Bidenback*, a Divine of *Wittemberg*, had published, by which Testament *Brentius* forewarned all States not to allow the *Zuinglians* a Toleration (*l*). The National Synod of *Rochel*, having, in 1571, condemned those who rejected the Words *Substance* and *Substantially*, in speaking of the Eucharist: the Ministers of *Zurich* thought, that That Canon condemned them. They wrote to *Beza* about it, who answered, that the Synod did not point at them: However *Bullinger* represented to *Beza*, that the Expressions of the Decree ought to be so altered, that no body might think there was any Difference of Opinion between the Churches [*F*]. That Letter of *Bullinger* was effectual; for, in the Year 1572, the Synod of *Nismes* gave all the Explications that the Church of *Zurich* could desire. An Answer was to be made, in 1575, to the Apology for the Testament of *Brentius*, composed by *James Andrews*. The Ministers of *Zurich* took upon them what concerned the Fundamentals of Doctrine, and left *Bullinger* only the Trouble of answering what related to himself. This was his last Work, and it is observable, that he never exceeded the Bounds of Modesty as he did at this time: He treated his Adversary hardly, he railed at him, and ridiculed him to some purpose. He died like a good Christian, the seventeenth of *September*, 1575 (*m*). He is Author of a great many Books; for besides those which have been printed, and which amount to ten Volumes, he wrote several others that are preserved in Manuscript (*n*). *John Stuckius* made his Funeral Oration [*G*]. Most of Mr *Moreri's*

(*f*) Decens non esse jus aut fas homini ut se mercede conduct patiatur ad fundendum sanguinem miserorum & plerumque innocentium hominum à quibus nulla ipsi unquam injuria affectus sit. *Simler, ibid. fol.* 24.

(*g*) In 1562.

(*h*) In the beginning of 1563.

(*i*) In the beginning of 1564.

(*k*) Ibid.

(*l*) Classicum quodammodo canens, & omnes exhortans ut nullum locum nobis in Ecclesia Christi relinquant. *Simlerus, ibid. fol.* 43.

(*m*) Taken from his Life, written by *Josiah Simler*.

(*n*) *See* Hotting. in Bibl. Tigurin. pag. 75, & seq.

' *Church, yet was not so much deference due to him,*
' *as that he alone should be of more Weight than*
' *all the rest, and the Truth be betrayed by a shame-*
' *ful Silence, for fear of offending one single Per-*
' *son. That such an Answer would be useful both to*
' Luther *himself, who, while every body gives him his*
' *Way, and bears with all, will grow more confirm-*
' *in his Vehemence; but if these good and learned*
' *Men withstood him bravely, would weigh things more*
' *carefully, and act with more Moderation; and*
' *might also prevent others from introducing Tyranny*
' *into the newly reviving Church.* - - - - - *Those*
' *of* Zurich *came into this Opinion.*'

[*E*] *He thought it not lawful for a Man to let himself to hire, to kill those who have done him no wrong.*] I do not pretend to set up for a Judge, or a Censurer, of the *Swiss Cantons*, who sacrifice the Lives of their Subjects in other Peoples Quarrels, and when they can have no doubt but the Quarrel is unjust: for Example: They give at present (7) Troops to *France*, and likewise to the Enemies of *France*: and yet one of the two Parties must certainly have an unjust Cause. But be that how it will, I shall not examine whether *Bullinger* was in the wrong or no, as to the Republic of *Switzerland*: I shall only say, that I do not see what answer can be made him, as to private Persons, who list themselves voluntarily to kill the Allies of their Country. A private Person may bear Arms against the Enemies of his Country, whether his Sovereign requires him so to do, or whether he leaves every one to his Liberty to list or not: but when a Person has that Liberty, and hires himself to kill those who are Friends and Allies to his Sovereign, I cannot see but he hires himself to commit Murder, and imitates the Gladiators, who to divert the the People of *Rome*, hired themselves to the first Comer to kill one another. One of our News Writers has made a Remark lately upon this Conduct of the *Cantons*: I think it is in the Historical Letters of *September* 1694. You will see in a Work of *Hottinger*, that *Zuinglius*, and the other Reformers of that Country, had the same Scruples as our *Bullinger* (8).

(7) This is wrote in 1694.

(8) Hotting. in Methodo legendi Histor. Helvet. pag. 603. & seq.

[*F*] *He desired of* Beza *that the Expressions of a Decree of the Synod of* Rochelle *might be altered, that no body might think there was any Difference of Opinion between the Churches.*] It will not be useless to place here the Words that *Josiah Simler* made use of. ' Videri decretum verbis paulo inconsideratius ' conceptum & pronunciatum esse, *Damnamus eos* ' *qui non recipiunt substantiæ vocabulum.* Quis enim ' ignorat nos ex eorum numero esse qui hoc non re- ' cipimus, neque unquam recipere voluimus? Quamobrem consultissimum fore ut cum iterum in ' Synodum coïerint hac de re sermones & decreta ' sua sic temperent, ut omnibus ubique manifestum ' sit neque de nobis, neque de nostri similibus ubi- ' cunque locorum fuerint canonem locutum esse. - - ' Atque ita quidem postea contigit (9). - - - *That* ' *the Decree seemed to be conceived and expressed in* ' *Terms not well weighed*, viz. We damn those who ' do not receive the word Substance. *For who* ' *knows not that we are of those who do not receive* ' *it, nor ever did? Wherefore, it would be most ad-* ' *visable, that the Synod, when they meet again, tem-* ' *per their Expressions and Decrees, concerning this* ' *Matter, so that it may be evident to every body,* ' *that the Canon does not concern either us, or any* ' *of our Persuasion.* - - - *And so indeed it happened* ' *afterwards.*' The Answer, which *Beza* made by order of the Synod to the Church of *Zurich*, is in the Sixty fifth of his Letters, and the Two hundred seventy ninth Pages of the third Tome of his Works.

(9) Simler. ubi supra, fol. 44.

[*G*] John Stuckius *made his Funeral Oration.*] *Thuanus* is not well translated. They will have him say, that *Josiah Simler* composed the Funeral Oration of *Bullinger* (10). Whereas, he says no more than that *Simler* praised *Bullinger*. ' Senio ' gravis decessit 13 Kalend. Octob. à Josiah Simlero ' - - - - - laudatus, & variis variorum carminibus ' epitaphiis celebratus (11). - - - - *He died at a* ' *great Age, on the seventeenth of* September, *and* ' *was commended by* Josiah Simler, *and celebrated in* ' *Epitaphs, in different kinds of Verse, by several* ' *Hands.*' This is very true, though it was *Stuckius*, and not *Simler*, that made the Funeral Oration; for *Simler* wrote *Bullinger*'s Life, wherein he praised him highly.

(10) Teissier Elog. *taken from* Thuanus, Tom. I, pag. 440.

(11) Thuan. lib. lxi, pag. 139.

[*H*] *Mr*

reri's Faults are not material [*H*]. Those of Mr *Teissier* are likewise inconsiderable, and not so numerous [*I*].

[*H*] *Mr Moreri's Faults are not material.*] I. The River, which runs by *Bremgarten*, is not called *Russ*, but *Rusi* (12). II. It does not appear from *Bullinger*'s Life, though *Simler* has described it amply and exactly, that he was a Clergyman in the Communion of *Rome*. It is expressly noted, that he performed no manner of *Roman* Catholic Function in the Abbey of *la Cappel*. 'Religio illi manebat 'integra, neque quicquam negotii habebat cum votis monasticis, monachatu, cuculla, cantu, choro, 'ALIISQUE superstitionibus papisticis (13). - - - - 'His Religion was intirely pure, nor had he any 'share in the Monastic Vows, or Order, Habit, Sing-'ing, Choir, or ANY OTHER Popish Superstition.' It is likely, that Mr *Moreri* was misled by *Spondanus*, who says, that *Henry Bullinger*, an Apostate and a married Priest, succeeded *Zuinglius*. 'Zuinglio porro Tiguri in Cathedra pestilentiæ suffectus est Henricus Bullingerus itidem Helvetius 'ex Presbytero apostata uxoratus (14).' III. It is true, indeed, that *John Bullinger*, the Brother of *Henry*, died in the Year 1570 (15); but it is false that he was eighty Years of Age. He was eight Years older than his Brother (16); therefore he was born in the Year 1496; so that he must have been only Seventy four Years of Age when he died. What was *Melchior Adam* dreaming of, when he made him Eighty six Years old; when he mentions the eight Years difference between the two Brothers, and places the Death of the Eldest in the Year 1570? This *John Bullinger* had been some time Curate of a Village in the Canton of *Uri*. He loved War and Hunting, and sometimes followed the Inhabitants of his Canton, when they went to fight. He was stripped and very much wounded in a Battle which they lost. From that time, he renounced the War and the Priesthood: He turned Protestant, betook himself again to his Study, and, being made a Minister, he faithfully discharged the Duties of his Ministry, till he died (17). This Phrase of *Moreri*, *He brought him over afterwards to the Party of the Protestants, and he died in* 1573, *being fourscore Years old*, is so ill put together, that the most knowing Readers may be deceived by it. The first *he* refers to *Henry Bullinger*, and the second to *John Bullinger*. But, according to the Rules of writing well, they ought both to refer to the same Man, and every Reader will understand them so at the first Reading. They have been taken in that Sense, in the *Amsterdam* Edition, and therefore the Editor thought that the last Member of the Period contained two Falsities. The Period was therefore rectified in this manner: *He brought him over afterwards to the Party of the Protestants, and died in* 1575, *being Seventy one Years old*. It is certain that *Moreri* does not speak of *Henry Bullinger*'s Death in that Place; he only mentions the Death of *John*. At the end of the Article he mentions that of *Henry*, and places it on the Twenty fourth of *May*, 1575. IV. *Moreri* should have said, not that *Bullinger wrote two Dialogues, when he was but twenty Years of Age, against a Jew - - - - - in favour of* Capnio; but that he wrote them at fifteen Years of Age (18) against a Jew converted to Christianity. The Reason why he should have added this, is, that the Monks, who persecuted *Capnio*, alledged for a Pretence, that he opposed the destroying of Jewish Books, and favoured Judaism. It is certain, that the Jews are not his Adversaries. V. It is not true that at twenty Years of Age he had *a mind to turn Carthusian* (19). VI. The two Attempts mentioned by *Moreri*, would not have been omitted in *Bullinger*'s Life, if they were true. *Moreri* says, That the first time That Minister undertook to preach at *Bremgarten*, he met with such Opposition, that he was obliged to retire into the Country. He confounds the Father with the Son: It was *Bullinger*'s Father who was expelled from his native Country, when he had declared against the Mass; but the Son went thither only once to perform the Functions of Minister in that Place. VII. It is not true that the Calvinists wrote against him. VIII. His Steadiness, in the Dispute he had with *Brentius*, was not at all an Effect of a Promise he had made to *Zuinglius*; for their Dispute ran upon the Doctrine of Ubiquity, which was not started till after *Zuinglius*'s Death. Would any one be so unreasonable as to say, that *Bullinger* made a general Promise to oppose the Lutherans, whatever Doctrine they should invent for the future? I pass by three other small Mistakes which I have rectified in my first Edition.

(12) In Latin *Ursa*.

(13) Simler, ubi supra, fol. 7.

(14) Spondan. Annal. Eccles. ad Ann. 1531, n. 7.

(15) Simler. ubi supra, fol. 42, verso.

(16) Assiduum hortatorem habebat fratrem ipso 8. annis natu majorem Joannem nomine, qui tum in eadem Schola (*Embrica*) literis operam dabat, & privatim ejus studia informabat. *Id. ibid. fol.* 6.

(17) Id. fol. 6. verso, & fol. 42. verso.

[*I*] *Those of Mr* Teissier *are - - - - not so numerous.*] He says, I. *That when* Bullinger *had made an End of his Studies, he resolved to turn* Carthusian. II. That *he established the Reformation at* Cappel, *a Town in* Switzerland. III. That *he retired to* Zurich, *and, after* Zuinglius's *Death, was chosen —— to fill his Place*. IV. That *he exercised the Ministry for the space of Fifty Years* (20). *Bullinger* had a Mind to turn *Carthusian*, when he was but twelve Years of Age (21); but he had no more such Thoughts at the Age of seventeen (22). *Cappel* is not a Town, but an Abbey. *Bullinger* did not go to *Zurich* till after *Zuinglius* was killed (23). He was not *a Minister for the space of Fifty Years*. One may infer from the History of his Life, that he was admitted into the Ministry only in 1527, or 1528. *Thuanus* is in the right to say, that he exercised his Ministry during Forty three Years; but that Historian should not have said, that he served all that Time the Church of *Zurich*; he should have taken off three Years.

(20) Teissier, ubi supra, pag. 476.

(21) Quamvis puer adhuc constituerat se Carthusianorum instituto addicere. *Simler, ubi supra, fol.* 5, *ad Ann.* 1520.

(22) Propositum de Carthusianorum vita amplectenda prorsus abjecit, *Id. fol.* 70 *ad Ann.* 1521.

(23) Tigurum venit anno 1531. 10 XXXI. die XI. Kalend. Decembr. *Id. fol.* 83. *verso.* Zuinglius *was killed the* 11th *of* Octob. 1531.

BUNEL (WILLIAM), Professor of Physic in the University of *Toulouse*, towards the Beginning of the XVIth Century. He wrote a Piece not mentioned by *Gesner*, nor by *Vander Linden*, nor by their Continuators. *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* has given us the Title of it, and some Extracts [*A*].

[*A*] *He wrote a Book —— of which* Du Verdier *has given the Title, and some Extracts.*] This is that Title: 'Œuvre excellente & à chacun desirant de 'peste se préserver tres utile. Contenant les Médicines préservatives & curatives des maladies pestilentieuses & conservatives de la Santé. Composée par Maistre Guillaume Bunel en la faculté de Médecine Docteur Régent de l'Université de 'Tholose, lesquelles par luy sont ordonnées tant en 'Latin qu'en François par rime. Aveq plusieurs 'Epistres à certains excellens personnages en la louange de Justice & de la Chose publique (1). '—— *An excellent Work, and very useful to those 'who are desirous to preserve themselves from the 'Plague, containing Remedies to preserve one's self 'from, and to cure pestilential Diseases. Written 'by* William Bunel *a Physician, Doctor of the Uni-'versity of* Toulouse, *who has prescribed those Re-'medies both in* Latin *and* French. *Verses. With 'several Letters to some eminent Persons in Com-'mendation of Justice, and in Praise of the Com-'mon-wealth.*' That Book was printed at *Toulouse* in the Year 1513, in 4to. I shall set down the first Verses of the Extracts that are to be found in *du Verdier*:

(1) Du Verdier, Vau Privas Biblioth. Françoise, pag. 472.

En apres il se fault garder
De faire prou ni peu excés.
Dequoy lon se puisse eschauffer,
Car il en vient des maux assés.
Les femmes à part delaissez
Sans toucher aux pas instrumens:
Plusieurs en ont souffert tourmens.
Je ne dis pas qu'en mariage
Afin qu'on puisse avoir du fruict,
Vous ne faciez aucun ouvrage
De tard en tard ainsi que duit:
Mais ce soit apres la minuict.

(24) *Simler*, and *Melchior Adam*, say these Dialogues were written in the Year 1520.

(19) See the following Remarks.

Parfaicte la digeſtion	*For many thence have ſuffer'd Pain;*
Pour faire generacion.	*I do not ſay, but married Men*
Auſſi grands inconveniens	*May do the Office, now and then,*
Vienent pour trop manger & boire;	*As requiſite for Procreation,*
On a veu de grands accidens	*But, let them do't with Moderation,*
Deſquels devons avoir memoire.	*And in the Morning, when, for uſes,*
Et pource, ſi me voulez croire,	*Digeſtion has prepar'd the Juices;*
Mangez peu, net & bon il ſoit:	*Too many by Experience learn,*
(a) Id. ibid. Fol eſt qui ſoi-meſmes deçoit (a).	*(May their Examples others warn!)*
	Diſtempers, more than one can think,
The leaſt exceſs of any kind,	*Flow from exceſs, in Meat and Drink.*
Whether of Body, or of Mind,	*Be then content with little Food,*
With ſtudious Care be ſure avoid,	*And chuſe that little clean and good:*
Health by exceſs is oft deſtroy'd;	*This, take my Word, 's the ſafeſt Rule;*
From Am'rous dalliance abſtain,	*He that deceives himſelf 's a Fool.*

BUNEL (PETER), a Native of *Toulouſe*, was one of the politeſt *Latin* Writers that lived in the XVIth Century [*A*]. He ſtudied at *Paris*, in *Coqueret* College, where he glorioufly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his noble Genius. Being returned to *Toulouſe*, and not knowing how to maintain himſelf in his Family, he ſought his Fortune elſewhere. He went to *Padua*, and was maintained there by *Æmilius Perrotus*. Afterwards he had a good place procured him in the Houſe of *Lazarus de Baif*, Embaſſador of *Francis* I, at *Venice*, where he ſpent three Years with great Satisfaction and Profit; and was even aſſiſted, in his Study of the *Greek* Tongue, by the Embaſſador his Maſter. When he had made a conſiderable Progreſs in that Language, he ſtudied the *Hebrew* Tongue. *George de Salve*, Biſhop of *Lavaur*, who was made Embaſſador of *Francis* I, at *Venice*, after *Lazarus de Baif*, took *Bunel* into his Service. They were ſo pleaſed with one another, that when the Biſhop repaſſed the *Alpes*, and reſolved to reſide in his Biſhopric, according to the Duty of a good Prelate, he found *Bunel* altogether diſpoſed to retreat to *Lavaur*. That learned Man found there what ſuited beſt with his Humour; a great Tranquillity, a great deal of time to ſtudy, and the ſatisfaction of not having before his Eyes the great Examples of the Corruption of the Age. After the Death of his Prelate (*a*), he returned to *Toulouſe*, where he would have been in a poor and miſerable Condition [*B*], if Meſſieurs *du Faur*, Protectors of Virtue and Learning, had

(a) He died in 1544.

[*A*] *He was one of the politeſt* Latin *Writers in the XVIth Century.*] He ſerved for a Model to *Paulus Manutius*, which is a great Encomium. *Catel* could not well forget it. 'Stephen (1) *Bunel*, 'ſays he (2), who inſtructed the ſaid *Sieur de Py-* 'brac in polite Literature, and whoſe *Latin* Epiſtles are extant, which were printed in *Italy*, and other Places, was the firſt who, in his Time, taught the *Romans* and *Italians* to ſpeak *Latin* with Purity, and in the *Ciceronian* Stile; whereas before they were miſled by the Stile of *Politian*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, and others, as *Paulus Manutius*, a very elegant *Latiniſt*, and a very competent Judge, acknowledges as to himſelf in his Epiſtles.' *Henry Stephens* had before taken Advantage of *Paul Manutius*'s Acknowledgment. Take a ſhort Account of what he did: Diſcourſing one Day with *Henry* III, he told him that an *Italian* had made bold to ſay, in a printed Book, That *Italy* had produced many *Ciceronians*, and *France* had produced none. The King was very much ſurpriſed at it, and deſired to know whether it was true: He was anſwered that it was falſe. Whereupon he deſired that a Parallel ſhould be drawn between the *Italian* and *French Ciceronians* (3). In obedience to him, *Henry Stephens* publiſhed the *Letters* of our *Bunel*, and ſome ſelect ones of *Longolius*, to which he added, in the ſame Volume, the ſelect Letters of *Paul Manutius* and *Sadolet*, with ſome of *Peter Bembo*. He named indeed *Peter Bunel* to *Henry* III, but he forgot to tell the King that That Man alone was as good as many: 'Mihi cum 'alios tum Petrum Bunellum ſuggeſſit quidem 'memoria: ſed, vel unum hunc eſſe inſtar multorum poſſe, id vero addere, in mentem non 'venit (4). —— *My Memory ſuggeſted to me* Peter Bunel *among others: but, I forgot, to add, that he alone was as good as many.*' He thinks that thoſe, who do not envy the Glory of *France*, will judge of *Peter Bunel* as he does: 'Quod apud te 'tacui de Bunello publicè ita dico, ut mihi, quicunque Gallicæ laudi non invidebunt, aſſenſuros, 'perſuaſum propemodum habeam (5). ---- *What 'I did not mention to you concerning* Bunel, *I ſay publickly, in which I am almoſt perſuaded, that 'every one, who does not envy the Honour of* France, 'will agree with me.' He not only repreſents him as a *Ciceronian*, but even as the Maſter of the *Italian Ciceronians* (6), for which he alledges *Manutius*'s own Confeſſion. 'Is enim quum ſummum 'Ciceronianitatis attigiſſe gradum exiſtimetur, ad 'eam tamen ſe nonniſi ductu & auſpiciis homi'nis Galli perveniſſe fatetur. Ita enim hic in quadam ad Vidum Fabrum epiſtola (quæ eſt libro 'ejus epiſtolarum primo) de noſtro Petro Bunello, *Ego ab illo maximum habebam beneficium, quod 'me cum Politianis & Eraſmis neſcio quibus miſere 'errantem, in hanc rectæ ſcribendi viam primus in'duxerat.* Sed in poſterioribus Editionibus *cum 'Philelphis & Campanis*, pro illis *cum Politianis & 'Eraſmis*, ſcriptum eſt. Utrocunque tamen ſcribatur modo, primum Ciceronianè ſcribendi noſtro 'Bunello laus conſtat: non parva illa quidem, vel ipſius Manutii judicio. Is enim Politianos & Eraſmos (in quorum poſtea locum Philelphi & Campani ſubſtituti fuerunt) quod eam quam ipſi Bunello oſtendit ſcribendi viam non tenuerint, miſere 'erraſſe arbitratur (7) —— *For though he is thought 'to have attained to the higheſt Pitch of the* Ciceronian *Stile, yet, he confeſſes, that he did not attain it, without the Inſtruction and Aſſiſtance of a* French *Man. For in a Letter to* Guy Faber (*extant in the firſt Book of his Letters*) *concerning our* Bunel, *he ſays thus:* I received great Benefit from him, for he firſt brought me into the way of writing well, from whence I had miſerably ſtrayed after *Politian* and *Eraſmus*. *But in the latter Editions, inſtead of* Politian *and* Eraſmus, *is put* Philelphus *and* Campanus. *Which way ever we read it, the Praiſe of writing in a* Ciceronian *Stile remains fixed to our* Bunel: *no ſmall Commendation even in* Manutius's *Opinion. For he thought that* Politian *and* Eraſmus *(in whoſe ſtead* Philelphus *and* Campanus *were afterwards ſubſtituted) were very much in the wrong, that they did not follow that Method of writing, which* Bunel *ſhewed him.*'

[*B*] *He returned to* Toulouſe, *and would have been in a poor and miſerable Condition.*] Here I muſt

(1) He ſhould have ſaid *Peter.*

(2) *Catel*'s Memoirs for the Hiſtory of *Languedoc*, pag. 128.

(3) Taken from the Epiſtle Dedicatory of *Henry Stephens*, to *Henry* III, perfixed to the Letters of *Peter Bunellus*, &c. 1581.

(4) Henr. Stephanus, in Epiſt. Dedicat. Epiſt. Bunellii.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Id. in Præfatione.

(7) Id. ibid.

had not of their own Accord exerted their Liberality towards him. One of them put his Sons under his Care, to inſtruct them, and go with them into *Italy*. *Bunel* did not make an end of his Journey, for he died of a burning Fever at *Turin*. He lived but Forty ſeven Years. He was a Man more commendable ſtill for his regular Life, than for the Beauty of his Stile (*b*). He was never ſeen to hunt after Riches and Preferments: being contented with Neceſſaries, he made it his chief Buſineſs to cultivate his Mind [*C*]: This Conduct is almoſt as rare in the Commonwealth

(*b*) Taken from Mr *Gravetol* the Advocate's, Preface to *Bunel*'s Letters in the *Toulouſe* Edition, 1687.

muſt obſerve, that ſome Perſons exaſperated the Biſhop's Brothers againſt him. They made them believe he had inſpired him with the Deſire of leaving the Court, and minding only the Duties of Epiſcopacy, and even of leading an auſtere and over contemplative Life. They repreſented to them, that That Advice had been attended with fatal Conſequences; ſince that Prelate had not only ſtopped the Courſe of his Fortune, when in a fair way, but alſo loſt his Life in the Flower of his Age, by being a rigid Follower of a ſpiritual Life. *Bunel* being told, that thoſe Gentlemen gave Credit to ſuch Reports, and were angry with him, durſt not write to them in his own Juſtification: but he wrote to *Peter Danes* and to *du Ferrier* upon that Subject. He repreſented to them, that two ſorts of Men did him that ill Office. Some had been diſpleaſed to ſee *George de Selve* confine himſelf to his Biſhopric; others found him too ſevere againſt their diſorderly Lives: All of them hated *Bunel*; the former, becauſe they looked on him as the Cauſe of that Retirement, whereby they had been deprived of the Preferments which they expected; and the latter, becauſe they looked on him as the Inſtrument of the Penalties which the Prelate had made uſe of to reſtrain their ill Lives. *Bunel* in ſome meaſure excuſes the Ambition of the former, and deſpiſes the Reſentment of the latter. He does not think it ſtrange, that Men, infatuated with human Grandeur, who had ſcarce ſeen any Example of a noble Contempt of worldly Things, ſhould be diſpleaſed with the Biſhop's Retreat: But he is ſo charmed with his Reſolution to reſide in his Biſhopric, that he dares not aſcribe to himſelf the Glory of having adviſed him to it. Let us ſee his own Words: 'Duo ſunt hominum genera, quos mihi 'ſuccenſere minime miror, & non ita moleſte fero: 'unum eſt eorum, qui Vauenſem Antiſtitem Vaurum ſecedere moleſte ferebant: quod perinde eſt, 'atque ſi ducem exercitus in caſtra venire, in acie verſari, cum hoſte, ſi res ferat, confligere nunquam patiare. Verum ii, quoniam rerum humanarum ſplendore capti, ſerpunt humi, neque in cœlum ſuſpicere queunt, ferendi ſunt, &, ſi incurſabit aliquando in nos eorum dolor, non ſunt aſperius repellendi. Oppreſſi ſunt opinionibus, magnos ſequuntur duces, ut jam quod exemplo multorum faciant, jure quodammodo facere videantur. Sed interim quid mihi vitio vertant, 'ſatis intelligere non poſſum. Georgius Selva 'Vauenſis Antiſtes religionem Chriſtianam ſuis & 'ſuorum commodis, divina humanis, æterna caducis prætulit.' Quid ad me? ſi hoc mihi tribuunt, 'rerum pulcherrimarum authorem me laudant: 'quod ego neque agnoſco, neque ſane mihi tribui poſtulo - - - - - ſunt nonnulli - - - - - qui ad 'ſecundum diſtributionis meæ genus pertinent, 'quorum ego rationibus cum una vivebamus optime quidem conſultum ſemper volui: ſed quia 'juſſu patroni illorum cupiditatibus adverſabar, 'odiſſe me peſſime nunquam deſiterunt: horum 'ego teſtimonium, quoniam nullius ponderis eſt, 'refellere non conſtitui, neque ſcelera & flagitia 'acerbius inſectari. Ergo & illos priores minime 'miror, & iſtos facile contemno (8). - - - - *There 'are two ſorts of Men that I do not wonder are 'angry at me, nor am I ſo much concerned at it: 'one ſort are they who were grieved that the Biſhop 'of* Lavaur *retired to his Dioceſe; which is juſt 'as if you ſhould not allow a General to come to 'the Camp, to continue with the Army, and Fight 'the Enemy if need be. But as they, being taken 'with the Splendor of human Things, grovel on the 'Earth, and cannot look up to Heaven; they are 'to be born with, and if their Diſpleaſure ſhould 'at any time fall on me, they are not to be repulſed roughly. They are born down by Opinions, 'and follow great Leaders; ſo that in what they do, 'after the Example of many, they imagine they 'are in ſome meaſure in the right. But, in the 'mean time, I cannot ſee what they can blame me 'for.* George de Selve, *Biſhop of* Lavaur, *preferred the Chriſtian Religion to his own and his 'Family's Intereſt, divine to human, and eternal 'to tranſitory Things. What is that to me? if 'they attribute this to me, they commend me as 'Author of a moſt laudable thing: which I neither 'acknowledge, nor deſire to be aſcribed to me - - - - 'there are ſome - - - - who belong to my ſecond Diviſion, to whoſe way of Life I was a thorough 'Well-wiſher, when I lived amongſt them; but, becauſe, by order of my Patron, I was an Enemy 'to their Deſires, they have always hated me: [illegible] 'Teſtimony of theſe Men being of no weight, I 'thought not fit to refute it, nor inveigh too ſharply 'againſt their Crimes and Wickedneſs. [illegible] 'fore the firſt I do not at all wonder at; the latter 'I heartily deſpiſe.' He is ſo far from owning, that he urged his Maſter to an over rigid [illegible] that, on the contrary, he maintains he often exhorted him to uſe Moderation, and to conſider that a Man, by neglecting his Body, may loſe his Health, and even his Life. 'Simulatque eum ad res divinas accerrime contemplandas evolare, neque ſolum divitias & honores contemnere, ſed parum etiam valetudini parcere animadverti: quid prætermiſi, quo eum à nimia illa animi contentione revocarem? Quoties illud uſurpavi, curandum eſſe, ut quæ libenter, ea etiam diutius faceret? Egi interdum liberius, & eam quam nunc video rerum commutationem, & pene genus ipſum mortis prædixi. Cum enim corpus, meo judicio, neque ſatis ali, neque exerceri, animum autem ad cœleſtium rerum cogitationem continenter ſevocari animadverterem, non fuit difficile colligere, hoc diuturnum eſſe non poſſe (9). - - - - *As ſoon as I obſerved that he applied himſelf ſo eagerly to the Contemplation of divine things, and not only deſpiſed Riches and Honours, but even neglected his Health; what did I omit whereby I might divert him from that over intenſeneſs of Thought? How often did I urge him to take Care that what he did with Pleaſure he might do long? I ſometimes ſpoke very freely, and foretold that Change which I now ſee, and almoſt the very manner of his Death. For when I ſaw that his Body was not, in my Judgment, either nouriſhed or exerciſed ſufficiently, and his Mind perpetually taken up with the Contemplation of heavenly Things, it was eaſy to judge, that That could not laſt long.'*

(9) Id. Epiſt. xlviii, pag. 165, 166. *See alſo* Epiſt. liii, p. 186.

[*C*] *Being contented with Neceſſaries, he made it his chief Buſineſs to cultivate his Mind.*] He wrote to *du Ferrier* the following Words (10): 'Quanquam poſtulare videbatur fortunarum mearum tenuitas, ut longe mihi in poſterum proſpicerem, tamen ut verum fatear, ego mei diſſimilis eſſe non poſſum. Poſt Deum, in ſtudiis Literarum mihi ſunt omnia, quæ etiam dabo operam ut ad eum ipſum referantur. Dices hominem egeſtate oppreſſum præclari nihil efficere poſſe: Verum id quidem eſt: Sed ego, cum parvo contentus ſim, nunquam exiſtimavi id mihi deeſſe poſſe: quæ ſpes adhuc me non fefellit (11). - - - - *For tho' the narrowneſs of my Fortune ſeemed to require, that I ſhould make Proviſion for the time to come, yet to tell the Truth, I cannot differ from myſelf. Next to* GOD, *my whole Study is in Literature, and that I will endeavour to turn to his Service. You will ſay, that a Man, oppreſſed with Poverty, can do nothing conſiderable: That is true indeed: But I, being content with a little, never thought I could want that, and hitherto my Expectation has not failed.'* What he wrote to *Reynold Chandon*, deſerves to be duly conſidered,

(10) Id. Epiſt. liii, pag. 187, 188.

(11) It is in the Edition of *Toulouſe*, 1687, *me fefellit*. It is a Fault of the Preſs, which ſpoils the Senſe.

(8) Petrus Bunellus, Epiſt. liii, pag. 184, 185.

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Commonwealth of Learning as elſewhere. There are ſome *Latin* Letters of this good

confidered. *Chandos* was a Man, who loved him much, and who had procured him a handſome and very neceſſary Place in the Houſe of the *French* Embaſſador (12). 'In Italia cum ex magna 'rerum omnium difficultate laborarem, tu princeps 'ſponte tua ad me amandum & tuendum omnes 'conatus meos & impetus contuliſti (13). - - - - *In* 'Italy, *when I laboured under great Difficulty in* 'all *my Affairs, you, of your own accord, generouſ-* 'ly *employed your utmoſt Endeavours and Power* 'to *give me Favour and Protection.*' Some Years after he endeavoured to ſerve him, and to put him in the way of making his Fortune. But *Bunel* made Anſwer, That he had no Ambition, and ſhould not much care to get conſiderable Preferments, tho' Things were well regulated; and that he would have none, knowing they are the Reward of vicious Practices, and that he had not the ill Qualities that are requiſite for a Man to raiſe himſelf in the World. 'Si rempublicam recta ra- 'tione geri viderem, & ad ſummos honores ac- 'quirendos mihi facillima eſſent omnia, aſcendere 'tamen altius non magnopere laborarem. Nunc 'vero cum inſignia iſta dignitatum, non virtuti, 'induſtriæque, ſed improbitati inertiæque tribui vi- 'deam, neque hujuſcemodi præmia, ſi mei ſimilis 'eſſe volo, optare debeo, neque cum ab iis arti- 'bus, quibus hæc parantur, peſſime inſtructus ſim, 'ſperare poſſum (14). - - - - - *If I ſaw public Af-* 'fairs *managed aright, and it were ever ſo eaſy* 'for *me to attain the greateſt Honours, yet I ſhould* 'not *greatly labour to riſe high. But now, when* 'I *ſee Dignities are not given to Virtue and In-* 'duſtry, *but to Vice and Idleneſs; I ought not, if* 'I *will be conſiſtent with myſelf, wiſh for ſuch* 'Rewards, *nor, being ill provided with thoſe Arts* 'by *which they are obtained, can I hope for* 'them.' He adds, that, if his Friends will do ſomething for him that ſuits with his Inclination, they muſt know, that he is only for a quiet Life, and that he has choſen a Cloſet Retirement, as a Harbour wherein he may ſhelter himſelf from the Storms of Ambition and Envy; that Men want things only in Proportion to their Deſires; that as for him, he has confined his Deſires within narrow Bounds, and therefore does not think himſelf poor for not having what he does not wiſh for; that thoſe, who deſpiſe his Reſolution, may run as faſt as they pleaſe, whither their blind Avarice drives them; that he does not care for it, provided they ſuffer him to live a quiet Life in the Boſom of his Chriſtian Philoſophy. 'Ego ani- 'mi tranquillitatem mihi propoſui, ad quam meas 'actiones & cogitationes omnes referri volo: quic- 'quid ab hac abducit, averſor & abominor. - - - - 'Ego ne maximas ambitionis & invidiæ procellas 'ſubire cogerer in portum hunc literarum me ab- 'didi: tu me egredi, & turbulentiſſima tempeſtate 'vela facere jubes: magnum eſt id quidem, quod 'me conſecuturum ſperas, ſed non ſatis ad id 'quod volo accommodatum. Pereximum eſt, mi 'Reynolde, quod mihi deeſt, quoniam in rebus 'humanis tantum cuique opus eſt, quantum quiſ- 'que cupit: cui cupiditati anguſtos cancellos cir- 'cundedi, eiſdem terminis inopiam, quibus deſide- 'rium rerum definio. Hanc ſententiam ſi quis non 'laudat, aut ſi etiam meum hoc conſilium con- 'temnit, nihil me movet, modo ne mihi moleſtus 'ſit: ruat quo cœcæ cupiditates eum conſtrictum 'trahunt, me in hac philoſophia Chriſtiana liberum 'acquieſcere patiatur (15). - - - - *What I have in* 'view *is Tranquillity of Mind; to this I would* 'have *all my Actions and Thoughts to tend: what-* 'ſoever *leads another way I ſhun and abominate.* 'I - - - - *have retired into this Haven of Litera-* 'ture, *that I might not be obliged to go through* 'the *Storms of Ambition and Envy; you deſire me* 'to *come out, and ſail in a moſt violent Tempeſt: it is indeed a great thing that you hope I ſhall* 'obtain, *but not well ſuited to what I deſire. It is very little, my* Reynold, *that I want; for in things of this World every Man wants juſt as* 'much *as he deſires: this Deſire I have circum-* 'ſcribed *in narrow Bounds, and define Want in the ſame Terms with the Deſire of Things. If* 'any *one does not like my Opinion, or even deſpiſes* 'this *Reſolution of mine, that does not affect me, ſo* 'he *be not troubleſome to me; let him run where* 'his *blind Deſires carry him Priſoner, and let me* 'remain *free in this Chriſtian Philoſophy.*' There is no doubt, but he gives a faithful Account of his Heart here; he was a good Man then, and ſuch an one as *Diogenes* looked for: Thus all Men ought indeed to turn their Mind; eſpecially Chriſtians; and yet this is what they will not do, hardly one in Six hundred thouſand. The Reformed have a ſmall Catechiſm, in which the firſt Queſtion is, *Wherefore has* GOD *ſent us into the World?* The *Catechumen* anſwers, *To know, and to ſerve Him.* This, in general, is the Principle of all Chriſtians; but it is a Principle only in Theory, a meer Speculation: if their Anſwer were to be ſuited to their moral Practice, moſt Chriſtians would anſwer, That GOD ſent them into the World to inrich themſelves, and riſe to high Offices; for this is actually all they aim at; this is their whole Care. Some indeed think at firſt on nothing more than obtaining a competent Maintenance; but as ſoon as they get poſſeſſed of this Competency, they immediately aim at aggrandizing themſelves, and propoſe by degrees to mount to the higheſt Dignities. This Spirit governs a Father, both with regard to himſelf and to his Children, and he communicates it to them, as ſoon as their Age will permit. No one is ſatisfied with the Condition he is born in; but endeavours to make a better Figure than his Father (16). The Son of a mean Artiſt uſes his utmoſt Endeavour to become a rich Citizen. If his covetous and inſatiable Induſtry brings him in great Riches, he ſoon grows prodigal in hopes of attaining to Offices, and getting a ſhare in the Government. No Expences appear too great, provided they are but uſeful towards procuring him the good Offices of the mediate or immediate Diſtributers of Magiſtracy. They, who, by their Character, are moſt obliged to practiſe the Precepts of JESUS CHRIST concerning the deſpiſing of this World, forget this Obligation but too often; and take Opportunities of getting great Eſtates, to advance their Families, and to raiſe their Dependants. This puts me in mind of what a good Man told me one day. He happened to make a Viſit to Mr *** where there were nine or ten Perſons more, who diſcourſed on divers Things. At laſt, the Converſation fell on the Qualities of a certain Miniſter. One of thoſe Gentlemen blamed him freely enough for ſome Things: Another anſwered, and, without juſtifying the Miniſter altogether on theſe Points, alledged other Things in his Favour, and inſiſted chiefly on the Article of Friendſhip. 'Never, *ſaid he*, was a better Friend than 'this Miniſter, nor a Perſon of more Zeal to do 'good to thoſe who eſpouſe his Intereſts. He 'procured Penſions for ſuch and ſuch; by his Re- 'commendation, ſuch and ſuch a one obtained a 'Place of Two thouſand Livres a Year, and are 'in a way to make their Fortune. Others keep 'their Coaches, by means of the private Hints he 'had given them to buy Goods, that would be- 'come ſcarce in a little time. Others, deſiring 'paſſionately to attain to the Magiſtracy, have, by 'his good Offices, overcome the Difficulties which 'lay in their way.' After he had gone through ſeveral Articles, Mr *** took up the Diſcourſe, and ſaid, 'I am much ſcandalized at the manner of 'your praiſing a Succeſſor of the Apoſtles. I 'ſhould not think it ſtrange, if you praiſed a Pa- 'gan, or a Layman of our Religion at this rate; 'but I cannot bear your palming theſe things up- 'on us, as very fine Qualities in a Miniſter of 'JESUS CHRIST. Is it his buſineſs to know whether 'ſuch or ſuch Merchandizes will riſe or fall about 'ſuch a time (17)? Does it become him to give 'his Friends notice of it, and to ſmooth them a 'way to Riches and Honours? Is not this pour- 'ing of Oil into the Fire of Covetouſneſs and 'Ambition, a Fire which he is obliged to quench 'in the Soul of all his Flock, as much as poſſi- 'ble? Does he not know, that the Riches and Ho- 'nours of this World are the Nouriſhment of Va- 'nity,

(12) Lettres de Paſq.

(13) Bunel, Epiſt. xxi, pag. 80. *See alſo Letter* xxvii, pag. 104.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 76, 77. *Compare this with the Remark* [G], *of the Article* ATTICUS.

(15) Id. p. 77, 78.

(16) *All would act like* Horace's Me libertino natum patre & in tenui re Majores pennas nido extendiſſe loquêris. *Horat. Epiſt.* xx. *lib.* i, *ver.* 20.

(17) *It is with regard to things of this kind, that one may ſay of an Eccleſiaſtic,* nescire quædam magna pars eſt ſapientiæ. — *To be ignorant of this, is at leaſt one way to underſtand an obſcure Paſſage of St* Paul.

good Man, which are written with the greateſt Purity [*D*], and contain ſeveral curious Facts [*E*]. Some (*c*) think that he was the Son of *William Bunel*, whom I have

(*c*) Graverol. in Præf. Epiſt. Bun.

' nity, are ſo many Clogs, and Stumbling-blocks ' in the way of Salvation; he would be juſt as ' much to be praiſed if he exhorted his Friends ' to give to the Poor what they expend in en- ' deavouring to advance themſelves, as he is ' to be blamed in favouring their Ambition. If ' he perſuaded a Friend of his to put down his ' Coach, and walk about on Foot, and ſell his ' Equipage to endow Hoſpitals, I ſhould look up- ' on this as a true friendly Office in him: And ' this, Sir, is the Duty of your Hero.'

Theſe are doubtleſs very Chriſtian Thoughts; but in the corrupt State in which we live, they are meer Platonic Ideas. That Contempt of Riches and Dignities, which conſtituted the Character of our *Bunel*, is ſeldom found at preſent either in the Laity or Clergy; and what ſhews the height of Corruption, is, that there is hardly any one but deſpiſes thoſe who preſerve that Indifference. So true is it, that the Truths of the Goſpel, which are daily read and heard among us, make but little Impreſſion on our Hearts! A learned Man is highly praiſed and admired, who knows how to enrich himſelf, and to climb from Office to Office, and who, to make his Fortune, divides his whole time into two parts, the one for his Books, and the other to court the Favour of great Perſons, and to inſinuate himſelf every where. Such a Perſon, who is really moſt deſpicable, is not deſpiſed. *Bunel*, and ſuch as he, who are, in reality, moſt worthy of Eſteem, are looked upon with Contempt. What an Allotment of Approbation is here! *Bunel* is according to Rule, and the others not. I ſay, *Bunel*, who prefers the quiet of his Studies, before all the Splendor of worldly Honours. ' Recuperata animi tranquillitate mihi in animo eſt, ' in deſertiſſimam ſolitudinem ſecedere, ibique cum ' libris meis, & uno fortaſſe ſtudiorum ſocio, annos ' aliquot ſoluto & vacuo animo Neptunum procul à ' terra ſpectare furentem. Quod meum conſilium ' rei familiaris angustiæ impedire poſſe viderentur, ' niſi Fabri huic malo liberalitate ſua mederi ſe velle ' confirmarent. Quod ſi res ex ſententia ſuccedent, ' equidem neque Regibus potentiam & voluptates, ' neque Ducibus victorias & triumphos, neque fe- ' neratoribus divitias, neque tibi & Montauro noſtro ' Reipub. gerendæ laudem invidebo (18). —— ' *When I have recovered my Tranquillity of Mind,* ' *I think to retire into ſome unfrequented Solitude,* ' *and there, with my Books, and perhaps, one Com-* ' *panion in Study, for ſome Years, with a free and* ' *eaſy Mind, from Land to view the Sea rage at* ' *a Diſtance. This Purpoſe of mine might ſeem* ' *likely to be obſtructed, by the Straitneſs of my* ' *Circumſtances, had not the* Fabers *aſſured me, that* ' *they will remedy this Evil by their Bounty. And* ' *if things ſucceed to my Mind, truly I ſhall nei-* ' *ther envy Kings their Power and Pleaſures, nor* ' *Generals their Victories and Triumphs, nor Uſurers* ' *their Wealth, nor you, and* Montaur, *the Honour* ' *of ruling the State.*' If he had ſtood fair to attain to the Academical Dignities or Honours, and had not been promoted to them in his Turn, becauſe he was not in the Intereſts of the prevailing Faction, do you think it would have vexed him, or that, to retrieve this pretended Diſgrace, he would have gone over to the more powerful Party? For my part, I do not think he would. He would have been more a Philoſopher than a thouſand others are: The diſappointing theſe of their Reward troubles them: they ſink under the preſſure ſoon or late: I mean, they put themſelves into the Road to Favour. Their Inconſtancy might be excuſed, if Excluſion was a ſign of want of Merit; but as it only proves, that their party is the weaker, it does no prejudice to a Man's true Honour; it may even contribute to render it more ſhining, both for the preſent and the future. What has been ſaid of Martyrs, that it is the Cauſe, and not the ſuffering, that makes them (19), is true both in that Senſe, and the contrary: for it is not the privation of Dignities that diſhonours a Man, but the Cauſe of that privation; they therefore who do not attain to them, becauſe they ſtand firm on the ſide of Juſtice, tho' inferior in Credit, ought to look upon that, not as a Diſhonour, but as a Piece of Honour; thus our *Bunel* would have done (*a*).

(18) Bunel, Epiſt. xlvi, pag. 259.

(19) Cauſa, non pœna, facit martyrem.

[(*a*) *Peter Bunel*, when young, had taken ſome liking to the Doctrine of the Reformed; and a Letter from *Paulus Manutius* to *Guy du Faur*, *pag.* 23 of *Minutius* Letters, Edition of *Morges*, gives room to think, that ſome Catholics believed, that *Bunel* retained ſome tincture of Proteſtantiſm to his Death. *Satis ſcio*, ſays that Letter, *fuiſſe qui illum* (Bunellum) *depravatæ Religionis nomine in Crimen vocaverunt.* —— *I know very well, that ſome Perſons accuſed him of being heretically inclined.* But however it was not on the Article of Juſtification. For according to *Beza Hiſt. Eccleſ. Tom.* 1. *pag.* 48. *ad ann.* 1545, *Bunel* at that time run into the moſt extravagant Pelagianiſm. *Calvin*, who had at firſt made account of him, in 1550 was very far from regarding him as his Diſciple: ' Paucos —— videas (*ſaid he in that* ' *Year*) Sapientiæ ſuæ perſuaſione inflatos, qui non ' ſint obſtinati veritatis hoſtes; Hypocritæ verò ' uſque rabiem infeſti. Et quæ alia cauſa Bunello ' fuit, cur ab Evangelio deficeret; niſi quod homo ' ad oſtentationem natus, & ſibi plus nimio pla- ' cens, in ordinem ſe cogi ægrè ſuſtinebat †? ' ——— *You find few who are puffed up with the* ' *Opinion of their own Wiſdom, but they are obſti-* ' *nate Enemies to the Truth, and Hypocrites, ſpite-* ' *ful even to madneſs. And what other reaſon had* ' Bunel *to fall away from the Goſpel, except that* ' *he was a Man naturally inclined to Oſtentation,* ' *and ſo over full of himſelf, that he could hardly* ' *bear to be brought into Order.*' If *Paulus Manutius*'s Letter were dated, we might know very near the time of *Bunel*'s Death. However, as that Letter is addreſſed to *Guy du Faur* (*Pibrac*), yet a Youth, who was born about the Year, 1528, I imagine that in the Year 1551, when *Charles Stephens* publiſhed *Bunel*'s Letters, *Bunel* was dead but a very little before. Rem. Crit.]

† Calvin. pag. 30, *of his Treatiſe* De Scan alis, *Edit.* 1551.

[*D*] *We have ſome of his* Latin *Letters, written with the utmoſt Purity.*] *Charles Stephens* collected them into one Body, and publiſhed them in the Year 1551 (20). Some of them had appeared before, printed at *Toulouſe* (21): ſome of them were likewiſe inſerted in the Volume intituled, *Epiſtolæ Clarorum Virorum*. *Charles Stephen*'s Edition was imitated at *Cologn* in the Year 1568 (22). *Henry Stephens* republiſhed *Bunel*'s Letters in the Year 1581: they were reprinted at *Toulouſe* in the Year 1687: this laſt Edition is preferable to all the reſt, on Account of the Notes added to it, by the late Mr *Graverol*, Advocate of *Nimes*, but is inferior to that of *Henry Stephens*, as to the Faults of the Preſs. Some of theſe Faults intirely ſpoil the Senſe. I have given one example of it (23), and here follows another. *Cùm ille in omni genere doctrinæ tibi meritò tantum tribuat, quantum nemini, nec quem abs te commendari audivit, ſuis beneficiis dignum judicat* (24): thus we read it in the Edition of *Toulouſe*, inſtead of *ſuis beneficiis indignum judicet*, as it is in that of *Henry Stephens*. Once more: *Illud me in eo ſene imprimis delectabat, quod inſtitutum eorum vehementer reprehenderet, qui Philoſophiæ ſtudiis plusquam neceſſe Chriſtianis eſſet, dediti, literas aut nunquam, aut ſero admodum attingerent* (25). Thus the Edition of *Toulouſe* has it: the Word *ſacras* does not follow *literas*, as it does in that of *Henry Stephens*; and that Omiſſion makes a very puzzling Difficulty.

(20) Epitome Biblioth. Geſneri, pag. 668.

(21) Jacobus Graverol, In præfatione Epiſt Bunelli.

(22) Epit. Biblioth. Geſneri, pag. 608.

(23) *Above*, Citation (12).

(24) Bunellus, Epiſt. lvi, pag. 190.

(25) Id. ibid. pag 197.

[*E*] ——— *which contained ſome curious Facts.*] I will give an example. We find there, that a Profeſſor of *Padua*, in his Lectures, cenſured thoſe who were more attached to the Studies of Philoſophy, than is neceſſary for a Chriſtian, and neglected the the Study of the Scriptures all their Lives, or did not begin to examine them till very late (26). This Profeſſor's Reaſons were ſo ſtrong, that they touched ſome of thoſe who deſerved his Cenſure (27). But a Letter from *Sadolet* ſlackened their Reſolution: they were beginning to renounce their

(26) Id. ibid.

(27) Nonnullos harum rerum peritos inſolentes ſua Oratione permovere viſus eſt. *Bunellus, Epiſt.* lvi, *pag.* 198.

have ſpoken of in the foregoing Article; but it is not probable, ſince we find not the leaſt mention of it, either in his Letters, or in the Authors that ſpeak of him (*d*). When *Sammarthanus* obſerves that the Father of *Peter Bunel* was a *Norman* (*e*), would he have forgot ſo honourable a Character as that of Regent Doctor, of a famous Univerſity? The Capitouls of *Toulouſe* made a Statue of Marble in honour of *Peter Bunel*, and placed it in the Town-Houſe [*F*].

(*d*) Catel, Sammarthanus, Hen. Stephens, &c.

(*e*) Tholoſæ Normano patre natum. Sammarthanus, Elog. lib. i, pag. 42.

Concubine, that is to ſay, Philoſophy, to apply themſelves to Theology, as to a chaſt Spouſe, when *Sadolet*'s Letter engaged them anew in Concubinage. 'Cujus (*Sadoleti*) authoritate & elo-'quentia, quoniam nonnullos ita commoveri audio, 'ut in eo quod facere ſtatuerant, non perſeve-'rent: magis autem repudiata Theologia, quam 'paulò antè, veluti caſtiſſimam conjugem ſibi de-'ſponderant, ad veterem pellicem, quam à ſe di-'mittere cogitabant, & ejus blandiſſimas illecebras 'revolvantur: placet in præſentia, &c. — *As I* (28) Id. ibid. pag. 199. *'underſtand that ſome are ſo moved with his* (Sado-'let's) *Authority and Eloquence, that they do not 'perſevere in their Reſolution, but have rather put 'away Theology, which they had juſt before eſpouſed 'as a chaſt Wife, and are returned to their old 'Harlot, which they had thought to put away: I 'have a mind at preſent,* &c. This Letter was thus occaſioned; *Reginald Pole*, writing to *Sadolet*, deſired him to prevail with *Lazarus Bonamicus*, to apply himſelf to the Holy Scriptures, or at leaſt to abandon his Rhetoric, and ſtudy Philoſophy. *Pole* was in hopes that That Study would not detain *Bonamicus* long, and would lead him much further. He thought that *Bonamicus* would perceive, that the light of Philoſophy cannot lead a Man any further, than to make him at laſt own, that he knows only this, that he knows nothing: That this is the *Ne plus ultra* of Philoſophy: from whence it muſt neceſſarily be concluded, that the mind of Man has need of ſome other light to diſpel the Darkneſs of it's ignorance. Now where is that Light to be found but in *Revelation*? 'Petierat Polus, ut, eſt 'religionis amplificandæ cupidiſſimus, à Sadoleto 'per Epiſtolam, ut Lazarum Bonamicum, ſuum 'contubernalem, ad ſtudia literarum ſacrarum im-'pelleret: velle id Antiſtitem non dubitabat: va-'lere plurimum apud Bonamicum authoritatem ejus 'ſciebat. Quod ſi id fieri poſſe deſperaret, ſaltem 'ab eloquentiæ ſtudiis ad graviora illa Philoſophiæ 'moralis præcepta traduceret: ſe ſperare, ut cùm 'eò perventiſſet, non conſiſtendum ſibi in ea 'diſciplina putaret, quæ altius evehere hominem 'certè non poteſt, quàm ut tandem fateatur, ſe hoc 'unum ſcire, quòd nihil ſciat: Majore quâdam 'luce opus eſſe ad tam craſſas ignorantiæ tenebras 'diſcutiendas (29).' *Sadolet* anſwered, that he thought it ſtrange, that Philoſophy ſhould be thus deſpiſed, ſince, without it, Theology could not ſubſiſt: 'Cui 'reſpondet Sadoletus ſe aliquantum ægre ferre quod 'videre videatur hæc ornamenta ab eo contemni, 'quæ tanta ſunt, ut ſine his illa quæ omnibus 'præſert, conſtare non poſſint (30).' And there-upon he ſets forth at large the Advantages of Philoſophy. *Bunel* clears this, and ſhews, that *Sadolet*'s true ſentiments are not what they might ſeem to be at firſt ſight in that Letter. But however that be, I think that *Pole*'s Judgment of Philoſophy, is the very beſt that can be formed, and I am very glad, that ſuch an Author furniſhes me with ſomething to confirm what I lay down in ſeveral Places, that our Reaſon ſerves only to confound every thing, and make us doubt of every thing. That it has no ſooner built a Syſtem, but it ſhews you the way to ruin it. It is a true *Penelope*, which undoes in the Night all her Day's Work. Thus the beſt uſe that can be made of the Study of Philoſophy, is to know, that it is a Path which leads aſtray, and that we ought to ſeek another Guide, which is the light of Revelation.

(29) Bunelſus, Epiſt. lvi, pag. 199, 200.

(30) Id. ibid. pag. 200, 201.

[*F*] *The Capitouls of* Toulouſe *made a Statue of Marble, in Honour of* Peter Bunel, *and placed it in the Town Houſe.*] 'Nec ſilentio prætereundum eſt Capito-'linos Toloſanos, ne quid gloriæ tam illuſtris viri deeſ-'ſet, marmoream ejus ſtatuam in Capitolio ali-'quot abhinc annis collocaſſe, accurante clariſſimo 'viro D. Germano La Faille, urbis Syndico, ami-'co multis nominibus venerando, de Republicâ 'literariâ bene merito, cujque ſuum poſteritas de-'cus viciſſim reprendet (31). — *Nor muſt we paſs* (31) Graverol in Præf. Epiſt. Bunelli. *'over in ſilence, that the Capitouls of* Toulouſe, *'left any thing ſhould be wanting to the Glory of 'ſo illuſtrious a Man, placed a Marble Statue of him, 'in their Capitol, a few Years ago, by the care of 'the eminent* Germanus La Faille, *Syndic of the City, 'my Friend, to whom I am obliged on many Ac-'counts, who deſerves well of the Republic of Let-'ters, and to whom Poſterity ſhall repay the like 'Honour.*'

BUPALUS was a famous Sculptor, Native of the Iſle of *Chio* (*a*), Son, Grandſon, and Great Grandſon, of a Sculptor. He had a Brother named *Athenis* (*b*) [*A*], of the ſame Profeſſion with himſelf; and probably they worked together, ſince *Pliny* ſpeaks jointly of them, and their Works. They flouriſhed in the LXth Olympiad, at the ſame time with *Hipponax*, who was a Poet of a contemptible Figure, ugly, and of a very weak Conſtitution. They ſet their Fancies to work upon him, and repreſented him in a ridiculous Form; but they met with their Match: he attacked them with ſo violent a Satire, that, as ſome Authors ſay, they hanged themſelves for Spite and Vexation (*c*) [*B*]. *Pliny* does not allow this:

(*a*) Plinius, lib. xxxvi, cap. v.

(*b*) *He is called* Anthermus *in the Edition of* Pliny. *See the Article* ANTHERMUS.

(*c*) *See the Article* HIPPONAX, *Remarks* [C] *and* [D].

[*A*] *He had a Brother named* Athenis.] Mr *Moreri* has ſaid indeed, that *Bupalus lived with Anthermus* (it is thus he ſpeaks according to the old Editions of *Pliny*); but not that they were two Brothers. Now every one ſees that this was a Circumſtance, which ought not to have been omitted, and without it, it is almoſt ridiculous to obſerve, that theſe two Men lived at the ſame time. On the other Hand, he forges one *Bubalus*, different from our *Bupalus*, which is nothing but a Chimera: it is certain, that he makes two Perſons of them; for under the word *Bubalus*, he refers us to *Anthermus*, where he ſays, that *Anthermus* and *Bubalus* were Brothers. I ſay, he refers thither without referring to *Bupalus*; and in the Article of this laſt, he does not ſay, that *Bupalus* was Brother to *Anthermus*; this ſhews, that *Bubalus* and *Bupalus* paſs with him for two Men. Beſides, he varies as to the Profeſſion of thoſe Men; they are two Painters in the Article HIPPONAX (1), and two Sculptors, or Statuaries, every where elſe. He is not the firſt who has thus varied and multiplied. *Charles Stephens* ſays in one place (2), that they who made the Repreſentation of *Hipponax* were Painters: in another (3), that *Bubalus* was a Painter, who made a *Groteſque* Picture of *Hipponax*: And in another (4), that *Anthermus* and *Bubalus* were two famous Sculptors, who made a ridiculous Figure of *Hipponax*. Meſſieurs *Lloyd* and *Hofman* have kept one part of theſe Variations. See the Remark [C] of the Article HIPPONAX. *Bupalus* is a great Painter in *Calepin*. Conſult the learned *Adrian Junius*, in the fixteenth Chapter of the firſt Book of his Obſervations.

DICTIONARIES criticiſed.

(1) He cites in that Article the 26th Book of *Pliny*, inſtead of the 36th.

(2) *In* Hipponax.

(3) *In* Bubalus.

(4) *In* Anthermus, *and in* Bupalus.

[*B*] - - - - Hipponax *wrote ſo violent a Satire againſt them* - - - *that they hanged themſelves for meer Grief and Vexation.*] I ſhall ſay ſomething on this Subject in the Article HIPPONAX; here I only obſerve, that our Dictionaries ſophiſticate *Pliny*'s Account. They (5) relate the thing as if ſeveral Painters

(5) Calepinus, Carol. Stephanus, Lloyd, Hofman, in Hipponax.

this: he says, on the contrary, that, when *Hipponax* had taken his Revenge, they made several fine Statues in divers Places. He mentions a *Diana* of theirs, which was at *Jasus*, in *Caria*, that was not so admirable as the other *Diana*, which they made at *Chio*. This last was placed very high, and appeared with a frowning Countenance to those that came in, and a pleasant one to those that went out. There were several Statues at *Rome* made by them; they wrought only in white Marble of the Isle of *Paros*. *Pausanias* indeed mentions *Bupalus* (*d*); but he says nothing of *Athenis*; he observes that *Bupalus* was both a good Architect, and a good Sculptor. I think it might be gathered from a Passage in *Aristophanes*, that the Revenge taken on *Bupalus*, was not altogether in Verse [C], but consisted in some Blows also.

(*d*) Pausin. lib. iv, pag. 140, & lib. ix, pag. 309.

Painters had had a share in the insult offered to *Hipponax*, and as if the Vengeance, taken by that Poet, had thrown some of them into Despair; this supposes that some others of them did not die. Now this is not what *Pliny* says; he speaks only of *Bupalus* and *Athenis*. One of these Authors (6) blunders still worse in another place; for having made no mention of any more than these two Statuaries, he nevertheless says, that the Satires of *Hipponax* had made some of them hang themselves. *Aliquos ex iis ad laqueum compulisse.*

(6) Carol. Stephanus, in Anthemius.

[C] *It might be gathered from a Passage of* Aristophanes, *that the Revenge* ---- *did not consist wholly in Verses.*] Let us recite the Words of *Aristophanes*,

Εἰ νὴ Διά τις τὰς γνάθους τύπτων δίς ἢ
τρὶς ἔκοψεν
Ὥσπερ Βυπάλῳ, φαυλὴν ἂν δῆτ' εἶχον.

By Jove, *if any one had given them two or three good Cuffs, as they did to* Bupalus, *they would have held their Tongues.*

(7) Adrian. Junius Animadv. lib. i, cap. xi.

A learned Critic (7) was of Opinion, that this Poet alludes to a Verse, wherein *Hipponax* desires his Coat may be taken away, that he may pull *Bupalus*'s Eyes out.

Ἀδέσθω μου θοιμάτιον, κόψω Βυπάλου τὼ
ὀφθαλμώ.

Auferte vestem meam, ut Bupali excidam oculos.

But perhaps there were some other Verses of *Hipponax*, which made mention of blows given to *Bupalus*, by him, or some body else. The Allusion to these would be much more likely. The same Critic has found a Proverb of *Bupalus*'s Hatred, where it is certain there is no Proverb; it is in an Epigram of the Anthology, which advertises those who pass by, that the Ashes of *Hipponax* do still throw out *Iambics* in hatred of *Bupalus*.

Οὗτος χ' ἁ τέφρα ἰαμβίζει Βυπάλειον εἰς ἔτι νῦν.

Cujus cinis etiamnum in odium Bupali Iambos jacit (8).

(8) Anthol. lib. iii, pag. 366.

This therefore only relates to a personal, and, as I may say, individual Hatred of this Poet, and is no general Epithet for great Hatred. We cannot therefore on the Authority of this Passage compare the *odium Vatinianum*, with the *odium Bupalium*: yet if you consult the Adages of *Junius*, you will find, that *Bupali odium* is the LIId Adage of the Vth Century, and that because of the Epigram which I have cited (9). You will find another Fault in it; for by *Bupalus*'s Hatred, we understand that, which he bore to *Hipponax*, whereas the Epigram speaks only of that of *Hipponax* to *Bupalus*. The next Adage, *Bupalia Pugna*, is better founded; being taken from a Letter of *Julian* the Apostate (10), where, speaking of some *Iambics*, which he had received from his Brother, he stiles them thus: Οὐ μάχην ἀείδοντας τὴν Βυπάλειον καὶ τὴν Κυμαίειον πομπὴν, ἀλλ' οἷας ἡ καλὴ Σαπφὼ ᾄδεσθαι τοῖς ὑμνοις ἀρμόττοι. —— *They do not sing the Quarrel against* Bupalus, *to use the Expression of* Callimachus; *they are such as the fair* Sappho *requires to be proper for Hymns.*

(9) Junius *describes it to* Leonidas. *My* Anthology *says, the Author of it is uncertain.*

(10) Ad Alypium Cursorem. Vide Junium Animadvers. lib. i, cap. xvi.

BURANA (JOHN FRANCIS), born at *Verona*, flourished in the XVIth Century. He was Disciple of *Bagdinus*, who explained *Aristotle*'s Logic in the University of *Bologna*, and shewed a great deal of Subtilty in disputing. This was the reason that the Scholars expressed a great Desire that he would read public Lectures on that part of Philosophy: They had that Satisfaction, and, if they understood their new Master well, they were none of the dullest; for he led them through all the Field of the *Greek* and *Arabian* Interpreters. He had studied the *Hebrew* Tongue with great Success; having quitted his Professorship, he applied himself to the Practice of Physic. He also undertook a *Translation* of some *Treatises of* Aristotle, and *Averroës*, with Commentaries on them. Death prevented his putting the last hand to it. He desired, nevertheless, that it might be printed, and enjoined his Heirs to take care of the Publication, after his Manuscript had been corrected by some learned Men. *Bagolin* had the Manuscript of it (*a*) [*A*].

(*a*) *Taken from the Epistle Dedicatory, which* Jerome Bagolin *prefixed to the Translation of* Aristotle's Analytics, &c. *composed by* Burana.

[*A*] *He enjoined his Heirs to take care of the Publication of his Writings.* Bagolin *had the Management of them.*] See the Epistle Dedicatory, which he prefixed to the Book, intituled: 'Aristotelis priora resolutoria, Latino sermone donata, & commentariis illustrata à Joanne Francisco Burana, adjecta Averrois Expositione in eosdem libros cum Expositione secundi sesti de facultate propositionum, & Averrois in eosdem compendio, eodem Burana interprete, cum annotationibus Hieronymi Bagolini.' This Work was printed at *Paris*, by *Wechel*, in the Year 1539, in Folio. It had been printed at *Venice* before (1).

(1) See the Bibliotheque of Gesner, fol. 417.

BURGUNDY (*House of*). There were two Houses of that Name: I shall say but little of the first. It begun under *Robert*, King of *France*, Son of *Hugh Capet*. The third Son of this *Robert*, and *Constance* of *Provence*, was called *Robert*, and was Duke of *Burgundy*, and died in the Year 1075. His Descendants were in possession of this Dutchy till *Philip* I, of that Name, who died without Issue, the Twenty first of *November*, 1345. After that, *John*, King of *France*, gave *Burgundy* to *Philip the Bold*, his fourth Son (*a*). This was the beginning of the second House

(*a*) *Taken from* Father Labbe, Tab. Genealogiques, pag. 122, & seq.

Houſe of *Burgundy*, which flouriſhed extremely under four ſucceſſive Princes, of whom I am going to ſpeak.

BURGUNDY (PHILIP, *Duke of*), fourth Son of *John de Valois*, King of *France*, was born at *Pontoiſe*, the fifteenth of *January*, 1341 (*a*) [*A*]. He was wounded and taken Priſoner in the Battle of *Poitiers*, in the Year 1356, after he had given a thouſand Proofs of his Courage, in fighting near his Father (*b*). Some ſay that it was this Action which obtained him the Sirname of *THE BOLD* [*B*]. He received the Inveſtiture of the Duchy of *Burgundy*, in the Year 1363 (*c*), and married *Margaret* of *Flanders*, only Daughter of the Earl of *Flanders* and *Artois*, in the Year 1369 (*d*). He came to that fine Succeſſion by the Death of his Brother-in-Law, in the Year 1384. The Year following he put an end to a Civil War, which had laſted ſeven Years in *Flanders* (*e*), in which the People of *Ghent*, chiefly, had ſhewn their ſeditious Spirit. He, and the Duke of *Bourbon*, were charged with the Education of *Charles* VI, King of *France*, by *Charles* V, who died in the Year 1380 (*f*). The Regency was left to *Lewis*, Duke of *Anjou*, Elder Brother of our *Philip the Bold*. A Difference ſoon aroſe between the two Brothers, thro' Jealouſy of State. This Quarrel broke out in a more fatal manner, when *Charles* VI, having attained the Age of twenty Years, *declared he would take the Reins of the Government into his own Hands* (*g*). He kept his Brother, the Duke of *Orleans*, near him. The Duke of *Burgundy*, his Uncle, retired diſſatisfied; and this was the Source of a mortal Enmity between the Houſe of *Burgundy*, and the Houſe of *Orleans*. *Margaret* of *Flanders*, Wife of *Philip the Bold*, and *Valentina* of *Milan*, Wife of the Duke of *Orleans*, fomented this Diviſion by their Vanity [*C*]. The King's Diſtemper, which rendered him incapable of acting without a Guardian, gave room for the Diſorders occaſioned by this fatal Emulation. The States of

(*a*) *Father* Anſelme, Hiſtoire Genealog. de la Maiſon Roiale, pag. 105.

(*b*) *See Remark* [*B*].

(*c*) Chellur. Memoires de Bourgogne, pag. 538.

(*d*) Id. pag. 547.

(*e*) Pontus Heuterus Rerum Burgund. lib. ii, pag. 48.

(*f*) Mezerai Abrégé Chronol. Tom. iii. pag. 205.

(*g*) Id. ibid. pag. 237.

[*A*] *He was born - - - - the fifteenth of* January 1341.] This date ſeems to me more certain than that of *Pontus Heuterus*. He places the Birth of *Philip the Bold* in the Year 1334 (1). It is not a Fault of the Preſs; for he places his Death on the Twenty ſixth of *April*, 1404, and makes him ſeventy Years of Age (2). He may be refuted by a very good Reaſon. King *John* was born the Twenty ſixth of *April*, 1319 (3), and was married to *Bonna* of *Luxemburg*, in the Year 1332 (4). Therefore it is impoſſible that *Philip the Bold*, his fourth Son, ſhould be born in the Year 1334: and ſeeing *Charles* V, his eldeſt Son, *was born - - - the Twenty firſt of* January 1337 (5); I judge if *Pontus Heuterus* was a good Chronologer. His Error was followed by *Lewis Gollut* (6), and by Mr *Fabert* (7). This laſt made a particular Fault, which he copied from *Mezerai*: he has placed the Death of *Philip* on the Twenty ſeventh of *April*, 1403. This Error is more pardonable than that which he falls into two Pages after, when he ſays, that the Ducheſs *ſurvived* her Husband *no more than eleven Months*; ſhe dying in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1405. If one did not ſee ſuch things, one would ſcarce believe that any body could be ſo very careleſs. Obſerve, that *Pontus Heuterus*, without being miſtaken, has been the Cauſe of the Error: 'Undecimo poſt Audacis mortem menſe, 'ſays *he* (8), Margareta apoplexia Atrebati tacta 'maritum decimo ſexto Cal. Septembris, anno '1405, vitâ excedens ſequitur. - - - - *Eleven Months 'after the Death of her Husband, ſhe was ſtruck 'with an Apoplexy, of which ſhe died in the Month 'of* Auguſt 1405.' According to *Heuterus*'s Calculation, the Apoplexy muſt have begun in the Month of *March*, and ſo the Lady ſurvived her Husband near ſixteen Months.

[*B*] *His Valour - - - - obtained him the Sirname of* The Bold.] King *John*, in the Patent of Inveſtiture, gave Teſtimony of the Valour of his Son; 'Ad memoriam reducentes, *ſays he* (9) gra-'ta & laude digna ſervitia quæ Chariſſimus Phi-'lippus filius noſter quarto genitus, qui ſponte ex-'poſitus mortis periculo, nobiſcum imperterritus '& impavidus ſtetit in Acie prope Pictavos vul-'neratus, captus & detentus in hoſtium poteſtate, 'ibi & poſt liberationem noſtram hactenus exhi-'buit. - - - - - - *Calling to mind the grateful and 'laudable Services of our moſt dear* Philip, *our 'fourth Son, who expoſed himſelf voluntarily to the 'Danger of his Life, and bravely and undauntedly 'ſtood with us in the Battle near* Poitiers, *and 'was there wounded, taken and kept Priſoner, per-'formed both then and at all times ſince our Re-'leaſe.*' It is ſaid, that this young Prince, when he was wounded, would not ceaſe 'to defend himſelf, even after his Father had bid him lay down 'his Arms. This extraordinary Vigour in a young 'Prince aſtoniſhed the *Engliſh*. A certain Perſon, 'not willing to pluck ſo fine a Roſe in the Bud, 'ſaid to him aloud: *Hold, yield, Bold* Philip. This 'Expreſſion was applauded by all preſent, and the 'young Warrior retained the Name of *The Bold* (10).' Other Reaſons are given for that Epithet; for ſome (11) ſay, that he gave a Box on the Ear to one of the greateſt of the *Engliſh* Lords, who, *in ſerving the Kings of* France *and* England, *preſented the Service to the latter before the former*, '- - - - - *adding with the Blow*, 'What! dareſt 'thou ſerve the King of *England* firſt, when the 'King of *France* is preſent? which *Edward*, 'King of *England* (who valued generous Actions 'as much, if not more than any thing in the 'World), magnified extreamly, and ſaid to him 'chearfully, and in a pleaſant Tone; You are *Philip the Bold*. Which was the Origin of an extraordinary fine Sirname.' Another Reaſon ſtill has been given for this Title, which is, 'That at 'the Inauguration of *Charles* VI he was (as firſt 'Peer of *France*) among the Secular Princes; be-'cauſe of his Duchy of *Burgundy*. For which 'Reaſon, by the Royal Acts, the firſt and higheſt 'Seat belonged to him. But, on the other hand, '*Lewis*, Duke of *Anjou*, his Brother, inſiſting on 'his Seniority, and that he was, as it were, Go-'vernour to the King, was minded to prevent 'him; and, in ſhort, ſat himſelf down next the 'King. Which Duke *Philip* perceiving, puſhed 'him back with one hand, and with a Jump flung 'himſelf in between the King and the Duke of '*Anjou*, taking the higheſt place, which he in-'ſiſted was his Right. At this all preſent were 'amazed, but did not diſ-eſteem him for it, but 'ſirnamed him *The Bold*, for this Action, done 'in the Preſence of the greateſt King of *France*.'

[*C*] Margaret *of* Flanders, *his Wife - - - - and* Valentina *of* Milan *- - - - - fomented the Diviſion by their Vanity*] 'The frequent Punctillio's diſputed between their Wives ſowred them more than 'their true Intereſts; ſhe of *Burgundy* being the 'elder, Heireſs of great Dominions, and deſcended 'of very noble Blood, deſpiſed the other, who 'would really have been inferior to her, had ſhe 'not been conſidered as the Wife of the King's 'only Brother (12).' The Partizans of the Houſe of *Burgundy* reflect very much on *Valentina* Ducheſs of *Orleans*. Here are ſome Inſtances: 'In 'this (13) the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* was very active,

(1) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgundicar. lib. ii, pag. 18.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 62.

(3) Anſelme, Hiſt. Genealog. de la Maiſon, Roiale, pag. 107.

(4) Id. pag. 108.

(5) Ibid. pag. 112.

(6) Gollut. Memoir. de Bourgogne, pag. 616.

(7) Fabert, Hiſtoire des Ducs de Bourgogne, pag. 27.

(8) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. lib. ii, pag. 63.

(9) *See* Gollut. Memoires de Bourg. pag. 537.

(10) Fabert, Hiſt. des Ducs de Burgogne, pag. 6. *See alſo* Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burg. pag. 19.

(11) Gollut Memoirs de Bourgogn. pag. 616.

(12) Mezerai Abrégé Chronol. Tom. iii, pag. 157, ad Ann. 1401.

(13) That is in preventing a Declaration of War againſt the Duke of *Bretagne*.

of the Kingdom, which met at *Paris*, in the Year 1391, put the Regency in the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, notwithſtanding the Duke of *Orleans* demanded it, and founded his Pretenſion on his being Brother to the King (*b*). Theſe two Rivals *thruſt one another twice out of that advantageous Poſt* (*i*). The Duke of *Orleans* had the upper Hand in the Year 1401. But the Duke of *Burgundy* would *not quit; they both aſſembled their Friends*; but conſented to a Reconciliation, at leaſt in Appearance. A little while after the Duke of *Orleans* prevailed with the King, that, during his Majeſty's Indiſpoſition, *he ſhould have the the Conduct of the State*. The Duke of *Burgundy*, *returning to Court, proved ſtrong enough in the Council, to get the Government reſtored to himſelf.* ——— *The King, in his next Interval, ordered that they ſhould both govern jointly; but the Council, the Queen, and the other Princes, and Lords, prayed him to deſiſt* (*k*). *Philip* died at *Hall*, the Twenty ſixth of *April*, 1414 (*l*); he left ſo many Debts, that his Wife was obliged to leave the Creditors unpaid [*D*]. She was an imperious and revengeful Woman, and had given her Huſband a great deal of Trouble [*E*]. She brought him three Sons and four Daughters, and died the ſeventeenth of *Auguſt*, 1405 (*m*). He

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 141.

(*i*) Ibid. pag. 157.

(*k*) *Taken from* Mezerai Abreg. Chron. Tom. III. p. 157, 158.

(*l*) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. pag. 62.

(*m*) Pontus Heuterus Rerum Burgund. *See a Fault of the Sieur Fabert, in the Remark* [*A*], *towards the end.*

' not only in favour of the Duke of *Bretagne* her ' Couſin, and Son of the Siſter of *Lewis de Ma-* ' *lain*, her Father; but alſo out of the great ha- ' tred ſhe bore to the *Milaneſe* (the Dutcheſs of ' *Orleans*) with whom ſhe had perpetually ſome ' Quarrel or other: *Seeing that Stranger ſo pre-* ' *ſumptuous, that ſhe would not ſuffer great Prin-* ' *ceſſes (of higher Rank than herſelf) to walk* ' *in their Order, nor to keep the Places belonging* ' *to them.* For that *Italian* Lady was *provoked* ' *that the Dutcheſs of* Burgundy *had been nominated,* ' *by the King and States, firſt Lady of Honour to* ' *Queen* Iſabella, *and that by that means the* Bur- ' gundian *had the firſt Poſt, the Hand and Ear* ' *of the Queen.* This Diſdain of the Dutcheſs of *Or-* ' *leans* was well withſtood and contemned by the ' Dutcheſs of *Burgundy, who was a generous Princeſs,* ' *and very touchy; who knew her own Riches and* ' *Eſtate, who knew the Credit, Valour, and Merit of* ' *her Spouſe; and who moreover perceiving, that That* ' *Stranger had Deſigns againſt the Children of* France, ' *the King, and even againſt her Husband, could not* ' *reſtrain herſelf ſo far as to diſſemble with her: tho'* ' *ſhe knew, and had been often warned, that this ſame* ' Valentina *was a dangerous Woman, practiſing a-* ' *gainſt Peoples Lives by Sorcery and Poiſon, and* ' *that ſhe ſhould take care of herſelf. But the Du-* ' *cheſs of* Burgundy, *either through Indignation,* ' *or her true* French *Diſpoſition (which cannot eaſily diſſemble, unleſs Fear be continually in view),* ' *took little notice of it*; only ſhe laboured to con- ' vince Duke *Philip*, her Husband, of the Truth of ' it, that he might take ſtrict care of his Affairs, his ' Safety, and the Perſon of the King (14).' The ſame Author ſays, that the Dutcheſs of *Orleans* was ſuſpected of having been the Cauſe of *Charles* the Sixth's Diſtemper, and that ſhe attempted to poiſon the *Dauphin*. Let us uſe his Words: ' Others ' laid the King's Illneſs to the Dutcheſs of *Orleans*, ' who deſired to open a way for her Husband to ' come to the Crown. Which gained the more ' Credit, as the Ambition of that Lady, and her ' Skill in mixing and tempering Poiſons, was ' manifeſt to all the World. So that her Husband ' perceiving it likewiſe, after the Death of his eldeſt ' Son (poiſoned by an Apple, which ſhe had pre- ' pared, hoping that the *Dauphin* would take it ' in his Hand, and bite it, and ſo die. And with that ' Intent ſhe gave it to her Son, commanding him ' to carry it to the *Dauphin* of *France*, which the ' Child did, but, without uſing Ceremony, had ' bit into it, and got his Death), had cauſed her ' to be ſhut up in the Caſtle of *Neufchâtel* on ' the *Loire*, forgetting, for a time, the Love he ' bore her for her Beauty, and the largeneſs of ' her Dowry; for ſhe had brought him the Earl- ' dom of *Vertu*, and Five hundred thouſand ' Crowns, which enabled him to buy the County ' of *Blois*, in the Year 1392, for Twenty thou- ' ſand Crowns, that of *Soiſſons*, and the Lordſhip ' of *Couſſy* (15).' *Pontus Heuterus* ſays much the ſame (16). If we had the Detail of all the Diſ- courſes and Intrigues of theſe two Ladies, we ſhould have a ſecret Hiſtory not much to the Honour of the Sex, who are commonly the *primum mobile* of all Civil-Wars, and deſerve the Epithet of *Author of Shipwrecks* much better than *Boreas* (17).

(14) Gollut, Memoirs de Bourgogne, pag. 600.

VALENTINA of Milan ſuſpected of poiſoning.

(15) Id. pag. 601.

(16) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burg. lib. ii, pag. 60.

[*D*] *He left ſo many Debts, that his Widow was obliged to leave the Creditors unpaid.*] The Monk of St *Denys*, who wrote a Hiſtory of *Charles* VI, commends *Philip the Bold* in ſeveral Places, on Ac- count of his Fidelity to his Wife, that he had edu- cated the King his Nephew well, that he had an excellent Muſical Voice for Divine Service, that he was ſo ſagacious in Politics, ' that nothing hap- ' pened but what he foreſaw long before;' that he was very eloquent; but, adds he (18), ' one ' thing tarniſhed the Glory of his Name, which he ' had raiſed ſo high: That is, he took no Care to ' pay his Debts, and that his Treaſurers and Comp- ' trollers did no Juſtice to his Creditors, not even ' for the Ordinary expence of his Houſe, the pay- ' ment of which could not be refuſed, without ' a Crime. So that his Goods, which were of in- ' eſtimable value, were not ſufficient to diſcharge ' them, and this made his Widow (do what the ' meaneſt Women never do without regret, any ' more than without injuſtice, that is) take the ' Privilege of Renunciation, to eaſe herſelf of the ' vaſt load of his Debts.' She obſerved the ordi- nary Ceremonies in this Renunciation; *for ſhe pulled off her Girdle with her Keys, and her Purſe, over her Husband's Coffin* (19). *Pontus Heuterus* tells us, that this Act cuts off Intereſt, and takes away all the Creditor's Right to the real Eſtate, and obliges them to come to Terms. ' Uxor Mar- ' gareta liberique cadaver expectantes inſigni exe- ' quiarum pompâ juſta ſolvunt; cumque rei fami- ' liaris ſtatum magno ære alieno gravatum Mar- ' gareta reperiſſet, ne a creditoribus vexaretur, ma- ' tronales foretro claves, cingulum, marſupiumque ' ſecundum regionis leges impoſuit. Hoc enim ' facto creditoribus præterquam in Supellectilem, ' ac ea quæ bona vocant mobilia, jus non erat, ' uſurarum curſus ſiſtebatur, ac de ſorte debitiſque ' in hoc tempus uſuris certis ſolutionis ex pacto ' conventoque datis terminis convenire cogeban- ' tur (20). It is properly a Bankrupety. The Agreement made with the Creditors, was executed partly by her, and partly by her Children (21).

(17) *See Citation* (*b*), *of the Article* BOREAS.

(18) Hiſt. de Charles VI, *tranſlated by* La Laboureur, lib. xxiv, cap. ii, pag. 484.

(19) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. ii, p. 159, ad Ann. 1404.

(20) Pontus Heuterus, Rer. Burgund. p. 62, 63.

[*E*] *His Wife was imperious and revengeful, and had given her Husband a great deal of trouble.*] The Witneſs I am about to cite is not ſuſpec- ted; for it is *Pontus Heuterus*. ' Patrem, *ſays he* ' (22), non minus corporis lineamentis ac humo- ' rum temperamento, quam animi affectibus re- ' ferebat (Margareta). Erat enim in eâ animus ex- ' celſus, ferox, ambitioſus, vindictæ in eum a ' quo ſe læſam exiſtimabat percupidus, ac qui ' numquam ſincerè cum inimico in gratiam redire ' poterat, nullaque ratione ſerens quos dignitatis ' æmulatione ſecum certare exiſtimabat: quas ani- ' mi affectiones Audax in ordinem coacturus, non ' parum ſummâ adhibitâ prudentiâ ſimulationeque ' per omnem vitam laborarat, coactus nonnun- ' quam aliquid de jure ſuo cedere, quod præter am- ' pliſſimarum provinciarum dotem, cum patrem ' ſeptem præſtantiſſimorum liberorum effeciſſet. ——— ' Margaret *reſembled her Father as well in the Li-* ' *neaments, and Temperature of her Body, as in the* ' *Diſpoſition of her Mind. For ſhe had a haughty,* ' *proud*

(21) Id. Ibid.

(22) Id. Ibid.

He was not addicted either to Wine, or Gaming, or Amours [F]: We do not find that he had either Miſtreſſes or Baſtards; but he was very ingenious in ſqueezing the People, and fomented the Schiſm of the Anti-Popes.

'*proud, ambitious Spirit, was eager to be revenged on any Body ſhe thought had injured her, and never could be ſincerely reconciled to an Enemy; ſhe could by no means endure any Body whom ſhe thought to be her Rival in Dignity:* Philip *found it, all his Life time, no ſmall Difficulty, with the utmoſt Prudence and Diſſimulation, to keep theſe Diſpoſitions of her Mind in Order, and was obliged ſometimes to recede a little from his Right, in conſideration, that, beſides a Dowry of large Provinces, ſhe had made him Father of ſeven fine Children.*' See here a Prince, who found ſcarce any thing in the Kingdom not ſubject to his Law, not even the only Brother of his Sovereign, and yet he is not Maſter at home: He is obliged to ſubmit to his proud ſpirited Wife, both for her Fecundity, and for her fine Patrimony. To receive a Benefit is to loſe one's Liberty, ſaid the Ancients (23). This is peculiarly true in reſpect to Dowries (24).

(23) Beneficium accipere libertatem vendere eſt, *Publius Syrus.*

(24) *See above, Cicot.* (15), *under Artifex* AVENTIN.

[F] *He was not addicted either to Wine, or Gaming, or Amours — but —— ingenious in ſqueezing the People.*] His Chaſtity is juſtly admired by Hiſtorians; for he was of a robuſt Conſtitution, and the affluence of all things, and convenient Opportunities, have a great effect on the Senſes. 'Nec 'aleator, nec mulieroſus, nec ebrioſus fuit, unde 'riſſimè ejus in Aulâ comitatúque, contentiones, 'jurgia, rixæ, pugnæ, commeſſationes, intempeſtivæ vigiliæ, nec ſomnus cernebantur: animus vero in eo perturbatus iracunduſque perrarò. De concubinis, illegitimis liberis, aut ullo incontinentiæ libidiniſque genere nil plane reperio, quæ tamen virtus inter principes valenti corpore præditos perrara eſſe conſuevit, quod libertas, rerumque omnium affluentia, facilè ſenſus vehementiſſimi voluptatis illecebris ac titillatione deceptos inficiant, animum emolliant effeminentque. —— Duas ob cauſas a ſcriptoribus aliquot proſcinditur. Primo quod immenſis continuiſque pecuniarum exactionibus populum exhauſerit, ac in excogitandis novis tributis ingenioſus fuit, inexorabiliſque in exigendo. ----- Altera proſcindendi cauſa eſt, quod univerſo vitæ tempore diſſidium in Chriſtianâ Republicâ duorum ſummorum pontificum creatione ortum omnibus artibus aluerit, fovens partes Antipapæ (25). ----- *He was neither given to Gaming, to Women, nor to Drunkenneſs; ſo there was very ſeldom any quarrelling, noiſe, brawling, fighting, revelling, unſeaſonable ſitting up, or ſleeping, in his Palace, or Retinue: he was very ſeldom diſturbed or angry. I find no mention at all of any Concubines, illegitimate Children, or any kind of Luſt, or Incontinence, tho' this is a Virtue very rare among Princes of robuſt Conſtitutions; becauſe liberty and affluence eaſily deceive and draw in the Senſes, with the Allurements and Titillation of that ungovernable Pleaſure; and enervate and effeminate the Mind.* ----- *He is blamed by ſome Writers for two Things. Firſt, that he drained the People with immenſe and continual exactions of Money, and was ingenious in contriving new Impoſitions, and inexorable in exacting them.* ----- *The other thing he is blamed for, is, that all his Life he fomented the Diviſion begun in the Chriſtian World, by the election of two Popes, with all the Art he was Maſter of, favouring the party of the Anti-Pope.*' As to his exactions, *Heuterus* excuſes him on Account of the extraordinary expence he was obliged to be at, in maintaining Troops, and fortifying Towns. But why did not he pay his Debts at leaſt? 'Tis ſtrange that Princes make no Conſcience of ruining their Creditors, while they are enriching other Perſons. Read this Paſſage of *Mezerai*; 'Twas there that Queen *Margaret* kept her little Court the reſt of her Days, very oddly jumbling together, Pleaſure and Devotion, the *Love of* Learning and Vanity, Chriſtian Charity and Injuſtice; for as ſhe took a pride in being ſeen often at Church, and in entertaining learned Men, and giving the tenth of her revenues to the Monks; ſo ſhe gloried alſo in having always ſome intrigue, in inventing new Diverſions, and in never paying her Debts (26).'

(20) Pontus Heuterus, Rer. Burg. lib. iii, pag. 64.

(26) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. VI, pag. 316, ad Ann. 1405.

BURGUNDY (JOHN, *Duke of*), Son of the former, was born at *Dijon*, the Twenty ninth of *May*, 1371 (*a*). He was firſt called Count *de Nevers*, and gave very early Proofs of his being a warlike Prince, and worthy of the Sirname of *THE FEARLESS*, which was given him. At twelve Years of Age, he followed his Father in the Expedition into *Flanders*, againſt the rebellious Subjects of his Grandfather, by the Mother (*b*). He was married two Years after to *Margaret* of *Bavaria*, Daughter of *Albert*, Count of *Holland*. He was very earneſt to go into *Hungary*, in the Year 1396, with the Troops ſent by the King of *France* to the Emperor *Sigiſmond*, againſt *Bajazet*. He was not only Chief of the Volunteers, but alſo commanded the Body of the Army (*d*). This Expedition was unſucceſsful [A]: All theſe Troops were cut in Pieces in the Action at *Nicopolis*. He was

(a) Pontus Heuterus, Rerum. Burgund. lib. iii, pag. 63.

(b) Id. ibid.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Id. ibid. pag. 69.

[A] *The Expedition to* Hungary *was unſucceſsful.*] *Mezerai*'s Account of it will furniſh me with a good Comment. 'They performed at firſt ſeveral Acts 'of incredible Valour: But their Follies and Debauchery rendered them ridiculous to the *Turks* themſelves. Beſides it was the preſumption of 'their Troops, elevated with a little ſucceſs, that 'engaged the *Hungarians* in the Siege of *Nicopolis*, 'and afterwards in the Battle of the twenty 'eighth of *September*; in which, the *Hungarians* 'not taking Care to ſecond them, they were all 'killed, or taken Priſoners. *Bajazet* cauſed above 'Six hundred of them to be hacked in Pieces, in 'Preſence of the Count *de Nevers*; and having 'put him to as many Deaths, with Terror and 'Grief, he reſerved him and fifteen more of the 'greateſt Lords, for whom he obliged himſelf to 'pay two Hundred thouſand Ducats ranſom. This 'Sum being furniſhed five Months after, they were 'all ſet at Liberty. The Count *de Nevers* arrived 'in *France* about the end of the Month of *March* 'following. It is ſaid that *Bajazet* was ſo far from 'taking an Oath of him, that he would never 'make War againſt the *Turks*, that he exhorted 'him to take his Revenge, and aſſured him, he 'ſhould always find him in the Field ready to give 'him Satisfaction (1)' You will find, in *Pontus Heuterus*, the proud Diſcourſe the *Sultan* is ſuppoſed to have had with this Count (2). He relates alſo the Diſcourſe of a Phyſiognomiſt: 'Sunt qui 'ſcripſere Joanni Intrepido vitam conceſſam, quod 'Turca quidam, qui ſe ex hominum vultu, corporiſque lineamentis, proſperam adverſamque fortunam, ac fatum prædicere poſſe profiteretur, Bajazetho dixiſſet: Vivat nobilis ille, ejus enim operâ cauſâque plus Chriſtiani ſanguinis] profundetur, crudelioraque inter ſe bella gerent, quam credi aut ſperari poſſet (3). ----- *Some have wrote that* John the Fearleſs *had his Life given him, becauſe a certain* Turk, *who pretended to foretel good and ill Fortune, and the Decrees of Fate, from Peoples Countenances, and the Lineaments of their Bodies, ſaid to* Bajazet: *Let that Nobleman live: for by his means, and on his Account, more Chriſtian Blood will be ſhed, and more cruel Wars waged among themſelves, than could be believed or hoped for.*' *Bajazet* would have done an ineſtimable Piece of Service to *France*, if

(1) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 151.

(2) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. lib. iii, pag. 72.

(3) Id. ibid.

was taken Prisoner there, and some say he would have been killed, had not a *Turkish* Physiognomist assured *Bajazet*, that the Life of this Prisoner would be fatal to Christendom (*e*). The young Prince, having paid his Ransom, returned into *France*, in the Year 1397. He took Possession, in Form, of the Duchy and Earldom of *Burgundy*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*, in the Month of *April*, 1405 (*f*); and from that time bent his chief Study to the Quarrel between his deceased Father, and the Duke of *Orleans*. He resolved to carry it to the utmost Extremity, and strengthened himself by the Marriage of his Son with *Michelle de Valois*, Daughter of King *Charles* VI, and that of *Margaret* his Daughter with the Dauphin (*g*). He gained the Affection of the City of *Paris*, by opposing a Tax which was designed to be laid on them; and improved the Scandal every where raised by the too close Union of the Queen and the Duke of *Orleans* (*b*); and the Complaints of the People oppressed, *by repeated and violent Extortions*, of which they said the Queen *sent part into* Germany, *and spent the rest in all manner of profuseness*, while the King and his Children *were in poor Equipage*. He retired from Court with the Duke of *Bretagne*. The King, in a lucid Interval, having learnt the Cause of their Retreat, called a Grand Assembly, and summoned the Duke of *Burgundy* to it, who came so well escorted with armed Men, that the Queen, and the Duke of *Orleans*, *retired to* Melun, having left order to have the Dauphin brought after them. The Duke of *Burgundy* pursued, and took, this young Prince, and brought him back to *Paris*, *by his own Consent*. This Rupture, which put *Paris* in a continual Alarm, was followed by a seeming Reconciliation; after which it was resolved to attack the Towns belonging to the *English*. The Duke of *Burgundy* undertook the Conquest of *Calais*, but had so ill Success in the Enterprize, that he durst not so much as come near the Place (*i*). He imputed this Disgrace to the Duke of *Orleans*, and resolved to have him assassinated. The Business was executed in the Night, between the Twenty third and Twenty fourth of *November*, 1407. At first he put on a good Face, and even assisted at the Funeral of the deceased, but at last he confessed to the Duke of *Bourbon*, that he had caused this Murder to be committed, and retired into *Flanders* with the Assassins. It has been thought that it was not meerly Ambition which prompted him to that extreme, but that there was some matrimonial Interest concerned [*B*]. The Duchess of *Orleans*, accompanied with her three Sons, demanded Justice of the King: He durst not promise her any thing; he stood too much in awe of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who promised to come and vindicate himself, provided the Gates of *Paris* were not guarded (*k*). He returned to *Paris* in the Month of *February*, 1408, and avowed openly that he was Author of the Murder, and got a *Franciscan* (*l*) to maintain, that the Action was just. A Pardon was granted him, and he was *reconciled*, *in Appearance*, *with the Queen* (*m*). He retired into *Artois*. During his Absence, the Widow renewed her Prosecution: *He was declared an Enemy to the State, and Orders given to send for Troops from all Parts to fall upon him* (*n*). But when it was known that he had obtained a signal Victory over the Inhabitants of *Liege* (*o*), and was preparing to return to *Paris*, the *Orleans* Party did not think themselves safe: The Queen herself fled to *Tours* with her Husband. He entered *Paris* with Six thousand Men: They talked of a new Reconciliation, which made the Widow of the Duke of *Orleans*, *a haughty and revengful Princess*, die of Grief and Vexation (*p*). Her Children were obliged to be reconciled to the Murderer of their Father. This was done with great Solemnity in *Chartres*, about the end of *March*, 1409. The King returned to *Paris*, and the Duke into the *Low Countries*, from whence he returned into *France* in *July*, and got entire Possession of the Government. The Duke of *Berry* and *Bourbon*, and several others, joined with the House of *Orleans* (*q*) against him, and levied Troops, and posted themselves near *Paris*. He summoned the Militia: They made War on each other; and afterwards found themselves obliged to come to an Accommodation. He quitted the Capital according to agreement; but the other Party would not be quiet: The Duke of *Orleans*, *with Sword in Hand*,

(*e*) *See the end of the Remark* [*A*].

(*f*) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. lib. iii, pag. 72.

(*g*) *Lewis*, Duke of *Guienne*, who died before his Father.

(*b*) Mezerai Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 163.

(*i*) Id. pag. 165.

(*k*) Id. pag. 168.

(*l*) Named *John Petit*. See his Article.

(*m*) Mezerai Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 169.

(*n*) Id. pag. 170.

(*o*) They had expelled their Bishop, Brother to the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Wife.

(*p*) The 4th of *Decemb.* 1408.

(*q*) The Year 1410.

if he had not spared the Life of the Count *de Nevers*. It was for the sins of *France*, that this barbarous *Sultan* hearkened to the Counsels of Avarice, rather than those of Cruelty. But if it was true, that a Fortune-teller had determined him to let this Prisoner be ransomed, he acted rather as a cruel, than as a covetous Man. In a Word, the Death of this Count would have been the Life of a prodigious number of *Frenchmen*: it would have prevented the most horrible Desolation a Kingdom can be reduced to.

[*B*] *It has been thought, that it was not meerly Ambition, which prompted him to cause the Duke of* Orleans *to be assassinated, but that some Matrimonial Interest was concerned.*] I mean, that he did it to be revenged of the Dishonour that had been done to him, by an Intrigue with his Wife. Let *Brantome* tell the Story. 'Duke *Lewis* of *Orleans* — one time boasted publickly at a Banquet, where his Cousin *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, was present, that he had in his Closet the Pictures of the finest Ladies whom he had enjoyed. By chance, one day, Duke *John* went into that Closet, and the first Picture he saw, which struck his Eye at first glance, was the noble Lady his Spouse, who was at that time reckoned very handsome: her Name was *Margaret*, Daughter of *Albert* of *Bavaria*, Count of *Haynalt*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*. The good Husband was astonished; and we may imagine, he concluded with himself, that his Business had been done; but taking no further Notice of the Flea that stung him, he dissembled the

Hand, demanded Juſtice for the Murder of his Father, and ſent a very outrageous Challenge to the Duke of Burgundy, *who anſwered it with the like* (r) [C]. Thus was the Kingdom divided into two Factions, one of the *Burgundians*, and the other of *the* Orleans *Party, commonly called* Armagnacs (s). Hence proceeded an infinite Number of Murders, Plundering, and Proſcriptions [D]. The *Orleans* Party blockaded

(r) Mezerai Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 278, *of the Year* 1411.

(s) Becauſe the Earl of *Armagnac* was one of the principal Leaders.

' the Matter, and in order to be revenged, quarrelled ' with him about the Regency and Adminiſtration of ' the Kingdom, and making This, not The Affair that ' of his Wife, his Pretence, he cauſed him to be aſſaſ- ' ſinated at the Gate *Baudet* at *Paris*, his Wife being ' already dead, as was ſuppoſed, of *Poiſon*. Being ' thus rid of one Wife, he took for his ſecond the ' Daughter of *Lewis* III, Duke of *Bourbon* (4): it ' is doubtful whether he mended his Market; for ' to ſuch People as are ſubject to Horns, let them ' change Beds and Haunts, as oft as they will, ' Horns will come. The Duke did very wiſely in ' that; he revenged himſelf on the Adulterer, with- ' out ſcandalizing himſelf, or his Wife; which was ' very wiſe Diſſimulation on his Part (5). —— For ' theſe Reaſons, Duke *John* was very wiſe in diſ- ' ſembling and hiding his Horns, and revenging ' himſelf beſides on his Couſin who had diſhonoured ' him: He even laughed at him, and let him ' know it; which Deriſion and Scandal, without ' doubt, went as much to his Heart as his Ambi- ' tion, and made him do this Action like a worldly- ' wiſe and able Politician (6).' Do not imagine that this is one of thoſe Tales that are only learned by Tradition: it has been inſerted in Hiſtorians; you will find it in the Memoirs of *Lewis Gollut* (7). It is true, this Author ſuppoſes, that Duke *John* of *Burgundy* did not believe that his Wife had been unfaithful, but that the Duke of *Orleans* had boaſted of Favours from her wrongfully. This boaſting was nevertheleſs an Offence, for which he would have Satisfaction. *Gollut* goes on to tell us, that the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* had complained that the Duke of *Orleans* attempted to debauch her. Let us ſee his own Words, which will ſhew that this delicate Affair was debated in the Council of *Burgundy*, and that it was there reſolved to uſe ſome other pretence to be revenged on the Duke of *Orleans*. ' *Meyerus* ſays truly, from the writ- ' ings of ſome good Author (whoſe words he cites ' in *Latin*) that the Ducheſs had previouſly com- ' plained to the Duke her Husband, that the Duke ' of *Orleans* had watched to find her alone, and ' had ſolicited her, and attempted force upon her ' Honour, of which ſhe prayed him to take no- ' tice, which the Duke had received in ſuch ' manner, *as matters of that kind uſually are taken ' and interpreted, by Husbands who have any Spirit, ' or any regard for their Reputation.* Nevertheleſs, ' he would not immediately proceed to Vengeance; ' but only reſolved on the Execution in time, and ' to puniſh the Offence, by the Murder of the Duke ' of *Orleans*, whatever came of it. He adds, that ' the Duke had called his Council, and demanded ' of the great Men, to whom he communicated ' this Affair, under an Oath, how he ſhould pro- ' ceed to be revenged for ſo great Injury, whether ' he ſhould chaſtize or murder him: letting them ' underſtand *that he aſked not whether he ſhould do ' it, but only how and in what manner he might ' execute it with Safety.* Whereupon the Coun- ' ſellors, after divers excuſes, and three Days De- ' liberation, anſwered: *That it was neceſſary to ' take meaſures that the Duke of* Orleans's *Actions ' might be cenſured as they deſerved: and to gain ' the Opinion of the Vulgar, and even of the Pari- ' ſians: and that, for that end, it would be good to ' ſet ſome People at Work every where, to rail ' againſt the Conduct of the Duke of* Orleans, *and ' ſtir up the People againſt him* (8).' Theſe laſt Words of *Gollut* are very remarkable.

(4) Brantome *is miſtaken; that Duke of* Burgundy *had but one Wife, and he died before her. See Father* Anſelm, pag. 209. Pontus Heuterus, Rer. Burgund. lib. iii, pag. 103, *refutes thoſe who ſay he had two Wives.*

(5) Brantome, Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 352.

(6) Id. ibid. pag. 354.

(7) Louis Gollut, Memoirs de Bourgogne, liv. x, chap. iii, pag. 626.

(8) Id. ibid.

[C] *The Duke of* Orleans *ſent him a very outrageous Challenge, which he anſwered with the like.*] My Readers will not be diſpleaſed to find here the Tenor of theſe Challenges. That of the *Orleans* Party was conceived in theſe Terms: ' *Charles*, ' Duke of *Orleans* and *Valois*, Earl of *Blois* and ' *Beaumont*, Lord of *Conchy*; *Philip*, Earl of *Ver- ' tus*; and *John*, Earl of *Angouleſme*, Brothers: to ' thee, *John*, who calleſt thyſelf Duke of *Burgun- ' dy*, for the moſt horrible Murder, by thee ' treacherouſly, maliciouſly, by profeſſed Murderers, ' committed on the Perſon of our dear and dread ' Lord and Father, *Louis* Duke of *Orleans*, only ' Brother of *Monſeigneur*, the King, our Sovereign ' Lord, and thine, notwithſtanding the ſeveral ' Oaths, Alliances, and Engagements, between you ' ſubſiſting, and for the great Treaſons, Acts of ' Diſloyalty, Infamy, and Wickedneſs by thee, ' againſt our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, and ' againſt us, in diverſe manners, perpetrated: We ' give thee to underſtand that from this Day for- ' ward we will annoy thee with all our Power, and ' by all ways we can; and againſt thee, of thy ' Treaſon, and Diſloyalty, we call God, and all ' good Men in the World to judge, and aſſiſt us: ' in witneſs of the Truth whereof, we have cauſed ' theſe preſent Letters to be ſealed with the Seal ' of me, *Charles*, abovenamed. Given at *Jarjeau*, ' the eighteenth Day of *July*, in the Year of Grace ' 1411 (9). The following is the *Burgundian*'s An- ' ſwer. ' *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, Earl of *Artois*, ' *Flanders*, and *Burgundy*, *Palatin*, Lord of *Sa- ' lines* and *Malines*: To thee *Charles*, who calleſt ' thyſelf Duke of *Orleans*; and to thee *Philip*, who ' calleſt thyſelf Earl of *Vertus*; and to thee *John*, ' who calleſt thyſelf Earl of *Angouleſme*; who have ' lately ſent us your Letters of Defiance; we give ' to underſtand, and be it known to all Men, that ' in order to defeat the moſt horrible Treaſons, ' manifold Wickedneſs, and moſt malicious Plots, ' conſpired, contrived, and acted felonioufly, againſt ' the King, our moſt dread and ſovereign Lord, and ' yours, and againſt his moſt noble Generation, by ' the late *Lewis*, your Father, a falſe and diſloyal ' Traytor, to attain to the final deteſtable Execution ' of his Purpoſes, which he had contrived againſt ' our ſaid moſt dread Lord and his, and alſo againſt ' his ſaid Generation, and notoriouſly, that no good ' Man ought to ſuffer him to live: and eſpecially ' we who are Couſin-German of our ſaid Lord, Dean ' of the Peers, and twice Peer, and more cloſely ' allied to him, and to his ſaid Generation, than any ' other Perſon of the ſaid Generation, could not ' have ſuffered ſuch a falſe, diſloyal, cruel, and ' felonious Traytor on the Face of the Earth any ' longer, without a great Crime on our Part; we ' have, in order to acquit ourſelves loyally, and do ' our Duty towards our high and ſovereign Lord, ' and his ſaid Generation, killed, as he deſerved, ' the ſaid falſe and diſloyal Traytor, and in ſo doing ' have pleaſed God, and rightly performed loyal ' Service to our ſaid moſt dread and ſovereign Lord. ' And foraſmuch as thou and thy Brothers follow ' the falſe, diſloyal, and felonious Steps of your ſaid ' Father, and do contrive to accompliſh thoſe damn- ' able and diſloyal Facts attempted by him, we are ' not at all concerned at your ſaid Defiance; but as ' to the Contents thereof, thou and thy Brothers have ' lied, and do maliciouſly, falſly, and diſloyally lie ' like Trayors, as you are; for which by the Help ' our Lord, who knows, and is a Witneſs of the ' moſt entire and perfect Loyalty, Love and good ' Will, which we always have, and always ſo long ' as we live ſhall have, towards our ſaid, and his ' ſaid Generation, to the good of his People, and ' of all his Kingdom, we will bring you to ſuch an ' End and Puniſhment, as ſuch falſe and diſloyal ' Traytors, Rebels, and diſobedient Felons, as thou, ' and thy Brothers are, deſerve to come to: In wit- ' neſs whereof we have cauſed theſe Letters to be ' ſealed with our Seal: Given in our City of ' *Douay*, the fourteenth Day of *Auguſt*, in the ' Year of Grace, 1411 (10).

(9) Enguerrand de Monſtrelet. Vol. I, cap. lxxii.

(10) Id. cap. lxxiii.

[D] —— *From thence proceeded endleſs Murders and Proſcriptions.*] This Diviſion may be compared to that of *Marius* and *Sylla*, and to the unhappy Triumvirate of *Marc Antony*, *Octavius*, and *Lepidus*. See how a Hiſtorian, a Favourer of the *Burgundian* Party, expreſſes himſelf. ' While theſe things were ' negotiating

blockaded *Paris*, and were resolved to sack it. The Duke of *Burgundy*, with some Succours from the *English*, obliged them to retire, and was *received into the City as the Deliverer of* France (*t*). He made them suffer all the Disgrace that can befal a routed Party: He had them excommunicated, set their Goods to sale, and pursued them every where. This constrained them to make an Alliance with the *English*, *on Conditions very pernicious to* France. The King hearing it, vowed their Destruction, and went in Person and besieged *Bourges*, and attacked them, by his Generals, in other Places: But important Reasons compelled him to make a Peace with them. After a thousand Broils in the City of *Paris*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, not finnding himself the stronger, retired into the *Low Countries*, in the Year 1413. His Creatures were deprived of their Offices, and he abhorred *as an execrable Murderer* (*u*). He returned with an Army, and appeared before *Paris*, *notwithstanding the King had forbid him to come near it, on pain of High Treason* (*x*). Nothing stirred in his Favour, so he retired in Confusion, after a thundering Declaration against him by *Charles* VI. That Prince pursued him as an Enemy to the State (*y*), and would not grant him Peace (*z*), but on very hard Conditions. The other Party was superior, till, in the Year 1418, the Friends of the *Burgundian* Faction introduced into *Paris*, *Philip de Villiers l'Isle-Adam* (*aa*). Then it was that *Tannegui du Chatel* saved the Dauphin, as I have said elsewhere (*bb*). The Cruelties exercised on the *Armagnacs* were terrible. The Queen, whom the King had exiled, joined the Duke of *Burgundy*, and made her Entry into *Paris* with him. They got the King in their Power, made an ill use of his Name, while the Dauphin was doing all he could against the Duke. Some Persons endeavoured to pacify these Troubles; and the Dauphin and the Duke had a Conference in the open Field, and agreed upon another Rendezvous at *Montereau-faut-yonne*, to regulate all the Articles of their Treaty. The Duke went to the Place appointed, the tenth of *September*, 1419, and was there massacred by the Dauphin's Friends (*cc*). He had one Son, and six Daughters legitimate, and some Bastards [*E*]. His Death was revenged after another manner than that of the Duke of *Orleans*, such is the Inequality and Caprice of Men.

(*t*) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 180, *of the Year* 1412.

(*u*) Id. pag. 186.

(*x*) Id. pag. 189.

(*y*) Id. pag. 188.

(*z*) In *September*, 1414.

(*aa*) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 201.

(*bb*) *In the Article* DU CHATEL.

(*cc*) *Taken from* Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III. pag. 201, &c.

'negotiating, Mr *Peter des Essarts* entered privately into *Paris*, and found means to gain the Butchers 'Players, and such like Mob, whom he knew to 'be Friends to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and persuaded them to make a search for the *Orleanois*. In 'consequence of which the poor unfortunate *Orleanois* were beat, turned out of Doors, massacred, 'prosecuted, and, in short, treated worse than Enemies. This gave the first rise to the dissite, which the King, the Dauphin, the Queen, and 'all good Men, took to the Duke of *Burgundy*, 'considering his strange Ways, more worthy of some 'Sylla, *Marius*, *Triumvir*, or other barbarous 'Heathens, than of Christian Princes, bred up in 'the Church of JESUS CHRIST, the Father of 'Peace and Meekness: and foreseeing that the *Orleanois* (in their Turn) would be obliged to do 'the like in the City of *Paris* itself, and other 'Places, where they might find, or catch, any Subject, Servant, or Partizan, of the Faction of *Burgundy*; where would follow an unheard of, and 'unparallelled, Butchery, in all the Towns in *France*, 'with the Loss and Death of good and innocent 'People. This is precisely the Condition to which 'that Discord and unhappy Civil War reduced the 'unfortunate People of *France*, and the Inhabitants 'of every City in it. Thus, the Follies, the Passions, the Dissentions, and the Revenge, of Princes, 'break out to the Ruin of the poor innocent 'People (11).'

(11) Gollut, Memoirs de Bourgogne, lib x, cap xxii, pag. 657, 658.

[*E*] *He had* ---- *some Bastards*] We will use the Expressions of the same Author. *He was only once married; but was not satisfied, nor could he contain himself when he was married: for he gave himself a Liberty in other Amours, favouring some Mistresses, of whom the last and greatest Favourite, was the Lady* de Giac, *who had a Share in the Plot contrived against him; yet he had no Children by her; for the two Bastards*, John, *Bishop of* Cambray, *and* Guy *(who was a valiant Captain), were by another* (12). I wonder *Gollut* says nothing of a natural Daughter of the same Duke. She was called *Philippa*, and was married to *Anthony de Rochebaron*, Sieur *de Breze le Chastel* (13). A modern Historian of the Dukes of *Burgundy* is also silent as to this Daughter (14): but he observes, that People spoke ill of Duke *John*, and the Queen of *France*, who since her deliverance from *Tours*, had been strongly attached to him, though before she breathed nothing but the Duke of *Orleans* (15). He takes notice likewise of the *Treachery of a second* Dalilah, *the Lady* de Giac (16), ---- *who, losing all at the taking of* Montereau, *the Capitulation excluding the Domestics of the Duke of* Bugundy, *met with due Punishment for her Lewdness and Unfaithfulness* (17). *Pontus Heuterus* had said the same thing, and particularly what relates to the ill Reports concerning the Queen (18). This Princess was not esteemed for her Chastity: it was believed that she behaved ill with the Duke of *Orleans*, and afterwards that the Murderer of that Duke behaved ill with her (19). Add to this these Words of *Mezeral*: 'As they lived with a 'great deal of Liberty in that Princess's Family, 'it was easy for the Constable *d'Armagnac* to 'raise a Jealousy in the King: so that he caused 'one *Bourdon*, who was in that Intrigue, to be 'seized and drowned; and afterwards put away 'his Queen, and sent her as Prisoner to *Tours*. 'She could never resolve to forgive him this Injury; nor even the *Dauphin*, her Son, because 'it was done with his Consent, though he was 'then but fifteen Years of Age (20).' After the Duke of *Burgundy*, had set her at Liberty, it was no difficult matter to incline her to Proceedings prejudicial to the *Armagnacs*, by whom she had been 'injured so many ways, and so basely, because 'they had been so passionate and outrageous as to 'charge her to the King, and the *Dauphin*, her 'Son, of Unfaithfulness to the Marriage-bed, and 'using a more familiar Conversation, and Privacy, with a certain Gentleman, than was consistent 'with the Honour and Faith of a married Lady, 'and the Grandeur of so illustrious a Princess as 'the Queen and Wife of the King of *France*. To 'which they had added another Injury, which was to 'strip her of all the Wealth she had scraped together and deposited in some Churches; to serve 'as a last Resort in such times of Civil-War (21).' The *English*, to whom she was so much obliged, were not silent on the Head of her Lewdness. See what one of our most grave Historians says. The last of *September*, 1435, died the Queen Mother, *Isabel* of *Bavaria*, in the *Hostel de St Pol*, at *Paris*, where she lived in poor Condition, after the Death of her Husband, justly hated by the *French*, and ingratefully despised by the *English*. Some have wrote that to spare the Charges of her Funeral, they carried the Body to *St Dennis* in a little Boat accompanied only by four Persons. Some attribute her

(12) Idem. cap. xlix, pag. 701.

(13) *See* Father Labbe, Tabl. Geneal. p. 257; *and Father* Anselme, Hist. Geneal. pag. 210.

(14) Fabert, Hist. des ducs de Bourg. pag. 68.

(15) Id. ibid.

(16) Id. pag. 64.

(17) Id. pag. 68.

(18) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burg. lib. III, pag. 90.

THE ill Reputation of the Queen, the Mother of *Charles* VII.

(19) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 163.

(20) Id. ibid. pag. 198 à l'Ann. 1417.

(21) Gollut. Memoires de Bourgogne, cap. xliii, pag. 690.

Death to Vexation at the outrageous Railleries she suffered; for they took a Pleasure in telling her to her Face, that King *Charles* was not the Son of her Husband (22).

(22) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom III, pag. 253, ad Ann. 1435.

BURGUNDY (PHILIP *Duke of, surnamed* THE GOOD,) only Son of the foregoing, was born at *Dijon*, the thirtieth of *June*, 1396, and was brought up there with his Mother, till the Death of his Grandfather, by the Father's side: then he was brought to *Ghent*, and passed several Years there; for it was not thought proper to let him engage in the Combustions of the Court of *France*, where his Father, and the House of *Orleans*, were disputing the Ground with the utmost Fury (*a*). He married *Michele*, Daughter of *Charles* VI, in the Year 1409, and lost her in the Year 1422, without having had any Children by her (*b*). He had the Government of *Artois* and *Flanders*, in the Year 1415, but under the Direction of some Lords, which his Father placed about him. They would not suffer him to go to the Wars, whom vexed him to that degree, that he cried and lost his Appetite; he was appeased, at last, when he heard the ill success of the Battle of *Agincourt*, and owned that his Father was in the right to hinder him from being there (*c*). He continued at *Ghent*, with his Mother and his Wife, waiting the Issue of the Quarrel between his Father, and the House of *Orleans*, and to see what Party the Dauphin *Charles* would take; but as soon as he heard of the tragical Action on the Bridge of *Montereau-faut-yonne*, he prepared to obtain Satisfaction, and to use all his Power to procure a signal Vengeance (*d*). He found all the Assistance he could desire. Vast numbers of the *French* offered him their Service: the Queen, who governed the weak King, was entirely for him, and he engaged the King of *England* in his Interest. He accompanied him to the Court of *France* (*e*), where a Treaty was made, importing that *Charles* VI should give his Daughter *Catharine* in Marriage to the King of *England*, and acknowledge him as Heir to his Crown (*f*). When the two Kings had made their Entry into *Paris*, the Duke of *Burgundy laid his Complaint before them and their Councils: The Dauphin was summoned to the Marble Table, with the ordinary Formalities*; and afterwards, he was declared *unworthy of any Inheritance, and particularly that of the Crown of* France, *and banished the Kingdom for ever* [*A*]. The Dauphin *appealed to God and his Sword* (*g*), and caused himself to be proclaimed King after his Father's Death, in

(*a*) Ex Ponto Heutero Rer. Burgund. lib. iv, Init. pag. 97.

(*b*) Anselme Hist. Genealogique de la Maison Roiale, *pag.* 811.

(*c*) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. lib. iv, pag. 97.

(*d*) Id. ibid. pag. pag. 98.

(*e*) It was then at *Troies*.

(*f*) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III. pag. 209, ad Ann. 1420.

(*g*) Id. Ibid. Tom. III, pag. 810.

[*A*] *He caused the* Dauphin *to be declared unworthy* . . . . *of the Crown of* France, *and banished the Kingdom for ever.*] The King of *France*, and his Son in law, the King of *England*, made their Entry into *Paris*, in the beginning of *December*, 1420. A few days after, they heard the Complaint of the Duke of *Burgundy*, touching the Murder of his Father. The two Kings sat on the same Bench. The Chancellor of *France*, the first President of the Parliament of *Paris*, and a great many other Lords and Privy-Counsellors, were present at the Assembly. The Duke appeared, accompanied with several Persons of Quality: 'And then 'Mr *Nicolas Raulin*, appearing on the Behalf of 'the future Complainants, demanded Audience of 'the two Kings, which being obtained, he set 'forth the cruel Murder committed on the Person 'of the late *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, against '*Charles*, called Dauphin of *Vienne*, the Viscount 'of *Narbonne*, the Lord of *Barbasan*, *Tanneguy du* 'Castel, ... concluding, that they should be 'taken, put in Carts, and carried through all the 'public Places of *Paris*, bare-headed, for three 'Saturdays, or Holidays: and that every one 'should hold a lighted Torch in his Hand, saying 'aloud, that they had wickedly, treacherously, 'damnably, and out of Envy, killed the Duke 'of *Burgundy*, without any reasonable Cause what-'ever. That afterwards they should be brought to 'the Place where they committed the said Murder, 'and there say and repeat the same Words. And 'further, that, in the Place where they killed him, 'should be erected a Church, with twelve Canons, 'to be maintained at the Expence of the said 'Dauphin, and his Accomplices: and that the Cause 'of building that Church should be cut in large 'Letters, in a Stone over the Door of the same, 'and likewise in each of the Towns following, 'viz. *Paris*, *Rome*, *Ghent*, *St James of Compostella*, and *Jerusalem*. This Speech ended, Mr *Peter de Marigny*, the King's Advocate in Parliament, 'likewise declared the abovesaid Persons Criminals; 'and then Mr *John l' Archer*, Doctor of Divi-'nity, deputed for that purpose by the Rector of 'the University of *Paris*, exhorted the two Kings 'to do Justice, and punish such Criminals, lend-'ing a gracious Ear to the Petition of the Com-'plainants, and to their Conclusions (1). Where-'upon Answer was made in Behalf of the King 'of *France*, by the Mouth of his Chancellor, that 'by the Grace of GOD, and the good Help and 'Advice of the King of *England*, Regent and 'Heir of *France*, he would do so exemplary Ju-'stice on the Authors of such a Murder, that 'they should have Reason to be satisfied. Ac-'cording to this Answer, *Charles*, Duke of *Tou-'raine*, Dauphin, was called to the Marble Table 'at *Paris*: where, after all . . . . . Solemnities 'had been observed against him and his . . . . . 'Accomplices, in relation to the Death of the 'Duke of *Burgundy*, he was by Sentence remo-'ved, banished, and exiled from the Kingdom of 'France, and declared unworthy to succeed to any 'Lordships now or hereafter, and especially the 'Succession and Expectation he had of the Crown 'of *France* (2).'

I shall say nothing of the Nullity of this Arrêt (3); but only make a Reflexion on the uneven Conduct of Courts and People. *John* Duke of *Burgundy* caused the only Brother of the King to be assassinated in the Streets of *Paris*. The Widow and Children of the deceased demanded Justice, but could obtain none. The Murderer boasted publickly of his Action, and would not, even at the Request of the King, disown it. He compelled the Complainants to consent to a Reconciliation; and was so far from incurring the hatred of the Public, that he became the Idol of the *Parisians*: he lorded it throughout the Kingdom, and destroyed a vast number of People in *Paris*, and other Places: he endeavoured to carry off the Dauphin: he joined with the capital Enemies of the Nation. He was at last served in the same manner as he had served the King's only Brother: He was massacred on the Bridge of *Montereau*. His Son and Widow complained to the King's Council, and obtained all they desired against the Dauphin: they got him condemned to perpetual Exile: their Cause was supported by the People, and particularly by the University of *Paris*. Can one conceive an Indignation great enough for such Caprice? If you except the Circumstance of the Promise given, and the

(1) *John le Feron*, Lord of *St Remy*, observes, in *chap.* cv, of his *History* of Charles VI, that *John l' Archer* spoke also very strenuously before the two Kings, exhorting them, by all means, to do Justice, and to punish the guilty for their Crimes; and said a great deal of the Condation and Dignity of Justice, and that they should hear and attend favourably to the Requests and Prayers of the Duke, to the end that these Requests might be granted.

(2) Continuation de la Chronique de Flandres, *extracted from several Authors*, by Denis Sauvage, chap. xcvi, pag. 304.

(3) *See* Du Tillet, *in his* Collection of Treaties between *France* and *England*, *in the Chapter of* King Charles VI.

in the Year 1422, by the Name of *Charles* VII. The Duke of *Bretagne* joined with the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians*; ſo that there is more reaſon to wonder that *Charles* VII did not loſe all his Kingdom, than that he loſt a good part of it. He was obliged to ſend away all thoſe who had a hand in the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy* (*b*). The Son of this laſt found ſome Employment in the *Low Countries*, in oppoſing *Jaqueline* of *Bavaria* [*B*]; which gave ſome reſpite to the King of

(*b*) Id. pag. 235, ad Ann. 1424.

the Faith of a Treaty going to be concluded, every thing elſe was more odious and wicked in the Murder of the Duke of *Orleans*, than in that of the Duke of *Burgundy*. The Duke of *Orleans* was ſuperior in Dignity to the Duke of *Burgundy*: he was the King's Brother. The Dauphin was ſuperior to the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Sovereign Authority being in ſome meaſure devolved to him during the Diſtraction of *Charles* VI; he had more right to exerciſe the Sword than any other, and it is certain that the Murderer of the Duke of *Orleans* deſerved Death, not only for that infamous Aſſaſſination, but alſo for numberleſs other Acts of Violence, Murders, Plunderings, and Proſcriptions. Nevertheleſs the Widow of the Duke of *Orleans*, and her three Sons, obtained no Juſtice: the Aſſaſſin was brought under no Penalty, but on the contrary inſulted and triumphed for twelve Years: at laſt he was maſſacred. The Widow and her Son demand Juſtice, and obtain the moſt thundering Arrêt imaginable againſt the Parties concerned. The ſame *Frenchmen*, who had ſo patiently ſuffered the Complaints againſt a Murder committed by *John*, Duke of *Burgundy*, to be rejected, offer their Service to avenge the Death of the Murderer. The Sons of the Duke of *Orleans*, inſtead of revenging themſelves, fell under Oppreſſion, which ended not but by the Interpoſition of the Son of him who murdered their Father. By right he ought to have been obliged to recur to their Clemency; but they had need of his Compaſſion. The Fate of the Murderer of this Murderer was very different; he was diſinherited of the Crown, and baniſhed for Life. This unequal Sentence wanted but little of being actually executed; he was beat in a hundred Places, and ſeveral Provinces taken from him. The Son of the Perſon, he had cauſed to be maſſacred, was the principal Cauſe of theſe Misfortunes; and after he had ſatiated his Revenge, conſtrained by his own King to make him a Satisfaction ſo unbecoming Royal Majeſty, as ſhall be ſeen hereafter, that never Fault was expiated in ſuch a manner. What Violence! What Tyranny is it with all Rigour to exact Vengeance for the Death of a Man, who laughed at the Proſecutions of the Widow and Children of the Perſon he had killed! But what Diſorder to ſee, that they ſhould ſucceed ſo well in requiring ſuch a thing! Here we may well cry out:

- - - - - - multi
Committunt eadem diverſo crimina fato:
Ille crucem ſceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema (4).

(4) Juvenal. Sat. xiii, Ver. 103.

- - - - - - *every Age relates*
That equal Crimes have met unequal Fates;
That Sins alike, unlike Rewards have found,
And whilſt This Villain's crucify'd, the Other's crown'd.
DRYDEN.

The weak ſide of Monarchical Government.

We may make one Reflexion more. The Reign of *Charles* VI ſhews the weak ſide of monarchical Government. Other Forms of Government have every one their weak-ſide; but are not ſubject to Infancy or Madneſs, as Kings are. The monarchical Law, in Hereditary Countries, requires that he, who is in order of Succeſſion, poſſeſs the Throne, though he be an Infant, or by reaſon of his old Age, or ſome Diſtemper, is become a Child a ſecond time. By this means the moſt furious and fatal Diviſions are introduced, as *France* experienced under *Charles* VI. It is in vain to ſay, that a mixed Monarchy helps theſe Diſorders; for there never were in *France* ſo many Aſſemblies of the Great Men, as in this Reign. And to ſay the Truth, it has ſeldom been ſeen, that General Aſſemblies of the States ended Troubles: but that on the contrary they have contributed to foment and increaſe them. This appeared in the Reign of the Children of *Henry* II. Such then is the Condition of Mankind; there is no choice between good and bad, but between bad and worſe; and it often happens that we chuſe the worſt, when we think we chuſe the leſs Ill. The Dauphin, for Example, and thoſe who governed him, reſolved on the Death of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, as a neceſſary Remedy, which at leaſt would be a means to avoid the greater Evil; but it appeared that they made matters worſe. *John*'s Son cauſed more Confuſion and Miſchief than *John* had cauſed.

[*B*] *He was employed in the Low-Countries, in oppoſing* Jaqueline *of* Bavaria.] That Lady was only Daughter and Heireſs of *William* of *Bavaria*, fourth of that Name, Count of *Hainault*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*, and Lord of *Frieſland*, and had been married to *John* of *France*, Dauphin of *Vienne*, the Son of *Charles* VI (5). This Dauphin dying in the Year 1416, She was remarried to *John* Duke of *Brabant*, Couſin German to *Philip the Good*: 'But the young *Coquette* not being pleaſed with 'her ſecond Husband, a Man of little Virtue, uſed 'means to be divorced, and got herſelf carried off 'by ſome Officers, who took her to *England*, 'where ſhe married *Humphry* Duke of *Glouceſter*, 'Brother to King *Henry*. That enterprize tend-'ed much to the diſhonour of *Philip* (6).' Wherefore he vigorouſly oppoſed the Duke of *Glouceſter*: they provoked one another by Letters, and proceeded even to a Challenge 'to a perſonal Combat, and 'to appoint the Day, the Place, and the Weapons. The Duke of *Bedford* having aſſembled 'the moſt conſiderable Lords, both *French* and '*Engliſh*, annulled the Challenge, and declared 'that there was no juſt Cauſe of Combat. — 'Yet there continued a hot War in *Holland*, where 'the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Duke of *Glouce-'ſter*, tried their Strength: But after two Years, 'the Pope having declared the Marriage of *Jaque-'line* with the Duke of *Glouceſter* to be of no Force, 'that Prince deſiſted from his purſuit, and mar-'ried a Lady whom he kept (7). During the 'whole Year 1428, the Duke of *Burgundy* was 'buſy in the Low-Countries, in purſuit of *Ja-'queline* of *Bavaria*. He hemmed her in ſo cloſe, 'that, having beſieged her in *Ghent*, he conſtrain-'ed her to declare him her Heir to all her Lands, 'ſo that he joined to *Flanders* and *Artois*, *HAY-'NAULT*, *HOLLAND*, *ZELAND*, and '*FRIESLAND* (8).' Hiſtorians repreſent this *Jaqueline* as a light and amorous Woman, who left her Husband only, becauſe ſhe did not believe him capable of getting her with Child (9). *This was Occaſion enough for her to ſatisfy her Inclination and Deſires, at the expence of her Honour and Reputation.* She would not be content to remain in the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, waiting the Pope's Deciſion on the Point of her Marriage; and yet her Mother and her Husband had made that Agreement. The Inhabitants of *Mons* forced her to agree to it, and delivered her to the Duke, who conducted her to *Ghent*: But ſhe ſtaid not long there: For, having gained ſome Domeſticks, ſhe diſguiſed herſelf in Mens Cloaths, and eſcaped into *Holland* (10). There ſhe found ſome Adherents, and, by that means, gave the Duke of *Burgundy* a great deal of trouble; for ſhe was not diſcouraged by the ill ſucceſs of her Arms: 'The 'Spirit of a Woman, who gives her ſelf a looſe in 'Love, is not to be conquered, but with the ut-'moſt conſtraint; for Reaſon and Argument avail 'nothing with paſſionate Heads (11).' She would not yield, neither when ſhe heard that her Marriage with the Duke of *Glouceſter* had been declared null by the Pope, and that the Duke had married his Concubine (12), nor when ſhe heard of the Death of the Duke of *Brabant*, her true Husband. Moſt of her Friends forſook her, when they ſaw the

(5) Anſelme, Hiſt. Geneal. pag. 117.

(6) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 212, ad Ann. 1422.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 237.

(8) Id. pag. 238.

(9) *See* Collut, Memoires de Bourgogne, pag. 714.

(10) Id. pag. 728.

(11) Id. pag. 720.

(12) Who was not thought ſo conſtant, but that ſhe had granted ſeveral Favours to others beſides the Duke. Collut, *Memoir. Bourgog.* p. 728.

of *France*'s Party. He had the honour to be intreated earneſtly by the Pope, and the Council of *Baſil*, to moderate his juſt Reſentment, and to pity the Misfortunes of his Country. Beſides, he had the Glory to ſee *Charles* VII ſubmit to Terms of Accommodation ſo rigorous, that he may, without Hyperbole, be ſaid to have made him *Amende Honorable* [C]. By means of theſe Submiſſions, ſhameful indeed,

the Superiority of the *Burgundians, and that they beheaded all the Chiefs* of the other Party, *who fell into their Hands* (13). Yet ſhe would not treat with the Duke of *Burgundy*, till he had beſieged her in *Tergou* (14). After the Treaty he gave the Government of *Holland* to *Frances de Borſelle*, who took it in his Head to make Love to *Jaqueline*, and married her without the Duke's knowledge in the Year 1432. She was made Priſoner, but as ſhe made a new Ceſſion of all her Rights, *ſhe was permitted to ſatiate herſelf in the enjoyment of her new Amour*. She died at the *Hague* without Children the fourth of *October* 1436 (15).

All this ſhews that our *Philip the Good* was an able Prince, and that he made no ſcruple to aggradize himſelf at the expence of the involuntary Chaſtity of a Woman: For he oppoſed the Amours of *Jaqueline*, for no other reaſon, but to hinder her from having Children; and as ſoon as he knew that thoſe ſhe had would not inherit, he permitted her to ſatisfy Nature.

[C] *It may be ſaid without* Hyperbole; *that he made* Charles VII, *make him* Amende honorable.] I have cited in another Place (16), a long Paſſage, in which I have left Chaſm, which contains this: 'Before *Lewis* XI, King *Charles* VII, his Father, 'did a thing yet more ſtrange: For in order to 'make Peace with *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, his 'Vaſſal, nay, even his natural Subject, he ſent 'the Conſtable of *France*, the Chancellor, a Mareſ-'chal of *France*, and ſeveral other great Lords, to 'treat of Peace, who, in full Aſſembly, in the Name 'of the King their Maſter, aſked Pardon for the 'Death of *John* Duke of *Burgundy*, confeſſing, a-'loud and diſtinctly, that the King has done amiſs 'being young, of little Judgment, and ill ad-'viſed, praying the Duke to lay aſide his juſt re-'ſentment for that fact, which could not now be 'helped: Whereupon the Duke declared, that he 'forgave the King for the Honour of GOD, and 'out of Compaſſion to the People of *France*, and 'in Obedience to the Council, the Pope, and other 'Chriſtian Princes, who had deſired him to do it. 'A Slave could not have paid more *Honorable A-'mende* to his Lord, than the King did then to 'his Subject, in order to reſtore the Kingdom to 'it's former Splendor, and to drive out the *Engliſh*, 'as he did ſoon after, and in proceſs of time re-'duced to Obedience, the Man to whom the Ne-'ceſſity of his Affairs had obliged him thus to ſub-'mit. The *Romans* would ſooner have loſt all 'their State than thought of doing ſo (17).' As in the Caſe of Satisfaction for Injuries, the leaſt alteration of Terms, is oftentimes of Conſequence, my Readers might not be fully ſatisfied, if I left them to the Authority of This Author. Therefore it is neceſſary to recite the Words of the Treaty *Arras* itſelf, which relate to the humble Submiſſion of *Charles* VII. The firſt Article runs thus, 'That 'the King ſhall ſay, or, by notable Perſons ſuffi-'ciently authorized, ſhall cauſe to be ſaid, to Mon-'ſieur of *Burgundy*, that the Death of the late 'Monſieur the Duke *John* of *Burgundy*, his Father, '(whom GOD abſolve) was unjuſtly and wickedly 'cauſed by them, who perpetrated the ſaid Action, 'and by ill Counſel, and has always diſpleaſed him, 'and does now diſpleaſe him from his Heart; and 'that if he had known the ſaid Caſe, and been 'of ſuch Age and Underſtanding as he is of at 'preſent, he would have prevented it to the 'utmoſt of his Power: but he was very young, 'and had at that time but little Knowledge, 'was not ſo well adviſed as to prevent it. And 'ſhall pray my ſaid Lord of *Burgundy*, that all 'Malice or Hatred which he may have againſt him 'on that Account, he will lay aſide from his 'Heart, and that good Peace and Love ſhall be 'between them; and expreſs mention ſhall be made 'of this in the Inſtrument of the Agreement, and 'Treaty made between them (18).' Let us ſee alſo the three following Articles. 'Item, That all thoſe 'who perpetrated this wicked Fact, or were con-'ſenting thereto, the King ſhall abandon, and 'ſhall do all poſſible Diligence to cauſe them to 'be taken and apprehended, (wherever they ſhall 'be found) to be puniſhed in Body and Goods: 'and if they cannot be taken, ſhall baniſh, and 'cauſe them to be baniſhed for ever, without Grace 'or Revocation, out of the Kingdom, and the 'Dauphiné, with Confiſcation of all their Goods, 'and they ſhall be out of all Treaties. *Item*, 'The King ſhall not ſuffer them to be received, or 'favoured, in any place under his Obedience and 'Power: and ſhall cauſe it to be proclaimed and 'publiſhed in all Places of the ſaid Kingdom and 'Dauphiné, where Proclamations and Publications 'are wont to be made, that no Perſon do re-'ceive or favour them on Pain of Confiſcation of 'Body and Goods. *Item*, That Monſieur of *Bur-'gundy*, ſo ſoon as he can conveniently, after the 'ſaid Agreement paſſed, ſhall nominate thoſe Per-'ſons, of whom he is, or ſhall then be, informed 'by that they perpetrated the ſaid wicked Fact, 'or were conſenting thereto, to the end that they 'may be immediately and diligently proceeded againſt 'on the part of the King as aforeſaid. And further, 'becauſe the ſaid Lord of *Burgundy* may not yet 'have true Knowledge, nor true Information, of all 'who perpetrated the ſaid wicked Fact, or were 'conſenting thereto, whenſoever he ſhall be duly 'informed of any others, he may name them, and 'by his Letters Patent, or otherwiſe ſufficiently 'ſignify them, to the King, who ſhall in that Caſe 'be bound immediately and diligently to cauſe them 'to be proceeded againſt in manner aboveſaid.' *Charles* VII was not quit for this *Amende honorable*: he was moreover condemned in Charges, Damages, and Intereſt. Take the Pains to read, in *Olivier de la Marche*, the reſt of the Treaty of *Arras*: you will there ſee in every Article (19), that it coſt *France* a conſiderable Sum to the Benefit of the Duke of *Burgundy*. Further, the mortifying Conditions he impoſed on *Charles* VII were not expreſſed in ſecret Articles: they were both ſettled and publiſhed by the Mediation of two Cardinals; one on the part of the Council, the other on the part of the Pope; and there never appeared ſuch a Guard as that of the Embaſſadors, who managed this Treaty. They had in their Trains above ten thouſand Horſe (20).

The Hiſtorians of the Houſe of *Burgundy* could not find ſufficient Cauſe of Vanity in the Pacification of *Arras*: therefore they fought for more magnificent ones in the Preliminaries. They ſay, that the Embaſſadors of *Charles* VII caſt themſelves on their Knees before the Duke of *Burgundy*, and, melting in tears, beſought him to pardon their Maſter: but he rejected their Tears and Supplications, and did not yield till a Miracle put him in fear of the Excommunication which the Cardinal Legate threatened him with. Let us recite this fine Story, as *Lewis Gollut* gives it. 'The *Belgic* and *Holland* 'Annals —— ſay —— that the Embaſſadors of '*France* (underſtanding that the Duke of *Burgundy* 'heard Maſs at *St Waſt*) came to him, and (caſting 'themſelves on both Knees, accompanied by the 'Ducheſs herſelf, who on her Knees, with the reſt, 'joined in the Petition) *begged of him Peace, and 'that he would be content with the Revenge he had 'taken for ſeveral Years, for the Death of his Fa-'ther, and pardon the King his Offence, commit-'ted by the ill Advice of thoſe about him, while 'he was yet young, and not above ſixteen Years of 'Age. Adding, that the King, ſince he came to 'Years of Diſcretion, had a thouſand times repented 'of this Murder, and with ſighs (which he could 'not forbear whenever he remembered it) he had com-'plained no leſs affectionately than the Duke of* Bur-'gundy *himſelf; and that he was ready by all ho-'nourable Means (agreeable to the Royal Dignity of 'a King of* France) *to make ſatisfaction and amends*

'to

(13) Id. ibid.

(14) *Otherwiſe* Goude. Gollut *falſely calls that Town* Conde, or Gond. Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 239, *calls it* Gande. *See above, Citat.* (8).

(15) Gollut, Memoires de Bourgog. pag. 725. *See alſo* Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burg. lib. III, pag. 150.

(16) *In the Remark* [G], *of the Article* LEWIS XI.

(17) Honorat. Mayolet demandes curieuſe & Reponſes libres, pag. 590, 591.

(18) Olivier de la Marche Memoires, liv. I, cap. III, pag. 24, 25.

‡ *The Copy has theſe Words in the Margin.* Note, *that the Duke has named* Tanneguy de Chaſtel, Jehan Louvet, Preſident de Provence, Chevrelieu, Pierre Frottier, Eſcuier, Maiſtre Jehan Cadart, Phiſicien.

(19) The Treaty contains Forty one Articles.

(20) Gollut, Memoires de Bourgogne, pag. 782.

¶

indeed, but excusable from the Necessity of the Time [D]. *Charles* VII detached him from his Alliance with the *English*. The *English*, from that time, became great Enemies to the Duke, and committed all manner of Hostilities in his Territories (i). *He attempted to revenge himself on them, by taking* Calais ——— *and besieged it with a numerous Army* (k). The *Flemings* forsook him, and made him miscarry in that Enterprize. He did a very generous Action in the Year 1440; for he procured the Release of the Duke of *Orleans*, who had been Prisoner in *England*

(i) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III. pag. 245.

(k) Id. p. 255, ad Ann. 1436.

'*to the Duke*. Which they spoke with so much 'Affection, that they shed Tears in abundance. 'This caused the Duke (thus taken and attacked unawares) to weep likewise: being moved to see the 'Countenances of these great Lords, and his dear 'Consort among them, and compassionating the Miseries of his Country: and also because he foresaw 'that by this Agreement his Vengeance for the Death 'of his Father would be prevented, and the Murderers suffered to go unpunished. He then, touched 'with Affection (and more inclined to the Preservation of his House, than to the Aggrandization of 'the English), humanly raised all these Lords and 'Ladies, and answered them, that for his Part he 'would not refuse Peace, if he could accept of it: 'but that by his Oath, given to the English, he could 'not treat without their Consent. The same Annals say, that the Duke appeared resolute, and positively refused to come to any Agreement with 'the *French*, and that the Cardinal *de Sainte Croix*, being vexed at it, threatned to exercise the Power 'of the Church, against both him and the *English*. 'And, continue the same Annals, the Cardinal, in order to shew the Duke the Power of the Church, 'called for some white Bread, which (with great 'Assurance) he cursed in the Presence of them all: 'and instantly the Bread became black; and then 'the Cardinal, leaving his Imprecations, gave it 'the Benediction, by which means the Bread recovered it's former whiteness. At which the Duke 'was exceedingly terrified, and promised to be reconciled to the King, contenting himself with the 'Revenge he had taken for the Death of his Father (21).'

(21) Gollut. Memoires de Bourgogne, liv. x, cap. lxvii, pag. 785.

[D] — *shameful Submissions* — *which the Necessity of the time renders excusable.*] It is to no purpose to say, that the *Romans* would rather have lost their States than have thought of that (22). They were a People, of Courage too singular to be drawn into an Example. Neither is it to the purpose to say, that private Gentlemen would rather die, than, in a Quarrel of Honour, offer their Enemy any thing that came near to the Submissions of *Charles* VII. Sovereigns cannot govern themselves by the strict Laws of Chivalry (23). They are obliged, in favour of their Subjects, and to draw themselves out of an embarrassing War, to do a hundred things which would be base and ignominious, if done by a Gentleman in a private Quarrel. It is not their Business to stand nicely on the Point of Honour. The Interest of the Public requires, that, without Prejudice to their Glory, they may offer Peace to their Enemy, and ask it pressingly several Years running, and not be discouraged by his Haughtiness and Disdain. To shun the greater Evil, they ought to sacrifice their Reputation, and their Frontiers, to the good of Peace. Let a private Person, who goes to Law for an Estate, be as obstinate as he will not to be baffled in his Cause, let him spend every Rag rather than voluntarily quit Possession; that is of no Consequence to the Public: but if a Prince were to stand on such Bravadoes, he would expose his State, and fin against the Maxim, *Salus populi suprema lex esto*. And since the Obligation even of an Oath, the most sacred and most inviolable thing in the World, is subject to that Law, ought not the worldly Glory of a Prince be likewise subject to it? A *Roman* General affirms, that, for the Preservation of the State, we may suffer even what is ignominious: 'Ac 'fœda atque ignominiosa deditio est; sed ea Charitas patriæ est ut tam ignominiâ eam quam 'morte nostra si opus sit servemus. Subeatur ergo 'ista quantacunque est indignitas, & pareatur ne'cessitati quam ne Dii quidem superant. (24). - - - - 'That Surrender is base and ignominious; but the 'Love of our Country is such, that we would save 'it as well by our Ignominy as by our Death, if 'need be. Let therefore this Indignity, how great 'soever, be undergone, and let us submit to Necessity, 'which even the Gods cannot overcome.' Olivier de la Marche imagines, that the Peace of *Arras* was a *Work rather Divine than Natural*; for the Affairs of *Charles* VII were in a good Posture, and those of the Duke of *Burgundy* still better: and yet, notwithstanding, 'they were both Great, and upon their Mettle, Nature (which cannot lye in her 'Judgment) felt herself grieved and wounded by 'both Parties. Wherefore the two noble Princes 'condescended to the Peace above-mentioned: and 'after a close Enquiry, and Calculation of the 'Reasons which moved each Party to seek Peace, 'I find that, on the Part of the King of *France*, 'he made Conscience of the Case of the Death 'of Duke *John*. *Secondly*, He saw no possibility 'of withstanding both the *English* and *Burgundians* at once, without great Hazard and Damage to his State. *Thirdly*, By reason of the 'War he found himself ruled, and under the 'Hands of so many kinds of *Gens d'Armes*, Foreigners and Natives, that there was not so much 'as a petty Captain in *France*, to whom they durst 'deny Admittance to the King at any time, whatever Business he had. *Fourthly*, He was so wise 'and reasonable a King, that he chose rather the 'Good and Benefit of his Kingdom, than obstinately to persevere in a wrong Notion, without 'Safety or Repose. As for the good Duke *Philip*, 'what made him so readily condescend seems to 'have been a Regard to the Preservation of the 'Kingdom of *France*, to the noble Blood from 'whence he was descended (working in his Breast, 'and nearest to his Heart) and to the great Benefits he had received, in the Persons of his Predecessors, from the Royal Family, as well of natural Right as Benevolence. These three things, 'working together, made him forget the Offence, 'ill Adventure, Mischief, and Misfortune. *Secondly*, The small Affinity and Love he had to the '*English*; and, *thirdly*, His own Honour and Virtue, who, always during his whole Life, (however 'offended and provoked he may have been at 'several times, one while by Words, another while 'by Deeds) lent his Hand with all his Might 'and Power, to support, maintain, and guard, the 'Royal Majesty of *France* (25).' Here you see plainly the Language of a Domestic of the Duke of *Burgundy*, entirely partial to his Masters; Amplification on one Side, and Diminution on the other. He does but just hint the small Affection of Duke *Philip* to the *English*, and conceals the deadly Affronts which had caused a total Rupture, if *Charles* VII had been wise enough to improve the Opportunity. Besides, he talks with Emphasis of his Master's Affection for the Kingdom of *France*. Meer Chimera! A *Turk* would not have been more cruel to *Charles* VII than *Philip* was, nor have exacted more disgraceful Satisfaction. If the Duke of *Burgundy* had felt in his Veins the least Drop of the Royal Blood from which he descended, he never would have made the King of *France* submit to a Penalty so unworthy of a Monarch. I say again, *Charles* VII was excusable: He was neither Warrior nor Politician enough to extricate himself out of trouble; if he had had as great Resource of Courage and Genius as some others have had, he would never have prostituted his Honour, as he did by the Peace of *Arras*: and perhaps if he had let things go on a few Years, he might have seen himself in a Condition to maintain, that he did no more than his Duty in killing Duke *John*; that, as he could not put him to Death by way of Law, he was necessitated to have recourse to that means, and thereby to remove the greatest Shame of the Reign of *Charles* VI; for nothing shews so evidently,

(22) Meynier, Demandes curieuses & responses libres, pag. 591.

(23) *See the Article* CONTAUT (CHARLES), *Remark* [D]; *and the Article* POITIERS, *Rem.* [I].

(24) T. Livius, Lib. ix, pag. 241.

(25) Olivier de la Marche, Memoires, pag. 99.

land for Twenty five Years; and thus *these two Princes, by a sincere and cordial Reconciliation, extinguished the mortal Enmity raised by their Fathers* (*l*). The Duke of *Burgundy* concerned himself but little with the Affairs of the *English*, after the raising of the Siege of *Calais*. He had Work enough at Home: His Subjects in the *Low Countries*, and chiefly the *Gantois*, found him Employ; but he reduced them to Reason [*E*]. He gave a retreat to the Dauphin for several Years successively, and accompanied him into *France* with Four thousand Horse, on News of the Death of *Charles* VII, in the Year 1461. He lived till the fifteenth of *July*, 1467 (*m*). He was a Prince of great Merit, and very much enlarged his Dominions [*F*]; he gained the Love of his Subjects, and the Esteem of all the Princes in *Christendom*. He married thrice, and was excessively incontinent [*G*]: It was he,

(*l*) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 359. ad Ann. 1440.

(*m*) Id. ibid. *Father* Anselme, pag. 211, *says* June 15. Pontus Heuterus Rer Burgund. pag. 149, *says the* 16*th of* July.

dently the Misery and Disorder of *France* under That Prince, as to see the Assassin of the King's only Brother, not only refuse to conceal himself, but continue, for ten Years successively, to disturb the State, and turn every thing topsy-turvy, according to his Fancy. A little Patience might, perhaps, have shewn *Charles* VII the Rupture between the *English*, and Duke of *Burgundy*. This last had more reason to fear the Success of the *English* than that of *France*: for if the *English* had overthrown *Charles* VII, it would have been easier for them to conquer all the Dominions of the Duke of *Burgundy*, than it would for *France* to do it after the Expulsion of the *English* (26). From this Principle, and out of Resentment for some Affronts, the Duke of *Burgundy* found it his Interest to forsake them, and he would have done it sooner or later. 'The old Men of our Country 'say, *these are the Words of* Lewis Gollut *of* Franche 'Comté (27), that the Duke of *Bedford* (28) 'once came to so high Words with Duke *Philip*, 'that he reproached him with the Treaty of Peace 'above-mentioned, and upbraided him with his 'Lavity, for *his hearkning to the Promises and Oaths of the* French. - - - - The same old Men 'say further, that the Duke of *Bedford* added, 'in a Passion, *that it was in his Power easily to prevent it; and that the Duke of* Burgundy *would be much surprized if he were sent to drink Beer and Ale in* England, *more perhaps than for his 'ill.* Whereupon the Duke, as they say, (being then but ill attended) made answer: *Good Cousin, 'I have done nothing amiss, do not put yourself in 'pain about it.* A few Days after, having taken care to have his People about him, he gave charge to the Marshal *de Vergy* to do what I am about to mention. That the Sieur *de Vergy* should observe when the Duke went in to the Duke of *Bedford*, and that then he should draw out three or four hundred Gentlemen of the boldest, who (being well armed privately with their Battle-Axes in readiness) should enter suddenly, and with furious Mien and Aspect, into the Room where the Dukes were: which they did: then addressing themselves to their Prince, and having saluted him on the Knee (without so much as looking at the Duke of *Bedford*) the Sieur *de Vergy* said to him, *Sir, Here and elsewhere it goes well, but elsewhere much better than here; for there you will be served, honoured, and obeyed. And therefore we beseech you to depart, and leave these haughty People here to reap the Fruit of their Bravadoes and Presumptions.* Whereupon the Duke asked: *Is that your Resolution?* and they all answered, *Yes, yes, let us go, let us go, we have no Occasion for these People who stand in need of us.* With that the Duke, addressing himself to the Duke of *Bedford*, said, *Good Cousin; You see what my Gentlemen advise me to. I am resolved to believe them. Fare you well*; and forthwith departed, no body daring to stir, for Orders had been given every where to fight stoutly if it had been necessary.

(26) Compare what *Gollut* says *Memoir Burgund. pag.* 726.

(27) *Id. ibid. pag.* 723.

(28) Brother of *Henry* V, King of *England*, and Regent of *France*.

[*E*] *His Subjects, and chiefly the* Gantois, *found him Employ, but he reduced them to Reason.*] 'The 'Inhabitants of *Bruges*, rising in the Year 1437, 'let him enter their Town, as it were to give 'him Satisfaction, and fell upon his People, and 'killed above a hundred of them, and, among the 'rest, the Lord *de l'Isle-Adam*. He himself was 'in great Danger, and escaped very narrowly, 'by breaking open the Gate of the City with 'Hammers. —— Their Fury abated when they 'learnt,—that the Duke was coming to besiege them 'with a great Army. They petitioned for a Pardon, 'which they obtained, but on very hard Terms. 'It cost them two Hundred thousand Crowns of 'Gold, the loss of a great many of their Privileges, 'and the Lives of a dozen, or fifteen, of the most 'factious. The *Gantois* gave him a great deal more trouble by their frequent Commotions: the most dangerous was that in the Year 1452, occasioned by the Gabel. He had a mind to establish it in *Flanders*, and render it certain, imposing Twenty four Gros current on every Sack of Salt. They resolved upon all manner of Extremities, rather than suffer an Impost on Water and the Sun, which are the universal and free Gifts of Nature. They confided in the King's Protection: And indeed he wrote strongly in their Favour to the Duke of *Burgundy*: But having received a stronger Answer, he did not think proper to engage in a Civil-War, not being yet clear of the Foreign one against the *English*. 'The loss which the *Gantois* suffered in five, or six, great Battles, heated their fierce Courage the more: But the Battle of *Riplemonde*, and afterwards that of *Gavres*, wherein they lost Twenty thousand Men, brought them so low, that they were obliged to come to a Composition. Two thousand Men, bare headed, and bare-foot, and all the Counsellors, Sheriffs, and Officers, in their Shirts, went a League to meet the Duke and his Son, to beg for mercy. The Gate, at which they went out to fight him at *Riplemonde*, was stopt up for ever. They were condemned to pay Four hundred thousand Rix-Dollars, to deliver him their Banners, to do with them as he should think fit, and suffer a Change of their Customs and Privileges (29).'

(29) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 277.

All this shews the Happiness, the Valour, and the Ability, of our *Philip*.

[*F*] *He very much enlarged his Dominions.*] Let us observe here, in what manner the House of *Burgundy* united so many Provinces under it's Dominion. *Philip the Bold* added to the Provinces, given him by his Father, the Earldoms of *Flanders* and *Artois*, by his Marriage with *Margaret*, Daughter of the Count of *Flanders*. He left all these States to his eldest Son, and obtained for his second *Brabant*, and *Limbourg*, by Will of his Aunt (30). This Duke of *Brabant* was Father of him who married *Jaqueline* of *Bavaria*: We have seen above (31), how this *Jaqueline* yielded *Hainault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friesland*, to Duke *Philip the Good*, in 1428. This Duke, the same Year, took Possession of the Counties of *Namur* and *Zutphen*, which he had bought of Earl *Theodoric* (32). *He inherited*, *in* 1430, *the Duchies of* Lothier, Brabant, *and* Limbourg, *the Marquisate of the Holy Empire, and the Lordship of* Antwerp, *by the Death of* Philip *of* Burgundy *his Cousin* (33), who succeeded his Brother, the Husband of *Jaqueline*. He made himself Master of the Country of *Luxemburg* in the Year 1443 (34).

(30) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burg. l.b. ii. pag. 62.

(31) *In the Remark* [*B*].

(32) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 239.

(33) *Id. ibid.* pag. 240.

(34) *See* Gollut. Memoires de Bourgogne, pag. 794, 795.

[*G*] *He married thrice, and was excessively incontinent.*] *Michelle* of *France*, Daughter of *Charles* VI, whom he married in the Year 1409, and *Bona* of *Artois*, whom he married in the Year 1424, and who died the Year following, were his two first Wives. He had no Children by them. He married afterwards *Isabella* of *Portugal*, Daughter of *John* I, King of *Portugal*, the tenth of *January*, 1430. He had three Sons by her, of which the two eldest lived not long. As to his natural Children, they were fifteen in Number (35). The following

(35) *See Father* Labbe, Tabl. Geneal. pag. 257, &c *and Father* Anselme, Hist. Geneal. p. 221, &c.

he, likewiſe, who inſtituted the Order of the *Golden Fleece* [*H*], the Univerſity and the Parliament of *Dole* (*n*). It is a very ſtrong Proof of his Merit, that he could keep in Obedience his only Son, who was a little diſcontented, and the moſt proud and raſh Man living [*I*]

(*n*) *About the Year* 1423. *See* Gollut. Memoire de Bourgogne, pag. 155.

following Paſſage is worth reading. I take it from the Memoirs of *Olivier de la Marche*, in the Chapter where he gives an Account of the Journey, which the Ducheſs of *Burgundy* took into *France*, in the Year 1444. 'The King of *France*, *I ſay* (36) received 'the ſaid Ducheſs very honourably, and the Queen 'did her much Honour, and was often in private 'with her. For both theſe Princeſſes were grown 'old, and now but little talked of: And I believe 'they both had the ſame Pain and Diſtemper, 'called Jealouſy: and that at thoſe times they 'diſcovered their Paſſions ſecretly to each other, 'which was the Cauſe of their privacy: and in-'deed there was ſome Appearance of Reaſon for 'their Suſpicions. For the King had newly rai-'ſed a poor Gentlewoman, one *Agnes du Soret*, 'and placed her in ſuch Splendor and Power, 'that her State was equal to that of the greateſt 'Princeſſes of the Kingdom. —— On the other 'Hand, the Duke of *Burgundy* was the moſt 'ſparkiſh and frolickſome Prince of his time, 'and had Baſtards both Sons and Daughters, a 'very fine Company. Thus the Queen and the 'Ducheſs often met together, to condole one ano-'ther on their Sorrows.'

(36) Olivier de la Marche, liv. i, cap. xiii, p. 159.

I mention, elſewhere (37), *Anthony* one of his natural Sons. *James* of *Burgundy*, Lord of *Fallaix*, Grandſon, I think, of *Baldwin*, another natural Son of Duke *Philip*, became a Proteſtant; but taking Offence at the Diſputes raiſed at *Geneva*, between *Bolſec* and *Calvin*, in the Year 1551, he *ſell off*, and his Wife alſo, from the *Doctrine* of the Reformed. He had carried a good Face in their Church ſeveral Years (38). *Calvin* had dedi-cated to him his Commentary on the firſt Epiſtle of *Paul* to the *Corinthians*; but he afterwards took out that Epiſtle Dedicatory, and inſerted another to the Marquis *de Vie* (39).

(37) *In the Remark* [*A*], *of the Article* BERSALA.

(38) Beze, Pref. du Comment. de Calvin. ſur Joſué, p. 20.

(39) *Id. pag.* 25.

[*H*] *He inſtituted the Order of the Golden Fleece.*] He inſtituted it in *Bruges*, the tenth of *January* 1430, which was the Day of his Marriage with *Iſabella of Portugal*. He deſigned it to conſiſt of Thirty one Knights. The following Fact, more curious than modeſt, is found in the Collections of Mr *Colomiés*. 'I have heard Mr *Voſſius* ſay, that 'he remembered he had read in the *Flemiſh* Chro-'nicle, that *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy*, ſirnamed 'the *Good*, had inſtituted the Order of the Golden 'Fleece, on Occaſion of his finding a Hair of 'his Miſtreſs, which was of a yellow Colour. 'This I have found confirmed by *Andrew Favin*, 'in the beginning of the ſecond Volume of his 'Theater of Honour. Others, ſays he, ſay, that 'Philip *Duke of* Burgundy, *converſing, with a great 'deal of intimacy, with a Lady of* Bruges *of ex-'quiſite Beauty, and entring one Morning into her 'Chamber, found, on her Toilette, ſome of the Fleece 'of her lower* REGION. *By which this care-'leſs Lady occaſioned Laughter to the Gentlemen 'who followed the Duke, who, to cover the Myſtery, 'made an Oath, that the Man, who had made a jeſt 'of that Fleece, ſhould never have the Honour to 'wear a Collar of the Order of the Fleece, which he 'deſigned to erect for Love of his Lady* (40).'

(40) Colomiés Recueil de Pièces curieuſes, p. 126, 127.

[*I*] *He kept in Obedience his only Son, who was a little diſcontented, and the proudeſt, and raſheſt Man living.*] That a Son, ſo ambitious and bold as he was, at a diſtance from Court, arrived at an Age for commanding, beloved by a People, prone to Inſurrections, ſpared his Father's old Age, is a Token, that the Father was a great Man. The Son I ſpeak of 'undertook nothing, 'till he was 'about Twenty two Years of Age, —— then he 'begun to quarrel with his Father's Governours; 'the Father took their Part: Wherefore he with-'drew from his Preſence, and went and lived in '*Holland*, where he was well received, and held 'intelligence with the People of *Ghent*, and ſome-'times went thither. He had nothing from his 'Father: But the Country of *Holland* was very 'rich, and made him large Preſents, as did ſeveral 'great Towns in other Provinces, in hopes to 'win his Favour for the time to come, according 'to general Cuſtom, that we always ſtudy more 'to pleaſe thoſe People, whoſe Power and Autho-'rity is expected to increaſe hereafter, than him 'who is already in ſuch a Station, as that he can 'mount no higher: And they are more beloved, 'eſpecially by the Populace. Wherefore when 'Duke *Philip* was told, how much the *Gantois* 'loved his Son, and that he could manage them 'ſo well, made Anſwer, that they always loved 'well their Lord to come: But as ſoon as he 'was their Lord, they hated him (41).

(41) Comines liv. vi, cap. xiii, p. 409.

BURGUNDY (CHARLES *Duke of*), Son of the former, was born at *Dijon*, the tenth of *November*, 1433. He was one of the moſt Warlike Princes in the World. He was known by the Name of Count of *Charolois*, during the Life of his Father. There was a prodigious Antipathy between him and *Lewis* XI, which begun during that Monarch's Reſidence, while he was but Dauphin, at the Court of *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy* (*a*). This reciprocal Hatred was a perpe-tual Source of Enterprizes, which occaſioned great Miſchief: Theſe Princes ſtudied nothing but to thwart each other. They went to War ſeveral times; and when they made Peace, it was with no other View than to enſnare one another [*A*], and each of them continually kept Intelligence with the Enemies of the other. If the Court of *Vienna* had been as active, as it has been ſince, to take Ad-vantage of favourable Opportunities, it had been a great Happineſs for *Lewis* XI; but he found them inſenſible [*B*], and could not perſuade them to do any great matter

(*a*) *See* Matthieu, Hiſtoire de Louis XI, liv. i, pag. 56, *&c ſeq.*

[*A*] *He, and* Lewis XI, *had no other View than to enſnare one another.*] *Philip Camerarius* ſhall be my Commentator. 'How often, as Hiſtorians re-'late, did King *Lewis* X, and *Charles*, Duke of 'Burgundy, confirm their Treaties by ſolemn Oaths? 'And how often did they depart from them, when 'either of them thought that the Advantage of his 'Affairs required it? ſo that one may ſay, they 'gave their Faith, and ſwore to each other, on 'purpoſe that they might break more eaſily what 'they had reciprocally promiſed to obſerve. Accord-'ingly *Philip de Comines* ſaid, that all their Coun-'ſels tended only to deceive one another, and that 'the Inclinations of theſe two Princes were oppo-'ſite, and directly contrary, all their Lives, except 'once, when they conſpired to take off the Con-'ſtable (1).'

(1) Camerarius Meditat. Hiſtoriques *Vol. II, lve. iv, cap. xviii, pag.* 330, 331.

[*B*] Lewis XI *found the Court of* Vienna *inſenſible.*] While the Duke of *Burgundy* was mak-ing War in the County of *Cologne*, *Lewis* XI diſ-patched *John Tiercelin* to the Emperor, to 'adviſe 'him not to come to any Agreement with the 'Duke. ——And beſides, to make him a new Pro-poſal: which was, that they ſhould give aſſurance 'each to the other, that neither ſhould make Peace 'or Truce without conſent of the other: and that 'the Emperor ſhould take all the Dominions which 'the ſaid Duke held of the Empire, and which, 'of right, ought to be held of it, and declare them 'confiſcated to himſelf, and that the King ſhould 'take

matter againſt Duke *Charles*, who was formidable to ſeveral States of the Empire. He found more Vivacity in the Court of the Archduke *Sigiſmond*, and among the *Swiſs*, in the Affair of *Ferrette* (*b*). He found himſelf greatly embarraſſed, the firſt time he had to do with this terrible Enemy. It was in the Year 1465. The Count of *Charolois* entered *France* with a fine Army, to ſupport the Grandees of the Kingdom, in a League they had made againſt the King, which they called the League of the public good. The Battle of *Montleheri*, between the King's Troops, and the *Burgundians*, decided nothing; both Parties pretended to have the Advantage. The Earl gave ſignal Proofs of his Bravery, and was wounded there. The Heads of the League joined him ſome time after, and they wanted but little of making themſelves Maſters of *Paris*. They would, in all appearance, have diſmembered the Monarchy, if they had had as much Prudence as Strength; but, as none of them were capable of conducting the Buſineſs well, and every one might obtain great Advantages by a Treaty, they conſented to a Peace, which was concluded the Twenty nineth of *October*, 1465 (*c*). The Count returned very well ſatisfied, and found Employment at home, in the War againſt the People of *Liege*. He commanded the Duke his Father's Army, before *Dinant*, in 1466. The Town was taken, and treated with the utmoſt Rigour, as they had on their part acted with exceſſive Inſolence (*d*) [*C*]. He continued that War after the Death of his Father (*e*), and gained a Battle againſt the People of *Liege*, near St *Tron*, in the Month of *November*, 1467 (*f*). He was Maſter of *Peronne*, when he received a Viſit there from *Lewis* XI, in the Year 1468. That Interview had an Iſſue quite different from the King's Expectation; for he found himſelf the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Priſoner, and was conſtrained to follow him to the Siege of *Liege*, to be Witneſs of the Chaſtiſement to be inflicted on a Town which he had ſtirred up to take Arms a ſecond time (*g*). It was taken by Aſſault, the thirtieth of *October* 1468, and treated cruelly [*D*]. The King was ſuffered to retire four Days

(*b*) *See the Remark* [*B*].

(*c*) *Taken from* Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III. pag. 294, & ſeq.

(*d*) *Id. ibid. pag.* 302.

(*e*) He died in *July*, 1467.

(*f*) Mezeral, ibid. pag. 306.

(*g*) *Id. ibid. pag.* 309, &c.

' take all that were held of *France*: as *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Burgundy*, and ſeveral others. Though that Emperor had been all his Life a Man of very little Courage, yet he was a Man of good Underſtanding, and, having lived to a great Age, had a great deal of Experience (2). He recited an Apologue —— *and with that Fable put the King off, without returning any other Anſwer* (3). *Philip de Comines* had ſaid before, that *the Emperor had a very narrow mean Spirit, and would put up any thing to ſave Expences* (4). To give a better Light into what I have hinted of the Buſineſs of *Ferrette*, it muſt be obſerved, that Duke *Charles*, having lent large Sums to *Sigiſmund* of *Auſtria*, Count of *Tirol*, received from him Poſſeſſion of the County of *Ferrette*, the Landgraviate of *Alſace*, and four Frontier Towns, in the Year 1469 (5). Five Years after, the King of *France*, ' having roufed Duke ' *Sigiſmond*, by giving him 80000 Crowns, for ' which Sum his Countries of *Alſace*, *Suntgou*, and ' *Ferrette*, were engaged, this being paid him at *Baſil*, the Duke ſummoned Duke *Charles to take it, and to ſurrender the Poſſeſſion of the Countries engaged to him*. The Duke returned anſwer, *that he was content to receive it, provided the Money were paid him at* Bezançon *in* Franche Comté, *otherwiſe he ſaid he would not quit* (6). Whereupon there was a general Inſurrection: the Troops of the Duke of *Burgundy* were driven out: *Hagenbac*, who had been Governour of the County of *Ferrette* for him, and had been guilty of a great many Oppreſſions, was beheaded, ' and the whole Country ' of *Ferrette* was put in the Hands of the ſaid Duke ' *Sigiſmund* of *Auſtria*: and the *Swiſs* begun the ' War in *Burgundy*, and took *Blaſmond*, which belonged to the Mareſchal of *Burgundy*, who was of the Houſe of *Neufchaſtel*: and beſieged the Caſtle of *Heycourt*, which belonged to the ſame Houſe, whither the *Burgundians* came to it's Relief, but were defeated before it, though numerous. The *Swiſs* did abundance of Miſchief to the Country (7).' All this was contrived by *Lewis* XI, as *Philip de Comines* owns (8). The Troops, ſent by the Duke of *Burgundy* into that Country, had ſometimes the Advantge (9).

(2) Philip de Comines, liv. iv, cap. iii, p. 235, 206.

(3) Id. ibid. p. 207.

(4) Id. ibid. p. 195.

(5) *See* Lewis Collut. Memoires de Bourgogne, cap. xcili, p. 839.

(6) Id. ibid. cap. ci, p. 870, 871.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Comines, liv. iv, cap. xi, p. 203, 204. ad Ann. 1474.

(9) Id. ibid. p. 203.

(10) *See* Collut, Memoires de Bourgog. p. 803.

[*C*] *He treated the Town of* Dinant *with the utmoſt Rigour: as they on their Part had acted with exceſſive Inſolence*] ' The People of *Liege* and *Dinant* declared War againſt the Count of *Charolois*, ' when he was on his March, to come to *Paris* ' (10).' The Duke his Father ' compelled them in ' a few Days to buy a Peace. But quickly after, ' on a Report which was ſpread that *Charolois* was ' killed at *Montlheri*, they took Arms again with ' greater Fury. —— The Inhabitants of *Dinant*, a ' rich Town, and famous for it's Manufacture of ' Copper, run out into all manner of Outrages againſt ' *Charolois*, ſuch as to call him Baſtard, and hang ' him in Effigy. The Chaſtiſement followed ſpeedily after their outrageous Inſolence: the Duke laid ' ſiege to *Dinant*, and his Son commanded the ' Army. The Town was taken by aſſault and burnt; ' Eight hundred of the Inhabitants were drowned ' in the *Meuſe*, and the reſt drove to extream Miſery (11).' *Lewis Collut* ſays, ' that the Town ' was demoliſhed, and entirely razed, ſo that no ' ſigns of it appeared. *Thus fare they ordinarily, who dare affront or vilify Princes* (12).' Theſe laſt Words are but too often true, and yet I do not think it poſſible to cure the Inſolence, with which the People, in free States, are apt to attack the Honour of a Prince, who is their Enemy, by Libels, Prints, and other ſuch ways. The wiſe Heads would never be able to reſtrain the Fury of the Populace, if they ſhould attempt it; and perhaps they may not think it proper to uſe their Authority in the Caſe: they are in hopes that this kind of raillling will nouriſh Hatred, and raiſe their Courage, and make them open their Purſes: all things very proper to facilitate the means of reſiſting. But when they miſcarry, what would they not give that they had followed other Conduct? Obſerve, that a Piece of falſe News, believed for three Days, is as capable of deſtroying a State as of ſaving it. The People of *Dinant* periſhed only by believing too haſtily the falſe News of the Death of the Count of *Charolois*.

(11) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, p. 202, ad Ann. 1465.

(12) Collut, Memoires de Bourgogne, cap. lxxxviii, p. 837.

[*D*] *The Town of* Liege *was taken by aſſault —— and treated cruelly*] ' Great Part of the People ' fled over the *Meuſe* into the *Ardennes*, where ' above half of them periſhed with hunger and ' cold: the reſt took refuge in Churches, or hid ' themſelves in Houſes (13).' The Duke ' cauſed ' a Thouſand, or Twelve hundred of the poor ' Wretches, who were taken in the Houſes of *Liege*, ' to be drowned, and the whole City to be burnt, ' except the Churches, and Three hundred Houſes ' about them, which were reſerved to lodge the ' Eccleſiaſtics (14). The Coſmographer *Munſter* affirms, that the Duke cauſed all the Inhabitants of *Liege*, that could be found, to be put to Death, without regard to Age or Sex: that the Prieſts had their Throats cut in the Churches, and even during the Celebration of the Maſs: that Twelve thouſand

(13) Mezeral, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, p. 311, ad Ann. 1468.

(14) Id. ibid.

Days after (*b*). He ſoon broke the Treaty he had made at *Perronne*, and, in 1470, ſeized ſome Towns in *Picardy*, belonging to the Duke (*i*). This War, interrupted by a Truce, became very bloody, after the Death of the Duke of *Guienne*, Brother to the King (*k*). The Duke of *Burgundy* put all to Fire and Sword in *Picardy*, and the Territories of *Caux* (*l*) [*E*]. He undertook two Sieges, which he was obliged to raiſe, that of *Beauvais*, and that of *Rouen*. It is reported that the Women of *Beauvais* ſignalized themſelves in the Defence of their Town, for which they were recompenſed, by a Privilege very agreeable to the Sex [*F*]; for they had leave to adorn themſelves as they thought fit. Some time after, a Truce was made, during which the Duke went to conquer the Province of *Guelders*. This Addition inſpired him with the Thought of having his States erected into a Kingdom by the Emperor [*G*]; but he could not compaſs his Deſign. It was infinitely more eaſy for him to engage the King of *England* in a League againſt *France*: I have ſaid in another place (*m*), that *Lewis* XI laid that Storm with great Sums of Money. He made a ſeparate Peace with the *Engliſh*, in the Year 1475; the

(*b*) Id. Ibid. pag. 312.

(*i*) Philip de Commines, liv. ii, cap. i, & ſeq.

(*k*) In the Month of *May*, 1472. Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 319.

(*l*) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom III. pag. 320, ad Ann. 1472.

(*m*) In the Article of *EDWARD* IV.

thouſand Women were thrown into the River, and Forty thouſand Men killed in the Town. 'Dux 'obtentâ civitate fecit proditores omnes decollari unà 'cum aliis promiſcuis ex hominibus quos omnes 'interfecit, nullo habito delectu inter fœminas & 'viros, pueros & ſenes. Conſodiebantur etiam ſacerdotes & monachi in templis & in Miſſarum ſolemniis Colligebant mulieres a tergo & projiciebant in ſubjectum Moſæ fluvium. Ultimo exurebant civitatem & diruebant murum. Numerantur quadraginta millia hominum in civitate trucidati, & duodecim millia mulierum quæ in aquas 'projectæ fuerant atque ſubmerſæ (15).' A certain Hiſtorian obſerves, that the Soldiers raviſhed the young Women, before they killed them: 'Neque 'etiam a virginum ſacerdotum cæde ſatis temperatum eſt, quas bene ſtupratas prius, efferus miles jugulare, &c (16).'

(15) Munſter, Coſmograph. lib. ii, p. 134.

(16) Reneras Snoius Rerum Batavicar. lib. xi, p. 159.

[*E*] *He put all to the Sword in* Picardy, *and the Territories of* Caux.] His Inclination to cruelty is apparent from the foregoing Remarks, to which I add this: 'He entered *Picardy* with a Torch in one 'Hand, and a Sword in the other. Till then 'burning of Towns had not been practiſed between 'the two Parties: but nevertheleſs he made a Bonfire of all the plain Country, and ſacrificed to the 'Manes of his Friend (17) all that fell in his Power. *Neſle*, taken by aſſault, ſuffered all manner of 'Cruelties, becauſe the Inhabitants had killed a 'Herald, who went to ſummon them, and two 'Men more, during the Ceſſation granted them 'to treat. Reſpect to the Altars did not ſave the 'innocent People, who took refuge in the Church; 'and they who eſcaped the Sword were all hanged, 'or had their Hands cut off (18).' Theſe are the words of another Hiſtorian: The Duke 'marches 'to *Neſle* in *Vermandois* —— beſieges, beats, and 'takes it. Of five hundred Archers, commanded 'by one, called the *Little Picard*, he killed the 'greateſt part: hanged ſeveral, among the reſt the 'Captain: cut off the Hands of the reſt. Several, 'both Soldiers and Inhabitants, who had taken 'refuge in the Churches, were inhumanely maſſacred on the very Altars, and embracing the Images. 'The Duke himſelf went into the Church on Horſe-'back, and ſeeing the dead Bodies. *This*, ſays he, 'looks well, *I have good Butchers.* Then he burnt 'and razed the Place (19).'

(17) That is to ſay, the Duke of *Guienne*, Brother of *Lewis* XI.

(18) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. p. 320, ad Ann. 1472.

(19) Jean de Serres Invent. de l'Hiſt. de France. *Vie de Louis* XI, pag 827. *See that more at large in* Pierre Matthieu Hiſt. de Louis XI, p. 280.

[*F*] *The Women of* Beauvais *ſignalized themſelves, and were recompenſed with a Privilege very agreeable to the Sex.*] 'It is a memorable thing, that 'in a general Aſſault made on *Thurſday* the ninth 'of *July*, the Men being on the Point of being 'routed, the Women, conducted by one *Jane 'Hachette*, did wonders in repulſing the Enemy 'with Stones, wild Fire, and Lead melted in boiling Roſin. There is ſtill an Effigy of that 'Woman in the Town-Houſe with a Sword in her 'Hand; and a Proceſſion is made on the tenth of 'July (the Day the Siege was raiſed) in which the 'Women walk firſt, and the Men after (20).' *Mezerai* forgets the chief Circumſtance: therefore I ſhall cite another Author, who, in a Chapter, where he lays it down, *that the Woman think Finery a Privilege of Right belonging to them*, brings two Proofs, one drawn from the Practice of the *Jews*, and the other from a Decree of *Lewis* XI. Theſe are his Words: 'The *Jews* had this Conſideration 'for their Women in the Obſervation of their fooliſh 'Traditions. For they forbad a great many little 'innocent Works, even in the moſt preſſing Neceſſity, on ſolemn Days: but they excepted the Habits and Jewels of their Wives, which they 'thought they might buy on thoſe Days †. It was 'likewiſe a privilege granted by Letters Patent of 'King *Lewis* XI, in the Year 1473, to the Women and 'Maids of the Town of *Beauvais*, that they might 'dreſs themſelves on their Wedding Days, and 'when they thought fit, in ſuch Veſtments, Attire, 'Ornaments, and Jewels, as they pleaſed, in conſideration of the Courage they had ſhewn in defending the City againſt the Duke of *Burgundy* ‡. 'This Privilege is joined to another, which is very 'particular, that is, they may walk in Proceſſion, 'and to the Offering, before the Men, on the Day 'of the Feaſt of St *Agadrême*, Patroneſs of the 'Town of *Beauvais* (21). *Andrew du Cheſne* mentions theſe Privileges granted to the Women of *Beauvais* by King *Lewis* XI (22).

(20) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. pag. 321, ad Ann. 1472.

† V. Seb. Munſterum in notis ad Evangelium Hebraic. Matthæi, cap. xiv, pag 97.

‡ Vid Hiſtoire de Beauvaiſis par Ant. Loiſel, p. 234, 351.

(21) Joël Avis Chantelet & Moreau pour l'Inſtitution des Enfans, liv. ii, cap. iv, pag 260

(22) Du Cheſne Antiquité des Villes de France, p. 412.

This puts me in mind of the Prerogatives granted to the Woman of *Rome*, after the Mother of *Coriolanus*, accompanied by ſome other Ladies, had obliged him to retire from the City with the Army of the *Volſci*. The Senate ordered the Magiſtrates to grant the Women all the Marks of Favour and Reſpect which they ſhould aſk. They required nothing but that a Temple ſhould be built to Female Fortune; the Worſhip was to be at the Expence of the Public, but they offered to defray the Charge of the Building themſelves. The City took upon them the whole (23). *Plutarch* ſtops here (24): he does not not ſay, with *Valerius Maximus*, that it was decreed by the Senate that the Men ſhould give the Women the upper Hand, and that they might wear Ornaments of Gold and Purple, *&c.* 'In quarum honorem Senatus matronarum ordinem benigniſſimis decretis adornavit. 'Sanxit namque uti fœminis ſemita viri cederent, 'confeſſus plus ſalutis reipublicæ in ſtolâ quam in armis fuiſſe: vetuſtiſque aurium inſignibus novum 'vitæ diſcrimen adjecit: permiſit quoque his purpureâ veſte & aureis uti ſegmentis (25).' They could not better have ſuited the Reward to natural Inclination (26).

(23) Plutarch. in vita Coriolani, pag. 231.

(24) Id. Ibid.

(25) Valerius Maximus, lib. v, cap. ii, n. 2, p. 436.

[*G*] *He was deſirous to have his Dominions erected into a Kingdom.*] At an Interview with the Emperor *Frederic* III, at *Triers*, he promiſed to give his Daughter to the Emperor's Son, provided his Imperial Majeſty would 're-erect the Kingdom of *Burgundy*, held by his Anceſtors, and would crown 'him, and confer on him the Titles and Honours of 'a King (27).' The Emperor conſented, 'and the 'neceſſary Preparations were made for that purpoſe. 'But it was dropt all on a ſudden, for ſome diſpleaſure the Duke had given the Emperor. —— Some 'ſay, that King *Lewis* hindered the Emperor from 'going any further in giving him the Title 'of a King: by giving him to underſtand that the 'Duke aſpired not only to that, but rather to the 'Empire, in prejudice of Prince *Maximilian*: The 'Emperor, a ſuſpicious Prince, fearing that, made 'the Refuſal above-mentioned (28).' This happened in the Year 1473. *Pontus Heuterus* adds, that the Duke offered Money to obtain of the Emperor, and the Empire, a Grant of the four Biſhoprics of the Low Countries (29), and that he demanded the

(26) *See the Article* PERIANDER, *Remark* [*B*]; *the Article* PRETEXTAT, *Remark* [*B*]; *and the Article* ROSSUS, *Rem.* [*D*].

(27) Gollut, Memoir. de Bourgogne, pag. 842.

(28) Id. ib. pag. 843.

(29) Utrecht, Liege, Cambrai, & Tournai.

the Duke of *Burgundy* was very angry, and remonſtrated to the King of *England* very haughtily on that Subject [*H*]. The ill Succeſs of the Siege he had laid to *Nuitz*, in the Country of *Cologne*, contributed not a little to the Breach of the League he had made with that Prince, and with the Duke of *Bretagne*. After ſome Bravadoes, he alſo agreed with *Lewis* XI on a Truce for nine Years, not without great Spite, which he diſcharged on *Lorrain*. He ſubdued it entirely: in conſequence of that he built Project upon Project, even ſo far as to think of the Conqueſt of *Italy*; but he had a mind firſt to oblige the *Swiſs* to ſubmit to his Laws: He miſcarried in this Deſign. They beat him at *Granſon*, *June* 5, 1476, and at *Morat* the 20th of *June* the ſame Year. At laſt, he was killed before *Nancy*, *January* 5, 1477 [*I*]. He was a Prince who might have made great Conqueſts, if he had had as much Prudence as Courage, and if he had not had, in *Lewis* XI, an Adverſary, who, by his Intrigues and his Money, raiſed him abundance of Enemies. His Military Ordinances are admirable (*n*). *He was the firſt who revived the Method of the* Romans, *of incloſing his Troops in an intrenched Camp* (*o*). The firſt Cauſe of his Wars againſt the *Swiſs* was a meer trifle [*K*]: The Booty, which

(*n*) *See them in* Lewis Gollut, Memoires de Bourg. liv. x, cap. xcvi, xcvii, xcviii.

(*o*) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 308.

the Vicarſhip of the Empire, with a tacit deſire to ſucceed the Emperor *Frederic*; that the Pomp with which he ſhewed his Riches, and the Finery of his Furniture, which ſoiled that of the Emperor (30), ſtrengthened the Suſpicions raiſed by the King of *France*; and that thus all the Preparations for the Coronation were over-ſet, in ſuch a manner, that *Frederic* retired to *Cologn*, without taking leave of the Duke (31).

(30) *See* Philip de Comines, liv. ii, cap. v.ii, p. 205.

(31) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. liv. iv, pag. 278, 279.

[*H*] Lewis XI *having made Peace with the* Engliſh — *he complained haughtily of it to the King of* England.] He departed from *Luxemburg* with ſixteen Horſes to go to ſpeak to him; *Edward* — ſeeming ‘ to be aſtoniſhed at ſo ſpeedy and ſudden an Arrival, aſked him what brought him there. *I come*, ſays the Duke, *to ſpeak with you. Would you do it*, ſaid *Edward*, *in private or in public?* With that, the Duke, who could no longer keep in his Anger, and who came to ſay what he had a mind, without conſidering that he might alſo hear what he would not like, aſks the King of *England* if he had made Peace? *No*, ſays *Edward*, *but a Truce for nine Years, in which you are included, and alſo the Duke of* Bretagne, *and I deſire you to agree to it.* The Duke replied in the *Engliſh* Language, which he underſtood and ſpoke, that the Army needed not to have paſſed the Sea for that; that this Treaty ruined the Reputation of the Kings of *England*, and that it wanted that Lion's Heart again which was buried at *Roan*. Then he added: *I had procured you an Opportunity of doing your Buſineſs, and recovering what belongs to you, which you will never have again. It was not for my Intereſt, for I could have done without you; and to ſhew you that I will have nothing to do with your Truce, by St* George *I will not treat with the King till you are returned into* England, *and have been there above three Months. Edward* not liking theſe Brunts made no Reply (32).’

(32) Matthieu Hiſt. de Louis XI, liv. vi. cap. xx. p. 321. *See alſo* Comines, lib. iv, cap. viii. p. 227.

[*I*] *He was killed before* Nancy, *the fifth of* January, 1477.] He laid Siege to that Place with a few Troops; he was baſely betrayed by *Campobaſſo*, one of his Generals: he was attacked by a very numerous Army. It is therefore no wonder, that he periſhed in the Enterprize, but he was very much to blame not to follow the wiſe Counſel which was given him (33). He fought like a Lion (34). (*a*) ‘ After the Battle was over they were in ‘ pain to know what was become of him. He ‘ was fought among the living, and afterwards ‘ among the dead. —— He was found in a Ditch, ‘ with his Face all bedawbed with Dirt and Blood, ‘ and the hard Winter having froxen it, he could not ‘ be known (35).’ His Domeſtics knew the Body ‘ by ſeveral Marks, by the want of Teeth in his upper Jaw, which he loſt in his Youth, by a Fall; ‘ by the Scar of the Wound he received in the ‘ Throat in the Battle of *Montlheri*: by the ſhrivelling of the Skin in his Shoulder occaſioned ‘ by a Carbuncle: by a Fiſtula he had under his ‘ Navel: and by his Nails, which he wore longer ‘ than any Perſon in his Court (36).’ There were three Wounds in the Body; ‘ one with a Halbert, ‘ which cleft his Head, from above the Ear to ‘ the Teeth: a Wound with a Pike in the Thigh, ‘ and another in the Fundament (37).’ He was carried to *Nancy*, ‘ and after they had waſhed the ‘ Body, and dreſſed it in a plain linnen Cloth, ‘ they laid it on a Table, with a Canopy of black ‘ Velvet over it, in a Room hung with the ſame ‘ (38). The Duke of *Lorrain* went in a mourning ‘ Habit, and with a golden Beard, after the manner of Champions, to give him holy Water (39); ‘ and, and taking him by the Hand, ſaid to him, ‘ *GOD receive your Soul, you have done me ‘ much harm, and given me a deal of Trouble.* ‘ He cauſed him to be interred with all manner ‘ of funeral Honours (40).’ He erected a very handſome Monument for him in the Church of ‘ *St George* at *Nancy*, with the Effigy as big as the Life (41). *Charles* V cauſed the Body to be removed to *Luxemburg*, ‘ from whence it was ‘ again removed to *Bruges*, where, by command ‘ of Queen *Eleanor*, it was interred in the Choir ‘ of the Church of our Lady, before the Steps of ‘ the great Altar, in the ſame Vault with Lady ‘ *Mary* his Daughter (42).’ Obſerve, that ‘ The ‘ People imagined he had eſcaped, and went and ‘ hid himſelf in a Hermitage, from whence he ‘ was to return after ſeven Years. This Report ‘ prevailed ſo, that ſeveral People lent Money to ‘ be paid at his return. His choleric Humour, ‘ and ſome Perſon or other who had been ſeen ‘ in *Suabia*, that reſembled him very much in ‘ Size, Hair, Voice, and Countenance, occaſioned ‘ this Opinion (43).’

(33) Comines, liv. v. cap. viii. p. 288.

(34) Gollut, Memoires de Bourgogne, pag. 882.

(35) Matthieu, Hiſt. de Louis XI, liv. vii. cap. xxiii. p. 390.

(36) Id. ibid. p. 392.

(37) Id. ibid. p. 390.

(38) Id. ibid. p. 392.

(39) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III. pag. 331, ad Ann. 1477.

(40) Matthieu, Hiſt. de Louis XI, p. 392.

(41) Gollut, Memoires de Bourgogne, pag. 884.

(42) Id. ibid.

(43) Fabert Hiſt. des Ducs de Bourgogne, p. 312. *See alſo* Reneron Snoius, Rerum Batavicar. lib. xle p. 268.

[§ (*a*) *Mezerai*, *Tom.* II. *pag.* 171, of his Great Hiſtory *Ed.* 1646, obſerves, that this Prince was ſirnamed *the Lion*; ‘tis to this Sirname that That Expreſſion of *Gollut* alludes; the ſame Sirname likewiſe appears in the following Verſes, which are taken out of a Ballad on the tragical Death of this Prince, and extant in the *Forger d'Honneur*, *&c. fol.* 137.

Or eſt le parc orgueilleux deffendu
Le fier Lyon ne l'a pas bien gardé,
Il a trés-mal ſon Latin entendu,
Et à ſon cas ſimplement regardé,
Il a trouvé avoir un peu tardé
An deſloger du pays de Lorraine;
Car a la fin il y eſt demouré
Et les moutons, la toiſon & la layne.

The ſtately Park is now proteſted:
The Lion has it's Guard neglected.
His Buſineſs ill he underſtood,
And ill conſulted his own Good:
He found too long a time he had
Retreating from Lorrain *delay'd;*
For there he loſt, as it fell out,
His Life, Sheep, Skins, and Wool to boot.

REM. CRIT.]

[*K*] The

which they took at the Battle of *Granſon* was ineſtimable, and ſome ſingular Adventures are related concerning it [*L*]. His Grief at this Defeat had almoſt coſt him his Life, and did weaken his Underſtanding [*M*]. I muſt not forget that, in the

[*K*] *The firſt Source of his Wars againſt the Swiſs was a very ſmall matter.*] I ſpeak ſo in compliance with the common Opinion; for I am perſuaded that the great Miſchiefs they had done him, both in *Alſace* and *Burgundy*, were a powerful Motive for attacking them. Theſe Words of *Philip de Comines*: 'And for what Quarrel was this War 'begun? it was for a Cart-load of Sheep Skins, 'which the Count *de Romont* took from a *Swiſs* 'that was paſſing thro' his Lands. If GOD had 'not forſaken the Duke, it is not likely he would 'have thrown himſelf into Danger for ſuch a 'Trifle (44).' This Paſſage, I ſay, has made an hundred Authors ſay, that a Cart-load of Skins was the Cauſe of a bloody War between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the *Swiſs*. That Example is ſcarce ever forgot, in treating the Common-place that *very ſmall matters are the Cauſe of great Events* (45). But if it had been carefully obſerved, that *Philip de Comines* contradicts himſelf, ſo much regard would not have been paid to his Obſervation. He had ſaid very clearly, that *Charles* was reſolved to 'make War on the *Swiſs*, as well 'for what they had done to him, when he was before 'Nuz, becauſe they aſſiſted in the taking the Earldom of *Ferrette* from him - - - - - - - and becauſe 'they had taken from the ſaid Count *de Romont* part of his Territories (46).' However, they were afraid of him, and made him all manner of Submiſſions. *Comines* is my Author. 'The *Swiſs*, 'ſays he (47), perceiving him ſo near them, ſent 'an Embaſſy to him; and offered to reſtore what 'they had taken from the ſaid Lord of *Romont*. - - - - - The Duke entered *Burgundy*, where the 'Embaſſadors of the Old Leagues of *Germany*, 'called *Swiſs*, returned to him, making larger Offers than before; and, beſides Reſtitution, they 'offered to quit all Alliances which were contrary 'to his liking (and eſpecially that with the King) 'and to become his Allies, and ſerve him with 'Six thouſand Men at Arms for ſmall Pay againſt 'the King, when he ſhould require them.' The Duke would hearken to nothing. They remonſtrated to him likewiſe; 'in order to diſſuade him 'from that War, that he could get nothing from 'them; for their Country was barren and poor, 'and they had no good Priſoners for him; and 'that they did not believe but that the Spurs and 'the Bits of the Horſes Bridles in his Army were 'worth more Money than they could pay him 'Taxes, were they taken (48).' This Reaſon was of no weight with a Prince like him, who had the Ambition of the *Romans*. 'Raptores (*Romani*) 'orbis, poſtquam cuncta vaſtantibus defuêre terræ, '& mare ſcrutantur: ſi locuples hoſtis eſt avari, 'ſi pauper ambitioſi. - - - - Soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari affectu concupiſcunt (49). - - - - 'Theſe Ravagers of the World (the Romans), when 'Land failed theſe univerſal Deſtroyers, ſtarab the 'Sea too; if the Enemy be rich they are covetous, 'if poor ambitious. - - - They alone do equally covet 'the Wealth and Poverty of all the World.' If he had had their Prudence and Fortune, he might have carried his Conqueſts far; but he was too prone to follow his own Opinion, and by that means ruined the greateſt Power then *in Europe* (50). Never did Man better than he verify the Maxim 'Vis Conſilii expers mole ruit ſuâ (51). - - - - - 'Strength without Counſel deſtroys itſelf.'

(44) Comines, liv. v. cap. i. p. 260.

(45) *See the* Coups d'etat de Gabriel Naudé.

(46) Comines, liv. v. cap. i. p. 257.

(47) Id. ibid.

(48) Id. ibid.

(49) Tacit. in vita Agric. cap.

(50) Comines, liv. v. cap. viii. p. 288.

(51) Horat. Od. iv. lib. iii.

[*L*] *The Booty they took - - - - - was ineſtimable, and ſome ſingular Adventures are related concerning it.*] The Duke of *Burgundy* was in great Pomp - - - - - *and had all his beſt Jewels, and Plate, and a great many other Ornaments* (52). He diſpoſed every thing for the Battel, with the greateſt imprudence; and the Army was ſo ſuddenly put in Confuſion, that 'they all fled; and the *Swiſs* 'got his Camp, and his Artillery, and all the 'Tents and Pavillions belonging to him, and his 'People (of which there were a great Number), 'and other things without end: for nothing was 'ſaved but their Perſons: All the Duke's great 'Jewels were loſt; but as to Men, he loſt only 'ſeven Men at Arms, at this time; all the reſt fled 'and himſelf too. It may be better ſaid of him, 'that he loſt both his Honour, and his Riches that 'Day, than it was ſaid of *John* of *France*, who 'was taken fighting vallantly at the Battle of *Poitiers* (53). — The Spoils of his Army enriched 'theſe poor *Swiſs*: Who, at firſt, knew not the 'value of the Goods, they had in their Hands, eſpecially the moſt ignorant of them. One of 'the fineſt and richeſt Pavillions in the World 'was parted into ſeveral pieces: Some of them 'ſold a great Quantity of Silver Diſhes and Porringers, for two great Blancs a-piece, thinking they 'were Pewter. His great Diamond, (which was 'one of the largeſt in *Chriſtendom*) to which hung 'a great Pearl, was taken up by a *Swiſs*, and afterwards put in the Caſe again, and thrown under 'a Cart; he came back afterwards to ſeek it, 'and offered it to a Prieſt for a Florin. The 'Prieſt ſent it to their Lords, who gave him 'three Francs for it. They got three great Rubies, called *the three Brothers*, one other called *La Hotte*; 'another called *La balle de Flandres*, (which were 'the largeſt and beſt Stones that could be found) 'and other things without Number, which taught 'them to know the value of Money ever ſince '(54).' I have read ſomewhere, that a *Bernois*, named *Bartholomew May*, bought the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Diamond for 5000 Florins; ſome Merchants of *Genoa* afterwards bought it for ſeven Thouſand Florins of the *Rhine*. The Duke of *Milan* gave eleven Thouſand Crowns for it. At laſt Pope *Julius* II gave Twenty thouſand, and placed it for an Ornament in his Crown (55). Obſerve, that the Duke had treated the Garriſon of *Granſon* cruelly, which conſiſted of ſeven or eight Hundred choice Men, at the beginning of the Siege. They ſurrendred at Diſcretion, and he put them all to death (56).

(52) Comines, liv. v, cap. i. p. 259.

(53) Id. ibid. p. 260.

(54) Id. ibid. cap. ii. pag. 266.

(55) Mich. Stabelerus Hiſt. Helvet. lib. iv. ad Ann. 1476. apud Hotting. in Meth. legendi Hiſt. Helvetic, p. 432.

(56) Comines, liv. v, cap. i, p. 259.

[*M*] *His Grief, - - - had almoſt coſt him his Life, and did impair his Underſtanding.*] I ſhall uſe ſtill the Words of *Comines*: 'He was thrown into a great 'Illneſs, by Grief and Vexation, at the diſgrace 'he had received. And to ſay the truth, I think 'his Underſtanding was never ſo good afterwards, 'as it had been before this Battle (57).' The Author reſumes the ſame Diſcourſe in another Place, and ſays thus, 'His Grief at the Loſs of the firſt 'Battel of *Granſon* was ſo great, and diſturbed his 'Spirits ſo much, that he fell into a great Sickneſs, 'of ſuch a Nature, that, tho' his Choler and the 'Heat of his Body naturally was ſo great, that he 'could drink no Wine, but commonly in the 'Morning drank Barley Water, and eat Conſerve 'of Roſes, to cool himſelf, this Vexation cauſed 'ſuch a Change in his Conſtitution, that he was 'obliged to drink ſtrong Wines without Water, 'and to have Cupping-Glaſſes applied to the Region of the Heart, in order to draw the Blood 'from thence. But of this you, *Monſeigneur de Vienne*, know more than I, as you attended him 'in that Illneſs, and cauſed him to have his 'Beard ſhaved, which he let grow: And in my 'Opinion, he was never after this Illneſs ſo wiſe 'as he had been before, but his Underſtanding 'was very much weakened (58).' I cannot miſs this Remark, without enriching it with a fine Reflexion of this wiſe Hiſtorian, it will confirm what I have ſo often ſaid of the unhappineſs of great Men, and this true Maxim, That there is no Body leſs happy, than thoſe who ſeem to be moſt ſo. After the War of the public Good, 'What Quiet had he? 'He had perpetual Toil, both of Body and Mind, 'without any Pleaſure: For Ambition fired his 'Heart, and ſtirred him up to conquer whatever 'he thought convenient. All Summer long he 'was ever in the Field, in great hazard of his Perſon, and took upon himſelf the Care and Inſpection 'of his Army: and yet never had all things 'done according to his Mind. He roſe firſt, and 'went to Bed laſt, as if he had been the pooreſt 'Man in the Army. When he reſted in Winter, 'he was uſing all diligence to get Money. He 'applied

(57) Comines, cap. iii, pag. 267.

(58) Id. cap. v. p. 274, 275.

the Year 1469, he employed himſelf in Acts of Juſtice (*p*). He viſited ſeveral Provinces in the *Low Countries*, and chaſtiſed the Malefactors ſeverely. What he did to a Lord who had ſeduced a very modeſt Woman, is too remarkable not to be mentioned [*N*]. He ſuſpected *Lewis* XI to much that he ſlighted the ſincere Advice which he gave him of *Campobaſſo*'s Treachery; *if that were true*, ſays he, *the King would not have given me notice of it* (*q*). One of his greateſt Faults was, that he thought that *all the Favours and Honours he had received in the World, were owing to his own good Senſe and Virtue, without attributing them to God, as he ought to have done* (*r*). He was much more regular *in his bodily Pleaſures*, than any of his three Predeceſſors (*s*). *So we do not find his Houſe filled with Baſtards, nor that he was too fond of his Wives.* He married thrice, and left only one Daughter [*O*].

(*p*) Pontus Heuterus Rer. Burgund. lib. iv. pag. 265.

(*q*) Comines, lib. v, cap. vi, pag. 283.

(*r*) Id. cap. ix, pag. 291.

(*s*) Gollut, Memoire de Bourgogn. pag. 885.

' applied himſelf every Day from ſix o'Clock in the ' Morning, and took a great deal of Pains, in re- ' ceiving and hearing a great number of Embaſſa- ' dors: and in this Labour and Miſery ended his ' Days: He was killed by the *Swiſs* before ' *Nancy*, as has been ſeen before; and may it not ' be ſaid, that he never had one good day, from ' the time he began to endeavour to aggrandize ' himſelf, to the day of his Death. What advan- ' tage did he gain by this Labour? What more ' had he of it? He who was ſo rich, and had ſo ' many fine Cities and Principalities under his ' command, where he might have been eaſy if he (59) ' would (59) ' I make no excuſe for copying this Paſſage: My Readers, who are Judges of what's fine, will admire it, and it were to be wiſhed, that every Prince had it by heart, and would make good uſe of it. They would act better than they do, both for their own Happineſs, and that of their Neighbours. But what, this which we look upon as unhappineſs, is only a leſs evil. They would be yet more miſerable, if they were conſtrained not to torment themſelves, Body and Soul, to embaraſs themſelves in Intrigues and Projects of Revolution. They are deſirous to act great parts on the Stage of this World, and to draw the Eyes of all mankind: and for that end, riſe earlier than an Artiſan, write more than an Attorney, and tire more Clerks than a Regiſter in Chief. To debar them from this trouble, would make them more miſerable.

(59) Id. liv. vi. cap. xlii. p. 409.

[*N*] *What he did to a Lord, who had ſeduced a very modeſt Woman, is worth the mentioning.*] This Story is related in an ample manner, not without ſome flouriſhes of Rhetoric, by *Pontus Heuterus*. The Subſtance of it is thus: A very brave Captain of Duke *Philip the Good* had obtained, for a Recompenſe of his Services, the Government of a Place There he fell in Love with his Landlady, a Woman of ſingular Beauty and Modeſty. He talked to her of Love, and ſwore to be ſecret and conſtant to her. She anſwered, that her Conſcience would not ſuffer her to violate her conjugal Faith, and that he ought to remember the ſacred Laws of Hoſpitality, and place his Inclinations on ſome other, where he might do it lawfully. ' Eſſe ' variis locis virgines opulentas complures formâ ' ſe multo præſtantiores, eligat unam quæ genio ' reſpondeat è qua liberos ſancto matrimonio procrea- ' tos ſuſcipere poſſit (60). —— *There were a great* ' *many rich Maids to be found, much preferable to* ' *herſelf for Beauty; he might chuſe one ſuitable to* ' *his Temper, and marry her, and get Children in* ' *a legitimate way.*' This Anſwer ſerving only to augment his Paſſion; he attacks her on another ſide: He offers her a large Sum of Money, and promiſes to make her go finer than any of her Neighbours and Relations, and to procure her Husband a beneficial and honourable Poſt. ' Auri acervum offert, ' ac in quem velit uſum auferre jubet, promittit ' mundum muliebrem, qui cum vicinarum ac cog- ' natarum ornamentis comparari non poſſit, addens ' ſe marito apud Principem impetraturum, in pa- ' triâ ejus dignitatem, non minus honori quam ' compendio ſerviturum (61).' His promiſes making no impreſſion, he raiſes another Battery: He impriſons the Husband on pretence of Rebellion; and when the Wife applied to him, as to the only means of ſaving the Priſoner's Life, he anſwered that the Crime was manifeſt, and that he could not avoid putting him to death, unleſs the Mercy of the Sovereign interpoſed: I promiſe to obtain it, continues he, provided you will immediately grant me the Favour I have asked of you ſo often. *Promitto me apud Principem gratiam marito tuo obtenturum, ſi voluntati meæ obſequi nunc cum ſoli fumus volueris* (62). This Propoſal made her bluſh, weep, ſigh, raiſed a combat between conjugal Love and Virtue, and ſtruck her dumb. He takes Advantage of her Irreſolution and ſatisfies his Luſt. *Obtentam lachrymantem & alta ſuſpiria ducentem, nec tamen reluctantem, in thorum collocat* (63). She from time to time preſſes him to perform his Promiſe: He puts her off with a thouſand lies; and at laſt, cauſed the Priſoner's Head to be cut off privately, and made the Wife believe, ſhe would have him delivered out of Priſon, on preſenting to the Goaler a Paper which he gave her. She runs to the priſon, and there finds that her Husband had loſt his Life, by the Hands of the Executioner. The ſight of ſuch an Object ſtruck her ſpeechleſs, but ſoon after ſhe returned to the Governour, and loaded him with all the reproaches, that a juſt indignation could ſuggeſt. He makes a hundred excuſes, and offers to marry her, and promiſes her a magnificent Fortune. She rejects theſe offers, and relates the whole Adventure to ſome Relations, who adviſe her to wait the Arrival of Duke *Charles*, and to demand Juſtice of him. That Prince, having had proof of the Governour's Crimes, ordered him to marry the Widow; ſhe had an Averſion to it, which could not be ſurmounted, without a great deal of Sollicitation *Victa multorum ac magnorum virorum matronarumque auctoritate mulier in Nuptias fere coacta conſentit* (64). The Marriage Contract was drawn, and the Wife was to inherit all the Eſtate of her Huſband, if he died before her without Children: the Ceremony of the Marriage was performed in due form; and then the Duke aſked the Woman if ſhe was content? Yes, ſays ſhe. But I, replies he, am not ſo. He ſends the Governour to Priſon: two Hours after, he cauſes him to be beheaded in the ſame Room, where the firſt Husband had loſt his Head. A Copy of the Sentence of Death was delivered to the Woman, and ſhe was ſent to the Priſon to ſee, that the double Crime of the Seducer did not go unpuniſhed. She fell into a Melancholy, which ended her days a little while after. *Non diu poſt, animi mœrore confecta ſupervixit, ingentibus præfecti bonis liberos è priore marito ſuſceptos ditans* (65). *Lipſius*, who relates the ſame Story with all it's Circumſtances, obſerves, that the Scene was in a Town in *Zeland* (66). See alſo *Peter Matthieu* in his Hiſtory of *Lewis* XI (67). Mr *Varillas* has juſt mentioned it, and has made a blunder; for he pretends, that the Governour was forced to marry that Woman (68). He wanted not to be forced to it, he deſired nothing better. Obſerve, that *Snoius* tells this Story quite differently: He ſays, that a Burgomaſter of *Zeland* raviſhed a poor Girl in a Garden; that the Duke ordered him, either to marry her, or give her half his Eſtate; and that he refuſing to do it, the Duke cauſed his Head to be cut off, tho' in that Extremity the Burgomaſter offered to marry the young Woman (69).

(60) Pontus Heuterus. Rer. Burgundicar. lib. v, pag. 265.

(61) Id. ibid.

(62) Id. ibid.

(63) Id. ibid.

(64) Id. ibid. pag. 366.

(65) Id. ibid. pag. 367.

(66) Lipſius Mon & Exempl. Polit lib xi, cap. ix, n 6.

(67) *In* liv. vii, cap. xxiii, p. 395.

(68) Varillas Hiſt. de Louis XI, liv. i, p. 34.

(69) Snoius Rer. Batav. lib. xi, p. 159.

[*O*] *He married three Wives, and left only one Daughter.*] I. *Catharine* of *France*, Daughter of *Charles* VII, in the Year 1439. She died in the Year 1446 without Iſſue. II. *Iſabella* of *Bourbon*, Daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* in the Year 1454. She died the thirteenth of *September* 1465, leaving a Daughter whom I ſpeak of in the following Article. III. *Margaret*, Siſter of *Edward* IV, King of *England*, in the Year 1468: She had no Children, and died in the Year 1503 (70).

(70) *Taken from Father* Anſelm, Hiſt. Geneal. de la Maiſon Roiale pag. 214.

BURGUNDY (MARY *of*), only Daughter and Heireſs of the former, was born at *Bruſſels* (*a*), the thirteenth of *February*, 1457. As ſhe was the greateſt Match then in *Europe*, ſeveral Princes ſought her in Marriage: but her Father had the Art to promiſe her ſometimes to one, and ſometimes to another, and give her to none [*A*]. It is very probable ſhe never would have been married while he was alive. As ſoon as he was killed, they begun to talk of marrying her in earneſt; and there were a great many Intrigues about it, which you may ſee in *Varillas* (*b*). I have ſpoken elſewhere (*c*) of the irreparable Fault committed by *Lewis* XI. It conſiſted in this one thing, that he would not marry his Son to the Heireſs of *Burgundy*; for he was not to blame, as ſome pretend, in that he would not allow any other Prince of his Blood to marry her [*B*]. He ſent his Barbet

(*a*) Anſelme Hiſt. Genealogique de la Maiſon Roiale, *pag.* 214; *others, as* Lewis Gollut, *ſays in his Memoirs of* Burgundy, *pag.* 892, *at* Valenciennes.

(*b*) Varillas Hiſt. de Louis XI, *liv.* viii.

(*c*) *In the Article of* LEWIS XI, *Remark* [*R*].

[*A*] *Her Father had the Art to promiſe her, ſometimes to one, and ſometimes to another, and not to give her to any one.*] A great Prince, who has but one Daughter, and engages himſelf in great Enterprizes at a Diſtance from his Country, has no great need of a Son-in-law: ſuch an Ally it is to be feared might grow weary of a private Life, and be in too much haſte to command. The Affairs which employ the Father-in-law abroad will not give him leave to prevent domeſtic Cabals. In a word, the preſumptive Heireſs of a State is leſs to be feared when ſhe is to marry, than when ſhe has a Husband. Beſides, while ſhe is ſingle, ſhe may ſerve for a Bait to ſeveral Pretenders; which furniſhes the Father with opportunities of forming and unravelling ſeveral Intrigues. However, the Duke of *Burgundy treated* concerning the Marriage of his Daughter with *every Man that asked her*: and I believe, ſays *Philip de Comines* (1), 'that he never deſired to have a Son, nor would 'have married his Daughter as long as he had lived: 'but would always have kept her to engage People 'to ſerve and aſſiſt him.' He ſays this on occaſion of a Negotiation, which was ſet on foot in the Year 1470, for a Marriage of that Princeſs to the Duke of *Guienne*, Brother of *Lewis* XI. This Marriage 'was ſo far advanced, that ſome verbal Promiſes of 'it were made, and alſo ſome mention of it in Letters: but I have ſeen the like done to *Nicolas*, Duke of *Calabria* and *Lorrain*, Son of *John* Duke 'of *Calabria*, whom I mentioned before. The 'like was alſo done to *Philibert*, the late Duke of 'Savoy, and afterwards to Duke *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, now King of the *Romans*, only Son of the 'Emperor *Frederic*. This laſt received Letters, 'writ with the young Lady's own Hand, by command of her Father, and a Diamond. All theſe 'Promiſes were made in the compaſs of three Years, 'and yet I am well aſſured that no body would have 'accompliſhed it as long as he had lived, at leaſt 'with his Conſent (2).'

(1) Comines, liv. III, Chap. III. *pag.* 145.

(2) Id. ibid. *cap.* viii, *pag.* 169, 170. Matthieu Hiſt. Louis XI, liv. v, *pag.* 246, 252.

[*B*] Lewis XI *was not to blame —— in that he would not allow any other Prince of his Blood to marry her.*] If he had permitted his Brother to marry her, he would have brought himſelf in danger of an entire Revolution; and there is no probability that the Crown would have deſcended to his Son. He ought not therefore to be blamed for the Care he took to prevent that Marriage. *Mr Varillas* ſets forth *Lewis* XI's Motives very well. 'The 'King who, in another Conjuncture, ſhould have deſired the Marriage of his Brother with the Heireſs 'of *Burgundy*, abhorred it in this; for allowing, 'on one hand, to this propoſed Alliance all the 'Conſideration it deſerved, and making, on the other 'hand, all the Reflexions with which ſubtile Minds 'are wont to perplex themſelves in regard to futurity; he looked upon himſelf to be too far 'advanced in Years to out-live the Minority of 'the Son, which the Midwives gave out that 'the Queen was big with: and that conſequently it 'would be in his Brother's Power to deprive him, 'if he added, to the Riches of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, the valiant Soldiers which he might raiſe in '*Guienne*. Whereas, if the Princeſs of *Burgundy* 'had any other Husband than the Duke of *Berry* (3), the Minor, which his Majeſty was like to leave, 'would be the better fixed on the Throne: ſince 'if ſhe married a foreign Prince, he would not 'have it in his Power ſo eaſily to re-kindle the Civil-War in *France*; and if one were choſen for 'her in *France*, he would want at leaſt the Authority and Dignities which render the Sons of '*France* ſo dangerous, when they are weak enough 'to ſuffer themſelves to be drawn into a Revolt '(4).' Beſides, *England* was very much alarmed at the Propoſals of the Marriage of *Mary* of *Burgundy* with the Brother of *Lewis* XI. *Comines* will ſhew it us. 'Edward, King of *England*, who really 'thought that this Marriage was likely to be concluded on, and was deceived in that, as well as 'the King, laboured hard with the ſaid Duke of 'Burgundy to break it; alledging, that the King had 'no Son, and that, if he died, the ſaid Duke of 'Guienne was in Expectation of the Crown; and 'conſequently, if the Marriage were made, all 'England would be in great danger of being over 'run, when ſo many large Dominions were added 'to the Kingdom; and he took this matter wonderfully to heart, though there was no need for it, and 'ſo did all the Council of *England*: nor would 'the *Engliſh* believe any excuſe the Duke could 'make (5).' The following Paſſage will require ſome Reflexion. 'All would have come in a little time 'under the Power of the Crown, if he would 'have taken the Method propoſed to him to marry 'that Princeſs to his Son, or ſome other Prince of 'the Blood. And certainly, if he had given that 'rich Heireſs to *Charles* of *Orleans*, Earl of *Angouleſme*, whom ſhe paſſionately deſired, all the 'Low-Countries would at this Day have been united to *France*. For that Prince had a Son who 'came to the Crown, that is *Francis* I. But he 'hated the Houſe of *Burgundy* to that Degree, that 'he endeavoured entirely to deſtroy it, intending to 'take all his Lands which he held of the Crown, 'and to put the reſt into the Hands of ſome *German* 'Prince his Ally (6).' We ſee plainly, that *Mezerai* cenſures *Lewis* XI for two things: I. That he rejected the Marriage of the Dauphin with the Heireſs of *Burgundy*. II. That he would not ſuffer the Earl of *Angoulême* to marry her. The Hiſtorian is in the right as to the firſt Point, but not as to the ſecond; for it was not at all probable that the Earl would become Father of a King of *France*, and there were ſeveral reaſons to fear that his Marriage with ſo rich an Heireſs might have been fatal to the Crown. So, after the firſt falſe Step, the King acted by the Rules of Prudence, in not permitting a Prince of his Blood to obtain the Succeſſion of Duke *Charles*. The Anſwer, which he gave to the Miniſters of the Princeſs, on the Propoſition of a Marriage with the Earl of *Angoulême*, was plain, but at the ſame time ſhewed the able Politician. He told them, 'That nine Years experience had taught 'him but too well, what a Misfortune it was for 'him to have, for a Neighbour, a Prince of his 'Blood, Maſter of the *Low-Countries*: that as 'God had delivered him from him, he did not 'care to expoſe his old Age again to ſuch fatigues of Body and Mind as had once been on 'the Point of overcoming him, in a more vigorous 'Age: and, in ſhort, that it would be leſs prejudicial to him, if *Mary* of *Burgundy* married a Prince 'of any other Sovereign Houſe, which ſhe might 'chuſe among the Chriſtians, than that of *France*, 'unleſs ſhe and her Subjects choſe to wait till the 'Dauphin was fit to marry (7). *Lewis* XI had but two good ways to take, one was, to marry the Heireſs of *Burgundy* to the Dauphin; the other, to deprive her of all her Dominions by right of Arms. He rejected the firſt, and would have choſe the latter; but he wanted either the Skill or Power to execute it; whether it was the fear of oppoſition from *England*, or the ill State of his Health, that reſtrained him; or that he wanted the Qualifications of a Conqueror. He was very ill fitted for one; he

(3) That was the King's Brother, and the ſame with the Duke of *Guienne*.

(4) Varillas Hiſt. de Louis XI, liv. v, p. 348.

(5) Comines, liv. III. cap. viii. *pag.* 171, 172. *ad Ann.* 1471.

(6) Mezerai, Abrégé Chronol. Tom. III. *pag.* 332, *ad Ann.* 1477.

(7) Varillas Hiſt. de Louis XI, liv. viii. *pag.* 169.

Barber to her, with Orders to ſpeak with her in private, but this was not permitted [C]. She married a Prince, as to Age, ſuch as her Governeſs could wiſh [D]. It was *Maximilian* of *Auſtria*, Son of the Emperor *Frederic* III. The Nuptials were celebrated the twentieth of *Auguſt*, 1477. She died of a Fall from a Horſe, in the Month of *March*, 1483 [E], and left two Children, to wit, *Philip* of *Auſtria*, who was Father of *Charles* V, and *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, who was contracted to the Dauphin the ſame Year. This Marriage was never conſummated.

was much more capable of embroiling the Affairs of his Neighbours, and preſerving his Intereſt by Intrigues, than of making Conqueſts. He wanted as much of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Courage, as the Duke did of his Policy (8). Moſt certainly the Marriage of *Maximilian* of *Auſtria* with the Heireſs of *Burgundy*, was, with reſpect to *France*, a leſs Evil, than the Marriage of a *French* Prince with the ſame Heireſs; for *Maximilian* could not cabal with the Male-Contents, as a Prince of the Blood in his Station might have done; and in all Appearance the *Flemings*, had they been governed by the Earl of *Angoulême*, would have diſturbed *France* a hundred times more under *Charles* VIII, and *Lewis* XII, than they did when governed by the *Auſtrians*. I own, that, under *Charles* V, the Patrimony of the Dukes of *Burgundy* was fatal to *France*; but could *Lewis* XI foreſee that? Could the moſt acute of Angels have conjectured, that the only Son of *Maximilian* would inherit *Spain*, and that the *Germans* would be weak enough to chuſe themſelves an Emperor ſo powerful as was the Grandſon of *Mary* of *Burgundy*?

(8) The Duke of *Burgundy* had Courage enough to undertake any thing. His Conſtitution was able to bear the fatigue that was neceſſary for his Purpoſe. He was ſtrong enough in Men and Money, but had not Underſtanding and Malice enough to conduct his Enterprizes. Could he but have taken ſome of the Qualities of the King our Maſter, and kept ſome of his own, he had made a perfect Prince. *Comines lib.* III, *cap.* III, *pag.* 665.

To conclude, the Ill, which this Branch of the Royal Houſe did to *France*, will probably ſerve for a Leſſon for ſeveral Ages, not to ſuffer the great Provinces of the Kingdom to fall to the Diſcretion of Princes of the Blood. It was an ill Cuſtom, That of giving them ſuch Fiefs: by that the Kingdom of *France* became not ſo much a Monarchy, as a State like the Empire of *Germany*. *Burgundy*, *Normandy*, *Bretagne*, *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, *Champagne*, *Provence*, *Dauphiné*, &c had once their ſeveral Lords, over whom the King had little more Authority, than the Emperor has over the Princes of *Germany*; and as to ſome of them, he had much leſs. It is no wonder therefore that he was worſted ſometimes in foreign Wars, and that the Civil-Wars found him ſo hard Work. The Réſervation of Homage, Right of Inveſtiture, Reverſion, and Dependance upon the Crown, ſignify little: they will not prevent the Multitude of Maſters in a Kingdom, the Erection of a State within a State, *imperium in imperio*, nor that Confuſion, which made the Prince of Poets ſay,

Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη· Εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, Εἷς βασιλεύς (9).

(9) Homer. Iliad. lib. II, ver. 205.

The Dominion of many is not good, let there be one Prince, one King.

[C] *He ſent his Barber to her, to ſpeak with her alone; but he was not permitted.*] Mr *Olivier*, being admitted to an Audience of the Princeſs *Mary*, was ordered to declare his Buſineſs. 'He anſwered 'that he had nothing in charge but to ſpeak to 'her a-part. He was told it was not cuſtomary, and 'eſpecially to that young Lady, who was unmar-'ried: he inſiſted ſtill that he would ſay nothing 'but to herſelf: then he was told he ſhould be 'made to ſpeak, and he was afraid ----- and 'withdrew for that time (10).'

(10) Comines, liv. v. cap. xiv. pag. 307.

[D] *She married a Prince, ſuch an one for Age as her Governeſs deſired.*] You will underſtand this if you read this curious Paſſage of *Philip de Comines*: 'First a Council was held on that Affair, 'where came Madam *de Halluin*, firſt Lady to 'the ſaid Princeſs: who, as I have been told, 'ſaid, that they wanted a Man and not a Child, 'adding that her Miſtreſs was Woman enough 'to bear a Child, and that the Country had need 'of it. This Opinion prevailed. Some blamed 'the ſaid Lady for having ſpoke ſo freely: others 'commended her, and ſaid that ſhe ſpoke only 'of Marriage, and of what was very neceſſary for 'the Country. So there was no more talk but 'of finding the Man (11).' See the *Nouvelles de la Republique de Lettres* (12).

(11) The fourth Book, chap III, pag. 537.

(12) Month of *July*, 1685, Art II, pag. 799.

[E] *She died of a Fall from a Horſe ---- in* 1483.] As ſhe loved hunting very much, ſhe took *a Range one day to the Heron* hunted. She went out of *Bruges* 'mounted on a ſprightly Horſe, '----- and ſeeing herſelf on champain Ground, 'ſhe put the Horſe forward ----- the Girts of 'her Saddle breaking, the Ducheſs was violently 'thrown to the Ground -----; but her natural 'Modeſty, and the fear of grieving her Husband, '---- made her conceal her Hurt too long (13). 'Her Ribs were very much hurt, and a continual 'Fever followed ---- ſhe was obliged to take to 'her Bed, where ſhe did not continue long (14).' It is not eaſy to underſtand how natural Modeſty could oblige her not to tell that ſhe had hurt her Ribs. Leaving therefore this Author, who joins two things that have not much to do with each other, let us conſult Mr *Varillas*, who has expreſſed himſelf more clearly. '*Mary*, ſays he (15), was a hunting 'on the moſt gentle Nag, that could be found, 'and yet the Creature, growing unruly of a ſud-'den, flung her on the Root of a Tree, which 'run into a place, which Modeſty requires ſhould 'be nameleſs. The Wound would not have been 'incurable if ſhe would have ſuffered a Surgeon 'to take it in hand, but ſhame reſtrained her ſo 'long, that a Gangrene followed, and put an end 'to her Life, in 1481 (16).' Say as oft as you will, that this is carrying Modeſty to exceſs (17), that Fault is of ſuch a Nature, that they who commit it deſerve our Admiration more than they who do not. It is a kind of Heroiſm: it is dying a Martyr to Modeſty.

(13) *For three Weeks.* Pubert, Hiſt. des Ducs de Bourgogne, pag. 348.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 347, 348.

(15) Varillas, Hiſt. de Louis XI, liv. ix, pag. 549.

(16) He ought to have ſaid 1483, beginning the Year at the Month of *January*.

(17) Stultarum incurata Pudor malus ulcera celat. Horat. Epiſt. xvi, lib. I. *'Tis fooliſh Shame to hide a feſtring Sore.*

BURGUNDY, one of the Circles of the Empire, was firſt raiſed to that Rank in 1548. It comprehended *Franche Comté*, and the ſeventeen Provinces of the *Low-Countries*. *Charles* V, who was Maſter of them, *cauſed them to be received as Members of the Empire*, that Year, *at the Diet of* Auſburg, *independent indeed on the Imperial Chamber of* Spire, *as to their Laws, but ſubject to the Charges, and to pay Monthly as much as two Electors*: viz. 3656 *Florins for the common Neceſſities, and as much as three Electors in caſe of War againſt the Turk* (a). Some Authors obſerve, that the Tranſaction, which he paſſed, *left* the Seventeen Provinces *only a Shadow of Dependance on the Emperor, and the Empire* [A], and that he *had a Deſign even to*

(a) Heiſs, Hiſt. de l'Empire, Tom. II, pag. 225, *Edit. of the* Hague, 1685.

[A] *It is pretended, that* Charles V *left the ſeventeen Provinces only a Shadow of Dependance on the Emperor and the Empire.*] A Proof of this is, that, during the Troubles, which haraſſed them under the Reign of *Philip* II, and made part of theſe Provinces ſhake off the *Spaniſh* Yoke, the Emperor and the Empire never interpoſed their Sovereign Authority, either to oblige the King of *Spain* to lay down his Arms, or to oblige the States, which formed themſelves into a Republic, to remain ſubjects or Vaſſals to *Germany*. If ſuch a Civil-War had riſen in any of the other Circles, the

to erect them into a Kingdom, and give it the Name of Regnum Leoninum, *because of the Lions which are in almost all the Arms of these Provinces* (*b*). They add, that he *re-united the* Low-Countries *to the Empire, only on account of the other States of* Germany, *being apprehensive of the Wars which might happen there, and to prevent it's being objected to his Son* Philip II, (*who aspired to the Imperial Crown*), *that he possessed nothing which belonged to the Empire, without which he could not easily obtain it* (*c*). It is pretended, that, by the Treaty of *Munster*, the Empire was discharged from taking part in what concerns the Defence of the Circle of *Burgundy* [*B*]. Baron *Lisola* was not of this Opinion [*C*].

(*b*) *See the Manifesto of the Elector of* Bavaria, *in the Additions, pag.* 115, *Edit.* 1704.

(*c*) Id. ibid. pag. 153, 154.

There

the Emperor and the Empire would have acted quite otherwise, and would have put a stop to it by force of Arms. It is remarkable, that there was a Congress at *Cologne*, in the Year 1579, to make Peace in the Low-Countries, and that the Emperor acted only as Mediator, between the King of *Spain*, and the revolted Provinces. There passed a thing on that Occasion, which deserves a place here. A Courier of the Emperor, passing thro' the Territories of *Limbourg*, without a Pass-port, was stopped: the Emperor complained of it, and alledged that, 'there was no need for a Pass-port for a 'Courier, who carried the Arms of the Empire, 'and passed thro' the Provinces where the Empe- 'ror had any Right (1).' The Prince of *Parma* 'reading this in a Memorial, which had been delivered to the Deputy of *Philip* the second, at the Imperial Court, 'immediately returned the Memo- 'rial, and said, that he could not accept a thing 'contrary to the Authority of his King, who 'owned no other Lord than himself, especially 'in *Limbourg*, where the Courier had been detained: That this Right consisted in Fiefs, which the 'King might hold of the Empire, and principally 'the Circle of *Burgundy*, added by the Emperor 'Charles V to the nine other Circles of *Germa-* 'ny, by which the Flemish Provinces are excepted 'from the Jurisdiction of the Emperor, in precise 'Terms several times repeated (2).' These are the Words of the Original. 'Scriptum illico re- 'stituit, negans posse ab se id accipi, quod adver- 'saretur authoritate Regis sui, Dominum non ag- 'noscentis in eâ præsertim Limburgensi provinciâ, 'in quâ tabellarios detentos est: Idque constare 'ex dominiis, quæ ab Imperio beneficiaria Rex 'haberet: atque imprimis ex Burgundico circulo, 'postremum a Carolo Quinto ad alios novem Ger- 'maniæ orbes adjecto, in quo diserte, iteratisque 'verbis, ab imperii jurisdictione Belgarum pro- 'vinciæ excipiuntur (3).

(1) Strada de la Guerre de Flandres ad Ann. 1590. *I use the Translation of* Du Ryer.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Strada de Bello Belgico, Decad ii, lib. ii, ad Ann. 1572, pag. 111, Antwerp *Edit.* 1648, in 8vo.

[*B*] —— *and that by the Treaty of Munster, the Empire is discharged* —— *of what concerns* —— *the Circle of* Burgundy.] What follows is represented in a Manifesto, printed in Favour of the Elector of *Cologne*, anno 1704. 'Had his Imperial Majesty examined ever so little the thirteenth and fourteenth Articles of his Capitulation, 'and *the third Article of the Peace of* Westphalia, 'he would have found that the Empire, having 'considered, that the Circle of *Burgundy* brought 'no Advantage to the *Germannic* Body, after the 'Transaction of 1548; and that it was only a 'Charge to them, so long as it belonged to the 'House of *Austria*, by the continual Wars with 'which it was harassed: His Imperial Majesty 'would have found, I say, that the Empire had 'thought proper to seperate this Circle from the 'Union of it's other Members, as to what regards 'mutual Assistance; to the end, that the Safety 'and Tranquillity of the Circles, whereof it is 'composed, might not be exposed to the Danger 'of being disturbed every Day, by the perpetual 'Wars which ravaged this unhappy Circle, and 'the Places adjacent: which made the Sieur *Cu-* 'jermans say, when the Peace of *Westphalia* was 'published; *Pacis Monasteriensis legibus omnem* 'omnino Germanici subsidii spem Hispanis præclusam 'fuisse (4). —— *By the Conditions of the Peace of* 'Munster, *the* Spaniards *were deprived of all man-* 'ner *of hopes of Assistance from* Germany.' It is added, that *Maximilian* II, *Rodolphus* II, and *Matthias, never would concern themselves in the Troubles of the Circle of* Burgundy, *otherwise than barely by an amicable interposition* (5).

(4) The Manifesto of the Elector of *Bavaria*, in the Addition, pag. 79.

(5) Id. ibid. pag. 80.

[*C*] Baron Lisola *was not of this Opinion.*] I prove this by his famous Work, entituled the *Buckler of State and Justice*. The last Chapter, treats of the Interest of the Princes of *Christendom*, in the War of 1667, 'and of the absolute Obli- 'gation the States of the Empire were under, to 'defend the Circle of *Burgundy*. He says, he will 'lightly pass over this last matter, because it is 'already decided, by a solemn Act of the Chancery 'of the Empire, and that he, who wrote on that 'Point at *Ratisbon*, has in a few Words gone 'thoroughly to the Bottom of this Affair, and 'quite exhausted the Subject, so that there is no 'room left to add any thing to it more, than 'to reply to it (6). In effect, adds he (7), I never 'read any thing more cold and weak, than the 'Answer, lately published on the part of *France*, 'against this solid Piece: It is stuffed with a heap 'of Words to no purpose, it shuns every where 'the Combat, it rambles from the Question, omits 'the principal Objections, and takes for granted 'the very Point in Question.' Having afterwards alledged some Reasons, he affirms, that the *French* have nothing to offer against it, but an Article of the Treaty of *Munster*, ill understood and worse interpreted, *De mutuis hostibus non juvandis*, by 'which the Empire and *France* oblige themselves, 'reciprocally, not to give Assistance to the Enemies 'of each other (8).' He answers several things, and ends with saying, that 'this shews clearly, 'that the Obligation not to assist the Enemies of '*France* cannot derogate from that, which all the 'Circles of the Empire are under mutually to assist 'one another. All that the *French* Writer alledges 'against this in his Answer is nothing but whipt 'Cream; and is so effectually refuted in the Reply 'which appeared soon after, that it would be lost 'Labour to attempt to add any further Light to the 'Affair (9).

(6) Lisola Bouclier, d'Etat & de Justice, *Art.* vi, *p.* 348, 349.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 349.

(8) Id. ibid. pag. 352.

(9) Id. ibid. pag. 353, 454.

As I have not read the Pieces mentioned by Monsieur *de Lisola*, I shall by no means say, that the Contempt, which he expresses for the *French* Author's Reasons, which he calls *whipt Cream*, is only a Rhetorical Artifice, and that he has followed the Custom of the Generality of Controvertists, who, after they have used all their Strength against some weak Part of the opposite Cause, leave the strongest unanswered, under pretence that it is not worth notice. They are never more haughty than in these Cases, and imagine that a disdainful Arrogance will be the best Defence of their Cause. However, I dare venture to say, that, if *Germany* pretended that the Article of the Peace of *Munster*, *de mutuis hostibus non juvandis*, left them in full Liberty to assist the King of *Spain* in the *Low-Countries*, they played upon the *French*, and had no intention to finish the War; for it is evident, that, if they had made the War of the *Low-Countries* their own Affair, and had assisted the Circle of *Burgundy* as one of their Members, *France* would still have been at War against the Empire, and might very justly have attacked any other Circle she thought fit, since they must all have sent Succours to that of *Burgundy*. So that one of the two must be true, either that *Germany* had no design to make Peace for themselves by the Treaty of *Westphalia*, or else that they did not intend to have any share in the War of the *Low-Countries*. Now it is ridiculous to suppose, that they had no design to make Peace at that time but to dupe *France*, and deceive them basely. We have no way therefore but to conclude, that they designed the *French* and *Spaniards* should decide their Wars among themselves, and not to concern themselves with

them

There was a great Clamour againſt the Elector of *Cologne*, in 1701, for introducing ſome *French* Troops into his Garriſons, under the Name of Troops of the Circle of *Burgundy* [*D*].

them any more. Their Conduct ſhewed that this was their Intention; for we do not find, that the Diets of the Empire ever took any meaſures for the Aſſiſtance of the Circle of *Burgundy*, from the time of the Peace of *Munſter*, to the Peace of the *Pyrenées*: and conſequently *Germany* would have deceived the *Spaniards* if ſhe had pretended to be engaged to aſſiſt the *Spaniards* in the *Low-Countries*, notwithſtanding the Article *de mutuis hoſtibus non juvandis*.

[*D*] *The Elector of* Cologne *introduced Troops into his Garriſons, under the Name of Troops of the Circle of* Burgundy.] This was one of the Heads of the Accuſation, for which his Imperial Majeſty laid him under the Ban of the Empire. He endeavoured to juſtify himſelf, by alledging that foreign Troops environed his Electorate on every ſide; and that therefore he thought he could ‘ not give his ‘ Subjects a more ſenſible Mark of his paternal Vigi- ‘ lance for their Repoſe and Safety, than to call to ‘ aſſiſtance ſome Troops of the Circle of *Burgundy*; ‘ with this Precaution, nevertheleſs, that he had ‘ made them take an Oath, before he introduced them ‘ into his Dominions,’ that they ſhould commit no Act of Hoſtility, either againſt the Emperor, or againſt the Empire; that they would follow no other orders but his; and that, whenever his Electoral Highneſs ſhould deſire it, they would go out of his Towns and his Country, without oppoſition or delay (10). He added, that the Empire was not at that time at War either with *France*, or with the King of *Spain*, Sovereign of the Circle of *Burgundy* (11); and that ‘ in the laſt Century *Ferdinand* ‘ the Second called to his Aſſiſtance the *Italians* and ‘ *Spaniards*, under the Name of this ſame Circle of ‘ *Burgundy*, and that the Chapter of *Cologne*, at the ‘ time of the Apoſtacy of *Gebhard Truchſes*, likewiſe ‘ made uſe of *Spaniards*, under the ſame Name (12). This laſt Argument is *ad hominem*, and has doubtleſs a great deal of Force. The Elector of *Bavaria* repeated it in his Manifeſto, in the Year 1704. ‘ The ‘ Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſays he (13), has given ſeveral ‘ Examples of the ſame Conduct, which my Bro- ‘ ther the Elector of *Cologne* has kept to. They ‘ cauſed the Troops of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, or ‘ of the Circle of *Burgundy*, under the Command of ‘ the Prince of *Parma*, to enter the Territories of ‘ the Electorate of *Cologne*, to diſpoſſeſs *Gebhard* ‘ *Truchſes*: and during the Wars of the Palatinate, ‘ the Emperor *Ferdinand* II brought ſome of the ‘ ſame Troops into the Empire. If there were ſome ‘ *French*, who are not Subjects of the Empire, among ‘ the Troops which my Brother received into his ‘ Garriſons, were there not *Spaniards* and *Italians*, ‘ who are likewiſe ſtrangers to the Empire, among ‘ the Troops which *Gonſalvo* of *Cordoba* brought ‘ into the Palatinate in 1622? Was not the Prince ‘ of *Parma*'s Army compoſed of Bodies of theſe ‘ Nations? Theſe two Armies entered the Empire in ‘ an hoſtile Manner, and the Troops called by my ‘ Brother came only to garriſon a few places.

It will not be improper to touch here upon the Anſwer, which was made by the Count *d'Aremberg*, Commandant of the Troops, which the King of *Spain* ſent into the Country of *Cologne*, at the Requeſt of the Chapter, in the time of the War with *Gebhard Truchſes*. That Archbiſhop ſcattered murmurs every where, that his Chapter had violated the Conſtitutions of the Empire by calling in ſtrangers. The Princes of his Party ſtrenuouſly repreſented to the Emperor, that he ought to ſend order to theſe foreign Troops to depart immediately out of the Confines of *Germany*: the Emperor diſpatched a Meſſenger to the Duke of *Parma*, to warn him to take care that the Succours, ſent to the Chapter of *Cologne*, committed no Hoſtilities in the Empire; for that would be attended with very ill conſequences. Prince *Caſimir*, Adminiſtrator of the Palatinate, and one of the principal Favourers of *Gebhard Truchſes*, ſent an Expreſs to the Count *d'Aremberg*, to ſignify to him that he muſt withdraw his Troops out of the Territories of the Empire; but the Count anſwered, that his Catholic Majeſty's Troops were not included in the Statutes which prohibit the Entrance of foreign Troops into *Germany*: that the King of *Spain* was not a foreign Prince; but one of the principal Members of the Empire: that it was lawful for the Chapter of *Cologne* to deſire Aſſiſtance of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, as their Neighbours, and Allies for a long time: that the Archbiſhop was rather to blame, who had introduced into the Empire *French*, *Engliſh*, *Scotch*, and other Strangers (14).

This is undeniably a grievous Alternative for a great many Perſons; for if the preſent Elector of *Cologne* is an Offender againſt the Laws of the Empire, it muſt be owned, that King *Philip* II, and the Emperor *Rodolphus* II, were guilty of the ſame Fault: the one in ſending Troops into the Electorate of *Cologne*, and the other in not condemning the Chapter that had asked and introduced them: but if theſe two Princes did nothing contrary to their Duty, as the Court of *Vienna* muſt allow they did not, for fear of blemiſhing their Memory, how can they condemn in an Elector of *Cologne* what they approve in the Canons? And if the ſame neighbouring States, who condemned the Chapter of *Cologne* at that time, do now approve that the Elector be put under the Ban of the Empire, for having followed the Example of *Gebhard Truchſes*, do they not expoſe themſelves to the Reproach of judging Actions only by their own Intereſt, and making their Advantage the Rule of Juſtice and Praiſe? This Diſorder is unavoidable in Politics; it is in vain to ſeek any Remedy.

(10) Manifeſt. de Baviere, *in the Adda*. p. 60.

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 64.

(12) Id. ibid. pag. 67, 68.

(13) Id. ibid. pag. 28.

(14) *Taken from* Michaelis ab Iſelt Hiſtor. ſui Temporis, ad Ann. 1583, pag. 788.

(a) Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 472.

(b) Duflardus in præfat. ad Logicam Buridani apud Valer. Andream, ibid.

BURIDAN (John), born at *Bethune* in *Artois* (*a*), was one of the moſt renowned Philoſophers of the XIVth Century. He diſcharged a Profeſſor's Place in the Univerſity of *Paris* with great Reputation, and wrote Commentaries on *Ariſtotle*'s Logic, Ethics, and Metaphyſics, which were much eſteemed. Some ſay that he was Rector of the Univerſity of *Paris*, in 1320 (*b*). They add, that he was deputed to the Court of *Rome*. *Robert Gaguin* makes him flouriſh under the Reign of *Philip de Valois*, in the Year 1348, and by that refutes a Story very injurious to the Foundreſs of the College of *Navarre* [*A*]. It is a Story very like that

(1) Authors ſpeak but of one Sophiſm invented by *Buridan*, to wit, that of the Aſs. Now what Relation can there be between this Sophiſm, and the Favours of a Queen? *See below, Citation* (5).

(2) This Place of *Gaguin* is not exact, for *Philip of Valois* was not living in 1357. He died in the Year 1350. But note, that my Edition has 1348. *See below, Cita.* (6).

[*A*] Gaguin *makes him flouriſh in* 1348, *and by that refutes a Story very injurious to the Foundreſs of the College of* Navarre.] That Foundreſs was *Jane*, Queen of *Navarre*, Wife of *Philip the Fair* King of *France*. The Act of the Foundation is of the Year 1304. Very impertinent Reports have been ſpread againſt the Honour of this Queen; to wit, That ſhe cauſed young Scholars to be brought to her, to lie with them, and after ſhe had got as much out of them as ſhe deſired, had them thrown out of her Chamber Window into the River *Seine*, to hide the Diſorders of her Life; that only *Buridan* was ſpared, and that, in acknowledgment of that Favour, he invented a certain Sophiſm (1). Mr *de Launoi* confutes this Story by a Paſſage of *Robert Gaguin*, which contains theſe two Reaſons: firſt, That *Buridan* lived after that Queen; and next, That this Illuſtrious Princeſs had ſhewn too much Charity towards the Poor, by founding the College of *Navarre*, to deſerve a Charge of this Nature. *Gaguin* proves his firſt Reaſon only by ſaying, that That Philoſopher flouriſhed in the Reign of *Philip de Valois*, when *Foulks* was Biſhop of *Paris*, in the Year 1367 (2). The Thing was worth the trouble of being much better cleared; for if *Robert*

that which went current of a certain Queen Dowager, whose Palace was not in being

Gaguin were answered, That it is true *Buridan* did read Lectures, and wrote Books in the Year 1357, but that he was then very old, there would scarce remain any Strength in the Apology. They, who framed the Story, did not suppose the Queen in the Flower of her Youth, or that she made choice of Scholars advanced in Years. It is likely they supposed, that she was in her declining Years, and that she required very young Scholars. Suppose her to die then (if you please) in the Year 1304, *Buridan* might have fitted her, though he was still living in the Year 1357. It is only supposing that he was then Seventy five Years of Age: *Robert Gaguin* says nothing that confutes such a Supposition; therefore he has not defended that Princess's Honour well; the Matter would be much worse, if Credit were to be given to those who say, that *Buridan* was Rector of the University of *Paris*, in the Year 1320 (3). *Gaguin* ought to have proved solidly, that That Professor was but of such or of such an Age, in the Year 1357. His second Reason is of no weight, because it is no rare thing for lascivious Princesses to have otherwise a thousand good Qualities, and make very useful Foundations for the Church, and for the Public. The best way to justify the Queen of *Navarre*, is by saying, first, That the Story is not supported by any good Proofs, and that therefore it ought to be reckoned a Calumny; since, to avoid the Name of a Calumniator, it is not sufficient that what a Man reports against his Neighbour's Honour be true, but it must moreover be thought so on convincing Reasons. In the second place, That it is against all common Sense, that a Queen of *France*, desiring to divert herself with the Sports of *Venus*, should be obliged to send for very young Scholars, or such-like indiscreet Persons, who must be put to death if she would hide her Crime. Are there not Men enough nearer at hand in the *Louvre*, and more easy to come at than Students can be? However, let us see *Robert Gaguin*'s Words, as quoted by Mr *de Launoi* (4). ' Fuerunt quoque insignibus fœminis sua fata, nam uxores filiorum Philippi tres adulterii insimulatæ sunt. - - - - Ob hanc impudicitiam infignium mulierum natam fabulam reor, quæ de Joanna Philippi Pulchri uxore à rerum imperitis memorari solet, eam videlicet aliquot Scholasticorum concubitu usam, eosque, ne pateret scelus, protinus extinxisse, & in Sequanam amnem de cubiculi sui senestra abjecisse; sed unum tantum Joannem Buridanum eo periculo forte liberatum, & propterea sophisma (5) ab eo editum esse: Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum est. Fuit siquidem Buridanus Joanpa posterior, quippe qui Philippo Valesio regnum moderante, cum liberalium Artium nominatissimus Professor esset, multa & in rationali & morali Philosophia scripsit, dum Parisinæ Ecclesiæ Fulco præsidebat anno Christianæ resurrectionis MCCCLVII (6). Nec commeruit præclara mulier hujusmodi vitio taxari cujus liberalitate & misericordia erga pauperes, &c. - - - - - *Great Women have also had their Fate; for the three Wives of the Sons of* Philip *were accused of Adultery.* - - - - *From the Immodesty of those Great Women, as I suppose, arose the Story, which is commonly related, by People unacquainted with those things, of* Joan, *Wife of* Philip the Fair; *to wit, that she used to lie with some Scholars, and, least her Crime should be discovered, immediately murdered them, and threw them out at her Chamber-window into the* Seine, *but that* John Buridan *alone by chance escaped from that Danger; and therefore he formed this Maxim;* Reginam interficere nolite timere bonum est. - - - Do not kill the Queen, to fear I hold it good: *for* Buridan, *who lived after* Joan, *under the Reign of* Philip de Valois, *was a Professor of Liberal Arts, of very great Note, and published a great many things, both in Metaphysics and Ethics; while* Foulques *was Bishop of* Paris, *in the Year of our Lord* 1357. *Nor did that eminent Lady deserve to be taxed with such a Vice, by whose Bounty and Compassion to the Poor, &c.*'

Let us consider a little *Robert Gaguin*'s Conjecture; he fancies that the Immodesty of the three Princesses, who married the three Sons of *Philip the Fair*, gave Occasion to the Story we speak of. There are Historians, who attribute to of these three Princes the Infamy, from which *Gaguin* has endeavoured to justify the Wife of this Monarch. ' *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*, *Joan* Countess of *Poitiers*, and *Blanche* Countess of *Marche*, ' who married the three Sons of *France*, - - - - - ' were accused of Adultery, and committed Prisoners to the Castle of *Gaillard*. - - - - - The first ' died, it is not known in what manner (7). - - - ' It is this Queen of *Navarre*, who was of such ' an unbridled Temper, that, when she saw a Man ' of a good Mien and Air, she had him brought ' to her Apartment, from whence he never stirred 'till he was thrown headlong into the *Seine*, ' that he might not publish her disorderly Life. A ' Scholar, whom they had not bound fast, saved ' himself by swimming, and discovered the whole ' Matter (8). Some Authors ascribe this loose ' Life to *Joan* the Mother of *Lewis Hutin* (9).' This last was the Foundress of the College of *Navarre*. The Passage, which we have just now cited, is (in a *Gallick* Stile) in the History of *Spain*, wrote by *Mayerne* (10). He expresses himself very wrong, when he calls the Wife of *Lewis Hutin*, *Margaret* Queen of *Navarre*. This signifies, that she was of the House of *Navarre*; now it is not true that she was so; for she was Daughter of *Robert* II Duke of *Burgundy* (11). There is no Error in calling her Queen of *Navarre*, since her Husband (*Lewis Hutin*) was King of it.

[§ (z) It is a general Tradition, that, in *John Buridan*'s Youth, he, who afterwards acquired so great a Reputation, was in the Case of a great many Scholars of the University of *Paris*, whom a certain Queen of *France*, after she had them brought to her Bed, caused to be thrown out of her Chamber into the *Seine*, to hide the Disorders of her Life. The Business is only to know, I. What Queen that was; II. Whether it be true, as so many believe, that young *Buridan*, more happy than his Companions, escaped the Fate of the other Minions of that Woman, in memory of which, as it is pretended, he invented the Sophism, called in the Schools *Buridan's Ass*: and, lastly, what that Sophism can be.

As to the first; according to *Gaguin*, they who take that lascivious Queen for *Joan*, Queen of *Navarre*, who founded the College of *Navarre*, in the Year 1304, seem to contradict the Epocha, in which *Buridan* shined, fixed by him to the Year 1348. They agree much less with *Marsilius ab Ingen* (of *Inguenhuim*) who, though he died not till the Year 1396 †, nevertheless spoke of *Buridan* as of one who had been his Cotemporary ‡. There is, in my Opinion, a great deal more probability, that, as the Wives of the three Sons of *Philip the Fair*, Husband of the illustrious *Joan* of *Navarre*, were equally noted for their lasciviousness, that it is *Mary* of *Burgundy*, Wife of *Lewis Hutin*, the eldest of the three Brothers that the Accusation relates to, which some would unjustly throw upon her Mother-in-law.

As to the second point, it is so far from being true, that *Buridan*, while a Scholar was preserved from the Fate of the other Scholars, who were received into the Bed of the Queen in Question, whoever she be, that That terrible Woman commanded him to be thrown into the River: this we learn from the Poet *Villon* of *Paris*, in these Verses of his Ballad of the Ladies of old time, wrote in 1461.

Semblablement où est la Royne,
Qui commanda que Buridan
Fut jetté en ung sac en Seine?

Likewise where is the Queen,
Who ordered that Buridan,
Should be thrown, in a Sack, into the Seine.

Now such a command is so far from inclining one to believe that *Buridan* had lain with the Queen, who gave it, that, on the contrary, the Wise

(3) Duffardus apud Valer. Andream Biblioth. Belg. pag. 471.

(4) Launolus Histor. Navarræ Gymnasii, Parte I, lib. I, cap. II, pag. 15, *be cites the seventh Book of* Gaguin's History of *France*.

(5) This Word does not signify here, as it usually does, a captious or fallacious Reasoning; but rather an Axiom or Maxim, which, perhaps, he couched in an Enigma, that he proposed to be solved.

(6) *My Edition of* Gaguin, *which is of* Paris, Apud Petrum Vidovæum 1528, *in* 8vo, fol. 129, verso, *says*, anno Christianæ Resurrectionis MDCCCXCVIII. *This weakens the Apology.*

(7) Hist. Chronolog. d'Espagne, *by Madam* * * *. Tom. II, pag. 177, 178, ad Ann. 1312.

(8) Ibid.

(9) He was the eldest Son of *Philip the Fair*: and note, that *Mezerai* is mistaken when he says that *Philip the Tall* was the eldest Son of *Philip the Fair*, *Abr. Chronolog.* Tom. II, pag. 176, ad Ann. 1291.

(10) Mayerne's History of *Spain*, Tom. I, pag. 559, 560, ad Ann. 1312. *Mezerai* places this in the Year 1313.

(11) Anselm. Hist. Geneal. p. 95.

† Buchole. Index Chron. *under the Year* 1387.

‡ Nolite arbitrari Guilhelmum Occam, *Buridanum contemporaneum nostrum* (quo vix accuratius quispiam in Ethicis scripsit) Gregorium de Arimino: Adam: *(Derp)* Henricum Oyta: Henricum de Hassia: Matheum de Cracovia: Nicolaum Orem: Robertum HOLCOT. Albertum Saxonem: Petrum de Eliaca: *(Alliaco)* Joannem Gerson: Nicolaum de Cusa: Stephanum Prolitverium: Gabrielem Bihel Spirensem: & cæteros innumeros (qui in Viennensi *, Erfordensi: Levonensi *(Lovaniensi)* cæterisque Germaniæ Gymnasiis ab eorum in hunc usque diem exordia *(exortis)* Eo ruerunt omnium bonarum artium ignaros vacuosque fuisse, propterea quod Nominalium viam & modernorum doctrinam (veluti vos appellatis) enixe ac peculiariter assecuti sunt. *Marsil.* de Inghen Oratio dictiones, clausulas & elegantiæ

* Aventin, *cited by Mr* Bayle, *makes* Buridan *Founder of the Universities of* Vienna.

being in the Days of *Francis* I [*B*]. *Aventinus* relates, that *Buridan* was a Diſciple of *Ockam*, and that, being expelled *Paris*, by the Power of the Faction of the Realiſts, which was ſuperior to that of the Nominaliſts, of which he was, he went into *Germany*, where he founded the Univerſity of *Vienna* (*c*). *Buridan*'s Aſs has been

(*c*) Lib. vii, fol. 633. apud Jacobum Thomaſium, Orat. xii, pag. 274.

gantias oratorias diſtinctis caracterum notis ſignatas complectens. *Heidelb. in* 4to, 1499 — *Do not you think that* W. Occam, Buridan *our Contemporary (than whom ſcarce any one has wrote more accurately in Ethics)* Gregory of Eriminum, *&c. and innumerable others who flouriſhed in the Schools of* Vienna, Erford, *and other Places in* Germany, *from their firſt Foundation, to this time, were ignorant of all good Arts, becauſe they laboriouſly and chiefly followed the way of the Nominals, and the Doctrines of the Moderns, as you call it.* At the end of that Piece we find that *Marſilius ab Ingben* died on St *Bernard*'s Day, in 1396.

Wiſe *Buridan*, at that time Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Paris*, had laboured, with ſucceſs, to prevent his Scholars from accepting the invitations of that Siren. That fact was publickly known, at leaſt in Foreign Countries, ſince in *Saxony*, where *Buridan*, when he was baniſhed his Country, on Account of his Opinions, probably made a little ſtop on his way from *France* to *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, a Maſter of Arts, in the Univerſity of *Leipſic*, wrote a little Book in 1471, with the Title of *Commentariolus Hiſtoricus de Adoleſcentulis Pariſienſibus per Buridanum nationis Picardum ab illicitis cujuſdam Reginæ Francicæ amoribus retractis.* —— *A ſmall hiſtorical Commentary of the Youths of* Paris, *drawn off from the unlawful Love of a certain Queen of* France, *by* Buridan *a Picard.* Mr *Krauſe*, who, pag. 186, in his *German* Literary Journal, printed in 8vo at *Leipſic*, in 1715, ſpeaks of that Piece, as a Manuſcript, in the Library of the Monaſtery of *Seitenſtadt*, in upper *Auſtria*, ought by the way to get it printed.

As to the Sophiſm, called *Buridan's Aſs*, That may very well be nothing elſe, but the *Pons Aſinorum* of the *Logicians*, mentioned by *Rabelais*, Book the ſecond, Chap. XXVIII, where, being in doubt whether he ought to deſcribe the Battel between *Pantagruel* and the Giants, or omit the recital of it, he invokes *Thalia* and *Calliope*, and beſeeches them to draw him out of this difficulty. In the third Chapter of the ſame Book, *Garagantua*, being now old, is repreſented in the like embarraſment, not knowing whether he ſhould cry for the loſs of his Wife *Badebec*, who died in Child-bed, or laugh for joy of his new born Son; the good Man, ſays *Rabelais*, had Sophiſtical Arguments on one ſide and the other, which choaked him, but he could not ſolve them, and ſo he remained entangled like a Mouſe in a Trap, or a Kite in a ſnare.

Some will have it, that *Buridan's Aſs* is properly the Condition of an *Aſs*, ſituated between two Meaſures of Oats, in ſuch manner, that nothing ſhall determine him to fall upon one rather than the other; but perhaps they have not obſerved the equivocation of *Aſne* with the adverb *an*, ſynonimous with the famous *utrum* of the Philoſophers, repreſented, after the Symbol of the *Logician*, *Marc Anthony de Paſſeribus*, a *Genoeſe* ‡, by *Merlin Cocaius* in theſe Verſes of his twenty fifth *Macaronea*:

‡ Elogia Tomaſini, Part. I, pag. 104.

* The Logicians which the Author had juſt being ſpeaking of.

Inter eos * ſtabat vir quidam corpore duplex,
Qui ſuſtentatur binis tantummodo gambis.
Dicitur hic UTRUM, dubioſis ſenſibus implens,
Hæreticoſque facit, negat hanc, probat hunc, tenet illam,
Et ſibimet duris ſemper dat verbera pugnis.

Among them ſtood a double bodied Man,
Who was ſupported only by two Legs,
Call'd UTRUM, *who with doubtful Senſes fills:*
Makes Heretics, proves this, and that denies,
Holds this, and on himſelf lays cruel Blows.

Pons Aſinorum ſignifies alſo ſometimes a *Sea* of theſe *An's* or *Utrum's*, out of which one cannot extricate one's ſelf; or ſometimes a ſtore of theſe *An's* or *Utrum's*, with Solutions, or ways to get over them, trembling like an *Aſs* upon a Bridge, where the Boards are not well joined, but let the Water be ſeen underneath them (::), and it is to this laſt ſignification of the Word, that *Nicolas Clenard* alludes in theſe Words of one of his Letters, dated from *Ebora* the twenty fifth of *April* 1534. ‘ Sum ‘ totus in Dialectica (*the Topics*, qui docent invenire ‘ argumenta:) faxit Deus, ut hic feliciter inveniamus medium, non in *ponte aſinorum* ſed in theſauris Luſitanicis (ſunt enim loci Dialectici, tanquam theſauri, in quibus latent argumenta) quo poſſimus iſthic apud vos tandem bonos facere Syllogiſmos. —— *I am altogether taken up with* ‘ *Logic* (*the Topics, which teach how to find Arguments*); GOD *grant that here I may happily find* ‘ *a Medium, not on the Aſſes Bridge, but in the* ‘ *Treaſures of* Portugal (*for the Logical common* ‘ *Places are like Treaſures, in which Arguments* ‘ *are hid*) *that I may hereafter make good Syllogiſms* ‘ *among you.*’ REM. CRIT.]

(*f*) Pliny, lib. viii, chap. 43.

[*B*] —— *This Story is like that of a Queen, whoſe Palace was not in Being in the time of* Francis *the Firſt.*] Read this Epigram of *Johannes Secundus* a *Dutch* Poet, who died in the Year 1536.

In Arcem reginæ Albæ, Pariſiis.

Cernite, flaventeis ubi volvit Sequana lymphas,
Semirutam, fertur quam coluiſſe priùs
Effera funeſtæ regina libidinis; arcem,
Nunc ultore mali ut tempore ſola jacet!
Et, quaſſata undis, ventis habitatur & imbri,
Multa ubi ferales nocte querantur aves:
Cypris ubi mitis, flammas exoſa cruentas,
Chaonias ſedem ponere nolit aves:
Quâ ſtrix, quâ Furiæ volitent, quâ plurima fatum
Exululet raucis queſtibus umbra ſuum.
Sic domus æternùm numeroſæ conſcia cædis
Impia laſciva facta luit Dominæ.
Labuntur, lentis & condemnata ruinis
Implorant hominum pendula ſaxa manus.
Implorant fruſtra: ſtant hæc rata lege ſeverâ,
Inſtauratricem ne ferat ullus opem,
Aut ſubeat gladios, pretium pietatis iniquæ:
Et quis adhuc auſit facta nefanda ſequi?
Eo, etiam ſaxis mortem cenſura minatur;
Longaque poſt cineres ſtant monimenta mali (12).

(12) Jo. Secundus Epigrammate libro, pag. 140. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1619.

See, where the Stone bit troubled Waters rolls,
A ruin'd Caſtle, once, as Fame reports,
Seat of a cruel Queen, of Luſt enormous,
But now by vengeful time laid deſolate!
Beat by the Waves, Receptacle of Rains,
And Winds, and baleful dire night-ſhreeching Birds,
Where gentle Venus, *ſuch unnat'ral Flame*
Deteſting, ſuffers not a Dove to dwell;
Where Elves and Furies haunt, and many a Ghoſt
In Cries and Murmurs hoarſe laments his Fate.
The Houſe, of numerous Murders conſcious,
Thus falls for it's laſcivious Lady's Crime;
The falling Stones, condemn'd to lingring ruin,
Totter aloft, and call for human Aid,
But call in vain: The Law is fix'd as Fate,
That whoſe'er ſhall lend reſtoring Hand,
Shall ſuffer Death, the juſt and due reward
Of Piety iniquous: who then will dare,
Henceforth, the Fact nefandous to attempt?
See Juſtice threatens e'en the Stones with Death,
And Monuments of Crimes out live their Actors long.

[*C*] Buridan's *Aſs is a kind of Proverb.* —— *I cannot tell whether I have gueſſed right what it is.*] I thought a long time, that it was only an Example, that *Buridan* had given, of the Dependency wherein Beaſts live, as to the Objects of the Senſes. They who hold Free-will, properly ſo called, admit a Power in Man of determining himſelf, either to the right or to the left, at the ſame time when the Motives are exactly equal from the two oppoſite Objects; for they pretend that our Soul can ſay, without having any other Reaſon than to make uſe of it's Liberty, *I chuſe this rather than that, tho' I ſee nothing more worthy of my Choice in this than in that.* But they do not give that Power to Beaſts: they ſuppoſe then, that they could not determine themſelves, if two Objects were preſent, which drew them with equal Force, one one Way, and

been a kind of Proverb, or Example, which subsisted a very long time in the Schools. I cannot tell whether I guess right what it was [C]; for I could never yet meet with any one who could explain it to me, or with any Book particular enough on that matter. *Gabriel Naudé*, who was acquainted with so many Books and Authors, did not well know the Time that our *John Buridan* lived in [D]. There was an Author in the XVIIth Century, whose Name was *John Baptist de Buridan*, who wrote some Commentaries *on the Customs of the* Vermandois *of* Ribemont, St Quintin, Noion, Couci, *and* Reims. It is mentioned in the *Journal des Sçavans*, of the eighth of *February*, 1666.

It

and the other another: That, for Example, an hungry Ass would starve between two Bushels of Oats, which acted equally on his Faculties; for, having no Reason to prefer the one before the other, he would remain unmoveable, like a piece of Iron between two Loadstones of the same Force. The same thing would happen if he were equally prest with Hunger and Thirst, and had a Bushel of Oats, and a pail of Water before him, which acted with equal Force on his Organs. He would not know where to begin; and if he eat before he drank, his Hunger must be greater than his Thirst, or the Action of the Water weaker than that of the Oats, which is against the Supposition. *Buridan* made use of this Example to shew, that, if an external Motive does not determine Beasts, their Soul has not the Power to chuse between two equal Objects. There was Reason enough to laugh and break Jests upon the Supposition of such an Ass, and a Field for subtilizing the Cavils of Logic according to the Mode of those Times. It is no wonder then that *Buridan*'s Ass became famous in the Schools. I find that the Sieur *Naudé* places this Ass among the Fictions of the Human Mind (13); and I shall occasionally say, that the Schoolmen plagued themselves in such a manner to assign a Cause for every effect; that they demanded a Reason why one individual of *Heat*, for example, is, sooner produced than another. *Heat* is, according to them, a kind of Quality that comprehends, under it's Genus, a vast number of possible Individuals. The Fire produces one of these Individuals every time it heats the Water: But why one rather than the other? Turn yourself which way you please, you will find no manner of Reason for this any where but in the pure Will of God; there we must trangress the Law of the Schools, *non est Philosophi recurrere ad Deum*, and teach, That as the second Cause determines the first, as to the Species, the first Cause determines the second as to the Individual. If you go higher; if you ask *why* God made choice of one Individual of Heat *rather* than another? You are answered, *That his Supreme Independency gives him the Right of chusing, without being determined by the Preeminence of the Object.*

(13) See his Words at the end of this Paragraph.

This is not without it's Difficulty: there is more Depth in it than People imagine. Here follows the Passage of *Naudé*, hinted at before. 'The hasty Opinion of these illuminated Brethren the Rosicrucians ... is entirely vain, false, and impossible, having no other existence than that of the Abbey of *Theleme* in *Rabelais*, the *Lesine* among the *Italians*, the Voices of *Rucellai*, the Universals of *Ockham*, the Ass of *Buridan*, the Angels of the *Saducees*, the *Utopia* of *More*, second Intentions, *Vacuum*, Infinity, Equinity, Golden Mountain, *Chimera*, and *Ens rationis* of the Philosophers (14).' This agrees with my Supposition: For an Ass, extremely hungry, and drawn equally by two Measures of Oats, and kept immoveable by that equal Attraction, seems to be a Case physically impossible.

(14) Naudé, Instruction for les Freres de la Rose-Croix, pag. 19. *See also* Dialogue De Mascurat. pag. 25.

Another Thought came lately into my Head; which is, That *Buridan*'s Ass might be a Sophism, which that Philosopher proposed as a kind of Dilemma, that, whatever answer were given him, he might draw some puzzling Conclusions from it. He supposed either an Ass much famished between two Measures of Oats of an equal Force, or an Ass equally prest with Thirst and Hunger between a Measure of Oats and a Pail of Water, which acted equally on his Organs. Having made this Supposition, he asked, *What will this Ass do* (15)? If any body answered, *He must remain immoveable*; then, concluded he, *He must die of Hunger between two Measures of Oats, he must die of Thirst and Hunger within reach of Meat and Drink.* This seemed absurd, and he must have the Laughers on his side, against whoever should make him that Answer. If he were answered, *That the Ass has more Sense than to die of Hunger and Thirst in such a Situation*; then, concludes he, *He must turn on the one side rather than on the other, though nothing moves him more strongly towards that Place than towards this: then he is endowed with a Free-will; or, which is all one, it may happen, that, of two Weights poized in equilibrio, one may move and raise the other.* These two Consequences are absurd: there remained then only one Answer, That the Ass must ever find himself more strongly moved by one of the Objects than by the other: but this was overthrowing the Supposition; and thus *Buridan* gained his Cause, in what manner soever his Question was answered. This Sophism puts me in mind of the Crocodile of the Stoics (16), of the Electra of *Eubulides* (17), and of such like captious Questions of the ancient Logicians, to which they gave the Name of the Thing which they took for an Example. *Spinoza* does not speak of *Buridan*'s Ass, but of his She-Ass (18); and he confesses plainly, that if a Man should be in that She-Ass's Condition, he would die of Hunger and Thirst (19). The *Ass Burdin* is a Proverb in *Burgundy*, whereof *Paradin* has given a false Etymology (20); for it is plain, that *Burdin* is only a Corruption of *Buridan*. By the way, *Spinoza*'s Concession is very ill grounded; for there are at least two ways whereby a Man may disingage himself from the Snare of the Equilibrium. One is That which I have already mentioned, *viz.* That to flatter himself with the pleasing Imagination that he is Master at Home, and that he does not depend on outward Objects, he might resolve thus: *I will prefer this before that, because I will have it so*; and in this Case, that which determines results not from the Object; the Motive is only taken from the Ideas that Men have of their own Perfections, or of their natural Faculties. The other Way is that of the Lot or Chance. A Man is to decide the Precedency between two Ladies; he finds nothing in them that determines him: but if he were of necessity obliged to prefer one to the other, he would not be at a stand but make them draw Lots. He would do the like in regard of two Courtezans with whom he had a mind to divert himself, but without shewing the least shadow of Preference. Chance would decide which whom he should begin; the Equilibrium would not keep him in a State of Inaction, as *Spinoza* pretends; a Remedy would be found.

(15) I do not affirm this; I only suppose it. I say the same as to the foregoing Explication.

[D] Gabriel Naudé ... did not well know the Time of our Buridan.] He believed that *Nicolas Oresme* (21), Preceptor of *Charles* V, King of *France*, preceded *Buridan*; for, after having observed that That Preceptor of *Charles* V published *Aristotle*'s Politics and Morals in *French*, he adds, that *Buridan* published some Questions on *Aristotle*'s Politics a little after. 'Paulo post etiam Johannes 'quidam Buridanus celeberrimi nominis Sophista 'suas in libros politicorum quæstiones evulgavit, 'sed nugaces ac ineptas, ut ejusmodi Scholastico- 'rum ferme omnia (22). ... *A little after, one* 'John Buridan, *a Sophist of very great Note, pub-* 'lished his Questions on the Books of Politics, *but silly* 'and trifling, *as every thing of such like Scholastic* 'Persons commonly is.' We must know that this Work of *Nicolas Oresme* was written between the Years 1370, and 1377 (23). Now according to *Gaguin*, *Buridan*'s Works on Logic and Ethics belong

(16) *See* Lucian in Hermotimo, *& in* Auctione vitarum, apud Gassendum in Logica, cap. vi, pag. 51.

(17) Laërtius, lib. ii, apud Gassendum, ibid. cap. iii. pag. 40.

(18) Spinoza, Ethices parte II, pag. 89.

(19) Id. ibid. pag. 91.

(20) Annales de Bourgogne, lib. ii, pag. 174.

(21) He makes him Archbishop of *Bayeux*: he should have said Bp of *Lisieux*; and at most *Bayeux* to but a Bishopric.

(22) Naudæus, Bibliogr. politica, pag. 26.

(23) *See Mr* de Launoi, Histor. Colleg. Navar. pag. 457.

It is to be obſerved, that *John Buridan* was placed, by *Illyricus*, in the Catalogue of the Witneſſes of Truth [*E*].

long to the Year 1348 (24). Without doubt he comprehends the Writings on Politics under thoſe of Ethics.

(24) See above, Citat. (6).

[*E*] Buridan *was placed —— in the Catalogue of the Witneſſes of Truth.*] He is there ſaid to have been an orthodox Author in Point of Free-Will. ‘ Andreas de Caſtro & Joannes Buridanus diſputant ‘ de libero arbitrio contra alios ſententiarios, & ve- ‘ ram tuentur ſententiam. Vide Andr. in 1 ſent. ‘ diſt. 45. & Buridanum in 3 Ethic (25). —— An- ‘ drew de Caſtro *and* John Buridan *diſpute on Free-* ‘ *Will, againſt others of different Opinions, and de-* ‘ *fend the true Opinion.*’ A *Dutch* Miniſter has paraphraſed thoſe Words thus. ‘ Joannes Buridanus ‘ Rector Scholæ Pariſienſis ejuſque nomine Romam ‘ Legatus, profeſſione quoque Philoſophus, ſcriptis ‘ clarus, ſtylo quidem Barbarus, verum ſententiâ or- ‘ thodoxus, adeoque ut inter Theologos referendus, ‘ pro ſtudiorum communione, ita & inter teſtes ve- ‘ ritatis. Nullo enim modo placuit ipſi quod Romæ ‘ ex Pelagii ſententia de Peccatoria coram Deo juſti- ‘ ficatione tum temporis audiverat, & paſſim recep- ‘ tum erat. Atque adeo renaſcenti de gratuita per ‘ fidem in Chriſto, juxta Scripturæ doctrinam, ju- ‘ ſtificatione, renaſcenti inquam ſententiæ adſtipula- ‘ batur Buridanus noſter —— ſententiam ſuam ortho- ‘ doxam —— in 3 Ethicorum Ariſtotelis propo- ‘ ſuit (26). —— John Buridan, *Rector of the Uni-* ‘ *verſity of* Paris, *and deputed by the ſame to* Rome, ‘ *by Profeſſion a Philoſopher, famous for his Writ-* ‘ *ings, ſomewhat barbarous in his Stile, but ortho-* ‘ *dox in his Opinions; and as he deſerves a place among* ‘ *the Divines, ſo is he to be numbered among the* ‘ *witneſſes of Truth. For he was by no means pleaſed* ‘ *with the* Pelagian *Doctrines, then taught at* Rome, ‘ *and received every where, concerning the Juſtifica-* ‘ *tion of Sinners. So that our* Buridan *was a De-* ‘ *fender of the newly revived Opinion, concerning* ‘ *free Juſtification, by Faith in* Chriſt, *agreeable to* ‘ *the Doctrine of Scripture —— he lays down his* ‘ *orthodox Opinion in his Commentary on the third* ‘ *Book of* Ariſtotle’s Ethics.’

(25) Flacius Illyricus in Catal. Teſt. Veritatis, lib. xviii, pag. 1809. Edit. Genev. 1608, in fol.

(26) Jacobus Baſilius in Sulpitio Belgico, five Hiſtoria Religionis inſtauratæ, corruptæ, & reformatæ in Belgio & a Belgis, pag. 146.

BURNETTUS, or BRUNETTUS (LATINUS), was a *Florentine*. He wrote a Book entituled, *A Treaſure of the Origin and Nature of all Things*. He compoſed it firſt in *French*, and then he tranſlated it into *Italian* (*a*). His Anſwer to thoſe who aſked him why he had writ his Book in *French*, and not in *Italian*, which was his Mother Tongue, ſhews that our Tongue has been a long time in Vogue in foreign Countries [*A*]. He compoſed ſeveral other Books, and died at *Florence*, in the Year 1295 (*b*). See the Article DANTE.

(*a*) Mabillon, Muſæ Ital. Tom. I, pag. 169.

(*b*) Michael Poccianius de Scriptor. Florent. pag. 34.

[*A*] *His Anſwer —— ſhews that our Tongue has been a long time in vogue amongſt Foreigners.*] He gave two Reaſons for his Conduct; I. That he lived in *France*, when he writ that Treatiſe; II. That the *French* Tongue was more pleaſant and more common than others: *Perciò che la parlatura Franciſcha è più dilettevole & più commune che tutti li altri linguaggi* (t). This we find in the firſt Chapter of his Book, which was publiſhed only in *Italian*.

(t) Mabill. Muſ. Italic. Tom. I, pag. 169.

BURRUS (AFRANIUS), was a Man of great Merit, and worthy of a better Age than that of *Nero*. *Agrippina*, that Prince's Mother, deſigning to engage *Burrus* in her Intereſt, who had got a great Reputation in the Armies, perſuaded the Emperor *Claudius*, her Huſband, to remove the two Commanders of the *Pretorian Cohorts* (*a*), and to beſtow that Poſt upon *Burrus* alone (*b*). He was made afterwards Governor of young *Nero*, and had *Seneca* for his Aſſiſtant. The good Underſtanding between thoſe two Governors (*c*) ſhews they were Men of great Probity, and that they aimed chiefly at the public Good in their Inſtruction of that young Prince, who would have proved an accompliſhed Emperor under ſuch Maſters, had not his natural Wickedneſs prevailed, and made all their Care uſeleſs. *Nero*, being reſolved to get rid of his Mother, was about to take from *Burrus* his Employ of Colonel of the Guards (*d*), remembering that he got it by *Agrippina*'s Favour, and fearing that ſuch a Benefit would ingage him more in his Mother's Intereſt than in his; but whether it be that *Seneca* diverted the Thing, or for ſome other Reaſon, *Burrus* kept his Place, and approved of *Agrippina*'s Death, provided ſhe was convicted of what was charged upon her. He repreſented to *Nero*, that the leaſt thing he could do for his Mother, was, to permit her to anſwer for herſelf (*e*). That Expedient diverted the Storm for the Time. *Burrus* himſelf was accuſed ſome time after, and juſtified himſelf (*f*). At laſt *Nero* reſolved to put off no longer the Death of *Agrippina*, and *Burrus*, being not able to prevent it, refuſed however to give his Order about it to any of the *Pretorian* Soldiers (*g*). He was more than once obliged, to his great Grief, to ſeem to approve *Nero*'s infamous Actions, for which he could find no Remedy (*h*). He died in the Sixty ſecond Year of the Iſt Century, three Years after *Agrippina*, not without ſome Suſpicion of having been poiſoned (*i*).

(*a*) That is, of the Regiment of Guards.

(*b*) Tacit. Annal. lib. xii, cap. xiii. ad Ann. 804.

(*c*) Id. lib. xiii, cap. ii.

(*d*) Id. ibid. cap. xx, ad Ann. 808.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Id. cap. xxiii.

(*g*) Id. lib. xiv, cap. vii, ad Ann. 812.

(*h*) Ibid. cap. xv.

(*i*) Ibid. cap. ii, ad Ann. 815.

BUSBEQUIUS (AUGERIUS GISLENIUS *Lord of*), an illuſtrious Man, on account of his Embaſſies, was born at *Comines* (*a*), in the Year 1522, of a Mother of a mean Extraction, but of a Father who was of a good Family, and Lord of *Buſbec*, upon the River *Lis*, and who did not marry below himſelf, to beget this Child. The Reader may eaſily perceive, without a Commentary on theſe laſt Words, that *Augerius Buſbequius* was a Baſtard. He confirmed the common Opinion, which the World entertains of the Wit of thoſe, who, like himſelf, are unlawfully begotten. He made very early a wonderful Progreſs, which moved his Father, who had him brought up in the Houſe, to ſpare neither Pains nor Coſt for his Inſtruction, and to get him legitimated by a Reſcript of the Emperor *Charles* V. He ſent him to the moſt celebrated Univerſities; to *Louvain*, *Paris*, *Venice*,

(*a*) A Village of *Flanders*, upon the River *Lis*. La Croix du Maine, *Biblioth. Franc.* pag. 475, makes him a Native of *Bruges*.

Venice, *Bologna*, and *Padua* (*b*). He improved very much under the learned Masters he heard in those Places. He was for some time at *London* with the Embassador of *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans* (*c*) [*A*], from whence, being returned into *Flanders*, he received there a Letter from that Prince, who informed him, that he designed to send him Embassador to *Constantinople*. *Busbequius* quickly repaired to *Vienna*, from whence he soon set out on that Embassy [*B*]. Not finding

(*b*) Ex Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 93.

(*c*) *Called* Peter Lasso.

[*A*] *He was some time at* London *with the Embassador of* Ferdinand, *King of the* Romans.] The anonymous Author, who published, in 1693, the History of the Archduke *Albert*, says (1), *That the Emperor* Ferdinand II (2) *placed our* Busbequius *in the Family of his Embassador in* England, *and made him Preceptor to his own Sons*. I believe neither of these Facts is true. I find by *Busbequius*'s first Account that he was not known to *Ferdinand* till after he had been at *London* in the House of the Embassador of that Prince. 'Non te fugit cum essem ex 'Anglia domum reversus à Regis Philippi & Reginæ Mariæ nuptiis, ubi fueram inter comites Don 'Petri Lassi, quem honoris caussa eò Romanorum 'Rex Ferdinandus dominus meus clementissimus legaverat, quemadmodum idem Ferdinandus me per 'literas ad hoc iter evocarit (3). —— *You know, when I was returned from* England, *after the Marriage of King* Philip *and Queen* Mary, *where I had been in the Retinue of Don* Peter Lasso, *whom my most gracious Lord* Ferdinand, *King of the* Romans, *had honorarily sent thither, how I was called by Letter of the same* Ferdinand *to this Journey*.' He tells us a little after, how he was introduced by *John Vander Aa*, Secretary to *Ferdinand*, and how graciously he was received by that Prince. 'Ut Viennam veni, per J. Vander Aa ad Ferdinandum, cui is erat à secretis, introductus cum 'ea benevolentiæ significatione excipior, qua is rex 'uti solet erga eos quorum de fide & probitate opinionem aliquam concepit (4). —— *When I came to* Vienna, *I was introduced to the King by* John Vander Aa, *who was his Secretary, and received with such Expressions of Kindness, as he uses to those, of whose Fidelity and Probity he has conceived an Opinion*.' All this looks like a first Acquaintance, especially considering that the Writers of *Busbequius*'s Life observe, that he was sent for to *Vienna* by the good Offices of that *Vander Aa* his Countryman (5). But though this were not a Proof of a first Acquaintance, what I say could not be reasonably denied; since *Busbequius* says nothing whereby it appears that *Ferdinand* contributed to his Journey into *England*. Would it not have been a great Honour for *Busbequius* to have been placed by *Ferdinand* himself in the House of his Embassador, who was sent to *London* at the Time of the Prince of *Spain*'s Marriage? Why should such an honourable Circumstance have been suppressed? To which I may add the Silence of all the Authors I have consulted, and the express Observation of *Valerius Andreas*, that it was the Embassador himself who called *Busbequius* to *London*. We may therefore reckon this for one of the Mistakes of that anonymous Author. Here is another: It is certain from *Busbequius*'s Account, that, from the Time he was introduced to the Court of *Ferdinand*, to the Year 1562, he was wholly employed in his Embassies to *Constantinople*; and therefore if he had been Preceptor to *Ferdinand*'s Children, it must have been after the Year 1562. But the Sons of that Prince were not then of an Age that required it. It was the Sons of *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, that wanted a Governour and a Preceptor, and *Busbequius* was intrusted with their Education (6). I do not question but the anonymous Author was misled by *Moreri*. See the following Remark.

(1) Pag. 9.

(2) *He should have said* Ferdinand I.

(3) Busbeq. Ep. I.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Melch. Adam. in vit. Jurisc. pag. 316. Bullart, Academ. des Scienc. Tom. I, pag. 80, *who calls him* Peter Vanderan.

(6) *The Life of* Busbequius, *prefixed to his Works*; Melchior Adam, pag. 366. Bullart, pag. 80. Swertius Athen. Belg. Teissier Elog. de Mons. de Thou, Tom. II, pag. 190, *speak only of* Maximilian's *Sons*.

[*B*] *That Prince —— appointed him Embassador to* Constantinople —— *he soon set out for that Embassy*.] He received *Ferdinand*'s Letter at *Lisle* the third of *November*, and he was to be at *Buda* in the beginning of *December* (7). You may judge whether he had much Time to make himself ready: The Departure of an Embassador was never so much hastened; and yet, if we believe *Moreri*, the Thing happened thus: *The Emperor* Ferdinand I *sent for him to* Vienna, *where some time after he chose him to be Preceptor to his Children, and afterwards sent him Embassador to the Porte*. Thus Time and Matters of Fact are confounded by those who do not consult original Pieces. If *Moreri* had consulted them, he might have seen that *Ferdinand* was only King of the *Romans*, when he sent for *Busbequius* to *Vienna*, and that the first Employment he gave him was the Embassy to the Porte. The Historian, whom I have confuted in the foregoing Remark, had without doubt consulted *Moreri*; there he found that *Augerius made two Journies into* Turkey, *after the Emperor* Ferdinand I *had made him Preceptor to his Sons* (8). I am less surprized at these Faults, than at those which I am going to observe. The Words of *Busbequius*, which I have quoted, shew that he did not leave *England*, where he had been in the House of King *Ferdinand*'s Embassador, till after the Marriage of *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, that is, after the Twenty fifth of *July* 1554; and that he made his first Voyage to *Constantinople* after his Return from *England*. *Valerius Andreas* does therefore confound the Times, when he says, that *Busbequius*, having been some Months in the House of the Embassador at *London*, whither he went at Twenty three Years of Age, returned into his own Country, where he staid till he was called to the Court of *Ferdinand* (9); which supposes that his Journey into *England*, and his Journey to *Vienna*, did soon follow one another: It is not therefore true, that he went into *England* at Twenty three Years of Age, as he affirms. *Valerius Andreas* cannot be acquitted of a gross Mistake; for, on one Hand, he says *Busbequius* was seventy Years old in 1592, and, on the other, that, when he was Twenty three Years of Age, he was some Months at *London*, in the House of *Ferdinand*'s Embassador; he must therefore have been there in 1545: but he himself says that he went to *Constantinople* after he had been with the same Embassador, and after the Marriage of *Philip* and *Mary* Queen of *England*, which was the Twenty fifth of *July* 1554; he was therefore older than *Valerius Andreas* makes him to be, when he went to *London*. That Author has committed another Fault: He says, that *Busbequius* did not go to the Embassador till after his Father's Death. 'Patre e vivis 'sublato juvenis ætatis anno tertio ac vicesimo in 'Angliam à Ferdinandi Imp. Oratore evocatur, 'cujus contubernio per menses aliquot familiariter 'usus in patriam revertitur (10). —— *After his Father's Death, he, being but young, was taken to* England *by the Embassador of the Emperor* Ferdinand, *in whose House he lived some Months, and then returned into his own Country*.' But *Busbequius* declares, that, having received *Ferdinand*'s Letter after his Return from *London*, he put off his Journey to *Vienna* no longer than was necessary to take leave of his Father and of his Friends. 'Quas (literas) cum insulis 3. Novembris accepissem tantum 'moræ interposui dum ad Busbequium deflecterem, 'patrique & amicis valedicerem (11).' Besides, is it not a Piece of Inaccuracy to give *Ferdinand* the Title of Emperor in 1545? There is a Difficulty in these Words of *Busbequius*: 'Non te fugit cum essem ex Anglia domum reversus à Regis Philippi '& Reginæ Mariæ nuptiis, ubi fueram inter comites Don Petri Lassi —— quemadmodum Ferdinandus me per literas ad hoc iter evocarit. Quas 'cum Insulis 3. Novembris accepissem.' They signify that he did not return into *Flanders*, till after the Marriage of *Mary* Queen of *England*; from whence it follows, that the Letter he received at *Lisle*, *November* 3d, was not received before *November* 3. 1554, at the soonest: And yet his Account of the first Journey he made to *Constantinople*, after he received that Letter, is dated from *Vienna*, *Sept.* 1. 1554; and the Account of his second Journey is dated from *Constantinople* the fourteenth of *July* 1555. To remove that Difficulty, we need only mend those two false Dates, by putting 1555 in the first, and 1556 in the second: For, since *Busbequius* declares, that his

(7) See his first Letter at the beginning.

(8) Histor. de l'Arch. Albert, pag. 9.

(9) Val. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 93.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Busbeq. Epist. 1, init.

ing *Soliman* at *Conſtantinople*, he was obliged to go to him at *Amaſia* [C]. He was ſent to the Porte to reſide there, in the Quality of Embaſſador in Ordinary; nevertheleſs, he made but a ſhort ſtay. He only obtained from *Soliman* a Truce of ſix Months [D], and it was thought expedient he ſhould quickly return to *Ferdinand*, to bring him the Letter of the *Turkiſh* Emperor. He did it, and was preſently ſent back again with other Orders to that proud Monarch, who would not hearken to Reaſon on the Affairs of *Tranſilvania*. The ſecond Embaſſy was much longer, and more ſucceſsful than the firſt; for it laſted ſeven Years, and ended in a good Treaty (*d*). Let us not forget, that, though he neglected nothing of what concerned the Affairs of the Embaſſy, yet he did not ceaſe to labour for the Republic of Letters, as well with regard to the critical Part, as to Natural Philoſophy.

(*d*) Ex Epiſtolis Buſbequii de Legatione Turcica.

Embaſſies laſted eight Years (12), and that he returned from the laſt, a little before the Coronation of *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, which happened the thirtieth of *November* 1562. It is manifeſt that the Month of *November*, in which he prepared himſelf for his firſt Voyage, is that of the Year 1554, and that the Month of *November*, in which he began the ſecond, is that of the Year 1555. When he mentions his Arrival at *Francfort*, a little before *Maximilian*'s Coronation, he ſays, it was then ſeven Years wanting one Day, ſince he ſet out from *Vienna* on his ſecond Journey (13). Seeing therefore his ſecond Letter is the Account of his ſecond Journey to *Conſtantinople*, it is plain it muſt be dated, not the fourteenth of *July* 1555, but the fourteenth of *July* 1556. Here is another Miſtake of *Moreri*; he ſays, that *Busbequius procured, in* 1560, *the Liberty of* Alvarez de Sande, Sanchez de Leve, *and* Berenguel de Requeſens, *taken by the* Baſſa Piali *in the Iſle of* Gerbés, *and that he returned with the firſt about the End of the ſame Year to* Vienna. There is but a Miſreckoning of two Years. *Melchior Adam* has miſled *Moreri*.

(12) Bonis avibus ſub finem menſis Auguſti ortatum iter ingreſſus ſum, mecum referens annorum octo fructum octennales Inducias. — *About the end of* Auguſt *I happily ſet forward on my deſired Journey, bringing with me a Truce of eight Years, for my eight Years time.* Id. Epiſt. iv, pag. 360.

(13) Epiſt. iv, pag. 371.

[C] *He was obliged to go to* Soliman *at* Amaſia.] This plainly appears from his firſt Letter, which makes me believe that of a hundred Authors, who ſpeak of *Busbequius*, there are ſcarce ſix that conſult the Originals. It is certain, that *Moreri* did not give himſelf that Trouble. *Soliman*, ſays he, *was then at* Conſtantinople: Busbequius *made a ſecond Journey to him at* Amaſia *in* Aſia. *Moreri* is not the only Writer, who divides the two Embaſſies in that manner; I mean, who pretends, that *Busbequius* went the firſt time to *Conſtantinople*, and the ſecond time to *Amaſia*: *Valerius Andreas* has committed the ſame Miſtake: *hæc prima illius in Aſiam legatio*; he means the Embaſſy to *Conſtantinople*; *altera Amaſiana fuit*. *Melchior Adam* (14) and *Swertius* (15) expreſs themſelves in the ſame manner. The Expreſſion is more faulty ſtill in the Life of *Busbequius* prefixed to his Works: The Embaſſy into *Aſia* is there diſtinguiſhed from his Embaſſy to *Amaſia*. *Legationibus claruit quarum prima Aſiana fuit — altera Amaſiana fuit* (16). The beſt of all is, that ſome believe the Embaſſy to *Amaſia* was not deſigned for the *Turkiſh* Emperor, but for ſome other Eaſtern Prince. *He likewiſe*, they are the Words of a *French* Author (17), *made himſelf known in the Courts of* Aſia. *His Embaſſies to* Amaſia *and* Conſtantinople *raiſed the Admiration of thoſe Eaſtern Nations.* This Miſtake proceeds in all likelihood from his being cited as the Author of an Account of a Journey to *Conſtantinople*, and as the Author of an Account of a Journey to *Amaſia*. Indeed his firſt Letter contains thoſe two Accounts; but, beſides that thoſe two Journies belong to one and the ſame Embaſſy, which is the firſt, it would be a very improper Way of ſpeaking to denominate the ſecond by *Amaſia*, tho' he had gone the ſecond time to *Amaſia* without paſſing through *Conſtantinople*. The Denomination of an Embaſſy is not taken from the Town, where the Embaſſador has his Audience, but from the Court to which he is ſent. It would be a pleaſant Story, if an Embaſſador of the Emperor to the King of *England*, who, not finding that Prince at *London*, had gone to him into *Ireland*, in 1690, ſhould boaſt of two Embaſſies, the one into *England*, and the other into *Ireland*; but it might very well be ſaid, if he publiſhed a Relation, that it contains his Journey to *London*, and his Voyage to *Dublin*. I muſt mend another Fault. When *Melchior Adam* mentions *Busbequius*'s Curioſity in Drugs and Plants, he ſays, he undertook a Journey to *Amaſia* to make a Collection of Plants, and ſuch like Rarities. He adds, that *Amaſia* is ſituate on the River *Halys*, which divides *Galatia* from *Cappadocia*. What I have already ſaid is ſufficient to ſhew, that his Journey to *Amaſia* was a matter of Neceſſity, and not of Curioſity. Beſides, that Town does not ſtand upon the *Halys*, but upon the *Iris*.

(14) Earum (legationum) inſignes imprimis fuere Conſtantinopolitana & Amaſiana. — — — *The moſt remarkable of theſe (Embaſſies) were that of* Conſtantinople, *and that of* Amaſia. Melch. Adam. in Vitâ Juriſc. pag. 326.

(15) In legationibus, quarum imprimis inſignes fuere Conſtantinopolitana & Amaſiana. *Swertii Athen. Belg.*

(16) Vitâ Buſbequii, init. Operum.

(17) Bullart, Academie des Sciences, Tom. I, pag. 80.

[D] *He only obtained a Truce of ſix Months.*] We have here an egregious Inſtance of what I ſaid before, that few Writers have conſulted the Originals with reſpect to *Busbequius*. The Author of his Life, prefixed to his Works, ſays, that he had ſuch Succeſs, that he ſoftened the fierce Humour of *Soliman* ſo, that he obtained from him a Truce for eight Years, *Prout*, as he goes on, *latius è legationis Turcicæ Epiſtolis patet.* - - - - - - *As appears from his Letters on his* Turkiſh *Embaſſy*. This is what he aſcribes to him with reſpect to his firſt Embaſſy; as to the ſecond, he is contented to call it *Amaſiana*. What Confuſion is this! The firſt produced only a Truce of ſix Months; 'Tantum de ſemeſtribus induciis dum deferri reſponſum reſerrique poſſet inter nos convenit (18). - - - - - *We only agreed on a Truce for ſix Months, whilſt Anſwers could go and come.* Feci Regem Romanorum de meo reditu ſemeſtribuſque induciis & ſumma rerum geſtarum certiorem (19). - - - - *I informed the King of the* Romans *of my Return, and of the Truce for ſix Months, and the chief of my Negotiations.*' The ſecond produced a Treaty, which the Emperor *Ferdinand* ratified, and contained a Truce for eight Years (20). *Valerius Andreas* commits yet more Faults than the Author of *Busbequius*'s Life. He pretends, that the Grand Signor breathed nothing but Threats and War, becauſe of the Treaty of Exchange, which *Ferdinand* had concluded concerning *Tranſilvania*; and that there being a neceſſity of ſending an Embaſſador to pacify the Sultan, *Malvezzi* was pitched upon, who was firſt put in Priſon, and ſome time after releaſed, and returned without concluding any thing; but that *Busbequius*, who was appointed to ſucceed him, did not return into *Germany* until he had concluded a Truce of eight Years. 'Suffectus 'Busbequius qua erat animi modeſtia atque conſtantia 'mitigato Solimanni animo, & impetratis octennii in'duciis, in Germaniam revertitur. Hæc prima illius 'in Aſiam legatio, altera *Amaſiana* fuit (21). — Busbe'quius, *who ſucceeded, having, by his Modeſty and Conſtancy of Mind, mitigated the Anger of* Soliman, *and obtained a Truce of eight Years, returned into* Germany. *This was his firſt Embaſſy into* Aſia, *the other was to* Amaſia.' Let us not repeat the Confutation of this laſt Fault, but only ſay, that *John Maria Malvezzi* was ſent to the *Porte* before the Exchange of *Tranſilvania* was ſpoken of (22), and that he was impriſoned for having deceived the Grand Vizier, by aſſuring him that all the Reports, which ran of *Ferdinand*'s Enterprizes upon the Principality of *Tranſilvania*, were falſe. 'Cum jam 'potito totius Tranſilvaniæ Ferdinando certa res 'eſſet neque diſſimulationi locus relinqueretur, ve'hementer Turcarum Imperator in Ruſtanum (*he was the Grand Vizier*) quod affirmationi Malve'zii tantum fidei habuiſſet, multo etiam magis 'in Malvezium Ruſtanus, cujus ſe fraude circum'venium clamabat, excanduerunt (23). — *When* Ferdinand, *by ſeizing all* Tranſilvania, *had put the thing beyond doubt, and no more room was left for Diſſimulation, the* Turkiſh *Emperor was very much enraged with* Ruſtan (the Grand Vizier) *that he had given ſo much Credit to* Malvezzi's *Affirmations; and* Ruſtan *much more with* Malvezzi, *by whoſe Fraud he complained he was 'circumvented.'*

(18) Buſbeq. Epiſt. I, pag. 105.

(19) Id. p. 129.

(20) Id. Epiſt. iv, pag. 372, 360.

(21) Val. Andreas, Biblioth. Belg. pag. 93.

(22) Buſbequii Epiſt. I, pag. 15.

(23) Ibid. pag. 16.

Philosophy. He collected Inscriptions [*E*], he bought up Manuscripts [*F*]; he sought for rare Plants, and informed himself of the Nature of Animals. There are Proofs of all this to be found, either in the Inscriptions of *Gruter*, or in the Imperial Library, or in the Books of *Mathiol*; and it is well known, that, in his second Journey to *Constantinople*, he took a Painter along with him, that he might be able to communicate to the Curious, at least Figures of the Plants and Animals, which are not well known in the western Parts of *Europe* (*e*). He dived perfectly into the State of the *Ottoman* Empire, and the true means of attacking it with Success, upon which he composed a very judicious Discourse (*f*). The Account which he composed *of his two Journies into* Turkey is also a good Work, and deserves the Approbation of those who are able to judge of such Writings [*G*]. He had a Mind to pass the Remainder of his Days in a private Life (*g*), but was obliged to re-imbark more than ever in the Affairs of the Court. He was intrusted with the Government of the young Princes, Sons of *Maximilian* II (*b*). And when the Princess *Elizabeth*, Daughter of that Emperor, was married to *Charles* IX, King of *France* (*i*), he had the Commission to conduct her to *Paris*. That Queen gave him the whole Administration of her House and Affairs; and when she quitted *France*, after the Death of her Husband, she left him there as her Embassador (*k*). He had also that Character from the Emperor *Rodolphus*, till 1592 (*l*): At which time, having obtained leave to take a Journey into *Flanders*,

(*e*) Melchior Adam. vit. Jurisc. pag. 318.

(*f*) *Intituled*, De re militari contra Turcam instituenda consilium.

(*g*) Busbeq. Epist. iv. pag. 323, 324.

(*b*, *See Rem.* [*A*].

(*i*) In 1570.

(*k*) Thuan. lib. civ. pag. 485.

(*l*) Melch. Adam. pag. 326.

[*E*] *He collected Inscriptions.*] *Moreri* says, that he sent them to *Scaliger*, *Lipsius*, and *Gruterus*. I do not ask him why he varies from his Guide, *Melchior Adam*, who says, that *Busbequius* sent his Inscriptions to *Clusius*, who sent them to *Gruterus*, and that the latter inserted them in his great Collection, with the Corrections of *Scaliger*; I do not insist on this, since I find in *Busbequius*'s Life, that he communicated several Inscriptions to *Lipsius*, by whose Means they were published in the Collections of *Smetius*, and *Gruterus*. This helps Mr *Moreri*, but not so far as to discharge him of all the Burden. It must not be forgot, that the Public is indebted to our *Busbequius* for the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, which would be one of the most curious and most instructive Inscriptions of Antiquity, if it were intire; for in it we should have a List of all the Actions of *Augustus*. *Busbequius*, passing through *Ancyra*, a City of *Galatia*, caused a Copy to be made of all that remained legible of that Inscription on the Marble of a ruined Palace (24), and sent it to the Jesuit *Schottus* (25). You may see in the *Suetonius* of Mr *Gravius* what it is; *Lipsius* and *Cajaubon* have had a Dispute about it.

(24) Epist. I, pag. 87.

(25) Melch. Adam. Vitæ Jurisc. pag. 316.

Note, That Mr *Gronovius* published this *Monumentum Ancyranum*, with Notes, at *Leyden*, in the Year 1695, from a more ample and correct Copy than that of *Busbequius*.

[*F*] *He bought up Manuscripts.*] The anonymous Panegyrist of the Archduke *Albert* says (26), that *Busbequius enriched the Imperial Library with an infinite Number of rare and excellent Manuscripts*. Why does he stray from his Guide? Why does he not limit himself to the Number of an hundred as others do? 'Quin & centum amplius antiqua 'cum Græca tum Latina in membranis calamo exa'rata volumina media in Græcia studiose collecta 'in Cæsaream Viennæ Austriæ Bibliothecam in'tulit (27). —— *Besides, he presented to the Im'perial Library, at* Vienna, *a hundred Manuscripts 'on Vellum, both* Greek *and* Latin, *which he had 'collected with great care in* Greece.' I do not deny that *Busbequius* bought more. 'Reporto, *says* 'he (28), magnam farraginem veterum numismatum, quorum præcipuis donabo Dominum meum. 'Adhæc librorum Græcorum manuscriptorum tota 'plaustra, totas naves; sunt, credo, libri haud multo 'infra 240, quos mari misi Venetias, ut inde Viennam 'deportentur. Converri omnes angulos ut quicquid 'restabat hujusmodi mercis, tanquam novissimo spi'cilegio, cogerem. —— *I bring with me*, says he, *a great Collection of old Coins, the chief 'of which I will present to my Master. Besides 'Cart-loads, nay Ship-loads, of Manuscript* Greek *Books. I believe there are not much less than Two 'hundred and forty Books, which I have sent by 'Sea to* Venice, *thence to be brought to* Vienna. *'I rummaged every Corner, to gather, as it were, 'the last Gleanings that remained of this kind of 'Ware.*'

(26) Pag. 9.

(27) Melch. Adam. vit. Jurisc. pag. 316. *See also* Bullart, Acad. des Scienc. Tom. I, pag. 80.

(28) Busbequii, Epist. iv, sub fin.

[*G*] *The Account of his Journies deserves the Approbation of those, who are able to judge of Writings of that kind.*] *Thuanus* says this of it: 'Vir 'eruditione, rerum agendarum peritia, candore & 'probitate insignis, qui unam atque alteram legatio'nem ad Portam Othomanicam sub Ferdinando 'Cæsare magna sua cum laude gessit, & elegan'tissimis ac lecta jucundissimis epistolis explicavit, 'ex quibus quam plurima in hos Annales me tran'scripsisse ingenue profiteor (29). ------ *A Man 'eminent for his Learning, Skill in transacting 'Affairs, Candour and Probity, who discharged two 'Embassies to the* Ottoman *Port, under the Em'peror* Ferdinand, *with great Honour, and gave an 'Account of them in very elegant and entertaining 'Letters, from whence I ingenuously own I have 'transcribed many things into these Annals.*' Mr *Teissier* reduces the Letters of *Augerius Busbequius* to two (30). It may be he made use of an Edition, wherein *Thuanus* acknowledged but two: for it is true, that there were no more published at first. *Lewis Carrion* published these two at *Antwerp*, by *Plantin*, in the Year 1581, without knowing whether the Author would be pleased with it or not; he only hoped it would not displease him too highly. The Title of these two first was, *Itinera Constantinopolitanum & Amasianum*. Some time after appeared four, under the Title of *Augerii Gislenii Busbequii legationis Turcicæ epistolæ quatuor*. They have been printed several times: *Scaliger* has praised them highly, and *Francis* (31) *Hofman* cites them *in his Treatise of the Office of an Embassador*, as a Book worthy of that *Character, and which contains ample Lessons for such as are employed in those high Functions* (32). It is wrong to consider these four Letters as a different Work from that which bears the Title of *Itinera Constantinopolitanum & Amasianum* (33). They do not otherwise differ from it than as the whole differs from some of it's Parts. As to *Busbequius*'s Letters to *Rodolphus* concerning the Embassy of *France*, they relate chiefly to the Expedition of the Duke of *Alençon* into the *Netherlands*, and were not published till 1632, *curante Jo. Baptista Howaert J. C. & Patricio Bruxellensi*. The Year following they were reprinted at *Leyden* with all the Works of *Busbequius*. By the way, *Thuanus*, in the Words I have quoted, places these two Embassies in the Reign of *Ferdinand* I. He is in the right; but Mr *Teissier* does not agree with him, since he will have it, that *Busbequius*'s Embassies were posterior to the Office of Governor to the Emperor *Maximilian*'s Children (34). *Carrion* was not very exact, when he said, that the Embassies of *Turkey* belong to the Reign of *Ferdinand*, and to that of *Maximilian* (35). They who would know the Encomiums, which have been given to our *Busbequius*, need only consult Sir *Thomas Pope Blount*, at the Five hundred fifty fourth Page, and *Lewis Guicciardin*, in the Place where he speaks of *Comines*, in the Description of the *Netherlands*.

(29) Thuan. lib. civ, pag. 484.

(30) Teissier Elog. *taken from* Thuan. Tom II, pag. 189.

(31) He ought to have said *John*.

(32) Bullart, Academ. des Sciences, Tom. I, pag. 80.

(33) *This is what* Melchior Adam, Swert, Valerius Andreas, Teissier, Moreri, Pope Blount *do, as well as those who make the Number of his* Epistolæ Turcicæ *six, as* Melch. Adam, *and* Konig.

(34) Teissier Additions aux Elog. Tom. II, p. 190.

(35) Cum Busbequius nomine Imp. Ferdinandi & Maximiliani apud Turcam Oratoris partes ageret. *Epist. dedicat. ad Nicolaum Micaultium*, which he believes to be the same to whom *Busbequius* wrote his Relations.

Flanders, to set his own private Affairs in order, he took the Way of *Normandy*. But notwithstanding he had furnished himself with the King's Passes (*m*), and with those of the League, he was robbed and abused by a Party of Leaguers [*H*], in the Village of *Cailli*, three Leagues from *Rouen* (*n*). These Robbers durst not detain him Prisoner, nor take away his Baggage, when they reflected on what he represented to them concerning the inviolable Privileges of his Character; but though they restored him his Liberty and his Trunks, yet it interrupted his Journey. He caused himself to be brought to the Lady of *Maillot*'s House at *St Germains*, near *Rouen*, where he was taken with a Fever, which carried him off, after some Days, on the Twenty eighth of *October*, 1592. His Body was honourably interred in the Church at that Place, and his Heart carried to the *Netherlands*, to

(m) Thuan. lib. civ, pag. 316.

(n) Baillet's Academy of Science., Tom. I, pag. 81.

therlands. He says, that *Busbequius* spoke seven Languages perfectly well; *viz. Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, German, Dutch*, and *Sclavonian*. The Letters Patents of the Emperor *Ferdinand* on the Promotion to the Order of Knighthood, with which *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, honoured *Busbequius*, are as good as a Panegyric: they are dated the third of *April*, 1564 (36). See also *Camerarius*, in the fourteenth Chapter of the last Book of his historical Meditations.

(36) Swert. Athenæ Belgicæ.

The Author of the Miscellanies of History and Literature has given so fine a Judgment of one of *Busbequius*'s Works, that I cannot forbear copying it. '*Busbequius*'s (37) Letters to the Emperor *Rodolphus* II, *says he* (38), contain more Matter and are much more useful than those of *Bongars*. They are a natural Representation of the Affairs of *France*, in the Reign of *Henry* III. He relates Matters with so much Plainness, that they seem to be transacted before our Eyes. We do not find any where so many historical Facts in so small a Discourse. The Grand Affairs, such as the Conspiracy of *Antwerp*, and the petty Intrigues of the Court, are equally well described there. The Attitudes (as one may say) in which he places *Henry* III, the Queen-Mother, the Duke of *Alençon*, the King of *Navarre*, Queen *Margarita*, the Duke of *Guise*, the Duke of *Epernon*, and the other Courtiers and Favourites of those times, shew them to us in such a manner as discovers their strong and their weak side, the good and the bad in them. In a word, *Busbequius*'s Letters are a Model of writing well for Embassadors, who are to give their Masters an Account of what passes in the Courts where they reside.'

(37) He should have said *Busbequius*'s or *Busbequius*'s.

(38) Vigneul-Marville, Melanges d'Hist. & de Litter. pag. 52, 53. *Edit.* of Rouen, 1699.

[*H*] *He was robbed and abused by a Party of Leaguers.*] Before I give an Account of the Variations and Falsities concerning *Busbequius*'s Death, I shall say, that *Thuanus* ought not to have forgot, that That good Man was Embassador from the Emperor to the Court of *France*. He did what he could to make his Readers believe, that *Busbequius* had no other Character there than that of Agent of the Widow of *Charles* IX (39). As for what he adds, that the Leaguers, who stopped and plundered him, joined to this the most cruel Treatment, which broke his Heart, while they waited for Letters from the Duke *de Maienne*, I find it no ways conformable to the Narrative of other Authors. *Melchior Adam, Swertius, Valerius Andreas*, the Life which is at the Head of his Works, *Bullart, &c.* agree that all his Baggage was returned to him, that he was left at full Liberty to go where he pleased, that the Governor of *Rouen* promised him to punish those Villains, and that he got himself carried to the House where he died, only because he had some Presages of the Sickness which seized him a little after. This we must stick by as the most probable Accounts for as to the Rumour which went about, and was asserted by some Authors, *viz.* that he was killed in a Wood, the Falsity of it is long since known. The good *Philip Camerarius* was not undeceived in it, when he published his historical Meditations; for here is a Passage of it (40) from the *French* Translation: 'It is every way a lamentable Case that so excellent a Man, who had done so much good to the Public, and had been twice Embassador at *Constantinople* from the Emperors (41), whence he came safe, after having happily overcome many Dangers, should at last, in a Journey to *Diepe*, to *Henry* IV (42), be robbed and murthered in a Forest by a Gang of Highwaymen; a Person worthy of a longer Life, and a milder Death!' Neither was *Scaliger* undeceived; he says that *Busbequius* was killed near *Paris* (43). I should not wonder that *Lipsius*, who was one of *Busbequius*'s good Friends, should, in a heat, mention the pretended Murther in an Epitaph, on the Credit of common Fame: but it is somewhat strange, that at nine Years end he should consecrate that Error, and, being advertised of it, should not take care to correct that Epitaph. It is still to be seen in all the Editions of his Works, with that original Fault: *Ecce sustulit viam per ipsam miles incertum an latro, sed sustulit* (44). —— *So he was taken off in his Journey, whether by Soldiers or Robbers, is not certain, but he was taken off.*' You find it also uncorrected in divers Authors, who speak of *Augerius Busbequius*; *Lipsius* cannot be excused on the Score of the Affection Poets have for their Works, nor on the Examples of divers Poets, who, having composed Verses in honour of some Friend, whom they falsely thought to be dead, have, nevertheless, published them while that Friend was alive (45). The Author, of whom I speak, did the same in Prose; you may see it still in his Letters: 'In Busbequii morte & tali morte in animo meo dolui. Servatum hunc virum per tot discrimina apud exteros, apud barbaros, ut in limine fere patriæ laetronum manibus (ita audimus) periret (46). —— *I was very much grieved at the Death of* Busbequius, *and the manner of it. That this Man, who escaped so many Dangers among Foreigners and Barbarians, should perish (as we hear) in the very Borders of his Country, by the Hands of Robbers.*' He had been advertised of that Falsehood (47), and yet did not correct it. As for what remains, since his Letter is dated the eleventh of *January* CIↃIↃXCII, it should from thence be concluded, that *Busbequius*'s Death has not been well placed on the Twenty eighth of *October*, 1592. I say, this Conclusion must be drawn from it, if it were not more reasonable to suspect the Omission of an *I*, there. For I see no kind of likelihood that *Lipsius* should date his Letter according to the Stile of those who do not begin the Year from *January*.

(39) See the following Remark, Citat. (50).

(40) Lib. v, cap. xiv, of Vol. III.

(41) He was only so from *Ferdinand* I.

(42) It is not true that he was going to *Henry* IV.

(43) *See the* Scaligerana.

(44) Lipsius Epist. lxxviii, ad Belgas Cent. II, *It is dated* Jan. 31, 1602.

(45) *Cotin* reproached Mr *Menage* with an *Epicedium* upon *Cornaille*, who was supposed to have been dead of an Inflammation of the Lungs.

(46) Lipsi. Epist. xcix, Cent. II, Miscell.

(47) De Busbequii morte, scio errorem: sed admonebitur & tamen famam epistolæ non historiam lvi Interim. —— *I know the Mistake concerning* Busbequius's *Death, but it is to be observed, that I proposed to insert what was reported, not the real History, in my Letter.* Id. Epist. lxxxi, Cent. iv, Miscell.

I cannot end this without giving an Example of the little Care Authors take to verify what they take at a Distance from the Fountain-head. *Quenstedt* (48) assures us, That *Busbequius* was not only an excellent Politician, grave and prudent, but also that he was a great Lover of polite Literature, and above all, that he was very curious in Natural Philosophy. For this, he cites a Letter of *Justus Lipsius*, where only these Words are to be found: *Suavem famam reliquit doctrinæ suæ, prudentiæ, probitatis* (49). —— *He left a good Reputation on Account of his Learning, Prudence, and Probity.* *Quenstedt*'s Error was owing to his copying *Melchior Adam*, without giving himself any farther Trouble than barely copying; for if he had ever so little considered what *Melchior Adam* had grounded his Citation on, he would have thought himself obliged to keep within the same Bounds. I shall set down the Passage entire, that it may serve for a Warning to Transcribers. This is the Judgment that ought to be made of divers Things which I mention: It is not for the sake of the things themselves that I do it, but that they may serve for a Looking-Glass, in which Compilers may see what they ought to avoid. 'Fuit hic, *this is the Passage of Melchior Adam*, 'non solum politicus excellens gravis * ac 'prudens: sed manuetiorum etiam Musarum amantissimus: ac imprimis *rerum naturalium* cognoscendarum

(48) De Patrib. viror. illustr. pag. 109.

(49) The xcixth of the IId Century *Selectarum*: Or, as the other Editions have it, *Miscellanearum*.

* Justus Lipsius Cent. II, Epist. select. xcix, Ep.

to be placed in the Tomb of his Anceſtors (*o*). He was ſo well pleaſed with *France*, that he bought ſome Lands there, and ſeemed as if he deſigned to ſettle in that Country [*I*]. The Speeches which he had made to the Kings of *France*, in *French*, are much praiſed (*p*). The Lordſhip of *Buſbec* was erected into a Barony by the Archduke *Albert*, Governor, and afterwards Sovereign of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* (*q*). That Prince deſigned thereby to honour the Memory of his Governor, and expreſs his Acknowledgment to him.

(*o*) Melch. Adam. vit. Juriſc. pag. 316. Valer. Andreæ Bibl. Belg. pag. 93. Hiſtoire de l'Archiduc Albert, *printed at* Cologn, 1693, p. 9.

(*p*) La Croix du Maine Bibl. Françoiſe, pag. 475.

(*q*) Hiſtoir de l'Archid. Albert, pag. 9. & 372.

'ſcendarum cupidiſſimus. - - - - - *He was not only* 'an excellent Politician, grave and prudent; but 'alſo a great Lover of polite Literature, and extremely fond of Natural Philoſophy.' *Lipſius* is called in as a Witneſs only to the Elogy of prudent: the reſt is all of the other's own coining.

[*I*] *He purchaſed ſome Lands in* France, *and ſeemed inclined to ſettle there.*] *Thuanus* informs me of this: I ſhall give the whole Paſſage from him, becauſe it confirms what I have ſaid before (*viz.*) That it is not owing to *Thuanus*, that we are not abſolutely ignorant of the Character that *Buſbequius* had, in *France*, from his Imperial Majeſty. There is, beſides, ſomething in this Paſſage, which might ſurprize the Readers. 'Elizabetha Caroli 'uxor vidua - - - in Germaniam ad Maximilianum 'patrem ſe contulit, relicto in Gallia, qui res ſuas 'procuraret, Augerio Giſlenio Busbequio - - - - qui 'toto vitæ Elizabethæ tempore in Gallia manſit, '& poſt mortem ejus five loci commoditate, five 'ingeniorum amœnitate captus, comparatis apud 'nos prædiis larem fixit, donec his calamitatis ulti- 'mis temporibus eum novam patriam deſerere coge- 'retur, eum ægrè ſe itineri accingentem mors op- 'preſſit. (50) - - - - Elizabeth, *Widow of* Charles, 'went into Germany *to her Father* Maximilian, 'leaving Augerius Giſlenius Busbequius *to take* 'Care of her Affairs in France - - - - - *who remain-* 'ed in France *as long as* Elizabeth *lived, and after* 'her Death, *invited either by the Convenience of the* 'Place, *or the Agreeableneſs of the Inhabitants, he* 'purchaſed Lands, and ſettled among us, till the laſt 'calamitous Times, when, being obliged to leave his 'new Country, while he was unwillingly preparing 'for his Journey, he was taken off by Death.' One would naturally conclude from hence, I. That nothing detained the Sieur *Busbequius* in *France*, after the Death of the Widow of *Charles* IX, but the Pleaſantneſs of the Country. II. That there paſſed much Time between the Death of that Queen, and the Departure of her Reſident; for to buy Lands in a Country, and to fix one's Abode there, until the laſt of ſeven or eight Civil-Wars drives you from thence, are things which import more than ſeven or eight Months. Yet this is all the Time of that good Man's Abode there, after the Death of the Queen his Miſtreſs. I deſire no other Witneſs to this, than *Thuanus* himſelf. He tells us, That this Queen died about the latter End of *January* 1592, and that *Busbequius* died towards the End of *October* of the ſame Year (51). In this Place the Hiſtorian gives no other Reaſon for his Departure than the Death of *Elizabeth*. 'Cum 'vero ille (*Busbequius*) poſt principis bene de ſe 'meritæ obitum in Belgium, hoc eſt in patriam, 'cum tota familia remeaturus ad iter ſe accinxiſſet. '—— *But when he* (Busbequius) *after the Death of* 'the Princeſs, *his Benefactreſs, had made preparation* 'to return with all his Family, *into the* Netherlands, 'where he was born.' - - -

(50) Thuan. Hiſt. lib. 60. pag. 122.

(51) Id. lib. 104.

BUSIRIS. If we believe *Diodorus Siculus*, there have been divers *Buſiris*'s in *Egypt*: For he relates that *Oſiris*, having reſolved upon a great Expedition, declared the Queen, his Wife, (*a*) Regent of *Egypt*, and left her two Lieutenants; the one for Counſel, the other to command the Forces; and that he gave the Government of *Phœnicia*, and the maritime Places, to BUSIRIS (*b*). In another Place (*c*) he ſays, that, after Fifty two Princes had ſucceſſively poſſeſſed the Throne of *Menas*, from whom they were deſcended, BUSIRIS became King of *Egypt*. Eight of his Deſcendants, continues he, ſucceeded him, the laſt of which was called BUSIRIS, and built the magnificent and powerful City, which the *Greeks* called *Thebes*: The ſame which the *Egyptians* called the *City of the Sun* (*d*). He declares elſewhere, that what was ſaid of the Barbarity of one *Buſiris*, was a Fable of the *Greeks*, but a Fable which had for it's Foundation a Cuſtom practiſed in *Egypt*. They ſacrificed all the red-haired People that they could find to the Ghoſt of King *Oſiris* (*e*); and as the Natives of the Country were hardly ever of that Complexion, there were few, except Strangers, who ſerved for Victims. Now, in the *Egyptian* Language, *Buſiris* ſignified the Sepulchre of *Oſiris*: This is the Original of the Story, which paſſed current among the *Greeks*, That BUSIRIS King of *Egypt* was ſo barbarous, as to order the Throats of all Strangers to be cut (*f*). They ſuppoſed that he himſelf was ſacrificed by *Hercules* [*A*], whom he would

(*a*) She was called *Iſis*.

(*b*) Diod. Sicul. lib. 1, cap. 17.

(*c*) Id. ibid. cap. xlv.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) This was one of hatred to *Typhon*, whoſe Hair was of this colour, and had killed *Oſiris*. *Diod. Sicul. lib.* 1, *cap.* lxxxviii.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *He himſelf was ſacrificed by* Hercules.] This is what we find upon this Head in *Apollodorus* (1). After *Hercules* had killed *Anteus*, he went into *Egypt*, where *Buſiris*, the Son of *Neptune*, and of *Lyſianaſſa*, the Daughter of *Epaphus*, was King. This *Buſiris* ſacrificed Strangers to *Jupiter*; this he did in Obedience to an Oracle. The Harveſts had been very bad for nine Years ſucceſſively in *Egypt*. Upon this, there comes a Soothſayer from *Cyprus*, whoſe Name was *Thraſius*, who declared that this Misfortune would ceaſe, if they every Year ſacrificed a Stranger to *Jupiter*. *Buſiris*, giving Credit to this prophetic Declaration, began to execute it on the Soothſayer himſelf, and commanded that *Thraſius* ſhould be ſacrificed firſt; and from that Time treated Strangers in the ſame manner. *Hercules* was alſo deſigned to be made a Victim; they had ſeized him, and led him bound to the Altar; but he broke his Chains, and killed *Buſiris*, and *Iphidamas* and *Chalbes*. The firſt was the Son of *Buſiris*, the laſt was his Herald of Arms. *Iſocrates* refutes this Story thus. They, who ſay that *Buſiris* ſacrificed Strangers, ſay alſo that *Hercules* killed him. Now all Hiſtorians agree that *Hercules* lived four Generations after *Perſeus* and *Danaë*, and above two hundred Years after *Buſiris* (2). The latter was the Son of *Neptune*, and of *Libya* the Daughter of *Epaphus*, who was the firſt that reigned in the Country which bore her Name (3). Note, that an old Commentator on *Virgil* differs a little from *Apollodorus* as to Circumſtances: 'Buſi- 'ris, *ſays he* (4), Egypti rex omnibus annis Jovi 'hoſpites immolabat. Nam per octo annos ſterili- 'tate Ægypto laborante, Pygmalion Cyprius finem 'futurum non ait, niſi ſanguine hoſpitis litatum 'fuiſſet. Primus autem Thyeſtes alienigena immo- 'latus originem ſacrificio dedit. —— Buſiris, *King* 'of Egypt, *ſacrificed Strangers every Year to* Jupiter. *For when* Egypt *laboured under a Famine of* 'eight Years, Pygmalion *of* Cyprus *ſaid, it would* 'not end, *unleſs they ſacrificed the Blood of a Stran-* 'ger. *And* Thyeſtes, *a Stranger, being firſt offered,* 'laid

(1) Apollod. Biblioth. lib. ii, p. 129.

(2) Iſocrates in Buſiridis laudatione, pag. 333, *Edit.* Baſil, 1570, *in Folio.*

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 328.

(4) Philargyrius in Georg. Virgil. lib. iii, ver. 5.

would have had the Boldneſs to have ſerved like the reſt. There is a Paſſage in *Virgil* concerning *Buſiris*, which has exerciſed the Interpreters [*B*]. It ſeems to me,

'*laid the Foundation of the Sacrifice.*' *Ovid* reports the Fact juſt as *Apollodorus* does (5).

(5) Ovidius de arte amandi, l. i.

[*B*] *A Paſſage in* Virgil *concerning* Buſiris —— *has exerciſed Interpreters.*] *Virgil* places the Cruelties of that Tyrant among the Stories, which the Poets had ſung a thouſand and a thouſand Times over, and which he could not make choice of for the Subject of his Poeme, ſo very trite a Subject it was.

Cætera, quæ vacuas tenuiſſent carmina mentes,
Omnia jam vulgata. Quis aut Eurythea durum,
Aut inlaudati neſcit Buſiridis aras (6)?

(6) Virg. Georgic. lib. iii, v. 3.

All other Themes, that careleſs Minds invite,
Are worn with uſe, unworthy me to write.
Buſiris' Altars, and the dire Decrees
Of hard Euriſtheus, ev'ry Reader ſees:
DRYDEN.

GRAMMATICAL Remarks on the Word *inlaudatus*.

The Word *inlaudati* ſtrikes every Reader; it has been found altogether improper: Is it enough to ſay of ſo inhuman a Monſter that he was not praiſed, or that he deſerves no Praiſe? Ought he not to have made uſe of a Term, which ſhould inſpire his Readers with all the Horror that ſo much Cruelty deſerves? This Cenſure is not new, nor invented by thoſe, who are on Mr *Perrault*'s Side; the Grammarians who lived a little after *Virgil* entered that Proceſs againſt him. 'Nonnulli Grammatici ætatis ſuperioris, in quibus eſt Cornutus Annæus, haud ſane indocti neque ignobiles, qui commentaria in Virgilium compoſuerunt - - - - illaudati parum idoneum eſſe verbum dicunt, neque id ſatis eſſe ad faciendum ſcelerati hominis deteſtationem, qui quod hoſpites omnium gentium immolare ſolitus fuit, non laude indignus, ſed deteſtatione exſecrationeque totius generis humani dignus eſſet (7). —— *Some Grammarians of the laſt Age, among whom is* Cornutus Annæus, *neither unlearned nor obſcure, who have wrote Commentaries on* Virgil - - - - *ſay, that the Term* illaudati *is not proper, nor ſufficient to raiſe a due Deteſtation of that wicked Man, who, in that he uſed to ſacrifice Strangers of all Nations, was not only unworthy of Praiſe, but deſerved the Deteſtation and Curſe of all Mankind.*' He did not want Apologiſts at that Time any more than now, and we ſhall ſee the two Reaſons that one of his Advocates in the ſecond Century alledged in his Defence. I. In the firſt place he maintains, that the Word *inlaudatus* or *illaudatus*, ſignifying a Perſon who never did any thing Praiſe-worthy, is very proper to give the Idea of a very wicked Man; for we rarely ſee any ſo profligate and wicked, as never to have ſpoke ſome Word, or done ſome Action, that deſerved to be approved. He adds, that, ſeeing the Term *inculpatus* ſignifies the utmoſt Limits of moral Good, that of *illaudatus* ought to ſignify the utmoſt extent of Wickedneſs; and he proves, by Paſſages out of *Homer*, that the moſt ſublime Praiſes are contained in Terms excluſive of Imperfection, and that therefore a Term, which excludes Praiſe, is the moſt proper in the World for Blame. He alledges the Term *inamabilis*, which *Virgil* is content to uſe to expreſs the moſt deteſtable Thing in the World. 'Nemo quiſquam tam afflictis eſt moribus, quin faciat aut dicat nonnunquam aliquid quod laudari queat. Unde hic antiquiſſimus verſus vicem proverbii celebratus eſt, Πολλάκι γὰρ καὶ μωρὸς ἀνὴρ μάλα καίριον εἶπεν. Sed enim qui omni in re atque omni tempore laude omni vacat, is illaudatus eſt, iſque omnium peſſimus deterrimuſque eſt; ſicuti omnis culpæ privatio inculpatum facit, inculpatus autem inſtar eſt abſolutæ virtutis, illaudatus igitur quoque finis eſt extremæ malitiæ. Itaque Homerus non virtutibus appellandis ſed vitiis detrahendis laudare ampliter ſolet - - - - Eadem ratione idem Virgilius *inamabilem* dixit ſtygiam paludem, nam ſicut *illaudatum* καλὸν laudis (7) Aulus Gellius, lib. ii, cap. 6.

(8) Id. ibid.

σέρνον, ita *inamabilem* καλὸν amoris σέρνον deteſtatus eſt (8). —— *There is no Man of ſo abandoned Behaviour, but he ſometimes ſays, or does, ſomething or other which may be commended. Hence this ancient Verſe is grown into a Proverb.* Πολλάκι γὰρ καὶ μωρὸς ἀνὴρ μάλα καίριον εἶπεν. *A Fool oft ſpeaks to the purpoſe. Certainly, he who in every thing, and at all times, miſſes of Praiſe, is illaudatus, and is the worſt and baſeſt of Mankind: as the privation of all blame, makes a Man blameleſs, and blameleſs ſignifies abſolute Virtue; ſo praiſeleſs denotes the extremity of conſummate Wickedneſs. Therefore* Homer, *when he commends highly, does it not by naming Virtues, but denying Vices.* —— *In the ſame manner* Virgil *himſelf calls the* Stygian *Lake* inamabilis; *for as* illaudatus *imports the privation of all Praiſe, ſo* inamabilis *ſignifies Deteſtation or Deprivation of all Love.*' The ſecond Manner of juſtifying *Virgil* is this. In old *Latin*, *laudare* ſignified to name; ſo that *illaudatus* is the ſame as *illaudabilis*; 'tis ſuppoſed, that the Poet meant that *Buſiris* did not deſerve ſo much as to have his Name mentioned. Now this is expreſſing the Cruelty of that Tyrant very ſtrongly; it is repreſenting it as the moſt execrable thing in the World. 'Altero modo *illaudatus* ita defenditur. *Laudare* ſignificat priſca lingua nominare appellareque. Sic in actionibus civilibus auctor laudari dicitur, quod eſt nominari. *Illaudatus* enim eſt quaſi *illaudabilis*, qui neque mentione aut memoria ulla dignus, neque unquam nominandus eſt. Sicuti quondam à communi concilio Aſiæ decretum eſt, uti nomen ejus, qui templum Dianæ Epheſiæ incenderat, ne quis ullo in tempore nominaret (9). —— *The Term* illaudatus *is defended another way thus.* 'Laudare *in ancient Language ſignifies, to name or call; ſo in civil Actions the Plaintiff is ſaid* laudari, *that is, to be named; for* illaudatus *is as much as to ſay* illaudabilis, *which is not worthy of any mention or remembrance, nor ought ever to be named: as once it was decreed by a general Council of* Aſia, *that no Body ſhould ever name him, who burnt the Temple of* Diana *at* Epheſus.' *Macrobius* has copied all this Paſſage of *A. Gellius* without citing any one. See the ſeventh Chapter of the fifth Book of his *Saturnalia*.

(9) Id. ibid.

It would be very difficult, at preſent, to judge which are moſt in the right, the Criticiſers of *Virgil*, or his Advocate *A. Gellius*; for to perceive the whole Strength of the Objection, and of the Anſwer, we ought to know what Idea ſuch and ſuch Words preſented to the Mind in *Virgil*'s Time. Argument ſerves but little in this Matter, becauſe the Force of Words depend altogether on Uſe. Now to know the Uſe right, we muſt either live with thoſe who made Uſe of ſuch a Language, or conſult Authors, who have clearly and preciſely noted the Ideas, which anſwered to ſuch and ſuch Words. It is very certain, that, if one of our modern Poets ſhould make uſe of the Epithet *not praiſed*, or *not worthy of Praiſe*, in ſpeaking of *Caligula*, he would not only expoſe himſelf, without Reply, to the Cenſure that *Gellius* endeavoured to refute, but would even be turned into ridicule. Always ſuppoſing, that the Piece, wherein he ſhould ſpeak ſo was of a grave Style, and not of the burleſque or comic Kind. It would be in vain to offer *Gellius*'s firſt Reaſon, and philoſophize on the excluſive Terms of Perfection or Imperfection. 'Sir, *might any one anſwer him*, we are uſed to apply the Idea of a very ſmall Evil to the Word *not worthy of Praiſe*; ſo that, when you tell us that *Caligula* is not worthy of Praiſe, it is ſo far from making us conceive a wicked Perſon and a Monſter, that you incline us to think that he was but moderately wicked.' So that it would be impoſſible to ſave *Virgil*'s Honour, if, in *Auguſtus*'s Time, *illaudatus* had been of no greater Force than our *Engliſh* Expreſſion *unextolled*, or unworthy of Praiſe. *Gellius*'s ſecond Reaſon does not remove the Difficulty; for if a celebrated Author is permitted to make uſe of old Expreſſions, it is only on Condition that the Word has not altered it's Nature by the Acquiſition of a new Senſe. This Rule *Virgil* had violated, if his Expreſſion were to be judged

me, that they do not take *Iſocrates* right, who ſay that he made a Panegyric on that infamous Tyrant *Buſiris* [C]. It is not certain that there ever was a King of that Name in *Egypt* [D]; but we muſt own, there was a City in *Egypt* of that Name [E]. *Melanchthon* thought it very probable that *Buſiris* was the ſame *Pharaoh*

judged by the ſecond Anſwer of his Advocate. In *Auguſtus*'s Time, the chief, governing, common Signification of the Words *laudare, laudatus, inlaudatus*, were not *to name, named, not named, not worthy to be named*, but *to praiſe, praiſed, not praiſed*, or if you will, *not worthy of Praiſe*. It would then have been very wrong to make uſe of the Word *inlaudatus* in a Signification derived from a Signification of *laudare*, which had ſcarce any more Place, but had yielded it to another Signification. Beſides that it is a Licence ſomewhat vitious to make uſe of a Word, in which no reaſonable Senſe is to be found, but by ſuppoſing, that a Participle was put in the Place of a Noun: and yet what Participle? A Participle which denies the Fact; a Noun that denies the Right; a Participle wherein the Event is found; a Noun in which we find what does not deſerve to happen. What ſhall we ſay then? I ſhould not for my part think it amiſs, to ſuppoſe, that That Place of *Virgil* is one of thoſe Verſes, wherein the Neceſſity of the ſhort and long Syllables engages Poets to make uſe of a Word leſs proper, or even prejudicial to the Senſe. The Quantity of Syllables requires many Sacrifices from Poets, in the dead Languages, as Rhime requires many in the Living.

I diſtinguiſhed before between the comic and the grave Style, becauſe I remembered ſome popular Ways of ſpeaking, not unlike the *unpraiſed Caligula*. 'The Robbers ſtripped this good old Man 'to his Shirt, in a Wood covered with Snow; 'this was not *over pleaſant*. Such a one received 'a Muſket Shot through the Body before *Philipſ-burgh*; this was *not wholſome*.' Theſe are popular Phraſes, or, as one may ſay, Jeſts: They are compoſed of Terms exclufive of ſome good Quality. *A. Gellius* admires *Homer*, who by ſuch like Words raiſed Commendation to a ſuperlative Degree. Theſe are doubtleſs Privileges of the *Greek* Tongue, on which *Latin* Authors ought not to have made the Reflexion, which *Martial* made in another Caſe (10), if the learned *Caſaubon*'s juſtification of *Livy* be a good one. It has been thought a little ſtrange that this *Roman* only called *Polybius* no deſpicable Author (11). According to our Ideas, it is a very mean encomium; an Author cannot be more moderately praiſed; nevertheleſs *Caſaubon* ſhows, by I know not how many Examples, that That Expreſſion of *Livy* is of an extenſive Signification to the Honour and Praiſe of *Polybius* (12). I allow it; it is a ſtrong Proof of the Capriciouſneſs of Cuſtom in Languages.

(10) Dicunt Latinon tamen Poetam,
Sed Græci quibus eſt nihil negotiam,
Et quos ἄριστος decet ſonare.
Nobis non licet eſſe tam diſſertis.
Qui Muſas colimus ſeveriores.
Martial. Epig. xii, lib. ix.

(11) Haud quaquam ſpernendus author. *Livius, lib.* xxx, *in fin.*

(12) Caſauboni Præfat. in Polyb.

[C] *They ſeem not to have entered into the Senſe of* Iſocrates, *who ſay, that he made a Panegyric on* Buſiris.] Almoſt all thoſe who give the Liſt of Writers, who have let looſe their Pens in praiſing Evil; as for Example, Fever, Gout, Folly, *Nero* (13), place *Iſocrates* in the firſt Rank, as the Panegyrift of *Buſiris*. If they had read the Speech, which they have taken for a Panegyric on that Tyrant, with any kind of Attention, I am certain they would have made theſe two Reflexions: Firſt, That *Iſocrates*'s chief Aim is to criticize an Orator (14), who had compoſed an Elogy on *Buſiris*, and the Accuſation of *Socrates*. He criticizes that Elogy on this Account, That the Author had owned the Evil that was ſaid of *Buſiris*, and had not made the moſt of the Good which might have been ſaid of him. Theſe are the groſſeſt Defects of a Panegyriſt. On this Head *Iſocrates* aſſumes the Air of a Maſter, and ſhews that Orator what might be ſaid to the Honour of *Buſiris*. The ſecond Reflexion is, that *Iſocrates*, in pointing out, to this bad Panegyriſt, the common Places which he ought to have choſen, and the manner how he ought to have treated them, to make an Elogy on *Buſiris*, ſets forth none but very good and very laudable Actions, which he pretends ought to have been attributed to him. He does not allow of the Cruelty that is attributed to that Prince towards Strangers, neither does he invent Reaſons to juſtify ſo barbarous a Conduct; on the contrary, he blames the Panegyriſt, who had owned that Cruelty in his Hero, and had alſo amplified it; and for his own Part, he ſhews him the way to refute it (15). Τοῦτον δ' ὡς ἦν καχῶσθαι τοῖς λόγοις, ὅτε ὑπὲρ μὲν Βυσίριδος ἀπολογήσασθαι φάσκων, οὐχ ὅπως τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ διαβολῆς ἀπήλλαξας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τηλικαύτην αὐτῷ τὸ μέγεθος παρωμολόγηκας, ἢ οὐκ ἔστ' ὅπως ἄν τις δεινότερον ἐξευρεῖν δύναιτο. Τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων τῶν ἐπιχειρησάντων ἐκεῖνον λοιδορεῖν, τοσοῦτο μόνον περὶ αὐτῷ ἐλασφημήκασιν, ὡς ἕθυε τῶν ξένων τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους· σὺ δὲ καὶ παρεσκεύασας αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡτιάσθαι. 'Tantum 'abeſt ut eam in dicendo rationem tu ſecutus ſis, 'ut Buſiridis defenſionem profeſſus, non modò crimina, quæ illi objiciuntur, non refutaveris, ſed & 'tam inſignem ei notam immanitatis inuſſeris, ut 'nihil contumelioſius excogitari queat. Nam cum 'alii quibus illi maledicere viſum eſt, unam in eo 'mactationem hoſpitum execrentur: tu etiam de-'vorare homines ſolitum, ea criminatus (16). —— 'You have been ſo far from following this Method, 'that, when you undertake to defend Buſiris, you not 'only do not refute the Crimes which are charged on 'him, but have branded him with ſuch cruelty, that 'nothing more infamous can be imagined. For where-'as others, who have thought fit to ſpeak ill of him, 'deteſt in him the bare killing of Strangers: you have 'accuſed him of being accuſtomed to eat Men too.' So that it is evident he ought not to be placed among thoſe, who wrote Panegyrics on wicked Things; ſince, beſides that his Oration is rather a Criticiſm on the Elogy that was made on *Buſiris*, than an Elogy on *Buſiris*; he does not undertake the Defence of the Crimes which are imputed to that Tyrant; He ſuppoſes, that one might ſet forth divers fine Actions of that Prince, though he confeſſes he has no good Author to warrant them: but he ſays, that the Orator, whom he criticizes, cannot quarrel with him on that Head, ſince he advances much more incredible Things without any Proof. He does not deny but the Objection would be good in the Mouth of another. Is not this declaring, that he had very little Regard for the Honour of *Buſiris*, and that he meant nothing more than to cenſure an impertinent Panegyriſt? Ἐγὼ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἄλλός τίς μοι τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐπῄνεσεν, ἠγούμην ἂν αὐτὸν πεπαιδευμένως ἐπιλιμᾶν· ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ περσήκει ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπόληψιν. Ego vero, ſi quis alius hoc mihi opponeret, erudite me ab eo reprehendi putarem. Sed tibi ſic argumentari neſas eſt (17). —— *If any body elſe ſhould object this to me, I ſhould think he blamed me judicioufly. But you cannot be allowed to argue thus.* Therefore to me it ſeems that *Servius* was not exact, when he ſaid that *inlaudatus* in *Virgil* ought to be taken for *illaudabilis* (18). His Reaſon is, that, ſince *Iſocrates* praiſed that Prince, it could not be ſaid that *Buſiris* was a Man who had never been praiſed. *Servius* would have done better if he had cited the Orator criticized by *Iſocrates* (19); for that Orator praiſed *Buſiris*, conſidered in the ſame Light in which *Virgil* conſiders him.

(13) Infames materias, ſive quis mavult dicere inopinabiles quas Græci ἀδόξους ὑποθέσεις appellant. . . . *Infamous, or if you pleaſe, unthought of Subjects, which the Greeks call* ἀδόξους ὑποθέσεις. Aul. Gellius, lib. xvii, cap. xii.

(14) *He was called* Polycrates, *and taught Oratory in* Cyprus.

(15) See above, Citation (a).

(16) Iſocrat. in Buſir. circa init.

(17) Iſocrat. in Buſir. p. 533.

(18) Servius in Georg. lib. iii, ver. 5.

(19) Quintilian, lib. ii, cap. xvii, *does not cite* Iſocrates, *but this Orator.*

[D] *It is not certain that there ever was a* Buſiris *King of* Egypt.] *Strabo* cites *Eratoſthenes*, who affirms, that there had been no King, nor Tyrant, whoſe Name was *Buſiris*; but that the Story, which was told of him, was founded on the Cruelty which the Inhabitants of the City and Province of *Buſiris* exerciſed on Strangers. Οὐδὲ βασιλέως μὲ Δία, οὐδὲ τυράννου γενομένου τινὸς τῷ Βυσιρίδος. Cum medius fidius nullus neque rex fuerit Buſiris nec tyrannus (20). —— *When indeed there was no King nor Tyrant named* Buſiris.

(20) Strab. lib. xvii, pag. 552.

[E] —— *but there was a City of that Name.*] Divers Authors mention it. It was built about the middle of *Egypt*, in the *Delta*: There was a very fine Temple of *Iſis*, and the Tomb of *Oſiris*, to be ſeen there. Some ſaid, that *Iſis*, having cauſed the Body of *Oſiris* (21) to be put into an Ox of Wood, had built that Tomb for him. This might have

(21) *It muſt be read in* Stephanus Byzantinus, Βάλλαι τὸν Ὄσιριν *and not* Βύσιριν. *This is* Bochart's *Correction. See* Berkelius *in* Stephan. de urbibus.

(g) Melanchth. in Chron. lib. ii.

Pharaoh, who caused the Children of the *Israelites* to be destroyed (g). *Orosius* places him Seven hundred and Seventy five Years before the Foundation of *Rome* [*F*].

have been the Etymology of that City's Name. Others pretend, that it was so called because *Osiris* gave the Government of it to *Busiris* (22). We have said in the Body of the Article (23), that, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, there was a *Busiris*, whom *Osiris* left Governour of *Phœnicia*, and the maritime Cities, at his setting out on a great Expedition. *Isocrates* relates, that *Busiris*, leaving *Lybia* where he was born, and where his Mother reigned, went into *Egypt*, and founded a Kingdom there (24). Without doubt, it was in the Country that bore his Name; for there was not only a City in *Egypt* called *Busiris*, but also a Government, or a *Nomos*, of that Name (25). That City was entirely razed in the Reign of *Diocletian* on account of Rebellion (26).

(22) Stephanus de urbibus Voce Βυσιρις: *he does hardly any more than copy* Herodotus, lib. ii, cap. 59.

(23) *Citat.* (b).

(24) In Busiridis laudatione, pag. 328.

(25) Strabo, lib. xvii. pag. 552.

(26) Eusebius in Chron.

[*F*] Orosius *places him 775 Years before the Foundation of* Rome.] *Eusebius* makes him live in *Joshua*'s Time, about 700 Years before *Romulus* built *Rome*. These are the Words of *Orosius*. 'Busiridis in Ægypto cruentissimi tyranni crudelis hospitalitas & crudelior religio tunc fuit, qui innocentum hospitum sanguinem diis scelerum suorum participibus propinabat (27). —— *The cruel Hospitality, and more cruel Religion of* Busiris, *a most bloody Tyrant in* Egypt, *was at that time, who offered the Blood of innocent Strangers to the Gods, Partakers of his Crimes.*' St *Augustin* spoke almost in the same Strain (28).

(27) Oros. lib. I, cap. xii.

(28) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xviii, cap. xii.

BUSLEIDEN (JEROM), in *Latin Buslidius*, illustrious by his Embassies, and by the Love he shewed for Learning, in founding the College of three Languages in the University of *Louvain* [*A*]. I shall add very little to what has been said of him in *Moreri*'s Dictionary. I do not believe that *he was the Maker of his own Fortune* [*B*], as is affirmed in that Dictionary. He was much regretted by *Erasmus* (*a*). Some Verses, Speeches, and Epistles of his, were found at *Bruges*, a long time after his Death (*b*). I do not know that the Public has seen any thing of his, except a Letter that was printed with the *Utopia* of Sir *Thomas More*. It is a great Mistake to say that Cardinal *Ximenes* founded Colleges by his Example [*C*].

(*a*) See the *Greek* and *Latin* Verses which he made in his Praise *Epist.* vi, lib. iii.

(*b*) Val. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 387.

[*A*] *He founded a College of three Languages in the University of* Louvain.] By his Will, made at *Mechlin*, the Twenty second of *June* 1517, a few Months before his Death, he left an Endowment for the Maintenance of three Professors, one in *Latin*, one in *Greek*, and one in *Hebrew* (1).

(1) Miræus, de Script. sec. xvi. pag. 10.

[*B*] *I do not believe that he was the Maker of his own Fortune*] He had a Brother named FRANCIS, who was Preceptor to Prince *Philip*, the Father of the Emperor *Charles* V. That Preceptor always preserved a great Power over the Mind of his Disciple, and was made Archbishop of *Besançon*. Having seconded the Sollicitations of the Embassadors of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, he overcame *Philip*'s Reluctance for the Voyage to *Spain* (2). *He was given him for his Counsellor* (3), and died in the Year 1500. He was much lamented by that Prince, whose Affection he had gained by his Integrity and Prudence. This is what I borrowed from the Life of Cardinal *Ximenes*, composed by the Eloquent Mr *Flechier*, Bishop of *Nismes*. There is all the Probability in the World to believe, that the Archbishop of *Besançon*, with the Credit he had in the *Netherlands*, made his Brother *Jerom*'s Fortune. They had a Brother, named GILES, who had a Place in the King of *Spain*'s Treasury (4). He was Executor of *Jerom*'s Will, as to what related to the College of the three Languages. *Erasmus* exhorts him in a Letter not to suffer himself to be diverted from so laudable an Undertaking (5). In another Letter (6) he recommends a converted *Jew* to him, as a very fit Person to teach the *Hebrew* Tongue in that new College. He was a *Spanish* Physician, whose name was *Matthew Adrian*; he was admitted to the Professorship, for which *Erasmus* judged him fit, and for which he caused him to come from *Germany*. That Professor read his first Lecture the first of *December* 1518 (7).

(2) Flechier, Vie du Card. Ximenes liv. i, pag. 172, *Edit.* Holl.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 192.

(4) Thus I translate the Words *Catholici Regis à rationibus*, used by *Erasmus*, *Epist.* vi, *Book* iii.

(5) Erasmus, ibid.

(6) The xiith of Book iii.

(7) Miræus de Scriptor. seculi xvii, pag. 10, 29.

[*C*] *It is a great Mistake to say, that by his Example Cardinal* Ximenes *founded Colleges.*] There was not three Months between the Death of *Busleiden*, and that of the Cardinal, and he had compleated his University of *Alcala*, some Years before his Death. *Albertus Miræus* committed the Error of which I speak. 'Ea certe laus, *says he*, Busslidio nostro debetur quod primus in orbe Christiano collegium trilingue instituit: Cujus deinde exemplum secuti sunt alii; in his Franciscus I, Rex, Lutetiæ in Gallia, & Franciscus Ximenius —— Compluti in Hispania (8). —— *This Honour is certainly due to our* Busleiden, *that he was the first that founded a College of three Languages in* Christendom: *whose example others afterwards followed; among the rest King* Francis I, *at* Paris *in* France, *and* Francis Ximenes —— *at* Alcala *in* Spain.'

(8) Ibid. pag. 101

BUSTAMANTINUS (JOHN), Professor of Philosophy and Physic in the University of *Alcala*, the Place of his Birth, writ a Book that is admirable, if we judge of it by the Title [*A*]. It was printed at *Alcala*, in the Year 1595, in two Volumes in Quarto; and at *Lyons*, in the Year 1602, in two Volumes in Octavo.

[*A*] *He wrote an admirable Book, if we judge of it by the Title.*] This is it: 'Joannis Bustamantini Camærensis (1), apud Complutenses Philosophiæ & Medicinæ primariæ Moderatoris publici, de reptilibus vere animantibus S. Scripturæ libri sex. Opus eximiæ eruditionis & utilitatis, cum Theologis tam Scholasticis, quam concionatoribus sacris, scripturæque interpretibus, tum Medicis, Philosophis, & iis qui de bella literarum supellectile bene sentiunt (2). —— *Six Books of* Johannes Bustamentinus Camærensis, *Chief President of Philosophy and Physic at* Alcala, *on the Reptiles which are real Animals in the Holy Scripture. A Work of extraordinary Learning and Use, both to Divines, as well Scholastics as public Preachers, and Interpreters of Scripture, and to Physicians, Philosophers, and all the Well-wishers to good Literature.*' Mr *Bochart* quotes this Book, sometimes, in his *Hierozoicon*, which is on the same Subject.

(1) Nicolas Antonio Bibl. Hisp. Tom. I, p. 905, *calls him* Joannes de Bustamante de la Camera, *and says he was a Native of* Alcala.

(2) This, from *Opus*, is in the Title of the second Volume.

BUTAS, a *Greek* Poet, Author of the Work in elegiac Verſe, wherein he gave the Reaſons of the Pagan Ceremonies. *Plutarch* cites him in the Life of *Romulus* [*A*]. In my Opinion, they, who doubt whether *Arnobius* quotes him, are in the wrong [*B*].

[*A*] Plutarch *cites him in the Life of* Romulus (1).] It is in the Place where he ſpeaks of the *Lupercalia*. Βύτας δέ τις αἰτίας μυθώδεις ἐν ἐλεγείοις περὶ τῶν μαιχῶν ἀναγράφων, φησὶ. Cauſas fabuloſas Butas quidam in Elegiis rerum Romanarum prodit (2). — *One* Butas *has given an Explanation of the religious Fables, in his Elegiac Verſes on the* Roman *Affairs*. He was perhaps but a poor Author, yet he might be very uſeful if we had him at preſent: Our Critics would find Gold in that Dunghil, I mean the Explication of divers things, which are not well underſtood concerning the Religion of the Pagans.

(1) Pag. 31, C.

(2) Plut. in Romulo, pag. 31.

[*B*] *They who doubt whether* Arnobius *quotes him are in the wrong*.] After he has ſaid that *Fauna*, or the good Goddeſs, having drunk a full Barrel of Wine unknown to her Husband, was whipt with Rods of Myrtle, he adds, for which reaſon Myrtle is forbid when the Woman celebrate the Feaſt of the good Goddeſs, and he cites *Butas*: 'Nec myr-'teas fas ſit inferre verbenas, ſicut ſuis ſcribit in Cau-'ſalibus Butas (3). —— *Nor is it lawful to adorn the* 'Altar *with Myrtle, as* Butas *writes in his* Cauſa-'lis.' They, who were ignorant that there ever had been ſuch an Author in the World, corrected that word ſo often till at laſt they made *Plutarch* of it. Firſt they put *Putas* inſtead of *Butas*, and and then *Plutar* inſtead of *Putas*, and laſt of all, they ſaid that *Plutar* was the Abbreviation of *Plutarch* (4). That Conjecture ſeemed the happier to them, as it is certain, that *Plutarch* (5) had ſaid what *Arnobius* alleges. However, let us be aſſured that *Arnobius* cited *Butas*; for nothing hinders but that what is read in *Plutarch*, concerning the Interdiction of the Myrtle, may be found yet more clearly in the Work of this ſame *Butas*, who was quoted by *Plutarch*.

(3) Arnobius adverſus gentes, libr. v, pag. 168. Voſſius de Hiſt. Græc. pag. 337. *cited in* Sexto.

(4) *Heraldus*, in his Notes on this place of *Arnobius*, adopts all this.

(5) *In the* Queſtions on the *Roman* Affairs. He calls that Book αἰτίας ῥωμαϊκὰς, *in* Romulo & Camillo apud Voſſium de Hiſtor. Græc. pag. 337.

BUTEO (JOHN), a famous Mathematician of the XVIth Century, was born at *Charpei*, near *Valencia*, in *Dauphiné* (*a*). He was a Friar of the Order of St *Anthony*, and yet ſtudied the Mathematics with the utmoſt Application. He invented divers Inſtruments and Machines, and compoſed ſeveral Books [*A*]. He publiſhed one among the reſt, *on the Dimenſions of* Noah's *Ark*, wherein he ſhewed, that it might eaſily contain all the Animals that were ſhut up in it, and the neceſſary Proviſions for their Subſiſtance, during the Flood. He diſputed againſt his Maſter *Oroncius Finæus*, about the ſquaring of the Circle (*b*). The Civil-War, on the account of Religion, which laid the Kingdom waſte, eſpecially *Dauphiné*, in the firſt Year of the Reign of *Charles* IX, took him from his Books; for he was forced to quit his Reſidence, and go to *Romans*, where he died of Melancholy in 1564, aged Seventy five Years. *Thuanus* gives this Account (*c*); but another Hiſtorian, more credible in this Point than he, affirms, that *Buteo* died in the Year 1560, in the Abbey of St *Anthony* [*B*]; and ſo thoſe of the Proteſtant Religion are abſolved of the Crime of having cauſed the Death of that learned Perſon. Beſides the Mathematics, he underſtood *Greek* and the Law very well. He wrote ſome good Books of Civil-Law. See Mr *Moreri* at the Word BOTEON [*C*].

(*a*) Allard. Bibliotheque de Dauphiné, pag. 41.

(*b*) Thuanus, lib. xxxvi, pag. 727.

(*c*) Ibid.

[*A*] *He compoſed ſeveral Books* (1).] Here are the Titles of ſome of them: *De libra & ſtatera. Cujus formæ & capacitatis fuerit arca Noë. De ſublicio ponte Cæſaris. Explanatio ad Quintiliani locum Geometricum. Emendatio figurationis organi à Columella deſcripti. De fluviatilis inſulis, ſecundum jus civile dividendis. De quadraturis circulorum tam antiquis quam novis. De fluentis aquæ menſura. Ad problema cubi duplicandi. Geometriæ cognitio Juriconſulto neceſſaria. Ad legem Juliani* Si ita ſcriptum. *Ad legem Africani* Qui quadraginta. *Ad locum Vitruvii de proportione lapidum corruptum reſtitutio*. You will find ſome other Titles in Mr *Teiſſier* (2). The Sieur *Allard* ſays, that *Buteo* tranſlated the *Menologe*, and the *Horloge* of the *Greeks* (3).

(1) Thuanus, lib. xxxvi, pag. 727.

(2) Additions aux éloges tirez de Mr de Thou, Tom. I, p. 266.

(3) Biblioc. de Dauphiné, p. 42.

[*B*] *Another Hiſtorian, more to be credited in this Point than* Thuanus, *affirms, that* Buteo *died* —— *in the Abbey of St* Anthony.] This Hiſtorian is Mr *Chorier* (4). The Preference which I give him is founded on this, that his Work is confined to the Province of *Dauphiné*. Conſequently it is to be preſumed that he drew his Accounts from more exact Memoirs than *Thuanus*, in what relates to the illuſtrious Men of that Province; for *Thuanus* collected Memoirs, indifferently, concerning illuſtrious Men of all Countries, and he treated that Part as a ſmall Acceſſory. His principal Deſign was to give the Hiſtory of *France*, and even that of all *Europe*.

(4) Abrégé de L'Hiſtoire de Dauphiné, *cited by* Teiſſier, Elog. Tom. II, p. 403.

[*C*] *See Mr* Moreri, *at the Word* Boteon.] This is the *French* Name, which he makes to anſwer to the *Latin* Name *Buteo*, by which our Mathematician was known. He notes, that *the Tranſlator of* Thuanus's *Hiſtory turns* Buteo *wrong into* Bourel (*a*). The Editions of *Holland* have changed *Bourel* into *Boutel*. Indeed *Boutel* agrees better with *Buteo* than *Bourel*: ſo that it is probable that *du Rier* ſaid *Boutel*, and not *Bourel*. Yet I find *Bourel* in his Tranſlation (5), and Mr *Teiſſier* repeats the ſame Word in his Additions. Beſides, I find in the *Bibliotheque* of *Dauphiné* (6), compoſed by a Man of that Country (7), that *Buteo* is *Borel* or *Boteon* in *French*.

(5) Apud Teiſſier, Elog. Tom. I, pag. 264.

(6) Pag. 42.

(7) Guy Allard Conſeiller du Roi, Preſident en l'Election de Grenoble.

[(*a*) *John Buteo* is called *Bourel*, in the *Index Thuani*. REM. CRIT.]

BZOVIUS (*a*) (ABRAHAM), was one of the moſt famous Writers of the XVIIth Century, by the aſtoniſhing Fecundity of his Pen. Some maintain, that it is no Hyperbole to ſay, that he compoſed more Books than others have read. Two Pages would hardly contain the Titles only of his Writings (*b*). The chief of his Books is the Continuation of *Baronius*. He began at the Year 1198, where that Cardinal had ended, and compoſed twelve Volumes of Annals of the Church, which are not all printed as yet. They were not much valued at firſt [*A*]. He was

(*a*) Thus they latinize his *Polish* Name *Bzowius*.

(*b*) Qui (tituli) ſi referendi ſint vix binæ eos paginæ caperent. *Janus Nicius Erythræus Pinacoth I, pag.* 198.

[*A*] *He compoſed twelve Volumes of Annals* —— *which are not all printed as yet. They were not much valued at firſt*.] There are nine printed: the firſt was printed at *Cologne*, in the Year 1616; the ſeven following were printed at the ſame place one after another; the eighth in the Year 1641; the ninth was printed at *Rome* in the Year 1672; the eighth begins with the Year 1534, and ends with the Death of *Pius* IV, in 1565; the ninth comprehends the Pontificate of *Pius V*. The Au-

was a *Pole* by Birth, and a *Dominican*. When he went to *Rome*, he was received there with open Arms by the Pope, and lodged in the *Vatican*. He deserved that Reception; for he imitated *Baronius* wonderfully, in his manner of turning all things to favour the plenary Power, and raise the Glory of the Papal See. His inconsiderate and violent Zeal drove him into Proceedings, whereof he had reason to repent. He had very much abused the Emperor, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and razed him ignominiously out of the Catalogue of Emperors. The Duke of *Bavaria* was so incensed at this Audaciousness, that, not satisfied with causing an Apology to be wrote for that Emperor, he brought an Action in Form against the Annalist, and got him condemned to make a public Retractation [*B*]. *Bzovius* did not get off for this Disgrace; he was treated like a Dog in the Apology of *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, published by *George Herwart* [*C*], and which made great Breaches in the Reputation of the *Dominican*. It is pretended, that *Simon Starovolscius* repaired them the best he could [*D*]. *Bzovius* would have continued till his Death in the *Vatican*, if the Murder of one of his menial Servants had not struck him with a Terror, which obliged him to retire into the Convent of *Minerva* (*c*). The Murderer was capable of undertaking any thing, after the Life he had led [*E*]. *Bzovius* died in that

(*c*) It is of the Order of the *Dominicans*.

thor whom I quote observes, that the ill Success of those, who undertook the same thing, gave this Man's Labours some Reputation, which but for that had been a bad Commodity for the Booksellers. These are his Words: 'Præsertim cum non parum multi ab excessu Baronii assiduo opere eandem incudem dies noctesque tutuderint, neque adhuc quidquam in hoc genere quod magnopere probares attulerint. Quamobrem Bzovii Annales quorum precia in æstimatione hominum diu jacuerunt, cum nondum quidquam quod sit vendibilius appareat, cœperunt caput attollere, seque altius efferre. Itaque merci quæ prope invendibilis videbatur jam pretium accessit (1). —— *Especially as several, even since the Death of* Baronius, *have laboured Day and Night at the same Work, and have not yet produced any thing very commendable. Therefore* Bzovius's *Annals, which had long lain neglected, and in no Esteem, when nothing yet appeared, that was more saleable, began to rise. And so that, which was before looked upon almost as unsaleable, began to bear a Price.*'

(1) Nicius Erythræus Pinacoth. I, pag. 198.

(2) Erythræus *had just said, pag.* 197, *that* Jerome Vecchiettus *had spoken ill of* Lewis *of* Bavaria. Scripserat etiam in eo (libro de Ludovico Imperatore nonnulla quæ Duces Bavariæ animum offenderant. Legi ego datam ad Hieronymum à Ludovico Cardinali Ludovisio, cum quo forsasse Dux ille quæstus fuerat, quique tum rerum potiebatur, epistolam, in qua ejus vicem dolet qui ea ætate quæ esset oci in primis cupidus tantam in se negotii molem attraxisset. - - - - *For he had wrote some things in that Book concerning the Emperor* Lewis, *that offended the Duke of* Bavaria. *I have read a Letter to* Jerom, *from Cardinal* Lewis Ludovisius, *to whom probably the Duke had made Complaint, and who was then in Power, in which he pities his Case, that at such an Age, when Quiet is most desireable, he had involved himself in so troublesome an Affair.*

[*B*] Lewis *of* Bavaria —— *got him condemned to make a public Retractation.*] The Words of *Nicius Erythræus* are these: 'Verum ille in Ludovico Imperatore ad eumdem scopulum navem offendit ad quem suam Vecchiettus afflixerat (2). Etenim censoria quadam authoritate, quam sibi ipse attribuerat, est conatus eumdem (tanquam nec jure nec legibus creatum) Imperatorum quasi Senatu movere; sed postulante Bavariæ Duce, ac tantam domui suæ injuriam factam querente, in judicium vocatus judicum sententiis est coactus abolere quod scripserat, ac Ludovicum in ea, unde dejecerat, sede reponere (3). —— *But with respect to the Emperor* Lewis, *he split on the same Rock on which* Vecchiettus *had done. For with a kind of Censorial Authority, which he assumed to himself, he endeavoured to exclude him as it were from the Rank of Emperors (as created neither by Law nor Right); but at the Instances of the Duke of* Bavaria, *who complained of so great an Injury done to his House, he was brought to a Trial, and condemned to retract what he had written, and restore* Lewis *to the Place from whence he had degraded him.*' *Odoric Raynaldus* did not grow wise by this Example; for in his Annals of the Church, 'he, *as well as* Bzovius, affects to call that Prince by no other Name than the *Bavarian*, and reckons the Thirty three Years of his Reign, an *Interregnum* in the Empire, as if there had been no Emperor in all that time (4).' *Bzovius*'s Retractation was printed at *Ingolstadt*, in 8vo, in the Year 1628.

(3) Nicius Erythræus, pag 199.

(4) Maimbourg, Decad. de l'Emp. lib. vi, pag. 620.

[*C*] *He was treated like a Dog in the Apology - - - - published by* George Herwart.] It was entituled, *Ludovicus IV Imperator defensus contra Bzovii calumnias in Annalibus suis*, and printed at *Munich*, in 1618, in 4to. He pretends that *Bzovius* had not acted in his Annals like a Man of Honesty, or Wit, or Judgment, or Memory, or any other good Quality of a Writer. If he had discharged all his Anger on the Person of the Annalist, it may be he might have covered his Apology from the Thunders of the Inquisition, but he extended his Censure to other things, and therefore his Work incurred the Indignation of that Tribunal. 'Invectus est in eum, *it is* Nicius Erythreus *speaks again*, acriter vehementerque Georgius Hervartus qui Ludovici defensionem arripuerat, adeo ut quantum in ipso fuerit omnem ab eo ingenii, memoriæ, solertiæ, acuminis, diligentiæ, fidei & integritatis commendationem averterit: qui Hervarti liber Ludovici defensi titulo inscriptus superiorum decreto vetitus, statim depulsus est ab hominum manibus propterea quod ille cum Ludovici defensione conjunxerat multorum præterea dedecus.'

[*D*] Starovolscius *repaired them the best he could.*] That is to say, he gave *Bzovius* all the Praises due to an excellent Writer. But this was not answering the Proofs of his Adversary. However it be, let us hear what *Nicius Erythræus* says. 'Quod Hervartus Bzovio ingenii, judicii, memoriæ, eruditionis, eloquentiæque patrimonium est conatus eripere, id illi Simon Starvolsius (5) in scriptorum Polonicorum Hecatontade tanq am tutor fidelis ac fortis summa ope studuit conservare, ac præter alias laudes quibus eum exornat, virum vocat ad laudem, ad gloriam, ad immortalitatem nominis, ad sæculi sui miraculum, ad posteritatis utilitatem divinitus datum atque concessum. - - - - *That Stock of Wit, Judgment, Memory, Learning, and Eloquence, which* Herwart *endeavoured to take from* Bzovius, Simon Starovolsius, *in his Century of* Polish *Writers, has, like a faithful and brave Guardian, endeavoured to preserve to him, and besides other Encomiums which he bestows on him, he calls him a Man granted and sent by Heaven, for Praise, Honour, and an immortal Name, for the Miracle of his Age, and the Benefit of Posterity.*' A meer Rhetorical Declamation!

(5) It should have been *Staroveſcius*.

[*E*] *He retired to the Convent of* Minerva *for fear of an Assassin, capable of undertaking any thing, after the Life he had led.*] Take his Character in few Words. His first Profession was that of a *Benedictine* Monk: He forsook his Order, and turned Protestant. He followed *Marc Anthony de Dominis* into *England*; he returned again with him into *Italy*; he entered with him again into the Profession of the Catholic Religion, and was his Steward at *Rome*. He fell in Love with a Woman in the Neighbourhood, and enjoyed her a pretty while, without her Husband's perceiving it; but at last the good Man discovered the Matter; for, coming home unexpected, he found, in his Bed, the Marks still fresh of the Place that another had lain in: 'Captus amore vicinæ mulieris honesto viro nuptæ, multos menses continuos ejus usuram corporis cæperat priusquam id viro suboleret, sed cum palam facta res esset, quod ex improviso domum rediens in lecto recens impressa adulteri vestigia deprehendisset (6).' The Gallant foresaw that for the future it would be impossible for him to continue his Commerce; wherefore he resolved to make away with the Husband, and, having taken his Measures with the Wife, he kil ed him one Morning in the Streets. This happened during the *Sede vacante*, which followed upon the Death of *Gregory* XV. A thousand Disorders are committed in *Rome*, from the time of the Death of one Pope, to the Election of his

(6) Nic Erythr. Pinacoth. I, pag. 200.

(d) Taken from Janus Nicius Erythræus, Pinacoth I, pag. 198. & seq.

that Convent a few Years after he came into it (d). It was in the Year 1637. He had brought himself into much Trouble with the *Franciscans* [F]; not only for the Reason that Mr *Moreri* mentions (e), but also on other Accounts. The *Jesuits* are no better satisfied with his Annals than the *Franciscans* [G]. Besides what

(e) That is, for his striking disadvantage of the fabulous Doctor *Jo. annes de Iut.*

his Successor, and most of the Crimes that are committed in that time go unpunished. The Wife was present at the Murder, and unconcerned at it: No search was made after the Murderer. So that he had Leisure to marry his Mistress to the *Valet de Chambre* of *Marc Anthony de Dominis*, and to share the Enjoyment of her peaceably with the new Husband; for he was a Man who freely connived at the Adultery, as long as his Wife could get by it wherewith to keep House; the Charge of it was considerable, and the Adulterer, not having any longer wherewith to supply them, took to robbing and murdering. 'Cum 'domestici omnes sumptus in ipsum incumberent, 'nec esset unde faceret, ad rapinas cædesque con-'fugerat (7).' He understood that *Bzovius*'s Coffers were well furnished with Money, which put him upon the Design of robbing him: knowing therefore one Day that this good Monk was not at home, he broke open his Chamber, after he had killed the Servant, and carried away all that he found to his Whore. This was soon spent; and as there came no fresh Supply, the Husband grew weary of his voluntary Cuckoldom, conceived an Aversion to his Partner, and informed against him. The Consequence was, that this wicked Murderer was hanged. I do not wonder that the Annalist, frighted at the Murder of his Servant, and sorry for the Loss of his Money, should have a Mind to seek a securer Retreat in the Convent of *Minerva*.

(7) Ibid.

[F] *He brought himself into much Trouble with the Franciscans.*] Every one knows the Jealousy, that has reigned so long, and which is not yet extinguished, between the Order of St *Francis*, and that of St *Dominic*: There are continual Signs of it throughout the Annals of *Bzovius*, in his affecting to revile the Franciscans whenever Occasion offers. He had blackened the Memory of their great Hero, the subtile *Scotus*; they could not remain silent, but caused an Apology to be printed; to which one of *Bzovius*'s Brother Friars replied (8). Besides that particular Apology for *Scotus*, the Franciscans published a general one at *Lyons*, in the Year 1627; the Name of the Author of that Piece was *Dermicius Thadæus*. His Book is intituled, *Nitela Franciscanæ Religionis, & abstersio sordium quibus eam conspurcare tentavit Abr. Bzovius*. We shall see that *Wading*, the Annalist, of the Order of St *Francis*, was a perpetual Antagonist of *Bzovius*, as to all Points relating to the *Franciscans*: We shall see it, I say, in these Words of Father *Maimbourg*: 'I know, *says he* (9), that *Bzovius*, the 'Dominican, an implacable Enemy of the *Manes* 'of that great Doctor, has wounded his Memory 'in a strange manner, calling him Arch Heretic, 'Corrupter of Philosophy and Divinity, and accusing him of having been the Author of all the Evil 'that *Lewis* of *Bavaria* did to the Church and 'the Pope; but I know also very well, that 'Wading, a very learned Franciscan, who refutes 'him very solidly, in all that he says without 'Foundation, against the Franciscans, whom he 'never spares on occasion, made *Okam*'s Apology 'against him, in his Annals of the Friars Minors.'

(8) Nicolaus Jansenius, cujus animadversiones & scholia in apologiam nuper editam contra Bzovium de vita & morte Joh. Duns Scoti, extant in calce Tom. XV. Annal. Bzovii.

(9) Decadence de l'Empire, liv. vi, pag. 606. *Edit.* Holl.

(10) That is to say, of *Okam*.

[G] *The Jesuits are little better satisfied with his Annals than the Franciscans.*] An Apologist of the Jacobins observes, that some Persons are of Opinion, that a small marginal Note of *Bzovius* was the Cause of the Indignation of the Jesuits. In his third Volume he inserted the Prophecy of St *Hildegarde*, and noted in the Margin, that it might be applied to the present Times. It is said, that this was the Original of the Hatred that the Jesuits had for him, and of the Contempt they expressed of his Annals. 'Hostili animo in Bzovium 'feruntur ferè omnes Societatis scriptores: causam 'haud scivi; prætextam autem suggessit mihi ver 'eruditus; quod scilicet Bzovius in suis Annalibus 'tomo 15, ad annum 1415, parag. 39. inseruerit 'Prophetiam quandam Sanctæ Hildegardis; & ad 'marginem Bzovius apposuerit hæc verba, *Prophe-*

'*tia quædam S. Hildegardis, quæ ad hæc tempora* '*referri potest*; quasi Bzovius eam Prophetiam So-'cietati addixerit. Hanc dicunt irarum & odii in 'Bzovium originem fuisse: cum tamen Bzovius So-'cietatis non meminerit, sed tantum Prophetiam 'ad hæc tempora retulerit (11). ---- *Almost all* '*the Writers of the Society fall foul on* Bzo-'vius; *I do not know the Reason; but a learned* '*Man suggested to me their Pretence, that* Bzovius, *in* '*the fifteenth Volume of his Annals, under the Year* '1415. *Parag.* 39. *inserted a certain Prophecy of St* Hildegarde, *and put in the Margin these Words:* A 'certain Prophecy of St *Hildegarde*, which may be re-'ferred to the present time; *as if* Bzovius *had applied* '*it to the Society. This they say was the Original of* '*their Rage and Hatred of* Bzovius; *notwithstanding* '*that* Bzovius *never mentioned the Society, but only re-*'*ferred the Prophecy to the present time.*' *Lewis Carthier*, one of them, calls that Continuation of *Baronius*, *straminеum additamentum* (12), an Addition of Straw. Another Jesuit affirms, that they are rather the Annals of the Dominicans, than the Annals of the Church; that *Bzovius*, a Man of little Judgment, is only a Foil to *Baronius*; that he only relates at large what concerns his own Order, except in Matters to their Disadvantage, which could not be refuted; that he turns off from those Places as dumb as a Fish, but shews an extraordinary Diligence, when Occasion offers to censure and ridicule the *Franciscans*; 'Perexigui judicii scriptor, nec tam auctor 'quam consarcinator; emisit multa volumina conti-'nuationis Ecclesiasticæ historiæ post Baronium, cui 'succedaneam in eo argumento operam navavit; ut 'objecta contrarii, magis eluceseret Baronii accura-'tio, juxta Philonis observationem in *suis rer.* '*divinar. hæres.* Tomi Bzoviani sunt potius Annales 'Dominicanorum, quam Annales Ecclesiastici: Est 'enim totus in rebus domesticis efferendis, ac dila-'tandis; nisi cum aliquid ordini probrosum, quod 'convellere non posset, malis avibus in historiæ 'seriem incidit. Tunc enim supra pilcem tacitus 'abit. At cum agitur de mordendis & risui omni-'um exponendis Fratribus Minoribus, probat exqui-'sitè diligentiam. Arripit omnia, sive apertè falsa, 'ut quod de rabie Scoti morientis exaravit; sive è 'solis rumoribus inanibus hausta, ut cum F. Berth-'odum infamat ob inventas bombardas, & aliis sex-'centis locis consimilibus (13). —— *A Writer of* '*very little Judgment, and rather a botching Com-*'*piler than an Author; he published a great many Vo-*'*lumes of the Continuation of the History of the* '*Church after* Baronius, *designed as a Supplement to* '*his Work; that the Accuracy of* Baronius *might* '*shine the more, by being compared with the con-*'*trary, according to the Observation of* Philo, *in* '*his Book* quis rer. divinar hæres. *Bzovius's Vo-*'*lumes are rather Annals of the* Dominicans, *than* '*Annals of the Church: For he is wholly taken up* '*in setting forth and enlarging upon their private* '*Affairs, except when any thing to the Dishonour of* '*the Order, which he cannot confute, falls unluckily in the Course of his History. For then he goes off* '*as mute as a Fish. But when he has an Opportuni-*'*ty of lashing and ridiculing the Friars Minors, he* '*shews the utmost Diligence. He lays hold of every* '*thing whether manifestly false, as what he has* '*writ about* Scotus's *Madness a little before his* '*Death, or taken from meer empty Reports; as* '*when he reproaches* F. Berthodus *for the Invention* '*of Guns, and Five hundred such like Places.*' The same Writer affirms, that *Bzovius* had inserted the History of the Council of *Trent*, composed by Father *Paul*, into one of his Volumes, and that it was not his Fault that That Volume was not printed with that poisoned Piece; but after he had got that Volume examined, and obtained leave of the Master of the sacred Palace to print it, a Fancy took him to desire a new Examiner of *Urban* VIII. That Pope shewed a little Difficulty at first; but at last committed the new revising of it to the Vicar-General of the *Cistercians*, who had no sooner

(11) Vincentius Baronius, Apologet. lib. iv, sect. 3, art. 2, p. 268.

(12) Ludovicus Carthesius in expostulationibus apud Vincent. Baronium. *Ibid.*

(13) Theophr. Raynaudus de Immunit. Cyriacorum diatr. 7, pag. 332. Apocopanda.

what he compoſed on the Popes in general, he wrote particularly the Life of *Silveſter* II, and that of *Paul* V. A Judgment may be made of this Author's Diſcernment, by the Fables he has vented about the Genealogy of this *Silveſter* [*H*]. Since

run over ſome Pages, but he was ſtruck with the Stench of the mortal Poiſon of *Fra-Paolo*. The Pope was informed of it, and named other Commiſſioners to examine that Book. Theſe condemned the Manuſcript with one Conſent, and paſted all the Leaves of it together: 'Subiit Abrahamum cupido, novæ recognitionis quærendæ, quam aliquis nominatim à ſummo Pontifice delectus præſtaret. Interpellavit ea de re Urbanum VIII. initio moroſum ad concedendam novam recognitionem. D. Hilarion Rancatus Vicarius Generalis Ciſmontanus Ciſtercienſium, denique ad id delectus eſt à Pontifice. Is vix paucis foliis evolutis, putorem operis, & pro ſuavi odore, autoris exſcripti fœtorem illico odoratus, de morte in illa Pontificem admonuit, à quo alii inſuper recognitores ſunt adhibiti, de tanta obeſitate ad veritatem pronunciaturi. De omnium ſententia, factum eſt codici Bzoviano, Pauli Suavis peſtifera ſcriptione ſaginato, ita ut Paulus Suavis ſub nomine Bzovii edendus eſſet, ſi codex Bzovii prodiiſſet; factum inquam eo eſt, quod à S. Ephremo olim eſſe præſtitum circa librum hæreticum, retulit Gregorius Nyſſenus. Mutuo namque per ſanctum ſumpto impio volumine, omnia folia interpoſito glutine ſimul ſunt compacta; ita ut deinceps explicari ac evolvi pagi-
nas, ut ad legendum neceſſe fuiſſet, impoſſibile
(14) Id. ibid. diatr. 5. p. 294. Apopompæi. fuerit (14). —— Bzovius *took a Fancy to deſire a new Examination, by ſomebody nominated by the Pope for that ſpecial Purpoſe. He applied for a new Reviſal to* Urban VIII, *who at firſt made ſome Difficulty; but at laſt thoſe Don* Hilarion Rancato, *Vicar-General of the* Ciſtercians *in* Italy, *for that Work. He, when he had juſt turned over a few Leaves, inſtead of a ſweet Savour, ſmelt the ill Scent of the Work, and of the Author whom he had copied, and informed the Pope of the Poiſon lurking there. The Pope appointed other Examiners to give a true Report of ſuch a groſs Piece of Work. They with one Conſent ſerved* Bzovius's *Book, which was ſo ſtuffed with the peſtiferous Work of Father* Paul, *that Father* Paul *was to have been publiſhed under the Name of* Bzovius, *if* Bzovius's *Book had come out; they ſerved it (I ſay) as* Gregory *of* Nyſſa *tells us St* Ephrem *ſerved a heretical Book. For the Saint, borrowing the impious Piece, ſtuck all the Leaves together with Glue, in ſuch a manner that it was impoſſible for them ever after to be opened and read.*'

Father *Baronius* anſwered, as well as he could, for his Brother the Annaliſt, to the Cenſures of *Theophilus Raynaud*; and in ſome Reſpects it may be ſaid that his Apology is not bad; but here are two Points wherein it ſeems to me defective. The firſt relates to the Prophecy of St *Hildegarde*: The ſecond is concerning the incorporating Father *Paul*'s Hiſtory. The Apologiſt anſwers, I. That *Bzovius*, without making any Mention of the Jeſuits, ſaid only that the Prophecy of St *Hildegarde* might
(15) Vinc. Baronius Apologet. Sect. 1, Art. II, Paragr. II, pag. 24, 106. be applied to theſe Times (15). II. That he cannot believe, that That Annaliſt would inſert the Works of Father *Paul* into his Annals: And theſe are the Reaſons he gives for not believing it: *Bzovius* was not ignorant that *Marc Antony de Dominis*, the Apoſtate Archbiſhop, had publiſhed that Work, whoſe Infamy could not be unknown to him. It was a condemned Work; it is not probable therefore that *Bzovius* would inſert it in his Annals. That Hiſtory offends the Church of *Rome* and the Popes ſo often, that *Bzovius* could not be ſo blind as not to ſee the Poiſon which flows every where from it. 'Tot ac tanta ſunt in ea hiſtoria contra 'ſummos Pontifices, contra Romanam Eccleſiam,
(16) Id. ibid. 'ut non potuerit Bzovius ita cæcutire quin venenum 'quod undequaque erumpit non annotaret (16). He concludes with ſaying, that, at worſt, the Precaution of the Annaliſt ought to be praiſed. He deſired a new Reviſal of his Writing, that the Evil, which might have ſlipped into it thro' his Neglect, ſhould not remain without Remedy. All this is very weak; for, in the firſt place, it is no excuſe in the leaſt, that the marginal Note names no Body; for the Malice of *Bzovius* does not appear a Jot the leſs; he knew well enough that the Enemies of the Jeſuits applied the Prediction of St *Hildegarde* to them. So that he explained himſelf ſufficiently: and he could not have ſpecified the Jeſuits without expoſing himſelf to vexatious Troubles, and to formal Proceſſes before the Pope's Tribunals. II. I ſay in the ſecond Place, that *Theophilus Raynauld* having advanced an Accuſation, accompanied with Circumſtances of Fact, it is almoſt in vain to oppoſe it by probable Reaſons. A Man might be ſatisfied, and take up with them, againſt Accuſers, who alledged only Proofs of the ſame kind; but when they alledge Witneſſes, and ſpecify Circumſtances of Time, and the Qualities of the Perſons, it is neceſſary to have Recourſe to ſome Proofs of Fact, and thereby deſtroy the Evidence, which they alledge. The Accuſer had maintained, that *Urban* VIII had commiſſioned *Don Hilarion Rancato* to reviſe *Bzovius*'s Book; he had, in ſome manner, marked the very Dwelling of that Commiſſary. It lay then on the *Jacobins* to prove that That Monk had never had that Employ, or had never made the Report in queſtion to the Pope. There were many Perſons then alive in *Italy*, who had known *Don Hilarion Rancato*, who had ſpoke with him, who could ſhew ſome of his Papers, *&c.* It is a ſtrong Preſumption in Favour of Father *Theophilus*, that the Defender of *Bzovius* alledges none of their Teſtimony; for this ſhews that the *Jacobins* durſt not make any Enquiry, or publiſh what their Informations had cleared up to them. A negative Depoſition might be of ſome Uſe; as for Example, That a Friend of *Don Hilarion* depoſes, That having heard him relate divers curious Facts concerning the Examination of Books, their Approbation, Prohibition, or Permiſſion to print them, and this in Converſations of Intimacy, wherein certain Particulars relating to *Bzovius* were mixed, he remembered very well that he had never heard him ſpeak of the pretended Inſertion of Father *Paul*; I ſay, if a Friend of this *Don Hilarion* ſhould depoſe this, it would be more concluſive againſt the Accuſer, than repeating over and over, *it is not probable, it is not to be believed*, &c. I own it is hard to believe, that *Bzovius* was ignorant, that the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent* diſpleaſed the Court of *Rome*; but after all, it is not impoſſible; and they alledge Facts to us, which prove that he was ignorant of that Truth. A Writer, like him, had need to have many Things ſhewed to him, and had not time to read them all: if he had well examined all that he gave to the Printers, he could not have produced Folio's with ſo much Diſpatch. It is certain, that he has inſerted ſome Treatiſes in his Annals, which others had publiſhed before him. He did this with regard to the *Amedeus Pacificus* of Father *Monod*. 'Hunc Commentarium 'pene ad verbum deſcripſit, & ad calcem volumi-'nis ſui 17 Annalium Eccleſiaſticorum adjecit Abra-'hamus Bzovius, ut quæ de Felice parum rei con-'ſentanea ſcripſerat, caſtigaret (17). —— Abra-
(17) Sotuel Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jeſu, pag. 684. 'ham Bzovius *has copied this Commentary almoſt 'verbatim, and annexed it to the End of the ſeventeenth Volume of his Eccleſiaſtical Annals, to cor-'rect what he had writ amiſs concerning* Felix.'

[*H*] *One may judge of his Diſcernment by the Fables he has vented about the Genealogy of* Silveſter II.] I believe it will be acceptable to a great many of my Readers, if I ſhew them a Sample whereby they may judge of the whole Piece; for a World of People would rather have the Character of a Writer's Genius, than the whole Story of his Life. *Bzovius* had given himſelf the Trouble, and not without Reaſon, to refute a thouſand impertinent Fables, which have been ſet forth concerning the Birth of *Gilbert Cæſius*, Native of *Guienne*, Archbiſhop of *Reims*, afterwards of *Ravenna*, and laſtly Pope, under the Name of *Silveſter* II. But he ought not to have given, in the room of theſe Fables, a romantic Genealogy, and vouched the Truth of it. He will have it, that this Pope *Silveſter* was deſcended from a King of *Argos*, whoſe Name was *Temenus*, and that there are ſome of that *Te-*

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary, I have found the following Facts in an Elogy of *Bzovius*. His Grandmother, by the Father's side, was of the Family *Szczepanowski*, which had produced St *Stanislaus*, Bishop of *Cracow*. Neither *Thomas Ostola*, that Lady's Son, nor his Wife *Magdalen Vificia*, lived to educate their Son, our *Bzovius*; for he was but eighteen Months old when his Mother died, and he lost his Father soon after. He was educated by his Grandmother on the Mother's Side, in the City of *Prosovitz*, and he made so good use of the Instructions of one of his Uncles (*f*), that, at ten Years of Age, he could write *Latin*, and compose Music, and make Verses (*g*). One of his Aunts sent for him afterwards to *Secemin*, where some *Frenchmen*, good Philosophers and good Philologists, whom *Stanislaus Szafranietz* had drawn thither, taught the Youth of *Poland*. They were indeed Heretics; but *Bzovius*, though he was but fifteen Years of Age, preserved himself from their Poison, and brought also some of his Comrades into the right way again. After this he went to continue his Studies at *Cracow*, and made great Progress. He took the Habit of a *Dominican* in the same City, in the Convent of the *Trinity*, and, being sent into *Italy*, read some Lectures of Philosophy at *Milan*, and of Divinity at *Bologna*. After he returned into his own Country, he preached in *Posnania*, and in *Cracow*, with the Applause of all his Hearers; he taught Philosophy and Divinity; he was Principal of a College of his own Order: He settled a Fraternity of the *Rosary*; he consecrated a Chapel to the Image of St *Mary the Great*, which he had brought from *Rome* to *Cracow*; he furnished the Library of the Convent of the *Dominicans* with a great Number of Books; he pacified *Poland*; he inspired the necessary Moderation into the Malecontents; he built the Church of St *Hyacinthus* in *Warsaw*, which was the first that was built to that Saint in *Poland*; he founded a Convent of *Dominicans* in the same City, under the Name of St *Hyacinthus*; he procured all manner of Conveniencies for that new Monastery, and got that Saint inserted in the Missal and Breviary (*b*); he recovered the Monasteries of *Silesia*, which had been twenty Years separated from the Province of *Poland*; he took care to have the Relics of St *Ceslaus Odrovasius* laid up in a secure Place; he was commissioned by his Superiors to digest the Constitutions of the *Dominicans* into better Form; and he published a great Number of Sermons, and other Writings (*i*). One of his Works prepared his Way to the Continuation of *Baronius*: it was the *Abridgment of the Ecclesiastical History*, which he had extracted chiefly out of the Annals of that Cardinal. He shewed the Manuscripts of it to some Persons, who not only exhorted him to publish it, but also to undertake his Continuation of that History to his own Time: He was then at *Rome* with *Virginio Ursini*, Duke of *Bracciano*, who had made him his Library-Keeper (*k*). The Deference, which he had for the Exhortations which I have mentioned, brought the great Work of the Continuation of *Baronius* afterwards to light. The Letter, which the King of *Poland* wrote to the Pope in the Year 1633, does our *Dominican* a great deal of Honour [*I*].

(*f*) Ab Laurentio avunculo didicit. *Starovol. de Scriptor. Polonic. See Citat.* (*i*).

(*g*) Musicæ modulos componere, versus patrios & Latinos pangere. *Id. ibid.*

(*b*) Ejusdem Divi Hyacinthi memoriam & cultum in fastos Ecclesiæ (Breviarium & Missale vocant) reponi apud Urbanum VIII Pont. Max. procuravit. *Id. ibid.*

(*i*) *Taken from* Simon Starovolscius, in Scriptorum Poloniæ illustrium centuria, *before the 8th Volume of the* Annals of Bzovius, *printed at* Cologn, *in* 1641, *which I observe, because in my Edition of this Treatise of* Starovolscius, *which is of* Frankfort, *in* 1625, *there is scarce any thing relating to the Life of this* Jacobin.

(*k*) Taken from the Preface to the first Tome of the *Annals of* Bzovius.

(18) See the *Journal des Sçavans*, for the 8th of *August*, 1678, pag. 332, where they give the Extract of this Work of *Bzovius*, without advertising that this is not the first edition. It had been printed at *Rome* in 4to in 1629, and afterwards at the end of the 8th Vol. of the Annals in 1641.

menus's Descendants still in being, in *France* and *Italy* (18). You must know that this King of *Argos* was descended from *Hercules*, and that he was one of the Chiefs of the *Heraclidæ* in the Expedition, in which they retook the *Peloponnesus*. Now that Expedition is so ancient, that it precedes the historical Time, and belongs to the fabulous. The Chronologists place it in the Time of the Prophet *Samuel*. Judge then, if it be possible, that at present such and such a Family, which is still subsisting, can be known to have descended from that *Temenus*. Judge then, whether a judicious Historian, and a Lover of Exactness, will ever say, that a Pope, who lived an hundred Years after Jesus Christ, was descended from *Hercules*.

[*I*] *The Letter, which the King of* Poland *writ to the Pope in the Year* 1633, *does our* Dominican *much Honour.*] It was printed in the Elogy which *Starovolscius* consecrated to the Honour of *Bzovius* (19). The King supplicates *Urban* VIII, most humbly to suffer that good old Man to return into *Poland*, whom he desired to employ in composing the History of the late Transactions there. He declares, that he shall esteem himself very much indebted to his Holiness, if he will be pleased to grant him that Favour, which he so instantly requests of him. 'Certus sum, *says he*, 'id Sanctitatem Vestram enixæ petitioni meæ da-'turam, ut vir mihi cumprimis charus, ad natale 'solum —— redeat —— quod ego inter infinita 'Sanctit. Vestræ erga me benevolentiæ argumenta, non postremo loco reponam, quando virum 'tam paternæ quam meæ gloriæ studiosum propin-'quius complecti, & consuetudine illius atque lucubratione frui licebit.'

(19) I saw it before the eighth Tome of the Annals of *Bzovius*.

C.

(a) See the Remark [A].

CÆSARIUS (John), Physician and Philosopher, born at *Juliers*, flourished in the XVIth Century. He taught at *Cologne* (a), and published Editions of several Authors. His Zeal for the Advancement of Learning was very great, and he spared no pains in it, but was so far from advancing his Fortune by that means, that he was reduced in his old Age to the want of Subsistance, and had it not been for the Assistance of his Friends, he must have starved [A]. Being suspected of *Lutheranism*, he was banished from *Cologne* in the Year 1543 (b), and retired to the Count of *Nuevenar* and *Meurs*, and died there in the Year 1550, upwards of ninety Years of Age. Some say that he returned at last to the *Romish* Religion, and that, dying at *Cologne*, in the Year 1551, he was buried in the Convent of the Hermits of St *Jerom*, near the High Altar (c), with a long Epitaph (d), wherein, among other things, it is observed, that he was never married. *Alexander Hegius*, whose Scholar he had been at *Deventer*, having, (on account of his great Age), declined the Direction of the School, which they were founding at *Munster*, about the end of the XVth Century (e), proposed him for that Employ (f). He recommended also some other learned Men, and particularly *Timan Camener*, who was the Person chosen.

(b) Chytræus in Saxonia, lib. xvi, init.

(c) Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 479.

(d) *It is to be seen in* Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 479.

(e) Chytræus in Saxonia, pag. 80.

(f) Id. ibid.

[A] *Had it not been for the Assistance of his Friends he must have starved.*] Thus doubtless I may understand this *Latin* Passage of *John Sturmius*: ‘ Floruerunt aliquando in hac civitate (Coloniæ) literæ, cum in ea Sobius, & Cæsarius, & Phrysemius, docerent —— Simul cum Magistris atque Doctoribus vetus frequentia discipulorum sublata est. Sobium vis morbi nobis abstulit: Phrysemius quoniam nullum refugium in nostris studiis esse videbat ad Jurisprudentiæ portum confugit: & juris quam sapientiæ consultus esse maluit. Senex adhuc ibi est, atque omnium nostrum tanquam parens Cæsarius: qui in hac affecta ætate, post tot tantorumque laborum defunctionem, nisi ab amicis sustentaretur, viderent eum literæ egentem quas ipse semper ornavit, semperque maximi fecit (1). ‘ *Learning once flourished in this City* (Cologne), ‘ *when* Sobius, Cæsarius, *and* Phrysemius *taught here. With the Masters and Doctors the old Number of Scholars declined: Death has deprived us of* Sobius: Phrysemius, *seeing no Encouragement in our Studies, retired to the Study of the Law, chusing rather to be a Lawyer than a Philosopher. Old* Cæsarius, *the Father, as it were, of us all, is here still: whom, after so many and so great Performances in this dull Age, Learning, which he always adored, and always highly valued, would see in want, were he not supported by his Friends.*’

(1) Joannes Sturmius, Epist. Dedicat. Tom. II, Orat. Ciceronis. *It is without Date, but must be supposed to have been wrote about the Year 1540.*

(a) *In* Latin Cajetus, *or* Cajetanus.

CAYET (a) (Peter Victor Palma (§ a), at first Minister of the Reformed Church [A], and afterwards Doctor of Divinity in the Faculty of *Paris*, is to be reckoned in the Number of learned Men: But there run several strange Reports to the Prejudice of his Reputation; for he was accused, not only of writing an Apology for Stews [B], but also of selling himself to the Devil.

[§ a] As it does not appear to me that *Cayet* ever took the *Latin* Surname of *Palma* before his Return to the *Romish* Church, and that the name *Victor* was given him at his Confirmation *, probably as a Prognostic of his future Victories over the Heretics, whom he had then left, I should have thought that the Surname of *Palma* might have been given him on the same occasion, since the *Palm* is the Symbol of *Victory*. But *Palma* is the *Latin* Name of I know not what Lordship; and *Cayet* is stiled *Sieur de la Palme* in the Privilege, which he obtained on the Twenty seventh of *June* 1596, for the Impression of one of his Tracts of Controversy, intituled, *Le Vrai Orthodoxe*, &c. Rem. Crit.]

* Mem. de la Ligue, Tom. VI, pag. 350, Edit. 1599.

[A] *At first Minister of the Reformed Church.*] I learned from a Letter (1), which I shall mention in the last Remark, that he was *born at* Montrichart *in* Touraine (2), *of a very poor Family, and that in his Youth he went through Classical Learning, at the Expence of a Person of Honour: and having made some Proficiency, they of the Reformed Religion, entertaining some hopes of him, furnished him with the means to study* Theology, and made him a Minister: that about the Year 1582 he was presented to the Church of *Poitiers* at *Montreuil-Bonnin*: that, finding *an Opportunity to enter into the King's Household, he quitted his Church, and followed the Court*, and was recommended to Lady *Catherine*, Sister of *Henry* IV, to instruct and confirm her in her Religion.

(1) It is in the 6th Vol of the *Mem. de la Ligue*, pag. 343, &c.

(2) Observe, therefore, that the Surname *Navarrus*, given him in the *Gallia Orientalis*, *pag.* 144, and in the *Bibliotheque* of *Konig*, *pag.* 151, signifies only that he was Doctor in Divinity of the College of *Navarre*.

Add to this the Account we have in *pag.* 268 of the Remarks on the Catholic Confession of *Sancy*, in the Edition of 1699. ‘ *Peter Cayet of Montrichard in Touraine*, born of very poor Parents, who, with their Son, had embraced the Reformation †, had in his Youth studied at *Geneva*, from which time *Calvin*, whose Domestic he was, foretold his Father that his Son *would one Day be a Plague to the Church, and would make War against GOD* ‡. However, having acquired great Knowledge, especially in the Oriental Tongues, he was made Minister, first at *Poitiers*, then in the House of Mr *de la Noue* ‖ at *Montreuil-Bonnin*, in which places he began to discover his Ambition and Levity of Mind: he was afterwards made Minister to Madam, the Sister of *Henry* the Great.’

† See an Epigram of *Beza*, on the Revolt of *Cayet*, in *Beza's Latin* Poems, Edit. of *Geneva*, 1597, in 4to, pag. 210.

‡ Advice to the Faithful, on the Apostacy of P. *Cayet*, Edit. 1596, pag. 7.

‖ Life of Mr *de la Noue*, p. 203, ad Ann. 1576.

[B] *He was accused of writing an Apology for Stews.*] *D'Aubigné* asserts this in several places of his Works; he puts these Words in the Mouth of *Sancy*: ‘ We ought not to account simple Fornication, or Adultery for Love, to be Sins, according to the Opinion of *Caber*, in his learned Book on the re-establishment of Stews, and his learned Dissertation on the seventh Commandment.

‘ This

Devil [C]. Having been deprived of the Miniſtry by a Synod, he turned Catholic in

'This ſeventh Commandment, which is *non mœchaberis*, forbids only the Sin of *Onan*, for μοιχεύειν is derived, according to this Modern Theology, from τῦ μοίχου and χέειν, *quod eſt humidum fundere* (3).' The Verſes at the end of the ſame Book (4) are yet more ſevere.

(3) Catholic Confeſſion of *Sancy*, Book II, cap. 2, pag. 392, Edit. of *Amſterdam*, 1693. See alſo Baron de *Fœneſte*, Book II, cap. XII.

(4) Pag. 446.

Cahier voulut loger les Putains en franchiſe,
Canoniſer pour ſaints les vérolez perclus:
Noſtre Egliſe le, prit quand vous n'en vouliez plus,
Catholique il pourſuit encor ſon entrepriſe:
La paillarde le voit martir pour les Bordeaux.
L'Advocat des putains, Sindic des Maquereaux.
Elle ouvre ſes genoux, l'acole tres-humaine,
Honteux, banni, puant, vérolé, ladre vert.
Huguenots, confeſſez que l'Egliſe Romaine
Tient ſon giron paillard à tous venans ouvert.

Cahier *demanded Privilege for Whores,*
And even the Pocky to be canonized.
Exil'd from yours, Our Church receiv'd him in:
A Convert, He the ſame Deſign purſues,
Martyr of Brothels, Advocate for Whores.
Yet Mother Church with open Arms receives
The Shameful, baniſh'd, ſtinking, pocky, Wretch.
Own, ye Reformers, that the Church of Rome
Receives all Comers in her whoriſh Lap.

What follows ought to be of greater Weight, becauſe it occurs, not in a Satire, but in a Hiſtory. 'It happened alſo ſome time after, that *Cayet* was degraded for ſtudying Magic, being alſo accuſed of having written two Books, one to prove that by the ſeventh Commandment, neither Fornication nor Adultery were forbidden, but only the Sin of *Onan*, the other to prove the neceſſity of re-eſtabliſhing Stews every where. Being thereupon rejected, he turned to the Catholic Religion, where he was well received by the *Sorbonné*, but very indifferently by the Jeſuits (5).'

(5) D'Aubigné's Univerſal Hiſtory, Tom. III, Book IV, cap. XI, pag. 502, ad Ann. 1595.

The Author of the Notes on the Confeſſion of *Sancy* obſerves, that *D'Aubigné is miſtaken*, and *that all theſe fine Maxims, attributed to* Cayet, *were couched in one ſingle Piece intituled*, A Diſcourſe containing a remedy againſt public Debauchery preſented to the Parliament (6).

(6) Notes on the Confeſſion of *Sancy*, pag. 53, Edit. 1699.

(7) Preface to the Defence of our Verſions of the Bible, 1620.

[C] *But alſo of ſelling himſelf to the Devil.*] *Theodore Tronchin*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Geneva*, and one of the Fathers of the *Synod* of *Dort*, in one of his Books ſays thus (7). 'Peter *Cayer*, among other Facts, for which he was degraded from the Miniſtry, was accuſed by credible Witneſſes of having had communication with Devils. After he was degraded, inſtead of repenting, he grew worſe and worſe, and revolted from the true Religion: After which he became ſuch a Reprobate, that he made a Contract with Satan, under the Name of *Terrier*, Prince of the Subterranean Spirits, giving himſelf to him Body and Soul, now and for ever, on Condition that the ſaid Spirit would make him ſucceſsful in Diſputes againſt the Reformed Religion, and compleat in the Knowledge of Languages. This Contract, ſigned with Blood, was found after his Death, and has been ſeen by ſeveral of the King's Council.' Mr *Colomiés*, who cites theſe Words (8), furniſhes me with another Paſſage; which is: 'The Complaints againſt the Sieur *Cayer* were, that he had left the Church of *Poitiers*, to which he had been appointed, to intrude himſelf by indirect means, firſt into that of the King, and then into That of his Siſter: that he gave himſelf up ſo much to curious Sciences, that he was commonly called *Petrus Magus*, and that he had behaved otherwiſe than became him towards a young Woman (9).' I wonder that *Montigny* ſays nothing of the two Books, which, according to *D'Aubigné*, were one of the firſt Cauſes of *Cayet*'s Diſgrace. 'Did you expel him for Sorcery? 'Is the Queſtion of Fænelle, *to which it is anſwered*. The firſt Charge againſt him was only for two Books, in one of which he maintained, that the Sin, forbidden by the ſeventh Commandment, was neither Fornication nor Adultery, but that it forbids only τὰ μοίχου χέειν, meaning the Sin of *Onan*; by which he had made the ſacred Order his Enemies; the other Book was for the re-eſtabliſhment of Stews: but on his Trial the Accuſation of Sorcery was brought in, and Books, wrote by him on that Subject at *Tiel Chaveiu*, were produced (10).' In the ſame Work, *D'Aubigné* gives us a pleaſant relation of an Adventure of his Baron as follows. 'Cayer ſhewed me Books of Magic, written by himſelf, two Foot thick; he let me ſee an Eggſhell, in which he made a little Man with Sperma, Mandrakes, and crimſon Silk, and a ſlow Fire, to obtain things, I do not care to mention. He ſhowed me Images of Wax, which he melted gently, to warm the Heart of a fair one; and others that he wounded with a little Arrow, to kill a Prince an hundred Leagues off (11).' This may paſs for a Piece of Raillery; but what follows is related ſeriouſly with all it's Circumſtances as a certain Fact. 'The Scripture informs us, that there are Inchanters and Sorcerers; The firſt are rare; Witneſs a Duke of *Savoy*, who ſpent a hundred thouſand Crowns to find one; the other too frequent; among which I reckon *Cayer*, who ſold himſelf to the Devil, by a Writing ſigned with his own Hand, and ſtipulated with the Hand of the Purchaſer: You have heard of his horrible Death; But I have ſeen the original Piece in the Hands of Mr *Gilot*, when the Court was deliberating whether they ſhould burn his Body, or hang it Heels uppermoſt at *Montfaucon*. But there were Lords and Ladies of ſo high Rank Partakers of his horrible Practices, that this Piece of Wickedneſs was ſmothered up like many others at this Day, which it is thought much ſafer to ſtifle in our Boſoms, than expoſe to the World: and here to ſhew it is not *à propos* (12).' It is ſomewhat ſurprizing that *D'Aubigné*, who was ſo well acquainted with this Affair, did not know the beſt of the Story. He did not know that the Devil took *Cayet* Body and Soul, and that, in order to deceive the Bearers at his Funeral, Stones were put into the Coffin, inſtead of the Corps, which the Devil had carried off: *Mareſius tom. 2. contra Tirinum pag. 434. ait, Vit. Cabirum qui ſuperiori ſæculo vixit, ex Miniſtro Reformatæ Eccleſiæ Sorboniſtam, Kabaliſtam, & Magum factum, ejuſque corpus a Diabolo ablatum eſſe, ut lapides vice illius ejus loculo condendi fuerint.* Thus much we find in the Bibliotheque of the Sieur *Konig* under the Word CAHIERUS (13).

(8) Colomeſ. in Gallia Orientali, pag. 145.

(9) Id. ibid. pag. 144, *from a Pamphlet entitled*, Advertiſement ſur la Depoſition du Sieur Cayer, du St Miniſtere, & ſur ſa Revolte, *by* Fr. Loberanus, *Lord of* Montigny, *Late Miniſter at* Paris, *pag.* 5.

(10) *Baron de Fœneſte, Book II, cap. XII, pag. 81.*

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 79.

(12) Id. ibid. pag. 80.

I think myſelf obliged to obſerve, that I have not found any thing relating to theſe ſtrange and abominable Accuſations in the Catholic Writers, except theſe Words of *Leo Allatius*: *His quam ſimillima inter quotidianos congreſſus quibus utor familiariſſimis, ab omnis honeſtioris eruditionis Myſta Gabriele Naudero de Unicor Palma* (14) *Cajetano & Conſtantino Chymiſta frequenter audivi* (15). He had juſt been relating ſome Stories about the Invocation of *Demons*; and adds, that his good Friend *Gabriel Naudé* had often told him ſuch things of *Victor Palma Cayet*. But there are two things to be obſerved. Firſt, it does not appear, that *Naudé* ever believed the Tales of Sorcerers and Magicians; next, that having had occaſion in his Works to ſpeak of *Victor Cayet*, with reſpect to theſe Matters, he never charged him with Sorcery. Read his Dialogue *de Maſcurat*, where you will find (16): 'S. Oh the Devil take him of us two, who ever heard of ſuch a thing. *M.* He muſt take us both then, if that be the Condition. *S.* I hope, not as he did Dr *Fauſtus* and his Man, however; for I ſhould not care to hang you by the Feet. *M.* You tell me of an imaginary Perſon, a Chimera of the *Germans*, which the great Doctor *Petrus Victor Palma Cajetanus*, or rather *that fooliſh credulous Animal* Caillette, tranſlated into *French*, as it

(13) Obſerve, that *Konig*, not knowing the true Name of *Cayet*, believed that *Victor Cailerius*, and *Petrus Victor Cajetanus*, and *Petrus Victor Palma Cayetanus*, were three different Men. In the *Oxford* Catalogue, *Victor* is given for the true name of *Cayet*, whereas it was only his Name of Confirmation.

(14) *Read* Naudæo de Victore Palma.

(15) *Allatius de Patria Homeri*, pag. 5.

(16) Pag. 529, 530. The Letter S ſignifies St *Ange*, the Bookſeller, one of the Interlocutors; the Letter *M* ſignifies *Maſcurat*, Printer, the other Interlocutor.

in the Year 1595, and, being known to *Henry* IV [D], he was afterwards preferred to the Place of Royal Reader in the Oriental Tongues [E]. He was promoted to the Degree of Doctor of Divinity in the Year 1600 (b). He wrote several Books against those he had quitted [F], wherein, among other things, he complains of their Satires [G]. He entered into a Personal Conference with the famous *Du Moulin*. This Conference lasted several Days [H]; and, according to

(b) Launoii Hist. Gymnas. Navarr, pag. 792.

* Sarisberiensis in Entheticō.

' it had been already into *English*; *Adeo omnia* * *si nesciri loca sunt plenissima nugis? Quamvis tuta cohors est inimica mihi.* —— Thus, whether you ' know it or no, all the World is quite filled with ' trifles, the whole tribe whereof are odious to me.' Add to this a thing which I shall mention in the Remark [H].

Observe, that by the Epistle Dedicatory of the Book, which *Gabriel Naudé* has here ridiculed, which is signed *V. P. C.* one would judge, that our *Cayet's* Zeal against Magic was extraordinary. See also the whole Title of his Version. ' The wonderful and lamentable History of Doctor *Faustus*, with his horrible Death, wherein are shewn the ' miserable Consequences of Curiosity, in the illusions and impostures of the evil Spirit, and also ' Satan overthrown by himself, when constrained ' to speak the Truth.' I use the third Edition, printed at *Rouen*, Anno 1604, in 12mo.

[D] —— *being known to* Henry IV.] He had almost constantly followed him from the time he was first introduced to him by the Sieur *de la Gaucherie*, who was Tutor to this Prince. These are the Words of M. *Maimbourg*, in his Preface to the History of the League.

[E] *He was soon after preferred to the place of Royal Reader in the Oriental Tongues.*] He has this Title in a Privilege, granted him for his Controversial Works, the fifteenth of *June* 1596; and we find these Words in the sixty second Page of a Book (17) he published Anno 1597. ' I do not blame ' the Study of the *Hebrew*, *Caldee*, and other Languages: so far from it, that, thanks be to God, ' I myself am Professor of them, in the Service of ' God and his Church, by the good Pleasure of the ' Most Christian King our Sovereign.' There is therefore a Mistake in that Passage of *M. Du Launoi*, where he assures us, that *Cayet* obtained this Post Anno 1599 (18). I am indebted for this Discovery to the Author of the Notes on the Confession of *Sanci*. But I ought to mention, that *James de Breul* observes, that our *Cayet* succeeded *Francis Jourdain*, Royal Reader and Professor in the *Hebrew* Tongue, who died in *September* 1599 (19). We may reconcile these Matters, by supposing he had that Title in 1596, and that he even read Lectures, but that, the place not being yet vacant, he was not, properly speaking, promoted to it, and installed till after the Death of *Jourdain* in 1599.

(17) *Entitled*, An Exhortation to the Re-union with the Catholic and Apostolic Church of *Rome*.

(18) Launoii Hist. Gymnas. Navarr. pag. 792.

(19) Du Breul, Antiq. de Paris, pag. 567.

[F] *He wrote several Books against those he had quitted.*] You will find the Catalogue of them in the History of the College of *Navarre* (20). I mention here only the Title of the first that appears in that List. *A Christian and Useful Remonstrance to the Nobility of* France, *who are not of the Catholic Religion. Paris* 1596. *M. de Launoi* observes, that the Letter to the Author from *Clement* VIII, and several things relating to the Original and Progress of the Huguenots, are found in that Piece (21). When *Cayet* published this Book, he was lodged in the Place, where *Postel* died; for he dates *his Admonition to those of the third Estate, who are not of the Catholic Religion*, from the Abbey of St *Martin des Champs*. This Admonition was printed *Anno* 1596, as you will find in the Remarks on the Confession of *Sanci* (22), in the Place where these Words of the Preface are commented on; *They ought at least to have retained* Spondé *in an honourable Imprisonment, in the Abbey of St* Mathurin, *as formerly* Postel, *and now* Cayet, *two learned mad Men.* This gives great ground to suspect *M de Launoi* of another Mistake; for he asserts, that *Cayet* lived in the College of *Navarre*, at the time when Pope *Clement* VIII wrote him a Letter, dated the twentieth of *March* 1596. ' Quo tempore datæ sunt hæ literæ jam Cajetus --- in Navarræ Collegium secesserat (23). ----- *At the time this Letter was wrote*, Cayet *was already retired to the College of* Navarre.' I know not

(20) Pag. 792.

(21) Launoius, Hist. Gymnas. Navarræ, pag. 792.

(22) Printed at *Amsterdam* 1693, pag. 458.

(23) Launoius, Hist. Gymnas. Navarr. pag. 750.

in which of his controversial Books this Proselyte mentions Seventy four Propositions of *John Hus*, which are contrary to the Doctrine of *John Calvin* (24). I do not find in *Launoi's* List *Cayet's* Book containing the Reasons of his Conversion, to which the Minister *Reton* made a fine Answer, in 1596 (25).

(24) See the Theomachia Calvinistica of Fr. Ardent, Tom. II, Book XIII, cap. VIII, pag. 178, Edit. of Cologn, 1629, *in* 4to.

[G] ---- *Where among other things he complains of their Satires.*] He renewed his Complaint in his nine Years Chronology. He says, that several Answers had been published to his Account of the Causes of his Conversion; and that he, who collected the Memoirs of the League, had inserted one of those Answers, but not his Reply to it; he calls the Report of his Amours with a Lady of *Bearn* (26) a Calumny: he observes, that none of those who spread these Slanders ever published their Names, so that *he never knew to whom in particular to address himself.* He adds, that no Answer was ever made to his Justification of himself, touching the Book *On the Establishment of Stews.* He maintains, that he was not the Author of it, and that *Robert Stephens* had owned, that he had promised never to shew the Manuscript to any body. He says farther, that it was not this Book that grieved the Ministers, but his *Consilium pium de componendo religionis dissidio* ---- *Pious Advice for composing the Differences of Religion*, of which they knew he had distributed several Copies. ' Afterwards, *continues he*, they gave out that I intended ' to turn Catholic; and that the King had given ' me, for so doing, an Abbey near *Rochelle*; and ' it will appear, that to this time (which is the ' Year 1607). ---- I have neither Abbey nor Benefice (27).' There is a great deal of Moderation in this Part of his History. Mr *Maimbourg* is much more warm in his Favour (28). ' That, *says he*, ' *viz. the Conversion* of Cayet, *supported by Reasons, and imitated by many Persons* †, put his ' old Brethren, the Ministers, in so ill Humour, ' that they inveighed against him most furiously, ' loaded him with numberless Reproaches, and endeavoured to blacken him with a thousand horrid Calumnies, with which they have filled, among ' many other Libels, that which they published in ' the Memoirs of the League ‡, most basely concealing the solid and convincing Answers he ' had made to them; which is sufficient to discover the Falsehood of all that they (according to ' the Genius of their Heresy) have wrote to defame him. For of all Heretics whatever, none ' have been more cruel and abusive than the Calvinists, or have avenged themselves with more ' Barbarity on their pretended Enemies, by Arms ' and violent Means, when they had the Power, ' or more shamelessly by the Pen and Libels, when ' they could do nothing else, bespattering those ' that have declared against their Party with all ' kind of Reproaches and Calumnies.' This is too violent: there was a more modest way of complaining, that the same Invectives had been repeated without any Answer made to the Apologies of the Accused. See Remark [O]. The Author of the Notes on the Confession of *Sancti* (29) gives the Titles of several Pieces published against *Cayet*, soon after his Revolt.

(26) The Baroness d'Arot.

(27) Chronologie Novenaire, Book VII, ad Ann. 1595, fol. 545, verso.

(28) Maimbourg, Preface to the History of the League.

† A Letter from a Catholic Gentleman to his Friend, 1595.

‡ Memoirs of the League, Tom. VI, pag. 343, Cayet 33, fol. 545.

(29) Pag. 97, Edit. 1699.

[H] *His Conference with* du Moulin *lasted several Days.*] We see in the Life of *du Moulin* (30), that he was challenged to this Dispute by *Cayet*; that he went without any Second, notwithstanding that *Cayet* had two Carmelites along with him; that they disputed fifteen Days successively: that, at the end of eight Days, the *Sorbonne* gave *Cayet* a sharp Reprimand for defending the Cause no better, and suffering his Adversary to go deeper into Questions, than it was for the Interest of the Catholics he should; that the Bishop of *Paris* forbad *Cayet* to sign the Acts of the Conference; that from that time *Cayet* disputed timorously, and often

(30) It is in the Volume published by Dr *Bates*, at *London*, 1681, under the Title of *Vitæ selectorum aliquot virorum qui Doctrinæ dignitate aut gestis inclaruere.* See pag. 703.

' declared

to Custom, there appeared very different Accounts of it. *Cayet* was also esteemed a Chronologer, and wrote some *Histories* [*I*]. After he had embraced the *Romish* Religion, he resided mostly (*c*) in the College of *Navarre* at *Paris* (*d*), and died there the Twenty second of *July*, 1610, and was interred at St *Victor* (*e*). He took some pains about the Philosopher's Stone [*K*]. If that be true which is said of him, concerning the Design the Count *de Soissons* had to marry the Lady *Catherine*, Sister of *Henry* IV, we may be assured that his Conduct sometimes was very good [*L*]. It is a very odd thing, that, while one side say that the Devil failed him (*f*), and that the Parliament of *Paris* would hardly allow him Burial; the other asserts, that he continued a very good Man from the time of his Abjuration [*M*]. *Scaliger* has not said a Word against his Morals; which I wonder at: Would he have forgot the Crimes imputed to *Cayet*? Or did he doubt the Truth of

(c) We say, in Remark [*E*], that he lived some time at St *Mathurin*.

(d) Launoi Hist. Gymnas. Navarræ, pag. 790.

(e) Id ibid pag. 792. *Du Breul*, *p.* 567, of the *Antiquities* of Paris, says, he died the second of *July*, being the Feast of St *Victor*.

(f) See the Remarks [*C*] and [*H*].

declared that he disputed without any public Authority; that the *Sorbonne* went, in a Body, to the Advocate-General, and told him, that, if a stop was not put to this Dispute by Authority, it was to be feared, it would raise a Sedition; that it is not known what Order the Magistrates gave, but that *du Moulin*, going to the Place of Conference, found the Door shut; that it was soon after opened to *Cayet*; that, on *du Moulin*'s coming in, a Letter was given to the Master of the House, informing him, that he would do well not to admit the Disputants to his House any more, for if he did he would be sent to Prison; whereupon they despaired of finding another House; that *Cayet*, being called upon to sign the Acts, refused to do it, and withdrew, saying to *du Moulin*, *You shall hear of me some other time* (31); that he talked no more of renewing the Conference; that some Years after the too true and infamous Story of his Death (32) came to be known, *viz.* that the Devil had killed him, and that his Contract with the Devil, *Terrier*, was found; and that *Archibald Adair*, a *Scotch* Bishop, and witness of all that passed on both sides in this Dispute, published an exact Narrative of it. *Matthias Zimmerman* is guilty of an Error about the Conclusion of this Recital. It is in pag. 326 of his *Florilegium Philologico-Historicum*, printed at *Missen*, in the Year 1687. His Words are these: 'Cayerus — tergum obvertens dixit, *Tu de me alias audies*, sed nihil de iteranda disputatione auditum, vere enim Diabolo necatus, & membranæ inventæ quibus cum Dæmone Terrier fœdus percusserat. — — — Cayet — — — turning his Back, said, You shall hear of me another time; *but not a Word more was ever heard of renewing the Conference*, for *indeed he was killed by the Devil, and a Contract was found, wherein he had made a Compact with the Spirit* Terrier.' This for is a Falsification of *du Moulin*'s History; for the Author of that History has not said, nor intended, nor ought he to say, that *Cayer* spake no more of the Dispute, because the Devil killed him. *Cayet* published three Pieces upon that Dispute. I. *A true Summary of the Questions proposed at the Interview between Doctor* Peter Victor Cayet, *and the Minister* du Moulin. *Together with an Answer to a slurrilous Pamphlet published by* du Moulin. II. *The Acts of the Interview, or Conference, with the Minister* du Moulin. III. *The Defence and Decision of Truth against* Archibald Adair, *a* Scotchman (33).

(31) Tu de me alias audies.

(32) This Conference was held in the Year 1602, and *Cayet* died in the Year 1610.

(33) Laun. Hist. Gymnas. Navarr. pag. 792.

We must not forget the Book, that *Cayet* published against *du Moulin*, in the Year 1603, which he called; *The Burning Furnace, and Reverberatory Oven, to evaporate the pretended Waters of* Siloë, *and strengthen the Fire of Purgatory. Du Moulin* observes, in the new Edition of his *Water of* Siloë, that the Approbation, given by the *Sorbonne* to *Cayet*'s Book, *did not hinder the Jesuits from taking him to task, treating him roughly, and preaching him down in such a manner, that he suffered in his Reputation by it ever after* (34).

(34) Notes on the Confession of Sancy, pag. 58, Edit. 1699.

[*I*] *He wrote some Histories.*] *A true Account of the War between the* Turks, *and the Christians of* Hungary, *from the Month of* September 1597, *to the Spring of the Year* 1598; *at* Paris 1598. *A seven Years Chronology of the Peace between the Kings of* France *and* Spain — *from the beginning of the Year* 1598, *to the end of the Year* 1604. *A nine Years Chronology containing the History of the Wars of* Henry IV, — *from the beginning of his Reign in* 1589, *to the Peace made at* Vervins *in* June 1598 (35). The four Letters *P. V. P. C.* subscribed to his Dedications, signify *Peter Victor Palma Cayet*. Mr *de Launoi* did not know that this Author published, in the Year 1600, *An Appendix to the Chronology of* Genebrard. *Anthony de Laval* mentions this Work with Praise; *For a compleat Body of History*, says he (36), *I would recommend the Chronology of the learned* Genebrard, *continued and enlarged by that Oracle of all Languages* Mr Cayer.

(35) Laun. Hist. Gymnas. Navarr. pag. 791.

(36) Desseins des Professions Nobles, pag. 322, *Edit. of* 1613, *cited by* Colomiés Gal. Orient. pag. 145.

[*K*] *He took some Pains about the Philosopher's Stone.*] The Author of the *Mercure François* relates this Particular, and some others, which may be worth the Reader's Notice; therefore we will copy the whole Passage. 'Dr *Peter Victor Cayet* — had 'never any Enemies, but those to whom he had done 'good Offices: he was born under that Planet, and it 'has continued even after his Death. He died in 'the College of *Navarre*, and is buried at *St Victor*; his Dress, his Manner of living, and his 'Curiosity in searching after the Philosopher's Stone, 'brought him as much under contempt, as his 'Learning gained him Honour, and made him regretted by those who knew him particularly. As 'for myself, I knew him to be a very *Frenchman*, 'not at all trans-alpin, and have heard him mention several signal and meritorious Services he 'had done to the late King (37).'

(37) Mercure François, Tom. I, pag. 536, Anno 1610.

[*L*] *If that be true which is said of him, relating to* — *the Count* de Soissons — *his Conduct was sometimes very good.*] Some body has writ Notes on the History of the Amours of the great *Alcandre*, printed with the Journal of *Henry* III. As by the name *Alcander* is meant *Henry* IV, so likewise other Persons are designed by names forged at pleasure. The Sister of this Prince is called *Grassinde*, and the Count *de Soissons*, *Palamede*. Let us now see one of the Notes. 'The 'Marriage of *Palamede* and *Alcander*'s Sister was so 'far advanced, that *Peter Cayet*, *Grassinde*'s Chaplain, was commanded to solemnize it immediately: 'he desired to be excused, whereupon *Palamede* 'threatned to kill him: he replied that he had 'rather die by the Hand of a Prince, than that 'of an Executioner (38).'

(38) See the Journal of *Henry* III, pag. 295, Edit. *Amsterdam*, 1693.

[*M*] *Some assert, that he continued a very good Man from the Time of his Abjuration.*] 'All that 'the Huguenots have writ with so much, I will 'not say heat, but fury against Mr *Cayet*, immediately after his Conversion, cannot do him any 'prejudice, any more than their ridiculous Prediction, affirming that he would soon be neither Huguenot nor Catholic, but would make a third 'Party between both: For he always behaved himself so well among the Catholics, that, after having given on all occasions proofs of his Virtue 'and Learning, he was thought worthy to receive 'the Order of Priesthood, and a Doctor's Cap, and 'was Reader, and Professor Royal of the Oriental 'Tongues (39).' The Testimony of Mr *de Launoi* will be of more weight with the Protestants, which I therefore give: 'Multis modis clarus evasit (Cajetus) imprimis quod Hæresim pura sinceraque 'mente depositerit, deinde quod Jacobus Perronius 'Ebroicensium Episcopus eum judicaverit dignum 'qui ea super re literas a Clemente VIII acciperet, 'tum quod Clemens ei per literas conversionem gratulatus fuerit — postremo quod sui temporis historias memoriæ prodiderit, & vitam insuper virtu-

(39) Maimbourg. Preface to the *History of the League*.

of them? However that be, he says no more of him than this: *Cahier, when he was a Minister, made the best Sermons when he was least prepared; and when he took much Pains he did nothing well* (g). Observe, he calls him *Cahier*; there are but few Authors clear of this Mistake [N].

(g) Scaligerana, pag. 40.

(b) Under the Word *Cahier*; a little lower the same Person is mentioned again under the Word *Cayet*, as if he were another Man. This is an easy and cheap way of multiplying Ministers.

I never could meet with any of the Answers, published by *Cayet*, to the Accusations, which caused him to be degraded from the Ministry; but what he owns about the Book on Stews, is a Circumstance in favour of the Synod that degraded him [O]. It is owned in the Supplement to *Moreri* (b), that he wrote the Remedy for public Debauchery, which is the Book on the Re-establishment of Stews. I forgot to mention, that, in the Year 1597, he stood for a Professorship of Canon-Law, but miscarried. This Particular I learn from Mr *Doujat* (i).

(i) Doujat Prænot. Canonic. pag. 642.

‘ ti conjunctam traduxerit, postquam effectus est
‘ Catholicæ communionis particeps (40). —— Cayet
‘ became famous on several Accounts; first, for that
‘ he forsook his Heresy with a pure and sincere
‘ Heart; then that Jacobus Petronius, Bishop of
‘ Ambrun, thought him worthy to receive a Letter
‘ from Clement VIII on that Subject, and that Cle-
‘ ment congratulated him on his Conversion by a
‘ Letter —— lastly that he writ Histories of his own
‘ Times, and also lead a strictly virtuous Life, ever
‘ after he became Member of the Catholic Commu-
‘ nity.’

(40) Hist. Gymnas. Navarr. pag. 791.

[N] *There are few Authors clear of the Mistake of calling him* Cahier.] This Fault were pardonable, if the Man had not put his Name to several Books; for, as the Pronunciation of Words has often but little conformity with the Orthography, especially in *France*, where we do not usually pronounce the last Letter, they, who had only heard his Name, and not seen it printed, might easily imagine it to be *Caler* or *Cahier*. But were not they who writ against him inexcusable in this Error? Had they not the true Orthography in the very Books they undertook to refute? It may be said in their Behalf, that he is called *Cayet* in his *Advertisement on the disputed Points of Religion, in order to reconcile Differences*, which he published at *Paris*, in the Year 1596: that he is so called, I say there, both in the Title, in the Epistle to the King, in the Epistle to the Bishop of *Evreux*, in the Approbation of the Doctors, and in the Privilege (41); but this will not excuse them. They ought to have considered, that, as the name *Cayet* had appeared to a great number of his Books both before and after, there must needs be an Error of the Press in those Places of the Advertisement, where we find *Cayet*. There are so many Authors, whose hand writing is bad, that it may reasonably be supposed, that the Printers of that Book could not distinguish whether *Cayet* had put an *r* or a *t* at the End of his Name, and, having once mistaken the *t* for an *r*, they repeated the Error in the Privilege, the Approbation of the Doctors, &c.

(41) The Author of the Notes on the Confession of *Sancy* informs me of this.

[O] *What he owns about the Book on Stews, is a Circumstance in favour of the Synod that degraded him.*] He has thought fit to insert an Episode on this Subject, in his History of *Henry* the Great (42): but, if he has not supported his Cause better else where, than he has done there, I fear it is very bad. He owns he lent the Book on the Re-establishment of Stews to *Robert Stephens*, and says nothing against the Deposition of his Man against him, which imports that the Manuscript, which was in the Possession of the Synod, was copied from a rough Original of *Cayet's* own Hand writing. The Letter, inserted in the Memoirs of the League, gives us so frightful an Idea of this Book, that it is not sufferable for a Clergyman to keep such an Abomination even in his Closet; much less can he be excused for putting it into the Hands of a Printer. The Letter I speak of is a very good Piece: the Author acts the Part of a good Catholic, and gives his Matter a handsome Turn. He seems well versed in Ecclesiastical History, he accuses *Cayet* of having converted to his own use the Alms the Princess *Catherine* gave him to distribute (43); and of having said his Manuscript was a Translation of an *Italian* Book, printed at *Venice* forty Years before, writ by one *Nicolas Perrot* (44); of having taken Lodgings in a ‘ Tavern, in the Street *de la Huchette*, which
‘ was a notorious Brothel; of having continued
‘ for above three Months ordinarily eating with
‘ the Judge *de Goudon*, one of the greatest Sorcerers
‘ and Magicians under Heaven, having an intimate
‘ Friendship and Acquaintance with the Em-
‘ piric *l'Estoille*, who never believed in any thing
‘ less than in God; of having some time applied
‘ himself to Magic, and the occult Sciences, to
‘ which he was much addicted, witness his fre-
‘ quent Calculations of Nativities, and his celebra-
‘ ted Predictions given to the late Sieur *de la Re-*
‘ *chefoucaut*, concerning the Issue of the Siege of
‘ *Rochelle*, and the Voyage of the Sieur *de Strosse*
‘ into *Africa*. See Remarks on the Confession of *Sancy*, *pag.* 53. *Edit.* 1699.

(42) Chronologie Novenaire, Ann. 1595, fol. 545.

(43) Memoirs of the League, Tom. VI, pag. 347.

(44) They produced Copies printed with this Title; *Discorso del Remedio della publ che Dissolutioni di Nicolo Perrato.*

One thing more I have to observe, before I conclude this Remark, which shews, that a false Zeal for Religion finishes, what the Sin of *Adam* had but too much begun. The Disorders of Civil Societies are very great, it cannot be denied; yet we never see that a Man, banished from one State by a judicial Sentence, which declares him guilty of a great many filthy and villainous Actions, meets with so favourable a Reception in another, as to be received to Honours and Dignities, without ever clearing himself of those Charges. The Remains of Reason and Equity forbid such Practice; but this Remainder of Reason and Equity does not appear in Ecclesiastical Bodies: Here is *Cayet*, degraded with Ignominy by a Synodal Sentence, founded on infamous Accusations; he leaves the Reformed Religion, and joins the Catholics; there he is received with open Arms, they value themselves upon him as a glorious Conquest; he is admitted to Honours and Ecclesiastical Dignities, without any Enquiry whether the Synod had degraded him justly or no.

REFLEXION on the ill Effects of false Zeal.

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum!

Religion so much Mischief could persuade!

The same Men, who act thus in a religious Affair, would not have done the like in a matter wholly Civil. One cannot too much press the Reader's Observation of this Remark (45).

(45) *See above, the end of Remark* [R], *in the Article* BEZANITES.

CAIN, eldest Son of *Adam* and *Eve*, was a Husbandman. He made an Offering to GOD of the Fruits of the Earth, while his Brother *Abel*, who was a Shepherd, brought of the Firstlings of his Flock. GOD accepted *Abel*'s Offering, but rejected *Cain*'s; at which he was so enraged, that, notwithstanding the Admonition GOD gave him, he killed his Brother. By the Sentence GOD pronounced against him, he was condemned to Banishment, and a vagabond Life; which made him fear, that whoever found him would kill him [A]. But, to ease him of this Fear, GOD

EXAMINATION of some Difficulties of the Pre-Adamites.

[A] ——— *made him fear, that whoever found him would kill him.*] This Expression seems to suppose, that *Cain* believed, that all the Earth was inhabited; for a Man, who believed that the whole Race of Mankind was comprised in the Family of *Adam*, could not have found a better way to avoid being

GOD was pleased to set a Mark on him, to prevent his being killed by any one that met him [B]. *Cain* retired into the Land of *Nod*, on the East of *Eden*, and built a City, which he called *Enoch*, after the Name of his Son. This is all that can be affirmed with certainty concerning him, being all that relates to him in the Book of *Genesis* (a). All the rest that is said of him, (which is a great deal), is nothing but Conjectures, Rêveries, or very uncertain Traditions. I elsewhere (b) touch

(a) Chap. iv.

(b) *In the Article* ABEL, ADAM, *and* EVE.

being killed, than to absent himself from that Family; and here, on the contrary, *Cain* seems not to have feared any Murderer, provided he did not leave it: He fears he shall be killed, only in case he *become a Vagabond and Fugitive on the Earth* (1). This, I own, is no very great Difficulty; but we ought not to take it amiss that Libertines urge it, since it is certain there is no Christian Sect that would not be very ready to object it to the rest, if they differed from them in that Point. I find scarce one, who has undertaken to refute this Objection of the *Præadamites*, otherwise than by recurring to the Fecundity of *Eve*, and computing how many Children might be born of her and her Daughters in the space of One hundred Years. But this, in my Opinion, does not come up to the Point; it supposes, that *Cain* feared his Brothers and Nephews. Now it was not them he feared; for, as I said before, if they had been the Occasion of this Fear, he could not have desired any thing better than to be banished, nor would he have esteemed the Exile, to which GOD had condemned him, a Punishment too great for him to bear (2). It must therefore be the Inhabitants of remote Countries that he feared, People unknown, and no ways tied to him by any Relation. For this Reason, I am apt to think, that the Trouble of his Conscience, and the frightful Idea he had formed to himself of Banishment, made him forget what his Father, without doubt, had often told him, relating to the Origin of Mankind. And perhaps he only pretended he was afraid of finding Assassins every where in distant Countries; perhaps, I say, he only pretended it, in order to get the Punishment GOD had inflicted on him revoked, or commuted. It is a daily Practice of Criminals with their Judges; they endeavour to obtain Favour by exaggerating the Rigour of their Sentence beyond what themselves think of it. Let me not be told, that *Cain* was not so ignorant as to pretend to hide the bottom of his Thoughts from GOD; for why should we not think him capable of imitating his Father, who thought to cover himself from the Eyes of GOD by hiding among the Trees of the Garden? Besides, what means this Answer of *Cain* to GOD? *I know not, am I my Brother's Keeper?* Is not this the Language of a Man, who thinks that he speaks to another Man, and that he conceals from him what he does not confess? Is it not a palpable Lie? GOD at that time acted after the manner of Men, in order to accomodate himself to our Frailty; and this his Behaviour was answered in such a manner, as seems to shew that he was really taken for a meer Man. There is a stronger Objection to be made, *viz.* That GOD is so far from undeceiving *Cain* about his false Supposition, that there were Men every where, that he seems to have confirmed it. He does not answer him; *Thou hast no need to fear Murderers in remote Countries; for there is not one Man there:* But he encourages him, by giving him a Mark, which would prevent any one that found him from killing him; which manifestly supposes, that *Cain* might find People in every Place where his vagabond and fugitive Steps might carry him. I answer, GOD contented himself to remedy what was most pressing, that is the Fear, which this Fratricide expressed of being killed by the first that met him. Now the readiest way to hearten a trembling Soul, who thinks his Life will be a Prey to the first that finds him, is not tell him, that his Kindred are the only Men that are in the World; but to tell him in general that none of those that find him shall kill him. I would join to these Answers the other Consideration. Men lived then several Centuries, and multiplied extreamly. *Cain* doubtless had seen Proofs of this Fecundity. There was like therefore to be a great Number of People on the Earth before he died. So that the Mark, which GOD gave him, when he sent him into the Country not before inhabited, was not superfluous. I shall say nothing as to the Age he might be of when he murdered his Brother. I have spoke to it elsewhere; those who make him but about the Age of thirty or forty (3), and say, that neither he nor *Abel* were then married (4), perhaps are not much in the wrong: but, according to this Supposition, it would be more surprising, that *Cain*'s Fears should be of People that he knew; it was not likely that *Adam* should kill one of his Sons, to revenge the Death of another; nor was it to be presumed that the other Sons of *Adam* would kill a Brother, to avenge the Death of another Brother. There is no reasonable Family, where any such Proceeding takes place. This, in all appearance, is the reason why GOD took upon himself the immediate Cognizance of this Matter, and was contented to banish the Criminal. Thus he accommodated himself to our Nature: in like Cases, the Families concerned decline being either Judges or Parties, and are contented not to see the Murderer any more. There were only *Abel*'s Children, if he had any, that could give him any Apprehensions; but again, I say, it was not his Relations *Cain* dreaded; he feared the first Man he should meet in a foreign Country, where he must of necessity be destitute of all Protection, without Relations, without Friends, ignorant of its Way, and of the Country: This Condition, he thought, would encourage any one to attack him, especially since his Death was like to go unpunished. He had no grounds for these Apprehensions in a Country, where he was known, and among his Relations: There lies the Stress of the Matter.

(1) Gen. v. 14.

(2) Gen. v. 13.

(3) Cunæus de Repub. Hebræor. lib. i. cap. i. *puts an hundred Years between the Death of* Abel, *and the birth of* Seth, *which was in the 130th Year of* Adam's *Life.*

(4) *See Remark* [F], *in the Article* ABEL.

[B] *GOD set a Mark on him, to prevent his being killed by any one that met him.* It is not agreed what this Mark was. There are some, who imagine GOD imprinted a Letter on *Cain*'s Forehead, and that this brand was the safe Conduct, by virtue of which this Vagabond might pass to and fro upon the Earth, without fear of being slain; and that this Letter was taken either from the Name of *Abel* (5), or the ineffable Name of GOD (6), the *Tetragrammaton*, which was of so much Efficacy: but others think it taken from the Word Repentance, that every one might see *Cain* repented. Others say, that this Mark consisted of the three Letters, which compose the Name of the Sabbath, or that it was the Sign of the Cross (7); whilst others tell us, that the Dog, which guarded *Abel*'s Flock, was given to *Cain* for a perpetual travelling Companion (8), either that Men might perceive by this Sign, that they were not to attack *Cain*, or that, being conducted by such a Guide, he might avoid all dangerous Roads (9). Others imagine, that all his Forehead and Face were covered with the Leprosy (10); others, that his Mark was only a wild Aspect, with bloody Eyes, rolling in a horrid manner (11). Others say he became subject to such a trembling, that he could hardly lift his Food to his Mouth (12). The Septuagint favour this Sentiment; for they have not translated it: *Thou shalt be a Vagabond and a Fugitive*, but, *Thou shalt be doleful and trembling*, στένων καὶ τρέμων. Some say, that, in whatever place he rested, the Earth shook round about him (13). What Visions! In short, some of them tell us, he had a Horn grew on his Forehead (14), not one of those metaphorical Horns, which later Ages have attributed to those Husbands, who have been dishonoured by the Infidelity of their Wives; but a Horn, properly so speaking, which served as a Signal for all Men to avoid him; *Fœnum habet in cornu, longe fuge* (15). Metaphorical Horns would have served only to aggravate his Punishment; it was what the Ancients prayed might light upon Evil-doers, as appears from a Passage in *Job* (16); but *Cain*'s Mark was intended him for his Benefit: it was to be his Safeguard.

(5) Veteres Hebræi, apud Gentebrardum.

(6) Vide Saldenum Or. Theol. pag. 345.

(7) Ibid.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Cornel. à Lapide in Genes. cap. iv.

(10) Salden. ibid. pag. 345.

(11) Apud Saldenum, Tom. I, pag. 192.

(12) Procopius in Genes. cap. iv. *See likewise St* Jerom's 125th *Epist. ad* Damas.

(13) Apud Saldenum, ubi supra.

(14) Apud Sallustium. Ibid.

(15) Horat. Sat. iv. lib. i. ver. 34.

(16) Cap. xxxi. ver. 10. Vide Drusium, Quæst. Ebraic. 38. lib. ii. *See the Note* [B], *under the Article* EQUALEUS.

[C] *What*

touch upon a great many things of this Nature, relating to him: but if I were to mention all the reſt, I ſhould never have done. What a deal has been ſaid about the Reaſons, for which it is pretended his Offering was rejected by GOD [C]? Who would ever have thought *Joſephus* capable of giving this Reaſon for it, viz. that *Cain* did not, like his Brother *Abel*, offer things of a natural Production, meaning Animals, but thoſe things, which the Labour and Avarice of Man force out of the Earth, that is, Grain and Fruits (c)? Would not one ſay, that a Jew, who reaſons at this rate, has forgot the Elements of his Religion. Were not the Offerings of the firſt Ears ordained by the Law of *Moſes*? If the Reaſons alledged by *Philo* (d) were atteſted Facts, they would be much better than this of *Joſephus*. This laſt Author ſays one thing, which is very probable, *viz.* that *Cain* grew never the better in his Exile, but, on the contrary, much worſe (e): He gratified his Paſſions at the Expence of others, and enriched himſelf, by all manner of Violence, with the Spoils of his Neighbours. *Joſephus* attributes to him the Invention of Weights, Meaſures, and Boundaries of Land. Theſe things were needful amongſt a People, whom *Cain*'s Example had accuſtomed to all ſorts of Injuſtice [D]. One cannot preciſely ſay how many Brothers and Siſters he had when he killed *Abel*; but they are certainly in the wrong, who affirm there were then but four Perſons in the World [E]: For ſuppoſing it true, as ſome will have it (f), that *Cain* was

(c) Joſeph. Antiq. lib. I, cap. II.

(d) See Remark (C).

(e) Id. ibid.

(f) Comeſtor. de Rep. Hebr. libr. III, cap. I.

[C] *What a deal has been ſaid about the Reaſons, for which it is pretended his Offering was rejected by GOD?* It is gueſs-work, this beating the Air, to trouble ourſelves about the external Defects that might be in *Cain*'s Offering. Perhaps nothing was wanting in that Reſpect (17); perhaps he had forgot nothing but a good Diſpoſition of Heart, to which principally GOD has regard. We ſee St *Paul* attributes *Abel*'s Superiority over his Brother (18) only to his Faith. However, three grand Faults are found in *Cain*'s Offering. I. That he was too tardy in making it: II. That he did not offer the Firſt-fruits: III. That he did not make choice of the beſt. It was *Philo*, who firſt made this Cenſure. The ancient Fathers have moſtly fallen in with it; for to ſay nothing of St *Ambroſe*, who, in this Point, was a great Follower of *Philo*, St *Cyril* (19) accuſes *Cain* of having reſerved for the gratification of his own Appetite, and for his Pleaſures, the choiceſt Fruits the Earth yielded him, allotting to GOD the very worſt, ſuch as the ſlendereſt Ears of Corn, and wormeaten Apples (20); for they have deſcended to theſe Particulars. How often have they, who make choice of the ugliеſt and moſt ſtupid of their Daughters for the Convent, reſerving the ſprightly and beautiful for the World, been compared to *Cain*, both from the Preſs and the Pulpit? And yet is there any thing leſs certain than St *Cyril*'s Aſſertion? Is it not evident that *Philo* is miſtaken as to his firſt Defect; ſince the Scripture obſerves, that *Abel* did not offer the Firſtlings of his Flock, till *Cain* brought the Fruits of the Ground. I ſhall obſerve, by the by, that this retrograde Verſe, *Sacrum pingue dabo, nec mactum ſacrificabo*, is *Politian*'s. Theſe Words are in a Picture repreſenting the Sacrifice of theſe two Brothers, which is to be ſeen in the firſt Cloyſter of *Madonna Nova* at *Florence*: The two Brothers are placed, in regard to the Inſcription, in a Poſition proper for each of them to make out his own Senſe from it (21).

(17) *See* Fagius, *in* Gen. cap. IV.

(18) Heb. XI, 4.

(19) Apud Salian. pag. 186.

(20) Biſſelius, Illuſtr. Ruin. Dec. I, pag. 220.

(21) Mabil. Muſ. Ital. Tom. I, pag. 162.

[D] *Whom Cain's Example had accuſtomed to all ſorts of Injuſtice.*] *Joſephus* affirms, that *Cain* was a voluptuous Man, and a Robber, and that his Deſcendants grew worſe and worſe. Add to what he hath ſaid the Deſcription (22) that *Methodius* has given us of the Manners of that Race, and you will find there is very good Reaſon to compare the City of *Enochia*, built by *Cain*, to that, which a certain *Macedonian* King built for a Receptacle of all ſorts of wicked and diſſolute People; whence it was called *Panoropolis*. Impiety ſo horribly prevailed among the Deſcendants of *Cain*, that, not content to defile one anothers Marriage-Beds, and enjoy their Miſtreſſes in public, and in the Sight of all who had a mind to ſee them, they broke through the Laws of Nature, and abandoned themſelves, Men and Women, to the Sin of Non-conformity. 'Furere mortales ac ruere lymphatis ſimiles in quidquid dictu ſcriptuque fœdum eſt, ac non ſufficientibus ad probra noctium tenebris aut cubiculorum ſolitudinibus, connectere turpitudini dierum ſpatia, populique præſentiam & oculos infanda conſuetudine fœdare. —— Sed illius temporis longius adhuc multo ſunt abrepta dedecora, quam quæ finibus limitibuſque naturæ continerentur. Superaret fidem, niſi Methodius affirmaret, auctor ſane gravis ac ſanctus, cœpiſſe jam tum quod poſtea divinus Paulus deplorat in idolotaris, *ut in maſculos maſculi turpitudinem exercerent, & in fœminas fœminæ*, Lesbiis flammis exardeſcerent (23). —— *Men like mad Creatures ran headlong into all manner of abominable Uncleanneſs; and the Darkneſs of the Night, and Privacy of a Chamber, not ſufficing for their ſcandalous Actions, would act their Filthineſs in open Day, and, in the Preſence and View of the People, practiſe odious Familiarities not to be named. —— But the ſhameful Practices of that time were carried to ſuch a length, as far exceeds the Bounds and Limits of Nature. It would be incredible, were it not aſſerted by* Methodius, *a grave and holy Author, that even then was introduced the Practice, which St* Paul *bewails in Idolaters, that Men with Men acted that which is unſeemly, and Women burnt with Luſt to Women.*' All theſe things were done before the World had continued more than Six hundred Years. The Author, I juſt now cited (24), recites the very Words of *Methodius*, as he found them in his Brother *Raderus*'s Notes upon the Chronicle of *Alexandria*. I ſhall here take notice of a thing, which is but too uſual; when once a Man is grown ſcandalous for his ill Actions, the very Good he does ſhall be condemned: of this *Cain* is an Example. Nothing could be more uſeful in a City, ſo irregular as his, than Weights and Meaſures; and yet *Joſephus* has very inconſiderately condemned him for introducing the uſe of them. He has confounded things very eaſy to be diſtinguiſhed. Becauſe Weights and Meaſures have not the Air of Honeſty and Simplicity, therefore he thought, that they, who firſt invented them, deſtroyed the ancient Candour of Mankind, and taught them Tricks and new Ways of deceiving: and yet who ſees not that, on the contrary, the Corruption preceded the uſe of Weights and Meaſures, and that they were introduced of neceſſity, as a Remedy againſt Cheating. *Cain* did in this as other Tyrants are uſed to do; who, after they have opened the way to a thouſand Diſorders, make however wholeſome Laws to ſtop the Progreſs of them. In ſhort, *Joſephus* had ſomething elſe in his Head when he wrote this.

(22) The Book, which goes under his Name touching theſe Matters, is ſuppoſitious.

(23) Biſſelius Ruin. Illuſtr. Dec. I, pag. 258.

(24) Ibid. p. 277.

[E] *That there were then but four Perſons in the World.*] This Error is very ancient. St *Auguſtin* refutes it in his eighth Chapter of the fifteenth Book *De Civit. Dei*, and in his firſt Queſtion upon *Geneſis*. And yet St *Ambroſe*, far from refuting it, has run headlong unto it, in this Apoſtrophe he makes to *Cain*: 'Cur neſcis ubi eſt frater tuus? Soli eratis cum duobus parentibus, inter paucos frater te latere non debuit (25). —— *Why doſt thou not know where thy Brother is? You were only two, and your two Parents; among ſo few thou ſhouldeſt know where thy*

(25) Ambroſ. lib. II, de Abele cap. IX.

was but thirty Years old when he committed this Murther, this does not hinder but *Eve* might have had many Children in that time. I will conclude with an old Tradition concerning *Cain*'s Death. Being very decrepit and blind, say they, he was fitting one Day in a close Thicket (*g*). *Lamech* (*b*), who was then a hunting, being advised that something stirred in the Bush, ran thither, and, fancying some Beast was lodged there, let fly an Arrow, and killed *Cain*. Some (*i*) place this Event about the Year of the World 701. Others refer it to 875. Father *Salian* (*k*) is of this last Opinion, and saith he agrees therein with *Pererius* and *Torniel*: From whence we may conclude, by the way, that Mr *Moreri* had no Reason to say, that, according to *Torniel* and *Salian*, the Murther of *Cain*, by *Lamech*, happened in the Year of the World 688. *Tostatus* (*l*) makes *Cain* to have lived near 800 Years. Some pretend he was killed by the fall of a House (*m*), and place his Death under the Year 931. *Paulus Burgensis* (*n*), who will have it that he died in the Universal Deluge, did not consider that that was to make him almost 1656 Years old. Some there are, who say he killed himself (*o*), and have the Impertinence to conclude from thence, that GOD did not keep his Word with him, because, say they, he promised him that no Man should kill him. It is not true that GOD's Promise was so expressed; it only regarded those, whom *Cain* seemed so much afraid of, that is, those who should find him in his Exile.

(*g*) Rabbi Gedaliah in Schalsch. pag. 92, apud Heidegg. Tom. I, pag. 212.

(*b*) We shall speak more amply of this when we come to the word LAMECH.

(*i*) Apud Salian. pag. 214.

(*k*) Pag. 216.

(*l*) Apud Salian. pag. 214.

(*m*) St Romuald. Abrig. Chron. *citing* Cedrenus.

(*n*) Apud Pererium in Genes. chap. iv, ver. 23, 24.

(*o*) Armeni apud Guidonem Carmelitam citante Praetcolo in Elencho Hæres. pag. 63.

'*thy Brother is.*' A Rhetorical Figure void of Reality. Many of the Moderns have fallen into the same Error; amongst whom are *Burman* and *Cunæus*. 'Ecclesiæ primæ incunabula mundus vidit recens natus, cum in quatuor capitibus staret humanum genus. Confestim enim impurus genius, cui ex malis nostris jucunda voluptas est, Caïnum à recta pietatis semita transversum egit in omne nefas. —— Gregem oppido exiguum, hoc est, quatuor oves in tanta mundi vastitate agebat magnus ille pastor: unam ex his lupus hic abstulit (26). '—— *The new-created World saw the Infancy of the first Church, when the Race of Mankind consisted of four Souls. For presently the unclean Spirit, who delights in our Ills, turned* Cain *aside out of the direct Path of Piety, into all manner of Wickedness.* —— *The great Shepherd fed a very small Flock, of only four Sheep, in the wide World, and one of them this Wolf carried off.*' It is true, *Burman* seems to have left himself a hole to creep out at: '*Cain*, saith he (27), in killing *Abel*, destroyed a fourth part of the People that are recorded to have been then in the World.' If one should press him, he will say he has by no means excluded those, whom the Scripture thought not fit to mention. It is a weak Subterfuge, far less worthy of a Man of Sense than this Reflexion of the same Author; *As wide as the World was*, said he, *it was too narrow for these two Brothers*. One might quote here that Verse of *Juvenal*, Sat. x. ver. 168.

Unus Pellæo juveni non sufficit orbis.

One World sufficed not the Pellæan *Youth.*

and many Thoughts of that kind; but they are more proper to be placed under the Article of ALEXANDER. Our Poet *Malherbe* ought to be brought in here, as guilty of the Error which I have confuted: 'He had, *saith his Historian*, a great Contempt for Mankind in general: and after having given an Account of *Cain*'s Sin, and the Death of his Brother *Abel*, he said, A very fine Beginning! There were but three or four Persons in the World, and one of them must needs kill his Brother. What, after this, could GOD expect from Mankind? Had it not been better at that Instant to have put a final End to the whole Race?'

(26) Cunæus de Republ. Hebr. lib. iii, cap. i.

(27) In Comment. Belgico ad Genes. cap. iv, pag. 65, apud Saldenum Ot. Theol. pag. 339.

CAINITES [*A*], a Sect of Heretics who appeared in the IId Century, and were so called because of their great Respect for *Cain* (*a*) [*B*]. These People took their abominable Doctrines from the filth of the *Gnostics* (*b*), and were the Spawn of *Valentinus*, *Nicolas*, and *Carpocrates*. They supposed a great Number of *Genii*, which they called Virtues or Powers, and who they said were stronger one than another. They pretended, that the Virtue, which produced *Abel*, was of an Order much inferior to that which produced *Cain* (*c*), and that was the reason that *Cain* prevailed over *Abel*, and killed him [*C*]. They professed an Honour for those, whom

(*a*) August. de Hæres. cap. xviii.

(*b*) Epiph. Hær. 38.

(*c*) Tertull. de Præscript. cap. xlvii.

[*A*] CAINITES.] They may likewise be called *Cainians*. *Tertullian* calls them *Cainæos* (1), and *Caianam hæresim* (2). They were called *Caianos* by many of the Fathers (3), before St *Epiphanius* made use of the Word *Καϊανοὶ*. *Dæneus* (4) therefore had no reason to imagine, that St *Austin*, in calling them *Caianos*, had been misled by an Error of the Copists of St *Epiphanius*. *Dæneus*, unable to find any Analogy in the Formation of *Καϊανοὶ*, believed that St *Epiphanius* termed them *Καϊϊανοὶ*, or *Καϊνοὶ*, and that the Copists, by mistake, made it *Καϊανοὶ*. But all this will come to nothing, if we consider that *Caiani* was in use before St *Austin* and St *Epiphanius*. The Reader may take notice, that these Heretics are also called *Caians* in *French*.

(1) De Præscript. cap. xlvii.

(2) Ibid. cap. xxxiii.

(3) Vid. Vossium, Harmon. Evang. pag. 218.

(4) In August. de Hær. c. xviii.

[*B*] *A Sect* —— —— *so called for their great Respect for* Cain.] These People were so senseless as to affirm, That the Divinity, which commands in the Heavens and upon the Earth, being resolved to punish *Cain* for the Murther of *Abel*, could never catch him, having neither strength nor swiftness sufficient for that purpose. At last, some Ætherial Powers protected him from the Pursuit and Vengeance of that GOD, transported him to the Firmament, and hid him in a Place of Surety, *in Superno sæculo* (5), *in the Regions above*, as they expressed it. The Author, I have cited, quotes no Body.

(5) Bissel. Ruin. Illust. Dec. I, pag. 269.

[*C*] *They pretend that the Genius of* Abel *was inferior to that of* Cain, *and that was the Reason why* Cain *prevailed over* Abel, *and killed him.*] This is very conformable to the Doctrine of the Heathens, touching a particular Genius that attends every Man. This sort of *Genii* were principally called *Demons* (6). They pretended that every Man's Fortune depended on his Tutelary Genius; the Man was happy whose Genius was very powerful; on the contrary, he was unhappy when his Genius was weak, and could not make head against the Genius of other Men. Every Genius laboured for the Interest of his Client; and whenever a Man was beaten, it was a certain Mark that the Conqueror's Genius had been too hard for his. One of these *Genii* happened to be of an Order inferior to the other; which was the Effect of Chance: for as the Souls that were sent into this World were drawn by Lot, so was likewise the Tutelar Genius of every Person (7). There were some *Genii*, whose ascendant over some others was such, that their very Presence confounded them.

THE Pagan Doctrine concerning Tutelar Angels.

(6) Vide Dodwell. Prælect. 2, ad Spartani Hadrianum, p. 275.

(7) Id. ibid. pag. 276.

whom the Scriptures brand with the moſt viſible Marks of Reprobation, ſuch as the Inhabitants of *Sodom*, *Eſau*, *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*. They had in particular an extraordinary Veneration for the Traytor *Judas*, under Pretence, that the Death of JESUS CHRIST was the Salvation of Mankind: For they imagined, I know not what Powers, Enemies to our Salvation, which would have hindered JESUS CHRIST from ſuffering, had not *Judas* prevented the Effects of their Malice, by delivering his Maſter up to the Jews, who condemned him to Death, from whence ſprung the Salvation of Mankind (*d*). They carried their Preſumption to ſuch a Height as to condemn the Law of *Moſes*, and look upon the GOD of the Old Teſtament, as a Being who had ſown Diſcord in the World, and ſubjected our Nature to a thouſand Calamities; ſo that, in order to be revenged on him, they, in every thing, acted contrary to his Commandments. There was no bodily Uncleanneſs which they did not plunge themſelves into, no Sin they did not think they had a Right to partake of; for, according to their abominable Principles, the way to Salvation was diametrically oppoſite to the Precepts of Holy Scripture; they imagined every ſenſual Pleaſure had ſome Genius preſiding over it, and therefore they never failed, while they were preparing themſelves for any unſeemly Action, to invoke, by Name, the Genius preſiding over the Pleaſures they were going to taſte. When we read theſe things in the Fathers of the Church, one can ſcarce forbear thinking that the Caſe was the ſame with them in reſpect to Heretics, as with the Heathens in reſpect to Chriſtianity. The Heathens imputed to Chriſtianity an hundred Extravagances, and Abominations, that had no Foundation. The firſt who forged theſe Calumnies, were undoubtedly guilty of the blackeſt Malice; but the greateſt part of thoſe who vented them abroad, after they had been ſo maliciouſly ſown, were only guilty of too much Credulity, they believed common Fame, and never troubled themſelves to dive into the bottom of it. Is it more reaſonable to believe, that the Fathers did, with all the Patience requiſite, thoroughly inform themſelves of the real Principles of a Sect, than it is to believe, that thoſe very Men, who held, that JESUS CHRIST, by his Death, was the Saviour of Mankind, ſhould at the ſame time hold, that the beaſtlieſt Pleaſures are the ready way to Paradice? Let who will decide it: I am here no other than a bare Relater. But it muſt be remembered, that there is no Abſurdity of which the Mind of Man is not ſuſceptible; and that, in particular, the Doctrine of many *Genii*, and thoſe good and bad, ſuperior one to the other, and appointed to divers Offices, is agreeable enough to Reaſon [*D*]. The *Cainites* forged a pretended Holy

(*d*) Id. ibid.

This effect had that of *Auguſtus* on *Marc Antony's*: Ὁ δὲ δαίμων τὸν τοῦτο φοβούμενος καὶ γενεὰς ἔχων καὶ ὑπηλὸς ὢν περ ἢ καθ' αὑτὸν, ὑπ' ἐκείνου γίνεται ταπεινότερος· ἐγγίσαντος καὶ ἀγενέστερος (8). *Thy Genius ſtands in awe of his: it is bold and lofty when alone; but at his approach becomes humble and fearful.* And thus we ſee certain Perſons, who, in the Abſence of ſome others, are witty, ſpeak well, and rally finely; but when they are to enter the Liſts with them ſeem much embaraſſed. It was without doubt believed, that they who became Emperors were attended by a Genius of an eminent Order, from whence proceeded thoſe great Honours which were paid to ſuch *Genii* (9). Nations and Cities had likewiſe their particular *Genii* (10). Now as they held that theſe Tutelary Demons preſided over the Birth of thoſe who were to be under their Direction, there wanted but a ſmall Remove to paſs from this Opinion into that of the *Cainites*. The latter only added, that every Genius formed the Body of him he was protect. The *Platoniſts*, I believe, would have been eaſily reconciled to this Opinion, if it had been clearly repreſented to them, that the Formation of a human Body requires the Direction of a very excellent Intelligence. See *Barthius's* Notes upon *Rutilius Numatianus* (11), concerning theſe Tutelar *Genii*. If this Hypotheſis is not abſolutely neceſſary, for aſſigning the Reaſon of an infinite Number of Hiſtorical *Phænomena* (if I may ſo term human Events), 'tis at leaſt the moſt commodious and comprehenſible. The Reader will be leſs ſurprized at this Obſervation, which ſeems foreign, and too much like a Digreſſion, I ſay he will be leſs ſurprized, if he examines diligently the Scope of the following Remark.

(8) Aſtrologus Egyptius ad M. Antonium apud Plutarch. in Antonio, pag. 930.

(9) Dodwell. ibid. pag. 275, & ſeq.

(10) Ibid. pag. 280.

(11) Ad lib. I. Itinerarii, ver. 328, pag. 238, & ſeq.

[*D*] *The Doctrine of many* Genii, —— *is agreeable enough to Reaſon.*] We turn into ridicule the Syſtem of the ancient Heathens, their *Naiades*, their *Oreades*, their *Hamadryads*, &c. and we are much in the right, when we condemn the Worſhip they paid to thoſe Beings; for we know, from the Scripture, that GOD forbad all ſort of Religious Worſhip, which was not addreſſed directly and entirely to himſelf. But if we repreſent to ourſelves human Reaſon left entirely to itſelf, and deſtitute of the Aſſiſtance of Holy Writ, I think it very eaſy to apprehend, that it muſt conceive this vaſt Univerſe as penetrated throughout by a Power exceedingly active, and conſcious of it's own Actions. Now, in order to give ſome Account of ſo many Effects in Nature different from, nay even contrary, to one another, it was neceſſary to imagine, either one ſingle Being diverſifying his Operations according to the diverſity of the Subjects, or elſe an infinite Number of Souls and Intelligences provided each with a certain Employment; ſome having charge of the Sources of Rivers, others of Mountains, others of Woods, *&c.* There were ſome among the Heathens, who, in the Worſhip of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, intended no more than to honour the ſupreme Being, as the Producer of Corn and Wine. Others of them pretended to worſhip that particular Intelligence, who, in the Diſtribution of the Intendencies of the Univerſe, had the care of the Corn Fields and Vineyards aſſigned him. This Foundation being once laid, there is no knowing where to ſtop, the Number of Gods is conſtantly multiplying *in infinitum*: Sacrifices are offered to Fear, to Fevers, to fair Winds, to Tempeſts:

> Taurum Neptuno, Taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo,
> Nigram hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam (12).

(12) Virgil. Æneid. lib. iii. ver. 119.

> *A Bull to* Neptune, *an Oblation due;*
> *Another Bull to bright* Apollo *ſlew;*
> *A Milk white Ewe, the Weſtern Winds to pleaſe;*
> *And one Coal black, to calm the ſtormy Seas.*

There riſes a Hierarchy of innumerable Degrees. The Combinations of Intereſts are infinitely diverſifyed among theſe Intelligences, which tho' inviſible are allowed to be very active Cauſes. If it be

REFLEXIONS upon the Heathen Syſtem of a multitude of Gods.

asked

Holy Scripture (*e*). They had, among other Books, a *Gospel of* Judas, and an *Ascension of St* Paul. In this last, they pretended to have those unspeakable Things which that great Apostle saw and heard, when he was taken up into the third Heaven.

(*e*) Vide Baronium ad Ann. 145, n. 16, & Daneum in August. de Hæres. cap. xviii.

asked me what I mean by this Reflexion so far fetched, I shall answer, I am opening the way for those, who will undertake to defend the Fathers, who stand accused of having imputed to the Heretics an hundred Absurdities which no Body held. 'Tis not so unlikely as one would imagine, that Men, who thought they reasoned well, should admit of many Principles, some good, the others bad, and a perpetual Contrast between Beings of an unequal Power, and different Inclinations. 'Tis a great Error, I must confess, but it presents itself several ways, and it is an easy Matter to fall into it. I am apt to believe, that the *Gnostics*, and such like People, expressed themselves so confusedly, that it is very possible some things may have been honestly charged on them, which they never allowed as Part of their Belief; and yet I am persuaded, that they owned, in the main, those Powers and Principles, which it is said they did. Then, by consequence of Reasoning, after having established this Variety of Powers, they might suppose the *Jewish* Nation governed by a mischievous Being, and pass from thence into all those abominable Impieties ascribed to them, concerning the God of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*... But further, (since we have gone so far) the Belief of Intelligences, charged with different Employs throughout the Universe, is of as large Extent, as the Belief of a Deity: for I believe there never was a People who had any Religion, but thought there were mediate Intelligences. The most subtile Philosophers, he who is called the *Genius of Nature* (13), the most sagacious *Cartesians*, have all acknowledged some. The *Aristotelians* do even at this Day, unawares, imply them in every thing; for they place in each Body a substantial Form, to which belong a certain Number of Qualities, whereby it accomplishes it's Desires (14), repels the Enemy, and preserves itself the best it can in it's Natural State. Is not this to admit in Plants, an Intelligence appointed to make a Part of the Universe vegetate, and operating for that end, under the Direction of the Supream Being? They who deny a Creation, the *Spinozists*, are so far from being able to get clear of these Intelligences, that there is no System whatever, which more necessarily and unavoidably implies them than theirs. This might easily be proved upon them, but that it is not proper in a Book of this Nature. In the System of a Creation, 'tis very difficult to admit of Intelligences prone to Evil, and who, according to the Whimsies of the *Cainites*, preside over sensual Pleasures, like the *Venus* of the Heathens, who, by the Confession even of the *Epicurean* Poet, presided over the Pleasures of Love (15). But from a System that denies any Creation, it necessarily follows, that Evil may exist as well as Good, and that there may be mischievous *Genii* as well as beneficent ones.

Lest I should be thought to have advanced without Grounds, what I just now mentioned of the most able *Cartesians*, I desire the Reader to observe, that he among them who is the greatest Stickler for the simple and general Wills of GOD (16), insinuates evidently, in several Passages throughout his Works, that there is an infinite Number of Occasional Causes which we are unacquainted withal. Now these Occasional Causes are no other than the Wills and Desires of certain Intelligences: They must necessarily be admitted, where the Laws of the Communication of Motion are not capable of producing such or such Effects. This will carry us a great way: 'tis impossible to conceive how those Laws should be sufficient for the Building of a Ship. Every Body will allow that Motion alone, without the Direction of some particular Intelligences, could never produce a Clock: Consequently those Laws are unable to produce the least Plant, or smallest Fruit; for there is more Art in the Construction of a Tree, or a Pomegranate, than in that of a Ship. We must therefore have recourse to the particular Direction of some Intelligence for the Formation of Vegetables, and with much more reason surely for that of Animals. Talk of the Laws of Motion, of Figure, Rest, the Situation of the Particles, as much as you please: This is good, whilst a Man is under Forty Years of Age; but after that, you see the most excellent *Cartesians* confess ingenuously, that they begin to doubt of the Sufficiency of these Principles. They understand then their Categories as they ought (17). 'Tis true, say they, this will serve to make a Tree or a Clock to be what it is: but as Motion alone, by it's general Laws, has not, nor could cause the Parts of the Clock, to acquire the Figure and Position they now have; let it not be thought, that the Parts of a Tree have obtained their Situation and Figure by the meer Laws of Motion. Once more this goes very far, and leads us to a Genius presiding over animated Machines. But are Minerals, and Meteors easily made? Is there not a great Artifice in their Construction? Greater than can be imagined. The School-Men, instead of a Genius, or Intelligence, make use of these Words, *Forma substantialis, & Virtus plastica*, &c. But Words alter nothing.

(13) Aristotle.

A Reflexion upon the substantial Form of the Peripatetics.

(14) *Appetitus* and *Exigentiæ*, and such like, are the ordinary Stile of the Peripatetics, when they speak of the natural Effects of Bodies, either animate or inanimate.

(15) *See* Lucretius's Invocation to Venus, *at the beginning of his Poem.*

An Explication of the Doctrine of some of the Cartesians, concerning the Formation of Bodies.

(16) The Author of *The Search after Truth.*

Bodin has a Passage which shows he allowed of these *Genii*, whose Business was not only to preserve, but even to produce all Sublunary Beings. There is some Consistency in this Supposition; for the best way to engage an Intelligence to protect a corporeal Creature, is to entrust it with the Care of it's Make; I mean, of applying Motion, according to the Ideas it has of the Form of that Creature; as Clock-makers and Architects do. These are *Bodin's* Words, ' Quemadmodum in Republicâ ' bene constitutâ non minus sunt necessarii carnifices, ' lictores, vespillones, quàm Magistratus, ac Judi- ' ces, & Curatores: sic in hâc Republicâ mundanâ ' Deus ipse ad rerum generationem, procurationem, ' ac tutelam Angelos locis omnibus cœlestibus, ele- ' mentaribus, animantibus, stirpibus, fossilibus civi- ' tatibus, provinciis, familiis, singulis hominibus ' Principes, ac Moderatores collocavit; neque hoc ' tantum, sed etiam ministros, lictores, vindices, ul- ' tores locis omnibus dispositi, qui nihil injussi fa- ' ciunt, nec pœnas ullas de hominibus consceleratis ' sumunt, nisi rebus judicatis, & plenè cognitis (18).' ——*As in a well constituted Common-wealth, Executioners, Lictors, and Buriers of the Dead, are no less necessary, than Magistrates, Judges, and Guardians; so in this Common-wealth of the World, GOD himself, for the Generation, Preservation, and safe Guard of all Things, hath every where appointed Angels over all Beings, Heavenly and Elementary, over Animals, Vegetables, Fossils, Cities, Provinces, Families, and every single Man, for Princes and Governours; and not only so, but likewise has placed every where, Ministers, Beadles, Punishers, Avengers, who do nothing without Order, nor inflict any Punishment on wicked Men, without judging and fully knowing their Actions.*'

(17) *They are contained in these two Verses:* Mensa, mensura, quies, motus, positura, figura, Sunt cum materia cunctarum exordia rerum. i. e. *Mind, Measure, Rest, Motion, Position, Figure, and Matter, are the beginnings of all things. Observe the Spiritual Nature, Mens, at the Head of all. It ought to be considered here as a transfundmental Nature, quæ vagatur per omnes categorias.* —— *Which runs thro' all the Categories.*

(18) Bodin in Univ. Naturæ Theatro, lib. v, pag. 631, 632.

CALCHAS, Son of *Thestor* (*a*), attended the *Grecian* Army to *Troy*, in quality of Chief Soothsayer; for in those Days such an Officer was as necessary to an Army as a General. All the World knows he foretold that the Siege of *Troy* would last ten Years, and that the Fleet, detained by contrary Winds in the Port of *Aulis*, would not set sail 'till *Agamemnon* had sacrificed his Daughter to *Diana*. *Homer* makes frequent mention of him, especially in the Quarrel betwixt *Agamemnon* and *Achilles*. It is said, that *Calchas*, after the taking of *Troy*, retired to *Colophon*, where he died of Grief, for that he could not foretel what another

(*a*) *See the* History of *Thestor*, in Hygin. cap. cxc.

another of his Profession, called *Mopsus*, had foretold. We shall speak more fully of this Dispute in the Article of *Mopsus*. Then was that Prediction, mentioned by *Sophocles* (b), accomplished, which imported, that, whenever *Calchas* met with an abler Man in Divination than himself, he would lose his Life. If *Mopsus* had been as little skilled in his Art as that other Soothsayer, who, upon seeing *Calchas* planting a Vine, would needs instruct him, he had not been the Cause of the fulfilling of the Oracle: he would only have made *Calchas* laugh a little too much (c). The Scene of this Adventure lay in the same Place with the Dispute with *Mopsus* [A]. If one may trust *Suidas*, one of the Sibyls was *Calchas*'s Daughter, *viz.* she who was called *Lampusa* [B], to whom he ascribes several Oracles in Verse. He also calls her *Colophonian*.

(b) Apud Strab. lib. xiii, p. 442.

(c) Servius in Eccl. vi, ver. 72.

[A] *The Scene of his Adventure, with the Soothsayer —— lay in the same Place with the Dispute with* Mopsus.] *Viz.* In a Grove consecrated to *Apollo* of *Claros*, near the City of *Colophon*. I cannot conceive why *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, should say it was at *Samos*, *apud Samum* (1). I shall in another Place (2) take notice of their Error in making *Mopsus* the Assailant, whereas the two Authors they quote, *Hesiod* and *Pherecydes*, say, 'twas *Calchas* (3). *Calepin* committed the same Mistake.

(1) *In* Calepin, *it is* apud Fanum.

(2) In the Article MOPSUS, Remark [E].

(3) Apud Strabon. lib. xiii, pag. 442.

[B] Suidas *says, one of the Sybils was* Calchas's *Daughter, viz she who was called* Lampusa.] The ingenious Mr *Mussard* (4) has given us the Portrait of this Daughter of *Calchas*, in the Two hundred and twenty fifth Page of his *Historia Deorum fatidicorum*. The Inscription under it makes her *Calchas*'s Daughter, and Priestess of *Apollo*. The Discourse, which accompanies the Figure, tells us there were many Prophecies of the Sibyl *Lampusa*. *Strabo* is quoted for it; but it ought to have been *Suidas*. Mr *Blondel* (5) has criticized upon *Suidas*, under pretence, that *Calchas* being an *European*, there is no reason to think his Daughter should be of *Colophon*. This is an Objection of no force: for the Sibyls did not always prefer the Name of the Place, where they were born, to that where they established themselves to deliver Oracles. Besides, why might not *Calchas* probably fix himself in some *Asian* City, after the Siege of *Troy*?

(4) He was a Native of *Geneva*, and died Minister of the *French* Church at *London*. See *Duchert. de Scriptis Adespotis, pag.* 397, *of the* Amsterdam *Edition*, 1686.

(5) Blondel's Treatise of the *Sibyls*, pag. 37.

CALDERINUS (JOHN), Professor of the Civil-Law at *Bologna*, where he was born, and where he died about the middle of the XVIth Century. See, above, the Article ANDREAS (JOHN) (a).

(a) Remark [B].

CALDERINUS (DOMITIUS) taught polite Learning, with great Reputation, in *Rome*, towards the latter end of the XVth Century. He was born at *Calderia*, near *Verona* (a). He was a self-conceited Critic, and treated his Adversaries too rudely (b) [A]: Besides, he was a Man of no Religion [B]. He thought Impudence and Cunning the only way to preserve the Reputation he had in the World for his Learning [C]. He died very young [D]; in the Year 1477 (c). The *Roman*

(a) Jovius Elog. cap. xxi.

(b) Ibid.

(c) Trithem. apud Gesn. in Biblioth.

[A] *He treated his Adversaries too rudely.*] This we have from *Paulus Jovius*. 'Peracerbas, *saith he* (1), sed juventuti maximè utiles cum æmulis simultates exercuit. Ambitiosa quidem, & nimis aculeato dicendi genere, ex alienâ insciliâ (dum intemperanter perstringit atque remordet) nomen quærens. —— *He kept up very sharp Feuds of Emulation, which are of great Benefit to young People. Indeed, by lashing and reflecting too severely, he sought to build his Reputation on the Ignorance of others, in too conceited and satirical a Manner.*' His Friend *Volaterranus* could not but own him guilty of this Fault. 'Hujus ego quanquam eam familiaris vitium unicum livoris atque obtrectationis in omnes pene doctos non præteribo, dignus præterea, ut de Cœlio Quintilianus ait, vitâ longiore, ac ingenio meliore (2). —— *Though he was my Friend, I must not conceal his only Fault of ill Nature, and Censoriousness, towards Men of Learning in general; so that, as* Quintilian *said of* Cœlius, *he deserved a longer Life, and sweeter Temper.*' *Latomus* plays upon him for it in an Epitaph of *Calderinus*. See *Jovius*

(1) Jov. Elog. cap. xxi.

(2) Volat. lib. xxi, pag. 777.

—— caput languet
Adhuc misello tinniens, ob illas quas
Convitiorum propè muliebrium pugnas
Pro literis plusquam virilliter gessit:
Humanitatis haud ferentibus Musis
Decus tam inepte turpiterque proscindi (3).

(3) Latomus apud Jovium, ibid.

—— *The Head-Ach,*
And ringing of the Ears, are the Effects
Of his almost effeminate Scandal and Quarrels,
Which he intermixed with more than manly Learning:
To the Displeasure of the Muses, who did not take it well
To be so rudely stript of the Ornament of Humanity.

[B] *He was a Man of no Religion.*] He went as seldom to Mass as he could possibly, and whenever he went, for Company sake, at the Solicitation of his Friends, *Come*, said he, *let us go see the Public Error. Domitius Calderinus ne missam quidem volebat audire, & quum ab amicis eo duceretur dixisse fertur, eamus ad communem errorem* (4). Which gave *Politian* an occasion for this Epigram.

(4) Lud. Vives de Veritate Fidei, lib. ii, pag. 264, 265.

Audit Marsilius Missam: missam facis illam
Tu, Domiti, magis est religiosus uter;
Quis dubitet? tanto es tu religiosior illo
Quanto audire minus est bona quam facere.

I have seen some Books of Controversy composed by Protestants, wherein *Calderinus* has his Place among the Witnesses of the Truth, *viz.* among those enlightened Persons, who, in the midst of Popery, could discern the Abuses of the *Roman* Communion. A very worthy Witness indeed!

[C] *He thought Impudence and Cunning the only way to preserve the Reputation he had —— for Learning.*] See what *Politian* tells us. 'Auctoritatis tam magnæ fuit, at Romæ inter Professores juvenis adhuc primam sibi celebritatem vindicaverit: cujus tuendæ ac retinendæ gratia factum compluries putamus, ut in suis operibus frontem perfricuerit, & per æqua per iniqua famam captans parum ex fide quæpiam retulerit; nonnulla etiam male solers, & præstigiosus, speciem quidem primorem veri habentia magno credentium dispendio sententiis ignorabilibus implicuerit, & pulverem, quod aiunt, oculis offuderit: aut sicubi major difficultas nec absistens nec congrediens spem lectoris eluserit. Ita dum nescire se nihil probare contendit, etiam Parthis aliquoties & Cretensibus mendacior inventus (5). —— *He was in so great Esteem, that, while he was but a young Man, he held the first Rank among the Professors at* Rome: *In order to support which, we often find him, in his Works, making use of the highest Assurance, and greatest Unfaithfulness, like one who pursues Fame*

(5) Polit. Miscellan. cap. ix.

by

Roman Academy buried him magnificently, all his Scholars assisting at the Funeral in Mourning (*d*). There are extant several of his Comments upon the Ancients, he being the first who attempted the difficult Poets [*E*]. He died rich, and was Apostolic Secretary, as *Volaterranus* says (*e*).

(*d*) Jovius, Elog. cap. xxi.

(*e*) Volater. Comm. Urban. lib. xxi, p. 777.

' *by all Methods right or wrong: Some things also,* ' *which had an Appearance of Truth at first sight, he* ' *with great Art and Cunning would disguise with* ' *his obscure Interpretations, so as to mislead the* ' *credulous, and, as they say, throw dust in their* ' *Eyes: or in more difficult Subjects, by neither giv-* ' *ing them up, nor engaging about them, he would* ' *disappoint the Expectations of the Reader. So that* ' *while he endeavoured to prove he knew every thing,* ' *he would advance Falsities far beyond those of the* ' Cretes *and* Parthians.' There can be no better Description given of an impudent Boaster. Whenever this Man saw himself embarrassed in any great Difficulty, he would neither fight nor yield. This puts me in mind of the Knavery of some Informers, who will neither retract nor make good their Accusation.

[*D*] *He died very young.*] At Thirty Years of Age, if *Leander Albertus* (6), and *Volaterranus* (7) may be credited. *Boissieu* saith at Thirty four (8): but since he observes that *Domitius* writ a Comment upon *Ovid's Ibis*, in 1495, he should not have said that this Critic died so young: for it is impossible that a Man, who published a Commentary in 1474 (9), should write another upon *Ovid's Ibis* in 1495, and yet be but Thirty four Years old when he died. He died of the Plague, as some say (10); but, as others, of a continual Fever, after having ruined his Constitution by too much Study. ' Ætate laudeque florentem, sed imbecilli stomachi temperaturam nimiis ' lucubrationibus exterentem, quum digna multis ' seculis opera conciperet, rapida febris eripuit (11).

(6) Leand. Albert. in descriptione Italiæ, pag. 322.

(7) Volat. lib. xxi, pag. 777.

(8) Boiss. in Ibim, pag. 2.

(9) Gesner says that Calderinus's Notes upon Juvenal came out in 1474.

(10) Volat. ibid.

(11) Jovius, Elog. cap. xxi.

I have often wondered at the ill Custom of Writers of Elogies: They frequently forget the Year the deceased was born in, and that in which he died, with many other such Chronological Points. I have searched into the Cause of it, and find it cannot be the Love of Brevity, which occasions this Omission (for one Sheet of Paper would contain five or six hundred Dates of this Nature), but downright Idleness; they cannot call to mind these Circumstances, and will not take the Pains to inform themselves about them.

[*E*] *He was the first who attempted to comment on the difficult Poets.*] *Volaterranus* asserts it: ' Acri ' vir ingenio, *saith he* (12), PRIMUS qui hoc tempore ' Poetas duriusculos diligentius cœperit enarrare, & ' in eos commentarios edere admodum juvenis. — ' *A Man of a penetrating Judgment, the* FIRST ' *who at that time undertook to explain more care-* ' *fully the obscurer Poets, and publish Commentaries* ' *upon them, while he was yet a young Man.*' *Calderinus* himself, in his Preface to *Statius*, says, ' Incidi in libros 5. Silvarum Papinii Statii, opus ' granditate heroicâ sublime, argumento varium, ' doctrinâ remotissimum, quod nemo ante nos aut ' ausus est aut potuit attingere. — *I happened upon* Papinius Statius's Silvæ, *in five Books, a very* ' *sublime heroic Work, of great Variety of Subject,* ' *and Difficulty of Doctrine, which no body before* ' *me durst or could attempt.*' This Work came out in the Year 1475 (13): See *Barthius*'s Commendation of it (14).

(12) Volat. ubi supra.

(13) Barthius in Statium, Tom. I, pag. 483.

(14) Id. ibid.

CALENUS (OLENUS), the greatest Soothsayer of his Time, in all *Etruria*. He had like to have put a Trick upon the *Roman* Embassadors in an Affair of the greatest Importance, if his Son had not taught them the necessary Precautions. *Tarquin the Proud* ordered him to be consulted upon a Prodigy: In digging the Foundations of a Temple he was going to build to *Jupiter*, on the *Tarpeian* Mount, a human Head was found. He thought he ought to proceed no farther without consulting what this might presage. He sent for the Soothsayers of his own Kingdom; but they told him it was beyond their Art to explain, and that he must address himself to the Prophets of *Etruria*. They named to him the most famous, to whom *Tarquin* immediately sent his Deputies. *Calenus*, understanding that this Prodigy betokened an extraordinary good Fortune, endeavoured to deprive the *Romans* of this glorious Advantage, and to secure it in favour of *Etruria*. He had gained his Ends, had not the Deputies, forewarned of his Intentions, carefully avoided being misled in their Answers to his Interrogations (*a*) [*A*]. I shall explain this curious Particular in a Remark.

(*a*) Taken out of Dionysius Halicarnasseus, lib. iv, cap. lxvi, lxvii; and Pliny, lib. xxviii, cap. ii, pag. 558.

[*A*] *He had gained his Ends in deceiving the* Romans, *had not their Deputies —— avoided being misled in their Answers to his Interrogations.*] *Pliny* mentions this, to prove that one Word is sufficient to change Fate. Here is the whole Passage: ' Multi ' vero (Auctores sunt) magnarum rerum fata & ' ostenta verbis permutari. Cum in Tarpeio fodientes delubro fundamenta, caput humanum invenisset, missis ob id a se legatis, Etruriæ celeberrimus ' vates Olenus Calenus præclarum id fortunatumque ' cernens, interrogatione in suam gentem transferre ' tentavit, scipione prius de terminata templi imagine ' in solo ante se: HOC ERGO DICITIS ROMANI? ' HIC TEMPLUM JOVIS OPTIMI MAXIMI FUTURUM EST; HIC CAPUT INVENIMUS: constantissima Annalium affirmatione, transiturum fuisse fatum in Etruriam, ni præmoniti a filio vatis legati ' Romani respondissent: NON PLANE HIC, SED ' ROMÆ INVENTUM CAPUT DICIMUS (1). The Example is very home. Here is a Man's Head discovered in the Foundation of the Capitol. They had dug a great Depth before they met with this Prodigy, the Head of a Man, just killed, still warm and bloody (2). Men, less superstitious than the Heathens, would have found a Mystery in this. It was really an Omen, that the Place, where that Head had been dug up, would, in time, become the Head of all *Italy* (3); but, by a sophistical Juggle, the Privilege, allotted by the Destinies to that Place, might be transferred to another; and if *Tarquin*'s Messengers had forgot to name *Rome*, and the *Tarpeian* Mount, when the Soothsayer asked them, *Is it not here the Prodigy was found?* they had lost the Command of *Italy*, and the Omen had been turned to the Advantage of the *Etrurians*. *Calenus* endeavoured to put a Trick upon them; for after they had informed him of the Nature of the Question, he drew with his Staff a Circle upon the Ground, and drawing a right Line towards the East, Here, said he to the Messengers, stands Mount *Tarpeius*; here is the East, there the South, there the North, and here the West; Is it here, or is it there, the Head of a Man was found? If they had answered, it is *here*, the Advantages, promised by Fate, had passed over to the *Etrurians*, and the Place where *Calenus* stood would have been the Seat of the *Italian* Monarchy. But the Deputies were upon their Guard, and constantly answered, *It is not here this Head was found, but in the* Tarpeian *Mount in* Rome. *Calenus*'s Son had before given them this Caution: My Father, said he, will tell you the Meaning of this Prodigy without any Falsehood; for a Lie is not allowable in his Profession; but take particular care how you answer his Questions. Behold a fine Piece of Morality: Here is a Prophet who made Conscience of telling a Lie, in the Interpretation of a Prodigy; but never found the least remorse in laying Snares for those, who came to consult him, and deceiving them by Equivocations and captious Questions.

(1) Plin. lib. xxviii, cap. ii, pag. 558.

(2) Dionys. Halicarn. lib. iv, cap. lxvi, p. 247.

(3) Id. ibid. cap. lxviii, pag. 248.

It is no wonder the Heathens believed a Fatality attending certain inanimate Things; for since the Idea they had of God did not exclude any Imperfection, they were not confined from attributing to their Deities any Caprice whatever. They might therefore believe them capable of fetting their Affection upon an Image, a Shield, *&c. i. e.* of granting certain Favours to any Nation, which should be successively poſſeſſed of that Image or Shield, *&c.* But this Combination of the Deſtinies is incompatible with the Grandeur of a Sovereign Being acting immediately. The Occaſional Cauſes of the *Carteſians* might afford ſome ſort of Solution in caſe of Neceſſity. But however this may hold with the *Palladium* of *Troy*, or *Numa's Angile*, we have in this Affair of the Capitol a particular Abſurdity; for is it poſſible to imagine that a Benefactor, how capricious ſoever he be, ſhould change his Reſolutions through the frivolous Subtleties of a Soothſayer? He is pleaſed to give the Empire of *Italy* to that City, where a Man's Head ſhould be found under the Earth: You are of that City, and ingenuouſly tell the Soothſayers in another Place, who ſhow you the Figure of your Country, *Here is the Place where the Head was found*; from this Moment, you have loſt your Prerogative, and the *Italian* Empire is tranſlated from you to that Place. What can be more monſtrous? I make no doubt but *Pliny*, at the bottom of his Heart, laughed at theſe Fopperies; yet he reports them in a very ſerious Manner: (4) Plin. lib. xxviii, cap. ii, pag. 558.

' Hæc ſatis ſint, *ſaith he* (4), exemplis ut appareat,
' oſtentorum vires & in noſtra poteſtate eſſe, ac prout
' quæque accepta ſint, ita valere. —— *Let this be*
' ſufficient to ſhew, by Example, that the Effects of
' Prodigies are in our own Power, and take place
' juſt as they are underſtood.'

CALIGULA (Caius Cæsar), Emperor of *Rome*, ſucceeded *Tiberius*, *Anno Chriſti* 37. He was the Son of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, and degenerated in ſo abominable a manner, that he made even the Reign of his Predeceſſor lamented (*a*): This is ſaying every thing. They who have affirmed that Nature made choice of him, in order to convince the World how far it could extend it's Power on the wrong Side [*A*], have judged very right. There is great Reaſon to believe, that a ſuperiour Force, I mean a Phyſical Cauſe, encreaſed the moral Depravity of this Emperor [*B*]. The Philtre they gave him, deprived him in a manner

(*a*) Sceleratiſſimus ac funeſtiſſimus & qui etiam Tiberii dedecora purgaverit. *Eutropius, lib.* vii.

[*A*] *Nature made choice of him, in order to convince the World how far it could extend it's Power on the wrong ſide.*] So have I taken the Liberty to tranſlate theſe Words of *Seneca* (1). ' C Cæſar
' quem mihi videtur rerum natura (2) ediditſe ut
' oſtenderet quid ſumma vitia in fortuna poſſent.
What he ſaith in another Place, is altogether as emphatical; Nature, ſaith he, produced him to the Diſgrace and Ruin of Mankind: ' Non poſſum ——
' hunc præterire ex omni Cæſarum numero exer-
' pendum, quem rerum natura in exitium oppro-
' briumque humani generis edidit (3).'

(1) Seneca de Conſolat. ad Helviam, cap. ix, pag. 779.

(2) *The very reverſe of* Scipio Africanus, *of whom* Val. Maximus, lib. vi, cap. ix, n. 2, *thus ſpeaks*: Quem Dii immortales naſci voluerunt ut eſſet in quo ſe virtus per omnes numeros hominibus efficaciter oſtenderet —— *Whom the Gods produced as a perfect Pattern of Virtues.*

(3) Seneca de Conſolat. ad Polybium, cap. xxxvi, pag. 732.

[*B*] *A Phyſical Cauſe encreaſed the moral Depravity of this Emperor.*] Fools and Madmen have a Privilege to ſin with Impunity, at leaſt in regard to human Laws. For they do not hang up a diſtracted Wretch, who breaks his Chains, and murders the firſt Man he meets with? The moſt violent Enemies to all Revolutions of States in general, in which lawful Sovereigns are depoſed, allow it to be neceſſary, when the Wickedneſs of the Prince is incorrigible; or, which amounts to the ſame thing, when it proceeds from a Diſorder of the Organs, from ſome Bodily Diſtemper, or, in one Word, from ſome Phyſical Cauſe. The Queſtion is, Whether *Caligula's* Fury was of this Nature. It is very likely that the Philtre, they gave him, added to his natural Perverſeneſs, and raiſed it to a Fierceneſs mechanical and irreſiſtible, if I may be allowed, upon this Occaſion, to make uſe of a Term conſecrated to the Efficacy of Grace. *Juvenal* attributes *Caligula's* bloody Phrenſies to the Malignity of this Philtre:

- - - - - - tamen hoc tolerabile, ſi non
Et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis,
Cui totam tremuli frontem Cæſonia pulli
Infudit. Quæ non faciet, quod principia uxor?
Ardebant cuncta, & fracta compage ruebant,
Non aliter, quam ſi feciſſet Juno maritum
Inſanum. Minus ergo nocens erit Agrippinæ
Boletus: ſiquidem unius præcordia preſſit
Ille ſenis, tremulumque caput deſcendere juſſit
In cœlum, & longâ manantia labra ſaliva.
Hæc poſcit ferrum, atque ignes, hæc potio torquet,
Hæc lacerat mixtos equitum cum ſanguine patres (4).

(4) Juven. Sat. vi, ver. 614.

Some nimble Juice would make him foam and rave,
Like that Cæſonia *to her* Caius *gave,*
Who, plucking from the Forehead of the Foal
His Mother's Love, infuſed it in the Bowl.
The boiling Blood ran hiſſing in his Veins,
'Till the mad Vapour mounted to his Brains:
The Thunderer was not half ſo much on Fire,
When Juno's *Girdle kindled his Deſire.*
What Women wou'd not uſe the poiſ'ning Trade,
When Cæſar's *Wife the Precedent has made?*
Let Agrippina's *Muſhrooms be forgot,*
Giv'n to a ſlavering old unuſeful Sot,
That only clos'd the driveling Dotard's Eyes,
And ſent his Godhead downward to the Skies.
But this fierce Potion calls for Fire and Sword,
Nor ſpares the Commons, when it ſtrikes the Lord.

Dryden.

Suetonius not only ſays, that this Philtre made him mad, but attributes the contrary Paſſions, with which he was diſtracted, to a Diſtemper of the Mind. He obſerves, that this Prince reſted but little, and that a thouſand extravagant Viſions perſecuted him in his Sleep. ' Mentis valetudinem &
' ipſe ſenſerat: ac ſubinde de ſeceſſu deque purgando
' cerebro cogitavit. Creditur potionatus à Cæſonia
' uxore, amatorio quidem medicamento, ſed quod
' in furorem verterit. Incitabatur in ſomnia maxime:
' neque enim plus quam tribus nocturnis horis quieſcebat: ac ne his quidem placidâ quiete, ſed pavida miris rerum imaginibus: ut qui inter cæteras, pelagi quondam ſpeciem colloquentem ſecum
' videre viſus ſit. Ideoque magna parte noctis vigiliæ cubandique tædio, nunc toro reſidens, nunc
' per longiſſimas porticus vagus, invocare identidem
' atque exſpectare lucem conſueverat. Non immerito mentis valetudini attribuerim diverſiſſima in eodem vitia, ſummam confidentiam, & contra nimium metum (5). —— *He himſelf obſerved his Head*
' was out of Order, and had now and then ſome
' Thoughts of keeping within, and purging his Brain.
' It was believed his Wife Cæſonia *had given him a*
' Love Potion, which had diſtracted him. He was
' much troubled with Dreams; and never ſlept above
' three Hours in a Night: nor then quietly, but terri-
' fied with ſtrange Repreſentations; having once,
' among other inſtances of that Kind, fancied him-
' ſelf converſing with the Sea. So that being tired
' with lying awake great Part of the Night, he
' uſed ſometimes to ſit right up in his Bed, and ſome-
' times to get up and walk about his Galleries, im-
' patiently wiſhing for and expecting the Light. I
' think it but juſt to aſcribe to a diſtempered Brain,
' his contrary Exceſſes of Boldneſs and Cowardice.' I confeſs that *Tiberius*, who, being a very wicked Man himſelf, but withal as great a Hypocrite, was very capable of judging of the wicked Inclinations of another, foretold that *Caligula* would prove a Plague to Mankind (6). I do not deny therefore, but that *Caligula* was naturally of a very pernicious Diſpoſition; but he might have been able to conceal and correct

(5) Suetonius in Calig. cap. l.

(6) Quod ſæpiſſimus ſenex ita prorſus perſpexerat ut aliquoties prædiceret, exitio ſuo omnium que Caium vivere & ſe matricem (ſerpentis id genus) populo Romano, Phaetontem orbi terrarum educare. *Id. cap. xi.*

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manner of his Free-Will: So that, if the *Romans* had even depoſed him in Form, I do not know what Advantage the Enemies to Monarchy could have drawn from ſuch a Proceeding. The Corruption of his Soul appeared very early; for he was but yet a Boy, when he was ſurprized in the Act of Inceſt with one of his Siſters (*b*) [*C*]. He debauched them all, and kept one of them publickly, as his Wife [*D*]. But as we ought to do Juſtice to all the World, I muſt needs ſay, I think they do him wrong, who accuſe him of Inceſt with his own Daughter [*E*]. He was as great a Blaſphemer as ever lived. Like the Devil, he believed there was a GOD, and trembled; and yet vented moſt abominable Blaſphemies againſt the Deity [*F*]. He arrogantly uſurped all Divine Honours,

(*b*) See the Remark [*B*], of the Article DRUSILLA (JULIA).

correct it, had it not been for *Cæſonia*'s Drug. The beginning of his Reign was wonderful, and no Man ever acted a Part better than he did under *Tiberius*. ‘Omnibus inſidiis tentatus elicientium cogentiumque ſe ad querelas, nullam unquam occaſionem dedit, perinde obliterato ſuorum caſu ac ſi nihil cuiquam accidiſſet: quæ vero ipſe pateretur, incredibili diſſimulatione tranſmittens. Tantique in avum, & qui juxta erant, obſequii, ut non immerito ſit dictum: nec ſervum meliorem ullum, nec deteriorem dominum fuiſſe. Naturam tamen ſævam atque probroſam, &c (7). —— *He diſappointed all the Stratagems which were uſed, in all kinds, to provoke his Reſentment, by taking no more notice of the Injuries done to his Friends, than if nothing had happened to them, and putting up thoſe committed againſt himſelf with incredible Diſſimulation. He was ſo exactly obſequious to his Grandfather, and thoſe about him; that it has been juſtly ſaid of him, There never was a better Servant, nor worſe Maſter. Yet his natural Temper was cruel and abuſive*, &c. Which ſhows, that though, on certain occaſions, he diſcovered the Fierceneſs of his Temper, yet he could be Maſter of himſelf, and govern his Paſſions by his Reaſon, whenever he had a Mind to it. If we enquire into his Conduct after this, we ſhall find in it the Symptoms of a Diſtemper, and the Marks of a Madman.

(7) Ib. Ibid. cap. x.

[*C*] *He was yet but a Boy, when he was ſurprized in the Act of Inceſt with one of his Siſters.*] See, above (8), the Article of ANTONIA: You will there find in the Margin (9). *Suetonius*'s Words which prove this Fact; as you will likewiſe in the following Remark.

(8) Page. 250.

(9) Citation (9).

[*D*] *He kept one of his Siſters publickly as his Wife.*] He had three Siſters, who all paſſed thro' his Hands: but *Druſilla* was always his Favourite: it was with her his Grandmother *Antonia* ſurprized him in the Fact, and it is ſhe we mean in the Text of this Remark. The Sorrow he expreſſed at her Death, and the Divine Honours he ordered to be paid her (10), are not the leaſt Extravagancies of his Life. As for his other Siſters, he proſtituted them to his *Catamites*; and afterwards puniſhed them under the Pretence of Treaſon and Adultery: ‘Cum omnibus ſororibus ſuis ſtupri conſuetudinem fecit, plenoque convivio ſingulas infra ſe viciſſim collocabat uxore ſupra cubante. Ex his Druſillam vitiaſſe virginem prætextatus adhuc creditur, atque etiam in concubitu ejus quondam deprehenſus ab avia Antonia apud quam ſimul educabantur. Mox Lucio Caſſio Longino conſulari collocatam abduxit, & in modum juſtæ uxoris propalam habuit. Hæredem quoque bonorum atque imperii æger inſtituit. --- Reliquas ſorores nec cupiditate tanta nec dignatione dilexit, ut quas ſæpe exoletis ſuis poſtraverit. Quo facilius eas in causâ Æmilii Lepidi condemnavit quaſi adulteras, & inſidiarum adverſus ſe conſcias (11).

(10) See Sueton. in Calig. cap. x, Senec. Conſolat ad Polyb. c. xvii, lib. lix, pag. 744; Dion ad Ann. Urb. 791.

(11) Suet. in Caligula, cap. xxiv.

[*E*] *I think they do him wrong, who accuſe him of Inceſt with his Daughter.*] ‘He ſatisfied ‘his Lewdneſs with his own Siſters; and to appear yet more prodigiouſly inceſtuous, he debauched a Daughter he had by one of them.’ This is what we find in the Abbot *de Marolles*'s Tranſlation of *Eutropius*; but I fear he did not rightly underſtand the Original. Theſe are *Eutropius*'s own Words: *Stupra ſororibus intulit, ex una etiam natam filiam cognovit* (12). I am very much miſtaken if the true Senſe of thoſe Words be not this; *He converſed inceſtuouſly with his Siſters, and even owned himſelf Father of a Daughter which one of them was delivered of.* I am very ſenſible that the *Latin* Phraſe *cognoſcere fœminam*, may be proved, by Examples, to ſignify ſometimes *the enjoying a Woman*; but, beſides that theſe Inſtances are rare, I cannot ſee any appearance why *Eutropius*, on ſuch an Occaſion, ſhould uſe it in that Senſe. That was not a proper Place for ſuch deceit and ambiguous Expreſſions: he had uſed the Word *ſtuprum*, ſpeaking of a Brother with his Siſter, and would ſurely, in the ſame Sentence, never have mentioned a Father with his Daughter in more palliating Terms. With *Caſaubon*'s (13) leave, I find no grounds for it. I add, that the uſual Signification of *cognoſcere* gives a good Senſe to *Eutropius*'s Words; for it was a new Degree of Impudence, to own, for his Daughter, a Child he had by his own Siſter. ‘To conceal an inceſtuous Commerce is paying ſome Regard to the Public; which is proportionably greater or leſs, according as that Commerce is made more or leſs a Secret: but to own, and father, the Children which are the Fruit of ſuch Commerce, is defying the whole World.’ I do not object to Mr *de Marolles*, that *Caligula* was never reproached with the debauching his own Daughter; for my Conſtruction of *Eutropius* is no more founded upon other Hiſtorians, than his Tranſlation. *Eutropius* is the only one I know, who takes notice of this Acknowledgment or Inceſt; which makes me very much ſuſpect the Truth of his Obſervation. An Emperor, who died before he was Twenty nine Years old, had a Daughter by his own Siſter, grown up to Years of Maturity, and ſhe alſo debauched by him, or boldly, and without reſerve, owned by him for his Daughter from her Cradle, is a thing too extraordinary to be taken notice of only by *Eutropius*.

(12) Eutr. lib. vii, in Caligula.

(13) He takes the Word in the ſame Senſe with Mr *de Marolles*. See his Notes on *Sueton. in Calig. cap.* xxiv. *Conrad Dieterius in Vita Calig. pag.* 29, does ſo too.

Obſerve that, according to all Appearance, his firſt Commerce with his Siſters did not begin 'till after he went into his Grandmother's Family; and being at that time eighteen Years old (14), it is impoſſible he could have a Daughter from that Inceſt grown to Years of Maturity before his Death. If it be urged, that *cognoſcere* is not ſo proper a Word for the Senſe I underſtand it in, as *agnoſcere* (15); I anſwer, *Eutropius* is not an Author of ſo very great Exactneſs of Stile.

(14) See Remark [*B*], of the Article DRUSILLA (JULIA).

(15) *See* Pitiſcus, in Suet. in Jul. cap. iii, n. 9.

[*F*] *He believed there was a GOD, and trembled; and yet vented Blaſphemies ---- againſt the Deity.*] Here is a Paſſage of *Calvin*, which it will not be amiſs to cite. ‘Nemo in audaciorem, aut effrænatiorem numinis contemptum prorupiſſe legitur quam C. Caligula: nemo tamen miſerius trepidavit cum ullquod iræ divinæ indicium ſe proferebat: ita Deum quem ſtudebat ex profeſſo contemnere invitus exhorreſcebat (16). ---- *We no where read of a more preſumptuous and daring Contemner of the Deity than* C. Caligula: *and yet no Body betrayed more wretched Inſtances of Fear on the leaſt Appearance of divine Vengeance: So that he could not avoid dreading the very* GOD *he took ſuch Pains to defy.*’ This is founded upon *Suetonius*: He tells us, that the ſame *Caligula*, who pretended ſo great a Contempt of the Gods, crept under his Bed whenever he heard a loud Clap of Thunder. *Qui Deos tantopere contemneret ad minima tonitrua & fulgura connivere, caput obvolvere, ad vero majora proripere ſe è ſtrato ſub lectumque condere ſolebat* (17). But we muſt obſerve, he was not always ſo timorous: ſometimes he affected to be even with *Jupiter*, both as to his Thunder and Bolt: with the Noiſe of his Machines he would anſwer that of his Thunder, and when the Bolt was diſcharged from the Clouds, he would throw up Stones towards Heaven, and cry out to the Thunderer, *Either thou ſhalt take me out of the World,*

(16) Calv. Inſtit. lib. i, cap. i.

(17) Suet. in Caligula, cap. li.

Honours [G], nor was there any one Crime which he made a Conſcience of committing (c). The laſt of his four Wives was called *Cæſonia*; ſhe was neither young nor handſome, and yet he loved her paſſionately; though ſometimes, in the midſt of his Careſſes, he gave her ſome Proofs of his cruel, barbarous Temper [H]. He had, by her, one Daughter, who periſhed with her Father and Mother, in *Caſſius Chærea*'s Conſpiracy (d). *Anno Chriſti* 41. *Lollia Paulina*, another of his Wives, was never married to *Caius Cæſar*, the Son of *Agrippa*, as the learned *Uſher* has imagined (e) [I]. *Philo* mentions a Thought of *Caligula*, well worth conſidering [K]. *Seneca* wonders how this Emperor could inſult others, by his Railleries, while

(c) See an Account of his Cruelty, in *Seneca de Ira*, lib. iii, cap. xviii, xix.

(d) See the Article CASSIUS.

(e) Annal. Tom. II, Ann. 4003.

World, or I thee. Talis te Gorgalis ex machinis turbo diverberet, talis desuetis dehiscens terra, talis obscuro calamitosi lucis horror absorbeat, talis ille fulgurator calcatusque Jupiter, si quotiens tonat, quia me occidit, ego te. Machinam babebat qua tonitrubus obstreperet, ac contra fulgura fulgurabat, ac quoties fulmen decidisset lapidem ejaculabatur, semper Homericum illud addens, Tollito me, vel ego Te (18). *Torrentius* will have it, that theſe are rather the Words of a fearful than of a daring Perſon; and immediately cites *Suetonius*'s Account of *Caligula*'s Fear of Thunder: *Non tam comminantis quam timentis eſt etiam, aut me occide, aut ego te. Expaviſſe autem Caium fulmina auctor eſt Suetonius* (19). But this ſeems forced and unnatural. The Terms in queſtion can never be ſuppoſed to come from a Coward; they contain a bloody Challenge, from one reſolved to fight it out to the laſt drop, and neither give nor receive quarter. *Seneca* has very clearly explained it (20); 'Ad pugnam vocavit 'Jovem, & quidem ſine miſſione, Homericum illum exclamans verſum (21). - - - *He challenged* 'Jupiter, *very madly, repeating that Verſe of* 'Homer (21).' Another of his Impieties was, that at high Noon-Day he would approach *Jupiter*'s Statue in the Capitol, that he might ſeem to converſe with that Deity. Sometimes he would ſpeak to him aloud, ſometimes ſoftly whiſper into his Ear; and then, in his turn, he would put his Ear to *Jupiter*'s Mouth. This Converſation never paſſed without high Words. One day he was heard to threaten *Jupiter* to ſend him back into *Greece*, εἰς γαῖαν Δαναΐδων πατρὸς σε. He boaſted that *Jupiter*, by ſubmiſſive Prayers, had prevented the Effects of this Menace, and obtained the Favour of being lodged with him; for which Reaſon, ſaid he, I have built a Bridge between my Palace and the Capitol (22).

(18) Dio, lib. lix, pag. 761. *See alſo* Senec. de Ira, lib. i, cap. xvi.

(19) Torrent. in Suet. Cal. cap. xxii.

(20) Seneca de Ira, lib. i, cap. xvi.

(21) It is the 724th, of the 23d of the Iliad. *Ajax* ſpeaks the Words to *Ulyſſes*, in wreſtling with him: but not in a bloody Senſe.

(22) Suet. in Cal. cap. xxii.

[G] *He arrogantly uſurped all divine Honours.*] He would very often get in between the Statues of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, where he would receive the Adoration of all Comers. He built himſelf a Temple, where were daily ſacrificed to him the choiceſt Animals (23). Once he ſaid he was *Jupiter*, and added, that for this Reaſon he had lain with ſo many Women, and with his own Siſters. Another time he was *Juno*, *Diana*, *Venus*, *Bacchus*, and cloathed himſelf in the Habits of every one of thoſe Divinities (24). He cauſed a College of Prieſts to be founded for himſelf, of which his Wife *Cæſonia* and his Uncle *Claudius* were Members: None but the wealthier ſort were admitted into it, and who paid a great Price for that Dignity. He had a mind to be his own Prieſt, and for that Reaſon became one of that College; and he admitted alſo his Horſe (25).

(23) Id. Ibid. *See alſo* Dion. lib. lix, p. 761.

(24) Dion. Ibid. pag. 759.

(25) Id. p. 761.

[H] *He loved* Cæſonia *paſſionately; tho' ſometimes, in the midſt of his Careſſes, he gave ſome Proofs of his cruel Temper.*] This Paſſage of *Balzac* will ſerve as a Commentary upon theſe Words. 'Thoſe Beauties, *ſays he* (26), who are beloved 'by Tyrants, are not ſafe. - - - - *Poppæa* was firſt '*Nero*'s Miſtreſs, then his Wife, and always his 'Governeſs: ſhe had ſubdued, and tamed this 'Monſter, and yet he broke looſe from her in the 'end; and in one paſſionate Moment killed her 'by a Kick on the Belly. His Uncle *Caius* was 'not ſo rough with *Cæſonia*; however, in the 'very height of his Love, theſe were, amorous Ex'preſſions: *This fine Head of your's ſhall be chopt* 'off, *as ſoon as I give the Word*: And ſometimes 'he would tell her he had a mind to put her upon 'the Rack, that ſhe might confeſs what it was 'made him love her ſo paſſionately.' This is taken from *Suetonius*. 'Quoties uxoris vel amiculæ colli 'lum exoſcularetur, addebat, *tam bona cervix ſimul ac juſſero demetur*. Quin & ſubinde jactabat exquiſiturum ſe vel fiduciis de Cæſonia ſua cur 'eam tantopere diligeret (27).' It is very ſtrange that this Woman, who was neither young nor beautiful, and had had three Children by her Huſband, ſhould inſpire ſuch a Brute with ſo vehement and conſtant a Paſſion. But let Youth value itſelf as it will, we ſhall find, if we obſerve it, that the Addreſs and Arts of a Woman between thirty and ſixty will ſecure her Empire, when once ſhe is Miſtreſs of a Prince's Heart, far better than the artleſs Beauty of a Girl of fifteen. Beſides, *Caligula*'s Miſtreſs, and ſo very probably have a great many others of the ſame Stamp, found out ſeveral Secrets which would amply repair the fading Charms of Youth. However it be, *Suetonius* ſeems to be of opinion, that *Cæſonia* was ſo very much admired for the warmth of her Conſtitution. He was ſo extravagantly fond of her, that he would needs ſhew her naked to his Friends. 'Cæſoniam neque facie inſigni neque 'ætate integra, matremque jam ex alio viro 'trium filiarum, ſed luxuriæ ac laſciviæ perditæ, '& ardentius amavit, & conſtantius, ut ſæpe chla'myde peltaque & galea ornatum & juxta adequitantem militibus oſtenderit, amicis vero etiam 'nudam (28).' He never owned her for his Wife till after ſhe had a Child by him: It happened to be a Girl, and was much beloved by him, and he knew her to be his own Daughter chiefly by this Mark, that ſhe would be conſtantly ſcratching the Faces of her little Play-Fellows. 'Nec ullo fir'miore indicio ſui ſeminis eſſe credebat, quam 'feritatis, quæ illi quoque tanta jam tunc erat, ut in'feſtis digitis ora & oculos ſimul ludentium infantium 'inceſſeret (29).' Sure he, who put her to that Death, the *Pſalmiſt* wiſhed might befal the Children of *Babylon* (30), might very well ſay, he was cruſhing a Serpent juſt hatched, *mali corvi malum ovum*.

(26) In one of his Letters.

Facts concerning *Cæſonia*.

(27) Suet. in Calig. cap. xxxiii.

(28) Ibid. cap. xxv.

(29) Ib. ibid.

(30) Perlit una & uxor Cæſonia gladio à Centurione confoſſa & filia parieti illiſa. *Ib. cap.* lix, Pſal. cxxxvii, ver. 9. *Happy ſhall he be that taketh and daſheth thy little ones againſt the Stones.*

[I] Lollia Paulina, *one of his Wives, was never married to* Caius Cæſar *as* ——— Uſher *has imagined*.] That which miſled *Uſher* was, that he thought thoſe Words of *Suetonius*, in the Twenty ſixth Chapter of the Life of *Claudius*, *Deque Lollia Paulinâ, quæ C. Cæſari nupta fuerat*, ought to be underſtood of the Grandſon of *Auguſtus*; but if he had obſerved two things, he had not fallen into this ſmall Miſtake. He ſhould firſt have conſidered, that *Suetonius*, in the Twenty fifth Chapter of the Life of *Caligula*, informs us, that this Emperor married *Lollia Paulina*, and a little time after divorced her. Secondly, That *Tacitus*, in the fortieth Chapter of the fourth Book of his Annals, tells us, that *Caius Cæſar*, *Auguſtus*'s Grandſon, married *Livia*, the Daughter of *Druſus*, and Siſter of *Germanicus*, and died before her; for we know ſhe was married afterwards to *Druſus*, the Son of *Tiberius*. I am obliged for this Obſervation to the learned Father *Noris* (31).

(31) Cenotaph. Piſan. pag. 189.

[K] Philo *mentions a Thought of* Caligula *well worth conſidering.*] Let us ſee what uſe one of our modern Authors has made of it. 'So far, *ſays he* (32), 'am I from wondring that every Prince is not ſo 'deſerving as he ought to be, that I am rather 'ſurprized that they do not reaſon with themſelves 'as *Caligula* did, and that our blind Submiſſion 'to their Wills, how unjuſt ſoever, does not al'ways excite in them an extravagant Preſumption. '*As they, whoſe Buſineſs it is to look after Herds* 'of Cattel, laid this Madman *, *are not Brutes* 'like them, *but are of a more excellent Nature*; 'ſo they, *who have an abſolute Command over Men*, 'and are obeyed by all, *ought not to be eſteemed* 'meer Men like their Subjects, *but Gods*. This is the 'natural

(32) *The Abbot* de St Real, Cenſurion, pag. 202.

* Philo Judæus, *in his Embaſſy.*

while his own Person was the most ridiculous Object in his Empire [*L*]. It must be because he thought no one durst take that Freedom with him, which he did with others. Or perhaps because he was ignorant of his own Imperfections. One of his most extravagant Follies was to call out upon the Moon, when she was at the Full, to come and lie with him (*f*). Nay, he bragged he had enjoyed her (*g*). What shall we say of the Order of Priesthood he conferred upon his Horse (*h*)? See the last Remark [*M*]. He was so fit to be the Original of that Man of Sin, that Antichrist, the Apostle has given us a Description of, that I do not wonder some ingenious Men have applied that part of the Prophecies of the New Testament to him (*i*): Though I cannot say they have been right in their Guesses.

(*f*) Sueton. in Calig. cap. xxii.

(*g*) Dio. lib. lix, pag. 761.

(*h*) Id. ibid.

(*i*) Vide Grot. in Tractatu de Antichristo.

We shall see in the Article MACRON, that the Intrigues of a certain Woman were very serviceable to *Caligula*, in his Advancement to the Empire. A Professor of *Utrecht*, has, in one of his Orations (*k*), given us a lively Description of the wicked Qualities and monstrous Actions of this Emperor.

(*k*) See the 13th Oration of *Antonius Æmylius*.

'natural Effect our Flattery must have upon the 'Minds of Princes; and this is what generally 'happened in the time of Paganism.' That we may judge of the Difference between one Author and another, I shall shew how St *Romuald* has confounded all this. 'About this time, says he (33), 'flourished *Cælius*, that eminent Philosopher, to 'whom is attributed this ingenious Apophthegm. '*He who is to command others, ought to be not only a Man, but more than Man; that is, much more virtuous and perfect than the rest; for as a Sheep is not intrusted with the Care of the Flock, so to govern Men, requires not a Man, but a* GOD. Pastor Ovium, *says he*, non est ovis, Pastor boum non est bos, caprarum Pastor non est capra sed homo, ergo hominum Pastor aliud quam homo esse debet, Quid ergo? Deus. Other 'wise he runs the hazard of destroying both them, 'and himself.' The Reader may take the Pains, if he please, to count how many Blunders there are in the Words of this honest Monk.

(33) That is, in the Reign of *Persius* the last of the *Macedonian* Kings, Ann. Mund. 3826. See his Chronological Abridg. Tom. I, p. 697.

(34) Suetonius, c. xxvi, tells us, that *Caligula* used to invite the most eminent Men of *Rome*, with their Wives, to dine with him, and, as the Fancy took him, retired with the Woman he liked best; and returning some time after, discovered the Lady's most secret Perfections and Imperfections. *Recentibus adhuc lasciviæ notis reversus, vel laudabat palam, vel vituperabat, singula enumerans bona malave corporis atque concubitus.*

(35) See *Suetonius in Calig. cap.* 1, who gives us a Portrait of this Emperor, very like this, with some Touches not to be met with in *Seneca*.

[*L*] *He insolently ridiculed others by his Raillieries, while his own Person was the most ridiculous Object in his Empire.*] He was the most foulmouthed Man breathing, and of the worst Figure. Pale, with hollow rolling Eyes, hairy necked, baldpated, enormous Feet, and spindle-shanked. And yet, as monstrous as he was in his Make, he ridiculed all Mankind, and said the most shocking things imaginable: as when he openly told *Valerius Asiaticus*, at a full Table, the Faults he found with his Wife whilst he was enjoying her (34). Let us hear what *Seneca* saith upon it: 'C. Cæsar 'inter cætera vitia quibus abundabat, contumelio'sus mirabiliter ferebatur omnibus aliqua nota fe'riendis, ipse materia risus benignissima. Tanta 'illi palloris insaniam testantis fœditas erat, tanta 'oculorum sub fronte anili latentium torvitas (35), 'tanta capitis desituti, & emendicatis capillis asperi 'deformitas. Adjice obsessam setis cervicem, & 'exilitatem crurum, & enormitatem pedum. Immensum est, si velim singula referre, per quæ 'in patres avosque suos contumeliosus fuit, per 'quæ in universos ordines: ea referam, quæ illum 'exitio dederunt. Asiaticum Valerium in primis 'amicis habebat, ferocem virum, & vix æquo 'animo alienas contumelias laturum. Huic in 'convivio, item in concione, voce clarissima, 'qualis in concubitu esset uxor ejus, objecit. Dii 'boni, hoc virum audire, Principem scire, & 'usque eo licentiam perveniisse, ut non dico 'consulari, non dico amico, sed tantum marito 'Princeps (36) adulterium suum narret, & face'dium (36)?' The Passage in *Suetonius*, which I have above quoted, shews that *Valerius Asiaticus*'s Lady had a great many Companions in her Disgrace; and that there were many others who had their secret Imperfections betrayed by *Caligula*'s Indiscretion. They who are acquainted with the Injury *Henry III.* did himself by such an Indiscretion, will wonder the *Roman* Ladies had so small a share in the Plots against *Caligula*: for I believe they, in those Days, were as sensible, when provoked, in such Cases, as the Ladies in the Court of *France* were in the XIth Century. Now let us hear *Mezeray*. 'The King was told the League 'intended no less than to make him a Monk, 'and that the Duchess of *Montpensier* shewed the 'Scissars with which she intended to clip him. 'What provoked this Widow was the King's dis'covering some of her secret Imperfections; an 'Affront Women resent as much more unpardon'able than an Attempt upon their Honour (37).'

(36) Senec. de Constantiâ, cap. xviii, pag. 693.

(37) Mezerai's Chronological Abridgment, Tom. V, ad Ann. 1588, pag. 325.

[*M*] *See the last Remark.*] His Conversation with *Jupiter*'s Statue, the pretended Secrets he whispered into his Ear, his Reprimands and Menaces during this worthy Conversation (38), his lying with the Moon, the Consulship appointed for his Horse, the Whim to make him dine at his Table, with an hundred other Passages, are incontestable Marks of Lunacy. He was wicked enough in Conscience, but yet he was at least some small matter more mad than wicked. One thing is certain, that he was no Atheist: All his Impieties are Instances that he believed there were Gods; and therefore the Author of the *Thoughts upon Comets* had Reason to produce him for an Example, that the most profligate Wretches, mentioned in History, have acknowledged a Deity.

(38) See, above, Remark [*G*].

CALLIRHOË, Daughter of the River *Achelous*, and Wife of that *Alcmeon* who killed his own Mother *Eriphyle*. She was married to him whilst he had another Wife living: He had made a Present to his other Wife of that famous Necklace which had been given to *Eriphyle* [*A*], to oblige her Husband *Amphiaraus* to engage

[*A*] *That famous Necklace, which had been given to* Eriphyle.] The Necklace was of Gold, and had been made a present off by *Venus*, to her Daughter *Hermione*, the Wife of *Cadmus* (1). She gave her at the same time a *Peplum*, which is a sort of Robe. Both these Presents came into *Eriphyle*'s Possession. The Necklace was given her by *Polynice*, and the *Peplum* by his Son *Thersander*. For the Necklace she betrayed her Husband, and her Son betrayed her for the *Peplum*. But to satisfy the Curious more particularly, I must add, that there are various Accounts concerning this Necklace of *Hermione*. Some have said (2), it came originally from *Jupiter*, that *Jupiter* gave it to *Europa*, *Europa* to *Cadmus*, and *Cadmus* to *Hermione*. Others say (3), *Vulcan* made it, and presented it to *Cadmus*. They add (4), that he presented it out of Malice, on purpose to revenge on *Hermione*, who was the Fruit of the adulterous Commerce of *Venus* with *Mars*, the Injury his Wife had done him. He contrived it so, that it should be always fatal to those who had it in possession: for he made it of ominous Materials and Figures; and among other things, used the Ashes left behind upon the Anvil after the Forging of Thunderbolts (5). In a Word, he seemed resolved to make it a fatal *Talisman*; and hence it was, that *Hermione*, *Semele*, *Jocasta*, *Eriphyle*, &c. who were successively in the Possession of it, came all to unfortunate ends. It may be compared to the Gold of *Toulouse*, and the Horse of *Sejanus*. When *Polynice* being banished *Thebes*, fled to *Argos*, he took this Necklace, and the *Peplum* with him (6). *Statius* (7), and

(1) See Diod. Sic. lib. v, c. vi.

(2) Pherecydes, apud Apollod. lib. iii, pag. 171.

(3) Apollodor. pag. 169.

(4) Statius Theb. lib. ii, ver. 272, & seq.

(5) Siculaque incude relictos Fulminis extremi cineres. *Stat. Theb. lib.* ii, ver. 279.

(6) Apollod. lib. iii, pag. 285.

(7) Theb. lib. ii, ver. 279.

gage himself in the *Theban* Expedition. *Callirhoë*, having heard of this beautiful Necklace, told *Alcmeon* absolutely, and in plain Terms, that unless he would make a Present of it to her, she would lie with him no more [*B*]. The unfortunate Husband repaired to *Phegeus* (*a*), his other Wife's Father, and made him believe, that he was told by the Oracle, he should never be cured of his Madness (*b*), 'till he had offered up that Necklace to the Temple of *Delphos*. *Phegeus* delivered it to him; but being informed he designed it for *Callirhoë*, he gave order to his two Sons to murder *Alcmeon*, which they executed. *Callirhoë* was much concerned at his Death, but it was in such a manner, as much more inclined her to meditate Revenge, than to pine away with Sorrow. She passionately desired her Husband's Murder might be revenged; but at the same time could not forbear tasting the soft Delights of Love. It was in one of these amorous Engagements (*c*), she begged of *Jupiter* that the Children she had by *Alcmeon*, who were then very little, might, in a Moment, become Men [*C*]. This was taking him at a time when he could refuse her nothing (*d*). She frankly confessed, that the reason of her desiring that Favour, was, that her Sons might soon be in a Capacity to revenge their Father's Death. Her Request was granted, and her two Sons, *Amphoterus* and *Acarnan*, set out immediately to seek their Revenge. They found the Murtherers of *Alcmeon* on the Road [*D*], as they were going to make an Offering of *Eriphyle*'s Necklace and Robe to *Apollo* at *Delphos*. They killed them, and then went to *Psophis*, where they massacred *Phegeus* and his Wife. At their Return they were pursued as far as *Tegea*; where, meeting with timely Succour, they put the Enemy to flight. After having given *Callirhoë* an Account of their Proceedings, they departed for *Delphos*, there to consecrate the Necklace and Robe, as they were ordered by *Achelous*. After that they retired into *Epirus*, where they founded a Colony (*e*). As for the two Children, *Euripides* supposes *Alcmeon* had by the Prophetess *Manto*, we must understand their Father sent them to be brought up by *Creon*, King of *Corinth*. One of these was a Boy, called *Amphilochus*; the other a Girl, and a perfect Beauty, named *Tisiphone*. *Creon*'s Wife being apprehensive her Husband would marry her, got her to be sold, and *Alcmeon* bought her without knowing her. *Apollodorus*, from whom I have borrowed this Article,

(*a*) He lived at *Psophis* in *Arcadia*.

(*b*) He was persecuted by the Furies from the time he had killed his Mother.

(*c*) Καλλιῤῥόη τὴν Ἀλκμαίωνος ἀνδράσιν μαθεῖσα, παιδίσκου τοὺς αὐτῆς τοῦ Διὸς αἰτεῖται. Callirhoe audito Alcmæonis interitu dum secum rem habet Jupiter ab ipso flagitat. *Apollod. lib.* iii, *pag.* 199.

(*d*) Gaudia post Veneris quæ pol est munus amantem,
Ipsa suas nolet pondus habere preces.
Ovid. de Art. Amand. lib. iii, *ver.* 805.

(*e*) *That of* Acarnania.

(8) Dionys. l. v.

(9) *See* Barthius's Comment. *upon* Statius, Tom. II, *pag.* 967.

(10) Lib. iii, *sub fin.*

(11) Diod. Sicul. 16, cap. lxvi, *pag.* 786.

(12) Athenæus, lib. vi, *pag.* 232.

(13) Id. Ibid.

(14) Pausan. lib. viii, *pag.* 655.

and *Nonnus* (8) have given us a full Description of this Necklace, but particularly *Nonnus* is excessively lavish in his Expressions. *Statius*'s Scholiast says (9), this Necklace was consecrated to *Apollo*, and thrown into a Fountain where it was still to be seen; but that whenever, they attempted to touch it, the Sun appeared angry, for Tempests arose immediately. The Tradition of *Pausanias* is not so chimerical. This Author (10) is of Opinion, that when the Temple of *Delphos* was pillaged by the *Phocæans*, *Hermione*'s Necklace was part of their prey; and he shews, that the Necklace, said to be *Hermione*'s and *Eriphyle*'s, which was carried to the Temple of *Venus* and *Adonis* at *Amathonte*, in the Isle of *Cyprus*, was a counterfeit.

Diodorus Siculus assures us, that a *Phocæan* Lady, who, after the sacking of the Temple of *Delphos*, presumed to dress her self in *Eriphyle*'s Ornaments, was burnt in her House, her eldest Son, animated by the Furies, setting Fire to it (11). See the Remark [*S*] of the Article HELENA. Note, that *Athenæus* (12) quotes an Author, who says the Necklace of *Eriphyle*, was actually consecrated by *Alcmeon* to the Temple of *Delphos*; and that *Apollo* demanded it as a reward for the Cure of his Madness. The Heathen Gods would do nothing *gratis*: That which you ask of me, saith the Oracle, is of great value: You desire to be restored to your Senses; You must therefore make me some rich Present, bring me your Mother's Necklace (13). *Apollo* acted the Merchant, and used the Conditions of a Contract *do ut des*: he was not contented with the voluntary Offerings of his Votaries, but liked to drive Bargains, and receive the Consideration.

[*B*] *She told her Husband, that she would lie with him no more.*] I express it so, because she had already two Sons by him, when she demanded this Necklace. Correct therefore in *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, the mis-timing of Facts. They affirm *Alcmeon* made *Callirhoë* this Present, on Condition she would promise to be his Wife. *Apollodorus* and *Philostratus* take no notice of it: The last says expressly (14), that *Alcmeon* had two Sons by her, when she obliged him, against his Will, to fetch her the desired Necklace.

[*C*] *She begged of* Jupiter, *that the Children she had by* Alcmeon, *might, in a moment, become Men.*] *Ovid* has given an Account of it, very well worth our repeating. His Description of *Alcmeon*'s part, as well as the rest, is very fine.

. . . . . ultusque parente parentem
Natus, erit facto pius & sceleratus eodem:
Attonitusque malis, exul mentisque domusque,
Vultibus Eumenidum, matrisq; agitabitur umbris:
Donec eum conjux fatale poposcerit aurum,
Cognatumque latus Phegeïus hauserit ensis.
Tum demum magno petet hos Acheloïa supplex
Ab Jove Callirhoë, natis infantibus annos.
Addat: neve necem sinat esse ultoris inultam.
Jupiter his motus privignæ vota (15) nurusque
Præcipiet; facietque viros impubibus annis (16).

A Son, possess'd with just yet impious Ire,
Shall kill his Mother to revenge his Sire.
Banish'd his home and sense in wild affright,
Furies shall haunt him, and his Mother's Spright:
Till his new Wife, the fatal Gold demands,
Then shall he perish by Phegeian *Hands.*
Then shall Callirhoë *of great* Jove *obtain,*
Her infant Sons, a sudden Youth may gain:
Jove shall consent, thy Pow'rs exert; and then
Precipitate th' unripen'd Boys to Men.

SEWELL.

(15) He means *Hebe*, the Goddess of Youth, the Daughter of *Juno*, and Wife of *Hercules*.

(16) Ovid. Met. lib. ix, ver. 408.

Mr *Moreri* says (17), it was *Achelous* who obtained from *Jupiter*: that the Children of *Alcmeon*, should suddenly pass from Infancy to Manhood: Which takes away the Beauty of the Story, and falsifies it at the same time. He cites these Verses of *Ovid*, and therein condemns himself by that Testimony. *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, will have it, that *Jupiter* turned *Alcmeon*'s Sons into Gods as soon as they were born. I believe they found nothing of this among the Ancients.

(17) In the Article CALLIRHOE.

[*D*] *They found the Murtherers of* Alcmeon *on the Road.*] How then came *Charles Stephens* to pass such an Error upon us, to be bandied so long from one Dictionary to another? It is, that *Phegeus*'s Sons died upon the spot with *Alcmeon*, *Qui tamen & ipsi ab eodem* (Alcmeone) *mutuis vulneribus petiti perierunt.*

ticle (*f*), does not tell us how *Tisiphone* came to be known: It was, without doubt, the Catastrophe of one of *Euripides*'s Tragedies.

(*f*) Biblioth. lib. iii. pag. 199, & seq.

We read in *Pausanias*, that *Clytius*, *Alcmeon*'s Son by *Phegeus*'s Daughter, withdrew himself from his Uncles by his Mother's Side, as not doubting but they were guilty of his Father's Death. He retired into *Elis*, where he left his Children. The Diviner *Eperastes*, who gained the Prize in the Olympic Games, was descended from him (*g*).

(*g*) Taken from Pausan. lib. vi, pag. 195.

CALLISTRATUS, an *Athenian* Orator, acquired a great Reputation and Credit in his Country. It was he, who induced *Demosthenes*, yet a School-Boy, to dedicate himself entirely to the Study of Eloquence; for, having pleaded with extraordinary Success, and in a set Speech, a Cause relating to the City of *Oropus*, it excited an ardent Desire, in the Mind of this Child, to raise himself by the Profession of an Orator. *Demosthenes*, admiring the Force of Eloquence, and the Glory which it procured to *Callistratus*, thought now of nothing else but distinguishing himself the same way (*a*). Some pretend, that he was already a Disciple of *Plato*, and that he quitted Philosophy, to apply himself to Rhetoric [*A*]. *Callistratus* was banished; the common Fate of those, who had the greatest Share in the Government of the Common-Wealth of *Athens*. He said a thing, during this Disgrace, which deserves to be praised, and which gave *Seneca* an occasion of laying down some good Maxims [*B*]. He, one Day, reproached the *Thebans* with the Parricide of *Oedipus*, and the *Argians* with that of *Orestes*; but *Epaminondas* gravely and subtily replied to him; *We banished them from our Cities, and you received them in yours* (*b*).' *Melanopus*, the Rival of *Callistratus*, in the Management of public Affairs, suffered himself constantly to be gained over to him by Money; after which he would mount the *Rostrum*, and say to the People; 'It

(*a*) Taken from Plutarch, in Vita Demosth. pag. 847, 848.

(*b*) Plutarch, de gerenda Republica, pag. 810.

'is

[*A*] *Some say, that, when* Demosthenes *attached himself to* Callistratus —— *he quitted Philosophy, to study Rhetoric.*] *Hermippus* reported it so, and even said, that it was by accident, that *Demosthenes* heard that fine Oration of *Callistratus*: for, going to the Academy, where *Plato* read his Lectures, he perceived an extreme Concourse of People, and enquired the reason of it; and, being informed, that they were going to hear a great Orator, he was desirous to see, whether the Eloquence of This Man deserved such great Eagerness. He was so charmed with the Harangue, that, from that time, he followed *Callistratus*, and renounced *Plato*, and his Academy (1). *Ita motus & demulctus & captus ipse, ut Callistratum jam inde sectari coperit, Academiam cum Platone reliquerit* (2). *Henry Stephens* has corrected some Words in the Chapter, in which *Aulus Gellius* relates this. He even believed, that the *Callistrato Rhetore*, in the Title of the Chapter, is a Mistake, since *Callistratus*, who is styled an Orator, and a Demagogue, in the Chapter, ought not to have been called a Rhetorician in the Summary (3). I am of Opinion, however, that *Aulus Gellius* considered him as one, who taught Rhetoric, and who actually instructed *Demosthenes* in it; but I believe likewise that he is mistaken. However I would make no alteration in the Summary, because it ought to answer to the Contents of the Chapter.

(1) Taken from A. Gellius, lib. iii, cap. 13.

(2) Id. ibid.

(3) Henr. Steph. Specim. Emend. in A. Gell. pag. 393, 394.

[*B*] *He said —— a thing —— which gave* Seneca *an occasion of laying down some good Maxims.*] These are that Philosopher's Words. 'Callistratum aiunt, 'ita certe Hecaton auctor est, cum in exilium iret, 'in quod multos simul cum illo seditiosa civitas & 'intemperantur libera expulerat, optante quodam ut 'Athenienſibus necessitas restituendi exsules esset, 'abominatum talem reditum. Rutilius noster animosius: cum quidam illum consolaretur, & diceret 'instare ara civilia; brevi futurum ut omnes exsules reverterentur: Quid tibi, inquit, mali feci, 'ut mihi pejorem reditum quam exitum optares? 'Malo, ut patria exsilio meo erubescat, quam reditu mœreat. Non est istud exsilium, cujus nemi'nem non magis, quam damnatum, pudet. Quemadmodum illi servaverunt bonorum civium officium, qui reddi sibi penates suos noluerunt clade 'communi, quia satius erat duos iniquo malo affici, 'quam omnes publico: ita non servat grati Hominis 'affectum, qui bene de se merentem difficultatibus 'vult opprimi, quas ipse submoveat: qui etiamsi 'bene cogitat, male precatur. Ne in patrocinium 'quidem, nedum in gloriam est, incendium extinxisse 'quod fecerit (4). —— Hecaton *informs us, that* 'Callistratus, *going into Banishment with several* 'other Exiles, *whom the City of* Athens (*at that* 'time full of Sedition, *and making an intemperate* 'use of its Liberty) had driven out, *and one of* 'them wishing that necessity might oblige the Athe'nians to recal them, expressed great Horror at such 'a Wish. Our Rutilius spoke more like a Man of 'true Greatness of Mind. For a certain Person endea'vouring to comfort him, and saying, that a Civil 'War was at hand, and that the Exiles would soon 'return to Rome; what Injury, said he, have I 'done you, that you wish me a Return worse than 'Exile itself? I had rather my Country should blush 'for my Banishment, than weep for my Return. It 'is not Banishment, when every one else has more 'reason to be ashamed of it, than the condemned himself. As therefore Callistratus and Rutilius behaved like good Citizens, in not wishing to return to 'their Houses on Condition of public Calamity, it 'being better that two Persons should suffer unjustly, 'than a whole People be involved in Misfortune; 'so He, who wishes to see oppressed with difficulties 'a Person, who deserves well of him, on purpose 'that he may extricate him from them, does not preserve the sentiments of a grateful Man: for, let his 'Intention be never so good, his Wish is not so. It is 'very little to your Credit, to extinguish a Fire, you 'have your self lighted up.' *Seneca* had already expressed very nobly the same Thought by other Examples; and this, in order to prove, that it is ingratitude to wish, that One's Benefactor may stand in need of One's Assistance (5). 'Quis pium dicet 'Æneam, si patriam capi voluerit, ut captivitate 'patrem eripiat? Quis Siculos juvenes, ut bona 'liberis exempla monstrarent, si optaverunt, ut 'Ætna immensa ignium vi supra solitum ardens & incensa præcipitet, datura ipsis occasionem exhibendæ pietatis, ex medio parentibus incendio rapturis? Nihil debet Scipioni Roma, si Punicum Bellum 'ut finiret, aluit: nihil Decius, quod morte patriam servaverunt, si prius optaverant, ut devotioni 'fortissimæ locum ultima rerum necessitas faceret. 'Gravissima infamia est medici, opus quærere. 'Multi quos auxerant morbos, & incitaverant, ut 'majore gloria sanarent, non potuerunt discutere, 'aut cum magna miserorum vexatione vicerunt (6). '—— *Who will call* Æneas *pious, if he wished the* 'City of Troy *might be taken, that he might rescue* 'his Father out of Captivity? Or the young Sicilians, 'if, in order to set their Children a good example, 'they wished, that Ætna, would throw out an uncommon Torrent of Fire, to give them an Opportu'nity of shewing their filial Duty, by snatching their 'Parents

(4) Seneca, de Beneficiis, lib. vi, cap. xxxvii, pag. 334.

(5) Qui optat amico aliquam necessitatem, quam adjutorio subeundo discutiat, quod est ingrati, sed illi præsert, & tanti æstimat illum miserum esse ut ipse gratus sit, ob hoc ipsum ingratus. —— *He, who wishes his Friend under any Difficulty, which he may help him out of, (which is ungrateful), prefers himself to him, and, by accepting his Friend's miserable, that he may shew his Gratitude, discovers by that very Wish his Ingratitude.* Seneca de Bene ciis, lib. vi, cap. xxxiv, pag. 132.

(6) Id ibid. cap. xxxvi, pag. 134.

'is true, *Callistratus*, who maintains the contrary Opinion, is my Enemy; but, in
'Cases of this Nature, I always submit to him; the Public Good ought to carry
'it (c).

(c) Id. in Vita Demosth. pag. 851, 852.

'*Parents out of the Fire?* Rome *was nothing to*
'*Scipio, if he prolonged the* Carthaginian *War, to*
'*have the honour of putting an end to it; nor to the*
'*Decii, for dying to save their Country, if they first*
'*had wished that an extreme necessity of Affairs*
'*might give them an Opportunity of bravely devoting*
'*themselves. Nothing can be more infamous in a*
'*Physician, than to make himself Work. Many have*
'*not been able to dispel, or have conquered with*
'*great Vexation, to their own Patients, Diseases,*
'*which they themselves had encreased* (7).

(7) This may confirm the Objections of the *Manichees*, which I speak of in the Remark [E] of the Article *ORIGEN*, N. IV; and in Remark [E] of the Article *PAULICIANS*.

We find in *Demosthenes*, a *Callistratus*, who was banished to *Methona* in *Macedonia*, and whom the *Athenians* had twice condemned to Death, and who had a Daughter married to *Timomachus*, an Inhabitant of the Isle of *Thasus* (8). He is probably the same with the *Callistratus* of this Article: *Justus Lipsius* does not doubt it (9).

(8) See Demosth. Orat. adv. Polyclem. pag. 722.

(9) Lipsius in Senec. de Benefic. lib. vi. cap. 37.

CALVIN (JOHN), one of the principal Reformers of the Church in the XVIth Century, born at *Noion* in *Picardy*, the tenth of *July*, 1509. Being designed for the Church, a Benefice in the Cathedral of *Noion*, was obtained for him early, and after that the Cure of *Pont l'Evêque* (a) [A]. But this first Design proved ineffectual; as well because *Calvin*, being engaged by *Robert Olivetan* to study Religion in it's Source, resolved to renounce all Superstitions: as that his Father, having altered his Mind, chose rather to make him an Advocate than a Divine. So that after he had finished his Humanity Studies at *Paris*, he was sent to *Orleans*, there to study the Civil-Law under the Direction of *Peter de l'Etoile* (b), and from thence to *Bourges*, to continue that Study under *Andreas Alciatus*. He made great Progress in this Science; and pursued his private Studies in the Holy Scriptures with no less Success. He learned *Greek* at *Bourges* under *Wolmar*, who was Professor there in that Language. Being recalled to *Noion*, upon his Father's Death, he staid there but a very short time; and went from thence to *Paris*, where he wrote a Commentary upon *Seneca*'s Treatise *De Clementiâ* [B]. He was quickly

(a) A Village near *Noion*, where *Calvin*'s Father was born.

(b) He was President in the Parliament of *Paris*, and called in *Latin Petrus Stella*.

[A] *A Benefice in the Cathedral of* Noion *was obtained for him early, and after that the Cure of* Pont l'Evêque.] They who report *Calvin* was Canon of *Noion* are mistaken. The Benefice which was given him was not a Canonicate, but a Chapel called *de la Gesine*. He was preferred to this the Twenty first of *May*, 1521. As for *Pont l'Evêque*, he was made Curate there the fifth of *July*, 1529, by Exchange for the Cure of *Marteville*, to which he was presented the Twenty seventh of *September*, 1527. Whoever has a mind to see the Exchanges, Resignations, Sales, &c. of these Benefices, will find them in a Book of Mr *Drelincourt* (1). We there find, that in 1534, *Monday*, the fourth of *May*, *Calvin* resigned the Chapel *de la Gesine* to Mr *Anthony de la Marliere*, and the Cure of *Pont l'Evêque* to *Calm*. Mr *Maimbourg* therefore must be in the wrong, when he places this before *Calvin*'s Journey to *Paris*, in 1532 (2). We must observe, that *Calvin* was never in Priests Orders; nor any farther an Ecclesiastic than by simple Tonsure.

(1) Defence of *Calvin*, p. 215, & seq. *The Author quotes the* Annals of the Cathedral of *Noion*, *collected by* James le Vasseur, *Doctor of the* Sorbonne, *and Dean of* Noion, *printed at* Paris *in* 4to *in* 1633, *and* 1634.

(2) Hist. du Calvin. pag. 57.

[B] *He wrote a Commentary upon* Seneca's *Treatise* de Clementia.] He dedicated it to *Claude Hangest*, Abbot of *St Eloi* in *Noion*: The Epistle Dedicatory is dated from *Paris*, the fourth of *April*, 1532. This Book therefore must be writ in his Twenty third, and not in his Twenty fourth, Year, as *Beza* will have it (3). Mr *Varillas*'s Faults, in relation to this Piece, are so enormous, that they are enough to make one renounce the Study of History: for so many Historians, of former Ages, having laboured under as strong Prejudices, as he has done, how shall one be assured that what they have related is any more to be credited, than his Falsities? If *Calvin*'s Treatise had been lost, no body would dare to call in question what Mr *Varillas* has related with so many Circumstances. There is but too much reason to believe, there are a great many Historians of his Class. However it be, here follow his Falsities on the Subject now in hand.

(3) Beza in Vita Calvini.

Errors of Varillas.

I. Calvin, says he (4), *presently gained their Esteem by a Book he wrote on* Constancy, *with an Intent to encourage them to suffer for the new Doctrine.* This was neither the Title nor Design of that Book. II. *It is surprizing to think this little Book should make that Noise it did in the World, and that* Calvin's *Panegyrists should prefer it to all the Pieces of Eloquence and Learning wrote either by the Ancients or Moderns upon the same Subject.* We deny any body ever gave it that Character, and challenge Mr *Varillas* to produce any such Panegyrists. III. *There are Faults in that Book unpardonable, were it not in respect to* Calvin's Age, *he being then but eighteen.* He was then in his Twenty third Year. IV. *There appeared nothing extraordinary in the Book on* Constancy *but continual Passion, and extravagant Figures.* There is nothing like it in the whole Book, which is only an Explication of *Seneca*'s Thoughts, confirmed by Authorities and Examples; the whole being composed in the Stile of a Commentator. *Varillas* never saw this Piece; he took it for an Oration. V. *The Sacramentarians burnt for their Heresies are extolled in it to the Skies, and preferred to the most illustrious Martyrs of the Primitive Church* — *and* Francis I. — *is painted in the blackest Colours.* There is not a Word mentioned, either in commendation of those who suffered Death for their Religion under *Francis* I, or against that Prince. How durst *Calvin* have published such a Piece as Mr *Varillas* would have this to be, at *Paris*, with his Name to it in *Latin* (5), and with that of the Abbot of *St Eloi*, who was the Patron? VI. *The rest of this Piece contains nothing but Fragments taken out of* Seneca *the Philosopher, and patched very negligently together.* The whole Piece is a continued Commentary upon *Seneca*'s Treatise *de Clementia*. *Seneca*'s Text is there entire, and, at the end of every Chapter, *Calvin* comments upon it after the manner I have already mentioned. VII. *The most ridiculous thing of all is, that* Calvin *had not at that time found out that there were two* Seneca's *born at* Corduba *in* Spain; *but called the Rhetorician, by reason of his Eloquence, which he taught all his Life-time; the other, Son to the Rhetorician, and the most famous of the two, called the Philosopher, who was* Nero's *Tutor. Now if both lived to a good old Age, though the Philosopher obeyed* Nero's (6) *Order for his Death,* Calvin, *who could not make the Distinction, attributed to one the Age of both, and made his imaginary* Seneca *live One hundred and forty Years.* If Mr *Varillas* really believed *Calvin* to be then but eighteen Years old, it was not so ridiculous a thing for him to be ignorant at that Age, that there were two *Seneca*'s. Nor is it true, that *Calvin* allowed his *Seneca* One hundred and forty Years, but about One hundred and fifteen. Observe, by the way, that this Author has given a much more just Account of this Piece in his History of *Francis* I. 'He composed, 'says he (7), a Commentary upon *Seneca*'s Book *de* 'Clementia, to acquire a Reputation, by couching 'his Design under the Appearance of a Piece of 'Heathen Morality. He intended to insinuate into *Francis*

(5) *Having put his* Latin *Name in the Title-page of his Book, he changed his Sirname of* Cauvin *for that of* Calvin. Maimb. Hist. du Calvin. pag. 57. Papyrius Masso in Vitâ Calvini, pag. 412, *says, that the Commentary upon* Seneca de Clementia, *appeared under the Name of* Lucius Calvinus Civis Romanus.

(6) Read it Nero's.

(7) Varill. Hist. of Francis I. Tom. II. lib. vii. pag. 251, Edit. of Holl. 1690.

quickly known to those who had secretly embraced the Reformation. The Harangue he suggested to *Nicholas Copus*, Rector of the University of *Paris*, having very much displeased the *Sorbonne*, and Parliament, occasioned the beginning of a Persecution of the Protestants; insomuch that *Calvin*, who had like to have been taken in the College of *Forteret* [C], retired into *Xaintonge* [D], after having had the Honour to confer with the Queen of *Navarre*, who appeased this first Storm. That Princess likewise delivered the learned *Faber Stapulensis* out of the Hands of the Inquisitors, and sent him to *Nerac*. *Calvin* paid him a Visit; after which he returned to *Paris*, in 1534. *Servetus* was there at that Time, and failed meeting him at a Conference agreed to be held between them. This Year proved very troublesome to the Reformers, for which reason *Calvin* resolved to quit *France*, after having published, at *Orleans*, a Treatise against those who believed that the Soul sleeps after leaving the Body [E]. He chose *Basil* for the Place of his Retreat, where he studied *Hebrew*. There he contracted a particular Friendship with *Grynæus* and *Capito*; and though he was not greedy of Praise, he was obliged to publish a Work which contributed greatly to his Reputation. This was his *Christian Institution*, dedicated to *Francis* I [F]. After the Publication of this Book he went to

'*Francis* I, who was a great Admirer of such Treatises, a Dislike of those Fires he had kindled throughout *France*, against those who were convicted of speaking against the Religion of their Fathers.'

[C] *He had like to have been taken in the College of* Forteret.] *Beza*'s Silence makes me doubt what follows: 'The Lieutenant *Morin* —— went well accompanied to Cardinal *le Moine*'s College, where *Calvin* lodged, to seize him: but coming into his Chamber, they found he had escaped out at the Window by the Help of his Sheets, which were left tied to it (8).' If this account were true (9) *Beza* would be a very ill Historian; for he says only, that *Calvin* happened to be then abroad, *quo forte domi non reperto* (10). *Varillas*'s Account is the same with *Maimbourg*'s, and he accompanies it with abundance of Circumstances (11).

[D] *He retired into* Xaintonge.] He there met with a good Friend, at whose request he composed some short Christian Exhortations, which were read as Homilies in some Parishes, to accustom the People, by degrees, to search after the Truth. *Beza* (12) takes no notice of this Friend's Name, for what reason I cannot imagine: for a Man, in whom the good Seed had taken so deep Root, who retired with *Calvin* into *Switzerland* for the Sake of the Gospel, as this Historian informs us (13), very well deserved to have his Name remembred in the Life of this Great Reformer. It will not be amiss therefore to observe here, that his Name was *Lewis du Tillet* (14), and that he was Brother to *John du Tillet*, Register of the Parliament of *Paris*, and to another *du Tillet*, Bishop of *Meaux*. *Maimbourg* says (15), that this *Lewis du Tillet* was Canon of *Angoulême*, and Curate of *Claix*, and that 'he returned from his Error by the Remonstrances of his Brother *John du Tillet*—— who went after him into *Germany*, to bring him back again to the Catholic Church.' This Author adds, that '*Calvin*, being abandoned by his Patron, and not daring after that to shew himself at *Angoulême*, went in search of others to *Poitiers*;' that he found some there, and got new Disciples, 'to whom he administred the Sacrament, after his new Way, in Caves and Grottoes.' I very much doubt the Truth, to say no worse, of this last Account; for if it had been true, *Beza* could not have been ignorant of it, and consequently would not have omitted it in *Calvin*'s Life. Add to this, that if the Register, *John du Tillet*, went as far as *Germany* in search of the strayed Sheep, I mean his Brother the Canon of *Angoulême*, it must be after *Calvin* and this Canon were retired to *Basil*, and during their stay there. Now *Calvin* not being then at *Angoulême*, *Maimbourg* ought not to have told us, that he durst no longer shew his Head there. In short, *Beza* assures us, that after this Journey to *Basil*, *Calvin* returned only into *France* to settle his Affairs; and that afterwards he went thro' *Savoy* in his Way to *Basil*, and stopt at *Geneva* in the Year 1536. 'Ex Italiâ —— in Galliam regressus 'rebus suis omnibus ibi compositis, abductoque, quem 'unicum superstitem habebat, Ant. Calvino fratre, 'Basileam vel Argentinam reverti cogitantem, inter-'clusis aliis itineribus per Allobrogum fines iter in-'stitutum prosequi bella cogerunt. Ita factum ut 'Genevam veniret (16). See the Remark [G].

[E] *He quitted* France, *after having published, at* Orleans, *a Treatise against those who believed that the Soul sleeps after leaving the Body.*] 'Postquam 'Aureliæ insignem illum Libellum edidisset, quem 'Psycopanychian inscripsit, adversus illorum erro-'rem qui dormire sejunctas à corporibus animas, 'errore à vetustissimis usque sæculis repetito, doce-'bant (17).'

[F] *He was obliged to publish —— his* Christian Institution, *dedicated to* Francis I.] Some say he composed *the greatest Part of his Institution at* Lewis du Tillet's *House at* Claix (18). This may be; but *Beza* takes no notice of it, nor of the Year in which it was published; although he observes the occasion of it. He says (19), That *Francis* I, to curry favour with the *German* Protestants, who he knew were highly incensed at the Cruelties their persecuted Brethren suffered in *France*, made use of an Evasion suggested to him by *du Bellai* (20); which was, to persuade them that he only punished a Company of Enthusiasts, who under the Name of Anabaptists substituted their pretended Inspirations to the Scriptures, and despised the Magistracy. *Calvin* thought himself obliged to make an Apology for the Reformed, who were burnt in *France*: It was this engaged him to publish his Institution, with a Dedicatory Epistle to *Francis* I, which is one of those three or four Prefatory Pieces so much admired (21). It is dated from *Basil*, the first of *August*, 1536. This Date agrees perfectly with *Beza*'s Account; for it was in 1535 that *William du Bellai* made use of that miserable Subterfuge, verifying exactly that old *Quodlibet*, *You take us for* Germans. Here is what we find of it in *Calvin*'s Life. 'Edere coactus 'est Christianæ Religionis Institutionem, quam vo-'cavit, operis longè maximi rudimentum. Quum 'enim illam Francisci Regis carnificinam ægrè fer-'rent Germani Principes, qui Evangelio nomen de-'derant, & quorum ille tum amicitiam ambiebat, 'hoc unum ille σοφὸν φάρμακον, auctore Guliel-'mo Bellaio Langæo repererat, ut se se non nisi in 'Anabaptistas pro verbo divino suum tantum spiri-'tum jactantes, & omnium Magistratuum contempto-'res animadvertisse diceret. Hoc verò dedecus veræ 'Religioni inustum non ferens Calvinus, ejus eden-'di libri occasionem arripuit, meo quidem judicio 'incomparabilis: addita excellenti ad Regem ipsum 'præfatione, quam si forte legisset ille, aut ego ve-'hementer fallor, aut magnum esset illi meretrici 'Babyloniæ jam tum vulnus illatum (22). —— *He 'was obliged to publish his* Institution of the Chri-'stian Religion, *which he gave as the Specimen of a 'very large Work. For* Francis I, *having, by his 'cruel Executions, greatly disgusted the* German 'Princes, *who had espoused the Gospel, and whose 'Friendship he courted, contrived this only cunning 'Expedient, by the Advice of* William du Bellai, 'Lord of Langei, *to declare to them, That he had 'only proceeded against Anabaptists, who set up their 'Enthusiasm against the Word of* GOD, *and contemn 'all Magistracy.* Calvin, *not being able to bear this 'Reflexion cast upon the true Religion, took occasion 'to print that Book, in my Opinion an incomparable 'one:*

(8) Malmb. Hist. of Calvinism, pag. 58.

(9) *This Account is founded on* Papyrius Massо in Vitâ Calv. pag. 474.

(10) Beza, ubi supra, pag. 367.

(11) Hist. de Franc. I, lib. vii, pag. 251, Hist. de l'Heresie, lib. x, pag. 336.

(12) In Vitâ Calv. Oper. Tom. III, pag. 367.

(13) Ibid.

(14) *See* The Defence of Calvin, *by Mr* Dreincourt, pag. 40.

(15) History of Calvinism, p. 59.

(16) Beza in Vitâ Calvini, pag. 368.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) Maimbourg. History of Calvinism, pag. 59. Varillas's Hist. of *Francis* I, lib. vii, pag. 251; History of Heresy, lib. x, pag. 376.

(19) Beza, in Vitâ Calvini, pag. 367. *See also* Calvin. Præf. *in Psalm cited below in Remark* [U].

(20) See, above, Remark [B], of the Article BELLAI (William *du*).

(21) *Thuanus*'s Epistle Dedicatory, and *Casaubon*'s Preface to *Polybius*, are of that Number. See *Alexander Morus*, in the Panegyric upon *Calvin*, pag 22, and *le Fevre*'s Notes in I. *Scaligerana*, pag. 40. We must join to these the Preface of Mr *Peliſon*, on the Works of *Sarrasin*.

(22) Beza in Vitâ Calv. p. 367.

to wait on the Duchess of *Ferrara*, a Princess of exemplary Piety, who received him very graciously. He returned from thence into *France*; where having settled his

' ma: and added an excellent Prefatory Epistle to the ' King himself, which if he had chanced to have ' read, I am much mistaken, but it would have given ' a fatal Wound to that Whore of Babylon.' *Beza* pretends, that *Calvin*, after the Publication of this Book, went into *Italy*, to pay a Visit to the Duchess of *Ferrara*: from whence being returned into *France*, and having settled his Affairs, he had a mind to return to *Basil*, or *Strasburg*, through the Territories of the Duke of *Savoy*, but was obliged to stop at *Geneva*, where he was declared Minister, and Professor of Divinity in the Month of *August*, 1536. This is so inconsistent with the Date of the Preface, that it is needless to prove the Inconsistency. See, below, the Remark [*U*]. I do not oppose Mr *Spon* to *Beza*: *Spon* says (23), that in *September* 1536, *Farel* persuaded *Calvin to settle at* Geneva, *not to preach but teach Divinity* (24). We should never have done, were we to quote all the chronological Differences we meet with in the Relations of different Authors. For Example, Mr *Leti* says (25), that *Calvin* arrived at *Geneva* the fourteenth of *September*. This carries us a great way from *Beza's* Month of *August*: for according to Mr *Spon*, whom *Leti* does not at all contradict, *Calvin a long time* resisted *Farel's* Importunities. Mr *Leti* supposes, that *Calvin*, as a Man of Wit, expected to be intreated, and made a great many Excuses, till the *Syndics* joined with the Ministers in their Sollicitations. But let us return to his *Christian Institution*.

(23) Spon, Hist. of *Geneva*, lib. iii, pag. 243.

(24) See Remark [*I*], Citat. (55).

(25) Leti, Hist. Genevrina, Tom. III, pag. 40.

The first time it appeared it was only like the rough Draught of a great Work (26). The Author retouched it afterwards more than once, and rendered it so excellent, that *Scaliger* himself could not but admire it (27). *Thuanus's* famous Distich is known almost to every Body:

(26) Operis longè maximi rudimentum, *Beza in Vitâ Calv. pag.* 367. Neque enim dubium hoc, & laboriosum opus, quale nunc extat, sed brevi duntaxat Enchiridion tunc in lucem prodiit. *Calv. Præf. in Psalmos.*

Præter Apostolicas post Christi tempora chartas
Huic peperere libro sæcula nulla parem.

No Christian Work has been so much admir'd,
Except those only, Heav'n itself inspir'd.

(27) *See* I. Scaligerana, p. 40, & II. Scal. p. 14.

The first Edition was printed at *Basil* in 1535, in 8vo: The second at *Strasburg* 1536, in Folio, where *Calvin* was then Divinity Professor and Minister: It was larger, and more correct, than the former. And the same may be said of the third in regard to the second. This third Edition was printed at *Strasburg* in 1543. It is to this Edition (28) *John Sturmius's* Words relate, which are usually printed at the Head of the Work. ' Johannes Calvinus homo ' acutissimo ingenio summaque doctrina, & egregia ' memoria præditus est, & Scriptor est varius, co- ' piosus, purus, cujus rei testimonium est Institutio ' Christianæ Religionis, quam primo inchoatam, de- ' inde locupletatam, hoc vero anno absolutam edidit. ' —— John Calvin *is a Man of great Parts and* ' *Learning, and excellent Memory; he is, in general,* ' *a copious and clear Writer, as appears from his Insti-* ' *tution of the Christian Religion, which he printed* ' *first as a Specimen, afterwards much inlarged, and* ' *now this Year absolutely compleated.*' *Gesner* (29) had been told, in the Year 1554, that they were preparing a fourth Edition of it in the same Place, with new Additions. That therefore of *Geneva* in 1550, by *John Gerard*, in 4to, must be the fifth at least. The Title informs us that it was corrected in a great many Places, and enriched with two Indexes. ' Nunc ' ex postremâ Autoris recognitione quibusdam locis ' auctior, infinitis vero castigatior ---- additi sunt ' Indices duo locupletissimi; unus rerum insignium, ' alter verò locorum omnium, quos partim ex sacris ' Bibliis, partim ex aliis Theologiæ Doctoribus, Author ' tanquam ex divite penu in suum usum vel apte tran- ' stulit, vel docte interpretatus est.' The Author's last Revision, both of the *Latin* and *French* Editions, was in 1558 (30). It was then the Work was divided into four Books, and each Book into several Chapters, which amounted in all to eighty, having eighteen in the first Book, seventeen in the second, Twenty five in the third, and twenty in the fourth. The Edition of 1550 is divided only into Twenty one. *Varillas* therefore falsely asserted, that, about the Year 1535, *Calvin's* Institution was printed in four Books, and One hundred and four Chapters (31). But he was led into that Error by *Papyrius Masso*, whose Words are these: ' Basileæ ' anno 1536, publicavit de Institutione Christianæ ' Religionis libros quatuor ---- illa Institutione ' sæpe aucta & millies excusa capitibus centum & ' quatuor ---- rejicit, &c (32). ---- *At* Basil, *in the* ' *Year* 1536, *he published the Institution of the* ' *Christian Religion, in four Books* ---- *that In-* ' *stitution being often inlarged, and a thousand times* ' *printed with One hundred and four Chapters* ---- ' *he rejects*, &c.' I have elsewhere observed (33), that *Beza* was blamed for his altering and correcting every new Edition of his Notes upon the New Testament. *Bolsec* presses *Calvin* with the same Complaints, or rather with gross Insults, for the frequent Corrections of his *Institution*. ' I can- ' not, *says he* (34), pass by one thing mentioned ' by *Beza*, to the great Honour, as he thinks, of ' his Master, Father, and Friend, *Calvin*; which ' is, that being detained at Home by Sickness, ' and hindered from his public Function, reading ' and preaching, yet he lost no time; for he stu- ' died so hard at Home, that he began and finished, ' during that Confinement, his last Christian In- ' stitution; both in *Latin* and *French*. It would be ' proper to ask *Beza* what he means by this last ' Institution, for I never saw any more than the ' first which he wrote, and published a great while ' before. If the first was so well written, and so ' intirely compleat, what need was there of mend- ' ing it so often? Here is the Discovery of a Falshood ' advanced by *Beza*, in saying his Master, Father, and ' Friend, *Calvin* was so compleatly learned, that he ' never retracted any Sentence or Proposition he once ' delivered, either in speaking or writing. For be- ' ing censured and accused of Heresy, for several ' false Propositions in the first and second Edition ' of his *Institution*, he adjusted and corrected them, ' and then, suppressing the first, he reprinted the ' same Book thus corrected. After this he bid ' Defiance to all those who censured and reproved ' his Errors, and called them Liars, Impostors, and ' Slanderers, referring himself to this last Edition ' of his *Institution*, in which he had corrected ' those Errors; and, by this Device, passed him- ' self upon the World for a perfect and infallible ' Doctor, who never retracted what he had once ' advanced.' If *Maimbourg* may be credited (35), *Calvin's Christian Institution* appeared first in *French*. *Spondanus* (36) says the same thing, and adds, that it was printed at *Basil* the first of *August*, 1535, and that it had in the Title Page a flaming Sword with this Motto, *Non veni mittere Pacem sed Gladium*, ------ *I came not to send Peace but a Sword*. I cannot tell whether they are in the right; but this I know, that, before the Year 1544 (37), there were *French* Editions of it, and that *Calvin* himself had translated it into *French*. It has appeared likewise in *Italian* (38), *High-Dutch*, *Low-Dutch*, *Spanish* (39), and *English*. But Mr *Teissier* should not have taken *Papyrius Massо's Millies Excusa* in the literal Sense. *He affirms*, saith Mr *Teissier* (40), *that it was so well received by the Public, as to pass thro' above a thousand Editions in a little time. Papyrius Massо* could never mean so. You will find, in the Remark [*BB*] of this Article, and in the Remark [*B*] of the Article SCHULTINGIUS, a Supplement to this.

(28) See Remark [*M*], of the Article STURMIUS (JOHN).

(29) Gesn. Biblioth. fol. 395, verso.

(30) Beza in Vitâ Calvini, ad Ann. 1558, *says so. But in fact, that* Calvin's *Preface to his last* Latin *Edition is dated* August 1, 1559; *and that this Edition is in Folio, printed by* Robert Stephens *at* Geneva, *is dated* 1559.

(31) Varill. Hist. de François I, lib. vii, pag. 249.

(32) Papyr. Mas. fo, Elog. Tom. II, pag. 414, 415.

(33) Above, Remark [*E*] of the Article BEZA.

(34) Hist. de Calv. cap. xxii, pag. 107.

(35) Histoire du Calvin. pag. 60.

(36) Ad Ann. 1535, n. 6.

(37) Gesn. Bibl. fol. 396, verso.

(38) See the Article PASCHALI (JULIUS CÆSAR).

(39) This was done by *Cyprian de Valera*, and printed in the Year 1597, in 4to.

(40) Eloges des Hommes Sçavans, Tom. I, pag. 246.

Here is the Extract from a Letter. ' The oldest ' Edition there is of *Calvin's* Institution, in the Li- ' brary of *Geneva*, is an Octavo of Five hundred ' and fourteen Pages, printed at *Basil*, by *Thomas* ' *Platterus* and *Balthazar Latius*, in *March*, 1536. ' At the end of the Book is the Figure of *Mi-* ' *nerva*, with this Motto, *Tu nihil invita facies* ' *dicesve Minerva*. The first Forty two Pages ' are wanting. So that it cannot be known by this ' Copy, whether the flaming Sword was in this ' Edition: It is in several others both *Latin* and ' *French*, as in a *French* one of the Year 1545, ' and another of the Year 1561 (41). I have ob- ' served

(41) Taken from a Letter of Mr *Turretin*, wrote the seventh of *June*, 1700.

his Affairs, he prepared to set out for *Strasburg*, or *Basil* [G], accompanied by *Anthony Calvin*, the only Brother he had living: But the War having left no other Passage open, but through the Duke of *Savoy*'s Dominions, he took that Course. This seemed a particular Direction of Providence, which had designed him for *Geneva*; for, intending only to take that place in his Way, he found himself detained there, as it were, by an Order from above [H]; for *William Farel* solemnly denounced

served, that *John Girard*, the Bookseller, who printed this *Institution* in *Latin*, in the Year 1550, in 4to, did not put this Motto, *Non veni pacem mittere sed gladium*, round the flaming Sword, as he did in the Title Page of *Calvin*'s Treatise against the phantastic and furious Sect of the Libertines, in the Year 1545; but I have also observed, that he has used this Motto in the *French* Edition of the *Institution*, of the Year 1553, in 4to. To conclude, I do not take this Edition of *Basil*, by *Thomas Platterus* and *Balthazar Latius*, in *March*, 1536, to have been the first: I shall give my Reasons in the Remark [B] of the Article SCULTINGIUS.

The Order of *Calvin*'s Travels.

[G] *He prepared to set out for* Strasburg *or* Basil.] Every rational Person will agree with me, that as to the Historical Order of *Calvin*'s Travels, no Author deserves more Credit than *Beza*, in such things as neither contribute to, nor diminish, *Calvin*'s Reputation. Since therefore he has told us, that *Calvin* left *Paris* in order to go to *Xaintonge*, that from *Xaintonge* he returned to *Paris*, from whence he retired to *Basil*; that from *Basil* he went to *Ferrara*, from *Ferrara* came back into *France*, and from *France* went to *Geneva* with an Intent to proceed farther, either to *Basil* or *Strasburg*, we ought to receive this Account as more authentic than those of *Maimbourg* and *Varillas*: For whether or no *Calvin* went from *Ferrara* directly to *Geneva*, or returned first into *France*, and thence to *Geneva*, is on neither side material to his Reputation. I believe therefore, all sensible Men will reject what *Maimbourg* has reported (42), that *Calvin*, having travelled into *Germany* with *Lewis du Tillet*, returned into *France*, preached secretly at *Poitiers*, where he converted some of the Magistrates and Professors, with a great many other Disciples, to whom he administered the *Sacrament*, after his Mode, in Caves; that he returned to *Paris*; that, finding the Persecution more violent than ever, he forsook *France* quite, and sheltered himself at *Basil*; that from *Basil* he went to *Ferrara*, from whence, being constrained to fly, he went to *Geneva*, with a Resolution of returning to *Basil*. The Adventures at *Poitiers* are so much to *Calvin*'s Honour, that it is very strange *Beza* should be ignorant of them, and more strange still that, if he knew them, he should take no notice of them in *Calvin*'s Life. As for Mr *Varillas*, he tells us (43), that *Calvin* and *Lewis du Tillet*, designing for *Germany*, parted at *Geneva*, *Tillet* the Register, who over-took them here, having persuaded his Brother to return; that *Calvin* continued his Journey as far as *Strasburg*; that he conferred there with *Bucer*; that he returned into *France*; that he fixed at *Poitiers*, where he gained a great many Proselytes; that he sent some of them into the Provinces, as his Apostles, to preach the Gospel; that he returned to *Paris*; that he left it soon after to go to *Strasburg*, where he founded a Church of *French* Refugees, and taught Divinity; that, having spent two full Years in this painful Occupation, he went from thence to *Ferrara*; that, not daring to stay there any longer (44), not knowing where to dispose of himself, he bent his Course to *Geneva*, where *Farel* detained him in the Year 1536. This Account is full of Falsities and Anachronisms: For, I. When *Calvin* and *Lewis du Tillet* went into *Germany*, they did not pass through *Geneva*, but through *Lorrain*, and arrived together at *Basil*. 'Secedere ex Galliâ statuit, eoque consilio una 'cum illo quicum eum apud Santonas aliquandiu 'vixisse diximus iter Basileam versus per Lotha-'ringiam ingressus, non procul urbe Metensi in 'in maximam difficultatem incidit - - - - adeo ut 'vix Argentinam indeque Basileam provenerint (45. - - - - *He determined to leave* France, *and with* 'this Resolution, *taking the Road to* Basil *through* 'Lorrain, *along with his Friend, at whose House,* 'in Xaintonge, *I have mentioned his having resided* 'for some time, *he met with so much Difficulty* 'near the City of Metz, - - - - that - - - - *he had* 'much ado to get safe to Strasburg, *and from thence* 'to Basil.' II. *Calvin* at that time only passed through *Strasburg*, and returned not into *France* till after he had seen the Court of *Ferrara*. III. He was not Minister and Professor at *Strasburg*, till after he was driven from *Geneva* in 1538. IV. Lastly, this Account suffers more than Mr *Maimbourg*'s, from *Beza*'s Silence. You may please to observe, that the Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches, wrote by this last Author, does not give the least hint, that *Calvin* had any hand in beginning the Reformation at *Poitiers* (46). Such a Silence in that History would be very unaccountable, if all the Relations of other Authors contained any thing of Truth in them. The Author of the *Historia Genevrina* (47) supposes, that *Calvin*, having left *Paris*, on account of the Edict of Banishment published against the Lutherans by Queen *Catherine* (48), who then had the whole Administration, retired to *Angoulême*, where, not being able to live any longer than three Years, he was after that constrained to pass into *Italy*, from whence escaping almost by a Miracle (49), he went to *Geneva* in 1536. One must be very cunning to find at that time a Queen *Catherine* in *France*. Besides, *Beza*, in the fourteenth Page of the first Book of his Ecclesiastical History, tells us, that *Calvin*, being retired into *Xaintonge*, returned the Year following to *Paris*.

(36) *See that* History, lib. I, pag. 63.

(47) Tom. III, pag. 152.

(48) He means, without doubt, *Catherine de Medicis*.

(49) Hist. Genev. Tom. III. pag. 40.

Observe, that *Varillas*'s Account is copied from *Florimond de Remond*: See, below, the Remark [AA]. The Principle, laid down in the beginning of this Remark, will serve very well to refute those who say (50), that *Calvin*, being a Student at *Orleans*, *revolted from the* Romish *Church, and went into* Italy, *residing principally at* Rome, Venice, *and* Padua; that he returned from thence to *Paris*; that he had like to have been seized by the Lieutenant-Criminal; that he retired to *Noion*, where he disposed of his Benefices; after which *he went into* Gascony *and* Bern, in the Year 1533, *where he was not well received, because he was a Sacramentarian*; that *he went from thence to* Geneva, *where he was very near being thrown headlong from the Bridge (a Punishment in use there), for spreading his Doctrines*; that *escaping from thence he fled to* Lausanne, *but returned a little while after to* Geneva, *where several being already infected in the Article of Religion, he from that time enjoyed his full Liberty*. This is the Substance of an Information, communicated by a Notary of *Noion* to *Cornelius Vander Myle*, which Mr *Drelincourt* has inserted in his Defence of *Calvin*, where he observes (51), that *Andrew Rivetus* had before published it in his *Jesuita Vapulans*. *James Desmay*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, published at *Roan*, 1657 (52), a little Book, intituled, *Remarks upon the Life of that Arch Heretic*, John Calvin, *extracted from the Registers of* Noion, *the Place of his Nativity*. He says (53), pag. 39, that *Calvin ran through the Universities of* Paris, Orleans, Toulouse, *and* Padua, *that he travelled to* Rome, Venice, Bern, *and to several other Places*; *that he staid but a little while at* Rome *and at* Venice; *and that he was much longer at* Padua. Reject, without scruple, out of the Catalogue of his Travels, all those which are not mentioned by *Beza*. Had they been real, he could not but have known them; and had he known them, he would infallibly have recorded them, since they would have done honour to *Calvin*'s Reputation. I am surprized to see so many unprofitable Forgeries.

(50) *See* Mr Drelincourt's Defence of *Calvin*, pag. 35, & seq.

(51) Ibid. p. 37.

(52) Ibid. p. 155.

(53) Ibid. pag. 166, 167.

[H] *He found himself detained at* Geneva - - - - - *as it were by an Order from above.*] 'Farellus ut 'erat plane vir ille spiritu quodam heroico afflatus, 'multis cum verbis frustra obtestatus, ut secum po-

'tius

(42) Histoire du Calvin. pag. 59, 60, & seq.

(43) Hist. de l'Heresie, lib. x, pag. 337, & seq.

(44) Ibid. lib. xi, pag. 3, 30.

(45) Beza in Vitâ Calvin. pag. 367, ad Ann. 1534

denounced the Curſe of GOD upon him, if he refuſed to be his Fellow-Labourer in that Part of the Vineyard. *Calvin*, therefore, found himſelf obliged to accept of the Office, which the Conſiſtory and Magiſtracy, with the Conſent of the People, had offered him, as well that of their Preacher, as Divinity Profeſſor [*I*]. The latter he complied with, and would have declined the former; but he was at laſt forced to undertake both Functions, in the Month of *Auguſt* 1536. The Year following he made all the People ſolemnly ſwear to a Form of Faith, and abjure Popery: And becauſe the Reformation of Doctrines had not removed that Corruption of Manners, which had prevailed in *Geneva*, nor that factious Spirit, which had ſo much divided the principal Families, *Calvin*, aſſiſted by his Colleagues, declared, that, as all their Remonſtrances had proved ineffectual, they could not celebrate the Holy Sacrament whilſt thoſe Diſorders continued. He declared likewiſe, that they could not ſubmit to the Regulations lately made by the Synod of *Bern* [*K*], and that they deſired to be heard in the Synod, which was held at *Zurich*. Upon this the Syndics, having ſummoned the People, *Calvin* (*c*), *Farel*, and another Miniſter, were ordered to depart the City in two Days time, for refuſing to adminiſter the Sacrament. *Calvin* retired to *Straſburg*, where *Bucer* and *Capito* gave him a thouſand Marks of their Friendſhip and Eſteem. He founded a *French* Church at *Straſburg*, where he himſelf was the firſt Miniſter, being likewiſe appointed Divinity Profeſſor. However he continued his Affection for the Church of *Geneva*, which appeared, among other Things, in the Anſwer, he compoſed in 1539, to the fine artful Letter of Cardinal *Sadolet* (*d*) [*L*], Biſhop of *Carpentras*. Two Years after, The Divines of *Straſburg* deſired he might aſſiſt at the Diet the Emperor had called at *Worms* and *Ratiſbonne*, to ſee if it were poſſible to reconcile the Differences in Religion. He therefore appeared there along with *Bucer*, and conferred with *Melanchthon*. They of *Geneva* made ſuch preſſing Inſtances to have him again, that at laſt he agreed to continue their Miniſter for a certain Term (*e*): but they were to wait for his Return from the Diet of *Ratiſbonne*. He re-entred *Geneva* the thirteenth of *September*, 1541, to the infinite Satisfaction of the People and Magiſtracy. The firſt thing he did, was to eſtabliſh a Form of Diſcipline, and a Conſiſtorial Juriſdiction, with Power to exerciſe Canonical Cenſures and Puniſhments, even to Excommunication excluſive. This diſpleaſed a great many, who urged, that it was reſtoring the *Roman* Tyranny; however the thing was executed: And this new Canon paſſed into a Law, in a general Aſſembly of the People, the twentieth of *November*, 1541. Both the Clergy and Laity engaged themſelves to a perpetual obſervance of it. The inflexible Severity, with which *Calvin*, on all Occaſions, maintained the Rights of his Conſiſtory, raiſed him a great many Enemies (*f*), and occaſioned ſome Diſorders in the Town. He was frighted at nothing; and it would be difficult to believe, if there were not inconteſtable

(*c*) In 1538.

(*d*) He wrote it to the Senate, Council, and People of *Geneva*, to exhort them to return into the Boſom of the Church.

(*e*) This Clauſe was afterwards releaſed, by the Magiſtrates of *Straſburg*.

(*f*) See the Article BERTELIER.

tius Genevæ laboraret, quàm longius excurreret, nec ei facilè Calvinus aſſentiretur. At ego tibi, inquit, ſtudia tua prætexenti denuntio omnipotentis Dei nomine, futurum ut niſi in opus iſtud Domini nobiſcum incumbas, tibi non tam Chriſtum quam teipſum quærenti Dominus maledicat (54). —— Farel *being a Man of a truly heroic Spirit, after having uſed a great many Arguments to no purpoſe, to prevail with* Calvin *to ſtay and aſſiſt him at* Geneva, *rather than proceed any further, ſaid to him, Behold I declare to you, in the name of Almighty* GOD, *that unleſs you will here become Fellow-Labourer in the Work of the* LORD, *his Curſe will be upon you for ſeeking yourſelf rather than* CHRIST.'

(54) Beza in Vitâ Calvini, pag. 368.

[*I*] *He accepted the Office —— —— as well of Preacher, as Divinity Profeſſor.*] This is ſo plain from *Beza*, that Mr *Moreri* could not poſſibly be deceived. 'Calvinus ſeſe Presbyterii, & Magiſtratus voluntati permiſit, quorum Suffragiis accedente plebis conſenſu delectus non Concionator tantum (hoc autem primum recuſârat) ſed etiam ſacrarum literarum Doctor, quod unum admittebat, eſt deſignatus Anno Dom. 1536. menſe Auguſto (55). —— Calvin *complied with the deſires of the Miniſters and Magiſtrates, by whoſe Election, together with the conſent of the People, he was not only appointed to the Office of Preacher (which he at firſt refuſed) but alſo to that of Profeſſor of Divinity, (which was the only one he liked) in* Auguſt 1536.' What can be more particular? And yet neither Mr *Spon* nor Mr *Leti* among the Proteſtants, nor *Maimbourg* among the Papiſts, have underſtood this Fact. *Farel*, willing to detain *Calvin* at *Geneva*, ſays *Spon* (56), 'was refuſed by him a long time; but *Farel*, perſiſting more vehemently in his Importunities, prevailed with him at laſt, not to preach, but to teach Divinity. Mr Leti *ſays at much. Calvino*

(55) Id. ibid.

(56) Hiſt. de Genev. lib. III. pag. 243.

ſi laſcio perſuadere di fermarſi non gia con la condition di predicare, di che ne laſciava a gli altri la cura, ma d'inſegnare la Theologia (57). —— *Calvin was perſuaded to ſtay, not in the Capacity of Preacher, which he choſe to leave to others, but of Profeſſor of Divinity.*' And here are *Maimbourg*'s Words: 'They divided between them the Employments of the Miniſtry. *Farel*, who uſed to thunder from the Pulpit, continued his Sermons, and *Calvin*, who had not the Faculty of ſpeaking in public, undertook to teach Divinity, as he underſtood it, without having ſtudied it (58).

(57) Hiſtoria Genev. Tom. III. pag. 41.

(58) Hiſt. de Calvin. pag. 64.

[*K*] *He declared —— that they could not ſubmit to the Regulations, lately made by the Synod of* Bern.] The Church of *Geneva* made uſe of leavened Bread in the Communion: They had likewiſe removed out of their Churches the Baptiſmal Fonts; and aboliſhed all Feſtivals except *Sundays*. Now the Churches of the Canton of *Bern* diſapproved of theſe three Things; and, by an Act made in a Synod held at *Lauſanne*, required that the uſe of unleavened Bread, the Baptiſmal Fonts, and the Feſtivals ſhould be eſtabliſhed again in *Geneva*. Theſe were the Regulations, with which *Calvin* refuſed to comply (59).

(59) Beza in Vitâ Calvini pag. 369, ad Ann. 1538.

[*L*] *The Anſwer, he compoſed in the Year* 1539, *to the —— Letter of Cardinal* Sadolet.] This Anſwer is in *Calvin*'s Volume of *Opuſcula*; it was dated at *Strasburg* the firſt of *September* 1539, and it is certain *Calvin* did not return to *Geneva* till 1541. This has not been ſufficiently attended to, in the *Hiſtoria Genevrina* (60). *Queſta Lettera fu - - - - - ancora communicata à Calvino in Straſburg; che pure riſpoſe ma dopo ritornato in Geneva.* —— *This Letter was communicated to* Calvin *at* Strasburg; *which he anſwered indeed, but not till after he returned to* Geneva.

(60) Tom. III. pag. 59.

[*M*] *It*

teſtable Proofs of it, that, in the midſt of ſo many Agitations at home, he could ſhew ſo much Care, as he did, of the Churches abroad, in *France* (*g*), in *Germany*, in *England*, and in *Poland*, and write ſo many Books [*M*], and Letters. He did more by his Pen than by his Preſence; nor did he fail to appear ſometimes in Perſon upon Occaſion; as particularly at *Frankfort*, in 1556, to compoſe the Differences which divided the *French* Church. He had been ſick a little before, and the Report, which was ſpread abroad of his Death, was received with no ſmall Joy among the Catholics [*N*]. He lived in continual Action, and almoſt conſtantly with his Pen in his Hand, even when Sickneſs confined him to his Bed: He lived, I ſay, in perpetual Labours, ariſing from his Zeal for the general Good of the Churches, till the Twenty ſeventh of *May*, 1564 (*b*). He was a Man on whom God had conferred extraordinary Talents, a great deal of Wit, an exquiſite Judgment, a faithful Memory [*O*], an able, indefatigable, and elegant, Pen, an extenſive Knowledge, and a great Zeal for the Truth. *Joſeph Scaliger*, who ſcarce thought any Man worth his commending, could not forbear admiring him (*i*). He praiſes him, among other things, for not commenting on the *Revelations* [*P*]. The Catholics have at laſt been forced to acknowledge the Falſity of thoſe infamous Calumnies publiſhed againſt *Calvin*'s Morals: Their beſt Pens are now content [*Q*] to ſay, that, though he was free from corporeal Vices, he was not ſo from ſpiritual

(*g*) *See* Paſquier, Recherches de la France, lib. viii, cap. iv.

(*b*) *Taken from his Life written by* Beza.

(*i*) *See the* Scaligerana.

[*M*] *It would be difficult to believe - - - - that he could - - - - write ſo many Books.*] The *Geneva* Edition of his Works comprehends twelve Volumes in Folio. That of *Amſterdam*, 1667, has reduced them to Nine. His Commentaries on the Bible are the moſt conſiderable Part of the Works of *Calvin*. See the Judgment Father *Simon* has made of theſe Commentaries (61); 'it is part good, and part bad,' but, taken all together, it diſtinguiſhes and honours *Calvin*'s Merit, to a very great degree. There is a Jeſuit who falſly ſuppoſes, that *Calvin*, after *Servetus*'s Puniſhment, publiſhed a Book *De non caſtigandis Hæreticis*. He alledges it as a Proof that the Spirit of Hereſy is for uniting Contradictions: 'A 'thing, *ſays he* (62), never ſo notoriouſly remarka-'ble as in the Perſon of *John Calvin* - - - - for, as 'ſoon as *Calvin* had got *Servetus* condemned to 'die for the Innovations and Atheiſm he introduced 'into *Geneva*, immediately after that curſed Heretic 'was burnt, and his Aſhes diſperſed by the Winds, 'Calvin wrote a Book *De non caſtigandis Hæreticis*, 'contradicting his Action by his Doctrine. Thus 'wicked Men fight againſt themſelves, like *Ari-'ſtotle*'s Antiphero.' *All this is ridiculous*; for Calvin, *on the contrary, after* Servetus's *Execution, publiſhed a Book intituled*, Fidelis Expoſitio errorum Michaelis Serveti, & brevis eorundem refutatio, ubi docetur jure gladii coërcendos eſſe Hæreticos: a Book which makes the Author ſtill terribly exclaimed againſt. This Falſhood, vented againſt *Calvin*, could no where appear better than in the Remark which concerns his Writings.

(61) Hiſtoire Critique du Vieux Teſtament, lib. iii, cap. xiv, pag. 434, & ſeq.

(62) Caraffe, Doctrine Curieuſe, pag. 230.

[*N*] *The Report, which was ſpread abroad of his Death, was received with no ſmall Joy among the Catholics.*] In the Year 1556, he was ſeized in his Sermon with a fit of a Tertain Ague, and being thereby obliged to quit the Pulpit, there were a thouſand Lies ſpread about it. *Beza* adds, that the Canons of *Noion* made a ſolemn Proceſſion to thank Heaven for the Death of the Arch-Heretic born in their City. *Multis inde falſis ſecutis Rumoribus, uſque uſque adeo Pontificiis gratis, ut de Calvini morte ſolenni ſupplicatione Novioduni, Calvini patria, Canonici ſui idoli, gratias egerint* (63). I am afraid the Author's Memory gave him the ſlip here. I doubt he has confounded the Year 1551 with 1556. I have elſewhere (64) cited a Paſſage of *Calvin*, which ſhews that this Proceſſion of the Canons, his Townſmen, by way of Thanksgiving for his ſuppoſed Death, was in 1551. Would they have repeated it Five Years after upon the like falſe Report? I can ſcarce conceive this; but think it much more likely, that *Beza*, writing ſeveral Years after, might be miſtaken as to the Time. The beſt of Memories make ſuch ſlips oftner than we imagine.

(63) Beza in Vitâ Calvini, pag. 379, ad Ann. 1556.

(64) In Citat. (8), of the Article BERTELIER.

[*O*] *He had a faithful Memory.*] His Hiſtorian gives us theſe Inſtances of it. 'He remembered 'People he had ſeen but once, ſeveral Years after; 'whenever he was dictating any thing, and happened 'to be interrupted for ſome Hours, he renewed the 'Thread of the Diſcourſe without having occaſion 'to be reminded where it was he left off; he never 'forgot any thing he had once intruſted to his Memory, I ſpeak of ſuch things as it was his Duty to remember. 'Memoriæ incredibilis, ut quos ſe-'mel aſpexiſſet, multis poſt annis ſtatim agnoſ-'ceret, & inter dictandum ſæpe aliquot horas 'interturbatus, ſtatim ad dictata nullo commone-'faciente rediret, & eorum quæ ipſum noſſe mu-'neris ſui cauſa intereſſet, quantumvis multiplici-'bus & infinitis negotiis oppreſſus, nunquam tamen 'obliviſceretur (65).'

(65) Beza in Vitâ Calvini, pag. 386.

[*P*] Scaliger, *among other things, commended him for not commenting on the* Revelations.] He owned him however for the happieſt of all the Commentators, in apprehending the Senſe of the Prophets. 'O *quam Calvinus bene aſſequitur mentem Prophetarum! nemo melius* (66). Since then he adds, *Sapit quod in Apocalypſim non ſcripſit*, that is to ſay, *He was in the right not to attempt the* Revelations; he muſt be of Opinion, that there was nothing to be done on that Book. I have read in *Bodin* what I am going to relate: 'In oraculis interpretandis, malui judi-'ciorum illam formulam, NON LIQUET, uſur-'pare, quàm temerè ex aliorum opinione non intel-'lecta cuiquam aſſentiri. Ac valde mihi probatur 'Calvini non minus urbana quàm prudens oratio: 'qui de libro Apocalypſeos ſententiam rogatus, in-'genuè reſpondit, ſe penitus ignorare quid velit 'tam obſcurus ſcriptor: qui qualiſque fuerit non-'dum conſtat inter eruditos (67). —— *In interpre-'ting the Scriptures, I had rather uſe that Ju-'dicial Form,* IT DOES NOT APPEAR, *than 'raſhly ſubſcribe to the Opinion of another which I 'do not underſtand. And I am very much pleaſed 'with that Saying of* Calvin's, *which was no leſs 'candid than diſcreet; who, being aſked his Opinion 'of the Book of the* Revelations, *replied ingenuouſly, 'that he was not able to underſtand any thing in ſo 'obſcure a Writer, whoſe Name and Hiſtory were 'not yet ſettled among the learned.*' I ſhould be glad to know whether *Calvin* ſaid this in any of his Writings, or only in Converſation: I am more apt to believe the latter; for it would not have become a Man of his Character to declare, that the learned were not yet agreed who was the Author of the *Revelations*.

(66) In Scaligeranis, pag. 41.

(67) Bodin Method. Hiſtor. cap. vii, pag. 416.

[*Q*] *The Catholics have been forced to acknowledge the Falſity of thoſe - - - Calumnies publiſhed againſt his Morals: their choiceſt Pens are now content*, &c.] I would not be here interpreted in a more general Senſe, than theſe ſort of Propoſitions are able to bear. I know Cardinal *Richelieu*, or that excellent Pen, which has publiſhed, under his Eminency's Name, *La methode pour convertir*, has adopted *Boſſet*'s Impertinencies. It is therefore very poſſible, that even now-a-days ſome famous Author may be of the ſame Opinion: I do not pretend to deny it. I only ſay, that, in general, the beſt Authors talk no more in that ſtrain. As for the vulgar Writers, who, as *Papyrius Maſſo* remarks (68), firſt ſpread theſe ſcandals, they will never renounce them. They are a ſort of People who let no News whatever be loſt, if it does but pleaſe them; ſo that, Thanks to their Diligence, one may ſay, there is not ſo much as a ſcurvy Gazetteer but may promiſe to himſelf Immortality,

(68) Plebei ſcriptores libidines et ſcortationeſque objicunt, nemo tamen adulteris acrius odiſſe videbatur. *Papyr. Maſſo in Elog. Tom. II, p. 429.*

ritual ones, such as Pride, Passion, Slander, &c. There goes a pleasant Story of his Devotion for St *Hubert* [*R*]. They, who esteem it a Fable, on the Supposition that *Calvin* had no Children, are mistaken; for it is not true that his Marriage was fruitless [*S*]. Nothing shews more apparently the ill Effects Zeal has upon the

mortality, for the gross lies he invents with his Pipe in his Mouth. They will be copied, in a few Months after, by one or other of these worthy Authors, and repeated from time to time by others, as occasion shall happen; and if they may be serviceable either to any private or public Interests, some two or three hundred Years afterwards, they will be found in some Library among satirical Collections, and quoted in some new Libel (69). As long as there are any *Calvinists* in the World, and they have any Enemies, *Bolsec*'s Book will have this Fate (70). But it will suffice for an eternal Conviction of his Calumnies, that there are among the Catholics several grave Authors, who will not in the least countenance his Stories; which is a demonstrative Proof, that they are without Foundation. Had they carried the least appearance of Truth, they would not so readily have been relinquished with all their Advantages. This Observation is very material. One of the most dignified Authors we can meet with (71), has lately copied after *Bolsec*.

(69) See, below, Remark [*A*], of the Article CAPET.

(70) *You may find his Calumnies in the* Systema Decre orum dogmaticorum, *published at Avignon, in* 1693, *by* Francis Porter, Hibernus Medensis, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Provinciæ Hiberniæ, olim in Romano Sancti Isidori Collegio Sacræ Theologiæ Professor Primarius, & nunc Lector b s jubilatus, ac Serenissimi Magnatis Britanniæ Theologus & Historicus.

(71) See the foregoing Quotation.

[*R*] *There goes a pleasant Story of his Devotion for St* Hubert.] It says, that *Calvin*, after having, in vain, applyed all proper Remedies for the Recovery of his Son, who was bit by a mad Dog, had at last Recourse to the Intercession of St *Hubert*: And adds, that the Son of this Arch-Heretic, having performed all the necessary Devotions at the Shrine of this Saint, was cured of his double Frenzy, one communicated by the Dog, the other by his Father; and a copy of Verses is quoted, which was composed on that Subject. 'Notabile illud fuit, filium 'Calvini frustrà expertum alia quævis amuleta, mis- 'sum Genevâ Andanum ab impio & sacrilego pa- 'rente, ut ibi ope sancti Huberti à rabidi canis 'morsu curaretur. Quemadmodum ille reipsâ ibi- 'dem, abjuratâ simul hæresi, ab utraque, hoc est, 'caninâ & Calviniana, rabie convaluit. Exstant 'verò de eâ re carmina Bartholomæi Honorii, Poetæ 'illius ætatis (72).' These are the Verses (73).

(72) Silvester à Petra-sancta, Notis in Epistol. Molinæi ad Balsacum, cap. xvii, pag. 171.

(73) John Chappeville, *Canon and Great Vicar of* Liege, *published them, and after him* Le Vasseur, *quoted in* Dre. Incourt's *Defence of Calvin, pag.* 198.

Scis quid Calvinus Sanctorum fecerit osor,
A cane cum rabido filius ictus erat?
Tentavit medicis illum sanare venenis,
Quæ Pedemontanus jussit Alexis emi.
Sed Deus hunc non est medicinâ passus abuti,
Ne quis ob hoc Divos temneret Hæreticus.
Namque opus invalidum Calvini reddidit, ut se
Per cunctos cuivis ferre probaret opem.
Ille itaque incassum sudans, est nocte coactus
Pignus in Ardennam mittere languidulum.
Immortalis ubi Numen se pandit Huberti,
Talia qui CHRISTI vulnera curat ope.
Venit eò proles scelerati manca parentis,
Et supplex aras procidit ante sacras.
Quodque precabatur superos erat, ut sibi vellent
E membris morbum pellere tabificum.
Neve sibi objicerent male sani dogmata patris,
Quæ modo per Mundi climata nota forent.
Nam se cum stolido non consentire parente,
Velle sed in veteri Religione mori.
Hæc ubi fatus erat, sacra cum veste Sacerdos
Prodiit, illius vulnera dira fovens.
Nec multos mansisse dies narratur fidem,
Quin fuerit dono sanus, Huberte, tuo.
Sparserat interea Calvinus in urbe Geneva,
Saxonicas natum nuper adisse plagas;
Ille quidem dignus, non qui luat à canetali
Vindictam, sed quem Cerberus ipse voret.

While furious Calvin *did the Saints detest,*
A mad Dog's Bite his darling Son distrest.
To pow'rful Med'cine strait for Aid he flies;
But pow'rful Med'cine all it's Aid denies.
The Father's Heresy does Heav'n displease,
And thus is punish'd in the Son's Disease.

All human means still crossing his Design,
By Night he sends him to St Hubert's *Shrine:*
Where Crowds of Sick attend the healing Pow'r,
And Divine Miracles perform the Cure.
Here prostrate, he the holy Place adores,
Recants his Father's Creed, and Health implores;
The solemn Priest his sacred Talent shews,
Washes the Wound, and Hubert's *Boon bestows.*
Calvin, *ashamed the Miracle to own,*
Pretends in foreign Parts the Cure was done:
Worthy himself the worst of Bites to feel
By making Cerberus *one hungry Meal.*

This deserves no Confutation, no more than what we meet with in *Varillas*; I. That *Calvin*, being exhorted by a Canon to return into the Bosom of the Catholic Church, answered, *That since he had engaged himself in these novel Doctrines, he would persist in them to the end; but that if he was to begin again, he would never forsake the Faith of his Fathers.* II That *Calvin*'s *Nephew* —— *asked him one Day, if it was possible for a Man to be saved in the Romish Communion? To which he replied, it was.* III. That *a Catholic exhorting him once to retract, he answered, with a sigh, it is too late* (74). These are things an Author, who rightly understands his Duty, would never venture to publish; because, if they be denied, he must be reduced to a shameful Silence.

(74) Varill. Hist. de l'Heresie, lib. x, pag. 336.

[*S*] *It is not true, that his Marriage was fruitless.*] *Calvin* was not so eager for Marriage, as some others. He was full thirty Years old when he married *Idelette de Bure* (75), the Widow of an Anabaptist, whom he had converted. He married her at *Strasburg* by the Advice of his Patron *Martin Bucer* (76). She had Children by her former Husband *John Stordeur*, a Native of *Liege* (77), and died in the beginning of 1549, to the great Grief of *Calvin* (78), who continued a Widower all the rest of his Life. See what he says for himself, in his Answer to the Reproach cast upon the Reformers, as if they warred against *Rome* for the same Reasons the *Grecians* did against *Troy*, for the Sake of a Woman. 'Fingunt adversarii nos mulierum causa- 'quasi Trojanum bellum moviss. Ut alios in 'præsentia omittam: me saltem ab hoc probro im- 'munem esse concedant necesse est. Quo mihi ad 'refellendam eorum putidam garrulitatem major sup- 'petit libertas. Cum semper ad ducendam uxorem 'sub Papæ tyrannide liber fuerim, ex quo me in- 'de eripuit Dominus, per annos complures sponte 'cælebs vixi. Mortua uxore, singularis exempli 'fœmina, jam sesquiannus est, ex quo non invitus 'cœlibatum rursus colo (79). —— *Our Adversaries pretend we wage a sort of* Trojan *War for a Woman. To say nothing of others at present; they must allow myself at least to be free from this Charge. Since I am more particularly able in my own Case to refute this scurrilous Reflexion. For notwithstanding I was at liberty under the Tyranny of the Pope to have married, from the time of the Lord releasing me from thence, for many Years, I voluntarily led a single Life. It is now a Year and half since I buried my Wife, a Woman of singular Virtue, from which time I have again preferred a single Life.* His Wife brought him a Son, who died before his Father. This is a Particular he has delivered to the Public, in answer to those who reproached him for being childless (80). 'Crimen ἀσορχίας sibi objectum diluere volens '(Balduinus) orbitatem mihi exprobrat. Dederat 'mihi Deus filiolum: abstulit: hoc quoque recen- 'set inter probra liberis me carere. Atqui mihi 'filiorum sunt myriades in toto orbe Christiano '(81). —— *To wipe off the Charge of want of natural Affection, which had been objected to him,* (Balduin), *he accuses me of being childless. GOD was pleased to give me a Son, and to take him away again: and this he makes a Reflexion upon me to be without Children. But I have Children innumerable*

(75) Papyr. Mass. Elog. p. 418.

(76) Beza in Vitâ Calvin. pag. 370.

(77) Papyr. Mass. pag. 418.

(78) See his 101st and 102d Letters.

(79) Calvin. in Tractatu de Scandalis, pag. 100. *This Tract is dated* July 10, 1550. *See the* Critique Generale du Calvinisme de Maimbourg, *pag.* 155, *of the third Edition.*

(80) Tractat. Theol. pag. 369.

(81) See what use the Bishop of *Meaux*, in his *Hist. des Variations, lib.* ix, *n.* 78, has made of these Words, to accuse *Calvin* of Pride; and Dre. Incourt's Answer in his *Defence de Calv. pag.* 313, to those who had reproached him before with the same thing.

the Judgment, than to see Authors of Reputation affirm, with all the Seriousness imaginable, that *Calvin* had a mind to make the World believe he could raise the dead [*T*]. It is not long since a young Abbot accused him of a Thought altogether brutal; but being called upon to produce the Passage, which he pretended to have met with, and not doing it (*k*), we may place this Accusation in the Number of convicted Calumnies. Mr *Moreri* has not been so much out in this Article, as might have been expected [*U*]. He doth not deny, but *Calvin* was Master

(*k*) *See the* Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, *June* 1685, pag. 688, *of the second Edition.*

'*numerable through the whole Christian World.*' Had *Papyrius Masso* known this Passage, he would never have said, that *Calvin* could get no Children. *Eam sibi matrimonio junxit irrita spe prolis & liberorum, nullos enim suscipere potuit. Spondanus* has repeated the same thing, and added this Observation, that *Calvin*'s Wife had brought Children to a former Husband. *Idelettam Buriam matrimonio sibi junxit & multis annis cum ea vixit, nullis tamen susceptis liberis, quamvis illa ex priori marito nonnullos haberet* (82). *Florimond de Remond* had observed before, that *it was a Marriage deemed to a perpetual Barrenness, though* Idelette *was young and handsome* (83). But why should we wonder at the Mistake of these three Authors, when even *Rivetus*, a Minister of great Reading, did not know *Calvin* had been a Father. Amongst other things he has urged against the Fable of *Calvin*'s Son being cured by the Intercession of St *Hubert*, he says, he thinks it impossible to prove *Calvin* ever had a Son. '*Varnus ego sim si ille vel quisquam alius unquam probet Calvinum fuisse filii parentem, nedum ut filium suum miserit Huberto sanandum, quod nemo etiam creditura esset mente sanus, vel si decem liberos habuisset Calvinus. Ergo Bartholomæus ille non Honorius, sed inglorius & infamis manebit, qui secum miserum Loyolitam in participationem infamiæ pertraxit* (84).' And in another place, he says positively, that *Calvin* never had a Son: *Claudit miraculorum Huberti specimine in filio Calvini, qui nunquam fuit in rerum natura* (85).

(82) Spondan. Annal. 1538, n. 12.

(83) Flor. de Remond. Hist. de l'Hereſie, lib. vii, cap. xvii, pag. 926.

(84) Rivet. Castig. Notarum Silvestri Petrasanctæ, cap. i, Oper. Tom. iii, pag. 495.

(85) Ibid. cap. xix, n. 5, pag. 558.

[*T*] *Authors of Reputation affirm, with all the Seriousness imaginable, that he had a Mind to make the World believe he could raise the Dead.*] *Claudius Espencæus* was, without doubt, a very learned Man, and one of the most illustrious Divines of the XVIth Century; and yet was so weak as to take upon himself the publishing this silly Story. '*Alii etiam illum nescio quem vivum pro mortuo cadavere excitando universo etiam teste populo supposuisse fabulantur, quod non minus putidum mendacium quam si Romæ Papa fuisse diceretur, ausus est rapsodus ille Sorbonicus Claudius Spensæus maledicentissimo quodam libro inculcare* (86).' Had there been at that time any Missionaries, Cutlers, or Coblers, by Trade, it would have been no wonder if they had diverted the Mob in the Market-Place, on a Holy-Day, with a burlesque Recital of such a Story; but for Men of Gravity to publish such a thing, is very extraordinary. They, who have been guilty of this Folly, are not at all to be pitied, whenever we find them under *Beza*'s Correction (87): though upon another Subject his Censures might appear too violent. If *Calvin* had met with the Adventure *Bolsec* speaks of in his thirteenth Chapter, *if he had undertaken to raise one who pretended to be really dead, and who proved really to be so, Balduin* would not have spared him (88), but made him suffer all the Mortifications so monstrous an Imposture must have deserved. He has not one word of it, directly nor indirectly; from whence we may conclude the Story to be nothing but a ridiculous Romance. *Bolsec* produces no other evidence for it than a Woman banished from *Geneva*. '*It was, says he*, the Widow of the very Man, who was to pretend himself dead, and to revive when *Calvin* should give the Word.' A very worthy Witness! Out of her own Mouth she might have been judged and condemned. She confessed, that, for the Sake of a Share in the Church Alms, she engaged to serve *Calvin* in so abominable a Cheat, and that she carried on the Farce, till the Loss of her Husband obliged her to make a Discovery. Was not this owning herself wicked enough to traduce *Calvin*, at the Pleasure of those who would reward her for her Pains (89)? Surely he must be as foolish as she was wicked, or rather as wicked as herself, who can encourage her Story. There are several Writers of this Class; and amongst the rest, *Baronius*'s *Continuator* (90). Father *Labbe* has set down the very Year in which this wonderful Prodigy happened; nay, if one had a mind to be nicely critical, we might affirm that he has marked even the Day: for see how he expresses himself under the Year 1553. '*Calvin* caused *Servetus* to be burned at *Geneva*, on the Twenty seventh of *October*, and, pretending by his Prayers to raise a poor Fellow, whom he had suborned to feign himself dead, he made the Man play his part so long till he was dead indeed (91).' *Varillas* was clear-sighted enough to see the Absurdity of this Story, but too cautious to publish his own Sentiments of it. He left out of his History of *Francis* I what he had writ upon that Subject; but as there were Copies of his Manuscript abroad, it was easy to know his Thoughts, and to publish them to the World in the *Holland* Edition. Here are his Words, which he durst not publish: '*Calvin* was very far from pretending to raise the Dead, having maintained that all real Miracles became useless after the first Establishment of the Christian Religion: and as far from putting Money out to Usury, being contented with a Pension of an hundred Crowns a Year for the Maintenance of his Family (92).' This is all taken from *Masso*, pag. 431, 432.

(86) Beza in Vitâ Calvini, sub fin.

(87) See the preceding Citation.

(88) *See* Papyr. Masso, in Vitâ Calvini, p. 432.

(89) They do not enough attend to this Thought in those Countries where Witnesses recant so often, and impeach the Suborner.

(90) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1553, n. 15.

(91) Chronologue Françoise, Tom. V, p. 766.

(92) You will find this Passage between two Crotchets, in the History of *Francis* I. Tom. II, lib. vii, pag. 255. Edit. of the *Hague*, 1690.

[*U*] *Mr Moreri has not been so much out in this Article as might have been expected.*] I insist only upon Errors of Fact, and among them too, upon those only which I can refute otherwise, than by a bare Comparison of the Encomiums *Calvin* has received from his Friends, with the Calumnies he has met with from his Enemies. I say then, I. *Mr Moreri* is liable to the Censure mentioned above, concerning *Calvin*'s Return into *France*, after his Rupture with the Canon *du Tillet*. Nay, he seems to have given himself a greater Latitude than others; for he supposes that *Calvin*, after his Return, spread his Doctrines not only at *Poitiers* and *Bourdeaux*, but also at *Angoulême*, where, according to *Maimbourg*, he durst not shew his Head after *Lewis du Tillet*'s Conversion (93). II. *Moreri* saith, *Calvin fell in Love with a very fine Woman called* Idelette de Bure, married to an Anabaptist of *Leige*, and that *she being left a Widow some time after, he married her.* I never met with any Author (94), who says, this Woman was handsome, or that *Calvin* fell in Love with her before she was a Widow. *Bucer* was the Cause of his marrying her; so that it was not a Match of his own seeking. III. Bolsec —— *reports several things, upon the Subject of this Match of* Calvin's, *every particular, though perhaps not altogether true; he gives however a pretty good Account of the Persons and Places he knew.* So says *Moreri*: Now it is certain, *Bolsec* has not mentioned *Calvin*'s Match, nor said one Word good or bad of *Idelette*. IV. Calvin *had no Children by this Wife*. V. *He published his Institution, at* Basil, in 1534, under the Name of *Alcuin*, which is the Anagram of his own Name. I have already said, that the Epistle Dedicatory of this Book is dated from *Basil* the first of *August*, 1536; though I owned at the same time, that it was impossible to make this Date agree with *Beza*'s Account of *Calvin*'s Travels from the Publication of this Book to his Establishment at *Geneva* in *August* 1536. The most proper Expedient to obviate this Difficulty, in my Opinion, is, to alter the Date of that Dedication, from 1536 to 1535 (96); for *Calvin*'s Institution must of necessity have appeared in 1535. The Shifts, made use of in *Germany* to palliate the Executions of the *Lutherans* by *Francis* I, made *Calvin* resolve to publish this Piece (97); as he himself tells us, '*Quum incognitus Basileæ laterem, quia multis pios hominibus in Gallia exactis grave passim apud Germanos odium ignes illi excitaverant, sparsi sunt ejus*

(93) See Remark [*D*].

(94) *Except* Florimond de Remond, *above*, Cit. (83).

(95) In Remark [*S*].

(96) *Spondanus, ad Ann.* 1535, n. 6, says, that this Year, *August* 1, *Calvin* first published his Institution. *Beza* in his *History of the Reformed Churches*, lib. i, pag. 22, places the first Publication of this Book in 1535; and note, that the Epistle Dedicatory has at the bottom of it 1535, in some Editions, as in the *French* one of *Geneva*, in 8vo, 1566.

(97) Beza in vit. Calv. p. 307.

Master of a great many extraordinary Qualities. There are a great many among the *Roman* Catholics, who would do *Calvin* Justice if they durst speak their Thoughts. *Guy Patin* has taught us to make this Judgment [*X*]. It was he who was the Cause of the Life of this Reformer, wrote by *Papyrius Masso*, being made public [*Y*]. This Life has done a great deal of Mischief to the Copiers of *Belsec*;

ejus restinguendi causa improbi & mendaces libelli, non alios tam crudeliter tractari quam Anabaptistas, ac turbulentos homines qui perversis deliriis non religionem modo, sed totum ordinem politicum convellerent. Ego hocab auditis artificiibus agi videns, non modo ut indigna sanguinis innoxii effusio falsa sanctorum martyrum infamia sepeliretur, sed ut posthac per cædes quascunque absque ullius misericordia grassari liceret, silentium meum non posse à perfidia excusari censui, nisi me pro virili opponerem. Hæc mihi edendæ Institutionis causa fuit (98). — *While I remained concealed at Basil, because the burning of so many pious Men in* France *had raised every where, among the* Germans, *the utmost Abhorrence; several wicked and scandalous Libels were handed about to palliate it, under pretence that these Cruelties were only exercised against Anabaptists, and other Incendiaries, who by their enthusiastical Doctrines not only attempted the Ruin of Religion, but also of Government itself. Upon my observing this Piece of Court Policy, contrived not only to bury the most barbarous Effusion of so much innocent Blood in the forged Infamy of the pious Martyrs, but also to give a free Scope to future Executions without the Pity of any one, I thought my Silence would be perfidious, if I did not do my endeavour to defeat it. This was the Occasion of my publishing my Institution.'* Now the Martyrdom of these *Lutherans* fell in *Jan.* 1535. This Piece therefore must have been sent to the Press after *January*, 1535, and by consequence the Year 1534, set down by *Moreri* for the Edition of it, must be a Mistake. The Edition could not be in 1536, because it is certain, that, presently after this Book appeared abroad, *Calvin* went into *Italy* to the Duchess of *Ferrara*; from whence coming into *France*, and designing to return towards the *Rhine*, he passed by *Geneva*, where he settled in *August* 1536. *Beza* is not the only Man, who tells us *Calvin* retired from *Basil* after this Book was printed: We have it from *Calvin* himself, and with this Circumstance, that no body knew he was the Author of it (99). Read the Preface, wherein he says so, and likewise informs us, that his natural Bashfulness made him decline appearing publickly, and forced him to conceal himself without minding his Reputation: Read, I say, his Preface to the Psalms. As for the name *Alcuin*, see the Remark [*BB*].

(98) Calv. Præf. in Psalmos.

(99) An propositum esset mihi famam aucupari patuit ex brevi discessu, præsertim quum nemo illic sciverit me authorem esse. *Calv. Præf. in Psalmos.*

There is, in *Moreri*'s Supplement, an Article of *Calvin*, taken word for word out of *Maimbourg*'s History of *Calvinism*: I should therefore be guilty of needless Repetitions, if I undertook to censure it here. You will find it done in the foregoing Remarks.

[*X*] *A great many — Catholics — would do him Justice — if they durst.* Guy Patin *has taught us to make this Judgment.*] 'As for *Calvin*, 'I am very well informed of his Merit. Mr *Tarin* 'gave me an extraordinary Encomium on him, a 'long time ago; when I was not above twenty 'Years old. *Joseph Scaliger* said, *Calvin* was the 'greatest Wit the World had seen since the Apostles (100). — No Man ever understood Ecclesiastical 'History like him. At the Age of Twenty two, 'he was the most learned Man in *Europe*. I was 'once at an Entertainment given by one who 'commenced Doctor, where an old Doctor, named '*Basin*, said, that *Calvin* had perverted all the 'Scriptures: but I took up this good Man, and 'made him so ridiculous, that Mr *Guenaut* the 'younger, who sat near me, told me I was too 'hard upon him, and that I ought to take pity 'on his Age and Weakness. *John de Monluc*, Bishop of *Valence*, used to say, that *Calvin* was the 'greatest Divine in the World. Never fear that any 'one will venture to say as much at *Rome* (101).

(100) I cannot think *Scaliger* ever used so improper an Expression, which falsely supposes that the Apostles were great Wits.

(101) *Patin*, Lett. 24, of the first Edit and 39th of the second.

[*Y*] Patin *was the Cause of the Life of* Calvin, *writ by* Papyrius Masso, *being made public.*] This Particular we have from *Patin*, in the Letter I have just now cited. 'Papyrius *Masso*, says he, 'writ his Life separately, which his Brother, who 'was a Canon, presented me with in 1616. But 'since that, as they were printing here a Collection of his Elogies, I obtained, with much ado, 'that this Life should be added: the Bookseller 'consulted the Jesuits about it, who enjoined him 'the contrary; but however I prevailed, by assuring him, that this Addition would make his 'Book sell the better.' The Text of this Remark proves plainly I have not been over complaisant to Mr *Varillas*. I have diligently considered all he says of the Life of *Calvin*, printed with *Papyrius Masso*'s Encomiums, and I find nothing there able to invalidate *Guy Patin*'s Testimony. The Reader, if he please, may judge of my Conduct, after comparing Mr *Varillas*'s Words with my Notes which follow them.

'*Balesdens* got *Papyrius Masso*'s Encomiums printed, among which was inserted a Life of *Calvin*; because having found it amongst this Author's Papers, 'he took it to be written by him. This Mistake 'is the more insupportable, because it is writ in 'so different a manner from all *Masso*'s other 'Works, that it needs but an ordinary Knowledge 'of the *Latin* Tongue to perceive it at first sight. 'But I cannot help being surprised, that the famous *Spondanus*, Bishop of *Pamiers*, should suffer 'himself to be imposed upon by *Balesdens*, in believing *Masso* to have been the Author of this 'Piece, and paying a greater Deference to another's 'judgment, than to his own. I have been informed by Messieurs *Dupuy*, that it was composed 'by the illustrious *James Gillot*, Counsellor in the 'Parliament of *Paris*, who had so great a share in 'the Works of the Learned of his Time, without 'ever publishing his Name: and indeed, that Life 'seems to me altogether worthy the Pen of so 'great a Man. It is a Master-piece in it's kind: 'and though we have some of the same nature 'much larger, we have none better performed, 'nor more correctly finished. However, it has 'been of no great service to me; because it seems 'rather designed to clear *Calvin* from the Reproaches of *Baldain* the Civilian, and *Westfalius* the Divine, than to give a particular account of his 'Actions (102). These are the Words of *Varillas*: Upon which I observe, I. That *Balesdens* was not the Person who found this Life among *Masso*'s Papers: We have been told by *Patin*, it was he who furnished the Bookseller with it, and persuaded him to join it to the Elogies of *Papyrius Masso*. But this is not all; *Masso*'s Brother made a Present of it to *Patin*, not doubting but it was his Brother's; to which he himself added several things he had received by Tradition, whilst he was Canon at *Angoulême*. II. The Manner, in which this Life is written, does no otherwise differ from the rest of *Masso*'s Works, than as Lives ought to differ from Elogies. If Mr *Varillas* had compared this Life with those of *Charles* IX, *Dante*, *Petrarch*, and *Boccace*, all composed by the same Author, I am certain he would have found it of a Piece with the rest. You find, in all these five Lives, the same Division of the Contents and Chapters, the same Stile, the same Genius and Manner of Writing. This, added to *Patin*'s particular and express Testimony, makes me believe, either that Messieurs *Dupuy* were mistaken, or that *Varillas* did not well remember what they had told him. But I have still a stronger Argument. The Author of this Life of *John Calvin* had studied the Civil-Law under *Balduin* (103). This exactly agrees with our *Papyrius Masso* (104), but I think not at all with the illustrious *Gillot*. We read in this Life, that *Balduin* put *Calvin* to silence, to his very great Mortification (105). What *Papyrius Masso* remarks, in his Elogy upon *Balduin* (106), is perfectly conformable to this. III. Therefore *Balesdens* and *Spondanus* were not to blame for ascribing this Life to *Masso*'s Pen. IV. It does not deserve those extraordinary Commendations *Varillas* has

An Examination of a Passage in *Varillas* concerning the Life of *Calvin*, written by *Papyrius Masso*.

(102) *Varillas*'s Preface to the first Tome of his *History of Heresy*.

(103) Sic enim Balduinus præceptor meus in Jure Civili, pag. 418.

(104) See the Elogy upon *Baldain*, among those of *Papyrius Masso*, pag. 263.

(105) Ipsi silentium Balduinus Jurisconsultus imposuit seni, magno dolore Calvini, p. 418.

(106) Ferunt Calvinum nullius linguam, stylum, eruditionem magis horruisse, quam hujus Atrebatis, p. 262.

Bolsec; for who can read it without laughing at those who accuse this Minister of loving good Wine, good Chear, Money, *&c.* Some cunning Satirists would have said, that he was naturally sober, and not at all sollicitous to heap up Riches [Z]. They,

has bestowed upon it: which I submit to the Judgment of those who are judges of these sort of Productions. V. It is not at all designed to vindicate *Calvin* from the Aspersions of *Balduin* the Civilian, and *Wesphalius* the Divine. That Civilian is very often quoted, but without being contradicted; so far from it, that the Description of *Calvin*'s morose, passionate, haughty Temper, is founded upon *Balduin*'s Testimony (107). *Varillas*'s manner therefore of reading of Books must be very unaccountable. He was the only Man in the World, who, upon reading this Life of *Calvin*, could affirm, that it's principal Design was to refute that Civilian.

(107) See pag. 428, 430, 455.

If Mr *de Vigneul-Marville* would but take the pains to consider these things, and, above all, to compare, according to the Rules of Criticism, this Life of *Calvin* with *Masso*'s other Pieces, I am perswaded he would no longer think 'that the *Latin* Elogy of '*Calvin*, which is very improperly added at the 'end of *Papyrius Masso*'s *Illustrious Men*, is a Piece 'of Mr *Gillet*'s (108).'

(108) Mélanges d'Histoire & de Litterature recueillis par Mr de Vigneul Marville pag. 201.

I was mistaken in my Conjecture; he saw this, and yet persisted in his first Opinion. He says, that 'what I alledge, that this Elogy was found 'among the Papers of *Papyrius Masso* after his 'Death, as his Brother declared to the late 'Dr *Patin*, proves nothing. Writings of Authors 'pass every Day from one Study to another, with-'out giving room to draw any such Consequence. 'As to the Style, it is not at all like that of *Papy-'rius Masso*, who wrote neither so politely, nor so 'exactly, nor with so much brevity, as Mr *Gillet*: 'Besides, there is something at the end of the Work 'not at all agreeable to *Papyrius Masso*'s Character, 'but very much so to *Gillet*'s, who did not lay the 'Affairs of those Times so much to heart (109).' I have examined this with all possible Attention, and yet persist in my Opinion: and to shew that it is not without reason, I shall remark, I. That whoever reads the Words of Mr *de Vigneul-Marville*, and not my Dictionary, must judge that my only, or at least my principal Reason, was, that this Life of *Calvin* was among *Masso*'s Papers. The truth is, that I have not at all made use of that Argument. I know very well, that I rejected as false what Mr *Varillas* says, that *Balesdens* had found this Elogy among *Papyrius Masso*'s Papers; and I confess that, in order to shew the Falsity of that, I maintained that this Manuscript was communicated to the Bookseller by *Guy Patin*, who had it from *Papyrius Masso*'s Brother: but none of my Proofs is grounded upon this Work being found among the Papers of the Person I take to be the Author of it. To represent my Argument right, it should have been said, that *Papyrius Masso*'s Brother gave this Manuscript to *Guy Patin* as his Brother's Work. The Reflexion of Mr *de Vigneul-Marville* doth not affect this Proof; for it is easily apprehended, that Men of Letters know very well how to distinguish, among a Brother's Papers (110), those, which were wrote by him, from those composed by other hands. I forbear to add, that it is probable *Papyrius Masso* might tell his Brother which among his Papers were the Manuscripts of his own composing. As for the Style, I appeal to those who are judges, and will take the pains to compare this Life of *Calvin* with some other Lives composed by *Masso*. This is my second Remark. The third and last is, that the Character of Mr *Gillet*, who did not lay the Affairs of those times so much to heart, is so far from being against me, that, on the contrary, nothing can be a greater confirmation of my Opinion. For at the end of the Work, we meet with this Passage. 'Hæc de vita Cal-'vini scribimus neque amici neque inimici, quem si 'labem & perniciem Galliæ dixero, nihil mentiar, 'atque utinam aut nunquam natus esset, aut in 'pueritia mortuus. Tantum enim malorum intu-'lit in patriam ut Cunabula ejus merito detestare 'atque odisse debeas. (111). — *I write these Things 'of the Life of* Calvin, *without considering him 'either as a Friend or Foe, tho' if I should call him 'the Pest and Destruction of* France, *I should not be*

(109) Ib. Tom. II, pag. 36, Edit. *Holl.*

(110) Papyrius Masso's *Brother was a Canon.*

(111) Papyr. Masso, Elog. pag. 455.

'*in the wrong. And I heartily wish he had either 'never been born, or had died in his Infancy. For 'he brought such Misfortunes upon his Country, that 'it has reason to detest and abhor the Hour of his 'Birth.*' This is the Language of a furious Roman Catholic, and not of such a Catholic, as Mr *Gillot*, who hated the *Leaguers* and all the Monks, and who had a great deal of Kindness for *Scaliger* and other Protestants.

[Z] *He was not sollicitous to heap up riches.*] For a Man, who had acquired so great a Reputation and Authority, to content himself with an hundred Crowns a-year Salary, and, after having lived till near fifty five Years of Age with the greatest Frugality, to leave behind him no more than three hundred Crowns, his Library included; is something so heroical, that it must be stupidity itself not to admire it. 'Accumulandis scilicet opibus stu-'duit, cujus bona omnia, carè etiam divendita ipsius 'Bibliotheca, vix trecentos aureos æquarant, ut non 'minus scitè quam verè calumniam istam longe 'impudentissimam refellens hæc verba usurparit (*in 'Præfat. in Comment. in Psalm.*) Me non esse pecu-'niosum si quibusdam vivus non persuadeo, mors 'tamen ostendet. Testari certè potest Senatus, quum 'perexigua essent ejus stipendia, tantùm abfuisse ut 'in iis non acquiesceret, ut ampliora etiam oblata 'pertinaciter recusarit (112). — *It is a strong 'proof of his having studied to heap up riches, that 'all his Effects, notwithstanding his Library was 'sold very dear, scarce amounted to Three hundred 'Crowns; so that he might very justly, as well as 'elegantly, in order to wipe off this monstrous Calum-'ny, use these Words*, (in the Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms,) *If I cannot in my Life-'time persuade some People that I am no hoarder of 'Money, I shall convince them at my Death. The 'Senate certainly can witness for him, that, tho' his 'stipend was but very small, yet he was so far from 'being unsatisfied with it, that he positively refused 'the offer of encreasing it.*' This is one of the most extraordinary Victories, Virtue and Magnanimity can obtain over Nature, even in those who are Ministers of the Gospel. *Calvin* has left behind him many, who imitate him in his active Life, his Zeal and Affection for the Cause; they employ their Voices, their Pens, their steps and sollicitations, for the Advancement of the Kingdom of GOD: but then they take care not to forget themselves, and are, generally speaking, a Demonstration that the Church is a bountiful Mother, and that nothing is lost in her Service: They verify St *Paul*'s Doctrine, that Godliness has the Promises of the present Life as well as of that which is to come. In a word, GOD is pleased to give so great a Blessing to their domestic Cares, that we see them enjoy considerable Pensions, and leave large Estates and Settlements to their Heirs. They distribute Alms, they bestow great Charities: which they may easily do, when appointed Trustees for the disposal of all Sums given by others, without being liable to any Account. To conclude, such a Will as this of *Calvin*, and such a Disinterestedness, is a thing so very extraordinary, as might make even those, who cast their Eyes on the Philosophers of antient *Greece*, say of him, *Non inveni tantam fidem in Israël.* — *I have not found so great Faith, no not in* Israel. When *Calvin* was taking his leave of those of *Strasburg*, in order to return to *Geneva*, they offered to continue his Freedom, and the Revenue of a Prebend they had assigned him: He accepted the first, but rejected the latter. 'Id tandem Argentinenses concesserunt, ea 'tamen conditione, ut jus civitatis honorarium, 'quod in Calvinum contulerant, salvum esset, & 'præbendæ, quam vocant, annuos reditus retine-'ret; quorum illud probavit Calvinus, istud vero 'ut acciperet nunquam ab eo extorqueri potuit, ut 'qui nihil minus quam opes curaret (113).' He carried one of his Brothers with him to *Geneva*, without ever thinking of advancing him to any Honours, as others would have done with his great Credit. He took care indeed of the Honour of his

(112) Beza in Vitâ Calvini, pag. 387, fub fin.

(113) Ibid. pag. 370, ad Ann. 1542.

They, who are desirous of seeing a full and curious Justification of this great Man, need only read what Mr *Drelincourt* published at *Geneva*, in 1667, upon that Subject.

I shall here consider a Passage of Mr *Moreri*, which I let pass in my first Edition, and which relates to the Judgment *Erasmus* is said to have made on *Calvin*, after a Conference they had together concerning the Controversies of those times. The Author of this Particular is guilty of so many Mistakes, that his Credit may well be called in question [*AA*]. The Reflexions, which have been cast on *Calvin*

Family; for he found means to disengage him from a Wife, who was an Adulteress (114), and obtained leave for him to marry another: but even his Enemies say he had him taught the Trade of a Bookbinder, which he exercised all his Life (115). See the Margin (116).

(114) Id. Ibid. pag. 387. See Remark [CC].

(115) Varill. Hist. de l'Heresie, lib. x, pag. 337.

(116) I have taken no notice of several gross Calumnies concerning *Calvin*, which have been refuted by Mr *Drelincourt*.

[*AA*] *I shall consider a Passage in —— the Judgment* Erasmus *is said to have given of* Calvin —— *The Author of this Particular —— is guilty of so many Mistakes, that his Credit may well be called in question.*] 'Calvin staid some time at *Basil*; where 'Bucer presenting him to *Erasmus*, that great Per-'son, who was a good Judge of Men, having dis-'coursed him about Religion, declared openly, that 'the Church had bred up, in the Person of that 'young Man, a Plague which would one Day 'prove fatal to her.' These are *Moreri*'s Words: I dare swear he never consulted the Original, I mean *Florimond de Remond*; and I imagine he has examined no farther than *Spondanus*'s Annals (117). However it be, we shall cite the Original Author (118): 'The Register of the Parliament at 'Paris, concerned at his Brother's Miscarriage, 'pursued him immediately, and brought him back 'into *France*, leaving his Friend *Calvin* behind in 'Germany, who accompanied *Rousel*, whom I 'mentioned before, as his Servant. There he met 'with most of those who made it their Business to 'disturb the Consciences of the People, and among 'them *Bucer*, by whom he was presented to *Eras-'mus*, who was looking about him without suffer-'ing himself to be hurried away by the Crowd. 'When *Bucer* had given him an Account of this ex-'cellent Genius, and *Erasmus* had conferred some 'time with him upon the most crabbed Points of 'Religion; surprized at what he had discovered 'in this Soul, he said to *Bucer*, pointing to *Calvin*, 'Video magnam pestem oriri in Ecclesia contra Eccle-'siam, I see a great Plague born in the Church 'against the Church.' Observe *Florimond de Remond*'s Note in the Margin of his Book in these Words, Beza *in his Preface to* Joshua *places this Journey in* 1534: Observe this, I say, as a proof that he admits this small point of Chronology. We shall see presently he has done it to his prejudice; for, thirty Pages after, he tells us, that 'Calvin, 'fearing he should be apprehended at *Poitiers*, 'went to visit *Rousel* and *Le Fevre* at *Nerac*, and 'observes afresh, that *Calvin* had been *Rousel*'s 'Servant in his Journey into *Germany* (119): *Cal-'vin, continues he* (120), having taken his leave 'of them, returned to *Paris*, which he quitted for 'fear of Faggot, with Torch in Hand, and a Mind 'incensed with Resentment, and a Resolution of 'setting Fire to his Country, which he never saw 'afterwards, and which, ungrateful as she was, re-'fused him, as he said, an Abode. He retired 'to *Strasburg*, becoming for two whole Year's 'Bucer's Auditor and Disciple, who received him 'as a Person he immediately found proper to 'trouble the Repose of the Church. —— He commu-'nicated to him his *Christian Institution*, which he 'finished here and at *Basil*, dedicating it to *Francis* I. 'In the first Plate, which he caused to be put at 'the head of his *Institution*, he took, for his Device, 'a flaming Sword, with this Motto, *Non veni mittere 'pacem sed gladium*, —— *I come not to send peace 'but a sword.* —— During his stay at *Strasburg*, 'he comforted and assisted his Countrymen, who 'fled from the Fires kindled up in *France*, and be-'gan from thence to be in great Credit and Repu-'tation every where. —— But, upon hearing the 'News that the Duchess of *Ferrara* - - - began 'to embrace the Truth, he went to wait on her; 'and, after a sufficient Ramble, returned by the 'way of *Geneva*, where he had made himself 'known, in his Passage with *du Tillet*, and, at *Farel*'s 'Instigation, he there took upon him (121) the 'Charge of reading Divinity, and making some ex-'hortations to the Refugees.' We must take notice, that in the Margin he observes, that the first Impression of *Calvin's Institution* was in the Year 1534. Here then is the Original of *Varillas*'s sad Anachronisms, which I have already censured (122).

(117) Spondan. ad Ann. 1534, n. 11, p. 424.

(118) Flor. de Remond, Hist. de la Naissance de l'Heresie, lib. vii, cap. x, pag. 889, 890.

(119) Id. Ibid. cap. xvii, p. 921.

(120) Ibid. pag. 922.

(121) Ibid. pag. 924.

(122) In Remark [G].

But they are yet much grosser in *Florimond de Remond*'s Account: as I will now undertake to convince the least reasonable Persons, observing, in the first place, that *Rousel*'s Journey into *Germany* followed immediately upon the first Dispersion of the Preachers of the Reformation in *France*, which happened in 1523 (123). *Farel*, one of them, fled into *Switzerland*; 'Le Fevre of *Etaples* bent his 'Course through *Gaienne*. —— As for *Rousel*, he 'got to *Germany*,' being desirous to see *Luther*, 'that great Man, who had made so great a Noise 'in the World (124).' This I have from *Remond*, who adds, that *Rousel, being returned from his Travels* (125), was received in *Bern* by the Queen of *Navarre*, and attended her to *Paris*, where he preached (126); was imprisoned, and after his Release retired to *Nerac*, and passed the rest of his Life in *France*. It was at *Nerac*, *Calvin* saw him, as this Author told us before (127). The Result of this must be, That, if *Calvin* attended *Rousel* as his Servant into *Germany*, it must of necessity be in 1523. Now it is certain *Calvin* was then a Student at *Paris*, where he continued his Studies some Years after, being preferred to a Chapel at *Noion* (128). Observe here, that the Historian follows *Beza*'s Chronology, who makes *Calvin* and *du Tillet* leave *France* in 1534. Since then he assures us, that *Tillet*, prevailed upon by his Brother, who had followed him a great way, *left his Friend* Calvin *in* Germany, *who upon that attended* Rousel —— *as his Servant* (129), he must allow this to be in 1534. A great blunder this! for he himself had placed *Rousel*'s Journey in the Year 1523. Besides observe, I. That he says *Calvin's Institution* was first printed in the Year 1534 (130), and that the Author had drawn the Scheme of it at *Angoulême* (131), and communicated it to *le Fevre* at *Nerac*. II. That, after this communication, he makes him go to *Paris*, and from thence to *Strasburg*, in order to be *Bucer*'s Disciple. How is it possible, upon this Foot, that *Calvin*, in 1534, should accompany *Rousel* as his Servant into *Germany*? And again, how is it possible, that, being gone into *Germany* this Year, and having been two Years *Bucer*'s Scholar at *Strasburg*, he should finish his *Christian Institution* at *Basil*, which was printed in 1534? Once more, how is it possible, that, after he had been two Years under *Bucer* at *Strasburg*, he should take a Journey into *Italy*, finish his Ramble, take the Road to *Geneva*, and settle in that City in 1536 (132). This is not all; for the same Author, still following *Beza*'s Chronology, says, that *Calvin* at twenty three Years of Age vented his Opinions at *Paris*, where he staid not long; 'because the 'Place grew too hot for those who dissented from the 'Faith — he retired therefore privately — to *Angou-'lême*, for his greater Security, where he was enter-'tained three Years at *Lewis du Tillet*'s Charge (133), '—who, having his Head full of the Opinions *Cal-'vin* had instilled into him (134), went with him into *Germany*, but left him on the way. The other pursued his Journey, made a Visit to *Bucer*, conferred with *Erasmus*, and, *at his Return into* France, *retired to* Poitiers (135), where he gained some Disciples, held his first Council (136), and celebrated his first Lord's Supper, and took his Measures for spreading his Opinions throughout the Kingdom: but, *fearing a Surprize at* Poitiers, *where his Mine had*

(123) Flor. de Remond. lib. x, cap. iii, p. 846.

(124) Id. Ibid. pag. 847.

(125) Ibid. pag. 849.

(126) Ibid. pag. 850.

(127) See the Citation (119).

(128) See *Drelincourt*, pag. 160, & seq.

(129) Flor. de Remond. lib. vii, cap. x, pag. 889.

(130) Ibid. pag. 922.

(131) Ibid. pag. 921.

(132) Id. Ibid. pag. 923.

(133) Ibid. cap. x, pag. 889.

(134) Ibid. cap. x, pag. 889.

(135) Ibid. cap. xi, pag. 890.

(136) Ibid. pag. 892.

Calvin for changing his Name, will give room for a Remark, which will illuſtrate ſome Points of his Hiſtory, and ſerve for a Supplement to ſome of the foregoing Obſervations, particularly to the Paſſage where I have treated of that famous Work, the *Chriſtian Inſtitution* [*B B*]. They have been ſo zealous in heaping up Scandal

(137) Ibid. cap. xvii, pag. 920. *had taken Air,* (137) *he ſtole away, and conveyed himſelf to* Nerac, *to viſit* Rouſſel *and* Le Fevre; *and, having taken his Leave of them, he returned to* Paris (138), *from whence, for fear of the Faggot,* ——*he retired to* Straſburg. —— *It was here, and at* Baſil, *he put the laſt Hand to his Inſtitution,* which was printed in 1538. This Account is full of ſo many Miſtakes, that, if it be no ſurpriſing thing that ſo many Catholic Writers ſhould copy from it, yet it is very ſtrange that none of the Proteſtant Authors, I have met with, ſhould expoſe it's Contradictions. It was very eaſy to be done: conſider but this Touchſtone of Chronology. *Calvin* was born the tenth of *July,* 1509 (139), and retired from *Paris* to *Angoulême* at the Age of Twenty three (140). *Florimond de Remond* agrees in theſe two Facts; this Retreat therefore muſt be placed in 1532. Now he ſuppoſes, that the firſt Edition of *Calvin's Inſtitution* was in 1534: Between theſe two Terms therefore he thruſts in his three Years ſtay at *Angoulême,* a Journey into *Germany,* a Return into *France,* a Reſidence at *Poitiers,* ſufficient for the Eſtabliſhment of a clandeſtine Church, the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, the holding of a Synod, *&c.* a Journey to *Nerac,* another to *Paris,* and an Abode of two whole Years at the City of *Straſburg.* Can any thing be more monſtrous? We muſt not forget, that he ſuppoſes *Charles le Sage,* Doctor Regent at *Poitiers,* and Native of *Noion,* was one of *Calvin's* Converts, after his Journey into *Germany,* three or four Years after his Flight from *Paris,* which happened in the Year 1532. Since then he pretends, that this Doctor *le Sage* was *a Man in great Eſteem, eſpecially with the Queen Regent, the King's Mother, who was very near being ſtaggered and ſeduced* (141), he would make us believe, that this Doctor, who was perverted himſelf in 1536, had ſtaggered the Queen Regent, who died notwithſtanding in 1531.

(138) Ibid. pag. 922.

(139) Ibid. cap. viii, pag. 880.

(140) Ibid. cap. ix, pag. 883.

(141) Ibid. cap. xi, pag. 891.

This is the Author, who affirms, that *Eraſmus* paſſed, upon *Calvin,* the Judgment mentioned in the Text of this Remark. My Readers muſt judge whether the Authority of ſuch a Man be of any weight, a Man who contradicts himſelf moſt groſly, who forgets in one place what he aſſerted in another, who confounds and miſplaces Circumſtances, and cannot ſee in his Work the Blunders, Abſurdities, and Impoſſibilities, which ſtare full in his Eyes. Such an Hiſtorian ought to be treated like a Bankrupt Merchant, who has loſt all Credit; no body will truſt him without ſufficient Pledges; it is expected he ſhould give Security, and find Bondſmen. We ſhould be very weak therefore, to give any Credit to *Florimond de Remond,* when he brings neither Witneſſes, nor any other ſort of Proof. We ſhould be very imprudent to truſt him, and highly deſerve to be deceived, if we made ſo bad an Uſe of our Sincerity. I thought therefore that a Cenſure of this Author's Falſities would ſerve me as a Preliminary, and that after this my Readers might judge with greater certainty of the matter in queſtion. Undoubtedly this is the only witneſs in the Cauſe; for he who has taken ſo much pains to make *Eraſmus* paſs for a good Catholic, and could draw ſo many Advantages from the Truth of this Story, could cite no other than *Florimond de Remond* (142). However, all things rightly conſidered, this Judgment of the great *Eraſmus* muſt be very much to *Calvin's* Glory, according to the Proteſtant Hypotheſis. It proves that he acknowledged the eminent Qualities of this young Man.

(142) See the Book printed at *Cologn,* Ann. 1683, under the Title of *Sentimens d'Eraſme de Rotterdam conformes à ceux de l'Egliſe Catholique,* pag. 308, 309.

To conclude; I ſhould not have been ſo, buſy in expoſing the Falſities of *Florimond de Remond,* if I had not obſerved, that they ſpread from Book to Book, and that the moſt celebrated Authors procure them a ſort of Perpetuity by adopting them. I have meet with them in the laſt Volume of Father *Alexander's* Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory *in Folio,* which is an Edition corrected and enlarged. I perſuade myſelf this famous Author had not copied *Spondanus, Remond's* Copier, had he ſeen the latter criticized as above. If the Proteſtants complain that he has revived *Remond's* confuſed Narration, and put it in a way to make a better Fortune than under the Auſpices of it's firſt Parent, he may complain of them in his Turn for neglecting to diſcover his Impertinencies. It is very difficult, even by a ſubſtantial Confutation, to hinder ſome Errors from being perpetuated. What muſt it be therefore, if they are let alone?

[*B B*] *The Reflexions* - - - - - *caſt on* Calvin *for changing his Name will give room for a Remark* - - - - - *which will ſerve for a Supplement* - - - - *to the Paſſage, where I have treated of his* Chriſtian Inſtitution.] It has been taken very ill, that, inſtead of *Cauvin,* which was the Name of his Family, he took that of *Calvin.* Mr *Drelincourt* has juſtified him very well, not only by ſome Examples (143), but alſo from ſolid Reaſons. 'In Reality, *ſays* 'he (144), the Change of a Letter in *Calvin's* 'Name, is very inconſiderable, or we may even 'ſay it is none at all. And indeed, in turning *Cauvin* into *Latin,* to give it an Air and Termination ſuitable to the Genius of that Language, it 'cannot be tranſlated otherwiſe than by *Calvinus.* 'For as the *Picard* Word *Cauve,* and the *French* 'Chauve, is by all good Authors expreſſed in *Latin* by 'Calvus; ſo *Cauvin* in *Picard,* and *Chauvin* in 'French, muſt in *Latin* be *Calvinus.* Now the 'firſt Works of this godly Man being wrote in 'Latin, and having made him univerſally known 'by the Name *Calvinus*; if afterwards, when he 'wrote in *French,* he had uſed any other Name 'than that of *Calvin,* the Work might have been 'aſcribed to ſome different Author, to the great Damage both of the Public and Printers.' But here follow ſome other Changes of his Name. 'The moſt 'notorious Cheat of all the Heretics, in matter of 'Diſguiſes, was *John Calvin,* who, when firſt he 'revolted, being hurried by a reſtleſs Spirit, and 'afraid of his own Shadow, changed his Name 'oftener than his Lodging: For, I. In 1559, having licked his little Cub, his firſt Inſtitutions, 'into ſome ſort of Shape, he preſented them to 'Francis I, under the Name of JOHANNES 'ALCUINUS, which was his Anagram, and 'under which they were printed at *Straſburg per Vindelinum Ribelium menſe Auguſto, Anno* 'MDXXXIX. II. In 1543, he called himſelf JO'HANNES CALIDOENIUS, a Name 'half *Greek* and half *Latin,* as if he would ſay 'Johannes de Calido vino. This is his Name at 'the end of *Pacianus's* Works, in his Epiſtle to 'his Friend *Boygard, Boygardo Johannes* CALI'DOENIUS. S. This Name ſeems exactly to 'anſwer that of his Family: for *Calidœnius* is 'Chauvin in *French,* which is believed in reality 'to be the true Name of his Father. III. In '1548, he would be called JOHANNES 'CARVINUS, as much as to ſay *Chervin,* and 'it is thus he ſubſcribed himſelf at the end of 'Orus Apollo's *Ænigma's,* printed at *Paris, Anno* '1548, for *Chriſtian Wechel, per Joannem Mercerum,* who firſt tranſlated them; for at the end 'of this Tranſlation is an Epigram under the Title 'of JOANNIS CARVINI *ad Mercerum* 'Epigramma. IV. After 1550, he made his Friends 'call him CHARLES DE HAPPEVILLE, 'which was a fatal Omen, ſaith *Matthew Launoi,* 'in his Reply, that *Cavin,* and his Followers, 'would one day, *bapper les villes,* ſeize and take 'our Towns by Treachery and Surprize, and ſculk 'within our Walls, as the Experience of fifty Years 'has ſufficiently convinced us, at the Expence of 'ſo much Noble Blood ſhed to expel thoſe Traitors out of the Places they have been hitherto 'in Poſſeſſion of. V. To put an end to this Extravagance, he at laſt called himſelf JOHN 'CALVIN, which Name has been continued 'to him to this Day (145).' Theſe Words of *Garaſſe* are very apt to miſlead all the Critics who have not the Opportunity of conſulting great Libraries:

(143) Drelincourt, Defenſe de Calvin, pag. 202, &c.

(144) Ibid. pag. 204, 205.

(145) Garaſſe Doctrine Curieuſe, pag. 1023, 1024.

Scandal againſt this Reformer, that they have even reproached him with the lewd

bruries: And for myſelf, who am of that Number, I confeſs I am very unable to refute this Paſſage in the manner it deſerves. I am perſuaded it is full of Falſities; but, not having thoſe Books by me which are requiſite to furniſh literal and demonſtrative Proofs againſt this Author, I can only oppoſe him with Probabilities. His firſt Article ſhall be conſidered hereafter. His ſecond I can ſay nothing to; but I will venture to maintain he is miſtaken in the third: For what likelihood is there, that *Calvin*, in 1548, ſhould amuſe himſelf with writing a *Latin* Epigram upon ſuch a Work as this of *Orus Apollo*? It is infinitely more probable, that the *Joannes Carvinus*, under which this Epigram appeared, was the true Name of it's Author. *Florimond de Remond* tells us, that one of the *Calvinift* Apoſtles was called *John Carvin*, that *he came from* Artois, and taught School at *Ville Neufve* in *Agenois*, and acted the Part of a Miniſter, *under the Cowen of a Maſter* (146); and he was very probably the ſame with *Johannes Carvinus*, a Phyſician of *Montaubon*, who cauſed ſeven Dialogues, *de Sanguine*, to be printed at *Lyons*, by *Sebaſtian Gryphius*, in 1562 (147). I am ſure we can prove *Garaſſe* a Liar in the fourth Article: For how ridiculous is it to ſuppoſe, that *Calvin*, after the Year 1550, ſhould deſire to take the Name of *Charles Happeville*? What reaſon had he now for a Diſguiſe? He lived in great Security at *Geneva*; he was univerſally known by his true Name; he placed it at the Head of his Works; and had rendered it venerable among all the Reformed. *Garaſſe* confounds Times very ignorantly: He ought to have pitched upon another Epoch, as *Papyrius Maſſo* has done, who ſays, that *Calvin*, going into *Italy* to viſit the Ducheſs of *Ferrara*, called himſelf *Hepeville* (148). *Garaſſe*'s fifth Article is the moſt abſurd of all: it muſt be a monſtrous Degree of Stupidity to venture to publiſh, that the laſt Name, this Miniſter took upon him, was that of *John Calvin*, after having been called *Charles Happeville* from the Year 1550. *Spondanus* charges him only with having taken the Name of *Carolus Heppevillus*, in his Journey to *Italy* in 1535 (149). Obſerve that he accuſes him likewiſe for giving himſelf the Name of *Deparcan* at *Angoulême* in 1534 (150). *Papyrius Maſſo*'s Brother ſays the ſame thing (151).

We have already ſeen (152), that Mr *Moreri* pretends *Calvin* put the Name of *Alcuinus* in the Title of his Books of *Inſtitutions*, printed at *Baſil* 1534 (153). I cannot determine whether he is in the right or wrong: I have not been able any where to find a Copy of the firſt Edition of this Work of *Calvin*; but what makes me doubtful, is, that, according to *Spondanus*, the Anagram of *Alcuinus* was not made uſe of till the *Strasburg* Edition, in 1539. 'Ipſe ex paterno cognomine in 'Latinam formam mutato, ex Calvino aliquando 'tranſpoſitis literis *Alcuinum* ſeſe nominavit, uti 'in Inſtitutionis ſuæ editione Argentorati 1539, 'nomen æmulatus magni illius Alcuini qui Caroli 'Magni præceptor fuit, & Pariſienſem Academiam 'inſtituit. Qui potius alia tranſpoſitione *Lucianum* 'ſe dicere depuiſſet (154). —— *Having turned his* 'Family Name into Latin, *from* Calvinus, *by a* 'Tranſpoſition of the Letters, *he called himſelf ſome-* 'times Alcuinus, *as in the* Strasburg *Edition of* 'his Inſtitution, *in* 1539, *being ambitious of paſ-* 'ſing under the Name of the great Alcuinus, *who* 'was Preceptor to Charlemagne, *and Founder of* 'the Univerſity of Paris. *But it had been much* 'more juſt for him, by another Tranſpoſition, to 'have taken that of* Lucianus.' This *Latin* is only a ſort of Paraphraſe on a Paſſage in *Florimond de Remond*: 'His Name was *John Chauvin* - - - - - 'but as *Luther* thought fit to alter his Name, ſo 'he was pleaſed to take that of *Calvin*. And, 'as if this Name was not glorious enough, or ra- 'ther unlucky to him, ſince *Lucian* is an Ana- 'gram of *Calvin*, he gave himſelf the Name of 'Alcuin, the learned Tutor of the Emperor *Char-* 'lemain, under which he publiſhed his firſt *Inſti-* 'tution at *Strasburg* in 1539. (155).' *Garaſſe*, as we obſerved before, is more preciſe in this Point; for he ſet down the very Printer's Name. I dare not undertake the Negative, becauſe I never could meet with a Copy of this *Strasburg* Edition, 1539, any more than with that of *Baſil*, 1535. But I dare ſay, if ever this Work was publiſhed under the Name of *Alcuin*, it is more probable that it was in the firſt Edition than in that of *Strasburg* 1539; for being than Profeſſor and Miniſter at *Strasburg*, he had not the ſame Reaſons for a Diſguiſe as in 1535. Obſerve, that he is accuſed of having fathered a Book upon *Alcuin*, Preceptor to *Charlemain*, that is, of writing it himſelf, and publiſhing it in *Alcuin*'s Name. The Inquiſition at *Rome*, and in *Spain*, condemned this Piece, as being *Calvin*'s Work, falſly aſcribed to *Alcuin*. *Alcuinus ſeu potius, Calvinus. Ejus Commentarii in libros, de* Trinitate, *omnino prohibentur* (156). They neither take notice of the Time nor the Place in which it was printed. *Theophilus Raynaud* (157) mentions this Matter in ſuch general Terms, as to give room to believe there was no Foundation for this Proceeding of the Inquiſition.

It has not been thought ſufficient to criticize *Calvin's Inſtitution*, as a pſeudonymous Piece, but the very Cut, they pretend he ordered to be engraven for the Title-Page, has been commented on, and the Work itſelf affirmed to be nothing elſe but a Collection of Plagiariſms. This Cut, ſay they, was a Sword in the midſt of Flames, with this Motto, *Non veni mittere pacem, ſed gladium* (158). —— *I came not to ſend Peace, but a Sword*. Many Authors have maintained, that this was his own Device. Mr *Drelincourt* ſays it is falſe, and that 'their Proofs are impertinent. For 'it is, *continues he* (159), as if any one ſhould 'object to me the ſymbolical Figures, which are 'placed without my Knowledge on the Frontiſ- 'piece of ſome of my Works, and pretend them 'to be my proper Device. We are not at all re- 'ſponſible for the Printers Actions, who on theſe 'Occaſions, think they have an equal Liberty with 'Painters or Poets. - - - - But if we conſider this 'Device more nearly, we ſhall find it neither 'Calvin's nor the Printer's, but Jesus Christ's 'himſelf, who ſays expreſsly, *He was not come to* 'ſend Peace into the World, but War, the Sword, 'and Fire. So that all the Strokes and Subtilties 'of the Jeſuit (160) wound Christ himſelf, and 'arm the Atheiſts againſt his holy Doctrines (161).' I believe, in *Calvin*'s Life-time, they made a great Out-cry againſt this pretended Device: For I have obſerved, that *Girard*, who printed the *Inſtitution* at *Geneva*, in 4to, left out the above-mentioned Motto about the flaming Sword, though it is on the Title-Page of his Tract *againſt the fantaſtic and furious Sect of the Libertines*, Anno 1545. As to his being a Plagiary, of which this great Author is accuſed, you need only read theſe Words of *Spondanus*: 'Secedens Angoliſmam ibi triennium '- - - - commoratus, peſtilentem ſuam Inſtitutionem 'fabricare cœpit, ex locis communibus Melanctho- 'nis, Hyperii Sarcerii, (162) & id genus quiſqui- 'liis magna parte conſarcinatam; quanquam Weſt- 'phalus Lutheranus ſcribens poſtea adverſus eum, 'meram Oecolampadii doctrinam, ſed immutatam- 'paululum atque amplificatam, in ea contineri aiſ- '(163).' This Annaliſt is here only the Tranſlator of a Paſſage of another Writer: *It was at* Angouleſme, *where* Calvin, *to ſurpriſe Chriſtianity, firſt contrived the Snare of his* Inſtitution, *which may be called the* Alcoran, *or rather the* Talmud, *of Hereſy, being a Collection of all the Errors which have been, or, I believe, ever will be, patched up in great Meaſure from the Common-Places of* Melanctho, Hyperius, *and* Sarcier. *The* Lutheran Weſtphalus *ſays, it is only* Oecolampadius's *Doctrine, a little diſguiſed and augmented* (164). It is certain the ſecond Edition of this Work of *Calvin* was finiſhed whilſt *Hyperius* remained in Obſcurity, and before he had made himſelf known by his Theological Writings. I do not ſay altogether ſo much of *Eraſmus Sarcier*. I am not ignorant that he was Author of ſome Books before the Year 1539; but all, who are capable of judging, muſt readily own, upon comparing them with the *Chriſtian Inſtitution*, that

Calvin

(146) Flor. de Remond, Hiſt. de l'Hereſie, cap. xi, pag. 894.

(147) Mercklin. in Lindenio renovato, pag. 549.

(148) Dimiſſaque Calvini verbo Hepevillium ſe appellabat. *Papyr. Maſſo, Elog. Tom.* II, *pag.* 416.

(149) Spond. ad Ann. 1535. n. 7. pag. 430.

(150) Idem. ad Ann. 1534. n 1. pag. 424.

(151) In Addit. ad cap. iv. vitæ Calvini, p. 456. *Elog. Papyr. Maſſo. Tom.* II.

(152) In Remark [*U*], n. 5.

(153) It ought to be 1535.

(154) Spond. ad Ann 1534. n. 9. pag. 423.

(155) Flor. de Remond. Hiſt. de l'Hereſie, l. 7. c. viii. pag. 880.

(156) Index Libr. prohibit. & expurgand. juxta exemplar Madriti, pag. 36. See likewiſe pag. 3, of the 2d Part of the ſame Volume, containing the Index publiſhed at *Rome*, by Order of *Alexander* VII.

(157) Theoph. Raynaud. de malis ac bonis Libris, n. 267. pag. 163.

(158) See Remark [*F*], Citation (36); and Remark [*AA*], Citat. (120).

(159) Drelincourt Triomphe de l'Egliſe, Part II, pag. 428.

(160) Meaning, Father *Cauſſin*.

(161) Drelincourt. Triomph. de l'Egliſe, Part II, pag. 428.

(162) In my Edition of *Spondanus* there is no Comma betwixt *Hyperii* and *Sarcerii*; which is a conſiderable Fault.

(163) Spondan. ad Ann. 1534. n. xi. pag. 424.

(164) Flor. de Remond. Hiſt. de l'Hereſie, pag. 883.

lewd Behaviour of his Brother's Wife [*CC*]. They have made a mighty Noiſe of one of his Nephews returning into the Boſom of the Catholic Church [*DD*]. The Report ſpread at *Augsburg*, during the Imperial Diet, about the Year 1559, of *Calvin*'s being reconciled to the *Romiſh* Communion (*l*), was too readily credited, even by ſome Proteſtant Princes. He complains of it as a piece of Ingratitude, from which his Conſtancy, ſo often experienced, ought to have protected him (*m*). *Thuanus* has obſerved, that *Calvin*, in ſome part of his Works, appears extreamly diſpleaſed, that they had conferred upon the King of *England*, the Quality of the Head of the Church (*n*). Mr *Ancillon* has related this Paſſage, and does not diſapprove of their Opinion, who think this was the Cauſe of publiſhing a defamatory Libel againſt *Calvin* [*EE*].

(*l*) *See the Preface to the* Chriſtian Inſtitution, *Edit.* Ann. 1559.

(*m*) Hæc eſt ſolliciti eorum gratitudo quos certè non latent plurima conſtantiæ meæ experimenta, &c. *Ibid.*

(*n*) Thuan. lib. 1. pag. 52, *Edit. of* Paris, 1604, *in* 8vo.

I ſhall

Calvin could never have occaſion to ſteal from him, or think of turning Plagiary on ſuch Terms as theſe. There appears ſuch a maſterly Hand, and Superiority of Genius, throughout the whole Work, that the Accuſation of Plagiariſm muſt be eſteemed ridiculous by all good Judges. Time has not leſſened the Eſteem of *Calvin*'s *Inſtitution*: Many, who are not learned enough to read it in the Language of the Learned, lament the Barbarouſneſs of the old *French* Tranſlation. It is for their ſake a Refugee Miniſter has undertaken a new Verſion: He has already tranſlated the firſt and ſecond Books into modern *French* (165), and is going on with the reſt. Under favour, they ſhew themſelves either over ſqueamiſh, or over ignorant. *Calvin*'s *French* Stile, which was very pure for that Age, is not yet unintelligible. I know ſeveral Men of a nice Taſte, who read, with Pleaſure, his own Tranſlation of that Work, of which *Conrad Badius*'s Edition at *Geneva*, in *Folio*, 1560, or rather that publiſhed in the ſame Place two Years after (166), ſeems to me to be the beſt. I ſhall make good one of the Things I have aſſerted, from a Paſſage of *Paſquier*. Calvin *was a good Writer both in* Latin *and* French, *and our* French *Tongue is highly obliged to him for enriching it with ſo great a Number of fine Expreſſions* (167).

(165) The firſt Book was printed in 4to, at *Bremen*, in 1696. The ſecond, with a large Dedication to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, was printed the Year following in 4to, at the ſame place.

(166) The marginal Quotations were corrected by *Auguſtin Marlorat*, who alſo added two new Indexes.

(167) Paſquier Recherch. lib. viii, cap. lv, pag. 768.

[*CC*] *They have - - - - - reproached him with the lewd Behaviour of his Brother's Wife.*] Theſe are his Hiſtorian's Words: 'Exprobrant ei alii, quod illius fratèr Antonius Calvinus priorem uxorem ſuam ob adulterium, cognita cauſa, repudiarit. Quid ergo dicerent illi, ſi adulteram ſoviſſet? Quod ſi in eum redundat hoc impudicæ mulieris dedecus, quid fiet Jacobi, Davidis, ipſius denique filii Dei familiæ, in quâ ipſemet Diabolum ex ſuis unum diſerte notavit (168). —— *Some have upbraided him, becauſe his Brother*, Antony Calvin, *put away his Wife, on diſcovering her to be an Adultereſs. What would they have ſaid if he had kept her. But if the Diſgrace of this lewd Woman muſt lie at his Door, what muſt we think of the Families of* Jacob, David, *and even the* Son of God *himſelf, who expreſsly took notice there was one Devil among his Diſciples.*' You ſee, in this Paſſage, a Sifter-in-law of *Calvin* divorced for Adultery; but *Florimond de Remond* ſpeaks only of a Niece of his puniſhed for that Crime (169). 'Calvin alſo married his Brother *Antony* to the Daughter of *Nicolas de Fer*, who, being Bankrupt at *Antwerp*, fled for Safety to *Geneva*, where the Holy Ghoſt opened the Door to all Comers. He turned Bookſeller, that he might ſell his Brother's Works. But this Marriage proved very unfortunate; for his Daughter being taken in Adultery, was whipped, by the Hands of the common Hangman, in the City of *Geneva*, for which *Calvin* was ready to die thro' Grief and Vexation. It is at this *Beza* hints, in his Preface to *Joſhua*, when he ſays, that *Calvin*'s Houſe was free from Whoredom. *It is true*, ſaith he, *the Lord has exerciſed him* (he means, *tried his Patience*) *on this Subject in Perſons very nearly related to him: but it happened much worſe to* Jacob *and* David. *Beza*'s Niece met with the ſame Misfortune; her Name was *Dionyſia*, Wife to *Cornelius* (170), *Hebrew* Lecturer at *Geneva*. It is true, whether it was that *Beza* was in more Credit than his Predeceſſor, or that the Laws grew cooler, ſhe was not whipped thro' the Streets like the other.'

(168) Beza in vitâ Calvini, ſub fin. pag. 387.

(169) Florim. de Remond. Hiſt. de l'Hereſ. lib. viii, cap. xvii, pag. 926.

(170) It was *Cornelius Bertram*, of whom I have given an Article: I have before obſerved, he married *Beza*'s firſt Wife's Niece: But *Remond* is the only Man I have met with, who taxes her Conduct.

[*DD*] *They have made a - - - - - Noiſe of one of his Nephews returning into the Boſom of the Catholic Church.*] *Gaſpar de la Favergue* being come from *Chamberi* to *Geneva* to viſit an Uncle of his, who was there become an Huguenot, embraced the Proteſtant Religion at *Geneva*, and married *Rachel de St André*, *Anthony Calvin*'s Niece. From this Marriage came *Stephen de la Favergue*, 'who, after his 'Parents Death, was brought up in the Family of 'the *Calvins*, and ſent to *Heidelberg* by *Anthony* 'Calvin, his Guardian - - - - his Studies being ac-'compliſhed, he returned to *Geneva*, where, at 'thirty Years of Age, he was inſtalled in the Coun-'cil - - - - of Two hundred. Being to pay a Viſit 'to a Relation in *Savoy*, he went to hear *Francis* 'de Sales preach, with whom he had even ſome 'Conferences touching ſome Points in Religion. 'He diſputed likewiſe with two Capuchin Fa-'thers.' He made a Journey to *Rome* in the Year 1600, to ſee the Ceremonies of the Jubilee. 'He 'was robbed upon the Road by his Companion, 'and ſeized with a continual Fever as ſoon as 'he ſet foot in *Rome*. He was viſited by a Phy-'ſician, who would not come to him any more, 'till, according to the Cuſtom at *Rome*, it ſhould 'be certified in writing, that he had been con-'feſſed.' The Patient ſent to the Convent of *Capuchins*, and deſired a *Religious* of Savoy *would come and viſit a* Savoyard *Gentleman*. *Father* Cherubim, *whom he had ſeen in* Savoy - - - - *came to him*, and recommended him to Father *Peter of the Mother of God*, Commiſſary-General of the *Barefooted Carmelites* of the *Italian* Congregation. This *Carmelite* viſited him, and got him ſome Alms from the Pope. This charitable Act ſoftened the Patient's Heart. He propoſed his Doubts to the *Capuchins*, and to the *Carmelite*, and reſolved to turn Catholic. The Pope promiſed him a Penſion of Eight hundred Crowns, *and put him into the Hands of Cardinal* Baronius *to be inſtructed*. The Father *Carmelite* gave him the Life of St *Tereſa* to read. In ſhort, though the Pope diſſuaded him all he could, this Proſelyte had a mind to be a *Barefooted Carmelite*, and, his Novitiate being expired, he was profeſſed the fourteenth of *July*, 1602. He was called *Clement of St Mary*, and executed a great many Offices in the Order. He died in the Convent of *Avignon*, *Anno* 1643 (171).

(171) Taken from a Book printed at *Antwerp*, 1670, called *Les Fleurs de Carmel cueillies du Parterre des Carmes dechauſſez de France —— par le R. P. Pierre de la Mere de Dieu Religieux Carme dechauſſé*, pag. 81, & ſeq.

[*EE*] *Mr* Ancillon *has related this Paſſage, and does not diſapprove their Opinion, who think this was the cauſe of publiſhing a defamatory Libel againſt* Calvin.] For my Reader's inſtruction, I muſt hear make ſome ſhort Obſervations. 'The Place 'where *Calvin* complains of the Flatterers of 'Henry VIII, calling him *The Supream Head of* 'the Church, is his *Commentary upon the thirteenth Verſe of the ſeventh Chapter of the Book of the Prophet* Amos. Theſe are his Words. 'Qui initio tan-'topere extulerunt Henricum Regem Angliæ, certè 'fuerunt inconſiderati homines, dederunt illi ſummam 'rerum omnium poteſtatem; & hoc me ſemper gra-'viter vulneravit; Erant enim Blaſphemi cum voca-'rent ſummum Caput Eccleſiæ ſub Chriſto, hoc cer-'tè fuit nimium. - - - - *They who at firſt ſo greatly extolled* Henry, *King of* England, *were certainly very inconſiderate; they complemented him with the Supreme Power over all Things: This has always given me a great deal of concern. For it was Blaſphemy in them to call him Supreme Head of the Church under* Christ, *and certainly more than they could juſtify.*' I do not know whether this might not be what vexed a certain *Engliſhman*, and, as ſome imagine, occaſioned that Defamatory Libel againſt *Calvin*, in which this *Engliſhman*, who was *John Brerely* a Prieſt, charges *Calvin* with ſaying, in his Commentaries upon *Daniel*, that we ought ſooner to ſpit in the Face

I shall begin my Supplements with observing, that *Theodore Beza* has written the Life of *Calvin* in *Latin* and in *French*. That in *French* serves by way of Preface to the Commentary of *Calvin* on *Joshua*, and is also printed separately. The first Edition is less ample, and less exact, than the following. I have compared it with the Edition (*o*) of the Year 1565; and I have found in the latter many new Facts, and some others better unfolded, with the Circumstances of Time better distinguished. I shall give some Examples of all This [*FF*]. This Edition has almost all these same Advantages over the Life written in *Latin*; but, on the other side, there are some things in the *Latin*, which are not in the *French* (*p*). As for what relates to the Supplement which I have to give, concerning the Editions of the *Institution*, you will find it in the Remark [*D*], of the Article SCHULTINGIUS. I have already said (*q*), that *Calvin* was greatly exclaimed against, for accusing the Popes and Cardinals of making a Jest of the Christian Religion [*GG*]. I shall retouch this.

(*o*) Of *Geneva*, for *Francis Perrin*, with the Commentary on *Joshua*, *in Folio*.

(*p*) For Example, what concerns the Prostitution of the Wife of *Bolsec*. See Remark [*F*], of the Article BOLSEC.

(*q*) In Remark [*H*], of the Article CASTELLAN.

'of a Catholic King than obey him: In answer 'to which Libel, a Letter was published, inserted 'in the first Collection of the most memorable 'Things which happened under the League, &c. 'intituled, *A Letter from a* French *Gentleman*, '*containing a brief Answer to the Calumnies of a* 'of a pretended Englishman. By this Letter it ap- 'pears, that *Calvin*'s Commentary only concerns '*Nebuchadnezzar*, who commanded his Golden 'Image to be worshipped, &c (172).' I affirm, in the first place, That the Libel, which was answered by the Letter from a *French Gentleman*, inserted in the first Volume of the *Memoirs of the League*, was not at all designed against *Calvin*: It was wrote against the *Huguenot* Party in general, and with a View to prevent *Henry* of *Bourbon*, King of *Navarre*, from succeeding to the Crown of *France*. It mentions *Calvin* only by accident, and in few Words. I say, II. The Author of it was no *Englishman*: No body doubts but it was writ by *Lewis* of *Orleans*. The Turn he gave it was, to give it as the Advice of the *English* Catholic to the *French*, not to permit a Heretic Prince to succeed to *Henry* III. III. Neither *Brerely*, nor any other *English* Papist, could be angry with *Calvin*, on account of his Remark on *Henry* VIII. Every *Roman* Catholic must have approved this Thought of *Calvin*, and might make advantage of it against Queen *Elizabeth*. Undoubtedly if all he writ had been of this Stamp, he had been less exposed to the Malice of the Papists, and still much less to the Libels of the *English* Priests, than of any other Nation. IV. I observe lastly, That the Answer, inserted in the first Tome of the *Memoirs of the League*, is that which Mr *du Plessis Mornai* wrote to *Lewis* of *Orleans*'s Libel (173), which I cited before (174).

(172) Anctll. Melange Critique, Tom. II, pag. 51, 52.

[*FF*] *His Life —— in* French *—— of the Edition of* 1565 *—— contains new Facts, —— others better laid open, with the Circumstances of Time better marked. I will give some examples of all this.*] We do not find in the *French* Edition of 1564, in 12mo, what I have taken out of the Edition of 1565, in Folio, when I related, that a Grandson of a Bastard of the Duke of *Burgundy*, *Philip the Good*, forsook the Reformed Church (175). We do not find there, that, in the Month of *March*, 1599, 'Peter Viretus, for good reasons, 'with certain others, left the Place in which they 'were, (*that is to say*, Lausanne) and retired to *Geneva*: where he was intreated, as well by the Ma- 'gistrates, as by *Calvin*, and the other Ministers, 'to discharge the Office of Pastor of the Church '(176),' and that 'the Magistrates and Governor 'of the City, by the Advice of *Calvin*, ventured 'at that time to establish something of a School, and 'a public Profession of the principal Languages, having 'recovered some excellent Persons, among those, 'who were retired to *Geneva* with *Peter Viretus* '(177).' This confirms my Conjectures, that *Viretus* retired from *Lausanne* for certain reasons, which it was not thought proper to declare (178). Hence also I partly discover the reason why *Theodore Beza* left *Lausanne*; for it cannot be doubted, that he was one of those, who retired from thence with *Viretus*, *for good Reasons*. The Circumstance of Time convinces me of it. It was in 1559, that he began to teach in the Academy of *Geneva*, and he informs us, that they made choice of Professors among those, who had taken refuge at *Geneva*, with *Viretus*. Now from his retiring with such a Person, and for the same Reasons, I conclude, it was not on account of some scandalous Action, as his Adversaries pretend (179); and I conjecture, that it was owing solely to Consistorial or Academic Factions. Observe, that the Passage, from whence I draw these Consequences, is not to be found in the *Latin* Life of *John Calvin*.

(173) It lain the first Volume of *De Mornai*'s *Memoirs*, pag. 619, & seq.

(174) *Citation* (17), *of the Article* BROCARD.

(175) In the Addition to the Remark [*G*], of the Article of this Duke of *Burgundy*; and note, that this is not found in the *Latin* Life of *John Calvin*.

(176) Beza, Pref. on *Joshua*, Edit. of *Geneva*, 1565, pag. 30.

(177) Ibid. pag. 31.

(178) See the Remark [*A*], of the Article VIRETUS.

(179) See Remark [*D*], of the Article BEZA.

Neither do we find there, no more than in the *French* of 1564, in 12mo, what I am going to relate, 'Calvin, in 1546, composed a little Book in *French*, 'by way of Advertisement, that it would be greatly 'worth the while to make an Inventory of all the Re- 'lics, which the Papists value, in *France*, *Italy*, *Ger- 'many*, *Spain*, and other Countries. There he dis- 'covers not only the Abuse and Idolatry, committed 'in those Places, but also the manifest Lies of 'the Priests, when, in different Churches, Towns, 'and Countries, the one and the other pretend to 'have the same thing. Now, he has not compri- 'sed the whole, but only produced some examples, 'which however are pretty numerous, and such 'as cannot be denied. Nevertheless his Design was 'to enlarge the said Book, if he could get Informa- 'tion of the like matters in the said Countries, of 'which there are prodigious numbers, besides those 'he mentions. And indeed he often jestingly re- 'proved his particular Friends, for not recovering 'more ample Memoirs of such things. As for 'France, we have nothing farther to fear, on that 'account, thank God. For War has had such 'opportunity of sweeping away, and destroying, so 'much of this Rubbish, that we have only to beg 'of God, that he would please, by some means 'more gentle for the People of the Earth, to take 'away the Remains of it both in *France* and other 'Countries (180).'

(180) Beza, Pref. of *Calvin*'s Commentary on *Joshua*, pag. 15.

There is, in this Edition of 1565, a more particular Account of the differences *Calvin* had with *Bolsec*, *Castalio*, and *Gentilis*, &c. than either in the *Latin* Life, or the first Edition of the *French*.

The Author had let fall some Mistakes, which he corrected afterwards. He had said, that *Calvin* published his *Institution* at *Basil*, in 1534 (181). This is not to be found in the Edition of 1565. He had said, that *Calvin* married the Widow of *John Stordeur*, called *Idelette de Bure*, 'with whom he lived peaceably, till our Lord 'called him to himself in 1548, without having 'had any Children (182).' but, in the Edition of 1565, he says; 'and with this Woman he conti- 'nued to live peaceably, till our Lord took her to 'himself, leaving behind her no Children; for tho' 'she had brought him one Son (183), he died pre- 'sently (184).' Some Pages after (185), he ob- serves, that he died in the Month of *March* 1549.

(181) Beza's History of the Life and Death of *Calvin*, fol. 103, verso, Edit. of 1564, in 12mo.

(182) Last Leaf of Sheet C.

(183) See, above, Remark [*B*].

(184) Beza's Pref. on *Joshua*, pag. 15.

He did not correct all that wanted correction; for, in the Edition of 1565, as well as in the preceeding Edition, and in the *Latin* Life, he says, that *Calvin*, at Twenty four Years of Age, dedicated 'his Commentary on the Book of *Seneca*, *de Cle- 'mentia*, to one of the Lords *Mommor*, in whose 'Company he had been entertained at *Paris*, in the 'Schools, though not always at their Expence '(186).' Now it is certain, that this Book was dedicated, the fourth of *April*, 1532, to *Claudius de Hangest*, Abbot of *St Eloi* of *Noion*. *Calvin* was not then quite Twenty three Years of Age. See the Remark [*B*]

(185) Pag. 27.

(186) Ib. pag 6.

[*GG*] Calvin *was greatly exclaimed against for accusing the Popes, and the Cardinals, of making a Jest of the Christian Religion*] We have seen (187) how

(187) In Remark [*H*], of the Article CASTELLAN.

how the Jesuit *John Hay* reports the Terms of This Accusation. *Spondanus* reports them in the same manner; but he observes, that *Calvin* adds, 'that, 'though all are not of this Opinion, and that there 'are few, who talk in this manner, yet it is long 'since this Religion began to be the common Religion of the Popes, and that this is notorious to 'those, who are acquainted with *Rome* (188).'

(188) Spond. Declarat. des principaux Motifs. pag. 203. *Edit.* of Antwerp, 1595.

'Did he not blush, pray, *continues Spondanus*, 'when he wrote these Blasphemies? Or rather did 'he at all grow pale, through fear that GOD should 'cause the Hand to wither, with which he wrote 'them? If it be true, and he really believed so, 'why has he not given us proofs of the thing? The 'Crimes were such, that it was worth while doing 'this good Office to Christianity, especially as he 'was so very zealous for our Salvation. The Minister *Coladon*, who published his *Institution* at *Lausanne*, in 1576, being sensible that This Passage 'was difficult to be maintained, endeavoured to fortify it with the Authority of *Erasmus*, in an Epistle 'to one *Steuchus* †, in which he says; *There may* 'be, in Germany, *Persons, who refrain not from* 'blaspheming GOD; *but such Persons are sure to* 'be most severely punished: whereas I myself have 'heard, at Rome, *Persons, who have thrown out* 'abominable Blasphemies against JESUS CHRIST 'and his Apostles, and that in the Presence of many, 'who were Ear-witnesses with me, without being 'punished for it. I have not *Erasmus*'s Book at present by me; but it is easy to judge, by what *Coladon* cites from it, that the Author speaks of common, dissolute, People, such as abound every 'where with regard to Blasphemy; and our Reformers know what numbers of such there are, among themselves, who know how to put it in practice. 'This may be the Case at *Rome*, and perhaps 'worse; but, that it is a Point of private Doctrine, '*Calvin* will never be able to prove; and I desire 'no other Passage of all his Writings, to make it 'appear, that he was actuated by a Spirit of Indignation and Revenge.'

† Erasm. Epist. ad Steuchum.

It is certain, that *Erasmus* does not speak of what the dissolute Vulgar might say: he mentions some Priests of the Pope's Palace. Let us produce his Words at full length, and let us observe, that he opposes them to the Accusation of Impiety, which *Steuchus* had brought against the Protestants of *Germany*. 'Interdum stilum odiosius stringis mea sententia, quam par est, in Germanos, veluti Deuteronomii capite sexto, quum is locus non porrigat ansam incandescendi: *Neque enim*, inquis, *hoc dicimus, quorundam Germanorum imitati procacitatem, qui sibi omnibus & Diis & hominibus, & humanis & divinis rebus, maledicendi licentiam usurparunt.* Ita tu quidem. Fieri potest, ut in Germania sint, qui non temperent a blasphemiis in Deum, sed in hoc horrendis suppliciis animadvertitur. At ego Romæ his auribus audivi quosdam abominandis Blasphemiis debacchantes in Christum & in illius Apostolos, idque multis mecum audientibus, & quidem impune. Ibidem multos novi, qui commemorabant, se dicta horrenda audisse a quibusdam sacerdotibus Aulæ Pontificiæ ministris, idque in ipsa Missa, tam clare, ut ea vox ad multorum aures pervenerit (189). —— *Sometimes you draw your Pen, with more venom, I think, than you ought, against the* Germans; *as, in the sixth Chapter of* Deuteronomy, *though that Place affords no handle for growing enraged.* Nor do I say This *(They are your own Words)* in Imitation of the Saucinesss of some *Germans*, who assume to themselves the Liberty of calumniating every thing, both GOD and Man, divine and humane Things. *Thus you speak. It is true, there may be, in* Germany, *Persons, who refrain not from Blasphemies against GOD; but such Persons suffer the cruelest Punishments. Whereas, at* Rome, *I myself have heard Persons uttering abominable Blasphemies against CHRIST, and his Apostles, and that in the hearing of many besides myself, and yet have never been punished for it. I know many there, who told me, they had heard shocking Expressions from certain Priests, belonging to the Pope's Palace, and that during the very Mass, and so loud, that many heard what they said.*'

(189) Erasm. Epist. xxxiv, lib. xxvi, pag. 1456.

CAMALDOLI (AMBROSE *de*), *Ambrosius Camaldulensis*, so called because he was Abbot-General of the Order of *Camaldoli*, was a learned Man in the XVth Century. He was born near *Florence*, at *Portico*, a little Town of *Romandiola* (*a*), and learned *Greek* under *Emanuel Chrysoloras*, who taught at *Venice* (*b*). He entered into the Order of *Camaldoli* at fourteen Years of Age, and was made General in 1431 (*c*). He had already enjoyed some of their other Employments, and had lived among them for the space of thirty Years (*d*). Pope *Eugenius* IV, who had a great Value for him, sent him to the Council of *Basil*, and had great Reason to commend his Zeal, in maintaining the Authority of the Papal Chair. This General continued to testify the same Zeal in the Council of *Ferrara*, and that of *Florence*: where he disputed strongly against the *Greeks*. He harangued, in *Greek* at *Ferrara*, *John* (*e*) *Paleologus*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, in the Year 1437, and made the *Greeks* confess that he understood their Language the best of any of the *Latins* (*f*). It was he whom Pope *Eugenius* dispatched to the *Florentines*, to engage their Consent that the Council of *Ferrara* might be removed to their City. He obtained what the Pope desired, and was made choice of to draw up the Form of Union between the *Latin* and *Greek* Churches (*g*). He is accused by *Sguropulus*, not only of an extream Partiality for the Pope, but also of Hypocrisy and Knavery (*b*) [*A*]. *Ambrose*

(*a*) Volater. lib. xxi.

(*b*) Wharton, Appendix ad Cave Hist. Literar. Script. Eccles.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Hodœporicon Ambrosii Camaldul. p. 1.

(*e*) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 555, *miscalls him* Emanuel.

(*f*) Sguropulus, Hist. Concil. Flor. sect. x, cap. ii.

(*g*) Wharton, Append. ad Cave Hist. Script. Eccles.

(*b*) Ἀνὴρ στομίας μὲν καὶ παυθργος, πρόσχημα δὲ εὐρυπείρονος ἁλαβείας. Vir veteratorius & callidus, & pietatis simulator. *Sgurop. Hist. Conc. Flor. Sect.* vii, cap. i.

[*A*] *He is accused by* Sguropulus —— *of Hypocrisy and Knavery.*] There are not a few Writers, who have given us quite another Account of this Author: we find in his Works certain Characters, which confute this Calumny of *Sguropulus*. However it be, it is certain, that one of the most satirical Writers of his Time has given us an authentic Testimony of our *Ambrose*'s Integrity. I mean *Poggius Florentinus*, who, in one of his Dialogues against Hypocrites, where he lashes, on all sides, a multitude of famous Men, has these Words: 'Quid, 'Carolus inquit, de nostro Ambrosio judicatis? 'rectane an tortuosa philosophabatur via? Nunquid vobis hypocrisim redolebat? Nequaquam, 'Hieronymus inquit; fuit enim vir optimus meo 'judicio ac probatissimus, qui in suo cœnobio literis deditus multa scripsit magna cum laude & 'doctrina. Summâ certe fuit præditus humanitate 'ac virtute. Laudo vitam illius, Carolus inquit, '& existimo extra hypocrisim fuisse, &c. —— 'What, says *Charles*, *do you think of our* Ambrose? 'Is his Reasoning just or not? Does he appear 'a Hypocrite? By no means, says *Jerom*; for in 'my Opinion he was a most excellent and worthy 'Man, who gave himself up to Letters in his 'Convent, and wrote many Things with great Reputation and Learning. He was certainly endued 'with the greatest Virtue and Humanity. I admire his Life, says *Charles*, and believe it intirely 'free from Hypocrisy, &c.' Father *Nicolas Bartholini* quotes this Passage at the end of the *Hodœporicon*, and tells us this Dialogue of *Poggius* was to be sent to the Press at the Instance of some *Frenchmen*, whose Importunities Mr. *Magliabacchi* could not resist. *Paul Jovius*, who is sometimes more apt to commend than condemn, confesses that the General of *Camaldoli* was a Man, who, by an uncommon Piece of good Fortune, had joined Sanctity

Ambroſe was the Diſtributer of the petty Sums aſſigned by the Pope for the Relief of the indigent *Grecians*. He collected a large Library in the Convent of St *Mary of the Angels*, where he reſided (*i*), and tranſlated, out of *Greek* into *Latin*, ſeveral Books, as thoſe of *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite*, *De Cæleſti Hierarchia*, thoſe of *Manuel Calecas*, againſt the Errors of the *Grecian* Church, *Palladius*'s Life of St *Chryſoſtome*, *Æneas Gazæus*'s *Theophraſtus* [*B*], The Spiritual Meadow of *John Moſchus*, St *John Climacus*, ſeveral of St *Ephrem*'s Sermons, *&c.* *Gerard Voſſius*, Provoſt of *Tongres*, is accuſed of a remarkable Plagiariſm, in regard to this laſt Tranſlation (*k*). *Ambroſe* was not content to tranſlate the Works of ſeveral Fathers of the Church, but had a mind to try his Strength on the Heathen Authors; he made choice of one who was not the moſt eaſy, I mean *Diogenes Laërtius*, and met with no extraordinary Succeſs (*l*). As to his own Works they conſiſt of a Chronicle of Mount *Caſſin*, a Hiſtory of his own Tranſactions while he was General of *Camaldoli*, ſome Lives of the Saints, ſome Orations, and a Treatiſe *De Sacramento admirabili Corporis Chriſti*, &c. To which ſome add a Treatiſe of the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt [*C*]. As he writ a great Number of Letters, *Coſmo de Medicis*, who had a very particular Eſteem for him (*m*), ordered them to be collected into one Volume, by a Monk of *Camaldoli*. This Volume has never yet been publiſhed; but is in the Library of *Florence*: The World has been promiſed it, with the Notes of *Nicolas Bartolini*, who has already obliged us with *Ambroſe*'s *Hodæporicon*; a Work which equally proves the Author to have been a very honeſt Man, and to have lived in a very corrupt Age [*D*]. Thoſe, who ſay he died in the Year 1490 (*n*), are

(*i*) Jovius in Elog.

(*k*) Whart. Append. ad Cave Hiſt. Script. Eccleſ.

(*l*) *See* Valentinus Curio's *Preface to* Diogenes Laërtius, *Edit.* 1544, apud Geſn. Biblioth. fol. 32.

(*m*) Hodœporicon Ambroſ. ſub fin.

(*n*) Bellarm. de Script. Eccleſ. & ibi Phil. Labbe; Hoffman. Moreri, Konig, Bailla.

Sanctity and Gayety together; and that he had a Soul ſo free from Envy, and the Spirit of Contradiction, that, in endeavouring to reconcile *Poggius* and *Laurentius Valla*, he told them they behaved themſelves neither like Men of Learning, nor Chriſtians, whilſt they debaſed the Dignity of the Sciences by their ſatirical Writings. 'Fuit 'hic vir, quod raro evenit, ſine oris triſtitia ſanctus, ſemper utique ſuavis atque ſerenus; ità procul à livore contentioneque, ut cùm Vallæ Poggium reconciliare conaretur, eos neque plane literatos, neque item Chriſtianos videri diceret, quî inducta ſimultate ſacroſanctum literarum decus probroſis libellis importunè deſœdarent (1).'

(1) Jovius Elog. cap. xl.

[*B*] *He tranſlated* —— Æneas Gazæus's Theophraſtus] My Remark on this Verſion is only to have an Opportunity of obſerving, that our *Ambroſe* made a Voyage which very few have mentioned. He went to *Conſtantinople* with *Guarin* and *Philelphus*, to perfect himſelf in the *Greek* Tongue; and returning from thence, paſſed by the Iſle of *Chios*, where *Andreolo Juſtiniani*, a Lover of Learning, and learned Men, received this little Troop of Travellers with all poſſible Friendſhip. *Ambroſe*, to teſtify his Gratitude, dedicated to him his Tranſlation of *Æneas Gazæus* (2).

(2) See *Auguſtin Juſtiniani*, *Ambroſe*'s Grandſon's Dedication, prefixed to this Tranſlation, in the *Venice* Edition, 1513. See alſo the Dedication of the Tranſlator.

[*C*] *Some add to his Works, a Treatiſe of the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt*] *Voſſius* (3), after having obſerved, that *Poſſevin*, *Trithemius*, and ſome others (4), attribute a Book concerning the *Holy Ghoſt*, to the General of *Camaldoli*, adds, that they ſeem to miſtake that for a Work of this General, which was no other than a Tranſlation. Mr *Wharton*, who writ a long time after *Voſſius*, yet aſcribes this Piece to *Ambroſe* as an Original. He alſo attributes to him, in the ſame Nature, the Work *contra Vituperatores Monaſticæ vitæ*, which is, *ſays he* (5), among the Manuſcripts of St *Juſtina*'s Library at *Padua*, of which neither *Bellarmine* nor *Poccianius* have made any mention. However, I make no doubt but this Work was only a Tranſlation of St *Chryſoſtom*'s three Books, *adverſus vitæ monaſticæ vituperatores*, which *Valerannus* has taken notice of in ſpeaking of our Author. See alſo Father *Labbe* (6), in his Catalogue of the fourth Tome of St *Chryſoſtom*'s Works, according to the *Paris* Edition 1614, and *Geſner*'s *Bibliotheca* in the Catalogue of the Works of the ſame Father, printed at *Baſil*, in the Year 1530. This Work, tranſlated by our *Ambroſe*, is quoted in both theſe Editions.

(3) Voſſius de Hiſtoricis Lat. pag. 556.

(4) Valatur. and Bellarmine are of this Number.

(5) Ex Thomaſino.

(6) Labbe de Script. Eccleſ. Tom. I, pag. 534.

[*D*] *His* Hodœporicon - - - - - - *equally proves the Author to have been a very honeſt Man, and to have lived in a very corrupt Age*] This Book is a Relation of a Journey *Ambroſe* made thro' ſeveral Places of *Italy* in 1431 and 1432. He ſet out from his Convent the eleventh of *October*, 1431, to be preſent at a general Chapter of the Order. This Chapter depoſed their General, and advanced our *Ambroſe* in his Place, who, after that, viſited ſeveral Houſes of his Order. He found a monſtrous Degeneracy among them, and ſome Nunneries which were perfect Brothels. The Author ventured to relate it in *Greek* rather than *Latin*, *deprehendi ἑταιρίδια in Monaſterio commorari non Sanctimoniales* (7). —— *I found the Convent conſiſted of Whores inſtead of Nuns.* He thundered againſt this Diſorder; and the Abbeſs at laſt confeſſed, that there was not a due Government in the Houſe, but that neither ſhe, nor ſome of the more aged, followed the Torrent. He was not ſo weak as to be ſatisfied with ſuch an imperfect Confeſſion; he diſcovered the whole Extent of the Miſchief, forbad them to admit any Monks or Laymen for the future, and threatened to raze and burn their Cloyſter, if thoſe ſcandalous Reports continued. He ſeems not to have been ſo ſucceſsful or induſtrious in his Viſitation of another Convent. He had an ill Opinion of it, but believed, upon his Inquiries, that Things were better than he expected. But, after his Departure, he was informed that he had made but a very imperfect Scrutiny, that he had not diſcovered the Truth, and that almoſt all the Nuns in the Houſe were Ladies of Pleaſure, *omnes ferme πόρναι eſſe* (8). He was very much concerned at it, tho' he did not believe he had been ſo deceived in his Informations; and, returning thither, he diſcovered that a Prior had debauched a Nun, who thereupon had made her Eſcape. The Abbeſs confeſſed her having had a Child, *Ejus confeſſione ſimplici πάντων πολῆσαι eam comperimus* (9): And then he ſays, in general, that he had found ſeveral Things worthy of Correction, *Plurima ibi quæ correctione digna eſſent invenimus*. He met with no leſs Diſorders among the Monks. There was one Convent where they fought with Swords and Staves, and where the Prior was accuſed of ſo many foul Things, that it was not thought proper to bring him to a formal Trial. The Management of the Proceſs and Conviction of the Criminal were carried on with all poſſible Secrecy, and after a gentle Sentence, and ſome Regulations in writing for the Future, he was, by Word of Mouth, and in the Preſence of a few Witneſſes, cenſured for his greateſt Vice. He had too great a Regard to the Honour of the Society, to leave any thing in writing upon that Subject (11). Sometimes he ventures to ſpeak out freely, without any Recourſe to the *Greek* Language: 'Et 'ex matre Domini & ex pleriſque aliis percepera-'mus *Proſtibulum* illud eſſe. Deprehendimus rem 'opinione etiam deteriorem (12). —— *And I found that the Convent of our Lady, as well as moſt others, were direct Brothels. The Thing appeared even worſe than I imagined.*' On another Occaſion, where he was to declare that the Prior of a Monaſtery had a Baſtard, he choſe rather to make

(7) Hodœpor. Ambr. pag. 4.

(8) Pag. 26.

(9) Pag. 29.

(10) Pag. 30, 31.

(11) Præcepta ſecretiora traditiſſimus quæ ſcripto ligare ob illius & noſtrum ipſiuſque Monaſterii honorem nolueramus *ergo vitia* τῶν τέκνων *exercitia, & alias hujuſmodi quibuſdam.* — *I gave Orders privately, not being willing either on his account, or my own, or the Monaſtery's, to commit them to writing, concerning the Debauchery, and ſome other Crimes of that Kind.*

(12) Hodœpor. Ambr. pag. 48.

are mistaken [E]; and so, in all probability, are they who say he ended his Days at *Constance*. His Body is deposited in the Oratory of *Camaldoli*, without Epitaph or Ornament [F]. His Life, wrote at large by *Augustin* of *Florence*, may be met with at the end of the History of the Order of *Camaldoli*, composed in three Books

(13) Visitavimus Priorem ipsius Monasterii, & quæ de illo fama vulgaverat vera esse deprehendimus, namque urbi habuit juvenem ingenii non mali, à quo scriptam orationem acceperamus. — *I visited the Prior of that Monastery, and found what Fame had reported of him to be true; for he had a Son, a Youth of good Parts, from whom I received an Oration in writing.* Hodœpor. Ambros. pag. 35.

(14) Journal des Sçavans 2 Mar. 1682.

(15) Hodœpor. Ambros. pag. 64.

(16) Wharton, Appendix ad Cave Hist. Script. Ecclesiast.

(17) Varill. Anecd. de Flor. pag. 164.

(18) See Remark [A], of the Article CONRARUS.

(19) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 536.

make use of the *Greek* Word υἱὸς than the *Latin* Word *filius* (13). The Abbot *de la Roque* commends our *Ambrose*'s *Prudence for expressing these grand Disorders in a Language less known than the* Latin, *to prevent making them so public* (14). But the making this Reflexion must defeat *Ambrose*'s Intention; for they, who are acquainted with this Precaution, will be more readily directed, than otherwise they would have been, to these ticklish Places; they need only cast their Eyes upon these *Greek* Words, to discover, in a Moment, where the Game lies. There are very few, who can read a *Latin* Book, but will make shift to find out a Word in a *Greek* Dictionary. The Example this General relates (15) of the Force of Jealousy, is very singular. An old Priest, who for a long time had been in love with an Abbess, seeing himself excluded, and supplanted by his Rival, was so far exasperated, that he became an Informer against her, and exposed several obscene Letters he had sent her. It did not appear by these Letters, that the Abbess had granted him the Favour; however *Ambrose* retained them, and produced them against her as a convincing Proof. She absolutely denied that she had forfeited her Honour, but confessed the Receipt of the lewd old Man's Letters. To conclude, this *Hodœpericon* was printed at *Florence* from a Manuscript, which the Famous Mr *Magliabecchi* communicated to Father *Nicolas Barthelini*, Clerk-Regular of the Congregation of the Mother of God. The Copy I make use of does not shew the Year in which it was printed, though it must be either 1680, 1681, or 1682. Mr *Wharton*, in all probability, had a Copy, whose Title was different from that of mine; for he quotes it thus (16): *Hodœporicon, seu Descriptio itineris Eugenii Papæ auctoritate anno* 1431 *à se per Italiam suscepti, ut corruptos Monachorum & Virginum claustralium mores emendaret.* There is nothing like this in mine. I do not know what Grounds the Abbot *de la Roque* has to believe that there was a former Edition of this Work, and that the *Stile* of it *was fine*. It must be confessed, *Ambrose* wrote very well for a Man of his Profession in those Times; but let us not say, with Mr *Varillas*, that he translated the Hierarchy, attributed to St *Denis*, *with so much Eloquence and Elegancy, that no Body ever since could come near his Stile* (17).

[E] *Those, who say he died in the Year* 1490, *are mistaken.*] In the Ist place, if he had lived to the Year 1490, he must have died One hundred and three Years old. Now, if he had attained to so extraordinary an Age, it must certainly have been taken notice of in some part of those many Books, which speak either of him, or those learned Men who lived to be very old. Since therefore no body has mentioned it, we may conclude it to be an Age he never arrived at (18). The Proof that he must have been One hundred and three Years old, is taken from his entering into the Order at fourteen, and having continued in it thirty Years, when, in 1431, he was deputed to the Chapter-General of his Order. This he informs us himself at the beginning of his *Hodœpericon*. In the IId place, the Epistle dedicatory to his Letters speaks of him as not then living; and acquaints us, that *Cosmo de Medicis* had employed a Monk to make a Collection of these Letters; This Monk, having discharged his Commission, dedicated the Work to *Cosmo de Medicis*. All this supposes some Years to have passed betwixt the Author's Death, and the time of the Dedication of his Letters. Now this must have been before the Year 1464, in which *Cosmo* died. In the IIId place, It was *Poggius Florentinus*, according to *Vossius* (19), who made the General of *Camaldoli*'s Funeral Oration. Now *Poggius* died in 1459; so that this General is far from having lived 'till 1490. What *Vossius* tells us of *Poggius* being *Ambrose*'s Scholar seems to me a little suspicious; for *Poggius* must have made a Figure in the World before *Ambrose* was taken notice of, and was his Senior. He was made Secretary of the Briefs about the Year 1407. He was a Man of Note at the time of holding the Council of *Constance*, when he gave an Account of *John Hus*'s Punishment in 1416; and since he died in 1459, and in the eightieth Year of his Age, it follows that he was born in 1379. Now *Ambrose* was a private Monk when the Council of *Constance* was held, and he was born about the Year 1386 or 1387. *Sandius* had reason to believe, that *Poggius* was rather *Ambrose*'s Fellow-Student, when he learned *Greek*, than his Scholar (20); but he is wrong in refuting *Vossius*, as to the Funeral Oration, since he builds, tho' with an *If*, on the false Supposition of *Ambrose*'s living till the Year 1490. I shall remark, by the by, a Fault of *Moreri*, who says, in a retrograde Order, that *Ambrose was at the Councils of* Basil, *and of* Constance. How will he prove this, in regard to the last Head? In the IVth place, *Bartholini* (21) tells us, that *Eugenius* IV, having heard of *Ambrose*'s Death, was sensibly touched with it. ' Dum ejus primum inauditâ morte subitâ vi doloris abreptus in lacrymas & aliquandiu quoque ingemiscens; cum ex nomine vocare non cessaret, ' in has voces identidem erumpens, *Ambrosi*, Fili, ' quis te mihi eripuit, quis *Ecclesiæ lumen* adeo ' intempestivè extinxit? — *Being surprized with* ' *the News of his Death, he burst into Tears with* ' *the suddenness of his Grief, and bewailing him* ' *also for some time, continued calling him by his* ' *Name, and broke out into this Expostulation, O* ' Ambrose, *my Son, who has taken you away* ' *from me, who has so unseasonably extinguished the* ' Light of the Church?' This Pope departed this Life in 1447: and, if *Ambrose* died before him, what do so many Authors mean, who agree in remarking that he lived to a very great Age (22)? And what was *Paulus Jovius* dreaming of, when he said that *Ambrose* was admired by *Eugenius* IV, and *Nicolas* V (23)? Some will have it that both these Popes had Thoughts of making him Cardinal (24). However it be, they must be mistaken who suppose a strict Friendship betwixt him and *Politian* (25); for this last was not born 'till the Year 1454.

(20) Sandius Not. in Voss de Hist. Lat. p. 212.

(21) Hodœporicon, Ambros. pag. 1181.

(22) Excessit à vita planè senex. *Jovius.* Obiit valde grandævus non sine sanctitatis opinione. *Wharton.*

(23) He succeeded *Eugenius* IV.

The Printer had proceded thus far, when one of my Friends (26), whom I had desired to consult *Augustinus Florentinus*, informed me, I. That he found there, that our *Ambrose* died the twenty first of *October* 1439, at his return from the Council of *Florence*, to which he had subscribed (27), and that he entered into the Order, at the Age of fourteen Years and twenty two Days, in the Year 1400 (28). II. That *Dom Thomas de Minis*, a Florentine, who published at *Florence*, in 1606, a Catalogue of the Saints of the Order of *Camaldoli*, says, in his forty fifth Page, that *Ambrose*, the thirty fifth General, died in 1439. I am surprized that Mr *Wharton*, who had in his Hands *Augustinus Florentinus*, should make *Ambrose* flourish in 1440, and suppose him living a long time after. *Vossius*, who makes him flourish in the Year 1450, did not see clearly into this matter: nor has he justly quoted *James de Bergamo*, who makes mention of our *Ambrose* under the Year 1431, and not, as *Vossius* affirms, under 1449.

(24) Varill. Anecd. de Florence. Wharton. Append. ad Cave de Script. Eccles.

(25) Val. Curio, Præf. in Diogen. Laërt. apud Gesn. Bibl. fol. 32.

(26) Monsieur de Larroque.

(27) Aug. Florentinus in Vit. Ambros. c. xxix.

(28) Id. cap. ivo.

[F] *His Body is deposited in the Oratory of* Camaldoli, *without Epitaph or Ornament.*] Father *Mabillon*, out of indignation at such a sight, makes the following Reflexion, in his Voyage to *Italy*. ' In ' Oratorio, *says he* (29), sepultus est sine lapide & ' titulo magnus ille Ambrosius, Camaldulensium ' quondam summus Præpositus, tum cœnobitarum ' tum eremitarum qui sub Petro Delphino discessionem à cœnobitis fecerunt. Subit indignatio, ut ' cum Plinio juniori loquamur *, tanti viri post ' tot annos reliquias neglectumque cinerem sine titulo, sine nomine jacere, cujus memoria orbem terrarum gloria pervagata est. Sed potior Ambrosii ' apud Deum gloria est ac memoria. - - - - - *In the* ' *Oratory, lies buried, without Stone or Inscription,* ' *the great* Ambrosius, *formerly General of the Order* ' *of* Camaldoli, *as well of Monks as Hermits, who,* ' *under*

(29) Museum. Ital. Tom. I. pag. 180.

* Plin. lib. vi. Epist. x.

Books by the same Author. Father *Labbe* was mistaken when he said, that this Author writ three Books upon *Ambrose*'s Life (*o*). Mr *Wharton* has observed that Mistake.

(*o*) Labbe de Scriptor. Eccles. Tom. I. p. 45.

' *under* Peter Delphius *quitted the Monasteries. It* ' *is matter of Indignation, as* Pliny, *the Younger, said* ' *on a like occasion, that the Ashes and Remains of so* ' *great a Man should lie so many Years neglected,* ' *without Monument or Epitaph, whose Memory is* ' *recorded with Glory in all parts of the World:* ' *But the Memory and Glory of* Ambrose *is most* ' *highly esteemed in Heaven.*'

CAMDEN (WILLIAM), one of the most learned and illustrious Men of his Time, born at *London*, the second of *May*, 1551, of a Family not very considerable [*A*]. At the Age of fifteen he was sent to *Oxford*, where he studied five Years without taking any Degree [*B*], and from thence returned to *London*; where, among other Patrons, he met with *Gabriel* and *Jeffrey Goodman*. They were two Brothers; who, being acquainted with *Camden*'s great Parts, took a pleasure in supplying him with the means to improve them. One of them (*a*), being Dean of *Westminster*, made him, in the Year 1575, Usher of the School, which Queen *Elizabeth* had founded in that Church (*b*). *Camden*, who had Classical Learning enough to acquit himself worthily of that Employ, compleatly discharged all the Duties of it, and continued, in the mean time, to apply himself to more exalted Studies. His natural Inclination led him principally to a search after the Antiquities of his own Country: and as the Excellency of his Genius, and Profoundness of his Judgment, quickly discovered to him the full Extent of his Design, and all the Assistance requisite for his Success therein; his Thoughts and Studies were entirely bent on preparing Materials for the Work he was meditating. It was a History of the ancient *Britons*: He proposed to trace to the Bottom their Original, their Manners, and their Laws. To which end it was necessary for him, not only to understand whatever the *Romans* or the *Grecians* have left us concerning *Great Britain*, but also the ancient Language of the Island, both *British* and *Saxon*. He was obliged to examine the old Itineraries, search into the Archives, and consult an infinite Number of old Papers. He omitted nothing of all this: his Diligence and Pains were extraordinary, and so likewise was his Success. And as his Reputation had reached even into foreign Parts, all who were Judges, found him particularly capable of executing so vast a Design, and encouraged and assisted him in it, every one according to his Abilities. He resolved to view, himself, the Situation of the Country, and there was not a Corner in all *England* which he did not carefully inspect. From all these Labours, at the end of ten Years, came out his *Britannia*, printed at *London*, in 1586 [*C*]. This Work answered the Expectation

(*a*) Gabriel.

(*b*) Regiæ Scholæ in isthoc illustri Collegio à serenissimâ Regina Elizabetha beatæ memoriæ fundatæ — Hypodidascalum — constituti. *Tho. Smith, in Vitâ Camdeni, pag.* 8.

[*A*] *He was of a Family not very considerable.*] His Father was born at *Lichfield* in *Staffordshire*, and came to settle in *London*, where he followed the business of a Painter. He left but little at his Death, so that his Son, who was young, was brought up in the Orphans Hospital. *Camden*, in the height of his Fortune, was so far from concealing the Obscurity of his Family, that he left by his Will, to the Company of Painters, a Vermilion Cup (1), with this Inscription, *Gul. Camdenus Clarenceux, filius Sampsonis, Pictoris Londinensis, dono dedit.* It is one of the Cups the Company makes use of at their public Feasts. *Camden*, by his Mother's side, was related to an ancient (2) Family (3).

(1) It cost 16 Pounds Sterling.

(2) That of the *Curwens*, descended from *Gospatrick*, Earl of *Northumberland*.

(3) Ex Vitâ Camdeni Autore Tho. Smith, pag. 2.

[*B*] *He studied at* Oxford, *without taking any Degree.*] I observe this, that I may have an opportunity of informing my Reader, that, in 1588, when his Reputation had raised him above the Title of Master of Arts, which the University of *Oxford* usually confers on those who have run through a Course of seven Years; he petitioned for that Degree. He was answered that he might have it, provided he would present himself at the next Congregation of the University, according to Custom. He had not then time to attend; but, in 1613, he appeared in the University, in order to assist at the Obsequies of Sir *Thomas Bodley*, and then went out Master of Arts. It was a great Honour for that famous University, to have a Man of his Years and Reputation ambitious of that Title (4).

(4) Ex eodem Tho. Smith, ibid. pag. 6, 7.

Note, There are some Writers who affirm, the University made him an Offer of this Degree, which he then thought unnecessary; and that it is very probable he never accepted it. This is Dr *Gibson*'s Opinion (5), which he founds upon the Authority of Mr *Wood*.

(5) Gibson's Life of *Camden*. See, below, Citation (35).

[*C*] *His* Britannia *was printed at* London *in* 1586.] The date of this Impression will serve for an Answer to those, who affirm that *Camden* was commanded by King *James* to write a Description of *England*. This Description was printed at *London* five times one after another, before Queen *Elizabeth*'s Death. It does no where appear, that That Princess was any ways concerned in the Author's Undertaking: He was led on in these Studies by his own Taste or Genius, and employed all his Care and Pains in the execution of his Design, without any appearance, as I said before, that the Court gave him any Commission for it, or promised him any Reward (6). There must therefore be a Mistake in the Passage I am going to cite. I shall set it down somewhat at large, because it contains an Elogy not at all to be suspected. We cannot but remember the just Complaints which *Sorbiere*'s Account has occasioned (7). ' *England* is a Country ' the best known of any in the World; for *Camden*, ' by Order of King *James*, wrote a Description of ' it, in order to which he spent several Years in ' travelling. He followed the Course of the Rivers, ' and described on each side whatever he met with. ' He coursed the Champains, penetrated the Forests, and traversed the Mountains. So that he ' discovered every thing remarkable, gave the exact ' Situation of the smallest Castles, and recounted, ' as he went along, the History, Genealogy, and ' Alliances of all the considerable Families. His ' Work makes one of the most curious parts of ' *Blaeu*'s Atlas (8).' Dr *Smith* observes, that *Camden*'s *Britannia* makes the fourth part of *Janssonius*'s Atlas, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1659; but, that it was very much altered: No regard is had to the Author's Method; the Quotations from him are imperfect; many things are here and there ascribed to him, which are the Observations of others; and no care is taken to distinguish what is borrowed from him, and what from other Writers. *Nitidissimis quidem Characteribus, sed ordine planè diversa: multis omissis, multis quoque à Johannis Speedi & ' Iserumque*

(6) Dr *Smith*, pag. 10. intimates only that Sir *Philip Sidney* encouraged the Author, and made him an Offer of his Friendship.

(7) Dr *Sprat* published in *English*, an Answer to *Sorbiere*'s Voyage; which, translated into *French*, and enlarged by the Translator, was printed at *Amsterdam*, 1675.

(8) Sorbieres's Voyage into *England*, pag. 19, *Edit. of* Holland, 1666.

tion the Learned had conceived of it; and sold so well, that it was reprinted the Year following (*c*), and besides the *German* Editions, we may count those of *England* in the Years 1590, 1594, 1600, and 1607 (*d*). They, who are acquainted with the Nature of this sort of Writings, need not be informed that every new Edition excelled the former [*D*]. The great Success of this Book, and the Commendations it drew from all Parts on it's Author, abated nothing of *Camden*'s innate Modesty, nor put any Notions into his Head of quitting the Fatigues of the School, where he had been a long time Usher. If his Friends had taken no greater Care of his Fortune than he himself, the Nation and Age he lived in might to this Day have lain under the Scandal of having neglected so great a Subject (*e*). But this was prevented; for the Bishop of *Salisbury* (*f*) conferred on him, in the Year 1588, the Prebend of *Ilfarcombe*. *Camden* enjoyed it all his Life without Residence, or entering into Orders. In 1593, he succeeded *Edward Grant*, who was Head-Master of *Westminster* School, and compiled a new *Greek* Grammar, which appeared in 1597; and has been received not only in that School, but throughout all *England*. He was removed the same Year from his Mastership, to succeed *Richard Liege*, who was Clarencieux King at Arms. This Dignity exposed him to the Fury of a Man, who, thinking he himself had deserved it, and not doubting but it would have been conferred on him, took it as an Affront that it was disposed of in Favour of another. To divert his Spleen, and revenge himself for the Wrong he pretended to have received, he attacked *Camden*'s Work, and published (*g*) some Criticisms upon it, full of Passion and Bitterness [*E*]. *Camden* answered him with much Moderation, justified himself very learnedly, and proved his

(*c*) See the Remark [*E*], at the end.

(*d*) Smith, in Vitâ Camdeni, pag. 78.

(*e*) Nullo aut ambitionis aut avaritiæ ostio percitus, sui plus æquo negligentior. Amici non item, ut seculum apud posteros absolverent, quasi optime meritos, inter quos Camdenus jure recensendus, neglexisset. *Smith, in Vitâ Camden. p.* 171

(*f*) *Dr* John Pierce.

(*g*) In the Year 1599.

liorumque scriptis interpositis adjectisque ut quid ipse Cambdenus, quidve illi scripserint, meritò ambigatur (9). If any one would undertake the reprinting this Work, he might be furnished with many Corrections and Additions from the Author (10). See the Remark [*E*] towards the end.

(9) Smith, in Vitâ Cambd. pag. 78.

(10) Id. ibid.

[*D*] —— *It was reprinted several times —— every new Edition excelled the former.*] There are some Subjects inexhaustible; one may be always making Additions to them, because there is no end of finding something or other not thought of before. This is the Fate of Dictionaries. There are other Subjects so difficult, so obscure, and embarrassed with so many Circumstances, that all we can do is to avoid being often mistaken in them. In a word, there are a great many Reasons why a Book should grow more perfect from several Impressions. Very often a Piece becomes good at last, which at first was very bad. This is always a Disadvantage to the Author; for it may be objected that he was a little too hasty, and that his first Production was no better than an untimely Birth. This was not *Camden*'s Case. The last Edition of his *Britannia* is incomparably better than the first; but yet the first was very good. I quote Dr *Smith*'s Words, and I am confident, the learned Reader will not condemn this Remark; it is very proper to point out the manner, in which we ought to judge of some sort of Writings. Now what can be more necessary than to inform the Judgment of the Reader, by setting before him certain Thoughts abstracted and collected out of other Books? This was the Motive, which induced me to insert such sort of Quotations in this Dictionary: which I desire to mention here once for all. This is my Quotation. ' Cum enim opus ejusmodi ex argumentorum, quæ in illo tractantur, varietate continui incrementi capax sit, & tam ingenti rerum hactenus incognitarum, quarum origo aut obscura aut incerta, copiâ & apparatu reperciatur, nemo, qui de hisce studiis rectè, & prout par est, judicandi facultate pollet, errores, si qui in primis editionibus reperirentur, non ex levitate & inconstantiâ mentis, non ex præcipiti insulsas & nulli fundamento innixas conjecturas venditandi audaciâ aut inani pruritu, sed ex defectu debitæ authoritatis aut mentis non semper attentæ variisque cogitationibus distractæ lassitudine admissos, qui vel vigilantissimo obrepere possint, exprobrare; aut illud omnibus numeris nondum fuisse absolutum mistis querelis mirari debet. In hoc fœcundi ingenii partu pulchra quidem lineamenta apparuêre, & nullo vitio distorta compages, quibus novos colores integrumque vigorem inductura esset maturior ætas. Hoc nempe erat plurium annorum & cumulationis experientiæ negotium, ut lucubrationes istæ, sæpe repetitis curis recognitæ, limâque accuratiori perpolitæ, novis auctariis in justam decoramque molem demum crescerent (11).— *For as a Work of this Nature is capable of continual improvement, from the variety of the Subjects it treats of, and is filled with so great a number of things, hitherto unknown, whose Origin is very uncertain, and difficult to trace, no good Judges of these Studies will upbraid the Author with it's Faults, if there should be any in the first Editions, occasioned not from a levity and inconstancy of Judgment, not from a rash Assurance, or vain Itch of publishing absurd and groundless Conjectures, but from a want of good Authorities, and a natural Inattention of the Mind, when wearied, or distracted with various Objects: nor complain and wonder that it should not yet be absolutely complete. This ingenious Work discovered indeed, at it's Birth, beautiful Lineaments, and Parts unexceptionably proportioned; but it was to receive it's full Charms, and compleat Vigour, from maturer Years. For it required a long time, and continued Observations, to revise and new polish with repeated Pains, and still greater Exactness, these Lucubrations, that they might at last, by gradual Additions, reach their just and becoming Stature.*' All this Quotation deserves to be considered.

(11) Id. ibid. pag. 25.

[*E*] —— *An angry Man —— attacked his* Britannia, *and published some Criticisms upon it, —— full of Passion.*] This was *Ralph Brook* York-Herald at Arms. He having spent two Years in examining *Camden's Britannia*, published a Book in *English* called *A discoverie of certaine Errours, published in Print in the much commended Britannia, 1595; Injurious to the Families and Successions of the ancient Nobility of this Realm.* He published it without Licence, and without naming either Bookseller or Printer. He was not content to attack *Camden* in Genealogical Points only, but accused him of Plagiarism, with respect to other Matters, as if he had pillaged the learned *Leland*'s Works. Dr *Smith* complains that the Author of the *English* Ecclesiastical History has revived *Brook*'s Accusation. ' Cujus solius authoritate fultus scriptor quidam ex nostratibus, utinam ob mentis solertiam & judicium pariter ac ob ingenium & industriam commendandus, eamdem calumniam credulè reque penitus inexplorata arripit (12): —— *Upon whose sole Authority, a certain Writer of our own Nation, whose Accuracy and Judgment I wish were as remarkable as his Wit and Industry, has credulously, and without any further Examination, made use of the same Calumny.*' And he tells us, that *Camden*'s Answer served for an Appendix to the fifth Edition of his *Britannia* printed in 1600, and dedicated to Queen *Elizabeth* (13). Our Author at first treated only superficially on Genealogical Points; but, after he was made King at Arms, he studied them thoroughly (14). His Office required it, and by this means he was able, in his Answer, to clear judiciously a thousand Obscurities on

(12) Smith. in Vitâ Camdeni, pag. 24. *He adds in the Margin* in Historiâ Ecclesiast. ej. Britanniæ (hoc enim magnifico titulo istum Rhapsodiam insignire placuit). —— *In the Ecclesiastical History* of Great Britain, *(by which grand Title he was pleased to dignify that Rhapsody,)* lib. v, pag. 198.

(13) The first Edition was dedicated to *William Cecil.*

(14) Smith, pag. 250

his Adversary guilty of many gross Errors. When this was done, he thought he could not employ his time better, than in an Enquiry after the ancient Historians of his own Nation: He collected a great many of them, and had them printed in *Germany*, in 1603. It is time to speak of his *Annals of Queen* Elizabeth, a Work which contributed as largely to his Reputation, as his *Britannia*. After *Camden* had been promoted to the Dignity of King at Arms, in the Year 1597, *William Cecil* desired him to undertake the History of this Queen, promising him the Assistance of all sorts of Memoirs. *Camden* undertook it; but *Cecil*'s Death, which happened the Year following, very much abated the Eagerness with which he had, 'till then, pursued that Work. After the Queen's Death he became more remiss, and, by Degrees, gave it quite over, expecting some other, among so many ingenious Men, who had felt the Bounty of that Princess, would undertake it: But seeing no one enter the Lists to publish the History of so glorious a Reign, he vigorously renewed his first Design, consulted all sorts of good Authorities, and, in 1615, published his *Annals of England* and *Ireland*, from the beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign to the Year 1589. This Work, which was wrote in *Latin*, met with great Applause; and it must be allowed, that no one could manage the Subject with more Judgment, Gravity, Accuracy, or Clearness of Stile. The Continuation of these Annals, which he finished about the Year 1617, did not appear till after his Death (*b*). He never would consent to the Publication of it in his Life-time; and, to prevent any Accident, he sent a Copy of it to *Peter du Puy*, at *Paris* (*i*). Some have been pleased to say, that many things were both suppressed and added in the first Part, by the Order of King *James*, in favour of the Queen his Mother [*F*]. This Report, true or false, encourages Historical Scepticism

(*b*) The whole Work was translated into *French* by *Paul de Bellegent*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*. It was likewise done into *English*.

(*i*) *See Remark* [*H*], *Citat.* (40).

on that Head. He confessed his Errors as soon as he discovered them, and did not deny his having consulted those Authors, who had treated of Heraldry: but since he spoke of them with respect, what reason could there be to complain? By what I have said it appears, that the Edition in 1600 surpassed the foregoing; and yet even that was very much inferior to the Edition of 1607. *Camden* here outdid himself, and it was then that he principally merited the Character the World gave him of the British *Varro*, *Strabo*, and *Pausanias*. This last Edition was illustrated with Maps and Cuts (15). There is an Abridgment of this Work, and an *English* Translation. *Reinier Vitellius*, of *Zirickzée*, is Author of the Abridgment; and *Philemon Holland*, an *English* Physician, of the Translation (16). A certain Author undertook to discover a multitude of Errors in *Camden's Britannia*, but has not hitherto been so good as his Word. 'Illud ditissimum & uberrimum Antiquitatum Britannicarum penu; non minore fide & judicio quam cura & methodo digestum ordinatumque, omnes harum rerum studiosi bonique judices agnoverunt, excepto unico D. Simondsio Dewesio, qui nescio quo invidiæ æstro percitus, se in *Magnæ Britanniæ*, quam molitus est, *historia, vix unam in ipsius Camdeni toties celebratâ Britanniâ paginam suis carere erroribus*, ostensurum contendit. Sed hoc decantatum opus historicum nec ipse nec alii post quinquaginta annos hactenus in lucem produxerunt (17). —— *All who had a Taste for these Studies, and were good Judges, acknowledge that this rich and plentiful Collection of* British *Antiquities, was digested and composed with no less Fidelity and Judgment, than Care and Method; excepting only one Sir* Simonds D'Ewes, *who, from what envious Motive I know not, engaged to shew, in the* History of Great Britain *he was writing*, that there was scarce a single Page in *Camden's* so much celebrated *Britannia* without it's Errors.' *But this boasted Historical Work, neither he nor any one else, after fifty Years notice, has hitherto been pleased to bring to light.*'

(15) It was printed in Folio: the three first were in 8vo, the two following in 4to. *Id. pag.* 78.

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) Id. ibid. pag. 45, 46, *in the Margin are these Words*, in Literis ad Jac. Usser. 28 Sept. datis quæ extant in Usserianarum Epistolarum Sylloge, pag. 496. *It was therefore this Sir* Simonds d'Ewes, *who undertook to find so many Faults.*

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary, I have met with a Work in Folio, printed at *London* in 1695, and entitled *Camden's Britannia, newly translated into* English: *with large Additions and Improvements, published by* Edmund Gibson *of* Queens-College *in* Oxford. One of the Reasons given for this new *English* Translation (18) is, that Dr *Holland*, Author of the first, had added to it several things of his own. This Mixture, of which a great many Readers were not sensible, made several Writers cite *Camden* to prove what he never had asserted. They took that for the Original, which was nothing but what had been tacked to it by the Translator. Dr *Gibson* thought therefore, that, in order to prevent the like inconvenience for the future, another Translation ought to be given free from any foreign Additions: By which means, they, who hereafter shall have a Mind to cite *Camden*, will not run the risque of a false Citation. However, because *Holland*'s Additions are sometimes very good, and the World thought he consulted *Camden* where he met with any Difficulties, Dr *Gibson* has preserved and placed them at the bottom of the Text in a smaller Character. There are several other things which extremely add to the Merit of this last Translation. There are Observations added at the end of each County, either to confirm what *Camden* had advanced, or to give a more particular account of some Places he had described, or a Description of others he had entirely omitted. Every part of the Text, which relates to these Additions, is distinguished by a Letter, which makes it's respective Comment easily found out. Dr *Gibson* has added a List of those Persons, who supplied him with Materials; which seems very sufficiently to recommend his Remarks, and to shew, that great Pains are taken in *England*, in the Illustration of the Antiquities of their Country, and in the most exact Topographies. He has presented us likewise with a Life of *Camden*, which is little more than an Abridgment of that published by Dr *Smith*. He has occasionally added three *English* Letters from *Camden* to Dr *James*, which are not in Dr *Smith*'s Collection. Note, he observes, that, in three Years time, there were three Editions of *Camden's Britannia*, published in *London*.

(18) It was done by several Hands.

[*F*] *Some have been pleased to say, that many things were both suppressed and added, in the first Part of his Annals, by the Order of King* James, *in favour of the Queen his Mother.*] *Lewis du Moulin, Cromwell*'s Creature, and a violent Independent, affirmed in a Speech at *Oxford*, that King *James*'s Parasities had villainously corrupted *Camden*'s History, by foisting in several things contrary to the Author's Sentiments. 'Criminantur alii, inter quos * Ludovicus Molinæus, in rebus Angliæ turbandis a primis impii belli civilis incendiis occupatissimus, tyrannicidis Cromwellianæ strenuus assertor, & post auspicatissimum R. Caroli II. reditum adversus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ ritus & disciplinam Scriptor maledicentissimus, *altam manum accessisse, præter haud dubio mentem Authoris, unde opus fœde commaculatum fuit*, hisce corruptelis *in Aulæ Regiæ adulatores*, ut ille pro solito candore & modestia loquitur, traductis derivatisque (19).' Dr *Smith* rejects this as a notorious Defamation, and maintains, that *Camden*, as an honest Man and faithful Historian, might give an Account of the *Scottish* Revolution, and the Adventures of the unfortunate Queen *Mary*, quite

* Oratione in laudem G. Camdeni habitâ Oxoniæ, 20 Julii, 1652.

(19) Smith, in Vitâ Cambdeni, pag. 54.

Scepticism, in relation to the Adventures of that Princess [G]. His sending the second

quite different from what *Buchanan* has done: and that therefore both Sincerity and Prudence obliged him to offer whatever tended to the Justification of that Princess. He adds, that it is to be presumed, if *Camden* submitted his Book to the Censure of the King his Master, it was only that, upon a Perusal of it, he might rectify whatsoever was not exactly conformable to the Truth. 'Neque alia de causa Serenissimi Regis Jacobi aut illius Nobilissimi Viri a Rege deputati, ad quem scripsit ------ censuræ Annalium supplementum, ut par est credere, subjecit, quam ut veritas magis magisque erueretur, & si quicquam ipsi minus intento aut non probe edocto subrepsisset, regiis curis limatum emendaretur (20).' It is certain *Lewis du Moulin* was not the first, who said that *Camden*'s Book had been patched; for in the Year 1620 there was a *Scotch* Gentleman, whose Father had a great Share in the Troubles of *Scotland*, who complained of *Camden*'s Annals on that very account. 'Quinquennio post emissam in dii luminis auram Historiam D. Metallanus de patris sui Baronis Lidingtoniæ, qui turbatissimis Scotiæ rebus, R. R. Maria & Jacobo regnantibus, multum momenti & ponderis authoritate sua & consiliis addiderat, fama solicitus, Camdeno molestiam facessivit, ac si non motu proprio & ex se, sed ex aliorum invidia & in parentem malignitate clausulis inficitiis eam exagitasset (21).'

(20) Ibid. pag. 55.

(21) Ibid. pag. 57.

(22) Ibid. pag. 52.

Dr *Smith* (22) complains of a modern Author, who accuses *Camden* for having blown hot and cold; I mean, for having supplied *Thuanus* with Memoirs quite different from what he afterward published in his *Annals*. This modern Author pretends, that *Thuanus* was offended at it, and reproached *Camden* with some sort of Indignation for this Inconstancy. This regards principally the Troubles of *Scotland*; and it is only in this Article that *Buchanan*'s Friends and Queen *Mary*'s Enemies maintain, that *Camden*'s Annals were altered. Dr *Smith* observes, in the first place, that this malicious Adversary of *Camden* does not offer any Reason, which may afford the least shadow of Truth to his Accusation; and then takes notice, that Mr *Lisle* having settled a Commerce of Friendship and Correspondence between *Thuanus* and *Camden* in 1606 (23), *Camden* sincerely answered *Thuanus*'s Request. *Thuanus* desired *Camden*'s Opinion of his History: *Camden* replied, that he found, among the Affairs relating to *Scotland*, several Relations, which had no Foundation at all, or a very weak one; and which he had borrowed from a Writer, who had employed all his Wit and Malice to blacken Queen *Mary*'s Reputation. 'Pro amore veritatis & amicitiæ jure, id quoque rogatus, monet quasdam rerum Scoticarum narrationes aut nullo aut debili prorsus fundamento niti, Buchananumque, a quo illas acceperat, omnes tum ingenii tum malitiæ nervos contendisse, ut Mariæ Reginæ famam spurcissimis convitiis læderet (24).' Dr *Smith* adds, I. That *Thuanus* expressed a great deal of Sorrow for having incurred King *James*'s Censure and Displeasure, in depending too much upon *Buchanan*'s Authority. II. That *Camden*, by order of the King his Master, drew up a List of the Errors in *Thuanus*'s History, in relation to the Troubles of *Scotland* (25), and sent it to that great Historian. III. That if *Thuanus* had received this Advice time enough, he had been less partial against Queen *Mary*, and for the Earl of *Murray*, and would not have had recourse to those vain Excuses, to which he was afterwards driven. IV. That they, who consider these things rightly, will be convinced that *Camden* never sent *Thuanus* an Account of Things, different from what he afterwards published in his Annals of Queen *Elizabeth*. 'Hæc serio pensitanti non aliter Camdenum ad Thuanum, aut ab iis diversa quæ post in Annalibus posuit, olim scripsisse, quicquid in contrarium fingitur, vero verius esse videbitur (26).'

An Enquiry into what is said of *Camden*, in relation to *Thuanus*.

(23) Literis per D. Insulanum --- Ann 16 6. missis. *Smith, in Vitâ Cambd. p. 52. If the e be no Fault of the Press here, Thuanus's first Letter to* Camden *is wrong dated. See, below, Citation* (27).

(24) Id. Ibid.

(25) This List is printed at the end of *Camden*'s Letters.

(26) Smith, in Vitâ Cambdeni, pag. 54.

It must be owned, that these Considerations are of some force: for, I. *Thuanus*'s Letter, written to *Camden* in *February* 1605, proves they were not then known to one another. 'Vix speraveram, ut rogatus à me faceres quod sola D. Insulani amicissimi viri commendatione fecisti. Quid enim sum, ut seria tua studia tantisper remorer? Camdenum in meis legendis jacturam bonarum horarum fecisse? tanto hominem sibi ignotum beneficio devinxisse (27)? ——— *I could not hope to obtain that Favour on my own asking it, which you have done me at the sole Instance of my particular Friend Mr* Lisle. *For what Pretensions have I to interrupt your serious Studies, and expect your throwing away your useful Hours in examining my Writings, and in so high a manner obliging one intirely unknown to you?* *Camden* had read over *Thuanus*'s History at Mr *Lisle*'s Request: *Thuanus*, admiring that *Camden* should take so much pains with an Author unknown to him, and who had not himself requested it, was so much the more thankful to him. One may therefore be assured, that this was the first time he writ to him. Now at this very time, that part of his History, which treats of the Troubles of *Scotland* was already in the Press (28), and could not therefore be composed on Memoirs from *Camden*. II. He asks his Advice in the same Letter: He knew that King *James* was angry with *Buchanan*; he did not know whether *Buchanan* had been too sharp (29); he was unwilling to offend the *English* Court, but could not resolve with himself to suppress any Matters of Fact: and therefore prayed *Camden* to assist him with his Advice in so nice a Conjuncture. He did not desire any Memoirs from him (30), but only one word of Advice; 'Scribe, & amico consilii inopi tuum ne denega. Innuere *Verbo* potes, nec opus est ut *Distinctiùs* scribas (31). ——— *Write, and refuse not your Advice to your Friend who wants it.* 'One Word *will be sufficient, nor need you explain yourself more fully*' III. We do not know the Particulars of *Camden*'s Answer; but we know he advised him to observe a great deal of Moderation: for when, about the end of *July* 1606, *Thuanus* sent him the second Volume of his History, he tells *Camden* he was afraid he had not observed the Moderation he had advised (32); and thereupon draws up a specious Apology for the Earl of *Murray*, with an intent to shelter himself under it. IV. The Event shews, that his Fears were but too well grounded. King *James* was extreamly angry with him, and commanded *Camden* to send him a Catalogue of his Errors concerning the Troubles of *Scotland*. V. It appears, by a Letter from *Thuanus*, the thirteenth of *April* 1608; that *Camden* had not as yet furnished him with any Memoirs, except what he had sent him concerning *Ireland*: for *Thuanus* tells him, he should have been glad to have received the Informations, as to *England* and *Scotland*; and in that Case doubts not but he should have taken such measures as would have given content to the *English* Court. What can one desire more decisive against those, who have given out, that *Camden* communicated to *Thuanus* some Memoirs, which he did not think fit afterwards to insert in his own Annals? I am going to shew, that *Thuanus* laments his being obliged to follow *Buchanan* for want of *Camden*'s Assistance. 'In Hibernicis jam multum profeci. ------ Utinam quæ vestra sunt, & ad universam Britanniam spectant, pari compendio, & simplicitate scripsisses. Sic enim factum esset, ut temperamentum, quod in Scoticis a me quidam fortasse sunt desideraturi, tuis vestigiis insistens, facilius secutus essem, & in vestratium Magnatum offensionem, quam vitatum cupiebam, non incurrissem. Sed cum neminem haberem præter Buchananum, necesse mihi omnino fuit seriem illius tragicæ narrationis, per alios eosque Religioni Protestantium minime addictos antea adprobatæ, petere: cæterum omni infectatione omissa (33). ——— *I have made great Progress in the Affairs of* Ireland. ------ *I wish you would have communicated those relating to your own Country, and to* Britain *in general, with the same Brevity and Plainness. By this means, having your Steps to follow, I could more easily have observed that Moderation, which some perhaps will find a want of in the* Scottish *Affairs, and avoided falling under the Displeasure of your Court, which was very much my Desire. But as I had none but* Buchanan, *I was obliged to take his Account of that Tragical Transaction, which had been before approved by others, and those far from being inclined to*

(27) Pag. 68, Epistol. Camdeni.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Acerbius *hæc fortasse* Buchanano scripta & audio discipulum præceptoris ob id succensere, & tamen quia gesta sunt citra fingitium dissimulari non possunt. --- *Perhaps these Things may be too sharply related by* Buchanan, *and I hear his Pupil is angry with him on that account, but yet if they are true, they cannot, without Baseness, be dissembled.* Ibid.

(30) Observe, however, he desired some Memoirs for *Ireland* from *Camden*, and promised to make use of the Observations *Camden* had sent him on his first Volume, in the next Edition.

(31) Pag. 68, Epist Cambdeni

(32) Mitto ad te --- secundum historiarum vestrarum rotundum; sed valde vereor ut temperamentum illud de quo mentionem in rerum Scoticarum narratione ubique servaverim. *Page 73. Epist. Camdeni.*

(33) In Ep. Camdeni, pag. 97.

second Part to *du Puy*, gives room for Suspicion [H]. *Camden*, not content with devoting

'*Protestantism*; *however I omitted all manner of* '*Scurrilities*.' VI. A Letter (34) written by *Thuanus*, to *Camden*, in 1613, shews, indeed, that he had received some Memoirs of *England*, in which *Camden* had a good Part; but it was Mr *Cotton* who sent them to him by King *James*'s Order. From whence we may conclude, that these Memoirs were conformable to those *Camden* followed in his Annals. What Cause therefore could there be for the Complaints which *Thuanus* is said to have made against him? VII. In short, among all the Letters written to *Camden*, and published by Dr *Smith*, there is not one, either from *Thuanus*, *du Puy*, or any other, which makes mention of these Reproaches. See the Remark [H].

(34) Ibid. pag. 239.

Dr *Gibson* has strongly opposed the Report which has been spread of these pretended Complaints of the *French* Historian. He narrowly examines the Circumstances, and draws from them very powerful Arguments. This is the Substance of his Dispute. *Thuanus*, writing to *Camden* when he sent him the second Volume of his History, at first excused himself, and told him, he was afraid he had not exactly followed his Advice in his Account of the Occurrences in *Scotland*; and says, towards the end of that Letter, that he related those things as he had received them from some *Scotchmen*, who had been eye-witnesses, in whose Balance he had weighed *Buchanan*'s Writings. Is not this a Demonstration, either that he had received no Memoirs from *Camden*, or that he had made no use of those he had received? Add to this, that if he was fallen into an Error, and had offended the King of *Great Britain*, in following *Camden*'s Informations; he might in justice have expected, that *Camden* would have made him some Apology. *Camden* would have been obliged, in Justice and Honour, to excuse himself to *Thuanus*, and to assure him he was then in an Error, but that his Conversation with the King, and a Perusal of the Public Acts, had undeceived him. This is, without doubt, what *Camden* ought to have done in some part of his Critical Remarks upon *Thuanus*'s History; but this is what he has not done: He contents himself with criticizing upon it; He uses some Tartness in his Censures, and very much blames *Thuanus* for having followed *Buchanan* more than he ought. Is it to be imagined, that *Thuanus*, provoked at this rate, would not have expressed his Resentment, and have replied to his Critic, *If I am deceived, I may thank you for it*: He ought, from that very time, to have vented those Reproaches against him, which they pretend he never expressed till he had read the first Tome of his Annals of Queen *Elizabeth* (35). There are a thousand Traditions of this Nature, which prevail whole Ages in a Kingdoms, without any other Foundation than the Fancies of a prejudiced, distrustful, and artful Party. If you diligently examine them, and take the Pains to look for Proofs to the contrary, they will vanish away.

(35) Taken from *Camden*'s Life, written by Dr *Gibson*, and prefixed to the new *English* Translation of his *Britannia*.

[G] - - - - - *and this Story* - - - - - *encourages historical Pyrrhonism, in relation to the Adventures of* Mary Stuart] They who espouse the *Scotch*, produce *Buchanan*; and they who stand up for Queen *Mary*, cite *Camden*. In this Contest, the Presumptions will be against *Buchanan*; I. A rambling vagabond Life like his, and so many Verses, composed by him, both satirical and lascivious, can prepossess no Man in his Favour, but will at least postpone him to *Camden*, whose Wisdom, Virtue, and Integrity, was always without Reproach. II. Besides, *Camden* had no personal Interest in the Justification of *Mary*, as *Buchanan* had in her Defamation. *Buchanan* was long before engaged in the Faction which dethroned and banished her: He was concerned therefore in a Scene, of all others, the most execrable, if this Queen was not most criminal: and nothing could excuse it, but making her appear such. I have considered this elsewhere (36). Dr *Smith* has not forgot it: 'Buchananum à quo illas acceperat, 'omnes tum ingenii & malitiæ nervos contendisse, 'ut Mariæ Reginæ famam spurcissimis convitiis læderet: qui non aliter sperare poterat, se perfidiam '& flagitiosa rebellium subditorum, qui vindicandæ 'religionis & legum Scotiæ violatarum, specie & 'prætextu arma sumpsissent, facinora posse tueri (37). '—— Buchanan, *from whom those Accounts are* 'taken, exerted his whole Wit and Malice, to blacken Queen Mary's Memory with the most infamous Calumnies; having no other way to vindicate 'the traiterous and abominable Practices of her rebellious Subjects, who took up Arms under the Pretence of her having violated the Religion and Laws 'of Scotland.' III. *Buchanan*'s Patron was Head of the Party which dethroned Queen *Mary*: on the contrary, *Camden* lay under a thousand Obligations to Queen *Elizabeth*, so that *Buchanan*'s Charge against Queen *Mary*, is a Manifesto in behalf of his *Mecænas*; but *Camden*'s Concessions, in her Favour, are so many Blemishes upon Queen *Elizabeth*'s Memory. IV. In short, *Buchanan* was an Enemy to the Catholics, and so was *Camden*. From this Conformity in Religion arises a great difference in their Authorities: *Buchanan*'s is weakened by it, and *Camden*'s corroborated. The Catholic Writers, *Mary*'s most extravagant Panegyrists, have not failed observing to their Adversaries, that they justify her not from the Writings of some Monk, or good Catholic, but from the Testimony of an Heretic, Historiographer to Queen *Elizabeth*, his Benefactor.

(36) In Remark [C], of the Article BUCHANAN.

(37) Smith, in Vitâ Cambdeni, pag. 52, 53.

If there were nothing to oppose in answer to this, they who are determined by the greatest Probabilities would in one moment give up their historical Pyrrhonism: but it may be objected, that *Camden* writ under a Prince, who, as Queen *Mary*'s Son, must rather wish to have Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign blacked, than that of his own Mother; and that, in such a Case, it will be no wonder, if this Annalist should in some respects sacrifice the Honour of the late Queen, to the filial Affection of the reigning Prince. Besides, though *Camden* was an Enemy to the Catholics, he was not less so to the *Scotch* Puritans. No one is ignorant at what rate the Episcopalians at this Day treat *Buchanan*'s Maxims, and those of his Faction, 'Hinc, viz. *from what was acted against* 'Queen Mary *in* Scotland, illa impia dogmata, *omnes jus regnandi à populo, Reges in ordinem cogendi, si contra leges deliquerint, licere populo & inferioribus Magistratibus vi & armis religionem & rempublicam, invitis qui summo imperio potiuntur reformare*, & ejusmodi reliqua quæ ipsam religionem tollunt, certamque humano generi perniciem inferunt: hinc in rerum Scoticarum Historiâ, & potissimum in illo infami libello, qui *Detectio* inscribitur, calumniæ in R. Mariam enatæ.' (38) —— 'Hence, *those impious Doctrines*, That all Right of Dominion is derived from the People; that Kings acting against the Laws are to be controuled; that it is lawful for the People and inferior Magistrates, to reform the Constitution, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, against the Will of the Sovereign; *And such like others, which are destructive of all Religion, and of the very Being of Mankind. Hence arise those Calumnies against Queen* Mary, *in the* Scotish 'History, *and especially in that infamous Libel, intitled*, the Discovery.' This is what may be urged to weaken *Camden*'s Authority, and what has been actually urged. It is reported, that *Camden*'s Work was curtailed by King *James*'s Order, and that the Blanks which arose from this Retrenchment made room for other Scraps more conformable to the Humour of that Prince. This Supposition destroys all the Advantages the Catholics pretend to draw from the Annals of Queen *Elizabeth*. But is this Supposition true? I cannot tell. Is it certain? If it were, Dr *Smith*, a Minister of the Church of *England*, would never dare to deny it. Is it a ground for Scepticism? Undoubtedly; since even in *London* some affirm, and others deny it. One thing we must observe renders it probable, which is, that *Camden* sent a Copy of his second Volume to *Paris*. Is not this a Sign he was afraid they would alter his Manuscript? And is not this Fear a Proof of what he had already experienced? If it is not a sufficient Proof, it is at least a Foundation for Contention and Dispute.

(38) Ibid. pag. 53. Edit. Lond. 1692.

[H] *His sending the second Part to* du Puy, *gives room for Suspicion.*] This is the utmost that can reasonably be said, since there were many other Reasons which might induce him to it. Indeed Dr *Smith* mentions two or three, without so much as dreaming of that which others give for the only one; I mean, that he has not given the

ting his Pen to the Service of the learned World, would also endow it with his Fortunes, by founding an Historical Lecturer in the University of *Oxford*. He fixed this new Foundation in 1622, and named *Degory Wheare* for the first Professor. He died the ninth of *November*, 1623, at his Country-House (*k*), where he had spent all the Time he could be excused from *London*, ever since 1609. He gave Orders, in his Will, that he should be buried where he died; but his Executors did not follow his Direction in this Particular, for they buried him with great Pomp in *Westminster Abbey*. The University of *Oxford* paid him extraordinary Honours, which they still continue. Let us conclude with observing, that he was no less eminent for his Virtues, than for his Learning. He was steady in his Religion (*l*), and so modest, that he refused the Honour of Knighthood, he was sincere, steady, affable, and friendly: He hated all Reflexions either of the Tongue or Pen: He neither envied his Neighbour, nor was in the least revengful.

(*k*) It was at *Chiselhurst*, ten Miles from *London*.

(*l*) It was that of the Episcopalians.

It

the least hint that the Experience of what had passed, made *Camden* believe, the King would order the second Part of his Annals to be corrected. I shall give Dr *Smith*'s Words and Citations. 'Cum vero molestiam, invidiam, obtrectationem, & odium à quibusdam malevolis, fato cum cæteris Historiarum Scriptoribus qui veritati litârunt communi, inde sibi quoque ex vitio & malignitate sui sæculi creari offendisset, mentem contra alterius tomi, dum viveret, editionem nullis machinamentis expugnandam obfirmavit. Ut Posteritati tamen, quæ absque affectu solet judicare, integer servaretur, nec incendio, aut quocunque tristi casu deletus, aut malignorum hominum invidia suppressus intercideret, Apographum fidelissime exscriptum (Archetypo, quod in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ conservatur, apud se retento) tanquam sacrum depositum Petri Puteani curæ & fidei concredidit †, & eo quidam libentius, magni Thuani exemplum sibi ob oculos ponens, cujus Historiarum reliqua pars ante mortem inedita, cum eam publicæ luci donare Curatoribus testamenti non liceret (39), forsitan periisset, nisi mens periculi præsaga exemplari ‡ apud virum integerrimum nobilissimumque Georgium Michaelem Lingelsheimium relicto, illud damnum prudentissime antevertisset (40). - - - - - *But finding that, from the Corruption and Iniquity of the Times, be also, by a Fate common to other Writers of History, who adhere to Truth, had procured to himself a great deal of Trouble, Envy, Hatred, and Malice, he made a firm Resolution against the Publication of the other Volume, which no Contrivances should ever shake. And yet, that it might be preserved intire to Posterity, which is used to judge impartially, and should neither perish by Fire, or other unfortunate Accident, nor be suppressed by the Envy of malicious Men, he committed to the Care and Fidelity of* Peter du Puy, *as a sacred Deposit, an exact Copy (the Original being retained in his own Hands to be kept in the* Cottonian *Library), and this the rather, as he had the Example of* Thuanus *before his Eyes, the remaining Part of whose History, not published in his Life-time, as his Executors were not allowed to print it, would probably have perished, had he not, by a sort of Foresight of the Danger, left a Copy with that most faithful Nobleman,* George Michael Lingelsheim, *and so prudently prevented the Loss.*' It is also true, that the Annalist might fear least the Continuation of his Annals should be altered, though he had met with nothing like it, in respect to his first Volume: for a Book, after the Author's Death, is subject to more Accidents than during his Life. Now *Camden* was resolved not to have the remaining Part of his Annals printed in his Life-time. I add, that he had been alarmed at the Risque *Thuanus*'s History had ran, and that he was exhorted by this Example to imitate the President's Precaution. This is what Mr *de Peiresc* wrote to him in 1620. 'If *Thuanus*'s History had been only found in his Study after his Death, it had been in great danger of being suppressed; for his Executors, Guardians to his Children, out of some private Interest, had a mind to burn it; but Mr *Lingelsheim*, into whose Care *Thuanus* had committed a Copy, saved it. If *Grotius* had put the same Confidence in me six Months before his Misfortune, this Kingdom would have had a Copy of his History, which would no longer be at the Mercy of his Enemies, or Enviers. In the Name of God, take care of your own, and if you make a Difficulty of printing it in your Life-time, let us have more than one Copy, and let them not all be on your side the Water (41).' It is very likely *Camden* did not so much apprehend a Retrenchment, or Addition of some Lines, as a Suppression of the whole, like to that *Thuanus*'s would have suffered, if it had not been seasonably prevented. However it be, I shall mention a Controversy which made a Noise in 1687. The following Words were the Foundation of it. 'Camden writ this History with so much Judgment, and so little Partiality, that he won the Love and Esteem of *Thuanus*, who, after *Camden*'s Death, printed the second Volume of his History, from a Manuscript Copy which had been sent to him by the Author (42).' Which was thus answered by Mr *Varillas*. 'It is a Mistake to say *Thuanus* printed the second Part of *Camden*'s History after his Death; for *Camden*, according to the Character given of him, was too discreet to give a President of a Sovereign Court the Trouble of publishing his Book. I have often heard the younger Mr *du Puy* say, that it was to him *Camden* applied for this Purpose, and that he himself had accordingly performed it. Besides, had *Thuanus* printed it, this would have been no Argument for the Impartiality of *Camden*'s History, but rather the greatest Proof that could have been alledged to the contrary, because the whole World knows *Thuanus* has transcribed all his Accounts of the *English* and *Scotch* Affairs, to 1570, from *Buchanan*, who is allowed to be the most partial of all our modern Authors. The late Mr *le Clerc*, of *St Martin*'s, has said several times, in my Presence, that going in the Holidays of the Year 1620, to wait on King *James* at *Whitehall*, with *Thuanus*'s eldest Son, his Majesty reproached him so bitterly, for his Father's false Account relating to *Mary Stuart*, King *James*'s Mother, that he fell sick upon it, and so continued for three Months (43).' To which it was thus replied: 'I am obliged here to give a more particular Account of *Camden*'s Manuscript than I at first thought necessary. *Thuanus*, when first he designed a General History, engaged a Correspondence throughout *Europe*, with those whom he thought capable of giving him the Informations he wanted. He held a very strict one with *Camden*; and when this Author's first Volume appeared abroad, *Thuanus* reproached him in a Letter, that his History did not agree with the Accounts he had sent him, particularly in that which concerned the Queen of *Scotland*. Upon this *Camden* told him the Truth, which was, that King *James* would needs peruse his History himself, and afterwards delivered it into my Lord *Northampton*'s Hands, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, who was beheaded on that Queen's Account, by which means several Things in his Book were expunged, and a great many others altered. This troubled *Camden* so extreamly, that, for fear the second Volume should run the same Hazzard, he sent it into *France* to *Thuanus*, that it might be faithfully printed after his Death. This is a thing very well known in *England*; and the Care he took to commit the second Part into a Stranger's Hand

beyond

† V. etiam V. Cl. Petri Puteani Vitam à Rigaltio conscriptam. Parisiis 1652, 4to, pag. 50, & Epist. ccclvii, pag. 310.

(39) *Liberat* would better answer to the Passage of Mr *Peiresc*, which shall presently be produced.

‡ V. Epist. ccxlvi, pag. 310.

(40) Smith, in Vitâ Cambdeni, pag. 58.

(41) Camden's *Letters*, pag. 310.

(42) Dr *Barnet*'s Criticism on the sixth Book of *Varillas*.

(43) *Varillas*'s Answer to Dr *Burnet*'s Criticism, pag. 77. *Edit.* Holl. 1687.

It is therefore no wonder he had so many illustrious Friends both at Home and Abroad. He was so much addicted to his Studies, that he never travelled abroad, nor was he ever married (*m*) [*I*]. Several Letters, which he had either written or received, were published at *London*, in 1691, by Dr *Smith*, together with a Piece of his own, very curious and well penned, I mean *Camden*'s Life. There are a great many remarkable Things in it; among which the Resentment of a certain Gentleman, on account of a Female Relation of his being dishonourably mentioned in the Writings of this learned Author [*K*], is none of the least. Dr *Smith* tells us likewise, that *Camden* did not always set his Name to the Books he published [*L*], and that the Loss of part of the Memoirs, he made use of in compiling his Annals [*M*], was a very sensible one to the Curious. They wrong him, I think

(m) Taken from his Life, written by Dr *Smith*, and placed before his Epistles, published by the same Author at *London*, in 4to, Anno 1691.

' beyond Sea, is a Proof of the Cause I have assigned. I do not indeed believe that the President went to the Bookseller's to make a Bargain for the Manuscript, or to correct the Press himself. If a Man of Mr *du Puy*'s Quality and Learning took care of the Impression, *Thuanus* did nothing beneath his Dignity, in being the Trustee of so excellent a Piece, and he fully discharged his Trust, in committing it to his Cousin's Care. It is true, King *James* reproached *Thuanus*'s Son, that his Father had copied *Buchanan*'s Invectives against Queen *Mary*: but he must have been very tender hearted, if he lay sick upon it three Months after (44).' The first of these three Passages is not rightly critized; and these two Errors seem justly chargeable upon the Critic, by reason of his Silence: The first is, That the Edition of *Camden*'s Annals should gain him *Thuanus*'s Friendship: The second, That *Thuanus* should survive him. I have shewn, in the Remark [*F*], that the Friendship and Correspondence between these two great Historians commenced in 1605, ten Years before the Annals of Queen *Elizabeth* came abroad. It is most certain *Thuanus* died *May* 17, 1617, above six Years before *Camden*. What this Critic would have said to the third Passage, in case of a Rejoinder, I cannot tell; but this I am sure of, that he would not have produced the true Proofs, which shew that *Thuanus* was neither concerned in the Edition of *Camden*'s second Volume, nor intrusted with the Manuscript. The best Proofs of this do not occur in *Peter du Puy*'s Life (45), but in *Camden*'s Letters. The One hundred forty seventh was sent him by *du Puy*, a few Days after *Thuanus*'s Death (46). At that time *Peter du Puy* had only heard, that the History of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign was finished: He told the Author the World expected the second Part every Day; and writ to him the same thing some Months after (47). We have seen, above, what Mr *de Peiresc* writ to him, in 1620. *Peter du Puy* writ to him in *November*, the same Year. He had not then received the Manuscript, but expected it. ' Cum de Historia tua agis, & de me depositario cogitas, non male certe cogitas, fidelem enim & vere amicum hac in re experieris: tantum effice, ut tuto ad me perferatur (48). ' — *Since you mention your History, and think of me for a Trustee, it is certainly no ill Thought, for you shall find me a faithful Friend in this Affair: do but take care that it be safely brought to me.*' I am of Opinion he sent it into *Holland* after the Author's Death: It was printed at *Leyden* in 1625.

(44) The Defence of the Criticism on Mr *Varillas*, pag. 60, printed at *Amsterdam*, 1688.

(45) Servavit etiam (Petrus Puteanus Cambdeni partem alteram Elizabethæ Britannorum Reginæ, quam auctor se vivo edere non sustinuit, penes Puteanum deponi mandaverat. - - - Peter du Puy *preserved the second Part of* Camden's *Annals of Queen* Elizabeth, *which the Author, not daring to publish in his Lifetime, had deposited with him.* Rigaltius, in Vitâ Petri Putean. pag. 663, in Collectione Bateii. *If this Proof be not the best, it is however a very good one.*

(46) IV. Kal. Junii, 1617.

(47) III. Kal. Septemb. 1617.

(48) Epist. Camd. pag. 310.

(49) Smith, in Vitâ Cambdeni, pag. 72.

[*I*] *His Attachment to his Studies prevented his going to visit foreign Countries, and his engaging in Matrimony.*] With regard to this last Point, these are Dr *Smith*'s Words: ' Ut à literis neutiquam avocaretur, Ortelii, Josephi Scaligeri, Nicolai Fabri, aliorumque, quorum fama melius scriptis ex fœcundissimo cerebro prognatis quam longa nepotum serie in omne ævum propagabitur, exempla æmulatus, opulentis matrimoniis, quæ multa studiorum impedimenta allatura prævidisset, vitam prætulit cœlibem, sanctâ proposito usque & usque retinentissimus (49). - - - *That he might not be interrupted in his Studies, he followed the Examples of* Ortelius, Joseph Scaliger, Nicolas Faber, *and others, whose Names are better transmitted to latest Posterity, in their Writings, the learned Offspring of a fruitful Brain, than in a long Succession of Heirs, be preferred a single Life to the most wealthy State of Marriage, and was constant in his Resolution to the last.*' As to his Travels, the Author of his Life observes, that *Claudius Joubert* had forgot himself, when he writ to *Camden* from *Dijon*, in 1612 (50), telling him that he remembered, with a deal of Satisfaction, the Time they had spent formerly together at *Padua*. ' Licet per negotiosam vitam patrio solo adfixus, ' ne pedem quidem unquam extra Angliam movisset: quod admodum maxime opportuit, ne quispiam ' D. Jobertis, ex lapsu memoriæ alium pro alio ' substituentis, literis deceptus, illum olim Patavii ' studuisse crederet (51).' A great many brag of a Familiarity in the University with such or such an one, who is grown into Reputation for his Writings; they brag of it, though the thing may be false (52); but sure scarce any one ever writ so to the Persons themselves, as *Joubert* did to *Camden*.

(50) It is the 97th Letter among those of *Camden*, p. 337.

(51) Smith, in Vitâ Camdd. pag. 75.

(52) See *Dr Carte*'s Letters, Tom. II, pag. 454.

[*K*] *We find - - - - in the Life of* Camden, *the Resentment of a certain Gentleman, on account of a Female Relation of his being dishonourably mentioned in the Writings of this Historian.*] *Camden* mentions a young Lady, without naming her, who had been so complaisant to a certain Gentleman, as to grant him the last Favour; which was followed with those unhappy Consequences, which furnish both the Court and City with more Mirth than Scandal. The Gentleman became famous for his Valour and Learning, and did the Lady Justice by marrying her. One of her Relations pretended *Camden* had affronted his Family, and was so transported with Anger against our Historian, that he broke off the Nose of his Statue placed on his Tomb in *Westminster* Abbey (53). So dangerous a thing is it for Historians to speak Truth, and not flatter; which is the Reason there are so few Histories, where the Authors have dared to speak freely, either of the Living, or of those who have left any Children in Power behind them. *Camden*, for being a faithful unbiassed Writer, provoked so many Enemies against him, that this was the Reason why he would not have the second Part of his Annals printed in his Life-time; at least, he wished, that, if the King should lay his Commands on him to the contrary, no one should be suffered to translate them into *English*. He thought he should meet fewer candid Readers among the Vulgar than among the Learned. ' Crebra experientia didicerat, ' studium veritatis eruendæ in Annalibus ipsi odium ' & obtrectationem peperisse; ideò de parte altera ' in lucem publicam edenda, quod supra monui, ' non solicitus, vel potius ne ederetur, nisi post ' cineres conditos, maximè solicitus, totum id Regiæ Majestatis arbitrio commisit, obnixè deprecans, ' ne, si ita statuisset Rex optimus, in vernaculum ' sermonem opus istud Historicum ipso vivente verteretur, satis guartus, indoctos è vulgo Lectores ' iniquissimis censuris in Historiarum Scriptores, ' ut ut veritati ex integro litaverint, dum vita adhuc supereset, pro fatuitate & malitiâ sua ferri solere (54).'

(53) Smith, in Vitâ Camdd. pag. 75, 76.

(54) Ibid. pag. 75.

[*L*] *He did not always set his Name to the Books he published.*] He put only these two Letters *M. N.* to an *English* Book published in 1604, under the Title of *Remains concerning* Britain, *&c.* (55). He printed, in 1600, a Collection of the Inscriptions and Epitaphs in *Westminster* Abbey, *&c.* without his Name to it; but his *Latin* Translation of Father *Garnet*'s Tryal came out under his Name, in 1607.

(55) Ibid. pag. 40.

[*M*] *Part of the Memoirs he made use of in composing his Annals were lost.*] *Jeffrey Goodman*, Son and Nephew to those two, by whom *Camden* was so much obliged, and who was afterwards

think, who imagine, from a Paſſage in *Caſaubon*, that *Camden*, who no other Hand in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Annals, than the turning them into *Latin* [*N*].

made Biſhop of *Gloceſter*, deſired *Camden* to bequeath to him all his Papers of that ſort, and writ to him upon that Subject. *Camden* anſwered him, that he would have left them to him with all his Heart, but that he had a long time ſince promiſed them to *Richard Bancroft*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. After this Archbiſhop's Death, the Right of theſe Papers devolved upon *George Abbot*, his Succeſſor, who, as they ſay, removed them to a Chamber in *Lambeth* Palace. It is not known where they are now: Theſe were not the Memoirs that related to the Civil Affairs, for they are in the *Cotton* Library, but thoſe touching the Eccleſiaſtical Matters. Dr *Smith* ſuppoſes they were loſt when Archbiſhop *Laud* was impriſoned. For being, ſays he, accuſed of ſeveral pretended Crimes, *William Prinn*, a Man burned in the Hand for his ſeditious Libels, ſecured all that Prelate's Papers, with an Intent to ſee if any thing could be found in them to ſtrengthen the Indictment they deſigned againſt him, or ſerve in it's Juſtification. After that *Thomas Scott*, one of the Demagogues of the Rebellion, and *Hugh Peters*, who were both executed for the Death of King *Charles* I, plundered *Laud*'s Library. 'Poſtea Thomas Scottus è Demagogis
' Parliamentariis, lingua & manu promptus audax-
' que, & Hugo Petri infamis & impurus homuncio,
' quorum uterque ob regicidium meritiſſimas ſuſpen-
' dii pœnas vindice juſtitia poſt duodecennium ſoe-
' bat, Bibliothecam diripuerunt (56).' After the Reſtoration of the Royal Family, Archbiſhop *Sancroft* gathered together the Fragments, and ordered them to be ſearched after every where. They found a great many Papers in that Chamber where *Camden*'s ſhould have been; but the latter were not to be found, nor any Account of them to be met with (57).

(56) Ibid. pag. 56.

(57) Id. Ibid. pag. 55, & ſeq.

[*N*] *They wrong him, who imagine, from a Paſſage in* Caſaubon, *that* Camden *only turned into* Latin *the Annals of Queen* Elizabeth.] This Paſſage (58) is in one of *Caſaubon*'s Letters to *Thuanus*. It is the Two hundred and ninety fourth, and theſe are his Words. 'Scripſi aliquoties ad te Cottonium
' ab urbe abeſſe, in contexenda hiſtoria occupatum.
' Nuper cum mihi Ser. Rex indicaſſet ipſum eſſe
' in urbe, memor mandatorum tuorum adii: reſpon-
' dit ſe totum in eo eſſe ut cœptam hiſtoriam ab-
' ſolvat quam ille Anglico Sermone compoſuit,
' Cambdenus Latinam fecit. - - - - *I wrote to you*
' *more than once that* Cotton *was gone out of Town,*
' *and was very buſy in writing Hiſtory. Being ſince*
' *informed by the King that he was come to Town,*
' *I waited on him, in obedience to your Commands,*
' *and was aſſured by him that he was wholly taken*
' *up in finiſhing the Hiſtory he had begun, which*
' *he compoſed in* Engliſh, *and* Camden *turned into*
' Latin.'

(58) Of this Mr *Hill*, a learned Miniſter of the *Engliſh* Church at *Rotterdam*, gave me Intimation.

CAMERON (John) one of the greateſt Divines among the Proteſtants of *France* in the XVIIth Century. He was born at *Glaſcow* in *Scotland*, where he taught *Greek*, after he had finiſhed his Humanity Studies, and his Courſe in Philoſophy. After having ſpent a Year in this Employment, he had a Mind to travel into foreign Parts, and went to *Bourdeaux* in 1600, being then a little more than twenty Years of Age. The Miniſters of the Place (*a*) were ſo charmed with his Parts, his Learning, and Behaviour, that they made him Maſter of the *Greek* and *Latin* Languages, in a College founded at *Bergerac*. It was juſtly to be admired, that one of his Age ſhould ſpeak *Greek* extempore, and with the ſame Purity that others ſpoke *Latin*. The Duke of *Bouillon* removed him from *Bergerac*, to make him Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Sedan*. *Cameron*, having continued two Years in this Office, took his leave of the Duke, and went to *Paris*, and from *Paris* to *Bourdeaux*, where he arrived towards the end of the Year 1604. The Church there reſolved to maintain him four Years, in what Place ſoever he would chuſe to ſtudy Divinity, and he engaged to ſerve in the Miniſtry of that Church, after that Time ſhould be expired. During theſe four Years, he was Tutor to the Chancellor of *Navarre*'s Sons (*b*), the firſt Year at their Father's Houſe at *Paris*, the two following at *Geneva*, and the laſt at *Heidelberg*. The Church of *Bourdeaux* re-called him in the Year 1608, to ſupply the Place of a Miniſter they had loſt (*c*). He executed this Charge for ten Years, with ſo great Reputation, that the Academy of *Saumur* thought him worthy of the Divinity Chair, which the Departure of *Gomarus* had left vacant. He accepted of it, and diſcharged all the Duties of it with admirable Succeſs, 'till the Academy was in a manner totally diſperſed in the Year 1621, by the Diſturbances in Religion [*A*]. He removed himſelf, with all his Family, into *England*, and obtained the Liberty of teaching Divinity in his own Houſe at *London*: But this laſted not long; for King *James* made him Head of a College, and

(*a*) There were two of them, one named *Renaud*, a *Frenchman*, the other *Primeroſe*, a *Scotchman*.

(*b*) He was called *Calignon*.

(*c*) Viz. *the Sieur* Renaud.

[*A*] *He accepted the Divinity Chair at* Saumur, *and diſcharged the Duties of it, - - - till the Academy was - - - diſperſed by the Diſturbances in Religion.*] He commenced his Lectures *June* the thirteenth, 1618 (1), but was not inaugurated till two Months after (2): The Synod of *Poitou* formed ſome Oppoſition, under a Pretence that *Cameron* was of *Piſcator*'s Sentiment, in regard to the Imputation of the Juſtice of JESUS-CHRIST. This Oppoſition was declared null by the National Synod of *Alez*, in the Year 1620. Obſerve what follows. When the Government of *Saumur* was taken from *Du Pleſſis* in 1621 (3), *Cameron* retired to *Paris*, and was carried to *l'Iſle* near *Orleans*, where he conferred with *Tilenus*, who had declared for the *Arminians*. The Acts of this Conference ' were
' immediately printed at *Leyden*, and received with
' incredible Applauſe. Cameron *repreſented to the*
' *National Synod of* Charenton, *in* 1623, *that* he
' was without Employment, and unable to provide
' for his Family, ſince the King would not conſent,
' for the preſent, that he ſhould reſume the Charge
' either of Miniſter or Profeſſor. Upon this they appointed him the ſum of One thouſand Livres (4). Some time after the King gave him leave to officiate as before. *Blondel* gives theſe Accounts, but his vaſt Memory was not here ſo very exact. *Cameron*, after he had left *Saumur*, in 1621, went indeed to *Paris*, but he made no ſtay there, but preſently retired to *London*; and it was not from *Paris* he was brought to confer with *Tilenus* at *l'Iſle*; nor was this Conference after the Diſperſion of the Academy of *Saumur*. This is the Fact. *Cameron* being informed, that *Daniel Tilenus* deſired to confer with him about Grace and Free-will, appointed a Day and Place of Conference, and, according to this Appointment, he went from *Saumur* to *Orleans* the eighteenth of *April* 1620. *Tilenus* came not till five Days after: The Diſputation was held at *l'Iſle*, a Country-Houſe of Mr *Groſlot*'s near *Orleans*, and continued from the twenty fourth to the twenty eighth of *April* (5). The Account of it, which we find among *Cameron*'s Works, is called *Amica collatio de gratiæ & voluntatis humanæ concurſu in vocatione, & quibuſdam*

(1) Blondel, Actes authentiques, pag. 25.

(2) August 16, 1618.

(3) Blondel, Actes authentiques, pag. 27.

(4) Ibid.

(5) See the Preface to the *Amica Collatio*, in *Cameron*'s Works.

and Divinity Professor, in *Glasgow* [B]. This Promotion did not agree with *Cameron*, nor did he hold it above a Year; he had a Desire to see *France* again, and therefore returned with his Family to *Saumur*, where he read private Lectures; for the Court had forbidden him to teach in public. Having thus spent one Year at *Saumur*, he went from thence to *Montauban* towards the End of the Year 1624. He was called thither to be made Divinity Professor. He did not stay there long: He could not side with the prevailing Party; but was continually involved in Troubles, which ended with his Life in 1625 [C]. He was about Forty six Years of Age, and had been twice married. The Churches took care of his Family [D]. He was a Man of great Wit and Judgment, of an excellent Memo-

& quibusdam annexis, instituta inter Cl. V. Danielem Tilenum, & Johannem Cameronem. It was printed at *Leyden* in the Year 1621, without the Approbation of the Faculty of Divinity, who, on the contrary, disapproved several Things in it (6).

(6) *See* Rivet Oper. Tom. III, pag. 845, *and* Cameron's *Works*, pag. 709, *Edit.* 1692.

[B] *King* James *made him Head of a College* — *at* Glasgow.] They say *Cameron* was well received by the Bishop of *Ely*, and the other Bishops at Court, because, in expounding the famous Passage *Thou art* Peter, *and tell it to the Church*, he approved of the Hierarchy. For this reason they recommended him to King *James*, who, by the Advice of the Bishop of *Ely*, sent him into *Scotland*, and conferred on him *Trocharegius*'s Employment, he being a Man ill approved by the Prelates. They were glad therefore to get him from *Glasgow*, where he taught Divinity, and to give that place, together with the Mastership of the College, to *Cameron* (7). By this means *Cameron* became obnoxious to the Puritans; so that, finding himself a Stranger in his own Country, he soon thought of returning into *France*. The Author I had this from quotes a *Scotchman*, who, in a Book published in 1637, against Episcopal Ceremonies, censures, and refutes *Cameron* more than once. The same Author observes, that King *James*, as liberal as he was, gave *Cameron* nothing but fine Words, which was the Reason he boasted of his King's Friendship: *This I can say*, said he to his Friends, *our King is my Friend* (8).

(7) De Ellensis consilio ab eo rege in Scotiam missus est, ut posse Roberto Bodio à Trochoregia olim Theologiæ in Salmuriensi Schola Professore Algriffmo, viro certe doctissimo, qui Episcopis nimium orthodoxus vel purus videretur in Glascuensis Gymnasii Professura succederet. *Guil Rivetus Ep. 9. Apologet. ad Th. Rosellum, in operib. Andreæ Rivet. Tom. III, pag. 9. & Du Moulin in libro cui titulus De Mossi Amyraldi Libro Judicium, p. 228.*

[C] *His Troubles ended with his Life in* 1625.] The Author of the *Icon Johannis Cameronis* has thought fit to suppress the tragical Circumstances of his Death, which it is likely proceeds from a Principle of Charity for the City of *Montauban*, and indeed for the whole Party: For it is indeed a Shame, that a Man of his Merit should be used as he was: and the Villain, who would have massacred him, never, for ought I can learn, received the just Punishment of his Crime. I would willingly leave this Accident in the Obscurity in which the Author of the *Icon* thought fit to bury it; but that it would be to no purpose, since *Peter du Moulin* has published it to the whole World, and it is to be met with in *Rivet*'s Works. We must know, then that *Cameron*, having declared himself too openly against the Party, who preached up the Civil War, raised himself a great many Enemies, amongst whom one was so brutal, as to beat him to that degree, that he left him almost dead. *Cameron* retired to *Moissac*; but, finding the Change of Air had neither restored his Health, nor dispelled his Melancholy, he returned to *Montauban*, where he died some time after thro' Weakness and Chagrin. These are my Author's Words. 'Cum ibi incurreret obvios, & popularis æstus torrenti obniteretur, increpans eos in quos incidebat, tantum odium populi in se contraxit, ut à cive quodam homine cerebroso pugnis & fustibus horrendum in modum cæsus pœne animam efflaverit. Dicebat autem verberanti, *Feri miser*, pectus nudum diloricato thorace objiciens. Sic malè acceptus cessit Montalbano, & se recepit Mossacum, quod est oppidum in proximo, ut corpus malè affectum refocillaret. Inde paulo post redit Montalbanum, ubi paucis post diebus ex animi agritudine diem clausit, & tranquillè obdormivit in Domino (9).' According to *Rivetus* (10), it was not whilst they were beating him, that *Cameron* opened his Breast, and cried, *Strike Wretch, strike*, but when he was threatened with Death. The Fellow who threatened him would not be commanded twice; he immediately threw him down, and had killed him, had not a Woman interposed.

(8) Sed ab amico rogo, Principe alloqui profuso, rediit vacuus. *Id. Guil. Rivet. ibid.* See *Blondel*'s Answer in behalf of *Cameron*, in the *Authentic Acts*, pag. 45, 46.

(9) Du Moulin, de M. Amyraldi Libro Judicium pag. 229.

(10) Rivet, in Oper. A. Riveti, Tom III, pag. 898.

'Eorum uni qui mortem interminatus esset, laxatis 'continuò thoracis fibulis, pectus renudatum objiciens, dixerit, *Feri miser*. Quo dicto à misero illo violenter in terram dejectus, interfectus fuisset, ni mulier occurrens Cameroni jacenti innixa, corpus ejus corpore suo contegens ab ictibus prohibuisset.' This was all *Cameron* got by preaching up the Spirit of Moderation, in a Place where the Duke of *Rohan*'s Emissaries were encouraging People to take up Arms. Who could ever believe that a *Scotchman* would be beaten for Passive Obedience? They were but little acquainted with him, who would have him looked upon as one *tainted with Maxims he had received from his Country, in consequence of which he made no Distinction between Absolute Power and Tyranny* (11). *Du Moulin* does not assign the Time in which *Cameron* was thus handled; tho' one may give a near Guess at it, if we remember that he died either in 1625, according to the Author of his *Icon*; or in the beginning of 1626, according to *Blondel* (12). Tho' he always professed a Reverence and Esteem for Monarchy, yet *Tilenus* publickly acculed him for being of a Seditious Spirit, and an Enemy to Royalty, and for having preached up Republican Principles at *Charenton*; which adds *Tilenus*, obliged him to fly. 'Rei certo habeo tum sacris edoctus literis, tum recta ratione additus, & ipsa admonitus experientia & rerum usu, Regum authoritate illa suprema, quæ nullius hominum solius Dei judicio obnoxia est, semel contempta, neque Deum rite coli, neque Ecclesiæ pacem reipublicæve otium constare ulla ratione posse. Sed nec aliter sensi unquam. Nam ex puero - - - Postquam verò ad Pastoris munus primum, tum deinde Professoris Sacrarum literarum sum vocatus, publicè privatimque pro concione, in scholis, in congressibus, ubi res & occasio poscebat, eam professus sum, & pro virili parte defendi (13). ---- *I am fully convinced, as well from the Scriptures, as from Reason and Experience, that if the Regal Authority, which is accountable only to GOD, be once treated with Contempt, there is an end of all Religion and Peace in the Church. Nor did I ever think otherwise. For ever since I was a Child, — And since my first taking upon myself the Ministry, and afterwards becoming Divinity Professor, I have declared and defended this Doctrine to the utmost of my Power, in my Sermons, Lectures, and Disputations, on all occasions.* Upon this *Cameron* writ a handsome Letter to King *James*, wherein he denies *Tilenus*'s Accusation. He owns the Mob at *Paris* would have murdered him, and that he saved himself by retiring at the importunate Solicitation of his Friends: But he insists that he met with no Trouble from the Magistracy, and that he obtained a Passport, which he shewed to the proper Officers at *Dieppe*. He produces Witnesses of all this.

(11) See the History of the Edict of *Nantes*, Tom. II, pag. 191.

(12) Blondel, Act. authent. pag. 17.

(13) Cameron, Oper. pag. 713, Edit. Genev. 1692.

[D] *The Churches took care of his Family.*] His first Wife was of *Tonneins*: He married her in 1611; and had by her Four Daughters, and a Son who lived but two Years. She died at *Saumur* in *March* 1624. He married his second Wife at *Montauban*, and had no Children by her. He left, by his first Wife, three Daughters, on whose account, as well as on that of his Writings, there was an Act made in the National Synod of *Castres* in 1626, importing, 'That, in Honour to the Memory of the deceased, the Sum of Seven hundred Livres was allotted to his Children, with a Pension to be yearly paid them by the Sieur *du Candal* till the next National Synod, and that the Assembly exhorted the Province of *Anjou* to print the last Tome of *Cameron*'s Theological Works, with a Promise that the Charges attending the said Impression should

ry, very learned, a good Philosopher, good humoured, liberal, not only of his Learning, but also of his Purse (*d*) [*E*], a great Talker, a long-winded Preacher [*F*], very little versed in the Fathers (*e*), opinionated, or rather inflexible in his Sentiments [*G*], and a little turbulent. He would own freely to his Friends, that he found

(*d*) Taken from the *Icon Joh. Cameronis*, placed before his Works.

(*e*) In lectione Patrum hospes & insolens. *Petrus Molinæus in Judicio de Amyraldi libro.*

(14) *See* Blondel Act. authent. pag. 17.

(15) Blondel, ibid. & Rivet in Oper. A. Riveti, Tom. III, pag. 900, assure us of it.

'should be taken care of (14).' I have already observed, that, in 1623, the National Synod appointed *Cameron* a Thousand Livres (15).

[*E*] *He was Liberal, not only of his Learning, but also of his Purse.*] Few learned Men care to communicate, in Conversation, their principal Acquirements in Knowledge; and there are some Professors, who reserve the Solutions of the greatest Difficulties for those Scholars, who can pay the purchase of them. *Cameron* was not of this Character. He discovered all he knew to the first who desired his Instruction. *Doctrinæ suæ non minus quam τῶν χρημάτων καὶ βιωτικῶν κοινωνικὸς, & liberalis largitor, volentes & ἀδίσαρα nil celabat: quin facile quidquid singulare aut reconditum habuit, iis communicabat* (16). This is more usual than to find a learned Man open his Purse to those who stand in need of it. And yet *Cameron* was so easy in this Point, that he gave with Prodigality: 'A φιλαργυρίᾳ & μικροψυχίᾳ *alienissimus, imo vero pecuniæ minus & pro fortunæ suæ conditione nimius contemptor, & in erogando supra modum facilis, ne profusum dicam* (17). Some Divines, who did not love him, blamed him for his want of Oeconomy. They said, he threw about his Money like Dirt, and thought it beneath him to haggle for any thing in the Shops or Inns; he gave whatever was asked, and never said one Word to beat down the Price of any Thing. They from hence took occasion to remind him of his having formerly subsisted in *Scotland* at the public Charge, by some very mean Services, to which Scholars of his Rank were subject. 'Exigua hæc ei summa fuit (18). Nam suæ Originis oblitus, & ejus temporis immemor quo in eorum numerum cooptatus, qui 25 Marcarum annuâ pensione *pauperum* aliquot *civium filiis* destinata (*for poor Citizen's Sons*, ut habet formula concessionis) fruerentur, eâ conditione ut, inter se distributis temporibus, tintinnabulum pulsarent, præceptoribusque famularentur in libris deferendis quum ad templum irent; vel iis diebus quibus hebdomarii, ut ait vocabant campestria, hoc est arcus, Pharetras, Sciophas, &c. portarent: ejus temporis, inquam immemor, regius amicus (19), de imperio & regno Theologico, cujus altas in animis discipulorum fixerat radices, tantum cogitans, pecuniam ut aliquam profundebat. Et de taberna si quid emerit aut si hospitii expensa numeraret, de postulato pretio quicquam demere, aut vel verbulo intercedere, se indignum censebat (20).

(16) In Icone Johannis Cameronis.

(17) Ibid.

(18) That is, the 1000 Livres he received from the National Synod, in 1623.

(19) See, above, Remark [B], Citat. (8).

(20) Guill. Rivetus, in A. Rivet Oper. pag. 900.

[*F*] *—A great Talker, a long winded Preacher.*] He who tells us this (21), adds, that *Cameron* would never suffer himself to be interrupted. 'Nunquam erat fessus loquendo, indefatigabilis sermocinator, qui vel Bollanum enecaret tædio. Nam si nostris esset hominem qui si præberet aures attentas, à summo mane usque ad vesperam sermonem sine intermissione prosecutus fuisset. Cum essem Lutetiæ, me sæpe invisebat, habens semper Milletierium individuum comitem, affixum ejus latori & admiratorem. Mihi assidens ordiebatur sermonem infinitæ longitudinis. Ego vero summo cum silentio aures ei accommodabam. Nam interloquentem non patiebatur. Cumque mihi semel contigisset pauca verba interfari, ille corrugans frontem ex indignatione dixit, *Ne me obturbes; do not interrupt me.* Demitto auriculas &c. Loquebatur autem de suis dictis aut factis. Narrabat quos sermones habuisset, cum illo mercatore, aut cauffidono, aut Theologa, & quâ occasione: Et quomodo ab eo digressus ad eum misisset carmina à se raptim conscripta, quæ memoriter recitabat non sine audientium tædio (22). ——— *He was never weary with speaking, but would tire even the patience of* Bollanus *with his long Discourses. For if he got but a Man who would listen to him, he would hold forth, without Intermission, from Morning till Night. When I was at Paris, he frequently visited me, always bringing along with him* Milletiere *his constat Companion and Admirer. After sitting down by me, he would enter into a Discourse without end. I always gave him the utmost Attention. For he would not bear any Interruption. And I did but once happen to put in a word or two, when he frowned upon me very angrily and cried,* Do not interrupt me. *I hung my Ears &c. His discourse was all about himself. He related what Conferences he had held with this or that Merchant, Lawyer, or Divine, and on what Occasion: And how, after parting with them, he had sent them some extempore Verses, which he would repeat by heart, over till he became tedious to his Hearers.*' *Du Moulin* adds, that the *English* Divines, who went to see *Cameron*, were stunned with his eternal Clack. 'Eos dissentientes & adversos expertus est. Nam præter novitatem dogmatum, non ferebant illud Cameronis *διαπρυσίς & ἀδιάλειπτος*, & incredibilem loquendi libidinem (23). ——— *He met with their Dislike and Aversion. For besides the Novelty of his Doctrines, they could not bear* Cameron's *endless Talk, and unaccountable itch of speaking.*

(21) Du Moulin, in Judicio de Amyraldi Libro.

(22) Id. ibid. pag. 212.

(23) Id. ibid. pag. 227.

His manner of preaching was displeasing in several respects: for, besides that his Sermons were usually two Hours long, he would make random digressions to Subjects which no Body understood, and seem to deliver them as an Enthusiast: he would unbutton himself, as he was preaching, and spread his Handkerchief before him like a Napkin, and every now and then uncover his Head. 'Causæ cur ejus conciones non essent acceptæ in vulgus, hæ erant. Quod suas conciones ad duas horas extenderet, quod in longas & intricatas digressiones excurreret, quasi Enthusiasmo absorptus, diceret non intelligibilia: quod aliquando medias in concione solveret fibulas thoracis, & præ se sudarium quasi mappam extenderet. Quandoque etiam inter concionandum caput nudaret, & pileum ponderet super suggestu (24).' He was not sensible how he tired his Auditory: on the contrary, he imagined they were charmed with his Eloquence; but having pressed a Tradesman truly and ingenuously to tell him, what the World said of his Sermons, the Man told him a piece of News which prodigiously mortified him; Would you really, Sir, said the honest Fellow, have me tell you what your Flock think and say of you? To be plain with you then, Sir, Your Sermons are not at all relished, they tire out Peoples Patience (25). *Cameron*, who expected a quite different Answer, retired very much dejected. This Reply touched him to the quick: It lay upon his Spirits for several Days after; He grew pale and melancholy, nor did he conceal the cause of his Grief from his Colleague. His Colleague (26), being his intimate Friend, appeased him with these seasonable Consolations. How can you unman yourself, said he? What, do you regard the Judgment of an Idiot? Can so small a Matter discompose you? Be assured, the genteel Part of your Church, who are Judges, hear you with a great deal of Pleasure, as well as Profit. This Plaister greatly alleviated the Pain, but did not altogether heal the Wound. *Cameron*'s uneasiness returned, and he had recourse to a second Trial: He put the same Question to an Advocate, as he had done before to the Artisan, and received from him the same Answer. Upon which, giving himself quite over, he resolved to quit *Bourdeaux*, and do his best to become more agreeable in another Place (27).

(24) Du Moulin, in Judicio de Amyraldi Libro, pag. 225, 226. *See what* Blondel *observes on this Subject*, Act. authent. pag. 45, 46.

(25) Profectò domine, tuæ conciones non sunt ad populi gustum, & te populus audit maximo cum tædio. *Du Moulin, in Judicio de Amyraldi Libro, pag.* 225.

(26) *It was* Primerose.

(27) Taken from *Du Moulin, in Judic. de Amyraldi Libro.*

[*G*] *— inflexible in his Sentiments.*] This appeared in the National Synod of *Tonneins* in 1614, where he refused to subscribe the Article of Justification. 'A great many were for executing Ecclesiastical Disciplins against him; but, not to proceed rashly, they concluded to send *Andrew Rivet*, their Secretary, and another Minister called *Boucherean*, to him. These exhorted him to conform to the Decisions of the Synod; but his Answer was, That he would sooner die than change his Opinion: All they could obtain from him was, a Promise not to spread it either by his Tongue or Pen. *Rivet*'s Remonstrances indeed the Synod to wave their Right, and lie down satisfied

found many things in the Reformed Church, which wanted a farther Reformation [*H*]. He took a pleasure in venting particular Opinions, and in going out of the common Road. He gave some Instances of this while he was a Lad, in the Theses *De tribus Fœderibus*, which he published and maintained at *Heidelberg*, being then only a Student. He never treated a Theological Question without advancing some Novelties; and whenever, in his Interpretations of some Passage in Scripture, he met with any Difficulties, he took Occasions to contradict other Divines, and principally *Beza* (*f*); for he pretended that they never penetrated to the bottom of that Science (*g*). It was from him Mr *Amyraut* had the Doctrine of Universal Grace [*I*], which made so much noise in *France*. He loved to think

(*f*) Beza magnus poteſt appellari, quem quidem in ſuis prælectionibus vocat doctiſſimum interpretem, ſemper tamen ſe opponens ejus ſententiæ. — *He may be called* Beza's *Scourge, whom tho' he complements in his Lectures with the Title of moſt learned Commentator, yet he always contradicts his Opinion.* Molinæus, in Judicio de Amyraldi Libro.

(*g*) Taken from du Moulin, ibid.

satisfied with this Promise, in Consideration of the Services a Man of *Cameron*'s Talents might do the Church (28). It is thought this Stubbornness proceeded from his Attachment in his Youth to the Sect of the *Ramists* (29).

(28) *See* Lewis du Moulin's *Præfatio in his* Parænesis ad Ædificatores Imperii in Imperio. *See also* Guill. Rivet. Epist. Apol. ad Rotsel. in A. Rivet. Oper. Tom. III, pag. 898.

(29) Guill. Rivet. ibid. pag. 897.

[*H*] *He found many Things in the Reformed Church, which wanted a farther Reformation.*] These are the great *du Moulin*'s own Words. 'Bolt ingenio inquieto, semperque aliquid novi animo volutabat & ruminabat, nec dissimulabat inter amicos (quorum ego unus eram) multa esse in Religione nostrâ quæ cuperet immutata (30). —— *He was of a restless Temper, and always studying and musing on some new Subject; nor did he conceal to his Friends, (among whom I was one,) that there were many Things in our Religion which he could wish to see Reformed.*'

(30) Du Moulin, in Judicio de Amyraldi Libro, pag. 221.

We must take notice, that he thought the proper time for this Reformation was not yet come. 'Id ipse profitetur Epistolâ ad Ludovicum Capellum, ubi ait *multa sibi occurrere, quæ promere, & chartæ committere nec animus ejus, nec temporis ratio patiebatur* (31).' *This he declares in a Letter to* Lewis Capel, *wherein he says*, Many things occurred to him, which, to divulge and commit to writing, was neither agreeable to his Inclination, or to the Times." He believed St *Peter* to be the Foundation of the Church, and could not bear those who affirmed, that Salvation was impossible in the *Romish* Communion. He was concerned to find it unsafe to declare himself more freely, and to see the Ministers of greatest Power and Credit awe the Innovators. 'Conqueretur quod 'paucos haberet συμφρονοῦντας, & approbaturos suæ 'sententiæ. Non est (*inquit*) qui tantam vim sustineat. *Et paulo post*: Nos in ea tempora incidimus quibus ne in doctrinæ quidem methodo ἀπὸ τῶν δοκούντων ἄνευ σύλλογος fas est discedere. *Non absque fugillans, & naso suspendens optimos quosque Pastores Ecclesiarum nostrarum* (32). —— Complaining that few thought in his way, and approved his Opinion. *There is no body* (says he) *who can bear such a Load.* And a little after: *We live in such Times, as do not allow us to recede, even in the Form of Doctrines, from those who are esteemed Pillars.* Plainly reflecting upon, and ridiculing all the most eminent Ministers of our Churches.' It has been given out, that *Cameron* thought his Character, as a Minister, the Honour of which he had very much at heart, was an Obstacle to those Services he might have done to the Truth. He imagined, that, if he had not been in Orders, he might have declared his Sentiments more freely, as well as more usefully; but the fear of being excommunicated and degraded was a Restraint both upon his Tongue and Pen. The Author of this Report has very much wronged his Memory; for, as he had been very intimate with this Divine, and approached so near to the *Romish* Faith, that he was at last excommunicated by the Protestants, and became a professed Catholic, it was thought, the first occasion of his being perverted was the Confidence with which *Cameron* communicated his Thoughts to him. 'Postquam vir præstans rebus humanis exemptus est, res accidit quæ Cameronis famæ magnam labem insuffit. Nam paulo post Cameronis obitum, Millerius ejus Achates & individuus comes, semper pendens narrantis ab ore, peperit monstra, quæ sub Cameronis disciplina conceperat. Edidit enim librum in Molinæum nihil tale expectantem, quo defendit merita, & justificationem per opera, & de sacramento Eucharistiæ sic loquitur, ut qui in Transubstantiationem esset pronior, & de Ecclesiis Romana honorifice loquitur, dicens eam omnia fidei Christianæ capita pura & illibata conservasse, etsi in quibusdam a recto tramite aberret. Profitebatur autem se hæc omnia habere a Cameronе viro incomparabili. —— Verba ejus sunt p. 26, & 27. *Quod appellat Cameronismum, est elucidatio solida plurimarum difficultatum, quam nobis reliquit summum illud ingenium non minus raræ pietatis quam doctrinæ. Fateor cum laude quam ei debeo, eum mihi viam delineasse, & me ejus vestigiis insistisse.* Et paulo post: *Scio eum ad eundem scopum, quem mihi propono, collineasse, eumque suscepturum fuisse id quod animo conceperat, si Ministerium fuisset. Sed experientia similis mihi, qua post obitum suum condemnatur, efficiebat ut prævideret, si tale quid suscepissem, me sequuturam exitum liberationem cum Anathemate super caput ipsius. Or quoties cum eo de re ageremus, mihi in aurem dixit tanquam amicorum intimo, se utilius talento, quod a Deo acceperat, nisi Minister fuisset, usurum fuisse. Non quod professionem illam animitus non prosequeretur honore, sed ob consequentiam eorum, quæ credebat a se utilius fieri posse si liberior fuisset.* Nempe hæc eadem sunt, quæ ipse Cameron scripsit Capello, ante a nobis citata, ubi ait, se multa habere, quæ promere & chartæ committere, temporis ratio non patiebatur (33). —— *After the great* Cameron *departed this Life, an Accident happened which reflected very much upon his Memory. For soon after his Death,* Millerius, *his* Achates, *and inseperable Companion, and constant Auditor, brought forth the monstrous Opinions he had conceived from* Cameron's *Instructions: Having published a Book against* Molinæus, *who expelled no such Thing, wherein he defends the Merits, and Justification by Works, and seems, in treating of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, to favour Transubstantiation, and speaks honourably of the Church of* Rome, *affirming, that she had preserved pure, and uncorrupted, all the Essentials of the Christian Faith, though in some Things she had erred. And all these Opinions he declared he had received from that incomparable Man* Cameron. *His Words are in pag. 26 and 27.* What he calls *Cameronism*, is a solid Explanation of several Difficulties, left us by that great Genius of uncommon Piety, as well as Learning. I confess, to give him his due Praise, he chalked out the way for me, and I have followed his Steps. *And a little after.* To my Knowledge, he had the same thing in view, which I have attempted, and would have executed the Scheme he had formed, had he not been in Orders. But his Experience of the same sort of Zeal, which is now used in condemning him since his Death, made him foresee, that the Undertaking would have been attended with Degradation and Anathematization. O how often, when we were upon this Subject, has he told me, as his particular Friend, that he could have employed the Talent, God had lent him, to much greater Advantage, had he not been a Minister! Not that he was wanting in heartily honouring his Profession, but because he thought he might have been more useful, had he been more at Liberty. *This is no more than what* Cameron *himself wrote to* Capel, *in the Words before cited, where he says, that he had many Things, which to publish or commit to writing was not agreeable to the Times.*' The following Character was given of him by a *London* Divine to a Minister of *Nerac*: 'We have seen Mr *Cameron* in his Passage this way: he seems to me to be a Man profoundly melancholy, and capable of maintaining an Heresy (34).'

(31) Id. ibid.

(32) Id. ibid. pag. 224.

(33) Id. ibid. pag. 230.

(34) Vir est meo judicio profundæ melancholiæ, & qui par esset hæresi tuendæ. *Molinæus, ibid.*

[*I*] *It was from him Mr* Amyraut *had the Doctrine of Universal Grace.*] Never was Scholar filled with a greater Veneration for his Master, than

think, but not to write down his Thoughts; so that, had he not been in some measure obliged to it, he had never committed any thing to the Press, or writ any thing fit for Publication (*b*). This had been a Loss to the World; for we are indebted to him for some very good Pieces [*K*]. Whilst he was Minister at *Bourdeaux*, he printed a Letter, which was sentenced to be burnt by an Arrêt of Parliament [*L*].

(*b*) In Icone Joh. Cameronis.

Mr *Amyraut* was for *Cameron*. It is said he imitated him even to the Tone of his Voice, and a certain Motion of his Head; and that, when he harangued *Lewis* XIII, that Prince thought he had a foreign Pronunciation. 'Is totum imbibit Cameronem; & 'supra omnes alios eum exactè imitari sedulo annisus 'est, imo vel etiam in gestu demittendi capitis (35), '& in pronunciatione adeo, seu vocis tono & modu'latione quadam, sic perfectè imitari didicit, ut ho'mo Gallus a gloriosissimæ memoriæ Rege Ludo'vico XIII, judicii magni & admirandæ imagina'tionis Principe, extraneus habitus sit. Cum enim 'anno 1631, a Synodo Nationali, cum aliis, ad Re'gem delegatus esset, & apud Majestatem ejus verba 'feciſſet, Rex, qui vultu indicavit viri facundi bre'vem orationem sibi gratam fuisse, ad magnatem 'pone stantem conversus, submissiore voce dixit, '*extraneus est*. Illo vero respondente Gallum esse, 'in tractu Salmurienſi natum; *atqui* (replicavit 'Regia Majestas) *peregrini aliquid in ejus pronun'tiatione observavi*. Quod ex collegatis unum qui 'audiverat, quum Carentonum rediisset, narrare me'mini (36).'

(35) *Compare this with what is reported of* Alexander; Citatiorem gressum Leonidæ virum fuisse ferunt, ex ipsius consuetudine id hæsisse Alexandro, quod postea cum enixe vellet corrigere non potuerit.—Leonidas (Alexander's *Governor*), *had a very hasty and faulty Gait, which* Alexander, *by being so much with him, contracted, and could never after break himself of, though he earnestly attempted it.* Freinshemius, in Supplementis Q. Curtii, lib. 1, cap. II.

(36) Quill. Rivetus, in Oper. A. Riveti, Tom. III, pag. 896.

[*K*] *We are indebted to him for some very good Pieces.*] His Theological Lectures, on some very important Subjects, were printed at *Saumur*, in three Volumes in 4to; the first in 1626, and the two others in 1628. *Lewis Cappel*, his Disciple, had the Care of this Edition. It was he who composed the *Ion Johannis Cameronis* (37), which I quoted before. Some Years after, these three Volumes were reprinted at *Geneva*, with an Addition of all the miscellaneous Pieces that could be met with of the same Author, whereof some, which had been published in *French* (as his seven Sermons upon the sixth Chapter of St *John*) were translated into *Latin*. All these together made one Volume in Folio. *Frederic Spanheim*, at that time Divinity Professor at *Geneva*, supervised this Impression, and added to it a Preface. *Cameron*'s Answer to a Letter of *Episcopius* was not forgotten (38). The same *Cappel* published in 1632 *Cameron's Myrotbecium Evangelicum*.

(37) Colomiés Bibliotb. choisie, pag. 73.

(38) De qua vide Epistolam 633, præstant. & eruditorum Virorum, Edit. 1684.

[*L*] *He printed a Letter, which was sentenced to be burnt by an Arrêt of Parliament.*] In the Year 1617, the Parliament of *Bourdeaux* passed Sentence of Death on two Captains accused of Piracy: They were Protestants, and demanded their Right to a *Judicature of half Protestants and half Catholics*; but the Parliament rejected their Claim 'under a 'pretence that the Privilege of the Edict extended 'not to Pirates (39).' They went to the Place of Execution 'with such a Constancy, and so many 'Marks of a Christian Resignation, that *Cameron* 'thought it his Duty to honour their Memories 'with a short account of what passed at their 'Death. Writing a Panegyric upon People condemned to a shameful Death, was obliquely arraigning the Parliament. Nay, there were some Strokes in it, which were aimed at it directly, because the 'Protestants thought the Parliament had violated their 'Privileges. That Court therefore revenged itself on the Work, expecting some Opportunity of being revenged on the Author, and condemned the Book to 'be burnt openly by the common Hangman.' The *French Mercury* relates this Fact with several Circumstances. These two Captains 'were broke alive 'upon the Wheel *June* 20, having each a Paper 'Crown upon his Head, with this Inscription, *Captains of the Pirates, Traitors, and Rebels to the 'King*; and their Heads were set upon Towers 'along the Port of *Bourdeaux*. —— The Court 'gave leave to *Cameron*, the Minister, to attend 'them in the Prison, and at the Place of Execution, but not in their Way thither; This Minister 'some time after printed a Libel in form of a Let'ter (40), which he intituled, the *Constancy, Faith, 'and Resolution, shewn by the Captains* Blanquet *and* Gaillard *at their Deaths*. This coming to the 'Knowledge of the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*; the 'said Libel or Letter was diligently examined, and, 'by an Arrêt then passed, was burnt by the Hands 'of the common Executioner. The Arrêt prohibited *Cameron* from writing or printing any such 'Letters for the future, as tending only to Sedition, 'and to vilify the Acts of the Court, to prepossess 'the King's Subject against his Sovereign Justice, and 'to reflect on his Officers; on pain of exemplary 'Punishment, and being proceeded against as a Di'sturber of the public Tranquillity (41).' You will find, in the History of the Edict of *Nants* (42), the Proceedings of the same Parliament against *Cameron*, and his Colleague *Primerose* in 1615.

(39) History of the Edict of *Nantes*, Tom. II, pag. 295.

(40) Written to Mr *Palmier* Minister of *Mornac*, dated *June* 21, 1617.

(41) Mercure Franç. Tom. V, pag. 39, 40.

(42) Tom. II, pag. 195.

CAMILLUS (MARCUS FURIUS), was the first who rendered illustrious the *Furian* Family. He triumphed four times, was five times Dictator, and had the Complement of being *Rome*'s second Founder: In a Word, he obtained all the Honours his Country could give him. Whilst he was Censor, he obliged such, as were unmarried, to marry the Widows of those who had been slain in the Wars. To this end he used gentle Exhortations, and, where they failed, the Terror of a Fine. He was made Dictator in the tenth Year of the Siege of *Veii* (*a*), and had the Honour to finish it by taking that City, *Rome*'s ancient Rival. What he said upon viewing the Ruins of *Veii*, is very remarkable [*A*]. He returned triumphant home:

(*a*) This was the 359th Year of *Rome*, according to *Calvisius*.

[*A*] *What he said upon viewing the Ruins of* Veii *is very remarkable.*] It appears from a Multitude of Passages in ancient Authors, that the Heathens believed there were Divinities jealous of the Prosperity of Mankind, and who never failed, sooner or later, to check, with some sensible Misfortune, those who had obtained any great Advantages. *Camillus*, full of this Thought, could not behold *Rome*'s Happiness in the Pillage of *Veii*, without apprehending some Mixture of Adversity from these sort of Deities, who delighted in distributing good and evil. For which reason he prayed, that, if the present Prosperity of the *Romans* must be tempered with some Disgrace, it might fall on himself in particular, and not on his Country. What could be more heroical? What a Greatness of Soul was this? 'Dictator Camillus, 'capta Veiorum urbe, præcones edicere jubet, ut 'ab inermi turba abstineatur: is finis sanguinis fuit, 'dedi inde inermes cœpti, & ad prædam miles per'missu Dictatoris discurrit, quæ cum ante oculos 'ejus aliquanto spe atque opinione major majorisque 'pretii rerum ferretur, dicitur manus ad cœlum tol'lens precatus esse Dictator, ut si cui hominum 'Deorumque nimia sua fortuna populique Romani 'videretur, ut eam invidiam lenire suo privato in'commodo, quam minimo publico populique Ro'mani liceret (1).' *Plutarch* observes, that *Camillus*, upon viewing the Desolation of this once flourishing City, fell into Tears before the making his Prayer. Ἀλέους δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ κρείττος, καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀγώνων καὶ φρόνων ἀπειρόν τινα πλοῦτον, ἐφορῶν ὁ Κάμιλλος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρας τὰ περίτομνα, πρῶτον μὲν ἐσὰς ἐδάκρυσεν, εἶτα μακαρίσθας ὑπὸ τῶν περόντων, ἀνέσχε τὰς χεῖρας τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ προσευχόμενος εἶπε. *Urbe expugnata, militibusque ingentem egerentibus prædam, contemplans ex arce cuncta Camillus, primum illacrymavit, deinde quum celebraretur à circumstantibus*

(1) Liv. lib. v, cap. xxi. *See also* Plutar. in Camillo, pag. 137, *F, and* Val. Max. lib. i. cap. v, n. 2.

home? But his triumphal Chariot, drawn by four white Horſes, was looked upon as too preſumptuous an Innovation [B]. And ſome little time after, upon his oppoſing the Inſtances of the People, who were for having part of their Inhabitants tranſported to *Veii*, he became odious. They ſoon found an Opportunity of expreſſing their Reſentments. He had devoted to *Apollo* a tenth part of the Spoils of *Veii*, but had quite forgot to ſet it apart. The Senate, being informed by the Augurs that the Gods were angry, commanded every Soldier to return a tenth part of his Portion of the Booty. This raiſed great murmuring againſt *Camillus*. The *Roman* Ladies, on this occaſion, did a very remarkable thing [C]. The War with the *Faliſci* broke out ſome time after (*b*); and it was then *Camillus* performed that generous Action which Mr *Moreri* mentions (*c*). The Enemies were ſo charmed with it, that they voluntarily ſubmitted to the *Romans*. The Soldiers were by this means baulked in their Expectations of the Plunder; and this was a new matter of Complaint againſt *Camillus*. In ſhort, the People's Hatred loſt all Patience, when *Camillus* had procured the Propoſal of ſending ſome Citizens to *Veii* to be abſolutely rejected. *Lucius Apuleius*, one of the Tribunes, called him to an account for the ſpoils of that Place: but *Camillus* prevented his Condemnation by a voluntary Exile (*d*). Upon which he was very highly fined. It was during his Exile he did the greateſt Action of his Life; for inſtead of being pleaſed with the *Gauls* ravaging *Rome*, or joining them to revenge the Injury his Country had done him, he employed all his Prudence and Courage to expel the Enemy; and that with ſo exact a Regard to the ſacred Laws of *Rome*, that he declined the Command which ſeveral particular Perſons offered him (*e*). He waited for the Orders of the People, who were repreſented by the Citizens, who held out ſtill in the Capitol. But before this he had raiſed ſome Troops in the place of his Exile (*f*), and gained ſome Advantages over the Enemy. The *Romans*, beſieged in the Capitol, made him Dictator in the Year 366; and he ſignalized himſelf ſo remarkably, that he drove all the *Gauls* out of the Territories of the Commonwealth. This great Service, and the many other Victories he afterwards obtained, could not exempt him from the Affronts of the Tribunes; for even whilſt he was Dictator, in the Year 389, they ſent him a Summons by an Officer, who would have ſeized him. He appeared, attended by the Senate; and becauſe, after a great many Diſputes, the Affair in queſtion was determined in favour of the People (*g*), *Camillus* was conducted to his Lodgings with an univerſal Applauſe. He died of the Plague the Year following (*h*). There was a very handſome thing ſaid of him, that *Rome* was only to be found where *Camillus* reſided. The *Latin* Words, which I cite (*i*), expreſs this more emphatically. He left Sons, who ſhared in the Dignities of the Commonwealth [D]; but afterwards his Deſcendants lived in Obſcurity till the time of *Tiberius* [E]. *Tacitus* is found not to have been very exact in making this Obſervation.

(*b*) The 361ſt Year of *Rome*.

(*c*) He ſent back to the Beſieged their Children, whom the Schoolmaſter of the Town had betrayed into his Hands.

(*d*) The 365th Year of *Rome*.

(*e*) *See* Val. Maximus, lib. iv, cap. i, n. 2.

(*f*) He was retired to *Ardea*.

(*g*) The People were for having one Conſul of a *Plebeian* Family.

(*h*) *Taken out of* Plut. in Vitâ Camilli.

(*i*) Tarpeia ſede peruſta Gallorum facibus Vaſoque habitante Camillo, Illic Roma fuit. *Lucan. Pharſ. lib.* v, *ver.* 27.

(*a*) Plut. in Camillo, pag. 139, F.

cumſtantibus fulcitas ejus manus ad cœlum tollens precatus eſt (2).

[B] *His triumphal Chariot, drawn by four white Horſes, was looked upon as too preſumptuous an Innovation.*] According to *Plutarch*, no General, either before or after him, ever triumphed in the like manner; ſo firmly were they perſuaded, that ſuch a Chariot was peculiarly ſacred to the Sovereign of Gods and Men. Τά τε ἄλλα σοφῶς ἐθεμίζευσε, καὶ τέθριππον ὑπεζευγμένῳ λευκοπώλῳ ἅρματι, καὶ διεξήλασε τῆς Ῥώμης, οὐδενὸς τοῦτο ποιήσαντος ἔτι μόνου πρότερον δ' ὕστερον. ἱερὸν γὰρ ἡγοῦνται τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄχημα, τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ πατρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐκτετιμημένον. *Triumphum duxit cum alias ſuperbum, tum quod currus quatuor junctis equis albis ſit invectus, & per Romam tranſiverit nullo exemplo vel priorum vel ſequentium imperatorum. Sacrum enim currum habent deorum regi & Patri dicatum* (3).

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 132, C.

[C] *The* Roman *Ladies, on this occaſion, did a very remarkable Thing.*] Notwithſtanding all their Murmurings, every body was obliged to diſburſe his Proportion, in order to fulfil *Camillus*'s Vow: but as the Senate had reſolved to ſend a Veſſel of Gold to *Delphos*, and there was no Gold in all the City, they were at a loſs how to get one made. The Ladies extricated them out of this Difficulty: for, aſſembling together, they dedicated to this purpoſe their Jewels. In conſideration of which, the Senate allowed them the Honour of Funeral Orations, till then appropriated to the Men (4).

(4) Ibid. pag. 133, B.

[D] *He left Sons, who ſhared in the Dignities of the Commonwealth.*] *Spurius Furius* CAMILLUS, one of them, was created Prætor the very Year That Office was inſtituted in *Rome*, viz. in the Year 389, when the Conſulate began to be ſhared between the Patricians and Plebeians (5). His Brother *Lucius Furius* CAMILLUS made a yet greater figure in Hiſtory. He was created Dictator, in the Year of *Rome* 403; and becauſe he reſtored the Conſulate to the Patricians, he got ſo much into their Favour, that they choſe him Conſul the Year following. He ſubdued the *Gauls*; and it was in his Conſulate that *Marcus Valerius*, fighting a Duel with a *Gaul*, gained the Victory by the Aſſiſtance (6) of a Raven (7). *Glandorp* pretends, that this *Lucius Furius* CAMILLUS was Conſul eleven Years after, in the Year of *Rome* 417 (8); but *Sigonius* proves this to be a Miſtake from the Tables of the Capitol, where the Conſul *L. Furius* CAMILLUS, who triumphed in the Year 415, is ſaid to be *Spurius*'s Son, and *Marcus*'s Grandſon. That *Camillus*, who was Conſul in the Year 415, had *Caius Mænius* for his Colleague: They triumphed both of them, and obtained a Privilege at that time very rare, which was, to have their Statues placed in the *Forum* (9). I omit the other Actions of this *L. Furius Camillus*, Grandſon to the Great *Camillus*: They who would be informed of them may conſult *Livy*.

(5) Liv. lib. vii, init.

(6) For which reaſon he was ſirnamed *Corvinus*.

(7) Sigonius, in Faſtis, ex Livio.

(8) Onomaſticon, pag. 364. *The Year he makes* 417, *is, according to* Sigonius, 415.

(9) Livius additum triumpho honorem ſcribit, ut ſtatuæ conſulibus, raræ illa ætate res, in foro ponerentur. *Sigonius in Faſtis ex Livio, who quotes likewiſe* Eutropius *and* Pliny, *lib.* xxxiv, *cap.* v.

[E] ----- *Afterwards his Deſcendants lived in Obſcurity.*] We learn from *Tacitus*, that *Furius Camillus*, Proconſul in *Africa*, under *Tiberius*, obtained the Honour of a Triumph, for having vanquiſhed the *Numidians*. Upon which this Hiſtorian obſerves, that from the time of the famous *Camillus*, the Reſtorer of his Country, to this Proconſul of *Africa*, none of the Family had commanded any Armies except the Son of the Reſtorer. He adds, That this Proconſul was not eſteemed a Soldier, and that it was for this very Reaſon *Tiberius* extolled him ſo mightily to the Senate. * Fuſi Numidæ, multoſque
' poſt annos Furio nomini partum decus militiæ.
' Nam poſt illum recuperatorem urbis, filiumque
' ejus Camillum, penes alias familias imperatoria laus
* fuerat.

Obſervation (*k*). The Glory of this Family deſcended to the Females, and continued in that reſpect till the Time of St *Jerom* [*F*]. (*k*) See Remark [*E*].

'fuerat. Atque hic, quem memoravimus, bellorum 'expers habebatur. Eo pronior Tiberius res geſtas 'apud Senatum celebravit: & decrevere patres tri- 'umphalia inſignia. Quod Camillo ob modeſtiam 'vitæ impune fuit (10).' *Lipſius* pretends, that there were two Triumphs in the *Furian* Family more than *Tacitus* was aware of. *P. Furius*, ſays he (11), triumphed over the *Gauls*, in the Year 530, and *L. Furius Purpureo* alſo triumphed over the *Gauls*, in the Year 553. Father *Strada* objects theſe ſame Triumphs to *Tacitus*; and that he might not be a bare Copier of *Lipſius*, he quotes *Polybius* and *Oroſius* as to the Victory of *P. Furius*; and *Plutarch*, as to the Triumph of the ſame *Furius*; and *Livy*, and the Capitoline Tables, as to the Triumph in 553 (12). It is certain, according to *Polybius*, the *Romans* gained an important Victory over the *Gauls*, under the Conſulate of *P. Furius* and *C. Flaminius*. It is certain, he obſerves that the Conſuls entered with an Army into the Enemy's Country (13); but when he deſcribes the Battel, he ſpeaks only of the Conſul *Flaminius*: nor does he ſay one Word that either of them triumphed. So that it is wrong to pretend that *Polybius* is a good Evidence of *P. Furius*'s Victory. The other Hiſtorians cited by *Strada* are ſtill more inſufficient; for *Oroſius* attributes the whole Victory to *Flaminius* (14), without ſaying one Word of *Furius*. As for *Plutarch*, he ſays, that the Conſuls *Flaminius* and *Furius* led an Army into the Country of the *Inſubrian Gauls*, and that the Senate underſtanding they had been irregularly elected, wrote to them to return immediately, and lay down their Office; but that *Flaminius* did not open the Letter till after he had routed the Enemy; and that this Diſreſpect to their Meſſage had like to have hindred his Triumphal Entry (15). *Plutarch* adds, that, immediately after *Flaminius*'s Triumph, he and his Colleague were depoſed from their Conſulate. All this intimates, that *Furius* commanded ſome ſeparate Body, which had no ſhare in the Victory; however, there is nothing in *Plutarch* which proves, that *Furius* triumphed. Father *Strada* has ſucceeded better in his Citations relating to the Triumph of *L. Furius Purpureo*.

But, in my Opinion, to form a juſt Criticiſm on *Tacitus*, we ought to underſtand two things; one, what he means by *Furium nomen*; the other, what he means by *Imperatoria laus*: If his Meaning is, that, from the Son of the Great *Camillus* down to *Tiberius*, none of the *Furian* Family commanded the *Roman* Armies; both *Lipſius* and *Famianus Strada* have been too ſparing of their Criticiſms; they might have objected to him *Caius Furius Pacilus*, Conſul in the Year of *Rome* 502, who commanded ſome time in *Sicily* (16); but if he deſigned to ſpeak only of *Camillus*'s Deſcendants, the Cenſure of both thoſe Authors is to no purpoſe; for neither the Conſul in the Year 530, nor he who triumphed in 553, were of *Camillus*'s Branch: the Sirname of the one was *Phile*, and of the other *Purpureo*. They had done well if they had objected to him the Grandſon of the Great *Camillus*.

[*F*] *The Glory of his Family deſcended to the Females, and continued in this reſpect till the time of St* Jerom.] I do not pretend that the Ladies, deſcended from the Great *Camillus*, ſignalized themſelves in Arms; I ſpeak only of the Glory proper to their Sex. Chaſtity and Continency were ſo remarkably preſerved by the Ladies of this Family, that we ſcarce meet with one of them who contracted a ſecond Marriage. St *Jerom* is my Author, in a Letter to a Lady of *Camillus*'s Race, who aſked his Advice concerning a Reſolution ſhe had taken to continue a Widow all her Life. 'Obſervas literis & ſuppliciter deprecaris ut tibi reſcribam, imo ſcribam quomodo vivere debeas, & viduitatis coronam illæſæ pudicitiæ nomine conſervare (17). — *You take notice in your Letters, and expreſs an earneſt Deſire of my Anſwer, and I will give you my Thoughts how you ought to live and preſerve the Honour of your Widowhood by an inviolable Chaſtity*' She was the Daughter of a Lady who had lived continent although ſhe was married. 'Gaudet animus, exultant viſcera, geſtit affectus, hoc te cupere eſſe poſt virum, quod ſanctæ memoriæ mater tua Titiana multo tempore fuit ſub marito. Exauditæ ſunt preces, & orationes ejus: impetravit in unica filia quod vivens ipſa poſſederat. Habes præterea generis tui grande privilegium, quod exinde à Camillo vel nulla, vel rara veſtræ familiæ ſcribitur ſecundos noſſe concubitus: ut non tam laudanda ſis, ſi vidua perſeveres, quàm execranda, ſi id Chriſtiana non ſerves, quod per tanta ſæcula gentiles feminæ cuſtodierunt. Taceo de Paulâ, Euſtochio, ſtirpis veſtræ floribus: ne per occaſionem exhortationis tuæ illas laudare videar (18). — *I am extreamly glad to find you reſolve to be, now you are a Widow, what your Mother* Titiana, *of pious Memory, was for ſome conſiderable Time even whilſt a Wife. Her Prayers are now heard: ſhe begged her only Daughter might imitate her Continence. You have alſo before you the glorious Diſtinction of your Family, which from it's Original in* Camillus *has known few or none of it's Females ingaged in ſecond Marriages: So that you will not be ſo much commended for continuing a Widow, as you will be condemned for not preſerving that under Chriſtianity, which your female Relations always did for ſo many Centuries under Paganiſm. I ſhall ſay nothing of* Paula *and* Euſtochium, *the Ornaments of your Family, leaſt I ſhould ſeem in your Account to undertake their Panegyric.*'

(10) Tacit. Annal. lib. ii, cap. lii, ad Ann. Rom. 770.

(11) Lipſ. in Tacit. ibid.

(12) Fam. Strada Prolusionum Academicarum, lib. i, Proluſ. 2, pag. 50.

(13) Polyb. lib. ii, cap. xxxii, xxxiii.

(14) Oroſ. lib. iv, cap. xiii.

(15) Plut. in Marcell. circa initium, p. 299.

(16) Polyb. apud Sigonium in Faſtis.

(17) Hieron. ad Furium de viduitate ſervand.

(18) Id. ibid.

CAMPANUS (John Antony), one of the moſt learned Prelates of *Italy* in the XVth Century, was the Son of a Country-woman, who finding herſelf in Labour, while ſhe was at work in the Fields, was delivered of him under a Laurel (*a*), near *Capua* (*b*). He was deſigned for a Shepherd [*A*]; but appearing to have a conſiderable Genius, he was placed in the Service of a Country Curate, who taught him a little *Latin* (*c*). Others ſay he was only Servant to the Sexton (*d*). He was afterwards Tutor in a good Family at *Naples* (*e*), and made a great Progreſs by his cloſe Application to his Studies. He had, among other Maſters, the renowned *Laurentius Valla* (*f*). After he had continued five Years at *Naples* (*g*), he went to ſtudy the Law at *Perugia* (*h*), and there publickly taught polite Learning, with ſo great Applauſe, that he was made a Freeman of that City, by a Decree of the Senate. Some ſay he never underſtood *Greek* (*i*), whilſt others affirm he ſtudied it perfectly under *Demetrius Chalcondylas*, at *Padua* (*k*). Being returned to *Perugia*, he writ the Hiſtory of the valiant *Andrew Braccio*. This Book was very

(*a*) Antonium Campanum ruſtica mulier in agro feſſa opere ſub lauro peperit. *Paulus Jovius, Elog. cap.* xxii, *pag.* 52, 53.

(*b*) Nicolo Toppi, Bibliot. Napolet. pag. 24.

(*c*) Auguſt. Oldoinus in Athen. Auguſto, pag. 24.

(*d*) Ædibus Sacerdotis in famulatum & diſciplinam traditus (mater). *Jov. Elog. cap.* xxii.

(*e*) Id. ibid.

(*f*) Oldoinus Athen. Auguſt. pag. 24.

(*g*) Jov. Elog. cap xxii.

(*h*) Oldoinus Athen. Auguſt. pag. 24.

(*i*) Græcorum omnino expers. *Volaterr. lib.* xxi, *pag.* 776.

(*k*) Græcam eruditionem ubertim potavit. *Oldoin. Athen. Auguſt. pag.* 24.

[*A*] *He was deſigned for a Shepherd.*] Some ſay his Father put him to that mean Employment, *agro paſcendiſque ovibus ab initio à patre relegatus fuit* (1). Others pretend, he loſt his Father and Mother in his Infancy, and that his Relations thought of making him a Shepherd. 'Parentibus 'jam inde à puero orbatus eſt, orbatumque affines, 'in quorum fide poteſtateque erat, tenuioris fortunæ ſordidis miniſteriis illum exercuerunt, ità ut 'etiam paſcendo pecori deſtinaretur (2).'

(1) Volaterr. lib. xxi, pag. 776.

(2) Auguſtin. Oldoinus in Athenæo Auguſto. pag. 24.

[*B*] *He*

very much esteemed for it's Stile; but there appeared in it too much Flattery [*B*]. The Reputation of *Campanus* became so great, that he was sent for to *Rome* by Pope *Calixtus* III, to be his Secretary: He was scarce arrived there, when the Death of that Pope put an End to his Expectations. He insinuated himself into the Favour of *Pius* II, and was made Steward to Cardinal *Saxoferrate*. Some time after he was promoted to the Bishopric of *Crotona*, by *Pius* II, and afterwards to that of *Teramo* [*C*]. *Paul* II made him Arch-Priest of St *Eustachius*, which is a very good Benefice. He attended *Francis Piccolomini*, Cardinal Legate, into *Germany*, and made several Speeches in the Imperial Diets. At his Return into *Italy*, he obtained from the same Pope the Government of *Tuderti*. *Sixtus* IV gave him that of *Fulgino*, and *Citta di Castello*: But he lost both his Post, and the Friendship of this Pope, by being believed an Accomplice in the Rebellion which broke out in his Government. *Sixtus* was so incensed against him, that he banished him out of the Ecclesiastical State, and rejected all Intercessions made in his behalf. *Campanus*, extremely affected with this Disgrace, spent the rest of his Life in Melancholy, sometimes at the Court of *Naples*, and sometimes at *Siena*. In vain he implored the Succour of the Muses and Literature, I mean that he endeavoured to dissipate his Chagrin by writing; he no sooner made a beginning, but he found it return upon him: Upon this he lost all Courage, and, being besides subject to an Epilepsy, he sunk intirely under his Misfortunes. He died at *Siena* the fifteenth of *July*, 1477, in the fiftieth Year of his Age (*l*), and was buried in the Cathedral Church (*m*). He had a great Desire to have settled in his own Country [*D*], as appears by his Letters. He left several Works.

(*l*) *And not* prope quadragenarius, *in the 40th, as* Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 583, *would have it, being deceived therein by* Volaterran, *lib.* xxi.

(*m*) *Taken from* August. Old. Athen. Aug. pag. 24, & seq.

. [*B*] *He wrote the History of* Andrew Braccio. *This Work was very much esteemed for it's Stile; but there appeared in it too much Flattery.*] These are *Jovius*'s Words: 'Inter multa orationum, & 'multiplicis styli opera quæ extant, avidissime Bracii 'inclyti ducis Vita perlegitur, digna posteritate 'nisi rerum gestarum fidem adulatione poëticâ cor-'rupisset (3). - - - - - *Among the many Discourses, 'and Works composed with Elegancy of Stile, the 'Life of* Braccius, *the famous Captain, is thought 'most entertaining, and would be worthy to be per-'petuated, if the Facts had not been misrepresented 'through poetical Flattery.*' This *Andrew Braccio* was a very great Captain. He was a Native of *Montone* in the *Perugino* (4). The Inhabitants of *Perugia* chose him for their Prince by reason of his Valour, and the Services he had done them (5). He died in 1424 (6). His Life, writ in *Latin* by our *Campanus*, was translated into *Italian* by *Pompey Pelini*: This Translation was printed at *Venice*, in 1572, 4to (7).

(3) Jovius Elog. cap. xxii, pag. III. *See likewise* Oldoin. Athen. August. pag. 24.

(4) Leand. Albert. Descript. Ital. pag. 136.

(5) Id. ibid. pag. 100.

(6) Id. ibid. 136.

(7) *See* Toppi Biblioth. Napol. pag. 284.

[*C*] *He was promoted to the Bishopric of* Teramo.] They who say he was Bishop of *Arezzo*, *Arctinus Episcopus*, are mistaken. *Gesner* has been guilty of this Mistake (8): and so have *Peter Opmeer* (9), and *Vossius* (10), as *Leonard Nicodemo* observes, who adds, that it is probable the Term *Aprutinus* led them into this Error (11). *Campanus* is called *Episcopus Aprutinus*, in the Title Page of *Andrew Braccio*'s Life, printed at *Basil*, in 1545; And he called himself *Aprutinus*, because his Bishopric was in the *Abruzzes*. *Vossius* observes, that *Paulus Jovius* stiles him *Interamnatium Episcopus*, —— *Bishop of the* Teramians; and *Gyraldus*, *Prætutinorum sive Prætutianorum Episcopus* (12), - - - - *Bishop of the* Abruzzians. He reconciles these Differences very well, by saying, 'Nempe sedes epis-'copalis fuit Interamnii Prætutianorum oppidi, quod 'vulgo à circumfluo Nare fluvio Terami vel Terani 'vocatur. - - - *For his Episcopal See was at* Teramo, *or* Terano, *a Town of the* Abruzzians, *which is 'so called for it's being surrounded by the River 'Nar.*' This ought to have prevented his calling him *Aretinus Episcopus*. *Konig* is one of those who have given him the same Title (13).

(8) Gesn. in Biblioth. fol. 383, verso.

(9) Pag. 426, Chronol. apud Leonard. Nicodemum Addiz. alla Bibliot. Napol. pag. 18.

(10) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 583.

(11) Leon. Nicod. Addiz. alla Bibl. Nap. p. 18.

(12) Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 583. *He might have added, and according to* Volaterranus, Præsul apud Prætutinos.

(13) Konig. Bibl. pag. 158.

[*D*] *He had a great Desire to have settled in his own Country.*] This appears from a Passage in his Letters, which acquaints us with some Circumstances of his Life: 'Dicere de tuis (*he is speaking 'to the Duke of* Calabria, Alphonso *of* Arragon, 'Son of Ferdinand *King of* Naples) divinis & præ-'stantissimis laudibus non est epistolæ, in qua nihil 'æque quam brevitas & castigatio laudatur. Hoc 'tantum de me addiderim, natum esse hac ætate, 'in qua tu es, & natum tibi, patri ac Regno tuo, '& ad illum & ad te pertinere, haberi rationem 'de vestris. Ego sextumdecimum annum Romanæ 'in Cur. dego. Sub Pio pontifice vixi non sine 'aliqua gratia & opinione. Qua de re habuit me 'odio Paulus, ut habuit cæteros qui Pii memoria 'afficerentur. Sixtum vero, quo sum usus in philo-'sophia præceptore, aliquanto habui propensiorem. 'Sed fortuna mea omnis à Regno est: quam mihi 'tu & pater tuus dabitis spem, ad hanc erigar, 'huic insistam. Quare te oro & obtestor, dignis-'sime & sanguinis altissime Princeps, errantem me 'tot annos redde jam Patriæ, redde meis, & tandem 'Campanum Campaniæ redde (14). - - - *To attempt 'your divine and most excellent Praises is not the 'Business of a Letter, in which nothing is so com-'mendable as Brevity and Correctness, I will only 'add one Word about myself, that I was born in 'the same Age with yourself, and born a Subject 'to your and your Father's Dominions, and there-'fore belong to him and you, and account myself 'your's. I have now lived sixteen Years in the 'Court of* Rome. *Under Pope* Pius *I was in no 'small Favour and Esteem. For which reason I 'was hated by* Paul, *as were a great many 'others, who reverenced the Memory of* Pius. *'But* Sixtus, *whose Disciple I had formerly been 'in Philosophy, was more favourable to me. But 'all my Expectations are grounded on the Favour 'of my Sovereigns; the Hopes you and your Father 'shall give me, to these I will trust. Therefore 'I implore and beseech you, most worthy and illustrious 'Prince, restore me, from this long vagabond Life, 'to my Country, restore me to my Friends, and 'restore at last* Campanus *to* Campania.'

(14) Campanus Epist. lib. viii. apud Nicodem. Addiz. alla Bibl. pag. 135.

[*E*] *He left several Works.*] *Leonard Nicodemo* (15) has given us an exact Account of all the Pieces contained in the Collection of our *Campanus*'s Works. There are, among them, several Moral Treatises, as, *de Ingratitudine fugienda: de Dignitate Matrimonii*, &c. several Speeches, particularly those which he made at *Perugia*, when first he taught there, in 1455; his Funeral Orations on a Duke of *Urbin*, on Cardinal *Saxoferrate*, on *Pius* II, &c. Nine Books of Letters, some of which were reprinted in *Germany*, by the Care of *Daumius*, with those of *Textor* (16); the Life of *Pius* II: Eight Books of Elegies and Epigrams, and some Sermons. *Panigarola* very much commends that which he preached upon an *Ashwednesday*; these are his Words: 'Il Campano nell' 'Orazione Cinerizia amplifica in tanti modi questa 'propozitione, che bisogna morire, che è cosa di 'maraviglia il considerarlo: è Monsignor Cornelio 'non cede punto nell' imitazione (17) —Campanus, *'in his Sermon on* Ashwednesday, *so fully discusses 'this Subject, of the Necessity of Dying, that the 'Consideration of it is very surprizing: And* Mon-'signor Cornelio *has imitated him very closely.*' This Monsignor *Cornelio* is the Bishop of *Bitonte*, a great Preacher, and one who made a great Figure in the Council of *Trent*. His Family-name was *Musso*. He copied our *Campanus* almost word for word in his *Necessity of Dying* (18). Observe these

(15) Leon. Nicod. Addiz. alla Bibl. Napol. pag. 16, 17.

(16) *See* Reihesius's *Letters to* Daumius, p. 114, 115.

(17) Panigarola nel Predicatore, pag. 404. Edit. 1609, apud Nicodem. Addiz. alla Biblioth. Napolet. pag. 16.

(18) Nicod. ibid.

Works [*E*], which were publiſhed by *Michael Fernus* (*n*), with the Hiſtory of his Life (*o*), written at large, and full of Commendations. We muſt not forget that he was Corrector of the Preſs [*F*], and very ugly in his Perſon (*p*). They are miſtaken who ſpeak of him and *Antony Campanus* as two diſtinct Perſons [*G*]. Obſerve, there have been ſome other Authors named *Campanus*: The Bibliographers, who who reckon them up, very often forget *Francis CAMPANUS*, an *Italian* Humaniſt (*q*) of good Repute, whoſe *Quæſtio Virgiliana* I have ſeen printed by *Henry Stephens*, in 1567 (*r*), together with *Parrhaſius*'s Book *De Rebus per Epiſtolam quæſitis*. The Author dedicated it to *Hercules de Gonzago*, Biſhop of *Mantua*, in 1536. He was then at *Bologna*.

I muſt add a Remark on the Paſſage where I have mentioned *his writing Love-Verſes* [*H*].

(*n*) *And not* Fernus *as it is in* Mereri.

(*o*) Compoſed by the ſame *Fernus*.

(*p*) Quis in præpinguis ſimiæ ſimiæ rictu tantam exciti atque habilis ingenii indolem. *Jov. Elog. cap.* xxii.

(*q*) His Sirname was *Celleſis*, ſignifying, I ſuppoſe, that he was a Native of *Celle*, near *Lucca*.

(*r*) It had been printed at *Milan*, 1540.

theſe Words of *Mr Menage*, 'Campanus - - - - - 'writ a great many Love Verſes. This he tells 'us himſelf. *Scripſi Verſus, quorum pars eſt amatoria: pars amore non vacat ad tria millia.* It 'is in the Forty ſixth, of the third Book of his 'Epiſtles. He was a Man highly deſerving of the 'learned World, - - - and withal very virtuous (19).' See the Remark [*H*].

(19) Menag. Anti-Baillet, Tom. II, pag. 337.

[*F*] *He was Corrector of the Preſs.*] Read this Paſſage of *Gabriel Naudæus*. 'Rome was one of 'the firſt Places where the Preſs was ſet up, by 'the means of one *Uldaricus Gallus*, who gave 'occaſion to Biſhop *John Antony Campanus*, Cor'rector of it, to complement him with the follow'ing Epigram, mentioned by *Faernus*, and inſerted 'at the end of *Tully's Philippics*, printed by the 'ſaid *Uldaricus*, without the Date of the Year, 'though in all probability before 1470.

Anſer Tarpeii cuſtos Jovis, unde quod alis
Obſtreperes, Gallus cecidit, ultor adeſt
Uldaricus Gallus, ne quem poſcantur in uſum
Edocuit pennis nil opus eſſe tuis.
Imprimit ille die quantum vix ſcribitur anno,
Ingenio haud noceas, omnia vincit homo (20).

(20) Naud. Additions à l'Hiſt. de Louis XI, pag. 297, 298.

The watchful Goose once ſav'd the Roman *Walls,*
And brought Deſtruction on the hoſtile Gauls.
Our Gaul *revenges, by his wond'rous Skill,*
This ancient Grudge upon the Goose's Quill.
For what the Pen requires a Year to ſay,
His Printing Art delivers in a Day.

Mr *Chevillier* quotes part of theſe Words, and alſo thoſe of Mr *Mentel*, where he obſerves, *that two Biſhops were at the ſame time Correctors of the Preſs at* Rome, John Andrew, *Biſhop of* Aleria, *and* Antony Campanus *Biſhop of* Teramo (21). There are two Miſtakes to be corrected in what he quotes from Mr *Mentel* (22): *In my opinion*, continues he, *they ought rather to be called Authors than Correctors, as one may eaſily judge from the following Account.* Upon which he tells us, that *under the Pontificate of* Paul II, *about the Year* 1466, *two* Germans, Conrade Sweynheim *and* Arnold Pannartz, *came to* Rome *to ſet up the firſt Printing-Office.* He gives us *the order of the Books printed till* May 1472, *with the Number of the Copies of each Author.* He ſays, *It was the Biſhop of* Aleria, *the Pope's Library-Keeper, who prepared the Manuſcripts of moſt of the Authors, and writ the Dedications and Prefaces to ſome Editions, and was Corrector of the Preſs.* He adds, *that another Printer, called* Udalricus (23), *came much about the ſame time to* Rome, *to erect another Printing-Office* (24). *The Biſhop of* Teramo *corrected this Preſs, at the Biſhop of* Aleria *did the other.* Udalricus *went on with ſo much Diligence, that* Campanus, *who had undertaken to keep the Preſs at work in furniſhing Copies and correcting the Proofs, could never be at reſt:* Cum interquieſcere illum aſſiduis emendationibus non permitteret, *ſays* Michael Fernus *in* Campanus's *Life*. Obſerve this Concluſion: 'We may gather eaſily from the Ac'count now given, that theſe two Biſhops were 'Authors of the firſt Editions publiſhed at *Rome*, 'by theſe *Germans*, and that they corrected only 'their own Works (25).' For my part, I cannot conceive how the Reader can conclude any thing like it from this Account; for it plainly proves, that theſe two Biſhops performed all the Duties of Correctors of the Preſs.

(21) Chevillier, Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris, pag. 198, 199.

(22) *Mr* Mentel, pag. 11, de vera Typographiæ Origine, *ſays* Ἐργαλφάγος, *and* Uldarici, *and not as Mr* Chevillier *has it,* Ἐργαλφάγος, *and* Udalrici.

(23) *He ſhould have ſaid* Uldaricus.

(24) Chevillier, de l'Origin. de l'Impr. de Paris, pag. 200.

[*G*] *They are miſtaken who ſpeak of him, and* Antony Campanus, *as two diſtinct Perſons.*] *Toppi* has committed this Error in two or three places of his *Neapolitan Bibliotheque*, as *Leonard Nicodemo* objects to him. *Geſner*'s Abbreviators have mentioned *Antony Campanus* and *John Antony Campanus* as two Authors. *Konig* has made the ſame Miſtake (26).

(25) Chevillier, ibid. pag. 201, 202.

(26) Konig. Bibl. vet. & nova, pag. 158.

[*H*] *I muſt add a Remark on the Paſſage where I have mentioned his writing Love Verſes* (27).] He is very much cenſured on account of a very obſcene Epigram, inſomuch that he is joined with *John de la Caſa*. 'Quæ tamen non deterruerunt in Italia '(ô tempora, ô mores!) Epiſcopum quendam Nu'cerinum *Joh. de la Caſa*, quin Sodomiæ laudes ne'fario Libro fuerit complexus, uti *Conrad. Ritter'ſhuſius* conqueritur *in Novell. lection. part.* 12. *c.* 9. *n.* 7. Parem quoque Caſtimoniam, & Epiſco'pali ſcilicet dignitati convenientem gravitatem ſapit 'Epiſcopi Imbraminenſis ad Gravanolum moſtrupa'torem (28) Epigramma, quod longè fædius & pu'tidius puto, quàm ut Commentariis hiſce ſit inſe'rendum. Ideoque in id merito inſurgit *Georg. Erhardus in Symbolis ad Petronium, pag.* 96 (29). '—— *Which yet did not deter, even in* Italy, *a cer'tain Biſhop of* Nocera, John de la Caſa, *from writ'ing a wicked Book in the Praiſe of Sodomy, as* 'Ritterſhuſius *complains in his* Novell. Lection. part. '12. c. 9. n. 7. *Of the ſame modeſt ſtamp is the E'pigram of the Biſhop of* Teramo, *on the ſelf polluter* 'Gravanolus, *which is too filthy and obſcene to be 'inſerted in theſe Commentaries. For which reaſon 'it is deſervedly cenſured by* George Erhardus in 'Symbolis ad Petronium *pag.* 96.' It would be difficult to conjecture who this *Epiſcopus Imbraminenſis* ſhould be, if we did not otherwiſe know, that *John Anthony Campanus*, Biſhop of *Teramo*, (in *Latin*, according to ſome undoubtedly, *Interamninenſis*) was Author of the Epigram in queſtion. *George Erhardus*, cited by *Salmuthus* as we have ſeen, expreſſes it thus: *Joannes Antonius Campanus Epigrammate ad Gravanolum Maſtupratorem,*

Non damnoſa mihi gratis manus ipſa placebit,
Inque meis digitis Hermaphroditus erit.

O pudicum virum! At luſit, inquis, in nequam illum futurorem. At non decebat, inquio, illum, cujus eſt officii ſeveritatem in caſtigando adhibere, non riſum jocumque facere (30). *Saldenus* makes uſe of this Paſſage of *Salmuthus*, without correcting it's Faults; nay he has even added ſome of his own. 'Pa'rem quoque caſtimoniam, Epiſcopali gravitati con'venientem Epiſcopo Imbanienſi adſcribit Salmu'thus, ob Epigramma (inquit) ad Gravalonum Mo'ſtupatorem miſſum, longè fædius & putidius, quam 'ut Commentariis ſuis inſereret (31).'

(27) At the end of Remark [*G*].

(28) He ſhould have ſaid *Maſtupratorem*.

(29) Henricus Salmuth. Comment. in Panciſolum, Par. I, Tit. xlvii, pag. 222. *See in the* Anti Baillet, Tom. II, pag. 123, *the Miſtake of this Paſſage in reſpect to the Titles of* John de la Caſa.

(30) Georg. Erhard. Symbol. in Petronium, pag. 71. *Edit.* Petronii Lugd 1625, *in* 12mo.

(31) Saldenus, in Otiis Theolog pag. 160.

CANICEUS (James), Author of some Love-Letters. I mention this only upon *Agrippa*'s Authority (*a*), and to encourage the Curious to find out this Writer, whose Name I have not met with in any Bibliographer, any more than that of *James Calandrus*, an Author of the same Class, according to *Agrippa* (*b*) (§. *a*).

(*a*) Agrippa de Vanitate Scientiarum, cap. lxiv. pag. 128, 129.

(*b*) Id. ibid. pag. 129.

[§ *a* Mr *Bayle* falls into two Mistakes here concerning this Author, who, by the way, was born at *Parma*. First, he calls him *Caniceus* instead of *Caviceus*, and that on the Authority of his Edition of *Agrippa de Vanitate Scientiarum*, chap. 64; whereas in the good Editions of this Book, particularly in those of 1528 and 1539, we read *Caviceus*. In the next place Mr *Bayle* supposes, that the Book, there ascribed to *Caviceus* by *Agrippa*, is a Book of *Love-Letters*, whereas it is an *Italian* Romance in three Books, entitled *Il Peregrino*, wherein the Author gives us the History of his own Amours with his Mistress, whom he names *Genevra*. 'Jacobus Caviceus, (says 'Benedictus Curtius on the 4th of the Arrêts d'Amour) ob Genevram ærumnas, diversarum regionum 'lustrationes, & ægros labores, doloresque, infernorum 'aditus, ut recte *peregrinus* vocitatus fit, uno opere 'perscripsit.— Caviceus *wrote a Book of his Sufferings* 'for Genevra *his Mistress, of his Wanderings thro' di-* 'verse Nations, *his Labours, Distresses, and visiting* 'the infernal Regions, *so that he was rightly stiled* The 'Pilgrim.' This is the very same Romance, which *Agrippa* in the said sixty fourth Chapter places among the Modern Gallant Histories, under the Title of the History of the Amours of the *Pilgrim*. The following Words of *Agrippa* in the same Chapter gave occasion to Mr *Bayle*'s Mistake: 'Nam 'hujus (*Innocentii*) in primis Grammatica scribendi & 'loquendi disciplina *amatorias* largitur epistolas, illasque effictis amatoriis salutatiunculis, precatiunculis, 'lamentatiunculis, allectatiunculis dictare docet: 'quarum exempla pleraque ex recentioribus Æneas 'Sylvius, & *Jacobus Caviceus*, & plerique alii reliquerunt. —— *To this Courtship, Rhetoric furnishes* 'Love-Letters, *and teaches to fill them with amorous* 'Salutations, Requests, Complaints, Allurements; Examples of which we find among the Moderns, in the 'Writings of Æneas Sylvius, James Caviceus, and 'many others.' The Romance above-mentioned contains indeed many *Love-Letters*, as does likewise the Romance composed by *Æneas Sylvius*; but this is not the Title of these Books, particularly of that of *Caviceus*, concerning which I shall observe, by the way, that the Edition printed at *Venice* in 8vo, 1526, *February* the fifth, by *Nicolo Zoppino*, is neither the first, nor the last, for the Title says *corretto & novamente stampato & historiato*; and the Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library mentions another of the Year 1547, likewise in 8vo, and printed also at *Venice*. *George Anselme*, who wrote the Life of the Author in *Italian*, and joined it to *Caviceus*'s Romance, says, he was born on the first of *May* 1443, and died aged sixty eight Years, one Month, and two Days, not long after the publication of his Book, which consequently must have been first published about the Year 1510. He had put out some other Works: and some of his pieces, partly finished, and partly only begun, fell into the Hands of his Heirs. It is not known what they have done with them. I had almost forgotten to observe, that our Author was a Priest, and that, among other slips of his Youth, he got a Nun with Child, and was even guilty of Murther, which obliged him, after having broke out of the Bishop's Prison, where he was detained, to turn Pirate, and to rove for three Years, sometimes in the Channel, and sometimes in the Archipelago; but that, upon his return, the Disorders of his Youth being either forgotten or pardoned, he reformed his Conduct, and gave such great proofs of an excellent Genius, that, upon these two Accounts, his Historian freely forgives him his former Course of Life. Rem. Crit.]

CANINIUS (Angelus), was one of the most learned Grammarians in the XVIth Century. He was born in a small Town of *Tuscany*, called in *Latin Anglara* [*A*], and in *Italian Anghiari*; which is the reason of the Epithet *Anglarensis* being added to his Name, in the Title-Page of his Works. *Thuanus* places his Death in the Year 1557 (*a*) [*B*], and affirms, that he was well skilled in the *Greek* and Oriental Languages; that he taught them at *Venice*, *Padua*, *Bologna*, *Rome*, and in *Spain*; that he was Tutor to *Andrew Dudithius* [*C*], and taught at *Paris*; and

(*a*) Thuan. Histor. lib. xix, p. 346.

[*A*] *He was born in a small Town in* Tuscany, *called in* Latin Anglara.] *Thuanus* did not know that this Town was in *Tuscany*; he has confounded it with one in the *Milanese*, called in *Latin Anglaria* or *Anglaria*; for having observed, that *Magius* was born at *Anglaria*, a Town in the Dutchy of *Milan*, he adds, that the same Place had before given Birth to *Angelus Caninius* (1). Others (2), by a like Mistake, have affirmed, that *Caninius*, *Magius*, and *Peter Martyr*, Counsellor to *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, were born at *Anglaria*, a Town of the *Insubrians*, that is, in the *Milanese*. This is only true as to *Peter Martyr*. We have shown, in it's proper Place, that *Magius* was of *Anglara* in *Tuscany*; now *Magius* tells us, that *Caninius* was his Countryman (3): *Caninius* therefore could not be a *Milanese*, as *Dom Lancelot* affirms in his Preface to the *Methode Grecque*. *Nicolas Antonio*, having surnamed him *Anglarensis*, explains it thus, 'Oppidum Mediolanensis Ducatus Anghiera est, ad oram 'lacus Verbani five majoris (4). —— Anglara *is a* 'Town in the Dutchy of Milan, *at the Mouth of the* 'Lake Maggior.'

(1) Anglara in Insubribus dictionio Mediolanensis oppido, quod & nobis Angelum Caninium olim dedit, natus. *Thuan. lib.* xlix, *ad Ann.* 1571, *pag.* 1018.

(2) Quenstedt, de Patriis illustr. pag. 496.

(3) Magius, Epist. Dedic. Tractat. de Equuleo.

(4) N. Anton. Bibl. Hispan. Tom. II, pag. 357.

[*B*] Thuanus *places his Death in the Year* 1557] He placed it in the Year 1554, in the first Editions. See the last Page of the first Tome of the *Paris* Edition in 8vo, 1604: There you will find how it happened that Mr *Baillet*, who made use of this Edition in 8vo, has said, in speaking of *Caninius*, that *he died in* 1557, *or rather in* 1554 (5). We shall see, in the Remark [*F*], a Citation, which shews that *Thuanus* knew very little of this great Grammarian.

(5) Jugem. des Scavans, Tom. IV, n. 701, pag. 182. *He makes him a Native of* Angleria.

[*C*] *He affirms, he was Tutor to* Andrew Dudithius.] *Du Ryer* has very ill translated these Words of *Thuanus*: *Demum Andreæ Dudithii Pannonii —— adolescentiæ admotus Lutetiæ Parisiorum docuit*, which he thus renders: *After he had been sent for to* Andrew Dudithius *in* Hungary —— *he taught at* Paris (6). This Translation falsely ascribes to *Caninius* a journey into *Hungary*, and makes *Thuanus* contradict himself; for in another Place he says, *Dudithius* studied under *Caninius* at *Paris*, after his Voyage into *England*, and before his Return to *Hungary*. 'Demum ex Anglia Lutetiam venit, & illuc 'sub optimo Doctore Angelo Caninio Anglarensi non 'solum Græcæ Linguæ, & Hebraicæ, sed etiam 'Orientalium peritissimo, denuo intermissis per illas 'peregrinationes studiis operam dedit (7).' Which is thus translated; 'From England *he went to* Paris, '*where he renewed his Studies, which his Travels* '*had interrupted, under* Angelo Canimo, *that ex-* 'cellent Man, *so well skilled in the* Greek, Hebrew, 'and Oriental Languages (8).' This false printing of *Canimo* instead of *Caninio*, may one Day chance to enlarge the Catalogue of learned Men, and present us with one *Angelus Canimus* different from *Angelus Caninius*, but, like him, well skilled in the Languages. I make no question but that *Caninius* was Professor at *Paris*, whilst *Dudithius* studied there: And therefore I cannot think that these Words of *Thuanus*, *Andreæ Dudithii Pannonii adolescentiæ admotus Lutetiæ Parisiorum docuit, —— being made Tutor to* Andrew Dudithius, *the young* Hungarian, *he taught at* Paris, are so true historically, as they are good grammatically; for it is not at all probable that *Caninius*

(6) Teissier's Eloges, taken from Thuanus, Tom. I, p. 181.

(7) Thuan. Histor. lib. xcvi. ad Ann. 1589.

(8) Apud Thissier, Tom. II, pag. 103.

was

and that at last, being received into the Family of *William Duprat*, Bishop of *Clermont* (*b*) [*D*], he died in *Auvergne* [*E*]. There are some who say, that he was *Professor in the University of* Paris, *residing there in the College of* Cambray, *and that his Book of the* Greek *Language may be pronounced one of the most learned Performances we have on that Subject* (*c*). The Character, *Scaliger* has given of him, appears at first very much in his Favour, but amounts to very little in the Conclusion. He allows him to be *a very learned young Man* [*F*], *who had composed a valuable Discourse on the* Greek *Language*, but that *he had borrowed the best part of it from* Vergara, *and others, and had also added something of his own* (*d*). Mr *le Fevre* of *Saumur*, who prefers *Caninius* to all other *Greek* Grammarians, absolutely rejects this Accusation. He says this Work deserves to be called the Treasure of the *Greek* Language, and that it was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1555, in Quarto (*e*). Several other learned Men have given as great a Character of *Caninius*'s *Greek* Grammar [*G*]. His other Works are not very numerous [*H*]. It is very probable that *Jerom Caninius* of *Anghiari*, who translated *Tacitus* into *Italian*, and printed it at *Venice*, with *Alamos*'s Aphorisms (*f*), in 1620, was of the same Family.

(*b*) *Caninius* takes notice of this Bishop's Liberality. *Præfat. Introduct. in Linguam Syriacam & Punicam*, according to *Magnus*, *Epist. Ded. Tract. de Eccles.*

(*c*) Lancelot's *Preface to the* Nouvelle Methode Grecque.

(*d*) Scaligerana, pag. 42.

(*e*) Notis in prima Scaligerana.

(*f*) Nicol. Antonius Biblioth. Hispan. Tom. I, pag. 141.

was at one and the same time Professor in the University at *Paris*, and Tutor to this young *Hungarian* Traveller. And yet that he was the latter, is implied by these Words, *Andreæ Duditbii adolescentiæ admotus*. But I do not believe he had any other hand in teaching *Duditbius*, than only by his public and private Lectures as Professor; which is far different from being said to be a young Gentleman's Tutor, and in *Latin alicujus adolescentiæ admoveri*. *Moreri* has translated this Passage of *Thuanus* a little better than *Teissier*; for he does not send *Caninius* into *Hungary*, but is content with sending him to *Duditbius* the *Hungarian*. However here is a very great Mistake; for to affirm with *Thuanus*, in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, that *Caninius*, *after becoming Tutor to* Duditbius *the* Hungarian, *taught at* Paris, is to suppose, that he was Tutor to this young *Hungarian* before he was Professor at *Paris*; whereas he should have said, that this young *Hungarian* coming to *Paris*, and there meeting with that excellent Master *Caninius*, studied under him.

[*D*] —— *received into the Family of* William Duprat, *Bishop of* Clermont.] The Words of *Thuanus* are not particular enough; therefore I think it proper to observe, that *Caninius*, in his Dedication of a Book to this *William Duprat*, in 1553 (9), informs us, that he was then at *Paris*, in the *Italian* College. He says, that, returning from *Spain* into *France* with a Monk, whose Name was *Simon Guichard*, they both stopped in the Diocese of *Clermont*, and that he received a great many Favours from the Bishop, to whom he dedicates that Work; that, going to *Paris*, he fell sick by the way, and had almost spent all his Money; that at last he came to *Paris*, where he knew no body, but that the Recommendatory Letters from that Prelate procured him Lodgings and other Necessaries. We find by this, that he was under the liberal Protection of this Prelate before he taught at *Paris*, and we may judge pretty nearly at what time he began to teach there. He dates the Epistle Dedicatory of his *Hellenismus* from the College of *Cambray* in *Paris*, the Twenty ninth of *August*, 1555. I would not say, that *Thuanus* is mistaken; but it is not improbable, that *Caninius* left his public Lectures, to retire to the Bishop of *Clermont*, and there ended his Life.

(9) *The* Institutiones Linguæ Syriacæ.

[*E*] *He died in* Auvergne.] Others say he died at *Seville* in *Spain*. It is upon this Foot *Don Nicholas Antonio* speaks of him (10); for he has given us a Catalogue of all foreign Authors, who resided a long time in *Spain*, or died there. He quotes *Francis Forerius* the *Jacobin*, who confesses, in the Preface to his Commentaries upon *Isaiah*, that he was *Caninius*'s Scholar. *Antonio* knew very little of *Caninius*; he ascribes to him no other Work but, *Disquisitiones in locos aliquot Novi Testamenti obscuriores ex Hebraicæ & Æthiopicæ linguarum Originibus*, which, says he, was printed at *Antwerp* with the *Quinquagena* of *Antonius Nebrissensis*.

(10) Biblioth. Hispan. Tom. II, pag. 357.

[*F*] Scaliger —— *allows him to be a very learned young Man.*] This Expression at first seems very surprizing, when we consider that *Scaliger* uses it a long time after *Caninius*'s Death, and that *Thuanus* does not speak of him as of one who died young: For he makes him travel a long time through *Italy* and *Spain*, teaching the Oriental Languages (11), before his settling at *Paris*. But it appears from another Passage in the *Scaligerana*, that, according to *Scaliger*, he died when he was but Thirty six Years old (12). I do not very much rely on this, because *Scaliger* said just before, that *Clenard* died at the Age of Thirty two, which is utterly false (13). I have not yet been able to find how long *Caninius* lived: it is not easy to clear his History. *Thuanus*, who found the Difficulty of it, had recourse to *Scaliger*. 'In 'compiling my History, *says he* (14), I mention, 'with great Pleasure, Men, who have been famous 'for their Learning, under the Year of their Deaths: 'among these I was very unwilling to omit *Angelus Caninius*, whose Name I think worth record- 'ing; but I meet with no body who can give me 'any Account of him. In the first place, his 'Country seems uncertain. He called himself *Anglarensis*; I cannot tell whether that was from 'some Place upon the Lake of *Como* (15), or 'elsewhere. He was still living in *France* in 1553; 'and had spent his whole Life, residing sometimes 'in *Spain*, and sometimes in *France*. If you know 'any thing of him, or of the Year he died in, 'I beg your Information.'

(11) His peregrinandi diu in Italia, Venetiis, Patavii, Bononiæ, Romæ, atque in Hispania vagus. *Thuan. lib.* xix, pag. 346.

(12) Prima Scaligerana, pag. 47.

(13) *According to* Valerius Andreas, Bibl. Belg. pag. 683, *he lived to the Age of* 46; *and, according to* Bullart Acad. des Scienc. 49.

(14) Epist. Franç. à Scaliger. pag. 329.

(15) *Rather* Angleria, *upon the Lake* Maggiore.

[*G*] *The Learned have given a great Character of* Caninius's Greek *Grammar.*] These are the Words of a *German* Writer: 'In Grammaticâ Græca quic- 'quid vetustissimi Scriptores de Græcæ linguæ ra- 'tione præcipiunt, atque adeo omnia quæ ad dia- 'lectos intelligendas, & Poetas penitus cognoscen- 'dos pertinent facili methodo exponuntur (16). —— 'His Greek *Grammar explains, in a very easy man- 'ner, all the Rules laid down by the ancient Writers 'concerning the* Greek *Language, and consequently 'every Thing necessary to understand the Dialects and 'Poetical Licences.*'

(16) Quenstedt de Patriis Illustr. pag. 296. *See* Mr Baillet, Jugem. des Savans. Tom. IV, pag. 182.

[*H*] *His other Works are not very numerous.*] There is a *Latin* Translation of his of *Simplicius*'s Commentary upon *Epictetus*, printed at *Venice* in 1546, in Folio, 'Et Institutiones Linguæ Syriacæ, 'Assyriacæ, atque Thalmudicæ, una cum Æthio- 'picæ atque Arabicæ collatione, quibus addita est ad 'calcem Novi Testamenti multorum locorum Histo- 'rica Enarratio, Parisiis apud Carol. Stephanum 'ISS4. in-4to. De locis Scripturæ Hebraicis Com- 'mentarius.'

Mr *Crenius* has lately given us a new Edition of two Pieces of *Caninius*. 'Angeli Caninii, Angla- 'rensis ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ, Copiosissimi Græca- 'rum Latinarumque vocum Indicis accessione per 'CAROLUM HAUBOESIUM locupletatus '—— Accedunt plurimorum verborum Originum 'explicatio, Regulæ quædam breves de ratione Syn- 'taxeos, & loci aliquot Novi Testamenti cum He- 'braeorum originibus conlati, atque explicati. THO- 'MAS CRENIUS recensuit, emendavit, & notis 'ac Præfatione, in qua de claris agitur ANGELIS, 'auxit. Lugduni Batavorum, apud Pledevicum. 'Hearing CIↃ IↃCC in 8vo.'

CAPET (Hugh), King of *France*, the first of the third Race. Many things might be said upon this Subject; but I shall content myself with observing, that the Poet *Dante* published a ridiculous Falsehood, in saying that the Father of *Hugh Capet* was a Butcher [*A*]. *Francis* I. is said to have fallen into a violent Passion, when he understood that *Dante* had expressed himself in that manner [*B*].

[*A*] *The Poet* Dante *published a ridiculous Falsehood, in saying that the Father of* Hugh Capet *was a Butcher.*] The refuting this Man would only be trespassing on the Reader's Time and Patience. It is sufficient to relate the usual Conjecture of Authors, who have mentioned this Matter; which is, that *Dante* published this Imposture on purpose to revenge himself for the Treatment he had received from *Charles de Valois*, who was descended from *Hugh Capet*. Pope *Boniface* the VIIIth, being solicited by one of the Parties which divided the Common-wealth of *Florence*, prevailed with *Charles de Valois*, Brother to *Philip the Fair* of *France*, to go and compose the Confusions of that City. The Party, *Dante* had embraced, was, at that time, the weakest: He, with several others, was banished *Florence*, and his Estate confiscated. He revenged himself the best way he could, with his Pen, in defaming the Kings of *France*, who had favoured the contrary Faction, and, among other things, he attacked them on the Subject of their Extraction. He makes *Hugh Capet* confess that his Father was a Butcher, *figliuol fui d'un Beccaio di Parigi* (1), and own himself the Root of a Plant which had done much Mischief to Christendom.

(1) In his Purgatory, Canto 20, pag. 282.

I fui radice de la mala pianta,
Che la terra Christiana tutta aduggia,
Si che buon frutto rado se ne schianta (2).

(2) Ibid.

Those wicked Stems proceed from me their Root,
Which over Christendom redundant shoot,
And every where produce their deadly Fruit.

A Canon of *Paris*, called *Balthasar Grangier*, dedicating his *French* Translation of *Dante*'s Hell, Paradice, and Purgatory, to *Henry* the IVth, tells that Prince, that the Word *Butcher* ought not to be taken in a literal Sense; 'For *Dante*, who during 'his Exile resided a long time in *Paris*, could not 'be ignorant of our manner of speaking. When 'a Prince is a little more rigorous than ordinary in 'executing Justice upon Malefactors, we say he has 'made *une grande boucherie*. —— *A great piece of* 'Butchery; and so our Poet calls *Hugh the Great*, 'Earl of *Paris*, Father of the foresaid *Hugh Capet*, 'the great Justiciary of his Time upon all Gentlemen, Criminals, and Rebels, the Butcher of *Paris*, 'as I prove more fully in the Annotations, and as 'some of our Chronologers, quoting this Passage, 'have rightly observed.' This Explication is altogether as ridiculous as *Dante*'s Fiction. Without doubt, he took the Word *Butcher* literally. I am not certain whether any Lampooner led him the way, or he himself was the first Author of this silly Story; however, it is certain several have propagated it: So true is it that there is no Falsehood, how absurd soever, but will be handed down from Book to Book, and from Age to Age. 'Lie boldly, print 'all the Extravagances you can think of, *may one* 'say to the saltriest News-writer in Europe, and you 'will find Fools enough to copy from you: And if 'you are discountenanced at one time, Conjunctures 'will happen, when some will find an Interest in 'reviving your Credit (3).' *Papyrius Masso* has a Passage in his Annals, which proves that other Authors were of the same Opinion with *Dante*. 'Itali 'quidam Hugonem humili genere natum scripsere, 'seu ignorantia, seu odio. Dantes poeta illum Parisiensis Beccai filium fuisse canit, quæ vox lanium 'sonat. Is Florentia à Carolo Valesio pulsus Philippum pulchrum & Francos oderat, ut recte in mentem venerit Volaterrano, Dantis opinionem refellere, etsi Ricordanus & Villaneus in Hetruscis Annalibus id quoque à Pluribus literis mandatum affirmant (4) —— *Some* Italian *Writers have affirmed, either ignorantly or maliciously, that* Hugh *was meanly born.* Dante *the Poet calls him the Son of a Butcher in* Paris. *But this Author, as* Volaterranus *rightly observes, in refuting this Opinion of his,*

(3) See Citation (68).

(4) Papyr. Masso, Annal. lib. iii.

had been expelled Florence *by* Charles de Valois, *and so was highly incensed against* Philip the Fair *and the* French. *Although* Ricordanus *and* Villani *in their Annals of* Tuscany *affirm, that the same thing has been published by a great many others.*' See the following Remark.

[*B*] Francis *the first is said to have fallen into a violent Passion, when he understood* Dante *had expressed himself in that manner.*] 'This Passage in *Dante* 'being read and explained to *Francis* the First of 'that Name, by *Lewis Alleman*, an *Italian*, he 'was so provoked at the Imposture, that he com-'manded the Book to be taken away, and was even 'thinking of prohibiting the reading it throughout 'his Dominions.' *Pasquier*, after having said this, advances a Conjecture as insignificant as that before recited. 'To excuse this Author, *says he* (5), I 'would say, that, by the Word *Butcher*, he 'would be understood, that *Capet*'s Father was a 'very valiant Soldier. —— In the same manner I 'have read that *Oliver de Clisson* was called Butcher, 'by the *French*, because he gave no Quarter to any 'of the *English*, but put every Man of them to the 'Sword.' He adds, that the Protestants called *Francis de Lorrain*, Duke of *Guise*, a Butcher. If *Pasquier* had considered what followed, and preceeded, this Passage of *Dante*, he would never have imagined, that this Poet intended to say *Capet* was *the Son of a great and valiant Soldier*; for this could never be thought a Reflexion, as it is plain *Dante* intended it, on *Hugh Capet*. Upon some Occasions a simple Narration would be sufficient. If *Pasquier* had been content to say, that *Francis the First* was angry at *Dante*, and that this Poet's whimsical Abuse, though he writ it by the way, as minding something else, served for a Foundation to other Authors, he had been justly commended. He quotes *Francis de Pillon*, 'more conversant in Taverns and 'tippling Houses than in good Books (6), who has 'said in some part of his Works,

(5) Pasquier, Recherches, lib. vi, cap. i.

(6) Id ibid. lib. iv, cap. i.

Si feusse des hoirs de Capet
Qui fut extrait de boucherie.

If I was the great Capet's *Heir,*
Who had a Butcher for his Sire.

'He adds, *that* Agrippa —— upon this fundamental Mistake, has declaimed very impudently against 'our *Capet*'s Genealogy (7).' And yet, how unreasonable soever *Pasquier*'s Conjecture may appear, it has been espoused by Mr *Bullart*. *Stephen Pasquier*, said he (8), 'having fixed a juster Sense and 'more reasonable Explication on this grand Poet's 'Expression, is of Opinion that he used the Word 'metaphorically, and that by the Word Butcher he 'meant that *Capet* was the Son of a famous Warrior. 'Mr *Bullart* says just before, that *Francis the First* 'was displeased with *Dante* to that Degree, that he 'commanded the Book to be taken away from him, 'and was thinking to prohibit it in his Kingdom.' I know a Person, who affirms, that this is misunderstanding *Pasquier*'s *French*: For, says he, that Author means by those Words, that *Francis the First* gave order to have this Passage concerning *Hugh Capet* struck out of *Dante*'s Book. It is very strange *Francis the First* should order a Book he did not like to be taken away from him. Why did he not throw it away? He must have been more effeminate than a *Sybarite* (9), to have charged another Person with the easing him of such a Burthen as this: he might as well have commanded one to beat a Flie from his Face which had stung him, and to put the Meat into his Mouth at his Meals, to save the Trouble of using his own Hands. But, with Submission to this Gentleman, the Bluntness, Bravery, and martial Spirit of That Prince, might very well move him to command another to remove out of his Sight a Book which offended him. Nor was it himself who held the Book, but, in all probability,

(7) *In his Book* De Vanitate Scientiarum. cap. de Nobilitate.

(8) Academie des Sciences, Tom. II, p. 307.

(9) *See in* Athenæus, lib. xii, pag. 530, *a wonderful Example of Luxury in a certain* Sybarite.

an *Italian* Maſter, who was reading it. The Truth of the matter is, that he had ordered this Poet to be read to him by an ingenious *Italian* Refugee (10). This clears up the whole Difficulty.

(10) Aloiſio Alamanni. *I have mentioned him in the Article* MACHIAVEL, *in Remark* [C].

CAPYCIUS (Scipio), in *Italian Capece*, deſcended from an ancient Family in *Naples* (*a*), rendered himſelf famous in the XVIth Century by his Writings [*A*]. He was very much eſteemed by *Iſabella Villamarini*, Princeſs of *Salerno*, on whom he beſtowed great Commendations [*B*]: The chief of his Poems is that wherein he philoſophizes on the Principles of Nature; it was printed at *Venice*, with another Poem of the ſame Author, upon St *John* Baptiſt, by *Paulus Manutius*, in the Year 1546 (*b*). *Gyraldus* has been very much blamed for mentioning *Capycius* as an indifferent Poet [*C*].

(*a*) Lorenzo Craſſo, Elog. Tom. II, pag. 176.

(*b*) See the Remark [*B*].

[*A*] *He rendered himſelf famous by his Writings.*] They chiefly conſiſted of Poetry. The following was in Proſe: *Magiſtratuum regni Neapolitani cum Romanorum Magiſtratibus comparatio.* Of four Elogies he publiſhed, the firſt was addreſſed to Cardinal *Antony Perrenot*, Vice-Roy of *Naples*; the ſecond to Cardinal *Sacripante*; the third to *John Baptiſta Caſtaldi*, Marquis of *Caſſano*; the fourth had for it's Subject the Misfortunes of the Author, and thoſe of the Age he lived in (1). Some of his Epigrams are of his own Invention; others are Imitations of the *Anthologia*. His Poem upon the Life of Jesus Christ was never printed, which was owing to the Negligence of a Friend, who had the Manuſcript after the Author's Death, and did not care to publiſh it (2). You will find in the following Remark what relates to his two beſt Poems.

(1) Nella quarta finalmente deplora le miſerie ſue, e del ſuo ſecolo. *Lorenzo Craſſo, Elog. Tom. II, pag. 178.*

(2) Taken from *Lorenzo Craſſo, ibid.*

[*B*] *He was very much eſteemed by* Iſabella Villamarini, - - - - - *on whom he beſtowed great Commendations.*] *Paulus Manutius* is my Author for this, who ſays, that this Lady, having preferred the Study of Letters to all other Purſuits, ſurpaſſed her Sex as much in Learning as ſhe did in Birth and Beauty, and that, for this Reaſon, ſeveral Poets, and *Capycius* in particular, had made choice of her for the principal Subject of their Elogies. And it is upon this Account *Manutius* believed, that, in dedicating *Capycius*'s Poems to her, he ſhould make her a very acceptable Preſent, and thereby procure her Eſteem. His *Latin* is fine enough to deſerve a Quotation in this Place. ' Effeciſti ſtudio tu quidem, ſed ingenio magis, ut cum eſſes omnium nobiliſſima, omniumque pulcherrima (quorum alterum majorum tuorum, maximèque Viri tui, Principis omni laude cumulati, magnis rebus teſtata virtus, alterum benigniſſima tibi natura dedit) eadem & ſis, & habearis omnium doctiſſima. Hinc illa ad te colendam ſingularis omnium propenſio, hinc multorum Poetarum, quibus graviſſima Regum bella magni operis argumentum ſuppeditare poterant, ad te canendum traducta ingenia: Hinc Capycius ille tuus, tuarum laudum laudatiſſimus Præco, qui te admiratur unam, qui obſervat, qui cum de te multa, & vera prædicavit, ità concludit, unam habere quæ notabilia ſint omnia. - - - - - - Hoc opus, & quia ſcriptum eſt a tui ſtudioſiſſimo, & quia verſibus te dignis, id eſt, luculentiſſimis, non hercle dubito, quin à me miſſum avidè accipias, ſic inquam, ut de iſto me munere ames plurimum (3). - - - - *Such are the Effects of your Studies, or rather of your Genius, that you, who are the moſt noble, and moſt beautiful (the firſt of which is owing to the great Virtue and heroic Atchievements of your Anceſtors, and particularly of the Prince your Conſort, who has received the higheſt commendations, the laſt is the gift of indulgent Nature) are alſo become the moſt learned of your Sex. Hence it is that you are ſo particularly adored by all the World; Hence it is that ſo many Poets neglect the great Theme of the Wars of Kings, and chooſe to ſing your Praiſes: Hence it is that your* Capycius, *the celebrated Publiſher of your Excellencies, who admires and adores you only, and who, after having truly ſaid a great many fine Things of you, thus concludes, that in you only appears every valuable Qualification.* - - - - - *I make no doubt but my preſenting this Work to you, whoſe Author was the the greateſt Admirer of you, and whoſe Verſes are very worthy of you, will be extremely agreeable, and intitle me to your Eſteem.*' This we find at the Head of the Poem *de Principiis Rerum*, printed at *Venice* in 1546, with another Poem under the Title *De Vate maximo libri tres* (4), and which had been printed before; for *Geſner* mentions it in a Book he publiſhed in 1545. *Scipionis Capycii Viri doctiſſimi de Vate maximo libri tres erudito carmine conſcripti, quod cum veterum etiam Majeſtate conferri queat, ut habet inſcriptio. Joan. Operinus excudit nuper* (5). *Baſiliæ cum aliis quibuſdam Chriſtianis Poëmatiis* (6). *Nicodemo* therefore is miſtaken, when he ſays in regard to theſe two Poems, that this Edition of *Manutius* was the firſt (7); which holds true only in that *De Rerum Principiis*. He finds fault with Father *Oldoini*, for ſaying that Cardinal *Pompey Colonna* (8) had highly commended *Iſabella Filomarini*, the Prince of *Salerno*'s Wife. His Reaſon is, becauſe that Prince's Wife was called *Iſabella Villamarini*. That is the Name *Manutius* has given her. *Niphus* has alſo mentioned her under the ſame Name, upon an Occaſion well worth the Reader's Knowledge. He ſays this Lady loved her Huſband ſo tenderly, that ſhe had a mind to accompany him to the Army, but could not obtain his Permiſſion. Finding her ſelf therefore ſeparated from her dear Lord, ſhe ſpent her Days in Sorrow, but her Nights in Pleaſure; for her Dreams repreſented him as preſent to her, for which Reaſon ſhe wiſhed the Sun might never riſe again. This will read better in the Original. ' Id quod in Iſabella Villamarina Salerni ' Principe, quæ flos redolentiſſimus noſtri ævi eſt ' puellarum, corporiſque & animi formæ ſingulare ' exemplum, eſt videre. Hæc cùm Ferrandum ' Sanſeverinum conjugem flagrantiſſimè deperiret, ' unaque in militiam proficiſci arderet, quia ab eo ' ob pericula & labores fuit denegatum, nullam teſtatur Heroinæ religioſiſſimæ, aut raram eſſe noctem, qua cum dulciſſimo viro in ſomnis non conjunctiſſimè vivat, fabuletur ac delicietur, ut omnibus votis exoptaret perpetuas eſſe noctes, (cùm illum totos dies ſuſpiret) & in Epimenidem transformari, quæ de Alceſte & Laodamia fabulata eſt veteres tuſtas (9).' The Book, from whence this Paſſage is taken, was finiſhed *November* the third, 1529. This, without doubt, was the Lady ſo much praiſed by Cardinal *Colonna*, and therefore Father *Oldoini* was only miſtaken in that he took *Filomarini* and *Villamarini* to be at the bottom the ſame thing. *Jerom Ruſcelli*, who has praiſed this Princeſs very much, calls her *Iſabella Vigliamarina*. Here is a part of his Elogy. She poſſeſſes, ſays he, ſo many more than humane Beauties both of Body and Mind, that, if Nature were to exert her utmoſt Efforts (10), ſhe might perhaps form a Woman who might equal her, in the whole, or in ſome part, but ſhe could not make one who would ſurpaſs her in the leaſt. *Sanſovino* alſo calls her *Iſabella Vigliamarina* (11).

(3) Paulus Manutius Epiſt. Dedicator. Poëmatis Capycii de Rerum Principiis ad Iſabellam Villamarinam Salernitani Principis conjugem. *This Epiſtle of* Manucius *has been printed apart, with his other* Prefaces, *at* Paris, 1579, *and elſewhere.*

(4) Vid. Nicodemo Addiz. alla Biblioth. Napoletana, pag. 226.

(5) That is, in 1542.

(6) Geſn. in Biblioth. fol. 592.

(7) Nicod. Addiz. alla Bibl. Napol pag. 226.

(8) See the Article of this Cardinal, towards the end of the Text.

(9) Auguſt. Niphus, de Amore, cap cii, pag. 426. *Edit.* Paris, 1645.

(10) Per fare un eſtreme delle ſue forze. *Ruſcelli Lettura ſopra un Sonetto del Marcheſe della Terza, fol.* 40.

(11) In his Book of *Italian* Families, fol. 200, verſo.

As to the reſt, *Capycius* makes the Air the Principle of all Things, and refutes the Atomiſts, and thoſe who admit four Elements, as alſo thoſe who hold, with *Thales*, that all Bodies proceed from Water, or with *Heraclitus*, that they proceed from Fire (12).

(12) Lorenzo Craſſo, Elog. Tom. II, pag. 177.

[*C*] Gyraldus *has been very much blamed for mentioning him as an indifferent Poet.*] He deſerves, ſaid he, ſome Place among the Poets (13). *Nicodemo* thinks this too cold a Commendation (14), to which he oppoſes what *Bembus* and *Manucius* have wrote in Favour of *Capycius*, though he allows this to be in the other extreme (15). He quotes *Gaddi* who takes *Gyraldus*'s Judgment to be too ſevere (16). See Mr *Baillet* in the third Tome of the *Judgments on the Poets, numero* 1277, and the two Letters (17) before *Donatus*'s *Virgil*, publiſhed in 1535.

(13) In aliquo Poetarum numero cenſendus eſt. *Gyraldus Dial. 2. de Poëtis ſui temporis apud Ioan. Nicodem.* Add. alla Bibl. Nap. pag. 225.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Ibid. pag. 226.

(16) Gaddi de Scriptor. non Eccleſ. Tom. I, pag. 14.

(17) *You will find them in* Nicodemo, Addalla Bibl. Nap. pag. 227, 228.

CAPILUPUS (CAMILLUS), a Native of *Mantua*, lived in the XVIth Century. He compoſed a Book intituled *The Stratagem* (*a*), wherein he relates, not only what happened at *Paris* during *St Bartholomew*'s Maſſacre, but alſo the artificial Preparations, which preceeded that horrible Execution, and which, by a long Train of Intrigues, enſnared the *Huguenots*. This Work, publiſhed at *Rome*, in the Year 1572 (*b*), was ſoon after tranſlated into *French*. It contains a great many Falſities (*c*). The Court of *France* ought not to have been pleaſed with it, becauſe they endeavoured to make it believed that this Maſſacre was not premeditated (*d*). *Capilupus* is reckoned among the *Latin* Poets. He had two Brothers, one of which, named *Hippolytus*, was Biſhop of *Fano* (*e*); the other, named *Lelius*, ſignalized himſelf by the Centos of *Virgil*. You will find this in *Thuanus*, quoted by *Moreri*. I ſhall alſo ſay ſomething of this in the Remark [*A*]. Obſerve that Mr *Moreri* has very wrongly quoted the Twenty ſecond Book of *Thuanus*, and *Miræus*, in regard to *Camillus Capilupus*.

(*a*) Thuan. lib. iii, pag. 108.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Ibid.

(*d*) Sane ingenioſi ſunt Itali & Hiſpani, qui hæc tradunt, dum noſtri profundam ſuam calliditatem & præſtigiarum prudentiam in hoc facto affingere conantur; quod tamen noſtri auſint tanquam ex occaſione natum, neque ante præmeditatum tam artificioſe excuſant, *Id. ibid.*

(*e*) Teiſſier, Addit. aux Elog. Tom. I, p. 179.

(*f*) Thuan. lib. xvi, ſub. fin. pag. 538.

(*g*) Poſſevin. Bibl. ſelect. lib. xvii cap. xxiv. pag. 437.

(*h*) Ghilini Teatro, Tom. I, pag. 245.

(*i*) It was his native Country.

(*k*) Ghilini, Teatro, Tom. I, pag. 145.

(6) Poſſevin, Bibl. ſelect. lib. xvii, cap. xxiv, pag. 437.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Aubert Miræus, de Scriptor. ſæc. 16, pag. 99.

(9) Baillet, Judgment on the Poets, Tom. II, n. 1390, p. 277.

(10) Teiſſier, Addit aux Elog. Tom. I, p. 179.

(11) Borrichius, Diſſert. de Poet. pag. 96.

[*A*] *I ſhall ſay ſomething of* LELIUS CAPILUPUS *in the Remark.*] The Manner of his applying *Virgil*'s Expreſſions, to repreſent things That Poet never dreamt of, can never be ſufficiently admired: *Thuanus* (1), *Poſſevin* (2), *Ghilini* (3), and others, have happily obſerved his Addreſs. He died at *Mantua* (4), *January* the third, 1560, aged ſixty two Years and fifteen Days (5). The Cento he compoſed againſt the Monks is inimitable; it is to be met with at the end of *Naogeorgus's Regnum Papiſticum*. It was omitted in the Edition of his Centos at *Rome*, in 1590. They had been prohibited, but were ſuffered to be printed after a Retrenchment of what they thought inconvenient (6). *Julius* CAPILUPUS, his Nephew, added to them ſeveral Cento's of his own: He had a particular Talent this way, which excelled even that of his Uncle, if *Poſſevin* may be credited (7), who adds, that *Julius Roſcius Hortinus*, having illuſtrated *Auſonius*'s Rules by ſome Examples, added them to this Edition. *Miræus* (8), and *Moreri* after him, pretend that this Edition was procured by *Roſcius*; but *Poſſevin* induces us to believe the contrary. I cannot tell whether *Lelius Capilupus*'s Cento againſt the Female Sex be among them; it is a very ingenious Piece, but too ſatirical: It is inſerted in the Collection entituled *Baudii Amores*, and printed at *Leyden* in 1638. Obſerve that *Camillus*, *Hippolytus*, *Lelius*, and *Julius Capilupus*, were not all Brethren, as ſome affirm (9). Their *Latin* Poems are to be met with in the *Deliciæ Poetarum Italorum*. Mr *Teiſſier* ſays, that *Hippolytus Capilupus excelled in Satiric Poetry* (10); though others ſay that He, as well as *Julius*, and *Camillus*, excelled in the *Elegiac*. *Alio atque alio carminum genere famam ſuam propagarunt, floridiores tamen elegiacè* (11). Theſe are *Borrichius*'s Words: But he is chargeable with a conſiderable Omiſſion; he knew not that *Julius Capilupus* had ſignalized himſelf by his Centos; he mentions only thoſe of *Lelius*.

CAPISTRAN (JOHN), a Monk of the Order of St *Francis* (*a*), lived in the XVth Century. He was born in the Village of *Capiſtran* in *Italy*, in the Year 1385 (*b*). He gained a wonderful Reputation by his Zeal, Eloquence, and Manners. He was ſent into *Bohemia* to undertake the Converſion of the *Huſſites* [*A*], and preached up the Cruſade againſt the *Turks*, in *Germany*, *Hungary* [*B*], and *Poland* (*c*). He ſo effectually ſeconded, with his Tongue, the Great *Hunniades*'s Sword, that he had a great ſhare in thoſe Victories the Chriſtians obtained againſt *Mahomet*, eſpecially in that famous Battle of *Belgrade*, in the Year 1456. They were ſo evidently Partners in the Glory of thoſe great Succeſſes, that they were thought to entertain ſome ſort of Jealouſy of each other. For *Capiſtran*'s Relation of this Victory at *Belgrade* made no mention of *Hunniades*; nor did *Hunniades*'s Account ſay one Word of *Capiſtran*. *Æneas Sylvius*'s Conjecture, or Reflexions hereupon, are very judicious [*C*]. *Capiſtran* died ſoon after obtaining this Battle (*d*), and

(*a*) And not of St *Dominic*, as *Launclavius* affirms, *Pandect. cap.* cxxxiii, *cited by* Guiſlet, Hiſt. of *Mahomet* II, Tom. II, p. 431.

(*b*) Labbe de Script. Eccleſ. Tom. I, pag. 528.

(*c*) Guiſlet, Hiſt. of *Mahomet*, Tom. I, p. 288.

(*d*) Octob 3, 1456, *in the 71 Year of his Age.* Labbe, de Script. Eccl. Tom. I, p. 529.

[*A*] *He was ſent into* Bohemia, *to undertake the Converſion of the* Huſſites.] He is ſaid to have been *ſucceſsful in his Undertaking*, and to have required of them, in order to 'juſtify the Sincerity of their 'Abjuration, and do penance for their Errors, to 'take up Arms againſt *Mahomet*. It is on this Occaſion *Chalcondylas* *, ſpeaking of *Capiſtran* and of 'the *Bohemians*, affirms, from very bad authority, 'that theſe People worſhipped the God *Apollo*, and 'that *Capiſtran* delivered them out of this Idolatry (1).'

[*B*] *He preached up the Cruſade againſt the* Turks - - - *in* Hungary.] The *French* Author, I quoted in the preceding Note, obſerves, that 'Capiſtran being a *Picentine* born, his *Italian* had gained him 'the Admiration of his own Country, but was of no 'Service to him in *Hungary*, where he was not 'underſtood, inſomuch that he preached up the 'Cruſade there with very little Succeſs, not being 'able to liſt under the Banner of the Croſs above 'Five hundred Men (2).' For the ſame Reaſon, I think he muſt have been very unfit to preach in *Germany*, and *Poland*, and convert the *Huſſites*. See the laſt Remark.

[*C*] Æneas Sylvius's *Conjecture* - - - *is very judicious.*] He makes no doubt but that a ſecret Thirſt of Glory obliged them to this Silence; and from thence obſerves that it is much eaſier for humane Nature to renounce Riches and Pleaſures, than Praiſe and Honour. Each of them aſcribed the Glory to God, and acknowledged him to be the Author of the Victory; but then each appropriated to himſelf the Glory of being God's Inſtrument. Ambition and Vanity does not hinder Men from allowing God to have been the Cauſe of all; they apprehend nothing from ſuch a Rival: It is with other Men they avoid entering into Partnerſhip, and decline all Competition. Theſe are *Æneas Sylvius*'s Words, who was afterwards Pope under the Name of *Pius* II. 'Auctores victoriæ tres Joannes habiti, legatus Cardinalis, cujus auſpicio res geſta eſt, Huniades, & Capiſtranus, qui prælio interfuere. Verùm neque Capiſtranus Huniadis, neque idem Capiſtrani Huniades mentionem fecere in eis Literis, quas ambo obtenta victoria, ſive ad Romanum Pontificem, ſive ad amicos ſcripſere; per ſuum quiſquam miniſterium Deum dediſſe Chriſtianis victoriam affirmavit. Avariſſima honoris humana mens, faciliùs Regnum, & opes, quàm gloriam partitur. Potuit Capiſtranus patrimonium contemnere, voluptates calcare, libidinem ſubigere, gloriam verò ſpernere non potuit, *&c* (3).' He ſays much the ſame thing in another Book. 'Huniades & Capiſtranus huic bello interfuere, uterque rem geſtam ſcripſit, neque alterius mentionem fecit, alteruter ſolidam ſibi rei geſtæ laudem uſurpavit. Ingens dulcedo gloriæ, facilibus contemnenda dicitur, quàm contemnitur. Spreverat Capiſtranus ſeculi pompas, fugerat deliciis, calcaverat avaritiam, libidinem ſubegerat; contemnere gloriam non potuit.

* Chalcond. lib. viii.

(1) Guiſlet, Hiſt. of *Mahomet* II, Tom I, pag 374.

(2) Guiſlet, Ibid.

(3) Æneas Silvius, Hiſtor. Europæ, cap viii, pag. 403 Edit. Baſil, 1571.

and was buried at *Willak*, in *Hungary*. It is reported that there were a great many Miracles wrought at his Tomb, and that he for a time suspended the Miracles wrought by a Lay-Brother (*e*). He was canonized by Pope *Alexander* VIII, in the Month of *October*, 1690. He had been already beatified by *Gregory* XV. He is the Author of some Books [*D*]. They relate very surprizing Effects of his Eloquence [*E*]. His Body, about an Hundred Years after, when the Turks became Masters of *Sirmisch*, was removed into another Monastery; but it was torn to pieces by the Protestants, and thrown into a Well, upon their sacking that Monastery (*f*).

(*e*) See the end of Remark [*E*].

(*f*) Ilthuanffii, Hist. Hungar. lib. x, apud Spondan. ad Ann. 1456, n. 6.

'Qui summo Pontifici Bellum, atque exitium Belli describens, nulla Huniadis, nulla Cardinalis facta mentione, totum suum esse dixit, quod gestum erat, quamvis Deum in primis, victoriæ confessus fuerit auctorem. Nemo est tam sanctus, qui dulcedine gloriæ non capiatur. Faciliùs Regna Viri excellentes, quàm gloriam contemnunt, *&c* [4].' Mr *Guillet* is to be praised for the Pains he has been at to excuse these two great Men; but we are not obliged to think his Justification effectual. 'Some, *says he* (5), have attributed this mutual Silence to a secret Jealousy of each other; which made them say of *Capistran*, that of all worldly Vanities, the desire of Praise was the only one he had not subdued: Though in Justification of these great Men, it may be alledged, that they were both willing to ascribe the Triumph to God alone, without furnishing each other with a Subject for Vanity; or rather chose to expose himself to a Crime than his Friend, or lastly distrusted his Friend's Modesty, but not his own: and that very thing would be an Act of Vanity. They who would apologize for these two great Men's reciprocal Silence, by saying one was not the other's Historiographer, and that each was content to relate what he himself had executed (6), make use of a very weak Argument. If the Marshals *de Brezé* and *Chatillon* had sent *Lewis* the XIIIth an Account of the Battle of *Avein*, in which neither had made the least mention of the other, might not one safely affirm Jealousy was the Cause of this Silence?

(4) Id. Histor. Bohemiæ, pag. 238.

(5) Guillet. Hist. of *Mahom.* Tom. I, pag. 330, 331.

(6) Per suum quisquam ministerium Deum dedisse Christianis victoriam affirmavit. *Æneas Sylvius Histor. Europæ, ubi supra.*

[*D*] *He is Author of some Books.*] Of a *Speculum Clericorum*; of a Treatise *de Potestate Papæ & Concilii*; of a Book *de Pœnis Inferni & Purgatorii*; of another against the *Hussites*, and in particular against *John de Roquesane*, their Bishop (8), *&c.*

(7) Utcunque videtur ea infamia notæ liberandus, quia neuter agebat alterius historicum, sed quilibet de iis quæ per seipsum tractaverat atque perfecerat commonebat Pontificem. *Th. Raynaudus, Hagiolth. sect.* 2, *serie.* 3, *cap* xi, *pag.* 368.

(8) Bellarm. de Script. Eccles.

[*E*] *They relate surprizing Effects of his Eloquence.*] He went to *Nuremberg*, in 1452, and was received in great Pomp by the whole Clergy. He had a Pulpit erected in the middle of an open Place, where he preached against Vice, for some Days, with so much Eloquence, that he obliged the Inhabitants to throw their Cards and Dice on a Heap, and set fire to them (9), and afterwards exhorted them to the War against the *Turks*. The Year following he went to *Breslau* in *Silesia*, where he afterwards inveighed vehemently against all Instruments for Gaming, and ordered them to be brought to him and burnt. The Power of his Eloquence was not confined to these remarkable Executions upon inanimate Subjects; the Jews felt the Effects of it in a terrible manner, of whom he caused a great number to be burnt in *Silesia*, under pretence that they had been guilty of Irreverence towards the consecrated Bread. He used to preach two Hours in *Latin*; after which, another was two Hours explaining this *Latin* Sermon in the vulgar Tongue (10).

(9) Compare this with *Acts* xix, 19.

(10) Ex Theatro Pauli Freheri, pag. 89.

You will find some Particulars in the following *Latin* Passage: 'Johannes Capistranus in Germaniam descendit prædicans magno zelo verbum Dei, in Austria, Bavaria, Suevia, Thuringia, & Saxonia. Nam in Civitate Magdeburgensi, in novo foro, maxima ad illum confluente multitudine, cum esset Germannicæ Linguæ non ignarus, Latino sermone prædicabat Latinis in tertiam horam, populo solis gestibus ejus, quos ante non viderat, satis vehementer permoto. Aderat ex Germanis fratris ordinis Fratribus vir æque doctus, qui post illum non minore tempore dicens interpretabatur populo, quæ ille dixisset: moti sunt omnes, & usque adeo permoti, ut fœminæ abusum in ornatu, viri ludos, quibus tempora perdunt, Scacorum alearumque, in unum contulerint, & in eodem loco igne subdito concremârint. Fertur idem aliquot sanitatis signa fecisse, ut vulgo est creditum. Sed est in ea re sæpe loquacior fama. Hoc constat virum fuisse incredibilis in vita & moribus austeritatis & sanctitatis. Sed est spiritus ille torrens, quo tum commotus populus illa quæ diximus fecit, ut non diu perseveret. Facilè redit res in abusum, ut est hodie cernere per omnes terras & urbes (11). ——. John Capistran *went into* Germany, *preaching the Word of GOD with great Zeal in* Austria, Bavaria, Schwaben, Duringen, *and* Saxony. *For in the City of* Magdeburg, *a great Multitude resorting to him in the new Market-place; although he was not ignorant of the* German *Language, he preached to the learned Part of his Audience in* Latin *for above two Hours, the People in the mean time being extreamly moved at the sole sight of his Gestures, which were intirely new to them. There was present a* German *of the same Order and Fraternity, and equally learned, who, speaking after him, in the same length of time interpreted to the People what he had been saying. So great an Impression was made upon all, that the Women brought their superfluous Ornaments, and the Men their gaming Tables and Dice, which wasted so much of their Time, and piled them up together in the same place and burnt them. He is also reported to have performed some miraculous Cures, which are commonly credited. But in these, Fame often speaks too largely. It is certain he was a Man of incredible Sanctity and Austerity in his Life and Manners. But that Spirit, which then moved the People to do all these Things, like a Torrent was but of short Continuance. Things of this Nature easily return to their former Abuse, as may every Day be seen in all Cities and Countries.*' You will observe, I. That, according to this Author's Account, it was not at *Nuremberg* but at *Magdeburg*, that *Capistran*'s Eloquence made the People reform. II. That this Reformation did not last long. III. That common Report is not much to be trusted in respect to *Capistran*'s Miracles. IV. That as to the Austerity of his Life, there is no room to doubt, that being unquestionable. He had no occasion to fear those Jests which are applicable to fat and overgrown Pastors, who preach up Fasting and Mortification; for he was a little Man, so lean and meagre that he was nothing but Skin and Bones. *Hartmannus Scheydel*, who had seen him, says thus of him (12): 'Capistranum pusillum corpore Nurembergæ vidi, ætate senecta, annos quinque & sexaginta natum, siccum, aridum, exhaustum, sola cute nervisque & ossibus compactum: lætum tamen & in laborem fortem; sine intermissione singulis diebus prædicantem, altas ac profundas materias absolventem.'

(11) Alb. Krantzius Saxon. lib. xi, cap. xxxv, pag. 847.

(12) In sexta mundi ætate apud Sedulium Commentar. in Vitam Sancti Francisci, p. 260.

I must not forget to tell you, that his Prayers were as efficacious as his Sermons. These were so prevalent as to interrupt the Miracles which were done at the Tomb of one *Thomas* of *Florence* (13), who had been a Lay brother in a Monastery of *Franciscans*. There was reason to fear, that, whilst they were endeavouring to get St *Barnardin* canonized, the Miracles of this Lay-brother might retard the Affair. For this reason *Capistran* addressed a very fervent Prayer to him, to obtain that Interruption. He was heard: *Thomas* of *Florence*, that he might not divert the Design, or give occasion to any Accidents or Obstacles, suspended his miraculous Virtue, and did not renew it till after the Canonization of St *Bernardin*. *Spondanus* relates this Matter thus: 'Memoria dignum est, *says he* (14), quod Chronicon refert Minorum *, cum eo tempore quo de Canonizatione Bernardi ageretur, Reate defunctus quidam Thomas Florentinus ejusdem ordinis Laicus, miracu-

(13) You may observe, on this Head, that there have been Saints who have ceased doing their Miracles any longer, after being forbidden. See Mr *Basnage, History of the Church*, Tom. II, pag. 1283.

(14) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1444, n. 22, pag. 922.

* Chron. Min. lib. ii, Par. III, cap. xxviii.

'lis

' se etiam fulgeret, ne inde aliqua ratione Bernardini negotium retardaretur, Johannem de Capistrano insignem alium ejusdem ordinis patrem ante Thomæ sepulchrum prostratum, oraſſe ut tamdiu à miraculis edendis abſtineret, quoad Bernardini Canonizatio perfecta eſſet: Thomamque ceſſaſſe, atque eâ factâ rurſum continuaſſe.' This is not the only Proof that can be produced of the Reſpect which the Saints have for one another. We may venture to ſay, that St *Germain* had a Complaiſance for St *Martin*, which has all the Air of human Politeneſs. ' St *Martin*'s Relics, being ' carried all over *France*, were brought to *Auxerre*, ' and depoſited in the Church of St *Germain*, ' where they wrought a great many Miracles. The ' Religious of *Auxerre*, looking on St *Germain* to ' be as great a Saint as St *Martin*, demanded one ' half of the Offerings, which were very conſide- ' rable: but St *Martin*'s Prieſts pretended, that he ' alone performing all the Miracles which they ' ſaw, all the Alms belonged to him alone. To ' juſtify the Truth of what they had advanced, ' they deſired that a ſick Body might be placed ' between the Shrines of St *Martin* and St *Ger-* ' *main*, and then they ſhould ſee which of the two ' did the Miracle. They made tryal on a Leper, ' who was healed on that ſide which was next to ' St *Martin*, but not on that next to St *Germain*; ' after which the ſide, which ſtill remained unaf- ' fected, being turned next to St *Martin*, was alſo ' healed. *This was not*, ſays Cardinal *Baronius*, ' *becauſe St* Germain *was not as great a Saint as* ' *St* Martin, *or could not work as many Miracles; but,* ' *becauſe St* Martin *had done him the Favour of a Viſit,* ' *he ſuſpended the Power he had with* GOD, *in* ' *order the better to receive his Gueſt* (15).'

(15) Bourſault, Lettres Novelles, pag. 397, 398. Edit. of Holl. 1698.

CAPISUCCHI, a Family in *Rome*, which has produced, within theſe latter Centuries, ſeveral Perſons of Worth, as will be ſeen in the following Articles, and as appears more fully demonſtrated in the Hiſtory of this Family, publiſhed by *Vincent Armannus*; and in the Genealogy of it, compoſed by *Ughelli*. See alſo Father *Tarquin Gallucci*, in his firſt Book *de Bello Belgico*.

CAPISUCCHI (Blasius), Marquis of *Monterio*, General of the Pope's Forces at *Avignon*, towards the end of the XVIth Century, rendered himſelf famous by his Courage and Knowledge in the Art of War. He performed a very remarkable Action, during the Siege of *Poitiers*, in 1569 [*A*]. Pope *Pius V.* has expreſsly mentioned it in a Bull (*a*). Others ſpeak of it a little too rhetorically [*B*]. This *Roman* Gentleman then ſerved in a Company of *Arquebuſiers*, under *Paul Sforza*, Brother to the Marquis *de Santa-Fiore* (*b*). After that he ſerved in the *Low-Countries*, under the Duke of *Parma* (*c*), who ſent him to the Relief of *Cologne*, in 1584, during the War with *Gebhard Truchſes*, an Elector, who was a Proteſtant, and married. *Capiſucchi* made a great Noiſe in that Country [*C*]. He was afterwards Lieutenant-General of the Duke of *Florence*'s Forces, and commanded thoſe of the Pope at *Avignon*, and in the *Venaiſſin* County (*d*). There is preſerved in

(a) Strada de Bello Belg. Dec. II, lib. v.

(b) Davila, lib. v.

(c) Strada de Bello Belg. Dec. II, lib. v. ad Ann. 1584.

(d) Proſper Mandoſius, Bibl. Romana, pag. 226.

[*A*] *He performed a very remarkable Action during the Siege of* Poitiers, *in* 1569.] The Proteſtants were beſieging *Poitiers*, and had already thrown a Bridge over the River in order to an Aſſault. *Capiſucchi*, accompanied by two other expert Swimmers, threw himſelf into the River, and getting under the Bridge, cut in ſeveral places the Tyes which joined the Pieces of it together (1). By this means the Bridge was immediately carried away with the Stream, to the great Advantage of the Beſieged.

(1) Davila, lib. v.

[*B*] *Others ſpeak of it a little too rhetorically*] This Action is repreſented as much more glorious by *Strada* than by *Davila*. The laſt tells us, that, whilſt *Capiſucchi* and his Companions ſwam under the Bridge, in the Night-time, in order to disjoint it, ſeveral Alarms were given to the Enemy by a Sally under the Command of *Farvaques*, and a great Fire of the Artillery; by which means the Beſiegers were ſo taken up, as not to obſerve the Ruin of their Bridge. They, who ſupplied Father *Strada* with his Memoirs, thought there was nothing extraordinary in ſuch an Action as this: they eſteemed it more proper to expoſe *Capiſucchi* to a terrible Shower of Musket-ſhot, and to place him above *Horatius Cocles*, one of the three Heroes of ancient *Rome*, in the War with *Porſenna*. Let us hear this eloquent Hiſtorian: ' Ob iteratas Colonienſium ac ' Septemviri literas, addiderat Blaſium Capiſuccum, ' quem paulo ante ſclopetariorum equitum, mox ' & lanceariorum turmæ præfecerat, commendatum ' à famâ præclari facinoris, quo in Pictavienſi ob- ' ſidione, quum Hugonoti ad invadendam urbem ' flumini pontem injeciſſent, ipſe aquis immerſus ' crebra inter hoſtium miſſilia grandi cultro pon- ' tem intercidit, atque aditum ſubeuntibus inter- ' rupit. Veteris illius Romani patriâ non indignus, ' niſi quod ille poſt ſectum aliorum opera pontem ' tum fluminis periculum ſubiit urbis ſuæ ab hoſti- ' bus jam ſecurus; hic à diſcrimine in aquis exorſus ' ſuis pontem manibus perfregit, hoſtibus à patria ' ſubmotis aliena, meritus ut facti memoriam Ro- ' manus Pontifex ſanctioribus literis inſeruerit (2). ' ---- *At the repeated Inſtances of the Inhabitants* ' of Cologn, *and of the Elector, he ſent them* ' Blaſius Capiſucchi, *to whom he had a little before* ' *given the Command of a Troop of Horſe Muſketeers,* ' *and ſince alſo of another of Pikemen, and who* ' *was famed for his heroic Exploit at the Siege of* ' Poitiers, *when he threw himſelf into the River,* ' *and, amidſt the repeated Volleys of the Enemy, cut* ' *away the Bridge the Huguenots had laid over the* ' *River in order to aſſault the Town, and interupted* ' *the Paſſage of thoſe who were going over it. An* ' *Action which will make him worthy to be com-* ' *pared with his Countryman, that famous old Ro-* ' *man, with only this Difference, that* Cocles *did* ' *not plunge himſelf into the Waves, till the Bridge* ' *had been broke down behind him by others, and* ' *his own City ſecured from the Enemy; but* ' Capiſucchi *braved the Danger of the Stream* ' *from the firſt, and broke away the Bridge* ' *with his own Hand, and all this to ſave a Place* ' *belonging to a foreign Nation; an Action which* ' *has had the Honour to be recorded in the Pope's* ' *Bulls.*' He quotes, in the Margin, a Bull of *Pius* V, dated *May* 10, 1567. He is miſtaken in the Year, ſince the Siege did not happen till two Years after: But this is not his greateſt Fault. He pretends the Bridge was broken in ſpite of the Aſſailants Fire, whilſt they were upon it in order to throw themſelves into the Town. This favours more of the Orator than of the Hiſtorian, ſince *Davila* affirms the contrary.

(2) Strada de Bello Belg. Dec. II, lib. v. pag. 305.

[*C*] *The Duke of* Parma *ſent him to the Relief of* Cologne, ----- *he made a great Noiſe in that Country.*] ' Blaſio Capiſucco mandavit ut cum ſua ' lancearíorum turma ---- per Agrippinenſem Pro- ' vinciam ac præcipuè per Bonnenſem agrum in- ' feſtis ſignis excurreret, ----- quod ille prævia ' ſui famâ quæ multa per eos Rheni tractus, ſtre- ' nuè ac feliciter peregit, *&c* (3). ---- *He com-* ' *manded* Blaſius Capiſucchi *to commit Hoſtilities* ' *with his Troop of Pikemen through the Territo-* ' *ries of* Cologn, *and eſpecially through thoſe of* ' Bon, ---- *which he bravely and ſucceſsfully per-* ' *formed by the great Fame he had already acquired* ' *in that Country.*'

(3) Ibid. pag. 321.

[*D*] *He*

in the Archives of the *Vatican*, a Volume of his Letters, written to Cardinal *Aldobrandini*, Nephew to *Clement* VIII. He had a Brother named *Camillus* [*D*].

[*D*] *He had a Brother named* Camillus.] This *Camillus CAPISUCCHI*, Marquis of *Puy-Catin*, was a famous Soldier in the XVIth Century. He gave a great many Proofs of his Valour in the Battle of *Lepanto*, which occasioned *John* of *Austria* to give him the Command of Four hundred Gentlemen on board his own Ship, in his Expedition to *Tunis*, two Years after (4). He signalized himself often in the Low-Country Wars, where the Duke of *Parma* made him Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, in 1584 (5). After several Campaigns under so great a Master, he was thought fit to command the Pope's Troops in *Hungary*, which he discharged with a great deal of Reputation. He died there in the beginning of *November*, 1597, of a Sickness contracted by the great Fatigue he went through, to prevent the fatal Consequences apprehended from the breaking a Bridge built over the *Danube*. He was then in his sixtieth Year. He was a great Master in the Mathematics, and in Fortification, and writ a Book *De Officio Præfecti Castrorum*, which remains in the Closet of his Heirs. Several of his Letters, written to Cardinal *Aldobrandini*, *Clement* the VIIIth's Nephew, are deposited in the Archives of the Vatican. His Tomb and Epitaph are to be seen in the Church of the Holy Cross, at *Vienna* (6). His Exploits in *France*, under the Duke of *Parma*, are particularly described by *William Dondini*, the Jesuit, in the History of that Duke's Expeditions in order to succour the *League*.

(4) Ru. ad Ann. 1584.

(5) Id. Strada passim.

(6) See Prosperi Mandosio's Bibl. Romana.

CAPISUCCHI (JOHN ANTONY), Cardinal by the Title of St *Pancrace*, afterwards of the Holy Cross of *Jerusalem*, and last of all of St *Clement*; raised himself by degrees to the Purple. He was Canon of the *Vatican*, and afterwards Auditor of the *Rota*, under Pope *Paul* III. He was made Cardinal and Bishop of *Lando* by *Paul* IV, who likewise placed him on the Bench of the Inquisition. He was made Prefect of the Signature of Grace under *Pius* V, and Governor of *Gualdo*, with the Character of Apostolical Legat. He died the Twenty ninth of *January*, 1569, in his Fifty fourth Year. He published some Constitutions for his Diocese, and a Synod (*a*).

(*a*) Ex Bibl. Rom. Prosperi Mandosii.

CAPISUCCHI (PAUL), rendered himself famous in the XVIth Century, by Employments and Negotiations. He was Canon of the *Vatican*, Referendary of both the Signatures, Auditor of the *Rota*, Bishop of *Neocastro*, Vicar-General to *Clement* VII, and *Paul* III, Prefect of the Signature of Grace, and Vice-Legat of *Umbria*. He composed the Disturbances which were raised in *Perugia*, and brought that City again under Obedience to the Pope. He was no less successful at *Avignon*, under the Pontificat of *Paul* III; for, by his Prudence and Authority, he dispersed the Faction which divided that State, and re-established universal Peace and Loyalty. He was made choice of by *Clement* VII, to examine into, and report, that nice Affair of *Henry* VIII's Divorce. He was then Dean of the *Rota* (*a*), and it appears by the Volume of his Decisions, that he was no Friend to the King of *England*'s Design; for in two of his Decisions he makes it appear, that this Prince had incurred the Censures in divorcing *Katherine* of *Arragon*, and marrying another Woman in spite of the Prohibitions of the Holy See, and that Queen *Katherine* ought to be restored to her former Dignity. He published several very useful Constitutions relating to the Troubles of *Perugia* and *Avignon*, the Government wherein he was Vice-Legat, and the Clergy of his Diocese. He died at *Rome* in 1539, aged sixty Years, and was interred in the Vault belonging to his Family, by *John Antony Capisucchi*, his Nephew, Cardinal of St *Pancrace*, a Title already mentioned (*b*).

(*a*) Palavic. Histor. del Concil. lib. ii, cap. xvii.

(*b*) Ex Bibl. Rom. Prosperi Mandosii.

CAPISUCCHI (RAIMOND), raised to the Cardinalship by *Innocent* XI, the first of *September*, 1681, was Son of *Paul Capisucchi*, Marquis of *Puy-Catin*. He entered into the Order of the *Dominicans* at fourteen Years of Age. He taught Philosophy publickly at *Rome*. *Innocent* X made him Secretary to the Congregation of the *Index*, and afterwards made him Member of that for the Examination of Bishops. He made him Master of the Sacred Palace in 1654 (*a*). We have several of *Raimond Capisucchi*'s Works [*A*].

(*a*) *Taken from* Prosper. Mandosius, Bibl. Rom. Cent. v, pag. 259, 300.

(*b*) See above, Remark [C], of the Article BARON (VINCENT).

The Office of Master of the Sacred Palace was taken from him by *Alexander* VII, as I have observed elsewhere (*b*), and it was thought this Disgrace would have drawn on other more troublesome Consequences; but this Storm blew over: The Pope was convinced of his Innocence (*c*), and offered him a Bishopric; but finding him resolved to prefer the private Life of a Monk to that of a Bishop, he gave him the second Degree of Honour and Authority among the *Dominicans*.

(*c*) *See Father* Baron, Apologet. Tom. II, lib. v, pag. 343, & seq.

[*A*] *We have several of* Raimond Capisucchi's *Works.*] These are the Titles: *Controversiæ Theologicæ, Scholasticæ, Morales, Dogmaticæ, Scripturales, ad mentem Divi Thomæ Aquinatis resolutæ*; of which there is a second Edition revised and augmented by the Author. *Appendices ad controversias supradictas. Vita beati Johannis Chisi. Censura, seu Votum ad Librum de cultu, & Veneratione Sanctorum veteris Testamenti. Discursus de gradu virtutum in Sanctis canonizandis requisito.* *Mandosius's Bibliotheca Romana*, from whence this is taken, gives us a Catalogue of several Pieces of this Author which were ready for the Press. One of them is intituled, *De Contritione & Attritione*; another, *De Opinione Probabili*. It has been observed, that Father *Capisucchi* approved the Bishop of *Condom*'s *Exposition*, though it contained several Opinions contrary to his own. See the *Examen des Methodes proposées par Messieurs de l'Assemblée du Clergé de France en l'année* 1682 (1).

(1) Mr *Basnage*, who was then Minister of *Rouen*, and since that at *Rotterdam*, from the Year 1685, is Author of this excellent Piece: It was printed at *Rotterdam*, in 1684, by *Henry de Graef*, tho' the Title Page says at *Cologn*, by *Peter Marteau*. What relates to *Capisucchi*, is in pag. 313, 315.

CAPPADOCIA, a Country in *Asia*, bounded by *Cilicia*, *Armenia*, *Colchis*, the *Euxine Sea*, *Paphlagonia*, *Galatia*, &c. (a), was divided successively in different manners. *Ariarathes*, who was the first King of it [*A*], united the *Cataonians* with the *Cappadocians*. The *Persians* divided this Kingdom into two Satrapies. The *Macedonians* continued this Division [*B*], and, partly by Force, partly be Consent, permitted them to be converted into two Kingdoms, the one called simply *Cappadocia*, or *Cappadocia the Great*, the other *Pontus*, or the *Pontic Cappadocia* (b). *Cappadocia the Great* was divided into ten Provinces, and so it continued in *Strabo*'s Time, and under the Reign of *Archelaus*, after whose Death it was reduced to a *Roman* Province (c). This Country abounded in Horses, Asses, and Mules (d); and it is said also, that the she Mules here were not barren (e). From hence were brought the Horses designed peculiarly for the Person of the *Roman* Emperors, the Consuls themselves being interdicted the use of them (f). It furnished also a great Number of Slaves [*C*], false Witnesses, and transparent Stones [*D*]; but

(a) Strabo, lib. xii, init.

(b) Id. ibid. pag. 368.

(c) Id. ibid. pag. 367, 368.

(d) *Lloyd* quotes several Authors for this. See also *Bochart*'s *Phaleg. lib. iii, cap. xi.*

(e) Theophrastus vulgo putare (Mulas) in Cappadocia tradit, sed esse id animal ibi sui generis. — Theophrastus says, that the she Mules in Cappadocia usually bring forth young, but that they are there a Animals of a distinct Species. Plin. lib. viii. cap. xliv.

(f) Boch. Phaleg. lib. iii, cap. xi.

[*A*] Ariarathes, *the first King of it.*] *Strabo*, who says this (1), in some controversial Writings, never tells us when this *Ariarathes* lived; and *Diodorus Siculus* has given us reason to doubt that the first King of *Cappadocia* was not so called. We find in him, that *Atossa*, Sister to *Cambyses*, *Cyrus*'s Father, was married to *Pharnaces*, King of *Cappadocia*; and that she had a Son by him named *Gallus* (2). This *Gallus* was Father to *Smerdis*, Grandfather to *Artames*, and Great Grandfather to *Anaphas*, who left a Son of the same Name, who was the Father of a valiant Prince named *Datames*. This last, being killed in a Battle with the *Persians*, left his Dominions to his Son *Ariamnes*, who wore the Crown fifty Years, and had two Sons, *Ariarathes* and *Holophernes*. They both reigned in *Cappadocia*, and loved each other entirely. *Ariarathes*, joining with the *Persians* in the *Egyptian* Expedition, acquired in it a great deal of Reputation, and returned loaded with Honours by King *Ochus*. He left two Sons, *Ariarathes* and *Arsyas*: the eldest succeeded his Uncle *Holophernes*, who, having no Children of his own, had adopted him: There were therefore a great many Princes who reigned in *Cappadocia* before *Ariarathes* the first of that Name: Mr *Moreri*, who places only six between *Pharnaces*, and him (3), has reckoned wrong; and since he adds, that their Names are not known, it is plain he never read *Diodorus Siculus*. I cannot tell whether *Appian* had ever read him, or whether he thought him not worthy to be credited: but this I know, that he declares, he cannot tell certainly whether *Cappadocia* was governed by particular Kings of her own before the Time of *Alexander*, or was only a Province of the *Persian* Monarchy (4).

(1) Strab. lib. xii, pag. 368.

(2) Diod. Sic. in Eclog. lib. xxxi, pag. 1164.

(3) Moreri, *in the Word* Cappadocia.

(4) Appianus in Mithridat. pag. 117.

[*B*] *The Persians divided this Kingdom into two Satrapies. The* Macedonians *preserved this Division.*] This is *Strabo*'s Account (5). But we have just now seen, that *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of *Cappadocia*, as governed by one King, independent of *Persia*. I own, he says, *Anaphas* had so much Bravery as to abandon the Government rather than pay a Tribute to the *Persians*; and I believe, at the bottom, these *Cappadocian* Kings were tributary to the *Persians*: But after all he does not give the least hint of this sort of Dependance, or that *Cappadocia* contained any Satrapies of the *Persian* Monarchy, but says every thing necessary to establish the contrary Opinion. To proceed. He observes, that *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, maintained himself in the Possession of his States, whilst *Alexander* was subduing the *Persian* Monarchy, and employed in other Expeditions, which prevented his being thought of (6). *Quintus Curtius* notwithstanding affirms, that this Conqueror made himself Master of *Cappadocia*, and that he left a Governor there, on his quitting it to go in search of *Darius* (7). However, we must believe this Governor did not keep his Post long: for we read, in the same Author, that, after *Alexander*'s Death, *Eumenes* was ordered to defend *Cappadocia*, as far as *Trebisonde*, and make War with *Ariarathes*, who was the only one who held out. *Et bellum cum Arbate gereret: solus hic detrectabat imperium* (8). *Appian* thinks it very likely that *Alexander* left *Cappadocia* under the Government of her own Princes, upon Payment of a certain Tribute (9). He adds, that *Hieronymus* the Historian affirmed, that this Conqueror never so much as entered into that Country. *Mithridates* said positively, in his Orations, that *Cappadocia* was one of those Parts of *Asia*, which neither *Alexander* nor his Successors had ever attacked (10). However it be, let us resume the Thread of *Diodorus Siculus*'s Narration.

(5) Strabo, lib. xii, pag. 368.

(6) Diod. Sic. lib. xviii, cap. xvi, pag. 920.

(7) Quint. Curt. lib. iii, cap. iv.

(8) Id. lib. x, cap. x. *See* Freinshemius *upon this Passage; he proves that it ought to be read* Ariarathe, *and not* Arbate.

(9) Appian. in Mithridat. pag. 117.

After *Alexander*'s Death, his Successors would not suffer *Cappadocia* to be free from the *Macedonian* yoke. *Perdiccas* entered it with a great Army, and found *Ariarathes* disposed to defend himself at the Head of Thirty thousand Foot, and Fifteen thousand Horse. He gave *Perdiccas* Battle, lost it, was taken Prisoner, and crucified among several others; and *Eumenes* was constituted Governor of *Cappadocia*. We must here observe a Slip of *Justin*: He says, that this Victory of *Perdiccas* over *Ariarathes*, was of no advantage to the Conqueror, because the vanquished retired into the Town, put their Wives and Children to the Sword, set Fire to their Houses, and threw themselves into the midst of the Flames (11). He confounds Things. What he relates happened in *Pisidia*, at the Siege of *Isaura*, after the Reduction of *Cappadocia*, upon the Defeat and Punishment of *Ariarathes* (12). We shall see below (13), that the *Macedonian* Government continued but a very little time in this Country.

(10) Justin. lib. xxxviii, cap. vi, pag. 560.

(11) Ibid. lib. xii, cap. vi.

(12) *See* Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii, cap. xxii, *and* Grævius's Justin. Varior. pag. 309.

(13) In Remark [*F*].

[*C*] *This Country —— furnished —— a great number of Slaves.*] This appears from these words of *Tully*; *Cappadocem modo abreptum de grege venalium dicetes* (14); — *You would have thought him a* Cappadocian, *just purchased out of a String of Slaves*; and from this Passage in *Persius*,

(14) Cicero in Orat. post reditum in Senatu, cap. vi.

Vende animam lucro, mercare, atque excute solers
Omne latus mundi, ne fit præstantior alter
Cappadocas rigida pingues plausisse catasta (15).

(15) Persius, Sat. vi. ver. 74.

Go Miser, go; for Lucre sell thy Soul;
Truck Wares for Wares, and trudge from Pole to Pole:
That Men may say, when thou art dead and gone,
See what a vast Estate he left his Son!
How large a Family of brawny Knaves,
Well fed, and fat as Cappadocian *Slaves.*

We may add to this what *Horace* observes, that the King of *Cappadocia*, though destitute of Money, was rich in Slaves.

Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum Rex (16).

(16) Horat. Epist. vi. lib. I. ver. 39.

Mr *Dacier* observes, *that, whilst* Lucullus *was in* Cappadocia, *an Ox was sold but —— for six Pence, and a Man for Twenty four Pence* (17). It is remarkable, that the Slaves of this Country, and of *Cilicia* and *Crete*, were esteemed very wicked, and gave occasion for the Proverb, *Tria cappa pessima*. See *Famianus Strada's Prolusiones* (18).

(17) Dacier, *upon this Passage in* Horace, Tom. viii. pag. 327.

(18) Lib. iii, Plautina II, pag. 485.

[*D*] —— *and of false Witnesses, and transparent Stones.*] The *Cappadocians* are said from their Infancy to accustom themselves to suffer Torments, and that they tortured one another to harden themselves against those Punishments, to which their false Testimonies might one Day expose them, and to set a greater Price upon their Perjuries, in Proportion to the Hardness they had acquired. This is my Construction of these words of *Persius*'s Scholiast: 'Vel quia Cappadoces dicerentur habere studium 'naturale ad falsa testimonia proferenda: qui nutriti

but was very bare of Money [E]. The Bread of this Country was excellent (g), and the Bakers the beſt in the World (h). The *Romans*, on granting their Friendſhip to the Kings of *Cappadocia*, comprehended alſo the Inhabitants [F]; I mean, they received into their Alliance, King and People jointly. They did not uſe the ſame Method with the Kings of other Nations; for they declared them their Friends, without making any mention of the People (i). This might make it believed that the *Cappadocians* lived under a Government partly Monarchical, and partly Ariſtocratical; but I cannot eaſily come into that Opinion. This is certain, that they could not be without a King [G]. They had a great Number of *Magi*,

(g) Athen. lib. iii, pag. 123.

(h) Ibid. pag. 112.

(i) Strabo, lib. xii, pag. 372.

' in tormentis a pueritia equuleum ſibi facere dicuntur, ut in eo ſe invicem torqueant, & cum in poena perdurarent ad falſa teſtimonia ſe bene venundarent (19).' Theſe People outdid the very *Graecians*, though they had carried this Vice to a very great exceſs, if we may believe *Tully*, who attributes to them the occaſion of this Expreſſion, *Lend me your Evidence, and I will return it you.* He has ſo elegantly expreſſed the wicked Diſpoſitions of the *Grecian* Witneſſes, that I cannot forbear reciting here his beautiful Deſcription. ' Hoc dico de toto genere Graecorum: tribuo illis literas, do multarum artium diſciplinam, non adimo ſermonis leporem, ingeniorum acumen, dicendi copiam: denique etiam, ſiqua ſibi alia ſumunt non repugno. Teſtimoniorum religionem, & fidem, nunquam iſta natio coluit: totiuſque hujuſce rei quae ſit vis, quae autoritas, quod pondus ignorant. Unde illud eſt, *Da mihi teſtimonium mutuum.* Num Gallorum, num Hiſpanorum putatur? totum iſtud Graecorum eſt: ut etiam qui Graece neſciunt, hoc quibus verbis a Graecis dici ſoleat, ſciant. Itaque videte quo vultu, qua confidentia dicant: tum intelligetis qua religione dicant. Nunquam nobis ad rogatum reſpondent, ſemper accuſatori pluſquam ad rogatum: nunquam laborant, quemadmodum probent quod dicunt, ſed quemadmodum ſe expliceant dicendo. —— Graecus teſtis cum ea voluntate proceſſit ut laedat: non jurisjurandi, ſed laedendi verba meditatur. Vinci, refelli, coargui putat eſſe turpiſſimum, ad id ſe parat, nihil aliud curat. Itaque non optimus quiſque nec graviſſimus, ſed impudentiſſimus, loquaciſſimuſque deligitur (20). —— *I ſay this of the whole* Grecian *Nation: I allow them Learning, I grant them the Knowledge of many Arts, I do not deny their Eloquence, Wit, and Oratory; in ſhort if they lay claim to any other Excellencies, I ſhall not oppoſe it. But they are a People who never regarded the Faith and Sacredneſs of Teſtimonies; they are ignorant of the great Importance of this Matter. Whence comes this Saying,* Lend me your Teſtimony? *Do we owe it to the* Gauls, *or to the* Spaniards? *It is intirely* Greek, *and ſo well known, that they who are ignorant of that Language, yet underſtand this* Greek *Expreſſion. Obſerve, therefore, with what Face and Confidence they ſpeak: and then you will underſtand with what Conſcience they ſpeak. They are always ready to anſwer more than the Proſecutor asks of them, and as backward in ſatisfying the Queſtions of the other ſide: they do not concern themſelves ſo much how they may prove what they ſay, as how they may expreſs what they are to ſay.* —— *A* Greek *Witneſs undertakes to do an Injury; and therefore conſiders not how to ſwear true, but how to effect his injurious Purpoſe. To be defeated, confuted, and diſproved, is with them eſteemed the moſt ignominious: againſt this they guard themſelves, and conſider nothing farther. For this reaſon thoſe of them are made choice of, not who are the beſt and moſt reputable, but who are moſt hardened and loquacious.*' This puts me in mind of a Story I have heard a hundred times, that there is a Province in *France* (21), where this is a uſual Requeſt among the Gentlemen, *Pray lend me your Witneſſes for a few Days*; and where there are People, who, if you ask what Buſineſs they follow, will anſwer, *Sir, I am a Witneſs at your Service.*

(19) Schol. Perſ. in hoc verſu, Sat. vi. ver. 77. Cappadoces rigida pinguem plauſiſſe cataſta.

(20) Cicero Orat. pro L. Flacco, circa init.

(21) See Mr *de Brieux*'s Treatiſe on the Origin of ſome Proverbs.

As for the tranſparent Stones found in *Cappadocia*, I ſhall only quote *Pliny*. ' Hiſpania hunc *(ſpecularem lapidem)* olim citerior tantum dabat, nec tota, ſed intra centum millia paſſuum circa Segobricam urbem; jam & Cypros, & Cappadocia, & Sicilia, & nuper inventum Africa: Poſt-ferendos omnes tamen Hiſpaniae, & Cappadociae, molliſſimis, & ' ampliſſimae magnitudinis, ſed obſcuris (22). —— *This* (tranſparent Stone) *was formerly found only in the nearer* Spain, *nor in every place of that, but within a hundred Miles round the City* Siguença: *but now it is to be met with in* Cyprus, Cappadocia, *and* Sicily, *and lately in* Africa. *But the worſt of all are thoſe of* Spain, *and* Cappadocia, *being the ſofteſt, and largeſt, but not the cleareſt.*' He adds, that in *Nero*'s Time there was diſcovered, in *Cappadocia*, a ſort of Stone as hard as Marble, white, and tranſparent (23), called *Phengites*. *Nero* made a great uſe of them in his Buildings (24). *Domitian*, who lived in fear of Conſpiracies, and was willing to obſerve what paſſed behind him, ordered the Galleries, in which he uſed to walk, to be caſed with this Stone (25).

(22) Plin. lib. xxxvi, cap. xxii.

(23) Translucens etiam qua parte fulvae incideram venae. —— *Tranſparent in it's yellow Veins.* Plin. lib. xxxvi. cap. xxii.

[E] *It was very bare of Money.*] The Verſe, before quoted from *Horace* (26), is a Proof of this. Mr *Dacier* confirms it by the Cheapneſs of Oxen and of Men, and by obſerving that the *Cappadocians paid their Tribute to the great King in Horſes and Mules* (27). He does not forget *Tully*, who, *ſpeaking of* Cappadocia, *and it's King* Ariobarzanes, *ſays, Et mehercule ego ita judico nihil illum regno ſpoliatum, nihil rege egentius. Indeed I am of opinion no Kingdom is poorer than* Cappadocia, *no King more indigent* (28). *Cicero* was then Governor of *Cilicia*. He obſerves, that *Ariobarzanes* was too much in debt to be able to clear all at once with *Brutus* and *Pompey*. He paid *Pompey*'s Agent Thirty three *Attic* Talents a Month, and yet that did not ſatisfy the Intereſt. He was obliged to impoſe Taxes; for he had no ordinary Revenues: and what was thus raiſed was ſo far exhauſted, that he was unable to anſwer his other Creditors (29). ' Alii neque ſolvit quicquam nec poteſt ſolvere, nullum enim aerarium, nullum veſtigal habet. Appii (30) inſtituto tributa imperat, ea vix in foenus Pompeii quod ſatis fit efficiunt (31).' Though he was very poor (32), he paid at laſt near a hundred Talents in one Year to *Brutus*, and promiſed to pay two hundred to *Pompey* at the end of ſix Months (33).

(24) Id. ibid.

(25) Sueton. In Domit. cap. xlv.

(26) Citat. (16).

(27) Dacier, Remarq. ſur Horace Tom. VIII. pag. 327.

(28) Cicer. Epiſt. I. lib. vi. ad Atticum.

(29) Id. ibid.

(30) He was *Cicero*'s Predeceſſor in the Government of *Cilicia*.

(31) Cicero, Epiſt. I. lib. vi. ad Atticum.

[F] *The* Romans, *on granting their Friendſhip to the Kings of* Cappadocia, *comprehended alſo the Inhabitants.*] The firſt *Cappadocian* King, who had the Advantage to be declared a Friend of the *Romans*, had joined with *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*; he aſked Pardon of the Republic after that Monarch's Defeat, and offered to expiate his Fault with a Sum of Money. He was condemned to pay two hundred Talents; but at the Requeſt of *Eumenes*, King of *Pergamus*, his Son-in-law, he obtained a great Abatement: He was excuſed for one Moiety of that Sum, and admitted to the Friendſhip of the *Romans*. ' Legati —— ab Ariarathe rege Cappadocum venerunt ad veniam petendam, luendamque pecunia noxam, quod auxiliis Antiochum juviſſet. Ei C C talenta argenti ſunt imperata (34). —— Ariarathes rex parte dimidiâ pecuniae imperatae, Eumenis beneficio, cui deſponderat per eos dies filiam, remiſſa, in amicitiam eſt acceptus (35).' From that time forward he was faithful to their Intereſts, together with his Father-in-law. See the Margin: you will there find his Inclinations during the War they made with the laſt *Macedonian* King (36).

(32) Erat enim Rex perpauper. *Id. ibid.*

(33) Id. ibid.

(34) Tit. Liv. lib. xxxviii, cap. xxxvii.

(35) Id. ibid. cap. xxxix.

[G] —— *they could not be without a King.*] The Royal Family being extinct, they refuſed the Privilge offered them by the *Romans* of being a free People, and ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome* to declare, that Liberty was inſupportable to them, and to deſire a King. Προσευξάμενοι τὴν μὲν ἐλευθερίαν παραιτοῦντο· οὐ γὰρ δύνασθαι φέρειν αὐτὴν ἔφασαν, βασιλέα δ' ἐξεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀποδεχθῆναι. *Miſſis legatis libertatem repudiaverunt, ut quam ſibi diceret eſſe intolerabilem, regem ſibi dari poſtulaverunt.*

(36) Ariarathes Cappadocum Rex praeterquam quod Romanis ſuo nomine auxilia polliciſus erat, ex quo eſt junctus Eumeni affinitate, in omnia belli pacifique ſe conſociaverat conſilia. *Id. lib.* xlii, *cap.* xxix.

Magi, and places of Devotion [*H*]. It ought not to be concluded, that this is peculiar to groſs, ignorant, and brutal Nations; for in matters of Superſtition, they neither equal the *Grecians* nor the *Romans*: and there are ſome People to be met with, who are ſo very barbarous and ſtupid, as to have no Religion at all. The Reader will find, in the Remarks, part of the Hiſtory of the Princes, who reigned in *Cappadocia* [*I*]. The ordinary Seat of their Reſidence was at *Mazaca* (*k*), a Town

(*k*) Ibid. pag. 371.

(37) Strabo, lib. xii. pag. 370.

(38) Taken from Strabo, ibid.

(39) Juſtin. lib. xxxviii. cap. ii.

(40) Id. ibid. cap. v.

(41) Strabo, lib. xv. pag. 504.

(42) In the Article COMANA.

(43) See Rem. [*A*], in the Article COMANA, at the end.

(44) Strabo, lib. xii. pag. 369.

(45) Id. ibid. pag. 370.

(46) Id. ibid.

(47) Plut. In Sylla. p. 457. *B.*

(48) Max. Tyrius, Orat. 38. pag. 385.

(49) Hiſt. des Ouvrages des Sçavans, Sept. 1700. pag. 393, *in the Extract of* Obſervationi iſtoriche ſopra alcuni Medaglioni antichi.

gerunt (37). The *Romans*, wondering at their Taſte, gave them leave to confer that Dignity on whom they thought fit. They made choice of *Ariobarzanes*, whoſe Poſterity failed in the third Generation: whereupon *Archelaus*, no way related to that Family, was created their King by *Marc Antony* (38). Of them therefore it may well be ſaid, *O homines ad ſervitutem nati!* After all it is probable, Monarchy agreed better with them than a Commonwealth! Liberty, unleſs it meets with a certain Diſpoſition of Mind, is ſubject to be abuſed; and all People are not bleſt with ſuch a Diſpoſition. Note, *Juſtin* affirms, that *Ariobarzanes* was elected by the *Roman* Senate, *Cappadoces munus libertatis obnuentes, negant vivere gentem ſine rege poſſe, atque ita rex Illis a Senatu Ariobarzanes conſtituitur* (39). *Mithridates* maintained, that the *Romans* complemented the *Cappadocians* with this Liberty only to affront him: He added, that, merely because *Gordius* was his Friend, the Requeſt of that People to have him for their King was rejected: 'Libertatem etiam in contumeliam ſui a ſenatu ultro delatam Cappadocias, quam reliquis gentibus abſtulerunt: deinde populos Cappadocum pro libertate oblata Gordium regem orantes ideo tantum quoniam amicus ſuus eſſet, non obtinuiſſe' (40). He is in this more to be credited than *Strabo*; for it is not likely the *Romans* ſhould leave it to the Diſcretion of the *Cappadocians* to chuſe a King at ſuch a Conjuncture.

[*H*] *They abounded in* Magi, *and places of Devotion.*] A Parentheſis in *Strabo* is a Proof of this. Ἐν δὲ τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ (πολὺ γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ τῶν μάγων φῦλον, οἱ καὶ Πυραιθοὶ καλοῦνται, πόλλα δὲ καὶ τῶν Περσικῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ νέα μαχαίρᾳ δύουσι, πάλλα κορμῷ τινὶ ὡς ἂν ὑπέρῳ τύπτοντες. *In Cappadocia (eternum maxima eſt ibi magorum multitudo, qui Pyrethi vocantur, & multa Perſicorum deorum templa) non cultro ſed ſtipite quodam mactant, tanquam malleo verberantes* (41). I have elſewhere (42) mentioned the Devotion of the *Cappadocians* for the *Bellona* of *Comana*, and for the *Diana* of *Caſtabala* (43). We ſhall obſerve here, that they had an Arch Prieſt of *Jupiter*, in a place called *Decia*, which was very famous (44). The Temple of *Apollo* at *Catacna* was held in great Veneration throughout all *Cappadocia*; His Statue in this place was an Original, from which a great many Copies were taken for other Towns (45). The *Jupiter* of the *Venuſians* was not at all inferior to the *Bellona* of *Comana*: His Temple was ſituated in a fertile Country, which brought to the High-Prieſt a Revenue of fifteen Talents a Year. This Office was for Life. There were Three thouſand Perſons appropriated to the Service of this God, and maintained in his Temple (46). *Plutarch* obſerves, that the *Romans* had learned from the *Cappadocians* the Worſhip of a Goddeſs, which was either the *Moon*, *Minerva*, or *Bellona* (47). Add to all this what *Maximus Tyrius* ſays, that a Mountain was the God, the Oath, and the Statue of the *Cappadocians*: Ὄρος Καππαδόκαις καὶ θεὸς, καὶ ὅρκος, καὶ ἄγαλμα: *Mons Cappadocibus, & Deus & juſjurandum eſt & Statua* (48). If he means they had no other God, but a Mountain, he is very much miſtaken.

You will find in a Work of Mr *Buonarotti*, that Mount *Argæus* was the Symbol of the City of *Cæſaria* in *Cappadocia on all their Medals* (49), and that the Height of that Mountain *rendered it almoſt inacceſſible. which made the People in the Neighbourhood, and particularly thoſe of* Cæſarea, *adore it as a ſort of Deity.* See alſo Mr *Spanheim*'s Diſſertation *de præſtantia & uſu numiſmatum*, pag. 892.

[*I*] *Here is part of the Hiſtory of the Princes who reigned in* Cappadocia.] Let us here finiſh what was begun in the preceding Remarks.

I. We have brought the Reader down to the Time of *Perdiccas*, who after *Alexander*'s Death reduced the *Cappadocians* under the *Macedonian* Yoke. We have ſeen *Ariarathes* expire on a Croſs. This unhappy Prince left a Son of the ſame Name, who took ſhelter in *Armenia*, and ſome time after recovered his Dominions: For being informed that *Perdiccas* and *Eumenes* were dead, and that *Antigonus* and *Seleucus* were taken up with other Wars, he entered *Cappadocia* with the Troops lent him by *Ardoates*, King of *Armenia*, and engaged and killed *Amyntes*, General of the *Macedonians*, and drove them out of the Country. He left the Kingdom to *Ariamnes*, his eldeſt Son, who contracted an Alliance with *Antiochus Theos*, King of *Syria*; for he married his eldeſt Son *Ariarathes* to *Stratonice*, *Antiochus*'s Daughter. He had ſo great an Affection for his Son, that he made him his Colleague in the Government. *Ariarathes*, having reigned alone after his Father's Death, left his Dominions, at his Death, to *Ariarathes*, his Son, who was then very young. He married *Antiochide*, Daughter of *Antiochus the Great* (50), a crafty Woman, who, perceiving herſelf barren, had recourſe to a ſuppoſititious Birth. She made her Husband believe ſhe had been delivered of two Sons, who were named *Ariarathes* and *Holophernes*. Her Barrenneſs was removed ſometime after; ſhe had firſt two Daughters, and then a Son, who was named *Mithradates*. She confeſſed the Cheat to her Husband, and got the eldeſt of thoſe ſuppoſititious Children educated at *Rome*, with a very ſmall Retinue, and the other ſent into *Ionia*. The legitimate Son took the Name *Ariarathes*, and was brought up after the *Grecian* manner. His Father, whom he intirely loved, had a mind to give him ſenſible Proofs of his reciprocal Affection. He reſolved to reſign the Kingdom to him; but the Son oppoſed it, demonſtrating it to be unnatural for him to reign during the Life of the Perſon to whom he owed his Birth. He ſucceeded his Father, and proved a very honeſt Man. He applied himſelf very much to the Study of Philoſophy, by which means *Cappadocia*, unknown before to the *Græcians*, became an agreeable Reſidence to ſeveral learned Men (51). This is what we find in the Fragments of *Diodorus Siculus*.

II. There are other Fragments of the ſame Hiſtorian, which inform us, that *Orofernes* drove his Brother *Ariarathes* out of the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, after which Violence he reigned himſelf very tyrannically. He put ſeveral of the *Cappadocians* to Death, committed a thouſand Extortions, confiſcated the Great Men's Eſtates, and pillaged the very Temple of *Jupiter*; which, from Time immemorial, had been exempt from ſuch Violations, and which ſtood at the bottom of Mount *Ariadne* (52). We are told by *Polybius*, that *Attalus*, King of *Pergamus*, reſtabliſhed *Ariarathes* on the Throne of *Cappadocia* (53), and that he ſpirited him up to demand of the Inhabitants of *Priene*, the Four hundred Talents *Orofernes* had depoſited in their Hands, and to lay waſte their Country, upon their Refuſal to deliver up that Sum (54). They were faithful Truſtees, and reſtored the Money to *Orofernes*; but this Fidelity expoſed them to infinite Miſchief (55). Obſerve, that this *Attalus*, who re-eſtabliſhed *Ariarathes*, was Brother to *Eumenes*, and that this was the firſt Action of his Reign (56). This gives us ſome Light into Chronology; for we know *Eumenes* died in the Year of *Rome* 596, and that *Attalus* ſucceeded him. It would not therefore be reaſonable to ſuppoſe that theſe two Brothers, *Ariarathes* and *Orofernes*, were Sons of *Ariarathus*, the Philoſopher, whoſe Mother was the Daughter of *Antiochus the Great*, who died in the Year 567, from the building of *Rome* (57). For ſince this Daughter of *Antiochus* was not married to the *Cappadocian* King 'till about the Year 560 (58), it is impoſſible her Son's Children ſhould be Men grown about the Year 597, as they are repreſented to be. This Son was not born 'till after the Birth of two Daughters, preceded by a long Sterility, which had induced her to pretend the Birth of two Boys (59). How therefore is it poſſible her Son ſhould

(50) Appian in Syriacis, pag. 59, *obſerves that Antiochus married his Daughter Antiochide to Ariarathes, King of* Cappadocia, *during his preparation of War againſt the Romans. It muſt therefore be towards the Year of Rome* 560.

(51) *Taken from* Diodorus Siculus in Eclogis, lib. xxxi. pag. 1164, 1165.

(52) Diod. Sicul. in Excerptis à Valeſio publicatis, pag. 335, 336.

(53) Polyb. in Excerptis à Valeſio editis, pag. 268.

(54) Id. ibid. pag. 272.

(55) Id. ibid.

(56) Id. pag. 268.

(57) Calviſius, ad Ann. Mundi, 3764. pag. 302.

(58) *See* Appian in Syriacis, circa init. p. 59.

(59) Diodor. Sicul. in Eclog. lib. xxxi. pag. 1165.

(l) Ἀριμασεὺς καὶ νομοθέτης δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἑξηγητὴς τῶν νόμων· παρὰ τοῦτο οἱ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους νομικοὶ Legum decantatorem deliguntque, qui ipsis est legum interpres, ut apud Romanos sunt jurisconsulti. *Strab. lib.* xii, *p.* 371.

a Town situated at the Foot of Mount *Argæus*, which followed *Charondas*'s Laws, interpreted by a Chanter chosen for that Purpose (*l*). This Town was built upon

should be the Father of an *Ariarathes* and *Orofernes*, who, before the end of the VIth Century of *Rome*, had done what we read of them in History?

III. We learn from *Justin*, that *Demetrius*, King of *Syria*, undertook to restore *Orofernes*. He had a Sister, whom *Ariarathes* had refused to wed; for which reason he became the mortal Enemy of this King of *Cappadocia*. *Demetrius* - - - - *Ariarathi regi Cappadociæ propter fastiditas sororis nuptias infestus, fratrem ejus Orofernem per injuriam regno pulsum supplicem recepit* (60). He therefore received with Pleasure the Petition of *Orofernes*, to be restored to the Throne, from whence he had been unjustly expelled by his Brother: but, finding that this very *Orofernes* plotted to dethrone him, he ordered him to be imprisoned, and if he had not been afraid, that by dispatching him he should release *Ariarathes* from his Fears of all farther Contention with this Rival Brother, he had not been content with imprisoning him, but would have instantly put him to death. Observe, that the beginning of his Reign answers to the Year of *Rome* 592; and therefore we must suppose he had reigned four or five Years when he gave Protection to *Orofernes*, and undertook his Restoration. He effected it, if we may believe *Appian* (61), and drove out *Ariarathes*: which was not pleasing to the *Romans*, who would have been better satisfied to have had the two Brothers reign together. *Justin* does not well agree with *Appian*; for he places *Ariarathes* among those Princes who set up a pretended Son of *Antiochus*, and supported him so vigorously, that this Intrigue cost *Demetrius* both his Crown, and Life (62). But these Historians may both be in the right in a certain Sense; for *Polybius* says, *Demetrius* expelled *Ariarathes* to restore *Orofernes*, and after that removed *Orofernes* to make way for *Ariarathes* (63). However it be, I take this *Ariarathes* to be the same, who lost his Life in the War against *Aristonicus*, in taking the Part of the Romans. This War ended in the Year 623 (64). I believe also that he ought not to be distinguished from *Ariarathes* the Philosopher: or if he ought, we should say, that after the Death of this Monarch, the Patron of the Learned, the two supposed Sons of *Antiochide* disputed the Succession, and drove each other from the Throne, and that, in short, they are the *Ariarathes* and *Orofernes* mentioned by *Polybius*, *Justin*, *Appian*, &c. For my part, I should rather believe, *Orofernes* contended for the Crown with *Antiochide*'s legitimate Son, than with the other supposed Brother. The legitimate Son, that Prince, who was a Lover of Philosophers, and who invited so many learned Men to him, would not have had time to deserve what *Diodorus Siculus* says of him, if he had died before *Eumenes*, and had left, before that time, the Throne vacant to his two pretended Brothers. It was he therefore who was rivalled by *Orofernes*. You may please to observe, in *Appian*, that it was not well known whether *Orofernes* was Brother to the Prince with whom he contended for the Crown. 'Demetrius acceptis mille talentis pulso Ariarathe 'Holophernem ejus, UT FEREBATUR, fratrem in 'regnum induxit (65). —— Demetrius *having received One thousand Talents, and driven* Ariarathes '*from his Kingdom, established* Holophernes, *who* 'was SAID TO BE *his Brother, in his Room.*' It is very likely therefore, *Ariarathes* looked on him as an Impostor.

The Sons of that *Ariarathes*, who was slain in the War with *Aristonicus*, obtained of the *Romans* *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*, as a Reward for their Father's Services (66). They were six Brothers, and some of them about fourteen Years of Age, which occasioned their Mother, out of an abominable Ambition, and fear of losing in a little time the Administration, to poison five of them. The youngest had met the same Fate, if the Vigilance of his Relations had not withdrawn him from her Fury. The People, after having slain *Laodice* (67), for so was this unnatural Mother called, placed him on the Throne. This new Prince took the Name of *Ariarathes*, and married *Laodice*, *Mithridates*'s Sister, by whom he had Children. He was murdered by the Order of his ambitious Brother-in-law (68); and immediately after, *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*, seized on *Cappadocia*, and married *Laodice*. As soon as *Mithridates* understood this, he sent an Army into *Cappadocia*, and, expelling *Nicomedes*'s Garrisons, restored the Crown to his Nephew, Son of *Ariarathes*, whom he had before assassinated by the Hands of one *Gordius*. He desired the young King, whom he had just established, and who was named *Ariarathes*, to re-call *Gordius*. In case he agreed to this, he hoped to get rid of the Son, by the Hands of the same Assassin, who had killed the Father; and if he refused it, he should then be furnished with a Pretence to quarrel. *Ariarathes* not being able to bear, that his Uncle should concern himself in revoking the Sentence of Banishment against *Gordius*, and plainly perceiving the Drift of his Designs, prepared for War. He raised a very powerful Army, by the Assistance of his Neighbours; and *Mithridates* presented himself at the Head of another equally numerous (69). The Armies being in sight of each other, *Mithridates* desired a personal Conference with his Nephew; for, as the Event of a Battle was uncertain, he resolved to have recourse to Treachery. He concealed a Dagger under his Cloaths, and whilst, according to the Custom among Kings in such Cases, he was searched about his Belly, he said to the Man appointed by *Ariarathes* for that Examination, and who was diligently doing his Duty, *Take care you do not hit upon a Weapon quite different from that you are searching after*: By this Piece of Raillery he prevented the Discovery of his treacherous Preparations, and having drawn *Ariarathes* aside, under the Pretence of a private Conference, he stabbed him in sight of both Armies. 'Cum ferrum occultatum inter fascias gerret, scrutatori ab Ariarathe regio more misso, 'curiosius imum ventrem pertractanti, ait, *caveret* 'ne aliud telum inveniret quam quæreret. Atque ita 'risu protectis infidiis, se vocatum ab amicis velut ad 'secretum sermonem, inspectante utroque exercitu, 'interficit (70).' He made a present of *Cappadocia* to his Son, who was but eight Years old; and named him *Ariarathes*, appointing *Gordius* his Governor.

IV. The *Cappadocians*, not being able to endure the Oppressions of *Mithridates*'s Lieutenants, took Arms, and calling in *Ariarathes*, Brother to the last King, placed him on the Throne. *Mithridates* attacked him, vanquished him, and drove him out of the Kingdom. The young Prince soon after fell sick through Grief and died. Upon this *Nicomedes* set up a fine Youth, and obliged him to call himself Brother to the two last *Ariarathes*'s, and upon that score to desire the Kingdom of the *Roman* Senate. He sent his Wife *Laodice* to *Rome*, there to attest that she had three Sons by her former Husband. *Mithridates*, having discovered this Imposture, countermined it with another: he dispatched *Gordius* to *Rome*, to assure the Senate that the Boy, he had created King of *Cappadocia*, was Son of that *Ariarathes* who fell in the War with *Aristonicus*. The Senate saw plainly that each of these Princes was for usurping the Crown, under the Name of a pretended Heir; and therefore ordered *Mithridates* to renounce *Cappadocia*, and *Nicomedes* to quit *Paphlagonia*, and that those two Nations should be governed as they thought fit themselves. It was then the *Cappadocians* answered, as we observed before, that they could not live without a King. The Senate gave them ARIOBARZANES (71).

V. This new Prince did not quietly enjoy his Dignity. *Appian* says, that *Mithraas* and *Bagoas* drove him out of *Cappadocia*, and re-instated *Ariarathes* (72). The *Romans* restored *Ariobarzanes* (73). He was soon after dispossessed by an Army, which *Mithridates* sent into *Cappadocia*, in behalf of his Son *Ariarathes* (74). *Sylla*, having gained great Advantages over *Mithridates*, obliged him deliver up *Cappadocia* (75). Some time after *Tigranes*, at the Instigation of this Prince (76), invaded it, and drew from thence Three hundred thousand Men, to whom he gave some Lands in *Armenia*. *Ariobarzanes*, who had fled to *Rome* before this Invasion (77), was not restored till *Pompey* had made an end of the *Mithridatic* War in 690 (78). See how *Cicero* complains

(60) Justin. lib. xxxv, init.

(61) App. in Syriac. pag. 79.

(62) Justin. lib. xxxv, cap. 1.

(63) Polyb. lib. iii, cap. 2.

(64) *See* Sigon. in Fastis.

(65) Appian. in Syriacis, pag. 79.

(66) Justin, lib. xxxvii, cap. 1.

(67) Id. ibid.

(68) Id. lib. xxxviii, cap. 1.

(69) He had 80000 Foot, and 10000 Horse, and 600 Chariots armed with Scythes.

(70) Id. ibid.

(71) *Taken from* Justin, lib. xxxviii, cap. 1, 2.

(72) Appian. in Mithridat. pag. 118.

(73) Id. ibid.

(74) Id. ibid. pag. 120.

(75) Id. ibid. pag. 144, 145.

(76) Id. ibid.

(77) Justin. lib. xxxviii, cap. iii.

(78) Appian. in Mithridat. pag. 163.

on the River *Malas*, which discharges itself into the *Euphrates*. A certain *Cappadocian* King, having dammed up the Outlets of this River, laid the neighbouring Plains

plains that a Confederate Prince was excluded the Possession of his Dominions (79). Note, that, according to *Plutarch*, *Cappadocia* was twice restored by *Sylla*; first, when, after his Pretorship, he was sent into this Country, to re-instate *Ariobarzanes* on the Throne (80); secondly, after the Victories he gained over *Mithridates* not only during, but after his Consulship (81). We shall examine this towards the end of the following Remark, and reconcile some Contradictions of *Appian* and *Justin*. We must not forget, I. That *Pompey* very much inlarged the Dominions of *Ariobarzanes*, when he restored him to the Throne of *Cappadocia* (82): II. That the Son of that King inherited all those Dominions (83).

VI. He did not long enjoy them; for he had been murdered when *Cicero*, in 702, went to command in *Cilicia*. The King, who then reigned in *Cappadocia*, was Grandson to *Ariobarzanes* the first of that Name, and found himself threatned with the Fate of his Father. There was a Conspiracy formed against him in favour of his Brother *Ariarathes*; but *Ariarathes* assured *Cicero* he was no way consenting to it. 'Dixit *(Ariobarzanes)* ad 'se indicia manifestarum insidiarum esse delata, 'quæ essent ante adventum meum occultata, quod 'il qui ea patefacere possent, propter metum re'ticuissent: eo autem tempore spe mei præsidii 'complures ea quæ scirent; audacter ad se detu'lisse: in his amantissimum sui, summa pietate 'præditum, fratrem, dicere ea, quæ is me quoque 'audiente dicebat, se sollicitatum esse ut regnare 'vellet: id vivo fratre suo accidere non potuisse: 'sed tamen ante illud tempus eam rem nunquam 'in medium propter periculi metum protulisse. 'Quæ cum esset locutus, monui regem ut omnem 'diligentiam ad se conservandum adhiberet: ami'cosque patris ejus avique judicio probatos hortatus 'sum, regis sui vitam, docti casu acerbissimo patris 'ejus, omni cura custodiaque defenderent (84). - - - 'He (Ariobarzanes) *declared he had received Information of manifest Conspiracies, which before my coming were concealed, because they who knew of them were afraid to discover them: but that now, confiding in my Protection, a great many had boldly revealed to him all they knew: That among these his own Brother, who loved him extreamly, and was remarkable for his Piety, had confessed to him, which he also did in my Presence, that he had been solicited to accept the Crown; that although he was sensible this could not happen without his Brother's Death, yet he durst never discover these Designs for fear of Danger. When the King had said all this, I adviséd him to take particular care of himself: I incouraged his Friends, who had been approved both by his Father and Grand-father, from what they had seen of the hard Fate of his Father, to defend the Life of their King, with all possible Caution and Zeal.*' *Cicero*, at his Departure from *Rome*, had received Orders to favour and protect *Ariobarzanes* with all imaginable Care. The Senate had never given such an Order before for any King whatsoever: This Testimony therefore of their Affection did a very great Honour to that Prince: These are *Cicero*'s Words (85): 'Cum vestra authoritas intercessisset, ut ego 'regem Ariobarzanem Eusebem & Philorhomæum (86) tuerer, ejusque regis salutem, incolumitatem regnumque defenderem, regi regnoque præsidio essem: adjunxisseisque, salutem ejus regis, populo senatuique magnæ curæ esse, quod nullo unquam de rege decretum esset a nostro ordine; existimavi me judicium vestrum ad regem deferredebere, eique præsidium meum & fidem & diligentiam polliceri: ut, quum salus ipsius, incolumitas regni mihi commendata esset à vobis, diceret, si quid vellet. - - - - *When I received your Commands to defend King* Ariobarzanes, *a Prince pious and in Friendship with the* Romans, *to protect his Person and Kingdom, and to be a Guard to both; with this additional Declaration, that the People and Senate have very much at Heart the Preservation of that Prince, which is an Honour you never paid to any King before: I made it my Business to act 'against him with your Decree, and to assure him 'of my most sincere and hearty Protection, that as 'his own Preservation as well as that of his King'dom was recommended by you to my Care, he might 'freely communicate to me his Desires.*' This Order of the Senate was faithfully executed. *Cicero* employed his Authority, his Forces, and his Advice, in favour of *Ariobarzanes*, and preserved him his Crown, and even his Life. 'Ariobarzanes 'opera mea vivit, regnat. Ἐν σωτῆρος, consilio & 'authoritate, & quod insidiatoribus ejus ἀνάρπαστον 'me non modo ἀνεμπόδιστον præbui, regem reg'numque servari (87). - - - Ariobarzanes *lives and reigns by my means. My Presence, Advice, and Authority, and rendring myself not only incorruptible but also inaccessible to his Conspirators, preserved both King and Kingdom.*' He hindered the Priests from molesting him (88). This was a great Piece of Service.

VII. Before we proceed any farther, let us take notice of two Mistakes in a learned Commentator. He supposes the *Ariobarzanes* here mentioned, to be the Son of the first of that Name (89), and that he was honoured with the Title of King by the Senate when *Cicero* was Consul (90). To prove the last he quotes these Words of *Cicero*. 'Ariobarzanem - - - Senatus per me regem appellavit, mihique 'commendavit (91). - - - *The Senate, by me, saluted* Ariobarzanes - - - *King, and recommended him to my Care.*' But this relates to the Time when he was sent into *Cilicia*, and not to his Consulship. Besides it is not at all likely that *Ariobarzanes* I. was dead when *Cicero* was Consul. There could be no occasion therefore at that time to think of acknowledging another *Ariobarzanes* for King. As to his first Mistake, it proceeds from hence, that *Manucius* did not consider, as other Critics have done, that in the Passage before quoted (92) ought to be read, *Amicosque Patris ejus cujusque judicio probatos, - - - His Friends approved both by his Father and Grand-father.* We have no reason to think that any Son or Nephew of this *Ariobarzanes*, who was protected by *Cicero*, reigned in *Cappadocia*, and yet this Family was not extinct 'till the third Generation (93). It is therefore reasonable to think, that he who ruled when *Cicero* went Governor into *Cilicia*, was Grandson to the first *Ariobarzanes*.

VIII. He led some Troops to *Pompey* (94); which fought against *Cæsar* at the Battle of *Pharsalia*. This, undoubtedly, was the reason that *Cæsar* put him under Contribution. It is certain he exacted from him several Sums of Money, for this Prince represented that he should be disabled from paying, if *Pharnaces* continued to pillage *Cappadocia*. 'Rex 'Deiotarus ad Domitium Calvinum, cui Cæsar 'Asiam finitimasque provincias administrandas tra'diderat, venit, oratum ne Armeniam minorem, 'regnum suum, neve Cappadociam, regnum Ario'barzanis, possideri, vastarique pateretur a Pharnace: 'quo malo nisi liberarentur, imperata se facere, pe'cuniamque promissam Cæsari non posse persol'vere (95).' *Cæsar* was then in *Ægypt*, and left it to bring *Pharnaces* to Reason. He passed thro' *Cappadocia*, where he made some Regulations, which shew that *Ariobarzanes*, and his Brother *Ariarathes*, were not great Friends. He obliged the last to be obedient to his Brother. He saw plainly that *Ariobarzanes* stood in fear of his Heir, and that the Heir was not Proof against an Impatience for the Succession: 'Fratrem Ariobarzanis 'Ariarathem, cum bene meritus uterque eorum de 'republica esset, ne aut regni hæreditas Ariarathem 'sollicitaret, aut hæres regni terreret, Ariobarzani 'attribuit; qui sub ejus imperio ac ditione esset (96).' From hence we may infer, that *Ariobarzanes* had no Children of his own, and that *Frater* is better than *Filius*, in this Passage of *Tully*. 'Ariarathes 'Ariobarzanis Filius *Romam* venit. Valde opinor, 'regnum aliquod emere à Cæsare, nam quomodo 'nunc est, pedem ubi ponat in suo non habet (97).' This shows that *Ariarathes*, after *Cæsar*'s Regulations, no longer shared the Government of *Cappadocia*. After *Cæsar* had conquered *Pharnaces*, he gave

(79) Cicero, in Orat. pro Lege Manilia, cap. ii.

(80) Plut. in Sylla, pag. 453.

(81) Id. ibid. pag. 466.

(82) Appian. in Mithridat. pag. 263.

(83) Id. ibid.

(84) Cicero, Ep. ii, lib. xv, ad Famil.

(85) Id. ibid.

(86) The Medals give these two Titles to this King, signifying Pious, and a Friend of the *Romans*. See *Gravius*'s *Variorum* on this Epistle of *Cicero*.

(87) Cicero, Epist. xx, lib. v, ad Atticum. *See also* Epist. ii, iv, lib. xv, ad Famil.

(88) Id. Epist. iv, lib. xv, ad Famil. *I have cited his Words in the Remark* [D], *of the Article*, COMANA, *towards the end.*

(89) Paul. Manut. in Cic. Ep. ii, lib. xv, ad Famil. p. 259.

(90) Id. ibid.

(91) Cic. Epist. xvii, lib. ii, ad Famil.

(92) Cluv. [illegible]

(93) Strabo, lib. xii, pag. 373.

(94) Cæsar, de Bello Civili, lib. iii, cap. iv.

(95) Hirtius de Bello Alexandr. cap. xxxix.

(96) Id. ibid. cap. lxii.

(97) Cicer. Epi. ii, lib. xiii, ad Atticum.

Plains under Water; after which he cut out several little Islands, in imitation of the *Cyclades*. There he childishly spent part of his Life (*m*); but these Amusements caused him both Shame and Damage. The River broke it's Dams, and the Waters, returning into their Channel, made the *Euphrates* overflow, so as to occasion incredible Mischiefs in *Cappadocia*. The *Galatians*, Inhabitants of *Phrygia*, suffered great Losses by this Inundation, for which they required Satisfaction. They demanded Three hundred Talents of the *Cappadocian* King, and made the *Romans* their Judges. He was likewise obliged to make good, to the *Cilicians*, the Damages they had sustained by the *Carmale*, another River he had also dammed up, which broke it's Banks (*n*). *Strabo*'s Negligence is inexcusable; he contents himself with saying that this Prince was named *Ariarathes*. Would a good Author now a-days be suffered to say, gravely, that *Charles*, King of *France*, or Pope *John*, repaired a High-way? Would not the Reader be at a loss to know which *Charles* among the *Kings*, and which *John* among the Popes, this must be? *Moreri* has ventured to determine which *Ariarathes* this was. Perhaps he is under a greater Mistake in this, than in a great many other things he has delivered without Exactness [*K*], the Particulars of which will be found in my Remarks, as also a Criticism

(*m*) Διατριβὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐποιεῖτο παιδικὰς. Puerilem ibi in morem vitæ partem exegit. *Id. ibid.*

(*n*) Id. ibid.

gave part of *Armenia* to our *Ariobarzanes* (98). This made *Cæsar*'s Murderers, some Years after, apprehend that the King of *Cappadocia* would not be their Friend. He did not openly declare himself against their Party, but he refused to join with them. This Conduct of his gave them a just Suspicion of him, insomuch that *Cassius* resolved not to spare him; he attacked him, and, having taken him Prisoner, put him to Death (99). This happened in the Year of *Rome* 712. We have seen elsewhere (100), how *Ariarathes* was molested in his Succession to *Cappadocia*, and that Sentence was given to his Prejudice in the Year 713; and that, having found Means to evade that Determination, he was intirely expelled the Kingdom, in the Year 718. After which *Archelaus* reigned in *Cappadocia*, and was the last of it's Kings.

To conclude, The Contradictions, we meet with in comparing together ancient Histories, are infinite. I shall consider some of them in the following Remark.

[*K*] Moreri ----- *has delivered a great many* ---- *Things* ----- *without Exactness.*] I. He has falsely pretended, as I have already observed (101), that from *Pharnaces*, the first King of *Cappadocia*, down to *Ariarathes*, the first of that Name, there were no more than six Kings. II. And that their Names are not known. III. *Archelaus* did not succeed to the Crown after *Ariarathes*, Brother to that *Ariobarzanes* who was restored by *Pompey*, but after another *Ariarathes*, Grandson to that *Ariobarzanes* (102). IV. Since, in the Article of *Cappadocia*, Ten Kings are reckoned up, who were named *Ariarathes*, it is a Contradiction to say elsewhere (103) of *Ariarathes* the Second, that he had *Seven Successors of his own Name*. V. In the Battle against *Perdiccas*, the Number of *Ariarathes* the Second's Cavalry was Fifteen thousand (104), and not Twenty thousand. VI. *Ariarathes* the Fifth, who lent some Forces to *Antiochus* against the *Romans*, was not Brother-in-law, but Son-in-law, of that *Antiochus*. VII. It is not made out, that it was this *Ariarathes*, *who stopped up the Passage through which the River* Melas *discharged itself into the* Euphrates. VIII. He ought not to have omitted, that the Works raised in that Place were destroyed; for that Omission renders the rest of the Narration altogether unintelligible. It is impossible to comprehend how those Works should occasion the over-flowing of the *Euphrates*. They were infinitely more likely to prevent, than to occasion it. And if the *Euphrates* did over-flow, without the Waters of the *Melas* falling into it, it is impossible to comprehend why the *Cappadocian* King was liable to make good the Damages of the Inundation. IX. The Senate of *Rome* did not condemn him to pay Three hundred Talents; the Demand the *Galatians* made of that Sum was left to their Judgment, but it is not known what was their Award. It is more likely they moderated the Pretensions of the Demandants, than intirely supported them. X. Why is he content to quote *Polybius* and *Livy* (105), who say nothing of all this? He had a great deal more Reason to cite *Strabo*. XI. No one ever said, the City of *Ariarathia* (106) was built after the Inundation of the *Euphrates*, and the Payment of the Three hundred Talents; how comes it therefore to be affirmed in *Moreri*? XII. He, who built the City of *Ariarathia*, was *Antiochus*'s Son-in-law (107): *Moreri*'s Continuator therefore had no Reason to attribute this Foundation to the *Ariarathi*, whom he mentions for this purpose, because he considers him as *Antiochus*'s Brother-in-law. And though at the Bottom this pretended Brother-in-law were in reality his Son-in-law, yet doth it not follow that he was the Founder of *Ariarathia*; for his Father *Ariarathes* was Son-in-law of *Antiochus Theos* (108). Perhaps it is he who is intended to be spoken of in *Stephanus Byzantinus*.

We must make a Digression here, to observe, that *Pinedo* has given a very insignificant Comment: He has quoted a Place in *Strabo*, which says, that *Ariarathes* the First, King of *Cappadocia*, united the *Catatnians* with the *Cappadocians* (109). Wherein does this serve to explain the Words of *Stephanus Byzantinus*? And, when he was quoting this Passage, why did he not quote that of *Strabo*, where he makes mention of a more modern *Ariarathes*? *Berkelius*, another of *Stephanus*'s Commentators, aimed at a better Comment upon his Text, but has not succeeded. At first he thought that *Ariarathes*, Son-in-law to *Antiochus*, had married *Antiochus Soter*'s Daughter; but afterwards he observes that *Demetrius*, Brother of *Antiochus*, waged War with *Ariarathes*, *propter fastiditas fororis nuptias*, —— *For refusing to marry his Sister* (110). His Opinion therefore is, that the Founder of *Ariarathia* had married *Demetrius*'s Sister, and that upon some Disgust he sent her back again. In answer to which I say, That the *Latin* Expression has a more general Signification, and that it is more natural to interpret it for a Refusal of Marriage, than for a Divorce. I add, That a Prince, who had married *Demetrius*'s Sister, would not have been Son-in-law to *Antiochus*; for *Demetrius*'s Father was *Seleucus Philopator*, Son of *Antiochus* the Great. My third Remark against *Berkelius* is, that he did not know that *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of two Kings of *Cappadocia* called *Ariarathes*, and Sons-in-law, one to *Antiochus Theos*, and the other to *Antiochus* the Great. But to return to *Moreri*'s Dictionary.

The XIIIth Fault is in saying that *Mithridates* expelled *Nicodemes*, who had seized on *Cappadocia*. He ought to have said *Nicomedes*, King of *Bythynia*. XIV. *Mithridates* did not employ a young Man (111) to kill his Nephew, but did it with his own Hands, as I have observed before (112). XV. He ought to have quoted the Thirty eighth Book of *Justin*, and not the thirtieth. XVI. The Successor of him, who was murdered by *Mithridates*, was his Brother, and not his Son. XVII. He ought not to have omitted the Reign of *Mithridates*'s Son, since it was antecedent to the Election of *Ariobarzanes*. XVIII. This Son of *Mithridates* ought to have been placed under the Word *Ariarathes*, and not under *Ariathes*; for when his Father made him King of *Cappadocia*, in the room of his Nephew whom he had killed, he gave him the ordinary Name of the Kings of that Country, *viz.* that of *Ariarathes* (113). XIX. *Ariarathes*'s Conquest of *Cappadocia* did

(98) Dio, lib. xlii, pag. 234.

(99) Id. ibid. lib. xlvii, pag. 395.

(100) In the Text of the Article *ARCHELAUS*, King of *Cappadocia*.

(101) In Remark [*A*], Citation (3).

(102) See the preceding Remark, No. VI, at the End.

(103) Under the Word *ARIARATHES*.

(104) Diod. Siculus, lib. xviii, cap. xvi.

(105) *Livy* is quoted in *lib.* v; it ought to have been *lib.* xxxviii, and xlii.

(106) He ought to have said *Ariarathes*.

(107) Stephanus Byzantinus, voce Ἀριαράθεια.

(108) Diod. Sicul. in Eclog. lib. xxxi, pag. 1164, 1165.

(109) Pinedo in Steph. Byzant. pag. 107.

(110) Berkelius in Steph. Byzant. pag. 264.

(111) He was misled by these Words in *Justin*, *lib.* xxxviii, *cap.* ii, *Sollicitatoque juvenis ad colloquium*, &c. —— The young Man being invited to a Conference, &c.

(112) In the preceding Remark, No. III. Citat. (70).

(113) Justin. lib. xxxviii, cap. ii.

Criticism on some Mistakes of *Justin* and *Appian*. *Cappadocia*, generally speaking, was a Country where Wit and Learning were intire Strangers; and yet it has produced some very celebrated Authors. *Strabo* and *Pausanias* are of that Number. The

did not give such a Jealousy, as to put *Mithridates* upon poisoning him. *Cappadocia* had been conquered a long time before, when this *Ariarathes* commanded a body of Troops for his Father in *Europe* (114), and if he was poisoned by *Mithridates*, as is pretended, it must be upon some other Jealousy. (115). XX. It is not likely *that* Ariobarzanes *had been advanced to the Crown about the Year* 644, *from the Foundation of* Rome (116). This I shall afterwards prove. XXI. It was he himself who was driven out of *Cappadocia* by *Mithridates*, and restored by *Sylla*. How comes it therefore to be reported of his Son? XXII. He was not *immediately attacked by* Tigranes (117): He had been already restored more than once before he was attacked by *Tigranes*. XXIII. It is false that *Sylla defeated* Tigranes's *Army*. XXIV. *Justin*, still wrong quoted in his thirtieth Book, no where says, either that *Ariarathes*, *Mithridates*'s Son, was vanquished by *Ariobarzanes*, XXV. Or that *Ariobarzanes*, by *Pompey*'s Assistance, conquered *Sophene*, *Gordene*, and Part of *Cilicia*; XXVI. Or that, *after these Conquests, he resigned his Crown to his Son* Ariobarzanes, *to pass the rest of his Days in Peace*. Not only *Justin* is silent as to all this, but I believe so is every other good Author. *Appian* says only, that *Ariobarzanes* was gratified with these Provinces by *Pompey* (118). Does that shew he conquered them? XXVII. He ought to have known, that at the time when *Ariobarzanes* is said to have overcome *Ariarathes*, *Mithridates*'s Son, that is, after *Tigranes*'s Overthrow, this *Ariarathes* was dead (119).

Let us examine if it be true that his Election happened in the Year 1644. I am well assured, that, if all Occurrences between *Aristonicus*'s War and this Election be well considered, they will be found to require more than Twenty four Years. *Ariarathes* dying during this War, which lasted two or three Years more or less, and ended in 623, all his Sons, except the youngest, were poisoned by their Mother. He who escaped was advanced to the Throne, and assassinated by the Intrigues of *Mithridates*: He left two Sons, who reigned one after another. The eldest vigorously opposed *Mithridates*; he raised a powerful Army, and commanded it himself, when he was murdered by *Mithridates*, under the pretence of inviting him to a private Conference. All this shows he was no Child. After this, *Gordius*, Governour to the new King, *Mithridates*'s Son, had the Direction of *Cappadocia*. His Administration was so severe, that the People rebelled, called in the late King's Brother, and made him King; but he was overcome by *Mithridates*, and constrained to quit the Country: After which he lived but a short time. *Nicomedes*, having heard of his Death, set up a Youth, who pretended to be the lawful Successor. His Wife took a Journey to *Rome* to make good the Imposture; and *Mithridates* sent *Gordius* thither to oppose it with another. The Senate put an end to all these Disputes, by leaving the *Cappadocians* at their full Liberty. This Favour was not accepted by these People: they would have a Prince, and had *Ariobarzanes* (120). It is impossible, according to this, that his Election should happen in the Year of *Rome* 644. I should not have repeated this long Detail, if, besides it's being necessary as a proof of the twentieth Fault in *Moreri*, I had not found that it would furnish Materials for a Criticism on *Justin*.

JUSTIN criticized.

He says that *Laodice*, Widow to that *Ariarathes*, who was slain in the War with *Aristonicus* about the Year of *Rome* 622, poisoned five of her Sons, and that the youngest had met the same Fate, if his Relations had not concealed him from the Violence of this unnatural Mother. He observes, that the Fear of not long enjoying the Regency, seeing some of her Sons were grown up, led her to this Inhumanity (121). 'Tis difficult to make good his Reasonings: for if this Fear was the Cause of her endeavouring to dispatch the youngest, he must necessarily not have wanted much of being of Age; in which case the eldest must consequently have been of full Age, which would have excluded *Laodice* from the Regency. If it be answered, that her eldest Son was not quite of Age, but very near it, it follows of Course, that the youngest was too far from it to give the least Alarm to her Ambition. There was room for her to expect an Administration long enough, not to put her upon dispatching him so soon. *Justin* therefore has not reasoned justly upon the Motives of this cruel Woman. There are innumerable Faults of this Nature, to be found in this Author, and in the best Writers, by any one who would be at the Pains to collect them. For my part, I am of Opinion, that all *Laodice*'s Sons were of Age, and that it was for this reason she attempted to get rid of them all at once. My reason for this Opinion is, that the youngest of them all left Two Sons behind him, who succeeded him in the Kingdom, and who, according to the Account we have of them, must needs have lived till they were at least twenty. Now it is certain *Ariobarzanes* had been dethroned before the Year of *Rome* 659; for it was in this Year *Sylla* re-established him (122). There must be some Distance of Time between the Death of the last *Ariarathes* and *Ariobarzanes*'s Election: During this Interval, the Pretensions of the two supposed Heirs were disputed at *Rome*; and there intervened a Decree of the Senate. We may add also, that there must be some Distance of Time between *Ariobarzanes*'s Election and Expulsion, and between his Expulsion and Restoration. Since therefore he was restored in the Year 659, it is very likely the last *Ariarathes*, aged about twenty Years, did not die before 654. Judge therefore, if it be probable, that his Father should be only an Infant, when *Laodice* had a mind to make him away about the Year 623.

We shall here examine whether *Appian* has justly related the Adventures of *Ariobarzanes*. This is his Account. The *Romans* commanded *Mithridates* to resign *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*: He obeyed, but *Mithraas* and *Bagoas* expelled *Ariobarzanes*, and gave the Kingdom to *Ariarathes*. The *Romans* sent an Embassy into this Country to restore *Ariobarzanes*; *Manius Aquilius* was their Principal. Orders were sent from *Rome* to *Lucius Cassius*, who commanded in *Asia*, and to *Mithridates*, to assist the Embassadors with all their Power. *Mithridates*, dissatisfied with the *Romans*, did not obey them. However, *Cassius* and *Aquilius* restored *Ariobarzanes*, and advised him and *Nicomedes*, King of *Bythinia*, to make Incursions into *Mithridates*'s Territories. *Nicomedes*, not able to resist the Importunity of the Embassadors, committed some Hostilities (123). Upon this *Mithridates* complained; but, finding no Redress, he had recourse to Arms, made a Conquest of *Cappadocia*, and gave it to his Son *Ariarathes* (124). The Embassador, he dispatched to the *Roman* Generals, delivered himself in very high Terms, and was answered in yet higher (125). The Event was, that *Mithridates* overthrew the *Romans*, and took Prisoner *Manius Aquilius*, the Chief of the Embassy; but was himself at last defeated by *Sylla*, and forced to accept of a very disadvantageous Peace (126). The Restoration of *Ariobarzanes* was one of the Conditions of the Treaty (127): this was at first imperfectly (128), but afterwards very effectually executed (129). The Invasion of *Cappadocia* by *Tigranes* happened some Years after (130). *Sylla* was then dead. *Lucullus* re-took *Cappadocia* (131), *Mithridates* recovered it again (132), and lastly *Ariobarzanes* was re-established there by *Pompey* (133).

APPIAN and *Justin* criticized.

I observe, I. That *Appian* is to blame for speaking of the Invasion of *Mithraas* and *Bagoas*, without telling us who they were, and who that *Ariarathes* was they made King of *Cappadocia*. II. He is also to blame for taking no Notice of *Sylla*'s Commission to restore *Ariobarzanes*. This was in the Year of *Rome* 659. *Sylla* then commanded in *Cilicia*. He mentions it himself in *Appian*, addressing to *Mithridates*. *In Cappadociam ego reduxi Ariobarzanem ex S. C. cùm præessem Ciliciæ: idque feci te cedente auctoritati*

(114) Plutarch. in Sylla, p. 458, C.

(115) Id. in Pompeio, pag. 630, A.

(116) Moreri, under the Word *ARIOBARZANES*.

(117) Moreri's Continuator, under the same Word.

(118) Appian. in Mithridat. pag. 213.

(119) Appian. in Mithridat. pag. 220, speaks of Arcathius Mithridates's *Son, as of one who, having, about* Macedonia, *been marching against* Sylla, *but died of a fit of Sickness.* Zeir, *without doubt, is le* Plutarch *calls* Ariarathes.

(120) This whole Account is taken from *Justin*, *lib.* xxxviii.

(121) Timens ne non diutinam regni administrationem adultis quibusdam potiretur. *Justin*, *lib.* xxxvii, *cap.* i.

(122) *See* Sigon. in Fastis, ad Ann. 659. fol. 106, verso.

(123) Appian. in Mithridat. pag. 220.

(124) Id. ibid. pag. 220.

(125) Id. ibid. pag. 221.

(126) Id. ibid. pag. 222.

(127) Id. ibid. pag. 143.

(128) Id. ibid. pag. 143.

(129) Id. ibid. pag. 144.

(130) Id. ibid.

(131) Id. ibid. pag. 250, 251.

(132) Id. ibid. pag. 256.

(133) Id. ibid. pag. 263, 268.

The *Cappadocians* were particularly eſteemed very unfit to make Orators [*L*]; but St *Baſil*, and *Gregory Nazienzen*, have been Exceptions to that Rule. It has been obſerved, that the *Cappadocian* Horſes grew better as they grew older [*M*].

toritati populi (134). —— *I re-eſtabliſhed* Ariobarzanes *in* Cappadocia, *by order of the Senate; and this I did by your Compliance with that Authority.* This renders the Hiſtorian the leſs excuſable; for as he was not ignorant of this Diſcourſe of *Sylla*, he ought to have enquired into *Ariobarzanes*'s Re eſtabliſhment, and have given it in it's proper place like a good Chronologer. His Omiſſion had been the more excuſable if he had not known what *Sylla* ſaid to *Mithridates*. Note, *Plutarch* obſerves, that *Sylla*, after his Pretorſhip, was ſent into *Cappadocia*, under the ſpecious Pretence of reſtoring *Ariobarzanes*; but in reality to be a Check upon *Mithridates*, who was forming ſome great Deſigns (135). Conſult *Sigonius* who will clear up all this Matter (136); though he is not to be credited, when he ſays, *Mithridates*, by the Hands of *Gordius*, murdered both *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, and his Son, who was only an Infant. We may remember, *Mithridates* himſelf diſpatched this Son, who was arrived to to Maturity. My III. Remark againſt *Appian* is, That, in all Appearance, he is miſtaken as to the Invaſion of *Mithraas* and *Bagoas*: He ſuppoſes *Mithridates* had no hand in it; nay, that the *Romans* commanded him to dethrone the Uſurper, and reſtore *Ariobarzanes*, and that *Mithridates*, diſguſted at them, diſobeyed their Order. I make no queſtion but this Invaſion was carried on by *Mithridates*'s Generals, in Favour of his Son *Ariarathes*, whom the *Cappadocians* had expelled. *Juſtin* ſays, they recalled the Brother of their laſt King, and that he was overthrown by *Mithridates* (137), that is to ſay, if I am not miſtaken, by *Mithraas* and *Bagoas*, who brought back into *Cappadocia Ariarathes*, their Maſter's Son. Let us obſerve, in the IVth place, That *Manius Aquilius*'s Embaſſy ought to be placed in the Year of *Rome* 663, or thereabouts; and therefore does not at all concern the firſt Reſtoration of *Ariobarzanes*, as *Appian* ſuppoſes (138).

One Word more againſt *Juſtin*, who ſuppoſes that *Tigranes*, inſtigated by *Mithridates*, was the firſt who expelled *Ariobarzanes*, and that this gave Occaſion to *Aquilius*'s Embaſſy. This is falſe. That Embaſſy was antecedent to the bloody Wars between *Sylla* and *Mithridates*, which did not commence till the Year of *Rome* 665. *Tigranes* is never mentioned before *Lucullus*'s Expedition. It ought therefore to be affirmed, that he ſeized not on *Cappadocia* till after *Ariobarzanes* had been reſtored the ſecond time by *Sylla*.

I expect to be charged with inſiſting too much upon Trifles: But I would have it underſtood, that my Motive to this, is not from any ſuppoſed Importance in the Things themſelves, but only to inſinuate, by evident Examples, that we ought to be very diffident of what we read, and employ our Talent in the diſcerning matters of Facts. This Application inlarges and improves the Faculties of the Mind. I imagine therefore the Reader will not think my Labour has been ill beſtowed.

There is ſo little Chronology in moſt of the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians, that ancient Hiſtory ſtands in need of being new modelled. I dare venture to ſay, that, had we at this Day all thoſe Aſſiſtances with which they abounded, we ſhould write much better Hiſtories than thoſe they have left us.

[*L*] *The* Cappadocians *were eſteemed - - - - very unfit to make Orators.*] It is on this Account Mr *Kubnius* has confirmed their Opinion, who hold, that *Pauſanias*, Author of the *Deſcription of* Greece, is the ſame with *Pauſanias* the Sophiſt, whoſe Life is written by *Philoſtratus*, and who was one of thoſe Scholars *Herodes Atticus* admitted to ſo great a Familiarity. This is not contradicted by *Philoſtratus*'s Obſervations, *viz.* That this Sophiſt pronounced *Greek* very indifferently; for that was a Fault ſo natural and incurable in the *Cappadocians*, that an Orator of this Country was ſaid to be more rare than a white Crow, or a flying Tortoiſe. *Cui non repugnat*, theſe are *Kubnius*'s Words in his Preface to the New Edition of *Pauſanias* (139), ' quod Phi-
' loſtratus tradit, quod Græcam Linguam durius
' pronunciarit quam delicata ejus rotunditas patie-
' batur. Hoc enim toti Cappadocum nationi com-
' mune vitium, oriſque fuit ἰλάτ]ωμα nulla ex-
' ercitatione emendandum, uti clare indicat notum
' epigramma:

Θᾶττον ἴην λευκὴς χέρσαιας πλησὲς τε χελώνας
Εὑρεῖν, ἢ δόκιμον ῥήτορα Καππαδόκην.

Rarius alata teſtudine, rarius albo
Invenias corvo Rhetora Cappadocem.

A Cappadocian *Orator 's a Shew,*
Rarer than a wing'd Tortoiſe, or white Crow.

[*M*] *The* Cappadocian *Horſes grew better as they grew older.*] ' *Oppian* has obſerved, that they are
' very weak whilſt they are young, but grow ſwifter
' as they grow older.'

Χερσινότεροι δὲ πίλυσιν ἔσῳ μάλα γηράσ-
κουσι (140).

To theſe Words of the *Menagiana*, let me add a Paſſage of *Brantome*. ' The Cardinal of *Guiſe* was
' the only Man on whom the common Saying of
' the late King *Francis* took Place; who remarked,
' That the Princes of the Houſe of *Lorrain* reſem-
' bled the *Neapolitan* Courſers, which are long and
' tardy in growing, but prove very good when they
' grew old (141).'

(134) Id. ibid. pag. 139.

(135) Plut. in Sylla, pag. 453.

(136) Sigon. in Faſtis, ad Ann. 659.

(137) Juſtin, lib. xxxviii, cap. ii.

(138) The Epitome of *Livy*, *lib.* lxx. makes mention of the Reſtoration of this Prince by *Sylla*, and *lib.* lxxiv, of another Reſtoration.

(139) That of *Leipſic*, in 1696.

(140) Suite du Menagiana, pag. 53. *Edit.* Holl.

(141) Brantome's Elogy of Monſ. *de Guiſe*. Tom. III, of his *Memoirs*, pag. 139.

CAPRIATA (PETER-JOHN), a Civilian and Hiſtorian, was of *Genoa*, and lived in the XVIIth Century. He had every Qualification requiſite for an excellent Advocate, if we believe the Teſtimony of *Amantius* [*A*]; but we muſt remember that this Teſtimony is in a Poem before a Book of *Capriata*. In this Poem are alſo given him all the Commendations the moſt accompliſhed Hiſtorian can deſerve. The Expreſſions, made uſe of in Encomiums of this kind, are not to be

[*A*] *He had every Qualification requiſite for an excellent Advocate, if we believe the Teſtimony of* Amantius.] This is the beginning of a Poem placed before *Capriata*'s Book:

Qui conſulta patrum, & nodoſi dogmata juris,
Atque vagos Legum anfractus, dubioſque receſſus
Ingenio ſolitus ſcrutarier, & quem
Juriconſultum inſignem MENOCHIUS olim
Teſtatur, ſcriptis commendans laudibus, —— (1).

Thy Skill can ſound the Depths of puzzling Laws,
Trace all their Windings, and remark their Flaws.

MENOCHIUS *ſaw thy tow'ring Genius riſe,*
Confeſs'd thy Worth, and prais'd thee to the Skies.

A little after follows,

Tu, ſeu jura doces, juris penetralia quævis,
Seu patronus agis cauſas, dubiumque clientem
Sublevat, arguto quem promis pectore, ſenſus,
Unde áudet dubiæ melius confidere cauſæ;
Seu juris reſponſa refers conſulta petenti,
Seu lites dirimis certantes arbiter inter;
Tam rite & recte peragi tibi cuncta videntur,

(1) Paulus Amantius, in Carmine ad Auctorem Hiſtoriæ, & ad Librum.

be construed literally; but it is certain the historical Works of this Writer are very valuable [B]. He delivers Facts with great Clearness; he discovers their Springs, Instruments, and Consequences; and neither falls into the Adulation of a Flatterer, nor into the Ill-nature of a cynical Censor. He boasts of having kept clear of all Partiality, either for *France* or *Spain*; and insists that whoever accuses him of favouring a Party, must find the Charge return upon themselves [C]. The

Tam facile, atq; brevi interjecto tempore, quantum
Per tardas perfecta moras vix quisque dediſſet.

Whether in learned Lectures you explain;
Or by just Pleadings tott'ring Rights maintain;
Or give Opinions on some Points in doubt;
Or by kind Arbitration end a Suit;
No Time requir'd for searching Books you need,
Your instant Thoughts excel all you can read.

Here is one, who succeeded equally, either in explaining the greatest Difficulties of the Civil-Law, or in pleading Causes, or in giving Opinions, or in ending of Suits by way of Arbitration. What can be said more glorious of a Civilian?

[B] *The historical Works of this Writer are very valuable.*] They relate what passed in his own Times, particularly in *Italy*. He published the two first Books by way of Essay, in the Year 1626. *I due primi libri dell' Historia sopra i movimenti d'arme successi in Italia dall' anno* 1613 *fino al* 1618 (a). —— *The two first Books of the History of the Wars in* Italy, *from the Year* 1613 *to* 1618. He re-printed them at *Genoa* in 4to in 1638, with the ten following Books. All the twelve go on from the Year 1613 as far as to 1634, and were again printed at *Geneva* in 1644 in 8vo. The Author published a second part at *Genoa* in 1648, which was re-printed at *Geneva* in 1650 in 8vo. 'It was intituled, 'Dell' Historia di Pietro Giovanni Capriata, parte 'seconda in sei libri distinta. Nel primiero de quali si contingono alcuni movimenti d'armi fuor d'Italia succeduti. E ne' cinque susseguenti la continuatione di quel d'Italia dell' anno MDCXXXIIII, fino al MDCXLIII. —— *The second part of the History of* Peter John Capriata, *divided into six Books. In the first of which is contained an Account of some Wars which happened out of* Italy. *In the Five following, the Continuation of those of* Italy, *from the Year* 1634, *to* 1644.' There was printed at *London*, in 1663, an *English* Translation of the whole Work.

(a) Thuanus's *Catalogue*, *pag.* 301, *Part* 1, *notes the Edition of* Milan, 1627, *in* 8vo.

[C] *He insists that whoever accuses him of favouring a Party, must find the Charge return upon themselves.*] This is a judicious Observation, and applicable to a great many Readers, who are apt to accuse Historians of being partial, for no other reason but because they are remarkably so themselves. If he speaks well of those whom they, out of National Prejudice, or Party Interest, dislike, it is Flattery; and if he says any thing amiss of those whom they, for the same sort of reason, love, it is Malice. They never examine themselves, nor discover that the Partiality which they charge upon their Author is intirely their own. This is what *Capriata* represents to some certain Readers, who complained that he had not preserved an exact Balance between the two Crowns; and that he had set off too extravagantly the Actions of some Princes, and reported as disadvantageously those of others. 'When the Readers, says he, are more prejudiced than the Writer, they think the Commendations too sparing which he gives to their Friends, and those too liberal which he bestows on their Enemies. They accuse him of not censuring the latter enough, and of censuring the former too much; and thus they judge, even whilst the Historian preserves the most perfect Equilibrium. Their doleful Complaints are the Effect of their own Passion, and not, as they pretend, of that of the Author. This Thought is better expressed in *Capriata*'s own Words. 'Ma perche 'frà molti affettionati lodatori si sentono qualche 'più presto doglienze, che detrattioni, parendo ad 'alcuni, che io sia più dell' una, che dell' altra corona partiale, e che de Principi nella parte premiere interessati; altri venghino innalzati, altri 'depressi più di quel, che la via mezzana, che han 'gl'Istoriographi a tenere. Dirò per tanto in rispo'sta, più che in difesa di simili doglienze, primi'eramente, che tanto riesche difficile tener la via 'di mezzo allo Scrittore, quanto al Lettore, & che 'però tanto può l'uno, quanto l'altro trapassare la 'Mediocrità, quello nello scrivere, e questo nel ju'dicare. Impercioche il Lettore tocco per auven'tura da maggior passione, che l'Autore, e però 'più all' una che all' altra parte inclinante riputerà 'sempre corte le lodi, e abbondanti gl' abbassamen'ti della parte, nella quale inclina, e per lo contra'rio maggiori le lodi, e mirori gl' abbassamenti 'delle contrarie, per quanto lo scrittore si sia 'ugualemente con tutti diportato: onde la dogliena 'za procederà per auventura più dalla passione di 'chi legge, che da quella di che scrive, conforme 'al proverbio Latino,

Arquatis omnia lurida videri (3).

A jaundic'd Eye sees every thing discolour'd.

(3) *Capriata*, in the Preface to the second Part of his History.

I have said elsewhere (4), that it is sometimes easier to be an honest Man, than to appear so; and I here affirm that it is sometimes more difficult to appear a faithful Historian, than to be such in reality. I do not mean that it is an easy Task to write an History, which shall impartially represent the Prudence and ill Conduct, the Right and Wrong, the Advantages and Losses of two Parties. This requires a Man without Passions, or the Sage of the Stoics, a Man who never can be met with, and exists only in Idea; It requires, I say, this state of Insensibility, to be able to preserve always so exact a Medium in composing History. It is not sufficient to belong to a Country no way concerned either with *France* or *Spain*, during the Wars between those two Crowns. We may favour indirectly, at least by our wishes, one Party more than the other, notwithstanding this Neutrality (5). Our own national Interests, or national Caprices, may inspire this preference. It is impossible to express how this prejudices an Historian against the Party he dislikes, how many secret Passions it raises in him which corrupt his Judgment, and how it accustoms him to relate, with much more Pleasure, the Successes of the Party he favours. I add, that a private Person shall even from his own particular Constitution conceive an Affection for one Foreign Nation, greater than for another; and that the Situation of his own Fortune may make him have more to hope or fear from one Prince, than from another. These are some of the Obstacles to an Historian's being perfectly candid, and observing a just Medium. A great many more might be mentioned; and if every thing was to be, which may bias an Author in writing the History of his own Country, the Catalogue would be still much larger. It must therefore be owned to be a very difficult Task to compose an Impartial History.

(4) *In Remark* [B], *of the Article* AMPHIARAUS.

(5) See, in the *Historical Letters*, for the Month of *October*, 1702, *pag.* 374, *&c.* with what Violence the People of *Rome* discovered their Partiality, either for the Emperor, or for *France*. See also the *News from the Courts of Europe*, *October*, 1704, *pag.* 380, *&c.* and the *Historical Letters* for the same Month, *p.* 358.

But if an Author could surmount all these Obstacles, the Snares and Surprises of his Passions, the Prejudice of Education, the Force of Prepossessions, and the Habits contracted before undertaking to write his History; If in short he had related sincerely the Good and Bad of each Party, without inclining to either side, where would he find Readers candid enough to do him the Justice he deserves? Would they take the same pains to divest themselves of all Prepossession? Would they not be displeased with what they find related either in prejudice to the Party they love, or in favour of That they dislike? Would they believe these Accounts to be true? Would they not reject every Thing as false which should contradict their prejudices? Consequently, this Author would find more Difficulty to be esteemed impartial, than really to be so.

The Inconveniencies I have mentioned are more particularly to be apprehended in writing a History of our own Times: for, in proportion as the Facts are of more distant Dates, the Readers become less

The *Venetians* complained of being ill treated in his Hiſtory; the Grounds on which he juſtified himſelf were worth remarking [*D*]. He dedicated his Work, not to the Princes, but to private Perſons; for fear that his addreſſing to a powerful Patron might make him ſuſpected of not having ſtrictly adhered to the Rules of Hiſtory [*E*].

untractable; but, as to thoſe lately paſſed, they will hear no Reaſon. They directly declare to be Penſioners to the Enemy, the Gazetteers, who give a more favourable Account than other Writers have done of their Loſſes, and ſuppreſs nothing of their Succeſſes. The generality of Readers are ſo unjuſt, as to eſteem thoſe, who dare contradict their late Advantages, to be Favourers of the Enemy. So that an Hiſtorian, in proportion as he is in reality more ſincere, renders himſelf ſo much the more ſuſpected. *Salluſt* might have reckoned this among the Difficulties in writing Hiſtory; I mean the Difficulties, which, according to him, riſe from the Diſpoſitions of the Reader. 'Ac mihi 'quidem tametſi haud quaquam par gloria ſequatur 'ſcriptorem & auctorem rerum; tamen imprimis ar-'duum videtur res geſtas ſcribere: primùm, quod 'facta dictis exæquanda ſunt: dein quia plerique, 'quæ delicta reprehenderis, malevolentiâ & invidiâ 'dicta putant: ubi de magna virtute, atque gloria 'bonorum memores; quæ ſibi quiſque facilia factu 'putet, æquo animo accipit; ſupra, veluti ficta 'pro falſis ducit (6). —— *And though there is not the* 'fame Glory acquired by relating Actions, as by per-'forming them, yet I take the Undertaking of an 'Hiſtorian to be one of the moſt difficult. Firſt, be-'cauſe Facts are to be equalled with Words; again, 'becauſe moſt Readers will take all Animadverſions 'on Miſconduct to proceed from Malice and Envy: 'And in all Relations of brave and gallant Actions, 'what they think they could have done themſelves, 'they admit as true, and what exceeds that ſtand-'ard they reject as fictious and falſe.'

(6) Salluſt. in Præfat Belli Catilinarii.

To return to *Capriata*, it is obſervable that he gives (7), as an Inſtance of his Impartiality, his Account of the two Wars in *Montferrat*. The Duke of *Mantua*, being attacked in the former by the Duke of *Savoy*, was ſupported by the King of *Spain*; but in the ſecond he was attacked by that King, and ſupported by the King of *France*. Our Author, who had commended the King of *Spain*, with reſpect to the firſt, condemns him in regard to the laſt, and beſtows ſo much Praiſe on the Conduct of *Lewis* XIII, that they have been copied by a *Frenchman*. 'Che 'un Cavaglier Franceſe dell' ordini dello Spirito, 'nel ſuo Politico Chriſtianiſſimo, dato alle ſtampe, 'sè compiacciuto per pompa di quella Reggia attione 'di regiſtrarlo parola per parola, ſenza pero nominar '(8). —— *That a* French *Knight of the Order of* 'the Holy Ghoſt, *in his* Moſt Chriſtian Politician, *a* 'Piece lately printed, was ſo pleaſed with the Mag-'nificence of this Royal Action, as to give the De-'ſcription of it Word for Word, without ſo much as 'naming his Author.' His Impartiality, and Independance, appear alſo from a *Latin* Epigram he gives us, and which was publiſhed by an Author (9), perſonally unknown to him. This is part of it:

(7) In the Preface to the ſecond Part.

(8) *Capriata, ibid.* The author however of *The moſt Chriſtian Politician*, is no Plagiary; for he declares, pag. 202, of the Edition of 1645, in 12mo, that he gives that account from an *Italian* author.

(9) Paganinus Gaudentius, *in the Book called* Obſtetrix Librorum.

Detegis arcanos Regum ſenſuſque doloſque,
Nec belli cauſas præteriiſſe finis.
Venalem renuis laudando obtrudere palpum,
De nullo erectus dicere vera times.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Gallus & Hiſpanus nullo diſcrimine habentur;
Nec tibi tractatur molliter Emanuel.

Nor the Deſigns, nor Frauds of Kings, you ſpare,
But their moſt ſecret ſprings of War declare.
Free from baſe Flatt'ry your bold Truths appear
Scorning the Influence of Bribe or Fear.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Spaniard *and* French *impartial Juſtice find,*
Nor moves Emanuel *your equal Mind.*

But let him have rendered himſelf ever ſo deſerving of this Encomium, a Reader, who is prepoſſeſſed, will never think him ſo; and if it may be ſaid, that he who writes Hiſtory ought to be void of all Paſſion, it may alſo be affirmed, that he ought to be ſo too who judges of the Work. Books of Hiſtory above all others verify that Obſervation, *Pro captu lectoris habent ſua fata libelli.* —— *The Reader's Taſte decides the Fate of Books.*

[*D*] *The* Venetians *complained of —— his Hiſtory: the Grounds on which he juſtifies himſelf are worth remarking.*] *Andrew Balbo*, a noble *Venetian*, was at *Genoa*, when the firſt Part of *Capriata*'s Hiſtory was publiſhed. He complained very civilly to the Author, who anſwered him, among other Things, That no body could accuſe him of want of Reſpect to the Republic of *Venice*, in every Thing which concerned the Wiſdom of it's Government (10); that, if he had not deſcribed the Succeſſes of their Wars, in an agreeable manner, it was not his Fault, ſince he had repreſented them according to Truth, and it could not be expected that the Deſcription of thoſe Things, which gave pain when they happened, ſhould give pleaſure in the reading. 'Quanto poi a ſucceſſi delle guerre tanto di mare, 'quanto di terra, non havendole recato guſto quando 'ſuccedettono, e impoſſibile che glie'l recchino 'quando ſi deſcrivono, onde non v'hà colpa ló ſcrit-'tore ſe conforme al vero i rappreſenta.' It would undoubtedly be a great Diſorder, if the Events themſelves were diſagreeable to us, and yet the Hiſtory of them was pleaſing. Thoſe Writers only, who have no regard to Truth, can produce this Contradiction in the Nature of Things. They are like Cooks, who make ſuch ſavoury Sauces to Meats, the moſt inſipid, and hard to digeſt, that they go down with a Reliſh. An Hiſtorian of no Integrity will ſuppreſs all bad Succeſſes, or cover them with a long detail of little advantageous Circumſtances, ſo as to render them imperceptible to his Readers: they will not be able to ſee the Wound under the Multitude of fine Plaiſters, he applies to it.

(10) Capriata, *Preface of the ſecond Part of his Hiſtory.*

Capriata repreſented alſo, that he was neither a Subject, nor Penſioner, of the Republic of *Venice*, and yet had treated it with greater Reſpect than ſome Authors of it's own had done, who had been puniſhed both in their Perſons and Works, whilſt the Sale of his Hiſtory was publickly permitted. 'E ſe V. 'S. andera paragonando i noſtri ſcritti con quei d' 'alcuni Veneti ſcrittori trovera, che, come con mag-'gior verita, coſi con riſpetto maggiore ho i ſucceſſi 'poco felici dell' armi Venetiani repreſentato, ha-'vendo nelle coſe dubbie ſempre nella piu benigna 'interpretatione inclinato. In maniera, che le no-'ſtre opere ſono publicamente, nella ſteſſa Citta di 'Venetia, vendute, lette, & con applauſi non mi-'nori, che altrove ricevute, dove quelle de' loro 'ſcrittori rimanendo affato ſterminate, non compa-'riono in luce e gl' Autori ne ſtati ſono puniti, e 'puniti ancora i Capitani, che mal ſi diportarono ne 'ſiniſtri incontri dell' Arme, e delle publiche fattio-'ni (11).' All this was more proper to juſtify the Author, than to remove the Uneaſineſs he had given the *Venetians* by the Sincerity of his Pen. Men do not love to be told publickly of their Faults (12).

(11) Ibid.

(12) Obſequium amicos, veritas odium parit —— *Truth begets Enemies, and Flattery Friends.* Terent. And. Act. I, Sc. I.

[*E*] *He was afraid his addreſſing to a powerful Patron might make him ſuſpected of not having ſtrictly adhered to the Rules of Hiſtory.*] He dedicated the firſt Part of his Hiſtory to *Ottaviano Raggi*, Auditor of the Chamber to *Urban* VIII; and the ſecond to *Carolo Emanuele Durazzo*, Referendary of both Signatures, and declared the Reaſons which hindred his dedicating them to any Prince. There is not a Prince, ſays he, but is intereſted in the Affairs I relate; whatever therefore is ſaid in favour of him, to whom I ſhould dedicate my Book, might be eſteemed Flattery, and any thing to his Diſadvantage would be an Affront. It might alſo be ſuſpected, that the Deſire of procuring a Prince's Favour had ſerved as a Bridle to make me hold my Tongue, or a Spur to carry me beyond the Truth. 'Effendo-'vi tutti (Principi) o tanto o quanto intereſſati, 'non pareſce adulatione quel, che il corſo ordinario 'delle coſe ſuccedute portaſſe di poco loro guſto, 'e ſadisfattione: E per che ancora neſſuno haveſſe

'occaſione

' occasione di far concetto, che il desiderio d'acquistarmi la gratia di quel Principe, havesse servito di freno, per farmi tacere, o di stimolo per iscrivere più abbondantemente, contro quel, che l'obligo di fedele, e sincero scrittore mi potesse perscrivere (13).' Nothing is more judicious than this: for the more an Historian deserves to be commended for his Sincerity, in censuring a Monarch's Misconduct, and relating his ill Successes, the more would he be to blame for his Imprudence in dedicating his Book to him. Besides, it is become customary to use Flattery in addressing to Princes. Some Pension or Reward is expected; and therefore care is taken to consider what ought to be expressed or concealed. This is made the Rule of relating their Actions through the whole Course of the Work. The Dedication of such a Piece to their Patron, is a direct Declaration of their renouncing their Liberty, and seeking a Master. At least it will be imagined so.

(13) *Capriate*, in the Epistle Dedicatory of the first Part of his History.

CARACCIOL, or CARACCIOLI. Mr *Moreri* has mentioned several famous Persons of this Family; but he has forgot the grand Seneschal of *Naples*, who was, perhaps, the first great Man of his Branch. His Name was *JOHN CARACCIOL*: He made use of his Pen when he was very young (*a*); which was occasioned by his Poverty, though he was born a Gentleman. He had the good fortune to please *Joan*, Queen of *Naples*, the second of that Name, which proved the way to his Preferment. He was not only admitted to the Friendship of this Queen, but also to her Embraces, which were followed by Posts of Honour and Profit, according as he knew how to husband his Interest with her, and make himself serviceable to her. The manner, in which this Princess is said to have made him the first Advances, is very extraordinary [*A*]. He at last met with the Fate common to such Favourites; he was too busy an Intriguer, and rendered himself odious to a Lady of great Credit with the Queen: Some say he was so insolent as to give this Princess gross, abusive, Language, and even to give her a Box on the Ear, upon her refusing to give him the Principality of *Salerno* (*b*). There was some reason to suspect him of several ill Practices against the Interest of the State; for it was he, who suggested to *Alphonso*, King of *Arragon*, the Design of returning to *Naples* (*c*), from whence he had only retired upon his not being able to carry away Queen *Joan*, his Mother by Adoption. It is easy to imagine how much the Queen must, after this, hate the Party of her ungrateful Son. Yet *Caracciol* undertook to procure, to this very Party, the Superiority in the Kingdom of *Naples*. His Designs were discovered, and, in order to make them ineffectual, the Queen pretended to put her Confidence in him: He was drawn by this Artifice to her Court, upon which she ordered him to be slain, the first of *August*, 1432, by the Advice of her favourite Woman (*d*) [*B*]. At the beginning of the Rupture between *Alphonso* of *Arragon* and Queen *Joan*, *Caracciol*, being sent to visit that Prince, who pretended himself indisposed, was made a Prisoner (*e*); but he was set at Liberty some time after (*f*). See *Pasquier*'s *Recherches de la France*, *cap.* xvii, *lib.* vi.

(*a*) Brantome, Vie des Dames Illustres, pag. 398.

(*b*) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1432, n. 18. pag. 816.

(*c*) Mariana, lib. xxi, cap. v.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Simulat rex valetudinem. Joannes Caracciolus Seneschalus majori apud reginam gratia & auctoritate quam honestum esset, ad invisendum accedens capitur. *Mariana lib.* xx, *cap.* xiii.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *The manner, in which this Princess is said to have made him the first Advances, is very extraordinary.*] *Brantome* is my Author. ' The first Opportunity the Queen ever had of discovering her Passion to him was from his Aversion to Mice. One ' Day, as he was playing at Chess in her Wardrobe, ' she herself procured a Mouse to be brought before him: he turning himself in a Fright, sometimes this way, and sometimes that, and running ' first against one, and then another, fled at last to ' the Door of the Queen's Chamber, and so fell ' directly upon her. By which means she discovered ' her Love to him, and immediately granted him the ' Favour, soon after which she made him her grand ' Seneschal (1).' Believe this Story who will; however it is not improbable, that, of all Declarations of Love, none costs a Person of her Sex and Quality so dear as a verbal one.

(1) Brant Dames Illustr. pag. 399.

Nor is this to be wondered at: Women have a greater Command over their Tongues, than over several other Signs, more apt to make the Fire blaze out, which lies smothering in their Breasts (2): It is for this Reason Shame more easily hinders them from having recourse to articulate words, which are Signs of Institution, than from expressing their Desires in their Faces by some natural Signs. And as Men are commonly very dexterous in discovering these Signs, and as ready in taking the Advantage of them, Women are seldom reduced to make verbal Declarations; this Necessity therefore is so great a Rarity, that, for want of frequent Use, it cannot become easy. If they perceive all other Signs unregarded; they prefer the use of the Pen to that of the Tongue. We have seen an Example of this kind before (3), in the Description *Ovid* has given us of the Passion of *Byblis*. And it is to be observed, that, in Affairs of this Nature, a Queen has not the Advantages other Women have; she is surrounded with those only, who, by reason of their Subjection, dare not advance any Declarations of Love: so that of necessity she must be the first Aggressor, and make the Discovery of her own Passion. Other Women, generally speaking, suffer themselves to be attacked; and, though at the same time they wish to be conquered, yet keep upon the defensive, and have the Honour of it (4); whilst a Queen is forced to give the Onset, and shamefully to break through all the Rules of Decency. I say nothing of the risque she runs of not being understood; she may easily be delivered from that, and explain herself sooner or later: Our *Joan* of *Naples* was so dexterous, that, without descending to *I love you*, or to a Declaration more plain and gross, which was made to the Patriarch *Joseph* (5), she discovered her Inclinations. Much less need she fear a Repulse, after she has made herself understood; for that Danger is very small. The Advantages, which redound from such a Condescension, and the Inconvenience a Man exposes himself to, if he slights these Royal Favours, almost always oblige him to answer them (6).

(2) Vulnus alit venis, & cæco carpitur igne. *Virg. Æn. lib.* iv, *ver.* 2.

(3) In Remark [*B*], of the Article BYBLIS.

(4) Pugnabit primo fortasse, &, Improbe, dices: Pugnando vinci sed tamen illa volet. *Ovid. de Arte Amandi, lib.* i, *ver.* 667.

(5) *Genes.* cap. xxxix, *ver.* 7.

[*B*] —— *this Queen* —— *ordered him to be slain* —— *by the Advice of her favourite Woman.*] These are *Mariana*'s words: 'Princeps consilii auctor Cobella Rusa Antonii Suessæ Ducis conjux, quæ ' præcipuum gratiæ & auctoritatis locum apud Reginam nacta erat, eoque implacabili odio in Caracciolum ferebatur (7). —— *The chief Author of* ' *this Advice was* Cobella Rusa, *Wife of* Antony, ' *Duke of* Suessa, *who was in greatest Favour and* ' *Authority with the Queen, and therefore extream-* ' *ly inveterate against* Caraccioli.'

(6) See Remark [*C*], of the Article PAUSTA.

(7) Marian. lib. xxv, cap. v.

We must observe, that, according to some Authors, the Queen's share in this matter consisted more in permitting than commanding it to be done (8). She pardoned the Murderers, confiscated the Estate of the deceased, and attainted his Memory. He did not apprehend that this Princess was his Enemy; for as soon as he was falsly informed, by the Contrivance of the Conspirators, that the Queen was fallen into an Apoplexy, and that his Presence

(8) Non tam jubente quam non negante regina. *Spondan. ad Ann.* 1443, n. 18.

was desired; he rose immediately, and opened the Door to them in his Shirt. They rushed in upon him, and murdered him, the Twenty seventh of *August*, the Day on which he had celebrated the Marriage of his Son, with great Solemnity (9).

(9) Taken from *Spondanus*, *ibid.*

CARACCIOLI (JOHN ANTONY), Son of *John Caraccioli*, Prince of *Melfi*, Marshal of *France*, &c. was Bishop of *Troyes* in the XVIth Century, and declared himself a Calvinist in the Year 1561. See *Moreri*'s Dictionary; but observe, that he there misrecites the Words of *Thuanus*. He makes him say more than he has said (*a*), and omits one considerable Circumstance, which he has taken notice of; which is, that the Protestants acknowledged *Caraccioli* for Bishop, after he had publickly embraced their Religion [*A*]. This deserves Examination.

(*a*) This is more especially remarkable in the latter Editions, where what he pretends to be said by *Thuanus*, is distinguished in *Italic* Characters.

[*A*] *The Protestants acknowledged* Caraccioli *as a Bishop, after he had publickly embraced their Religion.*] *Thuanus* takes notice, that this Bishop, upon a Scruple of Conscience, for his not having been elected by the Suffrages, either of the Church or People, assembled the Protestant Elders, in order that they might piously and prudently deliberate about electing and acknowledging him for Bishop. He declared against the shewing him any Favour, and that, if they did not think him worthy of that Character, he would lay it down with Pleasure. The Affair being duly considered, he was unanimously elected and re-ordained, and took his Seat as Bishop, and often preached, till the Bishops, apprehending the Danger of such a Precedent, prevailed with the King to deprive him. 'Bi scrupulus injectus est de 'vocatione sua, quod non Ecclesiæ neque Populi 'suffragiis electus esset; itaque Protestantium Eccle- 'siæ seniores evocat, ut piè ac prudenter despice- 'rent, an se eligere vellent, ac pro Episcopo ha- 'bere; neque quidquam gratiæ darent; nam si mi- 'nus idoneum existimarent, se libenter loco cessurum. 'Ita re inter eos deliberata, omnium consensu ele- 'ctus & denuo ordinatus loco Episcopi sedit, in con- 'cionibus publicè ad populum, quibus eorum do- 'ctrinam sequebatur, habendis assiduus, donec præ- 'sules exemplum veritii apud regem pervicerunt ut 'dignitate moveretur (1).' Sure this was a Matter well worth being mentioned by *Moreri*. We shall see presently, that it does not at all agree with the Account of *Theodorus Beza*, and yet *Thuanus* has followed *Peter Martyr*, who was upon the Spot.

(1) Thuan. lib. xxviii, pag. 569. col. 2, C. ad Ann. 1562.

One of the Presbyterian Ministers, who were banished from *England*, in the Year 1662, published an Apology, wherein he refutes a Piece, printed by Mr *Durel* (2), in Defence of Episcopacy: I have seen what this Apology answers to Mr *Durel*, who had proved from this Example of *Caraccioli*, Bishop of *Troyes*, that the Reformed in *France* did not condemn Episcopacy. It maintains, that, if they did acknowledge this Proselyte for a true Bishop, it was only by taking that Word to signify no more than a Minister of the Word of GOD, and not as it is used to signify a perpetual President of the Assembly of Presbyters, and much less as it signifies a Prelate, who rules absolute without the Advice of his Presbyters (3). It adds, that *Caraccioli*, being in doubt whether he could lawfully exercise the Pastoral Function, not having been confirmed or elected by the Church and People, (to use the very Words of *Peter Martyr* in his Epistle to *Beza*) 'convened the Elders 'of the Reformed Church, and desired them piously 'and prudently to consider, whether they would 'elect, confirm, and acknowledge him for Bishop, 'which if they thought proper to do, he would 'make it his Duty to proceed as he had begun, by 'teaching and exhorting the Church committed to 'his Care, to edify and enlarge it to the utmost of 'his Ability; but, if they judged him unfit for so 'great a Charge, that they would freely and openly 'declare so, in which case he was ready to resign, 'having nothing more at heart than to be permitted 'to live in the Reformed Church, according to the 'sacred Rules of the Gospel. He requested, that they 'would maturely deliberate on this Matter in the 'Church; which when they had done, he was 'unanimously acknowledged and received as a true 'Bishop, on the sixteenth of *November*, 1561. *In- 'cessit animum boni viri scrupulus, an posset munus 'pastoris obire, eo quod non haberet ecclesiæ & populi 'confirmationem seu electionem: inde (utar ipsissimis 'verbis Petri-Martyris in Epistola ad Bezam)* seniores 'Ecclesiæ reformatæ accersivit, rogavitque, ut pie 'ac prudenter despicerent, an eum vellent eligere, '& confirmare, ac pro Episcopo habere, quod si 'judicarent faciendum, se daturum operam, ut si- 'cut cœpit ita pergeret, Ecclesiam sibi commissam 'docendo & hortando, pro viribus ædificare, & au- 'gere; sin vero existimarent illum minus idoneum ad 'tantum munus, libere atque aperte dicerent, se au- 'tem paratum esse loco cedere, modo ei liceat in Ec- 'clesia Reformata vivere, juxta sanctam Evangelii 'disciplinam. Rogavit ut ea de re maturè in Eccle- 'sia deliberarent; quod cum factum esset, ab omni- 'bus unanimiter ut verus Episcopus agnitus est & re- 'ceptus, Nov. 16. 1561 (4).' Here is an exact Agreement between *Thuanus* and *Peter Martyr*: no wonder therefore that Mr *Durel* should say, *Caraccioli* was acknowledged for a true Bishop by the Reformed in *France*. For who could attest this better than *Peter Martyr*, who, after the Conclusion of the Conference at *Poissy*, passed through *Troyes*, to pay a Visit to the Bishop who had openly declared himself a Protestant (5)? However the Apologist accuses Mr *Durel* either of Fraud, or Negligence; and, in order to convict him, compares his Words with the following Passage, in the History of the Reformed Churches of *France*.

(2) He was then Minister of the *Savoy* Church in *London*, which is Episcopal.

(3) Apologia pro Ministris in Anglia (vulgo) Nonconformistis, p. 263, *Edit.* 1665.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Thuanus, lib. xxvii, ad Ann. 1561.

'About the End of *September*, *Antony Caraccioli*, 'Bishop of *Troyes*, returning from the Conference 'at *Poissy*, which had made some Impression upon 'him, being also sollicited by some Princesses and 'Ladies of the Court, presented himself before the 'Consistory of the Church of *Troyes*, solemnly ac- 'knowledging his Errors, and requesting to be re- 'ceived into the Ministry. On which, there being 'a difference in Opinions, some thinking it would 'be a great Advantage to have him on their side, 'others suspecting, not without reason, the Levity 'and incontinent Life of that Bishop, at that time 'too notorious, it was resolved to consult the Mini- 'sters then assembled at *Poissy*, who, finding some 'difficulty in the Affair, on account of some Cir- 'cumstances which were made public, it was refer- 'red to the Church of *Geneva*, whose Opinion of 'which is to be met with in writing among the *Latin* 'Answers of *John Calvin* (6). In the mean time, 'passed through *Troyes*, that great Man *Peter Mar- 'tyr*, in his Return from *Poissy* to his Church at 'Zurich, by whose Advice the Bishop, having made 'his Abjuration, and signed the Confession of Faith, 'and promised to quit his Bishopric, was received 'into the Ministry, though not unanimously, being 'opposed by one of the Ministers, named *Peter le 'Roy*. However, having quitted his Bishopric, by 'means of a Pension procured him by the Queen, 'he applied himself to preaching, abounding much 'more in words than knowledge: but he behaved 'himself very ill afterwards, as will be shewn in it's 'Place (7).'

(6) I take it to be in the 373d Letter of *Calvin*, pag. 726. *Edit.* Hanov. 1597.

If this Account be any way reconcileable with That of *Peter Martyr*, it must be allowed to be very ill expressed, and after the most obscure and deceitful manner. I agree, that if Mr *Durel* knew what the Author of the History of the Reformed Churches had advanced, he ought either to have refuted him, or reconciled him in the best manner he could with *Peter Martyr*: but very probably he knew nothing at all of it, nor in the least suspected that there was any Account so contrary to that of this Minister, which had been adopted and confirmed by *Thuanus*. He took advantage from the Remark, with which this celebrated Historian has corroborated his Account; namely, that the Bishops of *France* apprehended the Consequences of this Behaviour of *Caraccioli*, and that upon this account they prevailed on the King to remove him from his Dignity. The Presbyterian Apologist eludes this Remark, by replying that the Bishops apprehended the Consequences of the Conduct of their Brother of *Troyes*, because, if the Episcopal

(7) Beza's Ecclesiastical History of the Reformed Churches, Tom. I, lib. v, pag. 767, under the Year 1561.

copal Character could not be lawful without the Suffrages of the People, there must be an End of their Hierarchy; and because the frequent Preachings of *Caraccioli* condemned the Idleneſs of his Brethren, or their Application to other Matters (8). But this is going from the Purpoſe: It is evident, *Thuanus* meant, that the Apprehenſion of the Biſhops was founded on *Caraccioli*'s retaining his Biſhopric, after his Admiſſion into the Proteſtant Communion. It was from hence that his Example might become dangerous. It was poſſible that a great many of the Biſhops would have ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*, if they had been ſure of preſerving their Dignity, upon their being confirmed by the Proteſtant People. There was no room to fear they would renounce their Dignities to become only common Preachers. We muſt allow therefore, that Mr *Durel*'s Antagoniſt was miſtaken, and that he entered upon theſe controverſial Topics, principally to have an opportunity of reproaching the *Engliſh* Biſhops with their Neglect of Preaching (9).'

(8) Apologia pro Miniſtris In Anglia, pag. 166.

(9) Ibid. & pag. ſeq.

CARBON (*a*) (Lewis), Author of ſeveral Books of Rhetoric, Philoſophy, and Divinity, lived towards the end of the XVIth Century. He was not a Civilian, as Mr *Konig* affirms, but a Divine: He was even Profeſſor of Divinity at *Perugia*. *Servilius Treus*, a Native of *Udine*, was one of his particular Friends, and adviſed ſeveral Perſons to buy the Rhetoric that *Carbon* had publiſhed. This was one of the Reaſons which induced *Carbon* to dedicate to him his *Introductio in Logicam* [*A*], printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1579, in Octavo. And indeed this is a Method of obliging an Author in the moſt agreeable manner.

(*a*) He took for his Surname, *à Coſtacciaro*.

[*A*] Servilius Treus —— *adviſed ſeveral Perſons to buy the Rhetoric that* Carbon *had publiſhed. This was one of the Reaſons that induced* Carbon *to dedicate to him his* Introductio in Logicam.] He begins with the uſual Topic, that the Perſon to whom he dedicates his Book will become it's Patron (1); after which he comes to that of Gratitude, and, among other Favours, acknowledges the Encomium beſtowed on his Treatiſe of Rhetoric, and the Recommendations in favour of the Sale of it. 'Deinde ſi iis 'potiſſime opera dicanda ſunt, quibus ſe plurimum 'homines debere ſentiunt; & ex hoc ſane capite 'ad hos meos labores omni animi ſtudio tibi conſe'crandos cauſis non levibus impulſus ſum. Nam 'ut paulo ante dicebam, cum te apud multos mea'rum ſcriptorum eum prædicatorem habuerim, qua'lem alium fortaſſe neminem; profecto non pote'ris non defendere id, quod tuæ privatæ fidei com'miſſum ſuiſſe videbis. Optime namque novi, te 'non modo meis ſcriptis, quæ de Arte dicendi in 'lucem dedi, mirifice delectari, ſed etiam ad ea 'ſibi comparanda alios ſæpe ſuiſſe hortatum (2). — *Moreover, if Books ought eſpecially to be dedicated to thoſe to whom we have the greateſt Obligations, I ought on this Account to dedicate theſe my Labours to you in the moſt affectionate manner. For, as you have been pleaſed to recommend my writings, in a ſtronger manner than any of my others Friends, I aſſure myſelf that you will not fail to defend what is thus put under your particular Protection; for I am well informed, that you not only are very well pleaſed with my Books on Rhetoric, but have frequently deſired others to purchaſe them.*'

(1) *See, on this Head, the Remark* [C], *of the Article* ANTESIGNANUS.

(2) Lud. Carbo, Epiſt. Dedicat. Introd. in Logicam, folio a 2, verſo.

Note, That *Servilius Treus*, Patron of that Book, was a Civilian, who had great Employments in the Republic of *Venice*. They are particularly enumerated in this Epiſtle Dedicatory. He was one of the ſeven Commiſſioners intruſted with the Building of the Town of *Palma Nuova*, and he made a Speech to them, which was printed, and has been commended by our Author, who did not fail obſerving that his Friend had a very rare Talent: which was his excelling both in Buſineſs, and Learning. It is certain theſe two Things ſeldom go together (3); for great Application to ſtudy generally diſqualifies for any public Employment, which is not in the learned way. 'Et in te admirati ſint, quod in pau'cis reperitur, doctrinam cum rerum agendarum ra'tione conjunctam; quotus enim quiſque eſt, qui 'cognitione & actione excellat, ut tu, Servili, facis? 'Eloquentiæ vero tunc privatum ſpecimen exhi'buiſti, cum orationem non jejunam, non nudam, 'ſed rerum genere eruditam, varietate copioſam, ſen'tentiis illuſtratam, verborum ſelectione cultam, 'ſchematibus p'ctam, atque dicendi forma ornatam, 'apud Illuſtriſſ. Palmæ Novæ urbis ædificandæ Præ'fectos, ut unus e Septem deſignatis, habuiſti: quam 'vir eruditus & eloquens Auguſtinus Michaelius, tie 'tanto bono bonarum literarum ſtudioſi carerent, tua 'cum laude in lucem dedit (4). —— *And admired to find in your Perſon, what we ſeldom meet with together, the Scholar and the Man of Buſineſs. For how few are they who excel both in Science and in Action, as you,* Servilius, *do? Of your Eloquence you gave us a ſignal Proof, in the Speech which you, as one of the ſeven Commiſſioners for rebuilding* Palma Nova, *made to the honourable Truſtees, not a jejune and naked one, but full of curious Learning, great Variety, wiſe Sentences, elegant Choice of Words, adorned with noble Figures and Expreſſions, which* Auguſtin Michaelius *publiſhed with due Encomiums on the Speaker, that the learned might not be deprived of ſo fine a Piece.*'

(3) See the Preface to *Serrafin*'s Works.

(4) Carbo, ubi ſupra, fol. a 4.

This Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated from *Venice*, the fifth of *June*, 1597.

CARDAN (Jerom), a Phyſician, and one of the greateſt Genius's of his Age, was born at *Pavia*, the Twenty fourth of *September*, 1501 (*a*) [*A*]. His Mother, not being married [*B*], did all ſhe could, during her Pregnancy, to cauſe Abortion;

(*a*) Cardanus, de Vitâ propria, p. 12. *Edit* Pariſ. 1643, in 8vo.

[*A*] *He was born the Twenty fourth of* September, 1501.] I was not willing to depend upon what I have read in the ſecond Chapter of his Life, *Ortus ſum An M.D.VIII. Calend. Octobris.* I intend no Criticiſm on the ill placing of theſe Words, though they leave the Reader in a doubt whether he was born *Octob.* 1. 1508, or *Sept* 24. 1500. I ſtick at other Matters. *Cardan* ſays, he had a Fit of Sickneſs, of which he thought he ſhould have died, in the beginning of his Eighth Year (1), and that he recovered, whilſt the *French* were rejoicing for their Victory, obtained over the *Venetians* near the *Adda* (2). It is certain this Victory was obtained on the fourteenth of *May*, 1509, and it is very likely *Cardan* fell ſick towards the end of *Sept* 1508; now, as he was then entring upon his eighth Year, he muſt of conſequence be born about the latter end of *Septembet*, 1501. If this Proof is excepted againſt, under Pretence that *Cardan*'s Sickneſs might have begun in *Sept.* 1507; let it be obſerved, how *Cardan* elſewhere (3) makes his Thirty fifth Year fall in with 1536. Mr *Baillet* had reaſon to remark, that Authors are extreamly divided as to the preciſe time of *Cardan*'s Birth and Death (4). See the Remark [*F*].

(1) Cardan. de Vitâ propriâ, cap. iv, pag. 14. *Edit* Pariſ. 1643.

(2) Convulſum Galli, devictis in Adduæ confinio Venetis, celebrabant triumphum, *Cardanus, ibid.*

(3) Ibid. pag. 19, 20.

(4) Baill. Tom. I, *of his* Anti, pag. 46, & ſeq.

[*B*] *His Mother was not married.*] Her Name was *Clara Micheria* (5). I find her Son no where expreſsly affirming ſhe was not married; he ſays indeed, ſhe attempted to deſtroy the Fruit of her Womb, and that his Father did not cohabit with her; but both theſe Things may be conſiſtent with Marriage. There are many married Women, who make uſe of Drugs to cauſe Abortion; the Writings of the Caſuiſts furniſh but too many Inſtances, and the Confeſſors know enough of it. Beſides, a Separation from Bed and Board is no ſuch extraordinary thing in the married State. The Reaſon therefore, that makes me believe *Cardan* was a Baſtard,

(5) Cardan. de Vitâ propriâ, pag. 6.

Abortion; but the Medicines she took had not their desired Effect (*b*). She was three Days in Labour, insomuch that they were forced to tear the Infant from her. He was born with a Head full of black curled Hair (*c*). At four Years of Age he was carried to *Milan* (*d*), where his Father was an Advocate (*e*); and he was eight Years of age, when, in a dangerous Fit of Sickness, they devoted him to St *Jerom*. It was his Father made this Vow, who chose rather to have recourse to the Assistance of this Saint, than that of his Familiar Spirit, whose Attendance he greatly boasted of. His Son never once thought of asking the reason of his making this Preference (*f*). At twenty Years of Age he went to study in the University of *Pavia*; where, two Years after, he explained *Euclid*. In 1524, he went to *Padua*, where he took the Degree of Master of Arts the same Year, and, towards the end of the Year 1525, that of Doctor of Physic (*g*). He married about the latter end of the Year 1531 (*h*). He had been incapable, for the space of ten Years before, of enjoying a Woman [*C*]; which very much afflicted him. He had compleated his Thirty third Year, when he was made Mathematical Professor at *Milan*. Two Years after, he was offered a Physic-Professorship in *Pavia*, which he refused, from the uncertainty of the Payment of his Salary (*i*). In 1539, he was admitted into the College of Physicians at *Milan*; and in 1543, taught Physic publickly in that City. The Year following he did the same at *Pavia*, but left off at the end of the Year, because they did not pay him his Stipend, and returned to *Milan* (*k*). In 1547, a very advantageous Offer was made him by the King of *Denmark*, which he refused, on account of the Air and Religion of the Country [*D*]. He

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 7.
(*c*) Ibid. pag. 8.
(*d*) Ibid. pag. 15.
(*e*) See, in Remark [*S*], some particulars relating to this Man.
(*f*) Ibid. pag. 14.
(*g*) Ibid. pag. 16.
(*h*) Ibid. pag. 19.
(*i*) Ibid.
(*k*) Ibid. pag. 20.

Bastard, is this: The two Particulars I have taken notice of, though, I say, they exclude not Matrimony, are however commonly Signs of an illegitimate Birth. If they had not been such in Relation to *Cardan*, he would certainly have declared so in express Terms: for he could not be ignorant of the Consequences, which would be naturally drawn from his Confession. Since therefore, after mentioning the two Points, I have insisted on, he takes no notice of his Mother's being married, there is no reason to doubt his being the Issue of an unlawful Commerce. After he was seven Years of Age, he was brought up in his Father's Family, where his Mother, and one of her Sisters, lodged at that time. This is no Argument that she was married; and that she was not a Concubine. I have read in a modern Author [6] that *Cardan* confessed *the College of Physicians at* Milan *would not admit him into their Society, on account of his being suspected to be illegitimate.* This Word *suspected* is very remarkable; and plainly proves that it was not certainly known, whether *Cardan*'s Father and Mother had been married or not. However it be, this modern Author makes use of a very improper Expression, when he says, *Cardan declared himself plainly the Son of a Whore, by beginning the History of his own Life with his Mother's Attempt to make herself miscarry of him* [7]. The Word *Whore* is very improper in this place; not only because *Cardan* no where owns his Mother was a Concubine: but also because, if he had owned her so in the most clear and express Terms, it ought not from thence to be concluded that he had treated his Mother so very rudely. A Concubine and a Whore are commonly esteemed two very distinct Characters. 'Est enim Meretrix (ut loquitur Imp. in l. 22. C. ad L. Jul. de adult.) quæ pudorem suum vulgi libidinibus prosternit, quæ passim venalem formam habet, & quæstum inde facit [8]. —— *For a Whore* (as *Justinian* says) *is one, who prostitutes herself to all Comers, who lets out her Body, without Exception, for Lucre and Hire.*'

(6) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. X, *Letter* 43, pag. 345.

(7) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. XI, *Letter* 63, pag. 38.

(8) Marquardus Freherus, de Fama, lib. ii, cap. xi, pag. 211.

[*C*] *He married* ---- *in* 1531. *He had been incapable, for the Space of ten Years before, of enjoying a Woman.*] He attributes this to the malignant Influences of the Constellation under which he was born. The two unlucky Planets, and the Sun, *Venus* and *Mercury*, were in the human Signs; for which Reason, says he, I could not but be endued with a human Form: and because *Jupiter* was in the Ascendant, and *Venus* presided over the whole Figure, I could be prejudiced no where but in my Genitals, continues he; so that, from the Age of Twenty one to that of Thirty one, I was incapable of enjoying any Woman, which made me deplore my own Destiny, and envy that of all other Men. 'Cum Sol, & maleficæ ambæ, & Venus & Mercurius essent in signis humanis, ideo non declinavi à formâ humanâ: sed cum Jupiter esset in ascendente, & Venus totius figuræ domina, non fui oblæsus nisi in genitalibus, ut à xxi. anno ad xxxi. non potuerim concumbere cum mulieribus, & sæpius deflerem sortem meam, cuique alteri propriam invidens (9).' Upon a Review of the heaviest Misfortunes that befel him in his Life, he reckons up four, whereof the first, according to his Account, was this, of not being able to enjoy the Sex; the second, was the tragical end of his eldest Son; the third, his Imprisonment; and the fourth, the irregular Life of his younger Son. 'Totidem maxima detrimenta, & impedimenta, primum concubitus, secundum mortis fœvæ filii, tertium Carceris, quartum improbitate filii natu minoris (10).' In another place he gives a longer Catalogue of his Misfortunes, not forgetting that of his Impotency. 'Infelicitates sunt, mors filiorum maxime fœva, aut stultitia vel sterilitas: impotentia ad congressum mulierum: paupertas perpetua, pœnæ, accusationes, incommoda, morbi, pericula, carcer, injuria in præferendo immeritos tot & toties (11). —— *My Misfortunes have been, the most cruel Death, or Folly, or Barrenness of my Children, my own Impotency, perpetual Poverty, Quarrels, Accusations, Incumbrances, Distempers, Dangers, Imprisonment, Hardship in the so frequent Preference of so many worthless Persons.*'

(9) Cardan. de Vitâ propriâ, cap. ii, pag. 8.

(10) Ibid. cap. xxx, pag. 116.

(11) Ibid. cap. xlvi, pag. 259.

[*D*] ---- *Which he refused on Account of the Air and Religion of the Country.*] His Friend *Andreas Vesalius* had procured him these Terms. *Cardan* was to have had Eight hundred Crowns a Year, and his Diet: He refuted these Advantages among other Reasons, because, in order to have complied with the Fashion of the Country, he must have quitted the Catholic Religion. 'Oblata est conditio D. CCC. Coronatorum in singulos annos à rege Daniæ, quam recipere nolui, cum etiam victus impensam suppeditaret, non solum ob regionis intemperiem, sed quod alio sacrorum modo consuevissent, ut vel ibi male acceptus futurus essem, vel patriam legem meam majorumque relinquere coactus (12). To judge of things according to the Idea, which at first sight we form of *Cardan*'s Religion, we should not imagine him to have been so conscientious. But we ought to distrust those precipitate Opinions formed of People, from Prejudices, first Appearances, and examine to the bottom. For my part, upon reading the Book *Cardan* has left us *de Vitâ propriâ*, I rather discover in it the Character of a superstitious Man than of an hardy Unbeliever. I confess he owns he was not very devout; *parum pius* (13); but in the foregoing Page he tells us, that, though he was naturally of a very revengeful Temper (14), yet he forbore to exert it when occasion offered, in Veneration of the Deity. *Dei ob venerationem, & quod omnia hæc vana quantum sint dignosco, ecce* [illegible] *tiones oblatas ultionum etiam consulto neglexi* (15). There is no Prayer, no frequenting of Churches, so,

(12) Ibid. cap. iv, pag. 21. *See also* cap. xxxii, pag. 239.

(13) Ibid. cap. xiii, pag. 59.

(14) Ulcionis desiderium ultra vires nedum prona voluntas, ut illud placeat quod multi damnant: verbo saltem. *At vindictæ hominem vota jucundius ipso.* Ibid. pag. 57.

(15) Ibid. pag. 58.

He made a Voyage into *Scotland*, in the Year 1552 [*E*], and returned to *Milan* about

ſo acceptable to GOD as worſhipping him after this manner; I mean, in obeying his Laws out of a due regard to his Majeſty, and againſt the ſtrongeſt Inclinations of Nature. He therefore, who ſaid *Cardan* was, by his own Confeſſion, *an impious Man* (16), made uſe of a raſh Expreſſion. *Cardan* brags that he refuſed a good Sum from the King of *England*, becauſe he would not give him thoſe Titles the Pope had taken away from him. *Renui quingentos, certe oliqui dicunt mille (veritatem ſcire nen potui) quod titulo ipſius regis, in Pontificis præjudicium ſubſcribere noluerim* (17). He means King *Edward*, whom he had the Honour to wait upon at *London*, in 1552. He relates, that, having found among his Father's Papers, that Prayers addreſſed to the Virgin *Mary*, the firſt of *April*, at eight in the Morning, were of wonderful Efficacy, provided a *Pater Noſter* and *Ave Maria* were added to them; he made uſe of this Rule of Devotion in his moſt preſſing Occaſions, and obſerved it to anſwer perfectly well (18). He was very angry with *Polybius* for denying the Apparition of Spirits, and ſuch other Tenets of the Pagan Religion (19). In a Word, nothing can be more ſolid and ſerious, than the Reflexions he makes in his Twenty ſecond Chapter, where he gives an Account of his Piety and Religion. Is that an impious Reaſon, he has given for his Love of Solitude? When I am alone, ſaid he, I am then more eſpecially with thoſe I love, with GOD, and my good Angel. ‘ Diligo ‘ ſolitudinem, nunquam enim magis ſum cum his ‘ quos vehementer diligo quam cum ſolus ſum: diligo ‘ autem Deum, & ſpiritum bonum: hos dum ſolus ‘ ſum contemplor, immenſum bonum, ſapientiam ‘ æternam, lucis puræ principium & autorem, gaudium verum in nobis, ubi periculum non eſt ne ‘ nos deſerat, veritatis fundamentum, amorem voluntarium, autorem omnium, qui beatus eſt in ‘ ſeipſo, & beatorum omnium tutela & deſiderium: ‘ Juſtitia profundiſſima ſeu altiſſima, mortuos curans, ‘ & viventium non oblitus. Spiritus autem mandato illius me defendens, miſericors, conſultor bonus, & in adverſis auxiliator, & conſolator (20). ‘ - - - - *I love Solitude, for I am never ſo much* ‘ *in the Company I like, as when I am alone. For* ‘ *I love* GOD, *and my good Angel. Thoſe, while* ‘ *I am alone, I contemplate, the infinite Good, the* ‘ *eternal Wiſdom, the Fountain and Author of* ‘ *Science, the true Pleaſure, which we need not* ‘ *fear loſing, the Foundation of Truth, the Source* ‘ *of diſintereſted Love, the Creator of All Things,* ‘ *who is happy in himſelf, and the Patron and Pro-* ‘ *tector of all who deſire to be ſo: the moſt high* ‘ *and profound Juſtice, exerting itſelf on the Dead,* ‘ *and not forgetting the Living. And the Angel* ‘ *who, by his Command, is my Guardian, a kind* ‘ *and compaſſionate Counſellor, and Aſſiſtant, and* ‘ *Comforter in Adverſity.*’

However, I would neither contradict nor affirm what I have read in *Martin del Rio*. That Author ſays, that *Cardan* writ a Book concerning the Mortality of the Soul, which he would ſometimes ſhew to his particular Friends (21). This Book was never printed; on the contrary, the public has ſeen a Work of *Cardan*, on the Immortality of the Soul, wherein ſome are offended at his ſaying, that he was hindered by Fate and Warnings from declaring all his Thoughts upon that Subject. It is a ſign, ſay they, he publiſhed this Book out of Policy, while he retained in his Heart all his Venom. ‘ Cum eo ipſo opere (*de Animarum Immortalitate*) ‘ cap. 13. p. 280. apertè prodat fato ſe ac monitis ‘ prohiberi reliqua dicere quæ de anima ſentiret, ‘ ſuſpicio eſt hunc polypum ad eam ſcriptionem me- ‘ tu infamiæ adactum, verè anterius tale quid ſcripſiſſe contra Animæ Immortalitatem quale nonnulli ‘ referunt, idque doctrinæ venenum ejus in pectore ‘ etiam poſt editum eum quem retuli librum delituiſſe (22).’ I believe this is a Miſtake: Dr *Parker*, who has very happily repreſented *Cardan*'s Follies and Extravagancies, takes him to have had more of the Fanatic in him than the Atheiſt. I think he is in the right: ſee the Seventy ſeventh Page of his Book *de Deo*. It cannot however be denied, that ſome very pernicious Doctrines are ſcattered up and down through *Cardan*'s Works. Father *Raynaud*, in the place juſt cited, has mentioned ſome of them, and concludes with a Proſcription of this Phyſician's Works, calling him the Head of the ſecond Claſs of Atheiſts. *Homo nullius religionis ac fidei, & inter clancularios Atheos ſecundi ordinis æva ſua facile princeps.*

Scaliger, the Father, quotes ſome Words out of *Cardan*'s Treatiſe of the Immortality of the Soul, which contain the very impiety of *Averroës*. *Cardan* maintains, that there is but one Intelligence in theſe ſublunary Regions, and that this Intelligence, which is no farther humane, than as humane Matter is capable of receiving it, enters into Man, and is that which produces in him Intellectual Actions; that it alſo approaches and encompaſſes Brutes, but is not able to enter them by reaſon of the diſproportion of their matter; from whence it comes that Man receives an inward Illumination, while it's Rays act only on Brutes from without (23). This is all the Difference *Cardan* allows between the humane and brutal Underſtanding: from whence it follows, that a Man's Soul has no higher perfections than that of Brutes, which is inferior to it only in regard to it's matter; and conſequently that our Soul is as mortal as that of a Dog. We ought not to be ſurprized if we meet with other Principles in this Work of *Cardan*; for it is nothing but a heap of divers Pieces pillaged here and there out of the Books he had read of *Pomponatius*, *Auguſtin Niphus*, &c. ‘ Ne vero tibi placeas in illis tuis Com- ‘ mentariis (*de immortalitate animæ*) quos confuſos ‘ diximus: nihil enim aliud ſunt quam farrago præ- ‘ ceptorum meorum, Pomponatii, Sueſſani, Domi- ‘ nici de Flandria: quæ tua feciſti ridiculis fabellis ‘ declamatoriis (24).’ To conceal his Theft, he intermixed the Doctrines he ſtole from theſe Philoſophers with ſome Declamations of his own. *Thomaſius* might have added thoſe Words of *Scaliger* to thoſe he borrowed from *Naudæus* (25) to prove *Cardan* a Plagiary (26).

[*E*] *He made a Voyage into* Scotland *in the Year* 1552.] He ſays, the Archbiſhop of St *Andrews* (27), Primate of the Kingdom, ſent for him, after having in vain applied firſt to the Phyſicians of the *French* King, and then to thoſe of the Emperour (28). This Prelate very generouſly defrayed the Expences of his Voyage. By this means *Cardan* had an Opportunity of ſeeing ſeveral Countries. He paſſed through *France* as he went, and returned through the *Low-Countries*, and through *Germany* along the *Rhine* (29). It was upon this occaſion he went to *London*, where he calculated King *Edward*'s Nativity, of which perhaps I ſhall ſpeak in another Article.

Let us add, that this Archbiſhop, being then Forty two Years old, had been ill Ten Years (30). His Diſtemper was an Aſthma, which for the two laſt Years returned every eight Days (31); before which time the Intervals had been conſiderably longer. The Patient grew better under *Cardan*'s Advice (32); who, after ſtaying with him Seventy five Days, took his Leave, and gave him ſuch Directions as did within two Years compleat his Cure (33). This is all the Account he gives of this Voyage: Nor does he in the leaſt boaſt of the Prediction I am going to mention. ‘ This Archbiſhop languiſhed under a ‘ Dropſy which all his Phyſicians judged incurable, ‘ but *Cardan* reſtored him. - - - If we may believe ‘ what Hiſtory relates of this famous Aſtrologer, he ‘ gave his Patient, after he had cured him, a terri- ‘ ble Proof of his Skill, when taking his Leave of ‘ him, he told him, *That he had perfectly cured* ‘ *him of his Diſtemper; but that it was not in the* ‘ *power of his Art to prevent his Fate, or hinder him* ‘ *from being hanged.* The Event juſtified his Pre- ‘ diction: for he was hanged eighteen Years after ‘ *, according to the Sentence paſſed upon him by ‘ *Mary* the Queen Regent's Commiſſioners. It is ‘ no wonder if, after this, ſome Hiſtorians, eſpecially ‘ *Scottiſh*, have treated *Cardan* as a Magician (34).’ Two Reaſons induce me to diſtruſt his having made this Prediction. I. The firſt is, that *Cardan* was too ſelf-intereſted, and too well verſed in the Tricks of Aſtrology, to threaten at this rate ſo great a Pre-

late

(16) Teiſſier, Elog. Tom. I, pag. 496. *See below, Remark* [*U*].

(17) Cardan. de Vitâ propriâ, cap. xxix, pag. 107.

(18) Ibid. cap. xxxvi, pag. 166.

(19) Ibid. cap. xliii, pag. 232.

(20) Ibid. cap. liii, pag. 315.

(21) Del Rio, Diſquiſit. Magicar. Tom. I, lib. II, Queſt. 26, §. 2, pag. 255.

(22) Th. Raynaudus Erotem. de bonis ac malis libris, n. 44.

(23) *See* Scalig. Exercit. 307, n. 30. pag. 987.

(24) Id. Scalig. ibid. n. 31, pag. 939.

(25) You will find them in Remark [*R*], Citation (68).

(26) Thomaſ. de Plagio Literario, n. 376, pag. 265.

(27) He calls him *Amubbon* if it ſhould be *Hamilton*.

(28) Cardan. de Vitâ propriâ, cap. xl, pag. 192. *See alſo* cap. xxix.

(29) Ibid. cap. xxix.

(30) Id. ibid. cap. xl, pag. 192.

(31) Id. cap. xxix, pag. 104.

(32) Ibid. cap. xl, pag. 193.

(33) Id. ibid.

* *In* 1570.

(34) Larrey Hiſtoire d'Angleterre, Tom. I, pag. 721, ad Ann. 1552.

about ten Months after (*l*); where he continued 'till the beginning of *October*, 1559; and then went to *Pavia*, from whence he was called to *Bologna*, in 1562. He continued Professor in this last Place, 'till the Year 1570; at which time he was put into Prison, but was carried home again some Months after. However this was not absolutely giving him his Liberty, for he was kept Prisoner in his own House, but this continued not long. He left *Bologna* in *September* 1571, and went to *Rome*; where he lived without any public Employment. He was admitted into the College of Physicians, and had a Pension from the Pope (*m*). He died at *Rome*, the Twenty first of *September*, 1575 (*n*), if we may rely upon *Thuanus*, who, perhaps, has not been over exact [*F*]. The Account is sufficient to satisfy the Reader, that *Cardan* was of a very inconstant Temper: but his fantastical Humour will better appear from the Relation he has given us himself of his own good and bad Qualities [*G*]. This very Ingenuity is a plain Proof that his Mind was of a very particular Cast [*H*]. He tells us (*o*), that if Nature did not give him some

(*l*) Ibid. pag. 22.

(*m*) Ibid. pag. 21, 22.

(*n*) Thuan. lib. xlii, pag. 155.

(*o*) Ibid. pag. 30.

late. You never find Astrologers telling a great Man that his Stars have doomed him to an ignominious End: They rather promise him what they think he most earnestly desires; and it is by this they best intitle themselves to some of his Gold. From thence it comes, that great Men, to prevent being imposed upon, commonly consult these sort of People, without making themselves known to them. II. My second Reason is, That if *Cardan* had delivered this Prediction, he would certainly have boasted of it in that Book, where he gives an account of his Cure wrought upon this Archbishop; since it was not printed till some Years after that Prelate had undergone the Fate he is said to have threatened him with. Judge if *Cardan* would have suppressed so favourable an Instance of his Abilities in Astrology.

You will find in *Melvil*'s Memoirs, that *John Hamilton*, Archbishop of St *Andrews*, and Brother to the Regent, of the Realm, fell 'so dangerously 'ill, that, being for some time speechless, no body 'thought he could recover, but that he was restored to his Speech and his Health, by the Assistance of an *Italian* Magician named *Cardan* (35).

(35) Melvil's Memoirs, pag. 45, Edit. of the Hague, 1694.

[*F*] *He died —— the twenty first of* September 1575. *if we believe* Thuanus, *who perhaps has not been over exact.*] If *Cardan* died the twenty first of *September* 1575, he must have lived Seventy four Years all but three Days; and so *Thuanus* would make his Life a Year longer than it really was (36). Besides, it appears from several Passages in *Cardan*'s History, that he was carrying it on during the Year 1575. *Naudæus* thought it went no farther than the Twenty eighth of *April* 1576; and consequently did not observe the hundred and fifty eighth Page, where we find the first of *October* 1576. *Testamenta plura condidi ad hanc usque diem quæ est Calendarum mensis Octobris anni MDLXXVI. ----- I made another Will, on this very Day, which is the first of* October 1576. If this Number is right, *Thuanus* is mistaken both in the Day, and in the Year.

(36) Cum tribus diebus minus septuagesimum quintum annum implevisset *Thuan. lib.* lxii, *pag.* 155.

[*G*] *But his fantastical Humour will better appear from the Relation he has given us himself of his own good and bad qualities.*] Besides what I have said in the Body of this Article, I shall observe here, that his Gate was so irregular, that he must undoubtedly be taken for a Mad-man. Sometimes he walked very slowly, like one in deep Meditation, and then all of a sudden would redouble his Pace with several odd Postures. *Incessus inequalis causa fuit cogitatio. Abire in proverbium posset incessus meus, nam est inconsideratus, dum aliena ab his quæ præ oculis sunt meditor. ----- Ambulatio modo celeris, modo tarda, modo capite & humeris erectis, modo inclinatis* (37). He was mightily pleased at *Bologna* to appear in a Coach with three Wheels (38). Never was Man more singular in his dress. *Thuanus*, who saw him at *Rome*, remarks that he found him in a Habit quite different from other People (39). Poverty was the Cause of this oddness in his Habit; for instance, when *Cardan* was in *Scotland*, he bought such Cloaths as were there in Fashion: and at his return into *Italy*, not being able to buy others, nor willing to sell those to a Loss, he continued to wear them out. His fantastical Behaviour cannot be better represented than by some Verses in *Horace*, I am going to cite. He owns himself that they hit him exactly, and that if *Horace* had been to have described him, he must have done it in the very same Lines. 'Non aliter de me ego sentio quam 'Horatius de suo Tigellio; quinimo Horatium dixe- 'rim tum de me sub illius persona locutum.

(37) Cardan. de Vitâ propriâ, cap. xxi, pag. 84, 85.

(38) Naudæus in Judicio de Cardano.

(39) Thuan. lib. lxii, pag. 154. *His Words are quoted below, at Citation* (42).

Nil æquale homini fuit illi: sæpe velut qui
Currebat, fugiens hostem: persæpe velut qui
Junonis sacra ferret: habebat sæpe ducentos,
Sæpe decem servos: modo Reges atque Tetrarchas,
Omnia magna loquens: modo sit mihi mensa tripes, &
Concha salis puri, & toga, quæ defendere frigus,
Quamvis crassa queat *.

* Lib. i, Sat. iii, ver. 9.

'Quæras causam, imo causas, in promptu sunt, varietas primo cogitationum & morum: deinde ut. 'saluti prorsus consulerem corporis: & quod cum 'mutaverim sæpius patriam, seu habitationis locum, 'coactus sum etiam mutare vestes, quas neque ob 'jacturam vendere, nec frustra servare conveniebat, 'ob id necessitas intulit legem (40). - - - *I know my-* 'self to be so like Horace's Tigellius, *that I think* 'him describing me under his Name.

(40) Cardan. de Vitâ propriâ, cap. xx, pag. 82, 83.

This fickle Wretch is never of one Mind:
Sometimes his hasty Steps out strip the Wind,
As if he fear'd some Enemy behind:
Now with slow Pace, he apes the solemn Priest,
Who in Procession walks to Juno*'s Feast:*
His Equipage now counts Two hundred Men;
And now that number is reduc'd to ten:
Now with grand Airs, his Conversation rings
Of nothing less than Governors and Kings:
Now a clean Salt-Seller is all his Wish.
And a small Table for one homely Dish:
And as to Cloaths, however coarse and old,
They'r good enough, if they keep out the Cold.

'If you would know the Cause, or rather Causes, I 'will tell you; first the great Variety of my Thoughts 'and Humours; then by way of healthful Exercise; 'again, being obliged by often changing my Habitation 'and Country to change my Cloaths, which I could 'neither afford to sell again to such a Loss, nor to 'keep them superfluously, Necessity became a Law.' *Cardan*'s Mind was as inconstant as his Body. See *Thuanus*'s Words in the following Remark.

[*H*] *This very Ingenuity is a plain proof that his Mind was of a very particular Cast.*] *Thuanus* observes it as a very extraordinary thing. *Varia ejus vita,* says he (41), *& mores; pluraque ipse de se inaudita in viro literas professo simplicitate seu libertate scripsit, quam curiosus quisquam à me exigat. ----* His Life and manners were very inconsistent; and he writes many things of himself with an Ingenuity and Freedom, never before heard of *in a Man of Letters*, Instances of which may be given to any curious Person. He adds, that he was surprized to find him so much inferior to the great Reputation he had in the World. This made him admire the Judgment passed on him by *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*: That in some things *Cardan* appeared more than a Man, in others less than a Child. 'Romæ eum diverso ab 'aliis cultu incedentem paucis ante obitum annis 'conspicati

(41) Thuan. lib. lxii, pag. 160.

some painful Sensation, he procured it himself, by biting his Lips, and distorting his Fingers, 'till he shed Tears [I]; that sometimes he had a mind to kill himself [K]; that he took a delight to ramble all Night long in the Streets (p); that he never was immoderate in his Amours [L], but that, if he did at any time pursue them, further than was necessary, it did him no great Damage; that nothing pleased him better than to hold such Arguments as were disagreeable to the Company (q); that whatever he knew came out, whether it was proper or improper (r); that he also was besotted to Gaming, as to spend whole Days at it, to the no small Prejudice of his Family and Reputation (s), for he played away his very Houshould-goods, and his Wife's Jewels (t) [M]. These, and several other things, he relates with the greatest Simplicity. However I make no question that if his Life were faithfully written by another Hand, we should find a great many more dishonourable Particulars than he has given us in that he wrote himself, which yet contains several other more remarkable Instances of the Singularity of his Temper, than those I have mentioned. He speaks of abundance of Prodigies, which foretold him, sleeping or waking, what was to befal him: This made him believe that, like *Socrates*, and some other great Men, he was under the Care of a particular Genius [N]. What shall we say of those four extraordinary Gifts Nature had endowed him with [O]? Which were, 1. That he could fall into an Extasy

(p) Ibid. pag. 32.
(q) Ibid. pag. 60.
(r) Ibid. pag. 61.
(s) Ibid. pag. 82.
(t) Ibid. pag. 94.

' conspicati & adlocuti, ac sæpius admirati sumus, ' cum celeberrimi tot scriptis hominis recordatio sufficiet; neque tamen quidquam in eo quod tantæ ' famæ responderet animadverteremus: eoque magis Julii Cæsaris Scaligeri acerrimum judicium ' suspeximus, qui divinum ingenium suum in opere ' de subtilitate exagitando, præcipuè exercuit inæqualitate illius ubique diligenter notata, quî in quibusdam interdum plus homine sapere, in pluribus minus pueris intelligere videatur (42).' We shall see in the Remark [T] that he was thought subject to Fits of Lunacy.

(42) Id. Ibid.

[I] *If Nature did not give him some painful Sensation, he procured it himself, by biting his Lips, - - - till he shed Tears.*] This is not so much to be wondered at, when we know the reason of it; he did it only to avoid a greater Mischief: For if at any time he happened to be without Pain, he was subject to such violent and dangerous Sallies or Impetuosities of Mind, as were much more insupportable than Pain itself. This is most to be wondered at, and appears almost incredible. ' Fuit mihi mos ' (de quo plures admirabantur) ut causas doloris si non ' haberem, quærerem, ut dixi de podagra: unde ' plerumque causis morbificis obviam ibam (ut solum ' devitarem quantum possem vigilias) quòd arbitrarer ' voluptatem consistere in dolore præcedenti sedato: si ergo voluntarius sit dolor, facile sedari poterit: & quoniam experior me nunquam posse prorsus carere dolore, & si modo contingat, subit ' in animum impetus quidam adeo molestus, ut nihil possit esse gravius, ut multo minus malus sit dolor, ' aut doloris causa, in qua multa prorsus ineft turpitudo, periculumve. Itaque ob hoc morsum labii, ' & digitorum distortionem, & compressionem cutis, ' ac tenuis musculi brachii sinistri usque ad lachrymas ' excogitavi (43). In another place he says, that under his greatest Uneasinesses of Mind, he used to whip himself severely, and bite his left Arm: *In maximis animi doloribus crura verberabam virga, sinistrum brachium mordebam acriter, jejunabam, levabar fletu multum, ubi tentigisset flere, sed persæpe non poteram* (44).

(43) Cardan. de Vitâ propriâ, cap. vi, pag. 30.

(44) Ibid. cap. xiv, pag. 65, 66.

[K] *Sometimes he had a mind to kill himself.*] This he calls an Heroic Passion, and believes that several others have been possessed with it, though they have never owned it. ' Laboravi interdum ' etiam amore Heroico, ut me ipsum trucidare cogitarem, verum talia etiam aliis accidere suspicor, ' licet hi in libros non referant (45).

(45) Ibid. cap. vi, pag. 31.

[L] *He was not immoderate in his Amours.*] These are his words. *Veneri neque immoderate incubui, nec ex superfluo usu multum læsus sum, nunc tamen manifestè ventriculum labefactat. —— I was never immoderate in my Amours, nor much hurt if I happened to pursue them farther than was proper, but at present the use of Women is very prejudicial to my Stomach.* Observe, that, in the Title of his fourth Chapter, he says, he has brought his History down to the end of *October* 1575: since therefore he says, *at present the use of Women is very prejudicial to my Stomach*; it follows, that even at Seventy four Years of Age he sometimes followed that Game. So that he found some Amends for the Ten Years of Insufficiency he so much regretted; for perhaps he would have made so bad a use of them, as upon that account to have ended his Days before he had come to sixty.

[M] *He played away his - - - Houshold Goods and his Wife's Jewels* (46).] He observes, that the Misery, to which he found himself reduced, never forced him to do any thing unworthy his Birth and his Virtue, and that one of the ways he took to gain a subsistance, was writing Almanacks, *Ephemerides scribebam* (47). He tells us, that, having lost all his Money at *Venice* in a Man's House who had cheated him of it, he gave him a Cut over the Face with his Dagger, took away not only his own Money, but also that of his wounded Host, got the Door opened to him, and marched off. He had also lost his Rings, and his Cloaths, but had won them again (48). We must not forget, that in consideration of the Wound he had given to this Sharper, he threw down part of his Money upon the Floor. These are Particulars no more honorable to his Memory, than what he tells us of the Professor *Curtius*, who indicted him for Felony, because *Cardan* would not restore something which had been left him in Pawn: His Plea was, that he stopped it as a Security for some Money *Curtius* had borrowed of him without any Witness. *Ab eodem Curtio de furto accusati, quod pignus retinerem pro sponsione pecuniarum quam sine teste fecerat* (49). What a Dispute is here! A couple of Scholars contending like a Turk and a Jew.

(46) Alea adversa oppigneratis ornamentis uxoris & supellectile, *Cardan. de Vitâ propriâ*, cap. xxv, pag. 94.

(47) Ibid. pag. 95.

(48) Ibid. cap. xxx, pag. 111, 112.

(49) Ibid. cap. xiv, pag. 67.

[N] *He believed that - - - he was under the care of a particular Genius.*] I should not doubt but he had reason to believe so, could I believe all he reports to be true; which in my Opinion is not to be accounted for, purely by the general Laws of the Union of the Soul with the Body. However it be, there are some People think he was very much undetermined as to that Point. ' He speaks so differently of his Genius, that after he had in one of ' his Dialogues, intituled *Tetim*, said positively that ' he had one which was Venereal with a Mixture of ' *Saturn* and *Mercury*, and in his Book *de Libris propriis*, that he communicated himself to him by ' Dreams; yet in the very same place he makes a ' doubt whether he had one or no, or whether it ' was not the Excellence of his Nature. *Sentiebam*, says he, *seu ex Genio mihi præfecto, seu quod natura mea in extremitate humanæ substantiæ conditionisque & in confinio immortalium posita esset, &c.* And concludes at last, in his Book *De Rerum Varietate*, that he had none at all; declaring ingenuously, *Ego certe nullum Dæmonem aut Genium mihi adesse cognosco* (50).' See what the same *Naudæus* says upon this Subject, in his *Judicium de Cardano*, printed with *Cardan's* Life.

(50) Naudé, Apologie des grands Hommes, cap. xiv, pag. 398.

[O] *What shall we say of those four extraordinary Gifts Nature had endowed him with?*] This he affirms after so positive a manner, that it is worth while to consider his own Words. ' Quatuor mihi ' indita sunt à Natura, quæ nunquam aperire volui, &

Extasy whenever he pleased. 2. That he could see whatever he pleased. 3. That he foresaw in his Sleep what was to befal him. And, 4. That he could foretel it likewise by certain Marks which appeared on his Nails. It has been a Question, whether or no he believed the Immortality of the Soul (*u*). He was unfortunate in his Family [*P*]. He is justly condemned for his Audaciousness in calculating the Nativity of JESUS CHRIST [*Q*]. His Astrological Predictions are said

(*u*) See Remark [*D*], Paragraph II, III.

« & omnia (meo judicio) admiratione digna. Quorum primum hoc est quod quoties volo, extra sensum quasi in ecstasim transeo. --- Sentio dum eam ineo, ac (ut verius dicam) facio, juxta cor quandam separationem, quasi anima abscederet, totique corpori res hæc communicatur, quasi ostiolum quoddam aperiretur. Et initium hujus est à capite, maxime cerebello, diffunditurque per totam dorsi spinam, vi magna continetur; hocque solum sentio, quod sum extra meipsum: magnaque quadam vi paululum me contineo. Secundum est, quod cum volo, video quæ volo, oculis, non vi mentis: velut imagines illas, de quibus dixi, cum infans essem, me vidisse. Sed nunc credo ob occupationes, nec diu, nec perfectas, nec omnino semper cum volo, nec tamen nisi velim. Moventur autem perpetuo quæ videntur imagines. Itaque video lacus, animalia, orbes, ac quæcunque cupio. Credo causam esse, vim virtutis imaginatricis, visusque subtilitatem. Tertium est, quod omnium quæ mihi ventura sunt, imaginem video per somnum. Neque unquam ausim ferme dicere, vere autem dicere possum, meminisse, quod quicquam boni aut mali vel mediocris mihi evenerit, de quo prius & raro ante multum, non fuerim per somnium prænonitus. Quartum est, quod eorum, quæ mihi eventura sunt, quanquam sint perexigua, vestigia in unguibus apparent. Nigra & livida malorum in medio digito, felicium alba: & ad honores in pollice, ad divitias in indice, ad studia & res majoris momenti in annulari, ad exiguas inventiones in minimo: coacta, res firmas: si sint veluti stellæ, res minus constantes, & magis publicas verbisque plenas (51). —— *Nature has favoured me with four Endowments which I would never reveal, all of them, in my Judgment, very extraordinary. Whereof the first is, that, whenever I please, I can transport myself out of my Senses into an Extasy. — In the doing which I feel near my Heart a sort of Separation, as if my Soul departed, and this Affair is communicated to my whole Body, as it were by the opening of a Door. The beginning of it is from my Head, principally the* Cerebellum, *and so diffuses itself all along the Spine of my Back, and is not stopt without great Resistance; all I perceive is, that I am beside myself; and I can just contain myself a little with a certain considerable Force. The second is, that I can at any time see whatever I please, with my Eyes, not by force of Imagination; as those Images I have mentioned my seeing when I was a Child. I can therefore see Groves, Animals, Worlds, and whatever I please. I take the Cause to be the Strength of my conceptive Faculty, and the Quickness of my Sight. The third is, that I see, in my Sleep, the Representation of all that is to happen to me. And I dare almost say, I am sure I might very truly say, that I never remember any Thing happening to me either good, bad, or indifferent, of which I had not been forewarned in a Dream. The fourth is, that whatever is to happen to me is signified by Appearances on my Nails. Black and livid Specks on those of my middle Finger signify Misfortune; white the contrary: and on my Thumb Honours, on my fore Finger Riches, on my Ring-Finger Study, and Discoveries of Importance, on my little Finger Inventions of the lowest Class: if the Speck is close and even, it betokens lasting good Fortune, but if spread, and something like a Star, it is a Sign of such as will not be very much to be depended on, but rather of more public Nature, and consisting of Promises.* » We must take notice, that during these voluntary Extasies, he felt not the most acute Fits of the Gout, and if any one spoke near him, he could hear a little the Sound of the Words, but understood not their Signification. For the rest, he never would boast of these four Singularities: but at last this grand Secret was too hard for him, and so he revealed it to the Public in one of his Works.

(51) Cardanus, de Rerum Varietate, lib. viii, cap. 43.

[*P*] *He was unfortunate in his Family.*] His eldest Son, falling in Love with a Woman not worth a Groat, married her, and repented of his Bargain when it was too late. Instead of taking all patiently, since it was of his own seeking, he had recourse to a very criminal Remedy, and poisoned his Wife. He was punished for it according to his Deserts; Sentence being passed upon him to lose his Head, which was executed at Midnight (52), in the Prison (53). *Cardan*'s other Son was a Rogue and a Villain. His own Father was forced to throw him into Gaol more than once (54), to cut off one of his Ears (55), and at last to turn him out of Doors, and disinherit him (56). *Cardan*'s Daughter gave him only two occasions of Uneasiness, the first when he was obliged to pay her Fortune (57); the second when he saw she had no Children. He was so affected with the unfortunate End of his eldest Son, that he almost died with Grief; there were even some of the Judges condemned the Son, out of an Expectation that it would cost the Father either his Life or his Reason. « Confessi sunt quidam è Senatu « (sed puto non de scipsis intelligi voluisse) ea spe « damnasse illum ut dolore interirem aut insanirem, « ab unoque quam parum abfuerim, superi norunt. « —— sed non successit (58). » The most extraordinary Thing is, that *Cardan*, who did not deny but that his Son had poisoned his Wife, and which his Son himself confessed at his Trial (59), imagined the Divine Justice pursued his Judges for their unjust Sentence, and that many of them came to an unfortunate End (60). He pretended, that his Son, being drawn into marry a Wife, who, having neither Fortune nor Honour, made no scruple to cuckold him, was not to blame in murdering her.

(52) Id. de Vitâ propriâ, cap. xxxvii, pag. 169.

(53) Ibid. cap. xxvii, pag. 99, 100.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Naud. in Judicio de Cardano.

(56) Cardan. in Vitâ propriâ, pag. 100.

(57) A sola filia præter dotis sumptum nihil molestiæ perpessus sum. *Ibid.*

(58) Ibid. cap. x, pag. 45.

(59) Ibid. pag. 170.

(60) Id. cap. xli, pag. 215, 216.

Nate haud immiti qui Principe, justa Senatus,
Exemplo insando veterum tam dira tulisti:
Crimina fallacis properas dum tollere mœchæ.
Conjugibus nostris jam tuto insultet adulter,
Plectitur egregii juvenis si dextera vindex (61).

(61) Id. pag. ang. *See likewise* pag. 46, 47.

[*Q*] *He has been justly condemned for calculating the Nativity of* JESUS CHRIST.] *Naudæus* makes two Observations upon this Fact. I. He reproves *Joseph Scaliger* for believing, that *Cardan* was the first who attempted any thing of this Nature. II. He observes, that *Cardan* had the Vanity, rather to pass for the Inventor, than to justify himself by the Example of others who had gone before him, in this prophane Enterprize.

As to the first Point, he begins by citing *Scaliger*'s own Words; which are these. « Audi subtilitatem « nostri sæculi: extitit ante 44 annos cymbalum ge- « nethliacorum, qui Domini nostri Jesu Christi thema « edidit, & omnia quæ illi acciderunt, ex positu Stel- « larum, necessario illi contigisse ratiocinatur: impi- « am dicam magis, an jocularem audaciam, quæ & « dominum stellarum stellis subjecerit, & natum eo « tempore putarit, quod adhuc in lite positum est, ut « vanitas cum impietate certaret (62). —— *Observe the Subtility of our Age: about Forty four Years ago appeared a most jingling Fortuneteller, who published the Scheme of* JESUS CHRIST*'s Nativity, and undertook to prove that all those things, which happened to him, necessarily came to pass from the Position of the Stars: an Attempt which I cannot tell whether to call more impious or ridiculous, in subjecting the Lord of the Stars to the Power of the Stars, and in supposing him to be born at a precise Point of Time, which has never yet been fixed, so that the whole seems a Struggle betwixt Vanity and Impiety.* » Afterwards *Naudæus* quotes four Authors, who, long before *Cardan*, had been calculating CHRIST's Nativity. The most modern of them is *Tiberius Russilianus Sextus* of *Calabria*, who lived under the Pontificate of *Leo X.* He undertook publickly to maintain Four hundred Propositions

(62) Scalig. in Prolegomenis ad Manilium.

said to have been often times confirmed by the Event [R]; but he owns, that in relation to himself, his Art had proved false (x). Some say, that *Cardan* having foretold he should die at a certain Time, he abstained from Nourishment, that his Death might verify his Prediction [S], and his Life not disgrace the Art. He was therefore afraid of surviving the Falsity of his Prognostics, and so tender of his Honour, that he could not endure the Reproach of having proved a false Prophet, and wronged his Profession. Few People, in the like Case, stand up with so much Courage and Affection for the Honour of their Art. They take Comfort, and are neither ashamed nor discomposed (y). He writ a very great many Books; for the Edition of his Works at *Lyons*, in 1663, contains ten Volumes in *Folio*. His Poverty contributed to this multitude of Writings, which frequently puzzle his Readers by their Digressions and Obscurity [T]. He did not write so many Volumes

(x) See Remark [R].

(y) See the Remark [T], and [K], of the Article COMENIUS.

tions at *Bologna*, *Florence*, and *Padua*: The Monks condemned twelve of them, as favouring of Heresy; of which this was one of the principal: 'Christum 'quoad corporis compaginem elementariam astris 'suppositum, ejusque genituram, & Prophetam magnum, & ea quæ circa corporis evenerant, præsertim violentum ejus mortis genus, nuntiasse non inconvenit. —— *That* CHRIST, *as to the elementary Composition of his Body, was subject to the Stars, and that there is no Inconveniency in calculating his Nativity, and shewing the Necessity of his being a great Prophet; and of all those things which happened to his Body, particularly his violent Death.*' The Author of these Theses, being nettled at their Censures, published a Book, called *Apologeticus adversus cavillatores*, in which he published the Scheme of CHRIST's Nativity, in three different Figures. *Tria Christi genesees themata secundum tres rationabiles differentium doctorum opiniones luculenter enarravit* (63). Before him, *Peter d'Ailli*, Cardinal, and Bishop of *Cambray*, who died under the Pontificate of *Martin* V, was not content to maintain, that Judgment might be made of CHRIST's Birth from Astrological Observations, but proposed the very Scheme of his Nativity. *Præterquam contendit Christi nativitatem prænosci potuisse ex genethliacis objectionibus, ejusdam insuper nativitatis Schema cœleste proposuit in eluidario Astronomicæ concordiæ* (64). *Albertus Magnus*, before *Peter d'Ailli*, had maintained, that the Rules of Astrology took place, even in calculating the Nativity of our Saviour. *Albumasar*, more ancient than *Albertus Magnus*, had made a great many Observations relating to JESUS CHRIST, according to the Principles of Astrology. Here are four Authors produced by *Naudæus*; some of which have been cited by *Roger Bacon*, *Picus Mirandulanus*, and *Robert Holkot*; from whence he concludes, that *Thuanus* (65), and *Scaliger* were in the wrong, to believe *Cardan* the Author of this blasphemous Attempt. 'Unde mirari satis non possum illos non visos, nec auditos unquam fuisse duobus illis eruditorum Coryphæis Thuano & Scaligero, qui saltem ex Bacchone, Pico Mirandulano, aut commentariis Roberti Holkot in Sapientiam Salomonis, discere potuissent, errarum à nonnullis ante Cardanum hunc errorem fuisse, ut Christum falsis, & commentitiis astrorum imaginibus submitterent: nec propterea æquum esse ut Cardanus, quasi sceleris illius primus opifex fuerit, tam acerbe ab illis vapulet (66).' Without going so high, they might have read in *Sixtus Senensis* what Cardinal *d'Ailli* had thought upon that Subject (67).

(63) Naudæus in Judicio de Cardano.

(64) Id. ibid.

(65) *These are* Thuanus's *Words.* Extremæ amentiæ fuit, imo impudentiæ astrorum commentitiis legibus astrorum Dominum velle subjicere, quod ille tamen exarata Servatoris nostri genitura fecit. —— *It was extreme Madness, nay and most impudent Audaciousness, to endeavour to subject the Lord of the Stars to their pretended Influence, which he has yet done by drawing the Scheme of our Saviour's Nativity.* Lib. lxii, p. 255.

(66) Naud. in Jud. de Cardano.

(67) See above, Citat. (14), of the Article AILLI.

As to the second Point, *Naudæus* affirms, that *Cardan* finding himself succeed so well in the Suppression of those Authors Names, from whom he had borrowed JESUS CHRIST's Horoscope, (for by this means he passed for the first Inventor) would never discover them even when he found himself persecuted for the said Horoscope. 'Pater inde quam vafer Cardanus fuerit, nam cum certo certius exploratum haberet, themata Christi natalitia ab Alliacensi, & Tyberio Russiliano exarata fuisse, nec illum latere posse quæ Picus, Albumasar, & Bacchonus de illis dixerant, noluit tamen eorum unquam meminisse, ut vulgo literatorum, inventum istud suum fuisse, persuaderet; quod ei potiquam ex voto cessit, non secus ac in igne contigerat, quem nullum esse sub concavo Lunæ, post Laurentium Vallam, sed illius tamen suppresso nomine, primus asseruit, noluit deinceps quantumvis ab æmulis urgeretur, & in discrimen capitis veniret, vel minimam de illis auctoribus mentionem injicere, maluitque de sua impietate vel rumores disseminari, quam ex opinione tam audaciæ facti partam gloriam amittere (68).'

[R] *His Astrological Predictions are said to have been oftentimes confirmed by the Event.*] *Thuanus* says, *Cardan* brought Astrology into Credit by his good Success in his Horoscopes. 'Judiciariæ quam 'vocant fidem apud multos adstruxit, dum certiora 'per eam quam ex arte possint plerumque promeret (69). But *Naudæus* will not agree to this Fact, but refers us to *Scaliger* and *Alexander de Angelis*, who have related, that *Cardan*'s chief Horoscopes were directly contrary to the Events (70). *Cardan* owns himself, that by the Knowledge he had in Astrology, he was persuaded he should never exceed his fortieth Year, or at least, that he should never arrive to his Forty fifth; and that this was also the Opinion of all who knew him. He adds, that this Persuasion was very prejudicial to him. 'Astrologiæ 'cognitio quam tum habebam, & ut mihi videbatur, '& omnes aiebant me non excessurum XL. vitæ 'annum, certe non ad XLV. perventurum multum 'obfuit (71).'

(68) Naud. in Judicio de Cardano.

(69) Thuanus, lib. lxii, p. 255.

(70) Naud. in Jud. de Cardano.

(71) Cardanus, de Vitâ propriâ, cap. 3, pag. 43, 44. *See also* pag. 184, *where he says*, Quod ad Astrologiam quæ prædicere docet operam dedi, & nimis quam debui fidi quoque in perniciem meam. *See also his Treatise* De Prudentia Civili, cap. cxxx.

[S] *He abstained from Nourishment, that his Death might confirm his Prediction.*] *Thuanus* says this was the common Opinion. 'Cum tribus diebus minus 'septuagesimum quintum annum implevisset, eodem 'quo prædixerat anno & die, videlicet XI. Kalend. 'Octobri defecit, ob id, ne falleret, mortem fua 'inedia acceleraſſe creditus (72). —— *When he was within three Days of finishing his Seventy fifth Year, in the same Year, and on the same Day he had foretold, viz. the Twenty first of* September, *he departed this Life, being thought to have hastened his Death by starving himself to make good his Prediction.*' *Scaliger* relates it as a Matter of Fact: I shall recite his own Words, after having observed, that *Cardan*'s Father died in the same manner, in the Year 1524. He refused all Sustenance, and lived so for nine Days (73). He had white Eyes, could see in the Dark, and never had any occasion for Spectacles (74). These are *Scaliger*'s Words. 'Idem 'Genethliacus quum multis ante annis diem & horam 'mortis suæ determinasset, & appetente tempore 'nihilo minus bene valeret, quanquam jam octogenario major, ne artem contumeliæ exponeret, inedia constituit mori. Quodnescio ferius, an citius ante constitutum ab eo tempus contigerit. Res 'nota est: neque nostrum est mentiri. Omnino 'fecit, quod ille in Epigrammate, αἰσχυντὴς Πάτροκλος ἀπήχθαλο. Lege totum epigramma. Nihil melius hujus Genethliaci exitum expresserit. Nam idem mimus rei fuit (75). —— *The same Fortuneteller having many Years before declared the Day and Hour of his Death, and being in very good Health when the Time was come, though he was above eighty Years of Age, that he might not disgrace his Art, resolved to part with himself. Which, whether it happened exactly to his Time, or sooner, or later, I am not able to say. The Fact is very well known: nor would I advance a Falsity. He acted just the same Thing with him in the* Greek *Epigram. Read the whole Epigram. Nothing can better express the Exit of this Fortune-teller. For he was also a Counterfeit.*'

(72) Thuan. lib. lxii, pag. 255.

(73) Cardan. de Vitâ propriâ, pag. 17.

(74) Ibid. pag. 10.

(75) Scalig. Prolegom. ad Manil.

[T] *His Poverty contributed to the Multitude of his Writings, which frequently puzzle his Readers by their Digressions and Obscurity.*] His Readers find in his Writings what they never could expect: in

Volumes without ſtealing from others (z). As to writing his own Life, he juſtifies it by the Example of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius* (aa). *Naudæus* concurs with him in the ſame Juſtification (bb); tho' it is certain the Inſtance is ill alledged; for the Piece, attributed to that Emperor, is not his Life, but a Collection of Moral Inſtructions for his own Uſe. Some ſay *Naudæus* writ a Life of *Cardan*; but they are miſtaken; he only publiſhed a Diſcourſe, wherein he gives us his Judgment of the Character of that Man. He could not forbear ſaying he was a Madman [*U*]; though he does him Juſtice in other reſpects as to his Wit, his Learning, *&c.* *Scaliger*, the Father, writ againſt *Cardan*, and imagined, without reaſon, that his Book was the cauſe of his Death [*X*].

(z) See the Remark [*D*], Citations (24) and (26), and the Remark [*Q*], Citat. (68).

(aa) Cardan. in Præf. Libri de Vitâ propriâ.

(bb) Naud. in Jud. de Cardano.

I ſhall

in his Arithmetic, ſeveral Diſcourſes upon the Motion of the Planets, upon the Creation, and upon the Tower of *Babel*: In his Logic, his Thoughts upon the Hiſtorians and Letter-Writers. He owns theſe Digreſſions were made on purpoſe to fill up the Page; for he had ſo much a Sheet from the Bookſeller, and he writ as much for his livelihood as for his Reputation.' 'Ut miſſos faciam (*excurſus*) quos 'de rebus ſuis frequentiſſimos habet: eo tantum fine, 'quemadmodum alicubi fatetur, ut plura ſoſia Typo-'graphis mitteret, quibuſcum antea de illorum pre-'tio pepigerat; atque hoc modo fami, non ſe-'cus ac famæ ſcriberet (76).' As to his Obſcurity, the Author, laſt quoted, gives ſome Reaſons for it (77), and this among others, that *Cardan* imagined a great many Things, which were familiar to him, wanted not to be expreſſed; beſides, his quick capacious Genius paſſed readily from one thing to another, without troubling himſelf with explaining the Medium and Connection between the two Extreams. He is not the only Author guilty of this Fault.

(76) Naud. in Jud. de Cardano.

(77) Id. ibid.

[*U*] Naudæus *could not forbear ſaying he was a Madman.*] The Opinion *Seneca* aſcribes to *Ariſtotle*, that your greateſt Wits have all a Mixture of Madneſs, *nullum magnum ingenium ſine mixtura dementiæ* (78), does not hold good as to *Cardan*; we muſt not ſay of him, that his great Wit had a Mixture of Madneſs; but on the contrary, that his Madneſs had a Mixture of great Wit: His Wit was only an Appendix, an Acceſſory, to his Madneſs. They, who think I aggravate the Matter, may, if they pleaſe, follow the Sentiment of *Naudæus*: I conſent to it; he agrees with them, who hold *Cardan* to have lived almoſt like a Madman, 'Ut mittam alio-'rum etiam graviſſimorum virorum judicia, qui Car-'danum miras de ſeipſo fabulas concitaſſe, & inſa-'nienti proximum vixiſſe non perperam aſſerunt (79). The prodigious Contradictions, adds he, we meet with in his Works, are infallible Signs that he was not always in his right Senſes. They can neither be aſcribed to want of Memory, nor to Cunning. The little Coherence there is in his Variations, is a Conſequence of the different Fits of Extravagance with which he was ſeized. 'Enimvero non ſemper eum 'compotem fuiſſe, ſed æſtu quodam raptum, indi-'cio eſt omnium certiſſimo, varietas illa pugnantium 'inter ſe ſententiarum, quas non eſt quod aliquis 'oblivione eorum quæ jam dixerat, aut aſtu, vafri-'cieque prolatas ab eo fuiſſe, ſibi perſuadeat, cum 'ſe in rebus aliis memorem ad miraculum uſque 'præſtiterit; & artis ac vafriciei ſuſpicionem omnem 'elevet, quod grandia quidem, ſed contraria ſem-'per, nunquam autem connexa, & ſibi mutuo cohæ-'rentia loqueretur (80).' The ſcandalous Things he has publiſhed of himſelf, are another great Argument of his Madneſs. He might have brought his Action againſt any Poet who had treated him ſo barbarouſly. He confeſſes his Stars had given him an impious, revengeful, treacherous, magical, calumniating Soul, addicted to all ſorts of Impurities, and full of an infinite number of ſhameful Faults, all which he ſpecifies. 'Ingenium ſi quis inimicus tale illi af-'finxiſſet quale ſuum eſſe in themate natalitio teſtatus 'eſt, potuiſſet in illum agere merito ea lege *Pœna-'que lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam def-'cribi.* Nam ex Venere loci Lunæ ac Mercurii do-'mina, & Mercurio multum, Saturno mediocriter 'commiſta animum ſibi effictum ait, in diem viven-'tem, nugacem, religionis contemptorem, &c (81).' *Naudæus* pretends *Cardan* was the very Man he repreſented himſelf to be; but I ſhould rather think he meant only to ſhow what the malign Influences of his Stars would have ſubjected him to, had he not undertaken to correct them; for he owns the Arts of Divination were fruſtrated in his own Caſe. According to the Rules of Chiromancy, he was judged to be of a heavy Wit, *at Chiromantici rudem eſſe pronunciarint ac ſtupidum, inde ubi norunt puduerit* (82): and by the Rules of Aſtrology, he was to have died before he was Forty five Years old (83). Every one knows how *Socrates* juſtified the Phyſiognomiſt, who had aſcribed to him ſo many Defects. We muſt not forget, firſt, That *Naudæus* maintains, that *Cardan*, who boaſted he never was guilty of a Lie, was a very great Liar. This he proves upon him in ſeveral Particulars. Secondly, That Dr *Parker* is of *Naudæus*'s Opinion, in relation to *Cardan*'s Madneſs, the chief Signs of which he enumerates (84).

(78) Seneca de Tranquill. Animi, ſub fin.

(79) Naud. in Jud. de Cardano.

(80) Id. ibid.

(81) Id. ibid.

(82) Cardan. de Vitâ propriâ, cap. v, pag. 24.

(83) See Remark [*R*].

(84) Parker, Diſputat. de Deo, §. 25.

[*X*] Scaliger, *the Father, writ againſt* Cardan, *and imagined, without reaſon, that his Book was the Cauſe of his Death.*] It may be ſaid, without the leaſt prejudice to Probability, that the Hope of acquiring a great Name from his Adverſary's Reputation, provoked *Scaliger* to write againſt *Cardan*. If he had not been ſo much poſſeſſed with the Spirit of Contradiction, he had gained more Honour than he did in this Combat; but what the *Greeks* called ἀμετρία τῆς ἀνθολκῆς, an exceſſive Paſſion of oppoſing others, did *Scaliger* a great deal of harm. For upon this Principle he maintained that the Parrot was a very ugly Creature. If *Cardan* had ſaid ſo, *Scaliger* would have objected to him the Teſtimonies of the ancient Poets, concerning the Beauty of this Bird. *Voſſius* has made a judicious Obſervation upon this perverſe Humour in *Scaliger*, and ſhown at the ſame time wherein theſe two Antagoniſts were ſuperior and inferior to each other. 'Scaliger, *in Exercitat.* 246, quia 'Cardanus Plittacum commendarat à colorum va-'rietate, ac præterea fulgore, quod & Apuleius 'facit in ſecundo Floridorum, contrà contendit eſſe 'deformem, non modo ob fœditatem roſtri, ac 'crurum, & linguæ, ſed etiam quia ſit coloris 'fuſci, ac cinericii, qui triſtis. Quid faciamus 'ſummo viro? Si Cardanus ea dixiſſet, provocaſſet 'ad judicia Poëtarum: atque adeo omnium homi-'num. Nunc quia pulchri dixit coloris, ille de-'formis contendit. Hoc contradictionis ſtudium, 'quod ubique in hiſce exercitationibus ſe prodit, 'Sophiſtâ dignius eſt quam Philoſopho. Majorem 'etiam modeſtiam, dum ſalſe adeo tractat Carda-'num, meritò paſſim requiras: præſertim ſi cogites, 'ſcribere adverſus virum ſummum, ſtudiis quidem 'Humanitatis, & Metaphyſices non paulò inferio-'rem; at non ſcientia naturæ, matheſeos autem 'omnibus diſciplinis, in quibus parum omnino Sca-'liger videbat, albis quod dicitur equis præverten-'tem (85).------ Scaliger, in his Two hundred 'and forty ſixth Exercitation, *becauſe* Cardan *had 'commended the Parrot for the Brightneſs and Variety 'of it's Colours, as* Apuleius *has alſo done in his 'ſecond* Florida, *undertakes on the contrary to 'prove it's Deformity, not only from the uglineſs 'of it's Beak, Tongue, and Legs, but alſo from it's 'brown, aſh, and dull Colour. What is to be done 'with this Great Man? Had* Cardan *ſaid this, 'he would have appealed againſt him to the Judge-'ments of the Poets, and of all Mankind. But 'now becauſe* Cardan *declares this Bird beautiful, 'he will have it ugly. This Spirit of Contradiction, 'which appears every where in his* Exercitations, *'is fitter for a Sophiſter than a Philoſopher. And 'he muſt be allowed very much wanting in Modeſty, 'to treat* Cardan *ſo bitterly: eſpecially if it be con-'ſidered, that he writes againſt ſo great an Ad-'verſary, who was very little his Inferior in Hu-'manity and Metaphyſics; but in natural Philoſophy 'and

(85) Voſſius de Orig. & Progr. Idolol. lib. iii, cap. lxxx, pag. 1263.

I shall make an Addition concerning his Book *De Subtilitate*, which *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* refuted (*c c*) [*Y*].

(*c c*) See Remark [*X*].

'*and Mathematics, which* Scaliger *knew very little of, far his Superior.*' *Naudæus* is still more offended at *Scaliger* than *Vossius*: He blames him for resolving not to read the second Edition of *Cardan*'s Book. This Reflexion is very just. For how unreasonable is that Critic, who, rather than lose the Labour he has been at in marking down Faults, publickly arraigns a Writer for Errors he has already corrected? Now *Scaliger* printed his Book two Years after the second Edition of his Adversary. He was afraid of finding, in this second Edition, several Passages corrected; this would have soured the Pleasure he had met with in finding Faults, and deterred him from publishing his Criticisms on Errors no longer to be found in *Cardan's* Book: He thought it therefore his best way not to read the second Edition at all. This is *Naudæus*'s first Remark. 'Nam primum quis ferat 'Scaligerum exercitationes suas triennio post secundam librorum de subtilitate editionem invulgasse, 'nec tamen illam videre voluisse, nec mendis illis 'peperciisse, quæ postrema hac diligentia sublata à 'Cardano fuerant, ne videlicet laboris sui quantumvis frustra impensi fructum smitteret.' His second Remark is, That *Cardan* justified himself so well, that if there were any Objections left unanswered, they were to be looked upon as little or nothing. 'Præterea quis nescit Cardanum, actione 'prima in calumniatorem librorum de subtilitate, 'sic omnes illius aculeos retudisse, objectiones diluisse, accusationes insregisse, ut earum ratio haberi non debeat, quæ supersesse forsan ex tanto 'numero possent: nam homo fuit Cardanus, & 'humani à se nihil alienum putavit: nec adeo mirum est illum errasse, quin multo magis admiratione dignum sit, tam raro, & in tam paucis, 'ac minimis cespitasse.' He remarks, in the third place, that *Scaliger*, during the nine Years he spent in this Criticism, committed more Errors himself, than he censured in *Cardan*. 'Imò verò aufim 'ego pignore deposito contendere multo plures 'nævos esse, quos Scaliger exercitationibus suis 'immistos reliquit; quam eos quibus adversus Cardanum tam procaciter exagitandis totos novem 'annos insudavit.' IV. Lastly, he remarks, that *Scaliger*'s Motive was not so much the Love of Truth, as a Passion of opposing whatever was then most eminent in the Republic of Letters. 'Non 'tam eruendæ veritatis studio, quam ut effræni 'desiderio suo satisfaceret, cum illis omnibus congrediendi, quos suo tempore literarum eruditionumque principes haberi cognoverat.' To these four Remarks may be added a fifth, which is, That *Scaliger* imagined his Criticisms had killed poor *Cardan*. Upon this he writ a Preface full of laboured Reflexions (86); he loaded *Cardan* with Encomiums, and expressed a mighty Regret for having gained a Victory that cost the learned World so considerable a Man, *&c.* The Truth is, *Cardan* out-lived *Scaliger* fifteen or twenty Years, and, by *Naudæus*'s second Remark, we may guess whether he had reason to be so much afflicted at *Scaliger*'s Book.

more than Two thousand two hundred Places, as the Title Page has it. And therefore, if *Scaliger*, in his *Exercitations*, has criticised Passages which *Cardan* had corrected in the Edition of 1554, he had good reason to complain of it, and Mr *Naudé* and Mr *Bayle* justly approve of his Complaint. But this Complaint does not relate to the Passage of which Mr *de la Monnoie* speaks in the new Edition of the *Menagiana*, *Tom.* iv. *pag.* 305. That scandalous Passage which is in the Two hundred fifty fourth Page of the first Edition is to be found, without any Alteration, in *pag.* 354 of the second Edition, and the Passage in question was not corrected till the third Edition at *Basil*, in 1560, in 8vo, *newly Corrected and Augmented in above a thousand Places.* REM. CRIT.]

[*Y*] *I shall make an Addition concerning the Book* de Subtilitate, *which* Scaliger *refuted.*] *Cardan* bestowed but eight Months in writing it, and gave it to *John Petreius*, Bookseller of *Nuremberg*, to print. He dedicated it to *Ferdinand de Gonzague*, Governor of the *Milanese*. The first Edition was in Follo, and dated in the Year 1550 (87): and yet the Author declares in an Epistle Dedicatory, dated at *Paris*, the Twenty first of *April*, 1552, that since the first Edition he had spent three Years in correcting and inlarging the Work. *Quos octo mensium spatio absolveram, perpetuo triennio emendati atque aucti in publicum sub nomine tuo prodirent.* This is the Epistle Dedicatory of the second Edition, and is addressed to the same *Ferdinand de Gonzague*. I mean by the second Edition, that which was published after the first reviling that Work, in the beginning of the Year 1554 (88). That of *Nuremberg* had already been counterfeited at *Lyons*, *Scaliger*'s Book against that Edition appeared in 1557, and yet *Cardan* objects that his Adversary had employed about nine Years in criticising it (89). He made a second Revisal of his Work, and gave it to be printed with his new Corrections and Additions to a Bookseller of *Basil* (90), and subjoined to it an Answer to *Scaliger*. It was intituled, *Hieronymi Cardani in Calumniatorem Librorum de Subtilitate Actio prima*, and is only a general Answer, without descending to Particulars. As *Ferdinand de Gonzague* was no longer living, the Author sought a new Patron. He dedicated this third Edition to *Don Gonsales Ferrand* of *Corduba*, Duke of *Sueffa*. He has not dated his Epistle Dedicatory, but I believe it was written in the Year 1560. I have however seen the Epistle Dedicatory of the second Edition, in a Copy printed at *Basil*, in Folio, *ex Officina Petrinâ*, 1560. The *Actio prima in Calumniatorem* was at the end of this Copy. I do not believe *Cardan* revised his Book any more after this: there are no Appearances of a third Revisal in the Edition of *Henric Petri*, in 1582, in 8vo (91). I have an Edition of *Lyons*, *apud Bartholomæum Honoratum*, 1580, in 8vo, which is according to the first Revisal. The *Actio in Calumniatorem* is not in it. The extream Negligence in this Bookseller of *Lyons* is very remarkable; who did not know that within twenty Years there had been published a much better Edition than that he had counterfeited. There was a *French* Translation of this Book of *Cardan*, done by *Richard le Blanc*, and printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1556, in 4to (92).

(87) Epitome Bibioth. Gesneri, pag. 346.

(88) Cardani Act. in Calomniat. pag. 1019.

(89) Id. ibid. pag. 1028.

(90) Named *Henric Petri*.

(91) *Gesner*'s Epitome takes no notice of this Edition in 8vo, but mentions only that in *Folio*.

(92) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 1222.

(86) It is at the end of his Oration against *Erasmus*, Edition of *Toulouse*, 1620, pag. 63. It was not designed to serve for a Preface to the sixteen Books *Exercitationum exotericarum*, as we find it in the History of *Cardan*, pag. 334; but to the sixteenth Book.

CARION (JOHN), Professor of the Mathematics in the University of *Francfort* upon the *Oder*, was born at *Buetickheim*, in *Germany* (*a*). He published Ephemerides from the Year 1536, to 1550. He put out another Book called *Practicæ Astrologicæ* (*b*). He gained but little Reputation from these two Pieces; but he became famous for a Chronicle in which he had no Hand [*A*], and which the Protestants

(*a*) Gesn. in Biblioth. fol. 399.

(*b*) Melchior Adam. in Vitis Philosophor. pag. 204.

[*A*] *He became famous for a Chronicle in which he had no Hand.*] It has been often printed, and translated into several Languages. This is the Account of it. *Carion* having written a Chronicle, had a mind to have it printed at *Wittemberg*, but was desirous *Melanthon* should first correct it. *Melanthon*, instead of correcting it, composed a new one, which he published under *Carion*'s Name at *Wittemberg*. It was written in *High-Dutch*, and translated into *Latin*, in 1538, by *Herman Bonnut*, Minister at *Lubec*, and Principal of the College (1). *Melanthon* observing how well this Book was received, after having revised and enlarged it, published a new *Latin* Version, in 1558 (2). He published

(1) Melanthon in Epist. Dedicat. Chron. Carionis, Edit. 1558.

(2) Id. ibid.

teſtants extolled at a high rate [*B*]. He died at *Berlin*, in the Year 1538 (*c*). Mr

(*c*) Id. ibid. pag. 105.

liſhed in two Years after, with an Addition of a ſecond Part. It then conſiſted of three Books: the two firſt contained the firſt Part, extending from the beginning of the World down to our Lord Jesus Christ. The third Book contained the ſecond Part, from *Auguſtus* down to *Charlemagne*, excluſively. *Peucer*, after his Father-in-law *Melanchton*'s Death, continued the Work, and publiſhed, in 1562, a fourth Book, from *Charlemagne* to *Frederic* II. About three Years after he printed a fifth Book, which ended with the Death of *Maximilian*, in 1519. In 1572, he publiſhed an Edition of the whole (3), I mean of what was written by himſelf, and by *Melanchton*, and promiſed a Continuation of it down to his own Time (4), but was never ſo good as his Word. The Edition I have of *Carion*'s Chronicle is that at *Geneva*, printed in 8vo, 1625 (5), containing, in an *Appendix*, the Abridgment of the Hiſtory from the Coronation of *Charles* V, to the Death of *Rodolphus* in 1612. *Euſebius Menius* has tranſlated this Chronicle into *High Dutch* (6). *Simon Goulart* printed a *French* Tranſlation in 1579, and publiſhed a ſecond Edition in 1595, adding each time a Supplement of his own down to his own Days. I ſhall take notice preſently of the *French* Verſion of *John de Blond*.

We are to obſerve, that *Carion*'s Manuſcript was ſent to *Melanchton*, in 1531. This appears by a Letter from the latter (7). I will here inſert a long Paſſage out of it, becauſe it ſerves to give us a Character of our *Carion*. 'Accepi tuam diſputationem de prædictionibus *Carionis*. Quanquam autem iſte vehementer affirmat, ſe nihil præter ſiderum poſitum in conſilium adhibere, tamen multis non ſatis perſuadet hoc. Et ars meo quoque judicio non poteſt tam diſertè de ſingularibus eventibus pronuntiare, ſed vir eſt, quantum ego quidem cognovi, Candidus, & *Suevicæ* ſimplicitatis plurimum referens. Miſit huc χφονικὰ excudenda, ſed ea lege ut ego emendarem. Sunt multa ſcripta negligentius. Itaque ego totum opus retexo, & quidem *Germanicè*, & conſtitui complecti præcipuas mutationes maximorum imperiorum. ——— *I have received your Diſputation on* Carion's *Predictions. Though he declares very earneſtly, that he has formed them ſolely from the Poſition of the Stars, yet he has not prevailed on many to believe him. And indeed, in my Opinion, it is not in the Power of that Art to pronounce ſo exactly on particular Events: but the Author appears, as far as I can judge of him, to be a Man of candour, and to diſcover a great deal of the* Schwabian *Simplicity. He ſent his* Chronicle *hither to be printed, but upon condition that I ſhould reviſe it. But I find it a very haſty Work: And have therefore new formed the whole Work in the* German *Language, and compriſed in it the principal changes of the moſt conſiderable Empires.*' By this it appears, *Melanchton* new moulded the Work he was deſired to correct. We ſhall ſee, by and by, he made but one Blot of *Carion*'s whole Manuſcript, and that nevertheleſs he was willing that the Chronicle he ſubſtituted in it's place, ſhould appear under *Carion*'s Name; and That not only in the *German* Edition of *Wittemberg*, in 1531, but alſo in the following ones in *Latin*, which he corrected and augmented. The ſame was obſerved after his Death, in *Peucer*'s Continuations. Read what follows: 'Nomen Chronici Carionis retinui, quod mutare illud autor primus ſanctæ beatæque memoriæ Philippus Melanchthon: ſocer meus noluit. Occaſio nominis hujus inde extitit, quod cum Joannes Carion Mathematicus ante annos quadraginta cœpiſſet contexere Chronicum, & recognoſcendum illud, atque emendandum, priuſquam prælo ſubjiceretur, miſiſſet ad Philippum Melanchthonem, hic, quod parum probaretur, totum abolevit unà liturâ, alio conſcripto, cui tamen Carionis nomen præfixit: ſed & hoc cum retexiſſet, amici nomen & memoriam, à cujus primordiis ἀφορμὴ prima Chronici contexendi nata atque profecta eſſet, titulo poſteritati commendare voluit (8). ——— *I have continued the Chronicle under* Carion's *Name, becauſe it's firſt Author*, Philip Melanchthon, *my Father-in-law, of bleſſed Memory, ſet me the Pattern. The Occaſion of it's being publiſhed under that Name was this:* John Carion, *the Mathematician, had been for forty Years before compoſing a Chronicle, which he ſent to* Philip Melanchton *to reviſe and correct before it went to the Preſs: but he not at all approving the Work, made but one Blot of the whole, and wrote a new one himſelf, to which however he prefixed* Carion's *Name. And when he afterwards reviſed it, he would continue to Poſterity the Name and Memory of his Friend, who had laid the Plan, and given the firſt Occaſion of his compoſing it.*' But it is alſo to be remarked, that there is ſome reaſon to believe that *Carion* publiſhed his own Piece. Mr *Sagittarius* makes no doubt of it: He is only ſurprized at *Carion*'s Conduct in doing ſo (9). He had, among his Books, two *German* Editions of this Author's Chronicle; one in 4to, but in what Year publiſhed he could not tell; the other in 8vo, reaching down to *April* 16, 1521, the Epiſtle Dedicatory to which is dated 1531 (10). This does not at all agree with *Melanchton*'s Work, which, even after it had been very much augmented by the Author, reached no farther than the beginning of *Charlemagne*'s Reign. But we meet with another Difficulty. The *Swiſſers* found that the greateſt part of what has been ſaid concerning their Nation in this Chronicle, is falſe. 'Qui inter Helvetios noſtros hiſtoriarum patriæ non imperiti ſunt, pleraque falſa eum de rebus noſtris ſcripſiſſe affirmant (11).' *Bullinger* publickly refuted the Falſities he obſerved in it concerning a Battle loſt by the *Swiſſers* near *Zurich* in 1531 (12). Neither can this, for the reaſon before given, any way in the World agree with *Melanchton*'s Work. On the other ſide, *Geſner*, who relates theſe Obſervations of the *Swiſſers*, had juſt before deſcribed *Carion*'s Work by Marks, perfectly ſuiting with that of *Melanchton*. He had been ſaying that *Carion*'s Chronicle, printed in *High Dutch* at *Wittemberg*, in the Year 1538, had been printed at *Hall* in *Suabia*, in 1539, and at *Lyons*, in 1543, tranſlated into *Latin*, by *Hermannus Bonnus*, and called *Chronicorum libellus, maximas quaſque res geſtas ab initio mundi apte ordine complectans, ita ut annorum ratio ac præcipuæ vicißitudines quæ in regna, in religionem, & in alias res magnas incidunt, quam rectißimè cognoſci queant.* This Title exactly anſwers the Deſign and Character of *Melanchton*'s Chronicle; and it is well known this Author publickly owned that to be his Work, which had been tranſlated into *Latin* by *Herman Bonnus* (13). The ſame *Geſner* obſerves, that *Carion* dedicated his Book, in 1531, to *Joachim*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*. This admirably agrees with *Melanchton*'s Book, as appears from this Paſſage, in a Dedication (14), 'Cum autem prima editio illuſtriſſimo principi Electori patri tuo dedicata ſit, ne transferre munus in aliam familiam viderer, filio dedicare hanc editionem volui, quia patrem ipſum cui jam hiſtoria eccleſiæ & imperiorum notiſſima eſt, ſcio velle talia jam à filiis legi, & ſe vivo vos in poſſeſſionem doctrinæ venire. ——— *The firſt Edition having been dedicated to the moſt illuſtrious Electoral Prince your Father, I was not willing to ſeek a Patron in any other Family, and therefore have dedicated this to the Son, becauſe I know it to be the Deſire of the Father, who is excellently ſkilled in Hiſtory, both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, that his Sons ſhould ſtudy and make themſelves Maſters of the ſame during his Life.*' It will not bear to be made an Objection, that at the time when this was written, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, to whom the firſt Edition was addreſſed, was then alive, which cannot agree to the Elector in the Year 1531 (15). For he to whom the firſt Edition was dedicated, was not yet Elector, when the Chronicle in queſtion was firſt publiſhed. Let us obſerve farther, that *Du Verdier* tells us that the Chronicle of *John Carion, the Philoſopher, containing the moſt remarkable Things from the Creation of the World down to the Reign of* Henry II, *and tranſlated into* Latin *by* John Blond, was printed ſeveral times at *Paris* and *Lyons* (16). Can this be ſaid of *Melanchton*'s Work,

(3) *At* Wittemberg *in Folio, apud* Johannem Cratonem.

(4) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory to the Edition of 1572.

(5) Apud Samuelem Criſpinum. *There is one of the Year* 1617, apud eundem, *and another of* Francfort, 1594, *in two Volumes in* 8vo. *See* Michael Hertzius's Bibliotheca Germanica, p. 502, 508.

(6) Melchior Adam. in Vitis Phil. pag. 105. *This High-Dutch Tranſlation was printed at* Francfort *in Folio, in* 1566.

(7) *Tis the* 113*th of the fourth Book, dated* die ſolſtitiali, 1531.

(8) Peucer, Epiſt. Dedicator. Chronici Carionis, Edit. 1572, fub fin.

(9) Miror ipſum Carionem illud edidiſſe. *I wonder* Carion *ſhould publiſh it.* Caſper Sagittarius introduct. ad Hiſtoriam Eccleſiaſticam, pag. 98.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Geſner in Biblioth. fol. 399, verſo.

(12) Bullinger, in Reſponſione ad Johan. Cochlei libellum de Scripturæ, & Eccleſiæ autoritate, circa finem, cap. xxix. *Apud Geſner. ibid.*

(13) See *Melanchton*'s Dedication before the Edition in 1558.

(14) Of the Edition in 1558, dedicated by *Melanchton* to *Sigiſmund* of *Brandenburg*, Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg*, Son of the Elector *Joachim* II.

(15) *Joachim* I, who died *Anno* 1535, having ſucceeded his Father in 1499. *Heiſs, Hiſt. de l'Empire*, Tom. II, pag. 331.

(16) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 665.

Mr *Moreri* has made a childish Mistake [*C*]. And I have something to charge some other Writers withal [*D*].

Work, which was continued down no farther than *Charlemagne?* It is more likely to be that Chronicle *Carion* had continued down to 1530, if we believe *Keckerman* (17). We must only suppose, that the *Frenchman*, who translated it, continued it down to his Time.

(17) Keckerman de Naturâ & Proprietate Histor. cap. v. apud. Magirum Eponymol. pag. 282.

The Result of all this is, That it is uncertain, whether there were not two Pieces published under *Carion*'s Name; one composed by *Carion* himself, the other by *Melanchton*. It is probable *Carion* did not acquiesce in the Judgment of that Great Man, when, instead of correcting some Places in his Chronicle, he saw it quite laid aside, and another composed. Perhaps he then published his own, whilst another was published under his Name. If so, we have two Chronicles, one of which was continued down to the Time of the Impression. Perhaps also *Melanchton* consented that a Supplement should be added to his, and leaving it to *Carion*'s Discretion, the latter printed his Work such as *Melanchton* had sent it him, adding an Appendix down to his own Time. If it be so, we have but one *German* Edition in *Carion*'s Name. It may easily be supposed, that *Melanchton*, having revised his own Work a long time after, and translated it into *Latin*, retrenched what was not of his own composing. Thus the first Edition of his *Latin* Chronicle appears to reach only to *Cæsar*, and the second to *Charlemagne*. They, who understand the *German* Language, and have an Occasion to search the Libraries of *Germany*, are desired to clear this Matter, and let us know what we are to believe upon it.

Since the printing of what you have just now read, I am put out of doubt; for I have seen a *Latin* Chronicle of *Carion*, dedicated by him to *Joachim*, Marquis of *Brandenburg*, and divided into three Books, which reaches from *Adam* to *Soliman*'s Expedition into *Hungary* in the Year 1532. The Author ends with four or five Prophecies, which he applies to *Charles* V, and all which have proved false. The Epistle Dedicatory is dated from *Berlin*, in 1532. The Edition I use is of *Paris*, 1563, in 16mo, by *James Dupuis*, and contains a Supplement down to the Twenty ninth of *September*, 1560. I have likewise seen the *French* Translation of *John le Blond*, printed at *Paris* by *Stephen Groleau* in 16mo. It contains no Appendix with relation to the general History, but only with regard to that of *Francis* I and *Henry* II; That relating to *Francis* I, begins with the first Year of his Reign.

(18) Andreas Franckenbergius, lib. iii. Institutionum Antiquitatis & Historiarum ad Chronicon Carionis Melanchthonianum potissimum accommodavit. — *He formed his own Institutions of Antiquity and History, chiefly according to* Melanchthon's Chronicle of *Carion. Sagittarius, ibid. pag.* 101.

[*B*] . . . . . *which the Protestants extolled at a high Rate.*] See what *Andrew Franckenberg* says of it: 'Chronicon Carionis magna sui parte retextum, 'tanto judicio tantaque dexteritate perfecit (*Melanchthon*) ut nihil in eo genere & compendiaria ratione præstantius extare sciamus (18). — Carion's Chronicle, *being a great part of it new modelled, was compleated by* Melanchton, *with so much Judgment and Exactness, that it is acknowledged to be a Master piece of it's kind, and in the compendiary way.*' He esteemed it so highly, that he followed the Model of it in his own Work, quoted in the Margin (19), and made an Oration, 'De magnitudine rerum divinarum & politicarum quæ in Chronico Philippi continentur (20). — *Of the Greatness of the Matters Ecclesiastical and Civil, which are contained in* Melanchton's Chronicle.' One may suppose *Vitorinus Strigelius* to be much of the same Judgment; for he writ several Historical Lectures upon this Chronicle (21). *Stephen Prætorius* looks on them, who have no taste for it, to be direct Dunces: 'Eruditissima & elegantissima Epitome omnium fere 'historiarum totius mundi est Chronicon Phil. Melanchonis, quod qui non degustavit, is vere barbarus est (22).' Add to this *Beaclerus*'s Testimony. 'In hoc (*Chronico*) ea sunt ad summam rerum & 'historiæ universalis contextum spectantia, judicia, 'monita, præcepta, ut de alio hujus generis & instituti volumine similia polliceri nemo facile queat (23). — *In this* (Chronicle) *appear such Judgments, Observations, and Rules, relating to the Formation of a Compendium, and universal History, as will not readily be equalled in any other 'Work of the same kind and Design.*' He, who quotes these Judgments, makes it appear that he approves of them: 'Meretur, *says he* (24), hoc ipsum, quod vulgo Carionis, rectius tamen Philippo-Peucerianum appellaretur Chronicon, inter selectissima probatissimaque utriusque Historiæ (Ecclesiasticæ ac Civilis) monumenta computari, atque à studiosa juventute diligenter legi, lectumque aliquoties repeti. — *This* Chronicle, *which is commonly called* Carion's, *but more properly* Melancthon's *and* Peucer's, *deserves to be esteemed amongst the most compleat and valuable Monuments of History (Ecclesiastical and Civil), and to be diligently read, and often repeated by young Students.*' He finds Fault, that the Authors, from whom the Accounts were taken, are not quoted; and he is in the right. It is a great Fault in a Work of this Nature, and indeed in all others; *La Popeliniere*, who has given this Piece a very good Character, finds another Fault in it, which is a Spirit of Prejudice. It will not be amiss to give it in his own Words: '*John Carion*, the Mathematician, is reputed the Author of some Chronicles, first printed in *Germany*, and afterwards in other Places, under his Name. Tho' his Master *Melanchton*, as I am informed (25), to whom he presented the first Draughts for him to revise, add, and correct what he thought fit, made but one Blot of the whole, and composed new ones: But, through a Condescension, natural to him, permitted *Carion* to print them under his own Name. They shew a great deal of Learning and Industry. But his Zeal to benefit his Reader, is yet more remarkable, by insisting upon the most eminent Examples, to habituate him to Virtue, and sometimes raising him up to Heaven, in order to admire the Divine Providence, in the so various Methods of governing the World. However, he exceeds the Duty of a Chronologer by his Prolixity, and of a Historian by diverse Passions (26).' *Simon Goulart*'s Commendations of this Work of *Carion* (27) are not attended with this Censure. We must observe that the Writers of the other Party very much condemn this Chronicle. 'Possevinus, suo more, *they are the Words* 'of Keckerman (28), infectatur Chronicon Melancthonis sine ulla ratione & fronte. — Possevinus, *after his usual manner, falls foul of* Melancthon's Chronicle *without Reason.*' *Surius* throws a whole Load of Reflexions upon *Peucer*, for his Continuation of this Chronicle (29). He saw himself ill treated in the Dedication to the fifth Book.

(19) Suas Institutiones Antiquitatis & Historiarum ad Chronicon Carionis Melanchthonianum potissimum accommodavit. — *He formed his own Institutions of Antiquity and History, chiefly according to* Melancthon's Chronicle of *Carion. Sagittarius, ibid. pag.* 101.

(20) *Printed at* Wittemberg, *in* 1589. Id. Ibid.

(21) Scholas Historicas in idem Chronicon scripsit. *Keckerm. de Natura & Proprietate Histor. in Auctar. cap.* vi.

(22) Stephan. Prætorius in ordine studiorum apud Sagitt. pag. 98.

(23) Beaclerus Dissert. de Utilitate ex Historiæ Universi. comparatione capienda, pag. 16, apud Sagittar. Ibid.

[*C*] *Mr* Moreri *has made a very childish Mistake.*] I make use of this Expression, because he has translated like a School-boy. These are his Words: Carion *was skilled in the Languages, in polite Learning, and Mathematics. He taught them with Applause, at* Wittemberg, *and elsewhere.* This infers, that he taught these three things in several Universities. Though the Truth is, he taught only the Mathematics at *Franckfort* upon the *Oder*. Let us see the *Latin Moreri* meant to translate; it is very easy to be understood, though he could not apprehend it. *A teneris optimarum artium, & literarum studiosus fuit, inque pluribus Germaniæ Academiis, præsertim in Wittebergensi, cum laude versatus* (30). This shows plainly that *Carion* gained himself a Reputation, whilst he studied at *Wittemberg*, and elsewhere in *Germany*, but not that *he taught there with Applause.*

(24) Ibid. pag. 97.

(25) He might have quoted a Book printed 87 Years ago; viz. *Peucer*'s Dedication before the Edition of 1572. See above, Citation (8).

(26) La Popelliniere, Histoire des Histoires, liv. ix. pag. 481. *This Book was printed in* 1599.

(27) See the Dedication to his Version.

(28) Keckerman de Naturâ & Propr. Hist. in Auct. cap. vi.

(29) Surius, Comment. Rerum in Orbe gestar. ad Ann. 1565.

(30) Melchior Adam. in Vit. Philosi. pag. 104.

[*D*] *I have something to charge some others Writers withal.*] *Gesner*'s Abbreviators take notice of an Edition in 1528: it is a mistake: the first Edition could not be before 1531. *Keckerman* says, *Melanchton* published, in 1540, a Chronicle, extending from the beginning of the World down to *Charlemagne* (31). He ought to have said in 1560. *Zeiller* followed *Keckerman* in the same Mistake (32); for he copied him him word for word. He is guilty of another, in saying that *Peucer* continued this Chronicle down to his own time (33): he ought to have said, down to 1519. He observes, that *Peucer* died in 1602. Mr *Sagittarius* makes use of a strange Instance, to prove, that *Melanchton* and *Carion*

(31) Keckerm. ubi supra.

(32) Martinus Zeillerus, in Historicis, Parte II, pag. 54. He quotes Keckerman, de Histor. pag. 207.

(33) Id. Ibid. pag. 114.

(34) Interceſſiſſe tamen Melanchthoni cum Capnione ſingularem amicitiam ſequentia produnt. *Sagittar. ubi ſupra, pag. 99, and in the Margin he has* Amicitia Philippi cum Capnione.

rion were very good Friends (34). He quotes a Paſſage in the Dedication to the Edition of 1558. This Paſſage imports, that *Melanchthon* had heard *Capnio* ſay, that the Elector Palatine had ordered *Dalburg*, Biſhop of *Worms*, *Rodolphus Agricola*, and *Capnio*, to make an Abridgment of the ancient Monarchies. He believed, without doubt, that, inſtead of *Capnio*, it ought to have been *Carion*, in theſe words, *ſæpe audivi narrare Capnionem, &c.* But this has led him into another Blunder: he imagined a Man born in 1499 (35) had joined in a Work with *Rodolphus Agricola*, who died in 1485.

(35) This he obſerves of *Carion*, pag. 96.

CARMILIANUS (PETER), a *Latin* Poet, and an *Engliſhman* by Nation, lived in the beginning of the XVIth Century. *Eraſmus*, and *Andrew Ammonius*, ſpeak of him with a great deal of Contempt. He publiſhed, among other Poems, an Epitaph upon That King of the *Scots*, who was ſlain in a Battle, he loſt to the *Engliſh*, *Ann.* 1513. The Opinion, the World had of it, will be ſeen in the Remark [*A*], which will ſerve for a Reaſon to the Reader, why this Poet was never taken notice of. The profound Obſcurity, in which he lies buried, is one of the chief Reaſons, which engaged me to conſecrate this ſmall Article to him: a Method I ſhall obſerve towards ſome others.

[*A*] *The Opinion the World had of it will be ſeen in the Remark.*] Here is what *Ammonius* wrote to *Eraſmus* thereupon. 'Hoc prætereundum non 'eſt P. Carmilianum Regis Scotorum epitaphium 'nuper edidiſſe muliebribus maledictis refertum, 'quod Pinſonicis characteribus excuſum propediem 'leges. Eo Carmilianus magis ſibi placet, ſeque 'magis miratur, quam Catullianus ille Suffenus; & 'tamen niſi ego admoniſſem *pullulare* prima correpta poſuiſſet. Utcunque multa reſtant quæ rideas, & in primis aliquos inveniri qui ejuſmodi 'ineptias ſerio laudent (1). —— *I muſt not omit, that* Carmilianus *has lately publiſhed the Epitaph of the King of* Scots, *full of womaniſh Reviling; which you will ſoon read, printed by* Pinſon. Carmilianus 'diſcovers *great ſelf-ſatisfaction, thereupon, and admires himſelf more than even* Suffenus *in* Catullus; 'and yet, *if I had not warned him, he would have made the firſt Syllable in* pullulare *ſhort. You will have ſtill greater occaſion to laugh, eſpecially when I tell you there are ſome, who commend ſuch Stuff in earneſt.*' This Letter from *Ammonius*, dated in *November* 1515, is the fortieth in the eighth Book of thoſe of *Eraſmus*, who returned him this Anſwer: 'Carmiliani epitaphium vidi, quumque 'legerem *pullulare*, hic, inquam ſcabies eſt: deinde 'quum ſciſcitanti reſpondiſſent eſſe Carmiliani, reſpondi, ſane ipſo dignum eſt. Id quidam ſic acceperunt quaſi diziſſem Scotorum rege dignum: quibus pluſculum erat naſi, ſubriſere. Sed næ tu homo 'nimium es candidus qui belluæ iſtius famæ conſulas: ita me Deus amet magno emerim ſi ſiluiſſes. '—— *I have ſeen the Epitaph, written by* Carmilianus; *and, when I read the word* pullulare, *here, ſaid I, is a Scab: when, upon enquiry, I was told it was* Carmilianus's, *I replied, indeed it is worthy of him. This by ſome was taken, as if I had ſaid, it was worthy of the King of* Scots: *Thoſe, who were more acute, ſmiled at the Jeſt. But, in truth, it is too good natured in you, to concern your ſelf for the Reputation of That Fellow. I wiſh to GOD you had been ſilent.*' This Anſwer of *Eraſmus*, dated in *November* 1521, is the twentieth Letter in the eighth Book: from whence we may judge how exact they were, who put *Eraſmus*'s Letters in order, and ſet a Date to thoſe that were without Date (2).'

(1) Epiſt. Eraſm. 40, lib. viii, pag. 435.

(2) See the end of Remark [*B*], of the Article AMMONIUS (ANDREW).

(*a*) Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, n. 62. Plutarch. Sympoſ. lib viii, cap. i, pag. 717.

CARNEADES, a famous *Greek* Philoſopher of *Cyrene* (*a*). He founded the third Academy [*A*], which, properly ſpeaking, differed in nothing from the ſecond (*b*); for, if you except ſome Softenings, which ſerved only to caſt a Miſt before the Eyes, he was as earneſt a Stickler for Uncertainty, as *Arceſilas* [*B*]. He found it

(*b*) Founded by *ARCESILAS*. See his Article.

[*A*] *He founded the third Academy.*] I ſhall obſerve elſewhere (1), that *Diogenes Laërtius* is not to be relied upon, when he attributes to *Lacydes* this Foundation. *Lacydes* nicely followed *Arceſilas* his Predeceſſor's Hypotheſis; which received no Innovations, for ought appears to us, either from *Evander*, who ſucceeded *Lacydes*, or *Hegeſinus* (2), who came next after *Evander*. It was *Carneades*, *Hegeſinus*'s Succeſſor, who made himſelf Head of a new Party. Let us ſee what *Cicero* ſays: 'Cujus '(Arceſilæ) primo non admodum probata ratio —— 'proxime à Lacyde ſolo retenta eſt: poſt autem 'conficta à Carneade, qui eſt quartus ab Arceſila: 'audivit enim Hegeſinum, qui Evandrum audierat 'Lacydis diſcipulum, quum Arceſilæ Lacydes fuiſſet (3). —— *The Method of* Arceſilas *was not much approved of, at firſt.* —— *It was next taken up by* Lacydes *alone: afterwards it was put in practice by* Carneades, *who is the fourth from* Arceſilas; *for he ſtudied under* Hegeſinus, *who had followed* Evander, *the Diſciple of* Lacydes, *which* Lacydes *was the Diſciple of* Arceſilas.' He had obſerved in another place, that *Arceſilas*'s Academy met with no variation till *Carneades*'s Time; *Quæ* (Academia) *uſque ad Carneadem perducta, qui quartus ab Arceſila fuit, in eadem Arceſilæ rations permanſit* (4). *Clemens Alexandrinus* obſerves, that the middle Academy flouriſhed till *Hegeſilaus*, *Carneades*'s Predeceſſor's Time (5). I ſhall quote St *Auſtin* hereafter, who attributes to *Carneades* the Innovation of *Arceſilas*'s Academy.

(1) *In the Article* LACYDES, *Remark* [*A*].

(2) Clem. Alexandrin. Strom. lib. i, pag 301, *calls him* Hegeſibus.

(3) Cicero, Acad. Quæſt. lib. iv. cap. vi

(4) Id. ibid. lib. i, cap. xii, in fin.

(5) Clem. Alexandr. ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *He was as earneſt a Stickler for Uncertainty as* Arceſilas.] See *Cicero*'s Words, which ſhow; that *Carneades* confirmed *Arceſilas*'s Hypotheſis: 'Hæc in philoſophia ratio contra omnia diſſerendi, 'nullamque rem aperte judicandi, profecta à Socrate, repetita ab Arceſila, confirmata à Carneade, 'uſque ad noſtrum viguit ætatem (6). —— *This Method, in Philoſophy, of diſputing againſt every thing, and openly judging of nothing, invented by* Socrates, *reſtored by* Arceſilas, *and confirmed by* Carneades, *was in vogue even to our Time.*' What follows proves, that, as to Incomprehenſibility, he went as far in it as the other. 'Ex hoc illud eſt 'natum quod poſtulabat Hortenſius, ut id ipſum ſaltem perceptum a ſapiente diceretis, nihil poſſe percipi. Sed Antipatro hoc idem poſtulanti, quum 'diceret, ei qui affirmaret nihil poſſe percipi conſentaneum eſſe, unum tamen illud dicere percipi 'poſſe, ut alia non poſſent, Carneades acutius reſiſtebat. Nam tantum abeſſe dicebat ut ei conſentaneum eſſet, ut maxime etiam repugnaret. Qui 'enim negaret quidquam eſſe quod perciperetur, 'eum nihil excipere: ita neceſſe eſſe ne id ipſum 'quidem, quod exceptum non eſſet, comprehendi & 'percipi ullo modo poſſe (7). —— *Hence aroſe That* Poſtulatum *of* Hortenſius, *that a wiſe Man can at leaſt only perceive this, that nothing can be perceived. But when* Antipater *took the ſame thing for granted, and ſaid, that he, who affirms that nothing can be perceived, muſt yet ſay, that this very thing (viz. that other things cannot be perceived) is capable of being perceived,* Carneades *oppoſed him with more Subtility. For This, he ſaid, was ſo far from being neceſſary, that it was moſt contradictary. 'For he, who denies that any thing can be perceived, 'excepts nothing: whence it neceſſarily follows, that 'what is not excepted cannot poſſibly be comprehended 'and perceived.*' By this we find, he taught, that they, who hold nothing can be comprehended, and that

(6) Cicero de Naturâ Deorum, lib. i, cap. v, & xxv.

(7) Idem, Academ. Quæſt. lib. iv, cap. ix.

it in the most evident Notions [C]. It is not agreed whether he wrote any Books or

that there is nothing certain, ought to allow, by an unavoidable Consequence, that this very Proposition, *there is nothing certain, we can comprehend nothing*, is uncertain and incomprehensible. Now he was one of those, who held we could comprehend nothing, and therefore he went as far as *Arcesilas*. 'Duo placet esse Carneadi genera visorum. In uno 'hanc divisionem: alia visa esse quæ percipi possint, 'alia quæ non possint. In altero autem, alia visa 'esse probabilia, alia non probabilia. Itaque quæ 'contra sensus, contraque perspicuitatem dicantur, 'ea pertinere ad superiorem divisionem, contra po'steriorem nihil dici oportere. Quare ita placere, 'tale visum nullum esse ut percepto consequeretur: 'ut autem probatio, multa; etenim contra naturam 'esset, si probabile nihil esset, & sequitur omnis vitæ 'ea quam ut Luculle commemorabas everšio. Ita'que & sensibus probanda multa sunt, tenentur modo 'illud, non ineste in his quicquam tale, quale non 'etiam falsum nihil ab eo differens esse possit. Sic 'quicquid acciderit specie probabile, si nihil se offe'ret quod sit probabilitati illi contrarium, utetur eo 'sapiens, ac sic omnis ratio vitæ gubernabitur (8).

(8) Id. Ibid. cap. xxxi.

—— Carneades *says, there are two kinds of Things seen: In the one he makes this Division: Some things are seen, which may be perceived; others, which may not: In the other; Some Things seen are probable; others not probable. Those Things therefore, which are said to be contrary to Sense and Perspicuity, belong to the first Division; but that nothing can be said against the second. He was therefore of Opinion, that there is nothing so seen as to be followed by Perception: but many things, so as to be followed by Probability; since it is contrary to Nature, that nothing should be probable; and such a Sentiment tends to That Subversion of human Life, which you just now mentioned,* Lucullus. *Many Things therefore may be proved to the Senses: only we must remember, that there is nothing in those things of such a Nature, as that nothing, even what is false, can differ from it. Thus whatever has the Appearance of Probability, if nothing offers, which is contrary to That Probability, will be made use of by a wise Man; and by such things human Life will be directed.*' By this we see, that he allowed of nothing but Probabilities for the use of Life; and beyond that he believed there was no Certainty or Evidence. He laboured might and main to break the Custom of assenting to what is not evident (9): And what was there done, more than this, in the middle Academy? For the rest, they had reason to say, that he undertook as great a Task as *Hercules* himself; and they might have added, that That Hero could with more ease overcome Two thousand Monsters, each as terrible as the *Lernæan Hydra*, or the *Nemæan Lyon*, than *Arcesilas* or *Carneades* bring Men to affirm nothing; that is, to assent to nothing that had not been made evident by Discussion. We must observe, that *Carneades*'s Innovation consisted in this; he did not deny, with *Arcesilas*, that there were no Truths; but maintained we could not certainly discern them. 'Sint ista vera, *says an Academic in* Cicero, vides enim jam me fateri aliquid 'esse veri, comprehendi ea tamen & percipi nego (10). —— *Be those things true; for you see, I allow some things may be true, but deny they can be comprehended and perceived.*' To which add this other Passage: 'Non enim sumus ii, quibus nihil 'verum esse videatur, sed ii, qui omnibus 'veris falsa quædam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta 'similitudine, ut in iis nulla insit certa judicandi & 'assentiendi nota. Ex quo existit & illud, multa 'esse probabilia, quæ quanquam non perciperentur, 'tamen quia visum haberent quendam insignem & 'illustrem, his sapientis vita regeretur (11). —— *We are not such, as affirm there is nothing true; all we assert, is, that, in every Truth, there is a mixture of Falsehood, so nearly resembling it, that we have no certain Rule to judge, and give our Assent, by. Whence it is, that many things are probable, which, though they are not perceived, yet, having a fair and specious Appearance, serve to regulate the Life of a wise Man.*' It is said likewise, that *Arcesilas* denied there were any things probable (12): this *Carneades* did not, but allowed Probability to be sufficient to determine us to act; provided we pronounced absolutely upon nothing (13). He was yet more indulgent; he allowed a wise Man, upon some occasions, to conclude. 'Si nulli rei sapiens assentietur 'unquam, aliquando etiam opinabitur: nunquam autem opinabitur, nulli igitur rei assentietur. Hanc con'clusionem Arcesilas probat. Confirmabat enim pri'mum & secundum. Carneades nonnunquam secundum 'illud dabat assentiri, aliquando id assequebatur etiam 'opinari (14). —— *If a wise Man will ever assent to any thing, he will sometimes conclude; but he will never conclude; therefore he will never assent to any thing.* Arcesilas *proves this* Consequence. *For he confirmed the* Major *and the* Minor. Carneades *sometimes allowed of Assent, and now and then permitted to conclude.*' This Condescension in *Carneades* made some Breach in his System; for which reason, *Arcesilas* is said to have maintained his Hypothesis better than he. 'Ex his illa necessario nata 'est ἐποχή, id est assensionis retentio, in qua meli'us sibi constitit Arcesilas, si vera sunt quæ de Car'neade nonnulli existimant. Si enim percipi nihil 'potest, quod utrique visum est, tollendus assensus est. 'Quid enim est tam futile, quam quicquam appro'bare non cognitum: Carneadem autem etiam heri 'audiebamus solitum esse delabi interdum, ut diceret 'opinaturum, id est peccaturum esse sapientem (15). ——— *From hence necessarily arose the* ἐποχή, *or with-holding of Assent, in which* Arcesilas *is more consistent with himself, if it be true what some think of* Carneades. *For if nothing can be perceived, as both allow, all Assent is taken away. For what can be weaker, than to approve we know not what? But we were told yesterday, that* Carneades *sometimes went so far, as to say, that a wise Man would conclude, that is err.*' But it is certain, *Carneades* always returned to the ἐποχή, which was, if I may so call it, the Analysis of his Faith. This appears from the Exposition of his Sentiment at the end of *Tully*'s Academic Questions. This is it: 'Quid Catulus sentit? Quid Hortensius? 'Tum Catulus. Ego ne inquit? ad patris revolvor 'sententiam, quam quidem ille Carneadeam esse di'cebat, ut percipi nihil putem posse, assensurum 'autem non percepto, id est opinaturum, sapientem 'existimem, sed ita ut intelligat se opinari, sciatque 'nihil esse quod comprehendi & percipi possit, per 'ἐποχὴν illam omnium rerum comprobans; illi 'alteri sententiæ, nihil esse quod percipi possit, ve'hementer assentior. Habeo, inquam, sententiam 'tuam, neque eam admodum aspernor. Sed quid 'tibi tandem videtur Hortensi? Tum ille ridens, tol'lendum. Tango te inquam. Nam ista Academiæ 'est propria sententia (16). —— *What is* Catulus's *Opinion? What* Hortensius's? *Then* Catulus; *My Opinion, say you? I return back to my Father's Sentiment, which he said was That of* Carneades; viz. *that nothing can be perceived, yet that a wise Man will assent to what he does not perceive; yet so as to be sensible, that he only concludes, and to know, that nothing can be perceived, in every thing observing the* ἐποχὴ, *or with-holding of Assent: this Sentiment I strongly approve of. I have your Opinion, said I, nor do I greatly dislike it. But what think you,* Hortensius? *Upon which he smiled, and replied, that we should refuse all Assent. I understand you, replied I; for it is properly the Sentiment of the Academy.*' This is not all; some, who know it well, maintained he did not allow a Philosopher to conclude. 'Licebat percipere nihil, & ta'men opinari: quod a Carneade dicitur probatum. 'Equidem Clitomacho plusquam Philoni aut Metro'doro credens, hoc magis ab ea disputatum, quam 'probatum puto (17). —— *It was allowed, that we perceive nothing; yet we were permitted to conclude: which* Carneades *is said to have proved. For my own part, relying more on* Clitomachus, *than* Philo *or* Metrodorus, *I rather think he discussed, than proved, the Point.* It is very probable therefore, in my Opinion, that he retained at the bottom *Arcesilas*'s Doctrine; but, out of Policy, and that he might deprive his Adversaries of the most specious Pretences of declaiming against, and ridiculing him, he granted them some Degrees of Probability, capable of determining a wise Man to choose such

(13) *See* Cicero Academ. lib. iv, passim.

(14) Id. Ibid. cap. xviii. *See likewise* cap. xxiv.

(15) Ib. Ibid. cap. xviii.

(16) Id. Ibid. cap. ult.

(17) Id. Ibid. cap. xxiv, fine.

(9) Ego enim etsi maximam actionem puto repugnare visis, obsistere opinionibus, assensos lubricos sustinere, credoque Clitomacho ita scribenti: Herculis quendam laborem exantlatum à Carneade, quod ut feram & immanem beluam sic ex animis nostris assensionem, id est opinationem, & temeritatem extraxisset, tamen, &c. *Id. ibid. lib.* iv, cap. xxxiv.

(10) Id. Ibid. cap. xxxviii.

(11) Id. de Naturâ Deorum, lib. i, cap v, sub fin.

(12) *See* Vossius de Philosoph. Sectis, pag. 76.

or no: Some say positively he did not, whilst others seem to insinuate the contrary (*c*). The Account we have of his Application to study is very singular [*D*]. He

(*c*) See the Remark [*I*], towards the end.

such a side in his civil Capacity. He saw very well, that, without this, he should never be able to answer their most odious Objections, or prove that his Principle was not the readiest way to reduce a Man to Inaction, and the most scandalous Quietism. If it be well considered, it is the same thing to say, *There are no Truths*, and *there are, but we have no Rule to distinguish them from Falsehoods*. If *Arcesilas* had maintained the first of these Propositions, he might have been compared to a fiery Courser, that follows his Impetuosity to the very bottom of a Precipice. But I can scarce be brought to believe, that he absolutely denied the Existence of Truths. He thought it enough, in my Opinion, to maintain, that they were impenetrable to human Understanding. The Heat of the Dispute perhaps hindered him from expressing himself so cautiously, as they did afterwards in *Carneades*'s Academy. *Carneades* managed himself more circumspectly, than to inherit all the Disgrace of his Predecessor. 'Carneades primo illam 'velut calumniandi impudentiam, qua videbat Arce- 'silam non mediocriter infamatum, deposuit, ne con- 'tra omnia velle dicere quasi ostentationis causa vide- 'retur (18): - - - - - - Carneades *was the first, who* 'laid aside the shameless way of calumniating, which 'he knew Arcesilas to have been very guilty of, that 'he might not be thought fond of disputing against 'every thing, for the Sake of Ostentation.' These words of St *Austin* are more favourable to *Carneades*, than *Arcesilas*; but *Numenius* had another Opinion of these two Academics; he was more angry with *Carneades*, than with *Arcesilas*. He pretended, that *Arcesilas* was in earnest, and deceived himself whilst he was deceiving others: but that *Carneades* believed nothing of what he said, and entertained his Confidents with Discourses quite different from his Lectures, being pleased in nothing more than puzzling his Scholars, and diverted himself with arguing *pro* and *con*. Τοιαῦτ' ἀπάγων τὸς ἄλλους, αὐτὸς ἔμενεν ἀνεξαπάτητος, ὃ μὴ πεῖσαι τὸν Ἀρκεσιλάου ἐκεῖνος γὰρ περιεχόμενος τῇ φασμάξει τὸς συσκοτάζοντας, ἐλαθεν ἑαυτὸν πρῶτον ἐξηπατηκὼς μὴ δοθῆναι, πιστεῦσαι δ' ἀληθῆ εἶναι, ἃ λέγει διὰ τὸς ἀπαλαπόντων ἀναισχυντίας χρημάτων. *Quippe, cum in fraudem alios & errorem impelleret, tum fallebatur ipse nunquam, id quod locum in Arcesila non habebat. Is enim dum cæteros suis secum maleficiis ac præstigiis, Corybantum more insanientes, circumferret, non sentiebat quam sese primum ipse deciperet, dum sibi quoque vera esse quæ diceret, omnia simul ac semel abolendo, persuadebat* (19). He built and demolished, having no sooner established a Probability, but he was the first himself that took care to destroy it. Ἦν δ' ὃν καὶ οὗτος, καὶ ἀνέφερεν, ἀντιλογίας τε καὶ ἐφόδους λεπτολόγους συνύφαινε τῇ μαχῇ ποικίλλων, ἐξαρνησίους τε καὶ καταφατίκους τε ὄν, κἀμφοτέρωθεν ἀντιλογικός. *Idem afferebat, idem auferebat, pugnamque suam contrariis sententiis, & versutis quibusdam ac subtilibus argutiis cum multiplici varietate miscebat, affirmando simul ac negando, & oppositis utrinque rationibus disputando* (20). In confessing there were Truths and Falsehoods in Nature, but so concealed, that they were not really to be distinguished one from the other (21), he was a more dangerous Sharper than *Arcesilas*. Ἦν γὰρ ἀπλῆς καὶ γάνης σοφώτερος. *Fur ergo præstigiatorque fuit solertior* (22). *Cicero* says a thing, which may be opposed to *Numenius*. The latter pretends, that *Carneades*'s public Doctrine differed from his private; that, in public, he confounded all, in order to combate the *Stoics*; but that, among his Friends, his Sentiments were the same with the rest of the World. Ὅμως δὲ καίτοι κἀνταῦθα ὑπὸ Στωϊκῆς φιλονεικίας εἰς τὸ φανερὸν κυκῶν, πρός γε τὸς ἑαυτῷ ἑταίρους δι' ἀπορρήτων ὁμολόγει τε καὶ ἠλήθευε, καὶ ἀπεφαίνετο, ἃ κἀν ἄλλῳ τῶν ἑπιτυχόντων. *Et tamen ille ipse, qui Stoicos velitandi studio palam cuncta miscebat, clam fidelis inter suos eadem omnia fatebatur vereque ac certo pronunciabat, quæ alius quivis è populo* (23). This does not agree with a Passage in *Cicero*, where we are told, that *Clitomachus* never could discover what *Carneades* thought the most probable, though he had for many Years been his favourite Scholar (24). 'Cujus '(Calliphontis) quidem sententiam Carneades ita 'studiose defensitabat ut eam probare etiam videretur, 'quanquam Clitomachus affirmabat nunquam se in- 'telligere potuisse quid Carneadi probaretur (25).

I know I shall be condemned by a great many for this heap of Quotations: I was aware of their Contempt, Dislike, and magisterial Censures; but had no regard to them: I chose rather to turn Copier, for the sake of those, who, without stirring from their Place, are glad to receive an historical Account of the Opinions of the Ancients, and see the original Proofs, I mean the genuine Expressions of the Witnesses. This is the Principle I shall stick to upon an hundred other occasions.

[*C*] *He found an Uncertainty in the most evident Notions.*] Every Logician knows, that the Foundation of a Syllogism, and by consequence the Faculty of Reasoning, is built upon this Maxim; *Those things that are the same with a third are the same to each other; Quæ sunt idem uni tertio sunt idem inter se.* Now it is certain, *Carneades* strongly opposed it.; since he has with all his Subtilties attacked this; *Those things that are equal to a third, are equal among themselves.* This we have from *Galen*, in a Discourse printed with one of *Sextus Empircus*'s Books; and he tells us farther, that this Philosopher's Scholars left in writing all the Sophisms their Master had opposed to this Notion, the most evident in the World, and that neither they, nor any of the Academics, who lived after him, endeavoured to solve those Sophisms. He adds withal, that it is as mischievous to preserve in a Book such Objections, without observing wherein they are deficient, as it is to invent them. The Reader shall have his words, as I find them translated by *Erasmus*. 'Carneades ne illud quidem quod est omnium evidentis- 'simum concedit esse credendum, quod magnitudi- 'nes uni cuipiam æquales, sint etiam inter sese 'æquales. Rationes igitur quibus conatur destruere '& hæc & alia permulta, quæ tibi evidentur appa- 'rent crodunturque esse vera, adhuc in hunc usque 'diem servatas habemus, proditas scriptis, ab illius 'discipulis collectas. Solutiones autem nec ab illis, 'nec ab alio quopiam Academicorum, qui post Car- 'neadem fuerunt, datæ sunt. Ea res sola declarat, 'istius rationes omnes esse sophismata: nobisque quæ- 'rendæ sunt, O discipuli, istarum solutiones. Im- 'probum est enim hoc; attamen nihilo minus im- 'probum fecerunt illi qui scripserunt quidem has, 'cæterum vobis non indicarunt quales essent (26).'

[*D*] *His Application to study was very singular.*] He was as laborious as any one, and so intent upon his Studies, that he would not allow himself time to pare his Nails, or have his Hair trimmed. Φιλόπονος δὲ ἀνθρωπος γίγονεν οὕτω καὶ τὰς ἄλλας - - - - δόξας καὶ ἐκόμα καὶ ἔτρεφεν ὄνυχας ἀσχολίᾳ τῇ περὶ τὸς λόγους. *Fuit autem vehementer studiosus - - - - - quocirca & cæsariem & ungues nutriebat, tanta erat in literas intentione* (27). He was so unwilling to lose any of his Hours, that he not only avoided all Feasts (28), but forgot to eat even at his own Table (29); insomuch that his Maid, who was likewise his Concubine, was forced to cut his Meat for him, and put it into his Hand, nay perhaps into his Mouth. I express myself so, because the *Latin* Author I am just going to quote confines himself to general Terms only. We are to observe, that his Concubine was divided between the fear of interrupting *Carneades*, and suffering him to perish with hunger. This is no useless Observation: We may infer from it, that this Philosopher was unwilling to be disturbed in his Meditations, tho' for his necessary Sustenance. 'Carneades laboriosus & diu- 'turnus sapientiæ miles: siquidem nonaginta expletis 'annis, idem illi vivendi ac philosophandi finis fuit. 'Ita se mirificum doctrinæ operibus addixerat, ut cum 'cibi capiendi causâ recubuisset, cogitationibus in- 'hærens, manum ad mensam porrigere obliviscere- 'tur. Sed enim Melissa, quam uxoris loco habebat, 'temperato inter studia non interpellandi, sed ine- 'diæ succurrendi officio, dexteram suam necessariis 'usibus aptabat. Ergo animo tantummodò vitâ 'fruebatur, corpore verò quasi alieno & supervacuo

'circumdatus

(18) Augustin. lib. iii, contra Academicos, apud Aldobrand. Not. in Diogen. Laërt. lib. iv, n. 28.

(19) Numenius apud Eusebium, Præp. Evang lib. xiv, cap. viii, pag. 737. *C.*

(20) Id. ibid. B.

(21) Id. ibid. pag. 736. *A.*

(22) Id. ibid.

(23) Id. ibid. D. *See likewise* pag. 739. *A.*

(24) A Clitomacho summâ, quâ usque ad senectutem cum Carneade fuit. *Cicero Academ. Quæst. lib.* iv, *cap.* xxxi. *init.*

(25) Id. ibid. cap. xiv, *fin.*

(26) Galenus, in libro de optima docendi genere, *at the end of the* Pyrrhonian Hypotyposes, *printed by* Henr. Stephens, Anno 1562, pag. 220, 221.

(27) Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, n. 62.

(28) Id. ibid. n. 63

(29) Valer. Maximus, lib. viii, cap. vii, n. 5, in Extern.

He opposed the Stoics, and vigorously attempted to confute the Works of *Chrysippus* [*E*], who, for some time, had been the principal Pillar of their Porch. He was Master of a surprizing Eloquence, which made him feared by the *Roman* Senate [*F*], during his Residence at *Rome* with two other Embassadors. Whilst he

(30) Val. Max. ibid.

circumdatus erat (30). —— Carneades, *laborious and constant under the Banners of Philosophy; for, after ninety Years spent, he ceased, at once, to Live, and to Philosophize. His Application to Study was so wonderful, that, when he sat down to Meat, through intenseness of Thought he would forget to reach out his hand to the Table. But Melissa, his Hand Maid, with divided Care, not to interrupt his Meditation, and yet to satisfy his Hunger, dexterously supplied his wants. He enjoyed Life, therefore, only in his Thoughts, and looked upon his Body as foreign and superfluous.* Add to this what I shall relate immediately touching the Remedy he made use of to strengthen his Mind.

(31) Muret. Orat. II, Vol. I, pag. 27.

Muretus, through a defect of Memory, has taken *Chrysippus* for *Carneades*. 'Prodeat in medium Chrysippus, *says he* (31), qui sæpe studio intentus tanta voluptate pertruebatur, ut eum tanquam extra se positum cibi potionisque caperet oblivio —— *Let us instance in* Chrysippus, *who was often so wrapt up in the pleasure of Contemplation, that he forgot to eat and drink.*' Another learned Man, upon *Muretus*'s Authority, has twice applied That to *Chrysippus*, which belongs to *Carneades* alone (32); tho' it is true, he says, *Valerius Maximus* spoke of *Carneades*, and not of *Chrysippus* (33). I shall set down his Words; wherein we shall find, that he supposes *Chrysippus* had his Meat put into his Mouth. 'Aut Chrysippum denique repetam, quem inter etiam epulas tam intemperantem studii fuisse aiunt, ut evolante ad alia ingenio, manus cessaret, & hianti ori ancilla Melissa cibum ingerere deberet (34). —— *Or I will again instance in* Chrysippus, *who, even at a Banquet, is said to have been so intemperately studious, that, his Thoughts wandering on other things, his Hand was idle, and his Maid* Melissa *was obliged to put the Meat into his Mouth.*' He is no Plagiary, though he makes use of *Fromondus*'s Words (35); for he refers us to him; so that here are three Authors together guilty of the same Error: without doubt they have many Companions.

(32) Jacobus Thomasius, Orat. pag. 148, 156. Edit. Lipsi. 1683.

(33) Id. ibid. in Margin. p. 156.

(34) Id. ibid. pag. 156.

(35) Libertus Fromondus, Philos. Christ. de Anima, pag. 211.

[*E*] *He was a grand Stickler against the Stoics, —— and attempted to refute the Works of* Chrysippus.] Here is a Passage of *Cicero*: 'Sed is (*Carneades*) ut contra Stoicos, quos studiosissime semper refellebat, & contra quorum disciplinam ingenium ejus exarserat (36). —— *But He* (Carneades) *ever refuted the Stoics with the greatest eagerness, whose Doctrines he could not endure with patience.*' He attentively read the Writings of the Stoics, particularly those of *Chrysippus*, and refuted them (37). He succeeded so well, that he owned, had it not been for *Chrysippus*, he had never been what he was. Εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἐγώ. *Nisi Chrysippus fuisset, non essem ego* (38). There are many others, who might say the same thing: they are obliged to their Antagonists for their Reputation: they had either sunk into Idleness, or made no more than a private Amusement of Study, if the Ambition of excelling their Adversaries had not inspired them with the Resolution of acquiring great Knowledge, and of publishing it to the World. The Necessity a Man finds of defending himself against an ambitious and troublesome Aggressor, has produced Books, which have procured great Reputation to those, who never thought of being Authors. This was not *Carneades*'s Case; he began the Quarrel, chose for his Antagonist one of the most famous Stoics, and so earnestly desired to get the better of him, that, whilst he was preparing himself for the Combat, he took a Dose of Hellebore, to render his Conception more free and serene, and to excite against him with the more force the fire of his Imagination. *Idem* (Carneades) *cum Chrysippo disputaturus, hellebora se ante purgabat, ad exprimendum ingenium suum attentius, & illius refellendum acrius* (39). I wish he, who gives us this Account, had left out the Word *tum*, which implies a verbal Dispute; whereas *Chrysippus* was dead, when *Carneades* undertook to confute him. *Pliny* (40) and *Aulus Gellius* (41) pretend, that he made use of this Expedient, when he undertook to answer *Zeno*'s Writings. Some Moderns conceive, that this *Zeno* was not the chief of the Stoics, but *Zeno* of *Tarsus*, *Chrysippus*'s Scholar and Successor (42). This may be; though, as Mr *Menage* has judiciously observed (43), it may as well be understood of the Founder of the Stoic Sect. I cannot approve all his Criticisms upon *Jonsius*. He censures him justly for saying, *Valerius Maximus* affirms, that *Carneades*, being to write against *Zeno*, took Hellebore (44). He should have said, *being to dispute with* Chrysippus. He charges him very falsly with having reprehended *Petronius*, *Tertullian*, St *Jerom*, and St *Austin*, for saying, that *Carneades purged his Brain with white Hellebore, whilst he was writing against* Chrysippus (45). This Fault in Mr *Menage* is the more surprizing, because he had just then been quoting *Jonsius*'s words, which are these; *Quod tamen Chrysippo tribuit perperam Petronius in Satyrico; Tertullianus libro de anima cap.* 6; *Hieronymus Commentario in Epistolam ad Galatas* (46). These Words clearly imply, that those three Authors were in the wrong in attributing to *Chrysippus* what *Pliny*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Aulus Gellius*, apply to *Carneades*. *Jonsius* speaks not a Word of St *Austin*. This is not Mr *Menage*'s only Fault; for he says expressly, that *Petronius*, *Tertullian*, and St *Jerom*, affirm, that *Carneades cleared his Brain with white Hellebore, whilst he was writing against* Chrysippus (47). Now it is certain these three Authors mentioned the Hellebore in relation only to the last. Mr *Menage* says the same thing himself, in another Book (48). I shall make one more Observation upon him. He is mistaken when he says, that *Fulgentius*, speaking of *Carneades*'s Hellebore, mentioned *Zeno* (49); this is false; he named no Body but *Carneades* (50). If he had consulted the Originals, *Jonsius* had lain open to a new Criticism, for placing *Fulgentius* among the Authors, who hold, that *Carneades* prepared himself to write against *Zeno* by a Dose of Hellebore. I would not insist upon these Punctilio's, but that our Writers might accustom themselves to a most severe Exactness; for a small neglect in them gives rise to many Blunders, transmitted by others from hand to hand.

(36) Cicero Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. *He says in the second Book de Naturâ Deor. that* Carneades *liberter in Stoicos invehebatur.* —— Carneades *re-weighed with Pleasure against the Stoics.*

(37) Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, n. 62.

(38) Id. ibid.

(39) Valer. Maximus, ubi supra.

(40) Candidum (*elleborum*) —— quondam terribile postea tam promiscuum, ut plerique studiorum gratia ad pervidenda acrius quæ commentabantur, sæpius sumpsitaverint, Carneadem refoonsurum Zenonis libris. *Plin. lib.* xxv, cap. v, pag. 390, 391.

(41) Aulus Gellius, lib. xvii, cap. 15.

(42) Jonsius de Script. Hist. Philos. pag. 117. Ouzeli & in Aulum Gellium, *quoted by Mr* Baillet, Jugem. Tom. I, p. 420.

(43) Menage, Anti Baillet. Tom. I, p. 154.

(44) Id. ibid. pag. 153.

(45) Id. ibid.

(46) Jonsius, ubi supra.

(47) Menage, ibid. pag. 153.

(48) Id. Not. in Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, n. 62, p. 284.

(49) Menage, Anti Baillet, p. 154.

(50) Sed in quibus & Carneadis refudat helleborum. *Fulgent. Mythelog. lib.* i, *sub fin. Præfat. pag.* 27.

Observe, that *Fulgentius* takes notice also of *Chrysippus*'s Hellebore. *Ego vero Chrysippi ellebori ranidulo atrore postpositio cum Musis aliquid blandius fabulabor* (51). - - - *Setting aside therefore the Hellebore of* Chrysippus, *I will apply to the less severe Studies of Poetry.* Thus have we almost as many Authors for *Chrysippus* as for *Carneades*. For *Carneades*, we have *Valerius Maximus*, *Pliny*, *Aulus Gellius*, St *Austin* (52), and *Fulgentius*: For *Chrysippus*, *Petronius*, *Tertullian*, St *Jerom*, and the same *Fulgentius*. To these Mr *Menage* adds *Lucian* (53); but this is to bring him in by Head and Shoulders: for the Passages he quotes say only, that *Chrysippus* could not be admitted into the Fortunate Island, till he had taken four Doses of Hellebore (54). There is another Passage in *Lucian* more to the purpose, where he brings in *Chrysippus* saying, that one can never be a wise Man, till he has taken three Draughts of Hellebore one after another (55). See likewise his *Hermotimus* towards the end. There you will find, that, if Mr *Menage* had quoted that place, he might have proved what he asserted. In this Division I had rather follow those, who apply all this to *Carneades* (56), though it is not unlikely but *Chrysippus* too might have taken a Draught to sharpen his Wit.

(51) Id. de Virgilianâ continentiâ, pag. 140.

(52) Auguſt. lib. i, contra Crescon. cap. xix, *quoted by Mr* Baillet, *in his* Judgment of the Poets, *Tom. I, pag.* 199.

(53) Menage, Not. in Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, n. 62.

(54) Lucian. Vitæ Hist. lib. ii, pag. 757. Tom. I.

(55) Id. in Vitarum Auctione, pag. 377. Tom. I.

Let us observe by the way, that *Oberlin*, *Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, made a great Blunder, when they said, that *Carneades* was *Chrysippus*'s good Friend and faithful Follower, *Chrysippi maximè studiosus*. I shall observe hereafter (57), that he maintained some Doctrines with no other Intent than to contradict the Stoics.

(56) *See* Schoockius Fabul. Homel. pag. 125, 126.

(57) In Remark [*K*].

[*F*] *He had a surprizing Eloquence, which made him feared by the* Roman *Senate.*] It was so effectual, that

he was there, he is said to have made an admirable Oration, one Day, *for* Justice, and

that he never maintained any thing he did not prove, nor attack any thing he did not utterly defeat. ‘ Carneadis vero vis incredibilis illa dicendi & varietas perquam esset optanda nobis, qui nullam unquam in illis suis disputationibus rem defendit quam non probarit, nullam oppugnavit quam non everterit (58).’ After this Commendation is This other Passage in *Cicero*, necessary to be cited; *Hinc hæc recentior Academia emanavit, in qua extitit divina quædam celeritate ingenii, dicendique copia, Carneades* (59). —— *Hence arose this later Academy, in which* Carneades, *famous for his Wit and Eloquence, flourished. Numenius* compares *Carneades*'s Eloquence to a rapid Torrent, that bears down all before it. This Commendation will appear better in the Original *Greek*: Εἴτέ σε ἁδρὸν τι καὶ θαῦμα ἐχόντων λόγων, ἐξηγεῖσθαι λάβρῳ, οἷον ποταμὸς ῥοώδης, σφοδρᾶς ῥεύσας, πάντα καταπιμπλὰς τὰ τῇδε καὶ τὰ κεῖθι, καὶ εἰσπίπτῃς, καὶ συνέρυσε τὰς ἀκροάσεις ἀπὸ δορύβου. *Quod si alto quodam & exaggerato dicendi genere opus esset, tum enimvero vehementi ac rapido cursu ferebatur, ut omnis quidam incitatus & rapax, qui omnia passim inundet & obruat: sic in auditorem incumbebat, tumque secum magno cum fragore strepituque rapiebat* (60). He adds, that this Philosopher charmed his Auditory to that Degree, that he brought them, like Captives, to submit to his Sentiments; and that, by Force or Address, he subdued those very People, who had armed themselves with the most exact Precautions against him. This deserves to be quoted in *Greek*. Καὶ μέντοι λέγων ὁ Καρνεάδης ἐψυχαγώγει καὶ ἀνθρακοδίζετο. ἦν δὲ κλέπτων μὲν δραστὴς, φαινόμενος δὲ λῃστὴς, αἱρῶν καὶ δῆλος καὶ βίᾳ τοὺς καὶ πάνυ σοφοὺς παρασκευάσμενος. *At enim verò Carneades interea dicendi facultate auditorem permulcebat, idemque captivum trahebat: & fur occulte, manifestè prædo, vel fraude vel aperta vi paratissimum etiam quemque capiebat* (61). None of his Adversaries, continues he, were able to resist him; they were inferior to him in Eloquence; he was the only Conqueror; his Opinions were established, those of others rejected. Πάσα γὰρ Καρνεάδου διάνοια ἰσχνὰ, καὶ ἐδραῖα ἥττονα δῆλος. ἐπεὶ καὶ οἷς περιεπολέμει, ὅσαν εἶπεῖν δυναλώτους. *Omnis quippe Carneadis vincebat opinio, alia cujuslibet nulla prorsus, cum adversarios omnes longe dicendo inferiores haberet* (62). *Antipater* had a mind to combate him (63), but how? he never dared appear before him at the public Lectures, in the Walks, or in Conversation. He was silent; the poor Man had not a word to say for himself; he attacked him only with his Pen at a distance, and secretly by some Books which he wrote. Posterity has seen them: They were not able to make head against *Carneades* after his Death, so far were they from being able to oppose him whilst he flourished in the Meridian of his Glory and Reputation. Βιβλία καταλιπὼν γράψας τοῖς ὕστερον, ἵνα τῶν δυναμένων, καὶ τότε δυνατωτέρους πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνδρας ὑπέρμεσαν φανέντας, καὶ καταδόξαντας εἶναι τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις τὸν Καρνεάδην. ‘ Libros ‘ tantum posteris relinquebat, verum ejusmodi, qui ‘ ne nunc quidem, tum vero multo minus Carneadem illum, qui tantus ac tam admirabilis ejus ævi hominibus videbatur, sustinere possent (64). Let us end all with this beautiful Passage in *Lactantius*. ‘ Carneades Academicæ sectæ Philosophus, cujus in ‘ differendo quæ vis fuerit, quæ eloquentia, quod ‘ acumen, qui nescit, is ex prædicatione Ciceronis ‘ intelliget, aut Lucilii, apud quem disserens Neptunus de re difficillima, ostendit non posse id explicari, nec si Carneadem ipsum Orcus remittat (65). —— Carneades, *a Philosopher of the Academic Sect, whose strength of Reasoning, whose Eloquence, and whose Wit, whoever is unacquainted with, may learn them from the account given us by* Cicero, *or* Lucilius, *in whom* Neptune, *disputing concerning a most difficult Point; shews that it cannot be explained, not though the Grave should give back* Carneades *himself.*’ What an Idea! What a Commendation is this! *Neptune* is introduced discoursing upon a very intricate Point, and affirming, that, if *Carneades* himself should rise from the dead, he could not solve it. Let us proceed to his Embassy to *Rome*; it will furnish us with such Instances of his Eloquence, as are sufficient to warrant this matter of Fact; *viz.* that the Rhetoricians left their Schools to become his Auditors (66).

The *Athenians*, being fined Five hundred Talents, for having pillaged the City of *Oropus*, sent their Embassadors to *Rome*, who prevailed so far as to have the Fine reduced to One hundred Talents (67). *Carneades* the Academic, *Diogenes* the Stoic, and *Critolaus* the Peripatetic, three famous Philosophers, were charged with this Embassy (68). Before they had their Audience of the Senate, each of them made an Oration in the presence of a great Assembly, and in each of them was admired a particular Excellency (69). Strength and Rapidity of Thought was That of *Carneades* (70). *Cato* the Censor advised the Senate to send the Embassadors back again immediately, because it was difficult to discover the Truth in the Intricacy of *Carneades*'s Arguments. *Cato Censorius, in illa nobili trium sapientiæ procerum ab Athenis legatione, audito Carneade, quamprimum legatos eos censuit dimittendos, quoniam ille vir argumentando, quid veri esset haud facile discerni posse* (71). The Athenian Embassadors, said they in the Senate, are not sent to obtain any thing from us by way of Persuasion, but rather to force out of us whatever they think fitting, Εἰς τοσοῦτον ἐντρεφλαν τὴν σύγκλητον βουλὴν, ὡς εἰπεῖν αὐτὸς, ἐπεμψαν Ἀθηναῖοι πρεσβεύοντας, ἃ τὰς πείσοντας, ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὰς βιασομένους ἡμᾶς πρᾶσαι ὅσα θέλουσιν. ‘ Qui tanta ‘ gravitate dicendi senatum perpulerunt, ut diceret, ‘ Miserunt Athenienses legatos, non ut nos persuaderent, sed qui cogerent nos facere, quod ipsis collibitum esset (72).’ There is no need to add, that this infers only, that *Carneades*'s Discourses were irresistable. *Plutarch* tells us, the *Roman* Youths were so charmed with them, that they renounced their Pleasures and Exercises, to indulge without interruption the Passion he had inspired into them for Philosophy, and with which they were seized as with an Enthusiasm. Λόγῳ κατεῖχεν, ὡς δυὰς Ἕλλην εἰς ἔκπληξιν ὑπερφυὴς πάντα κηλῶν καὶ χαρέμενος, ἔρωτα ἔνδον ἐμβεβλημένα τοῖς νέοις, ὑφ᾽ ὧν τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονῶν καὶ διατριβῶν ἐκστάντες ἐνθουσιῶσι περὶ φιλοσοφίαν. ‘ Vultu gatumque fuit, virum Græcum ad miraculum us‘ que eximium, omnia delinientem & allicientem, ‘ mirum infudisse juventuti ardorem, per quem reli‘ quarum voluptatum & oblectamentorum obliti, ‘ quasi fanatici raperentur ad philosophiam (73).’ This by no means pleased *Cato*; he was afraid, lest, for the future, young People would chuse to follow their Studies, rather than the Wars, and taxed therefore, in the Senate, the Conduct shown to those Philosophical Embassadors. Let us give them their Answer out of hand, said he, and send them home; they are Men able to make us believe whatever they please (74). He spoke this not out of any particular Prejudice to *Carneades*, as some have imagined, but because he disliked Philosophy in general, and all the *Greek* Learning (75). We ought not however to infer from these Words of *Plutarch*, that *Cato* did not particularly fear the Subtility of Wit, and the Strength of Reason, wherewith *Carneades* disputed *pro* and *con*; those sort of Men are dangerous; they are able to weaken the best Cause in the World, as *Cicero* has observed of him (76): they will sometimes prove black to be white, and resemble *Mercury*'s Son, of whom the Poet;

Nascitur Autolycus, furtum ingeniosus ad omne,
Qui facere assuêrat, patriæ non degener artis,
Candida de nigris, & de candentibus atra (77).

To Mercury Autolycus *she brought,*
Who turn'd to Thefts and Tricks his subtle Thought;
Possess'd he was of all his Father's slight,
At Will made white look black, and black look white. CROXALL.

(58) Cicer. de Orat. lib. ii, cap. xxviii, fin. See ib. cap. lxxxviii, its Commendations be given him for his local Memory, tho' some Critics are of Opinion that in that place instead of Carneades, it ought to be read Charmidas. See Jonsius, p. 192. However Quintil. lib. xi, cap. ii, pag. 529, has it Carneades.

(59) Cicer. de Orat. lib. iii, cap. xviii, fin.

(60) Numenius, apud Eusebium, Præp. Evang. lib. iv, cap. viii, pag. 737. C.

(61) Id. ibid. pag. 738. B.

(62) Id. ibid. C.

(63) Id. ibid.

(64) Id. ibid. D.

(65) Lactant. lib. v, cap. xiv.

(66) Diog. Laërt. lib. iv. n. 62.

(67) *See* Pausanias, lib. vii, pag. 216, 217.

(68) Aulus Gell. lib. vii, cap. xiv. Macrob. Saturn. lib. i, cap. v.

(69) Id. ibid.

(70) Violenta & rapida Carneadea dicebat. *Aul Gell. ibid.* Facundia Carneadis violenta & rapida. *Macrob. ib.*

(71) Plin. lib. vii, cap. xxx.

(72) Ælian. Histor. Var lib. iii, cap. xvii, p. 189.

(73) Plutarch. in Catone majore, pag. 349. E.

(74) Περὶ ταυτὸς ἃ βελοίντο βαδίως πείθειν δύνασθαι. Persuadere facile quidvis valent. *Id. ibid. pag.* 350. *A.*

(75) Id. ibid.

(76) Ut Carneadi respondeatis qui sæpe optimas causas ingenii calumnia judificari solet. *Cic. lib.* ii, *de Repub. apud Nonium, voce* calumnia, *p.* 263.

(77) Ovid. Metam. lib. xi, vers. 314.

and the next Day *against* it [G]. The nice Subtilties, with which he oppoſed That Virtue, appeared terrible to *Cicero* [H], and capable of diſſolving the Foundations, on

[G] *He made an admirable Oration one Day for Juſtice, and the next againſt it.*] He was then in his Element: he loved to ruin his own Works, becauſe at the bottom it ſerved to ſupport his grand Principle, which was, that the Mind of Man was capable of nothing, but meer Probabilities; ſo that of two contrary things a Man might indifferently ſtick to the one or the other, in a negative or affirmative Diſcourſe. To make good our Text, we ſhall quote *Lactantius*. ' Is (*Carneades*) cum Legatus ab Athenienſibus Romam miſſus eſſet, diſputavit de juſtitia copioſè, audiente Galba, & Catone Cenſorio, maximis tunc Oratoribus. Sed idem diſputationem ſuam poſtridie contraria diſputatione ſubvertit, & juſtitiam, quam pridie laudaverat, ſuſtulit, non quidem Philoſophi gravitate, cujus firma, & ſtabilia debet eſſe ſententia, ſed quaſi oratorio exercitii genere in utramque partem diſſerendi. Quod ille facere ſolebat, ut alios, quodlibet aſſerentes, poſſet refutare (78). —— Carneades, *being ſent Embaſſador by the* Athenians *to* Rome, *diſputed copiouſly concerning Juſtice, in the preſence of* Galba, *and* Cato *the Cenſor, both at that time great Orators. The next day he overthrew his own Diſputation by a contrary one, and deſtroyed Juſtice, which the Day before he had extolled; not indeed with the Gravity of a Philoſopher, who ought to ſtick to his Opinion, but as it were to exerciſe his Rhetoric in diſputing* pro *and* con. *This he did, that he might be able to oppoſe others, whatever they aſſerted.*' *Lactantius* adds, that it was eaſy for this Philoſopher to refute whatever they could ſay in the behalf of Juſtice; for the Heathens could have no Notion of it, being Strangers to Religion, the Fountain and Foundation of Juſtice. ' Erat facillimum juſtitiam radices non habentem labefactare, quia tum nulla in terra fuit; ut, quid eſſet aut qualis à philoſophis cerneretur —— cujus origo in religione, ratio in æquitate eſt. Sed ii, qui primam illam partem neſciebant, ne ſecundam quidem tenere potuerunt (79).' If they had no Notion of it, they were unable to defend it, and conſequently forced to quit the Field to the firſt Sophiſt, who attacked it. ' Expoſui cauſam, cur Philoſophi nec invenire juſtitiam, nec defendere potuerunt. Nunc redeo ad id quod intenderam. Carneades ergo, quoniam erant infirma, quæ à Philoſophis diſſerebantur, ſumpſit audaciam refellendi, quia refelli poſſe intellexit (80). —— *I have ſhewn the reaſon, why the Philoſophers could neither find out, nor defend, Juſtice. I now return to what I propoſed.* Carneades *therefore, finding how weakly the Philoſophers diſputed, ventured to refute them, becauſe he knew they might be refuted.*' After this *Lactantius* gives us the Subſtance of the Diſpute, and tells us *Carneades* argued thus. If there be ſuch a thing as Juſtice, ſaid he, it muſt be founded either upon poſitive Right, or upon natural Right. Now it is not founded upon poſitive Right; for that varies with Times and Places, every People applying it to their own Profit and Intereſt: nor is it founded upon natural Right, which is no other than a Byaſs Nature has implanted in all Animals, which leads them to ſearch after what is uſeful to them; and it cannot be regulated according to this Byaſs without committing a thouſand Frauds and Violences: from whence it follows, that it cannot be the Foundation of Juſtice; wherefore, &c. He proved, by a great many Examples, the Condition of Men to be ſuch, that, if they have a Mind to be juſt, they muſt act imprudently and fooliſhly; and, if they have a mind to act prudently, they are unjuſt: from whence he concluded, that there is no ſuch thing as Juſtice; for a Virtue inſeparable from Folly cannot be juſt. *Lactantius* owns the Heathens were incapable of anſwering this Argument, and that *Cicero* dared not undertake it. ' Ita ergò juſtitiam cum in duas partes diviſiſſet, alteram civilem eſſe dicens, alteram naturalem; utramque ſubvertit, quod illa civilis ſapientia ſit quidem, ſed juſtitia non ſit, naturalis autem illa juſtitia ſit quidem, ſed non ſit ſapientia. Arguta hæc planè, & venenata ſunt, & quæ M. Tullius non potuerit refellere. Nam cum faciat Lælium Furio reſpondentem, proque juſtitia dicentem, irrefutata hæc tanquam foveam prætergreſſus eſt, ut videatur idem Lælius non naturalem, quæ in ſtultitiæ crimen venerat, ſed illam civilem defendiſſe juſtitiam; quam Furius ſapientiam quidem eſſe conceſſerat, ſed injuſtam (81). —— *Thus, having divided Juſtice into two kinds, and called the one civil, the other natural, he overthrows both; inaſmuch as The Civil is Prudence, but not Juſtice; the Natural is Juſtice, but not Prudence. This is a ſubtle Argument, and which* Cicero *could not refute. For when he introduces* Lælius *replying to* Furius, *and defending Juſtice, he leaves this Argument unrefuted, and ſeems to make* Lælius *defend, not Natural Juſtice, which had been ſhewn to be Folly, but Civil, which* Furius *had allowed to be Prudence indeed, but unjuſt.*' After this, he gives us a Solution of it by the Light of Faith (82), and obſerves, that *Carneades*, knowing on one ſide that juſt Men were no Fools, could not find, on the other, the true Reaſon, why they appeared to be ſo: from whence he took an Opportunity of declaiming in favour of Incomprehenſibility, his darling Principle. ' Senſit igitur Carneades, quæ ſit natura juſtitiæ, niſi quòd parum altè proſpexit, ſtultitiam non eſſe, quanquam intelligere mihi videor, qua mente id fecerit. Non enim vere exiſtimavit eum ſtultum eſſe, qui juſtus eſt; ſed cum ſciret non eſſe, & rationem tamen, cur ita videretur, non comprehenderet, voluit oſtendere, latere in abdito veritatem, ut decretum diſciplinæ ſuæ tueretur, cujus ſumma ſententia eſt, nihil percipi poſſe (83).' Let us not forget a very good Obſervation made by *Quintilian*. He ſays that *Carneades* always lived up to the Rules of Juſtice, though he argued for Injuſtice: This was uſual with the Academics; their Speculation hung betwixt two Contraries; but their Practice ſtuck faſt to one of them. ' Neque enim Academici, cum in utramque differunt partem, non ſecundum alteram vivunt. Neque Carneades ille, qui Romæ audiente Cenſorio Catone non minoribus viribus contra juſtitiam dicitur diſſeruiſſe quam pridiè pro juſtitiâ dixerat, injuſtus ipſe vir fuit (84).' It is the way of the World: Men do not live up to their Principles (85).

[H] *The Subtilties, with which he oppoſed* Juſtice, *appeared terrible to* Cicero.] One of the beſt Pieces of This Illuſtrious *Roman* is That *De Legibus*. There he lays down this Foundation, that there is a natural Right, that is, ſome Actions are juſt in their own Nature, and which we are obliged to do, not becauſe we live in a Society, where the poſitive Laws puniſh thoſe that pay no regard to them, but for the ſake of That Juſtice and Equity, which accompanies them independent of human Inſtitution. This, he ſays, he muſt ſuppoſe, if he intends to build upon Principles well choſen, and rightly concerted, and yet he does not expect every Body will approve of them. He promiſes himſelf only the Approbation of the ancient *Platoniſts*, and of the *Peripatetics*, and *Stoics*. *Epicurus*'s School he regards not: They profeſſed a Retreat from Politics; he therefore ſuffered them to philoſophize as they thought fit in their Retirement; but he demands Quarter from *Arceſilas* and *Carneades*. He is afraid, if they once came to attack him, they would make too great a Breach in the Structure he had been raiſing. He finds himſelf too weak to oppoſe them; he wiſhes he may not be expoſed to their Anger; he deſires to appeaſe, and live in Peace with them. Theſe are his Words: ' Vereor committere, ut non bene proviſa & diligenter explorata principia ponantur: nec tamen ut omnibus probentur; nam id fieri non poteſt; ſed ut eis qui omnia recta atque honeſta per ſe expetenda duxerunt, & aut nihil omnino in bonis numerandum, niſi quod per ſeipſum laudabile eſſet, aut certe nullum habendum magnum bonum, niſi quod vere laudari ſua ſponte poſſet. His omnibus ſive in Academia vetere cum Speuſippo, Xenocrate, Polemone manſerunt: ſive Ariſtotelem & Theophraſtum cum illis re congruentes, genere docendi paululum differentes, ſequuti ſunt: ſive, ut Zenoni viſum eſt, rebus non commutatis immutaverint

(78) Lactant. lib. v, cap. xiv, pag. 336, 337.

(79) Id. ibid. pag. 337.

(80) Id. ibid. cap. xvi, pag. 340, 341.

(81) Id. ibid. pag. 342.

(82) Nobis fidelior eſt ifta defenſio, quibus cæleſti beneficio ſapientiæ non ſolùm juſtitia eſt, ſed quidem non ſine ſcientia. *Id. ib. cap.* xvii, *pag.* 343.

(83) Id. ibid.

(84) Quintil. Inſtit. Orat. lib. xii, cap. i, pag. 557.

(85) Compare with this the Elogy, which *Cleanthes* made of *Arceſilas*, in the Article ARCESILAS, Cicer. (92).

on which the Books, that treated of Right, and of the Laws, were built. He proved the Stoics guilty of Absurdities with respect to Religion [I]; and I wonder he was suffered to attack them so violently upon that Score; for the Arguments, he alledged, were very proper to destroy, Root and Branch, all the Heathen Deities. There can be nothing more Christian that one of his Moral Tenets [K]. His

‘ mutaverint vocabula: sive etiam Aristonis difficilem atque arduam, sed jam tamen fractam & convictam sectam sequuti sunt, ut virtutibus exceptis atque vitiis, cætera in summa æqualitate ponerent, his omnibus hæc quæ dixi probantur: sibi autem indulgentes, & corpori deservientes, atque omnia quæ sequantur in vita, quæque fugiant voluptatibus & doloribus ponderantes, etiam si vera dicunt (nihil enim opus est hoc loco litibus) in hortulis suis jubeamus dicere, atque etiam ab omni societate reipublicæ, cujus partem nec norunt ullam, nec unquam nosse voluerunt, paulisper facessant rogemus: pertorbatricem autem harum omnium rerum Academiam hanc ab Arcesila & Carneade recentem exoremus, ut sileat. Nam si invaserit in has quæ satis scite nobis instructæ & compositæ videntur rationes, nimias edet ruinas, quam quidem ego placare cupio, submovere non audeo (86).’ According to this Idea, *Carneades* might pass for a destroying Angel (87).

(86) Cicero, lib. i, de legibus.

(87) We observed before, Cl tat. (81), that *Cicero*, making *Lælius* defend Justice against *Furius*, who stood up for Injustice, let several of *Carneades*'s Arguments pass without an Answer. This was in his Book *De Republicâ*. See St *Austin*, *de Civitate Dei*, lib. ii, cap. xxi.

‘ [I] *He proved the* Stoics *guilty of Absurdities with respect to Religion.*] This may be gathered from these Words of *Cicero*, addressed to the *Stoics*. ‘ Si vos sequar, dic quid ei respondeam, qui me sic roget: Si dii sunt, sunt ne etiam Nymphæ Deæ? Si Nymphæ, Panisci etiam & Satyri? Hi autem non sunt, ne Nymphæ quidem Deæ igitur. At earum templa sant publice vota & dedicata. Quid igitur? ne cæteri quidem ergo dii, quorum templa sunt dedicata? Age porrò Jovem & Neptuum deum numeras? ergo etiam Orcus frater eorum deus, & illi qui fluere apud inferos dicuntur, Acheron, Cocytus, Styx, Phlegethon; tum Charon, tum Cerberus, dii putandi. At id quidem repudiandum: ne Oreus quidem igitur: Quid dicitis ergo de fratribus? Hæc Carneades agebat, non ut deos tolleret: quid enim philosopho minus conveniens? sed ut Stoicos nihil de diis explicare convinceret. Itaque insequebatur. Quid enim, aiebat, si ii fratres sunt in numero deorum, num de patre eorum Saturno negari potest, quem vulgo maximè colunt ad occidentem? Qui si deus est, patrem quoque ejus Cœlum esse Deum confitendum est. Quod si ita est, Cœli quoque parentes dii habendi sunt Æther & Dies, eorumque fratres & sorores, qui à genealogiis antiquis sic nominantur, Amor, Dolus, Metus, Labor, Invidentia, Fatum, Senectus, Mors, Tenebræ, Miseria, Querela, Gratia, Fraus, Pertinacia, Parcæ, Hesperides, Somnia, quos omnes Erebo & Nocte natos ferunt. Aut igitur hæc monstra probanda sunt, aut prima illa tollenda (88). —— *If I should embrace your Sect, what Answer can I make to him, who shall put this Question to me: If there are Gods, are the Nymphs likewise Deities? If the Nymphs are, are the Pan's and Satyrs? But these are not Gods: therefore neither are the Nymphs. But there are public Temples dedicated to them. What then? Are not the rest therefore Gods, who have Temples dedicated to them? Farther, do you reckon* Jupiter *and* Neptune *among the Gods? Then is their Brother* Orcus *a God, as also the infernal Rivers,* Acheron, Cocytus, Styx, *and* Phlegethon: *then are* Charon *and* Cerberus *to be esteemed Gods. This you can by no means allow: then neither is* Orcus *a God. What do you say then of his Brothers? Thus* Carneades *reasoned; not to take away the Gods; (for what could be more unbecoming a Philosopher?) but to shew, that the Stoics gave no consistent Account of the Gods. He therefore went on. If, said he, those Brothers are in the number of the Gods, can you deny it of their Father* Saturn, *who is chiefly worshipped in the West? And if* Saturn *be a God, so must his Father* Cœlum *be likewise. Again, if* Cœlum *be a God, you must esteem his Parents,* Æther *and* Dies, *as such, as also their Brethren and Sisters, who are thus named in the antient Genealogies, Love, Grief, Fear, Labour, Envy, Fate, Old Age, Death, Darkness, Misery, Complaint, Favour, Fraud, Perseverance, The Destinies, The Hesperides, and Dreams; all which, they say, sprung from* Erebus *and* Night. *Either therefore you must prove these Fictions to be all Gods, or you must deny that the fore-mentioned are so.* You will find, in *Cicero*, the rest of this Argument, which is very long. We find elsewhere, that *Carneades* had offered such Arguments against those, who held that the Gods wrought a thousand Things upon Earth for the Benefit of Mankind; that he raised in many People a Curiosity to enquire into the Truth of it, *Contrà quos Carneades ita multa disseruit, ut excitaret homines non socordes ad veri investigandi cupiditatem* (89). It has been observed (90), that, if *Carneades* had undertaken to plead in behalf of the Pagan Religion, *he had fallen very short of that Eloquence*, which nothing was able to withstand. Let us observe here, that, in pleading against it, it was easy for him to prevail. His Antagonists melted before his Eloquence, like Wax before the Fire. Mr *Foucher*, who excuses him as much as he can (91), makes use of too favourable a Turn, and of Conjectures incompatible with Matters of Fact.

(88) Cicero, de Natura Deorum, lib. iii, cap. xvii.

(89) Id. ibid. lib. i, cap. ii.

(90) Pensées diverses sur les Cometes, n. 124, pag. 362.

(91) Foucher, Dissert. sur la Philos. des Academiciens, lib. iii, pag. 159.

There are two Passages in *Cicero*, which I have quoted, that seem to prove, that *Carneades* wrote some Books: For it is not likely, that a Philosopher's Arguments should be cited, if they had been only known by Tradition. But it may be said, in Answer to this, that they were cited, as found amongst the Works of some of his Scholars. Thus *Cicero* relates several other of his Doctrines, as he found them in *Clitomachus*'s Writings (92). So that we have no demonstrative Proof against those, who say, that *Carneades* left nothing behind him in Writing. *Plutarch* assures us of it in express Terms (93). Others say, there were Letters published, which he had written to *Ariarathes*, King of *Cappadocia*, and that all the rest was published by his Scholars, he leaving no Writings behind him (94). These Letters make nothing against *Plutarch*; for, if they were written without an Intent of being published, the Writer cannot, upon that Score, be reckoned an Author. *Pliny* and *Aulus Gellius* contradict *Plutarch*; They affirm that *Carneades* took a Dose of Hellebore, when he was to write against *Zeno* (95). I will not insist upon *Fulgentius*; for the *Carneades*, he quotes (96), is probably the Poet (97), and not the Philosopher. *Cicero* would be more to the purpose: he speaks of a Work of *Carneades*, upon this Subject; *A wise Man will be afflicted for the Loss of his Country.* This Work was inserted, by *Clitomachus*, in a Consolatory Epistle, addressed to the *Carthaginians*, his Countrymen. ‘ Legimus librum Clitomachi, quem ‘ ille eversa Carthagine misit consolandi causâ ad ‘ captivos cives suos. In eo est disputatio scripta ‘ Carneadis, quam se ait in commentarium retulisse: ‘ quum ita positum esset, videri fore in ægritudine ‘ sapientem patria capta. Quæ Carneades contra ‘ dixerat, scripta sunt (98). —— *I have read the* ‘ *Book of* Clitomachus, *which he sent, after the Destruction of* Carthage, *by way of Consolation to his* ‘ *captive Countrymen. There is in it a written* ‘ *Disputation of* Carneades, *which* Clitomachus *says* ‘ *he himself transcribed; the Subject of which is the* ‘ *Position, that a wise Man will naturally be af-* ‘ *flicted for the Loss of his Country. What* Car- ‘ neades *said against it was committed to Writing.*’ *Cicero* was sensible of the strong and subtile Reasons, wherewith *Carneades* opposed Divination. *Nobismet ipsis quærentibus quid sit de divinatione judicandum, quod à Carneade multa acute & copiosè contrà Stoicos disputata sint* (99). But still this does not prove, that they were extant in any Book of this Philosopher. I have observed before (100), how we came by his Objections against this Maxim, *Quæ sunt æqualia uni tertio sunt æqualia inter se.*

(92) Cicer. Acad. Quæst. lib. ii, cap. xxxii.

(93) Plutarch. de Fort. vel. Virtute Alexandri, pag. 328, *A*.

(94) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4, n. 64. pag. 265.

(95) See the Remark [*D*].

(96) Nam & Carneades in libro Telesarco ita ait, Πᾶσα σὺν αἰσθήσει φρονίμου καταστροφή, id est, omnis fortuna in sensu habitat Sapientis. *Fulgent. de Virgil. Contin. pag.* 145.

(97) Diog. Laërt. ibid. n. 6, *makes mention of one* Carneades, *a Poet.*

(98) Cicer. Tusc. Quæst. lib. xi, cap. xxii.

(99) Idem de Divinatione, lib. i, circa init.

(100) In Remark [*C*], Citat. (26).

[K] *There can be nothing more Christian than one of his Moral Tenets.*] I shall here copy from a Canon of *Dijon*, that it may not be said, that, if I was a

Divine,

WHETHER *Carneades* wrote any Books.

His Arguments againſt the Oracles of *Apollo* were of ſome weight [*L*]. It is thought he would have made his Diſciple *Mentor* his Succeſſor in the Philoſophical

Divine. I would not talk at this rate of the Opinions of a Philoſopher, who invincibly refuted the Religion of the Heathens, the only Religion he was acquainted with. 'This was one of his Maxims. 'If a Man knew privately, that an Enemy, or 'any other Perſon, whoſe Death would be an Advantage to him, was going to ſit upon the Graſs, 'under which an Aſp lay concealed, he ought to 'warn him of it, even though no one could reprehend him for his Silence in that Point. *Si ſcieris, inquit Carneades, aſpidem occultè latere ubiam, & velle imprudentem aliquem ſuper eam aſſidere, cujus mors tibi emolumento futura ſit, improbe feceris niſi monueris. ne aſſideat, ſed impune tamen id te conſtaret feciſſe: quis enim coarguere poſſit* (101)? This Doctrine is admirable, 'and very worthy of Chriſtianity: for what can 'become a Chriſtian better than to do good to his 'Enemy, and that without any hopes of Recompence in this World (102)?' Theſe are Mr *Foucher*'s Words, which he almoſt repeats word for word, in the fourth Chapter of the third Book. But ſince we are upon *Carneades*'s Morality, let us ſee what Notion he had of the Nature of Sovereign Good. The chief End of Man, ſaid he, is to enjoy Natural Principles (103). Mr *Foucher* takes the Meaning of this to be, 'To exerciſe, in 'Perfection, all the Functions of the Underſtanding and the Will, without any Hindrance whatſoever, ariſing either from Ignorance, Prejudice, 'or any other exterior Obſtacle (104).' *Cicero* obſerves, that *Carneades* maintained this Maxim, only to contradict the *Stoics*, and that, if Virtue were united to this Felicity, it were enough to make a Man compleatly happy. 'Quæ poſſunt eadem contra Carneadeum illud ſummum bonum dici, quod 'is, non tam ut probaret (105), protulit, quam ut 'Stoicis, quibuſcum bellum gerebat, opponeret. 'Id autem ejuſmodi eſt, ut additum ad virtutem 'auctoritatem videatur habiturum, & expleturum 'cumulate vitam beatam (106).' He ſays, in another place: 'Honeſtum vivere fruentem rebus his, 'quas primas homini natura conciliet, & vetus Academia cenſuit, ut indicant ſcripta Polemonis, quæ 'Antiochus probat maxime, & Ariſtoteles ejuſque 'amici nunc proxime videntur accedere. Introducebat etiam Carneades, non quo probaret, ſed ut 'opponeret Stoicis, ſummum bonum eſſe frui his 'rebus, quas primas natura conciliaviſſet (107).

That Life is paſſed as it ought, in the Enjoyment of thoſe Things, which Nature firſt dictates to us, was the Opinion of the old Academy: This appears from the Writings of Polemon, *which* Antiochus *greatly approves of, and which* Ariſtotle *and his Followers ſeem now to approach very near. For* Carneades *advanced (not with a deſign of proving the thing, but merely in oppoſition to the Stoics) that the Sovereign Good conſiſts in the Enjoyment of what Nature firſt dictates to us.*

Some other Paſſages in *Cicero* (108) ſhew very plainly, that *Carneades* included Felicity in the Enjoyment of Natural Good, without comprehending the Honeſt Good in it. It is worth our Obſervation, that he non-pluſs'd the Stoics and Peripatetics upon this Account; for he proved to them, that their Conteſts about the Supream Good were nothing but a Diſpute about Words. 'Carneades tuus egregia quadam exercitatione in dialecticis, ſummaque eloquentia, rem in ſummum diſcrimen adduxit, propterea quod pugnare non deſtitit in omni hac quæſtione quæ de bonis & malis appelletur, non eſſe rerum Stoicis cum Peripateticis controverſiam ſed nominum (109).' He was a ſort of Umpire between theſe two Sects, and made it appear to one of them, that what they called Good, and the other Sect were contented to term Conveniency, were not worthy our Deſires, foraſmuch as one ſide allowed them no greater Advantages than the other. 'Quorum controverſiam 'ſolebat tanquam honorarius arbiter judicare Carneades. Nam quum quæcunque bona Peripatetici, eadem Stoicis commoda viderentur, neque tamen Peripatetici plus tribuerent divitiis, bonæ valetudini, cæteriſque rebus generis ejuſdem, quàm 'Stoici, quum ea re non verbis ponderarentur, 'cauſam eſſe deſiderandi negabat (110).' One of his Victories againſt the Stoics was his driving them from a Poſt they had held a conſiderable time. They had maintained, that a good Name, without Profit attending it, was not worth a Man's Care. This they could not make good againſt *Carneades*, but found themſelves obliged to maintain, That, of itſelf, it deſerved our Choice (111). Every one knows they made a Difference between good Things, and Things that deſerve to be preferred.

[*L*] *His Arguments againſt the Oracles of* Apollo *were of weight.*] He maintained, that *Apollo* could not foretel Things to come, unleſs they had a Dependance upon a neceſſary Cauſe. He denied him the Knowledge of all contingent Events, the Parricide of *Oedipus*, for Example; for, there being no Cauſe neceſſitating him to kill his Father, it was not to be forſeen that he would kill him: A future Action is not to be foreſeen, but from a Knowledge of the efficient Cauſes of it. Nay, he held, That the Gods, preſiding over Oracles, could not ſo much as know what was paſt, where no Footſteps were remaining to carry them up to the Time of the Event. He pretended, without doubt, that no other Footſtep was ſufficient for this, but a Chain of Natural Cauſes, acting without any Uſe of Free Will, and that the Acts of the Free-Will of Man, breaking this Chain, hindered the Gods from caſting their Eyes backward upon paſt Ages, where no viſible Mark of the Events remained. 'Dicebat Carneades, ne Apollinem quidem 'futura poſſe dicere, niſi ea, quorum cauſas natura 'ita contineret, ut ea fieri neceſſe eſſet. Quid e- 'nim ſpectans Deus ipſe diceret Marcellum eum, 'qui ter conſul fuit, in mari eſſe periturum? Erat 'quidem hoc verum ex æternitate, ſed cauſas id 'efficientes non habebat, ita ne præterita quidem 'ea quorum nulla ſigna tanquam veſtigia extarent 'Apollini nota eſſe cenſebat, quo minus futura. 'Cauſis enim efficientibus quamque rem cognitis, 'poſſe denique ſciri quid futurum eſſet. Ergo nec 'de Oedipode potuiſſe Apollinem prædicere, nullis 'in rerum natura cauſis præpoſitis, cur ab eo patrem interfici neceſſe eſſet, nec quicquam ejuſ- 'modi (112).' *Chryſippus* had eluded the Inſtance drawn from this, That a Man, predeſtinated to die, ſhall die, let him make uſe of Phyſic or not; he had, I ſay, eluded it, by ſuppoſing a Complication of predeſtined Events, as that ſuch a Man ſhall make uſe of a Phyſician, and be cured: For then the Remedy is annexed to the Fatality of the Cure. 'Omnes igitur hujus generis captiones eodem modo refelluntur. Sive tu adhibueris medi- 'cum, ſive non adhibueris, convaleſces, captioſum. 'Tam enim eſt fatale medicum adhibere, quam 'convaleſcere. Hæc ut dixi confatalia ille appellat (113).' This Anſwer did not ſatisfy *Carneades*; but, in order to confute it well, he ſhewed the great Inconvenience attending it, I mean, the Loſs of Free-Will. If, ſaid he, you join thus, in the Decrees of Fate, the Cauſes with their Effects, all Things muſt be done by Neceſſity, and nothing will be left in our Power: every Thing will depend upon an antecedent Cauſe, and a Chain of Cauſes ariſe, linked together by a natural invincible Tie. His Thought will appear better in *Cicero*'s Words. 'Carneades 'genus hoc totum non probabat, & nimis inconſiderate concludi hanc rationem putabat: itaque 'premebat alio modo, nec ullam adhibebat calumniam, cujus erat hæc concluſio: Si omnia antecedentibus cauſis fiunt, omnia naturali colligatione 'conſerta contextaque fiunt, quod ſi ita eſt, omnis 'neceſſitas efficit. Id ſi verum eſt, nihil eſt in 'noſtra poteſtate. Eſt autem aliquid in noſtra poteſtate. Ergo ſi omnia fato fiunt, omnia cauſis antecedentibus fiunt: non igitur fato fiunt quæcunque fiunt (114).'

You ſee, The Diſputes of the Auguſtinians with the Jeſuits, and the Remonſtrants, about the Conſequences of Predeſtination, had a Being among the ancient Philoſophers. *Carneades* has taught the Predeſtinarians to puzzle their Adverſaries with this Objection, That GOD can foreſee nothing that depends

(101) This is taken from *Cicero*, lib. ii, *de Finibus*, c. xviii, *fin.* and not *lib.* i, as Mr *Foucher* will have it. *Diſſert. ſur la Philoſophie des Academiciens*, Book i, ch. viii, pag. 158.

(102) Foucher, ibid. pag. 46, 47.

(103) Carneadi frui principiis naturalibus effet extremum. *Cicero de Finibus, lib.* ii, *c.* xi. *fin.*

(104) Foucher, ubi ſupra, pag. 158.

(105) Add to this what we find in the fifth Book *de Finibus*, c. 7. Voluptas, Ariſtippus, non ſolendi. Harmonymus, fruendi rebus his quæ primas ſecundum naturam eſſe diximus, Carneades non ille quidem autor ſed defenſor, diſſerendi cauſa.

(106) Cicero, ibid. cap. xiii, *A.*

(107) Id. Academicar. Quæſt. lib. ii, c. xiii. C.

(108) In the ſecond Book, *cap.* xi. &c. and the fifth Book, *cap.* ix, &c.

(109) Id. ibid. lib. iii, cap. xii.

(110) Id. Tuſcul. lib. v, fub fin.

(111) Id. de finib. lib. iii, cap. xv, & ſeq.

(112) Cicero de Fato, cap. xiv.

(113) Id. ibid. cap. xiii, fin.

(114) Id. ibid. cap. xiv, initio.

phical Chair, had he not caught him in Bed with his Miſtreſs [*M*]. Some ſay he lived 'till he was Eighty five Years of Age (*d*): Others ſtretch his Life to ninety (*e*). His Death is aſſigned to the fourth Year of the CLXIId Olympiad (*f*). I do not believe there is any ground for ſubſtituting another Chronology, as Father *Petavius* has done (g), or for maintaining that he was cotemporary with *Epicurus*. This laſt Point has raiſed a Conteſt between two modern Writers [*N*], which the Reader

(d) Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, n. 65. Lucian. in Macrob. pag. 640. Tom. II.

(e) Cicer. Academ. Queſt. lib. iv, cap. vi. Valer. Maximus, lib. viii, cap. vii.

(f) Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, n. 65.

(g) See Remark [*P*], n. vi.

pends upon an indifferent Cauſe. None, but the *Socinians*, have been ſo ingenuous as to acknowledge the evident Force of this Objection; but, alas! into what a Gulph has their Ingenuity thrown them? It has coſt them the Preſcience of GOD; and what a monſtrous Abſurdity is it to ſuppoſe a GOD ignorant of what Men will do, 'till their Actions are a doing.

[*M*] *He broke with* Mentor, *upon catching him in Bed with his Miſtreſs.*] That I may leave room for no Equivocation, I muſt tell the Reader that *Mentor* was found in Bed with his Maſter *Carneades*'s Concubine. In this caſe *Carneades* found no Grounds to diſpute upon Probability or Incomprehenſibility; he was grown like the reſt of his Neighbours; he took for a Thing certain and indiſputable, what his own Eyes had ſeen, of the Infidelity of his Miſtreſs, and his Scholar; whereupon he broke with *Mentor*, who became his Antagoniſt, oppoſed Subtilties to Subtilties, and confuted the *Acatalepſia*. Καρνεάδῃ δὲ γίνεται γνώριμος Μέντωρ μὲν ὁ πρῶτος, ὃ μὴν διάδοχος. Ἀλλ' ἔτι ζῶν Καρνεάδης ἐπὶ πολλαχῇ μοιχὸν εὗρεν, ἔχ' ὑπὸ πιθανῆς φαντασίας, ἐν᾽ ὡς μὴ κατειληφὼς, ὡς δὲ μάλιστα πιστεύων τῇ ὄψει, καὶ καταλαβὼν, παρητήσατο τῆς διατριβῆς. *Mentorem Carneades primum habuit diſcipulum, non tamen ſucceſſorem. Quod enim illum adhuc vivens cum pellice ſua repererat, non jam viſo tantum probabili, aut quaſi minus hominem comprehenderet, at ſuis maxime credens oculis, eumque vere comprehendens; ejus deinceps operam & conſuetudinem repudiavit* (115). This we have from *Numenius*. *Diogenes Laërtius* ſpeaks of it with more Brevity (116). This Action of *Mentor* was a very baſe one: He was *Carneades*'s Head Scholar; he had as free an Acceſs into his Maſter's Houſe, as if he had been his Child; this Liberty he abuſed, and debauched his Patron's Miſtreſs. The Irregularities of Love can never be too much deteſted. It is a brutal Paſſion, that choaks all Sentiments of Gratitude and Generoſity. There are ſome Men, who, for the whole World, would not wrong their Friend of a Farthing. If they are ſenſible of having betrayed him in the ſmalleſt Circumſtance, they are ſeverely touched with it: Generoſity carries them through all other Points: But, when a Wife or Daughter are in the way, there it leaves them, and they make no ſcruple of debauching them. Friendſhip is not proof againſt That Devil of Uncleanneſs, to which every Thing is lawful Prize. *Non hoſpes ab hoſpite tutus.* The Rights of Hoſpitality, ſo ſacred, ſo inviolable, cannot retain him, but rather ſerve to open a readier way to his Deſigns.

(115) Nemen. apud Euſeb. Præpar. Evang. pag. 738, *D*.

(116) Diog. Laërt. lib. iv, pag. 63.

[*N*] *I do not believe ..... he was cotemporary with* Epicurus. *This Point raiſed a Conteſt between two modern Writers.*] I mean between Mr *Foucher*, Canon of *Dijon*, and Mr *Lantin*, Counſellor in the Parliament of the ſame Town. The Particulars of this Diſpute are to be found in the *Journal des Sçavans* (117). The Queſtion is, *Whether* Carneades *was cotemporary with* Epicurus. This Mr *Foucher* affirms in his Hiſtory of the Academics, and maintains, by four Arguments, in a Memorial communicated to Mr *Couſin* (118). They were refuted by Mr *Lantin* (119), and that in a Method, I think, unanſwerable. He has found in *Cicero* (120) a very deciſive Point; which is, that *Carneades* came with the other two *Athenian* Embaſſadors to *Rome*, under the Conſulate of *P. Scipio*, and *M. Marcellus*. Now this Conſulate was in the 598th Year of *Rome*, which is the ſecond of the CLVth Olympiad, and after *Epicurus*'s Death about 112 Years. Which proves, that *Epicurus* and *Carneades* could not be living at the ſame time. The Authority therefore, which Mr *Foucher* brings from *Cicero* (121), where he ſays, that *Carneades*, *Epicurus*'s intimate Friend, *Epicuro perfamiliaris*, made a Viſit to *Arceſilas*, muſt be groundleſs. Either *Cicero*'s Memory failed him, or he ſpeaks of another *Carneades* (122), or the Cypiſts have written *Carneades* inſtead of ſome other Philoſopher, as they have done in ſeveral other Places (123). Mr *Foucher*, without queſtion, felt the weight of this Reaſon; but, having ſtarted new Difficulties, he thought not fit to ſurrender, till Mr *Lantin* had removed them (124). He thought it probable, that the Conſulate, under which the three Embaſſadors came to *Rome*, might be That of one *Scipio the Bald*, and a *Marcellus* in 531, or 532, of the Foundation of *Rome*..... *This being allowed*, Carneades *might have lived twenty Years with* Epicurus, *and have been deputed to this Embaſſy at ſixty Years of Age*..... *and have lived thirty Years longer; ſince he did not die before he was ninety Years old.* But it is very eaſy to prove this Embaſſy to have been a great while after the Year 532.

(117) Under the ſixth of *Auguſt*, 1691, pag. 509. Under the 24th of *March*, 1692, pag. 197. And under the eighth of *Decemb.* 1692, pag. 704.

(118) In the *Journal des Sçavans*, *Auguſt.* 6, 1691.

(119) In the ſame Journal, 1692, pag. 206, &c.

(120) In the fourth Book of the *Academic Queſtions*, cap. xiv, init. In my Edition it is the ſecond Book, *fol.* 212, *D*.

(121) At the end of the fifth Book *de finibus*.

(122) This is viſible; for he had ſeveral times mentioned our *Carneades*, in the preceding Pages, without any Addition: Is it therefore likely he ſhould call him at laſt *Epicuro perfamiliaris*?

In the firſt place, we learn from *Pauſanias* (125), that the Pillage of *Oropus* was after the *Romans* had reduced *Macedonia* into a Province; and it is certain, that *Perſeus*, the laſt King of that Country, was not carried to *Rome* till the Year 587. It is therefore impoſſible, that an Embaſſy, deſigned to moderate the Fine laid on the *Athenians* for the Pillage of that Place (126), ſhould fall in with the Year of *Rome* 532. In the ſecond place, *Cato* was an old Man in the time of this Embaſſy: This *Plutarch* obſerves. Ἥδη δὲ ἀνῆκε γέροντος γυγονότος πρέσβεως Ἀθήνηθεν ἥκοντας εἰς Ῥώμην οἱ περὶ Καρνεάδην, &c. *Eo jam ſene legati Athenienſium Romam adventarunt Carneades*, &c (127). Now *Cato* was born in the Year of *Rome* 519; for *Cicero* (128) makes him ſay, that, at the Age, of Sixty five, he adviſed the Eſtabliſhment of the *Voconian* Law, under the Conſulate of *Philip* and *Cepio*, which falls in the Year of *Rome* 584. This proves it impoſſible thoſe three Embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Rome* in 532. Here is a third Reaſon, taken from the very Paſſages, which Mr *Foucher* has produced to ſupport his Cauſe. *Scipio* and *Lælius* were very young at the time of this Embaſſy (129), and looked on old Age as at a great diſtance from them, in the Year of *Rome* 601. See *Cicero de Senectute*; where *Cato* ſpeaks like an old Man to young People, and tells them, that *Scipio Africanus* had been dead Thirty three Years (130), one Year before *Cato* was Cenſor. He died then in 568: Wherefore it is impoſſible *Carneades* ſhould have been at *Rome* in Quality of *Athenian* Embaſſador in 532; for, if *Scipio* and *Lælius* had been then fifteen Years of Age, they muſt have been more than eighty before the third *Punic* War, than which nothing can be more falſe, nor would any thing be more ridiculous than *Cato*'s Diſcourſe in this Dialogue *de Senectute*. He would not have been ſo old as they. So that I cannot comprehended what induced Mr *Foucher* to vindicate his Opinion by this Inſtance, that *Scipio* and *Lælius* were young, when theſe Philoſophers were deputed to the *Roman* People. I add, in the fourth place, that his Objection to Mr *Lantin*, founded upon the Conſulate, aſſigned by *Cicero*, is inſignificant. *Cicero* places the Embaſſy of theſe three Philoſophers under the Conſulate of *Scipio* and *M. Marcellus*. Mr *Lantin* will have it to be That of *P. Scipio Naſica*, and *M. Marcellus*, *Anno Urbis* 598. He is anſwered thus: 'That *Marcellus*, under whoſe Conſulate 'Carneades was ſent to *Rome*, was dead before That 'Marcellus, who had *Scipio Naſica* for his Colleague, 'was created Conſul. For we find, in the Dialogue 'de Senectute, that this firſt died before the Year of 'Rome 592; whereas *Naſica*'s Colleague was not 'Conſul with him 'till the Year 599, at which 'time it is certain *Carneades*'s Embaſſy was over. 'It could not therefore be under the Conſulate of 'Scipio Naſica and *Marcellus*, that *Carneades* came 'to *Rome*, ſince, before that time, the Embaſſy was 'expired, and *Marcellus*, under whoſe Conſulate it 'was performed, was then dead; which is manifeſt 'from *Cicero* in the ſame Dialogue: Cujus interitum ne crudeliſſimus quidem hoſtis honore ſepultu-

(123) *See* Jonſius, de Script. Hiſt. Philoſ. pag. 191, *where he proves, that it ought to be* Carneades, *and not* Carneades, *in ſome Places in* Cicero.

(124) See the *Journal des Sçavans*, 1692, pag. 704, &c.

(125) Pauſan. lib. vii, pag. 216.

(126) This was the Buſineſs of the three Philoſophers at *Rome*; ſee *Plut. in Catone majore pag.* 349. *Aulus Gellius*, *lib.* vii, *cap.* xiv.

(127) Plut. in Cat. major. pag. 349, *D*.

(128) Cicer. de Senectute, cap. v, pag. 31, *B*.

(129) Quibus adoleſcentibus Stoicum Diogenem, & Academicum Carneadem video ad Senatum ab Athenienſibus miſſos eſſe legatos. *Id. Tuſcul lib.* iv, *quoted by Mr Foucher, in the* Journal des Sçavans, pag. 706.

(130) The Manuſcripts differ in this Point; ſome make it 35, and ſome 33 Years.

Reader will find in the *Journal des Sçavans*, and of which I shall give a short Account. *Plutarch* has recorded this witty Saying of *Carneades* (*b*), That the only thing young Princes are instructed in, is, how to ride the Great Horse: Other Masters flatter them: They, who wrestle with them suffer themselves to be thrown; but a Horse, without making any Distinction between the Rich and the Poor, the Subject and the Sovereign, flings to the Ground every unskillful Rider that dares mount him. I shall observe, in the Remarks, a Mistake of Mr *Saldenus* [O], and Those

(*b*) Carneades, apud Plutarch. de Discrim. Adulat. & Amici, pag. 58, F.

(131) Journal des Sçavans, 1692, pag. 705.

'turæ carere passus est (131). --- *Whose Death even* '*the cruelest of Enemies honoured with Funeral Rites.* For an Answer to this Passage, it will be sufficient to consider, that the *Latin* Words, with which it concludes, relate to That brave *Marcellus*, who behaved himself so gallantly in the time of the second *Punic* War, and whose Funeral Obsequies *Hannibal* honourably solemnized *Ann. Rom.* 545. *Cato* was then but Twenty six Years old. It was therefore under neither of this *Marcellus*'s Consulates, that *Carneades* was sent to the *Romans*. I cannot conceive for what reason the Year of *Rome* 592 is brought in here.

Observe, that the Passage in the second Book *de Oratore*, quoted by Mr *Foucher*, is erroneous; it may be a Fault of the Impression; however it be, instead of *L. Africano* read *P. Africano*, and be very well assured that nothing is more improper for Mr *Foucher*'s Purpose, than this Passage in *Cicero*. We there meet with three illustrious *Romans*, *Scipio*, *Lælius*, and *Furius*, very well pleased that the *Athenians* had sent, in Quality of Embassadors to *Rome*, *Carneades*, *Critolaus*, and *Diogenes*. Mr *Foucher* was in the right, when he said, that these three *Romans*, *with some others, were the young Men that raised a Jealousy in* Cato, *upon Account of these* Grecian *Philosophers*, and that *Scipio Africanus was not then Consul*. But this Observation, instead of favouring his Cause, is prejudical to it. No one ever pretended, that *Scipio*, under whose Consulate these three Philosophers came to *Rome*, was either of the two *Scipio*'s surnamed *Africanus*: and, as this manifestly relates to him, who, in the third *Punic* War, ruined *Carthage*, and after that *Numantia*, it necessarily follows, that the Voyage of the Philosophers was made towards the End of the VIth Century of *Rome*, and not in 532. That *Scipio* was not yet born in 532: for, when he was created Consul in 606, he had not the Age required by the Laws for the Execution of that Office (132). He only demanded to be *Ædile*; however, to the Satisfaction of the Tribunes of the People, his Age was dispensed with (133). His Youth, during the Residence of those Philosophers at *Rome*, is one of the best Arguments Mr *Lantin* could object to Mr *Foucher*. I wonder he passes over so carelessly the Testimony of *Aulus Gellius*, which Mr *Foucher* makes use of. He thinks it sufficient to observe, that it is not an Authority, which *can be compared with That of* Cicero (134). In my Opinion, he might have given a more effectual Answer: He might have contradicted what Mr *Foucher* has made *Aulus Gellius* say, *That* Carneades *was sent Embassador about the Year* 534 (135). These are *Aulus Gellius*'s Words: 'Ac deinde annis fere post 'quindecim bellum adversus Pœnos sumptum est: at- 'que non nimium longe M. Cato Orator in civitate, '& Plautus Poeta in Scena floruerunt: iisdemque tem- 'poribus Diogenes Stoicus, & Carneades Academi- 'cus, & Critolaus Peripateticus ab Athenienfibus 'ad Senatum populi Romani negotii publici gratia 'legati sunt: neque magno intervallo postea Q. 'Ennius, &c (136). --- *About fifteen Years after,* '*a War was begun against the* Carthaginians; *and,* '*very soon after,* M. Cato *the Orator, and* Plautus '*the Poet, flourished; the one in the State, the* 'other *on the Stage: and, at the same time,* 'Diogenes *the Stoic, and* Carneades *the Academic,* 'and Critolaus *the Peripatetic, were sent Embassa-* 'dors *from the* Athenians *to the Senate of* Rome, 'on *a public Affair: and, a little later,* Ennius, '&c.' This ought rather to be referred to the Year 560, than to 534; for *Cato*'s first Consulate falls in with the Year of *Rome* 558, and *Plautus* died not 'till 569 (137). I do not approve of *Aulus Gellius*'s Chronology: The loose manner, in which he expresses himself, with his *non nimium longe: iisdem temporibus: neque magno intervallo postea:* is enough to make it disregarded. These are indefinite Terms, and may be extended more or less, as *Casaubon* has very judiciously observed (138).

(132) According to *Livy*, *lib.* xliv. *cap.* xliv, he was in his 17th Year, when *Perseus* was taken, *viz.* in the Year of *Rome* 585.

(133) *See* Sigonius in Fastis, ad Ann. 606.

(134) Journal des Sçavans, 1692, pag. 209.

(135) Journ. 1692, pag. 533.

(136) Aulus Gellius, lib. xvii, cap. xxi, in fin.

(137) Cicer. in Bruto, cap. xv.

I know there are a great many Readers, who will accuse me for insisting longer than I ought upon Punctillio's; they will say, that it signifies but little to know whether *Carneades* came to *Rome* in 532, or 598: But I shall not concern myself at all with the ill Taste of such Censurers, or make a Scruple of those Enquiries, which an illustrious Counsellor in the Parliament of *Burgundy*, and an illustrious Canon in the Capital of the same Province, thought not unworthy their Attention, and which they have communicated to the Public under the Patronage of a famous President of the Court of the Mint at *Paris* (139). If any one be willing to take my Part against the Censures of those sickly Palates, that contemn this sort of Discussions, I desire them to apply, in my Behalf, these Verses in *Terence*.

(138) Casaub. in Athen. lib. v, cap. xviii, pag. 385.

(139) Mr *Conte*, Author of the *Journal des Sçavans*.

Faciunt næ intelligendo ut nihil intelligant,
Qui cum hunc accusant, Nævium, Plautum, Ennium,
Accusant, quos hic noster autores habet,
Quorum æmulari exoptat negligentiam,
Potius quam istorum obscuram diligentiam (140).

(140) Terentius in Prologo Andriæ, init.

With all their Pretensions to Knowledge, they do but betray their Ignorance; who, in accusing him, accuse Nævius, Plautus, Ennius, *whose Example our Author follows, and whose Negligence he would rather emulate, than the obscure Diligence of such Men.*

[O] *I shall observe —— a Mistake of Mr* Saldenus.] Having made mention of the Philosopher *Heraclitus*'s Obscurity, he observes the same Fault in *Epicurus* and *Carneades*. 'Germani hujus fuerunt 'Epicurus & Carneades Cyrenæus, novæ Academiæ 'principes, quorum hic adeo a Clytomacho obscu- 'rus dictus fuit, ut nunquam percipere se potuisse 'asseverarit, quænam scriptorum ejus mens sensusque 'fuerit (141). ----- *A kin to these were* Epicurus, '*and* Carneades of Cyrene, *the Founder of the new* 'Academy; *the latter of whom,* Clytomachus *tells* 'us, *was so obscure, that he averred he could never* 'discover *the Sense and Meaning of his Writings.*' Allowing his *Epicurus* to be as much chief of the new Academy, as I am Patriarch of *Constantinople*, we will only observe, that *Clitomachus* did not complain of the Obscurity of *Carneades*'s Writings. He said no more than that he could not discover what Sentiments *Carneades* approved of (142). This does not proceed from the Obscurity of Expression, but the Scepticism of that Philosopher. He held nothing for certain; he maintained and opposed successively the self same Doctrines, and, for this reason, it could not be discerned whether he approved of any of them. I do not accuse honest *Saldenus* of not understanding *Cicero*'s Words, from whence we have what relates to *Clitomachus*: I make no question but he had understood them, if he had found them in the Original; but he met with them in a Place of Exile, where they had lost their natural Garb. He ought therefore to be excused if he mistook them. He saw them in a modern Book, whither they were arrived, after having traversed several sorts of Countries. They had suffered so much by Thieves, that there was nothing left them of their Patrimony. They had passed through so many Hands, that a small Blow at every Removal was enough to cost them their Lives. The same may be said of an infinite number of Passages, copied from the first modern Writer that comes in one's way. They are robbed, maimed, stigmatized, &c. Fugitives: It is therefore no wonder if their Condition be mistaken, and if the Qualities of their Birth cannot be discovered.

(141) Guilielmus Saldenus de libris, pag. 124.

(142) See above, Citat. (25), the Words of *Cicero*, wherein we learn that Fact.

[P] — *and*

Thoſe of Mr *Moreri* [P]. I have mentioned, elſewhere (*i*), a *Carneades*, one of *Epicurus*'s Friends, and who, in my Opinion, is the ſame with That voluptuous *Epicurean*, called *Corniades* in the Edition of *Plutarch* (*k*). There is no reaſon to ſuppoſe, that *Cicero*, ſpeaking of this Friend of *Epicurus*, meant That *Carneades* who was Author of the third Academy. See the Marginal Note (122), in the Remark [N]. I ſhall examine, upon another Occaſion (*l*), That Paſſage in *Diogenes Laërtius*, importing, that one of *Epicurus*'s Scholars changed Sides, and joined himſelf to *Carneades*; and I ſhall ſet down Mr *de la Monnoie*'s Thoughts thereupon.

(*i*) *In the Article* ARCESILAS, *Cuat.* (96).

(*k*) *In Remark* [I], *of the Article* EPICURUS, *towards the end.*

(*l*) *In Remark* [D], Ibid.

[P] ----- *and the Faults of* Moreri.] I. Nothing is more falſe than to affirm, that *Carneades ſucceeded Chryſippus*. This Fault was omitted in the ſecond *Holland* Edition. II. It is true, he applied himſelf more to moral than natural Philoſophy (143); but it is falſe *that he neglected every thing* elſe beſides Morality. Could he have maintained the *Epoche* ſo vigorouſly and eloquently as he did, if he had neglected Phyſic, Logic, Rhetoric, &c? III. Ought that earneſt Meditation, which made him forget to eat at Table, to be called a profound Sleepineſs? Can any one be more awake than in ſuch a Condition? IV. *Valerius Maximus* did not ſay, that *he purged his Brain with Hellebore ---- when he was to diſpute againſt* Zeno: *Moreri* ſhould have ſaid *againſt* Chryſippus. V. He did not poiſon himſelf, *upon hearing that* Antipater *had taken Poiſon*. We find the quite contrary in *Diogenes Laërtius*. That Hiſtorian relates, that (144) *Carneades* had a great Averſion to Death, often repeating theſe Words, *Nature, that has collected, will diſperſe likewiſe*, intimating, that ſhe ought to be left to herſelf, and not be prevented by ſelf-murder. When he was told, that his Adverſary, *Antipater* the *Stoic* (145), had poiſoned himſelf, he felt a Fit of Reſolution to brave Death. Give me too, ſaid he: and when they asked him what? Some good Wine, replyed he. By which it appears, that, if he had conceived ſome Ambition of imitating his Antagoniſt, it vaniſhed in a Moment. *Diogenes Laërtius* ridicules him for his Cowardice, and reproaches him for chooſing rather to languiſh under a Phthiſic, than releaſe himſelf by Death (146). Father *Labbe* ought to have known theſe Particulars, and not have affirmed, *that he poiſoned himſelf* (147). VI. If it is difficult to ſettle the Year, in which he died, it is not for the Reaſon *Moreri* gives, *viz.* becauſe *Diogenes Laërtius* allows him to have lived Eighty five Years, and *Cicero* ninety. This Difference does not make the thing difficult; for we are ignorant in what Year *Carneades* was born, which if we could diſcover, we ſhould have no more to do than to ſuppoſe him to die Five Years ſooner or later, according as *Cicero*'s Authority ſhould be rejected, or preferred to That of *Diogenes Laërtius*; by which means the Difficulty would not be very conſiderable. It is ſo however, but for other Reaſons, which you will find diſcuſſed in the two Authors named by Father *Labbe*. 'It is very difficult, ſays he, to determine in what 'Year this Philoſopher died; as the ſame Father 'Petavius has very well obſerved, in his Miſcellaneous Exercitations upon the Works of *Julian* the 'Apoſtate. *Jonſius*, in his Philoſophical Hiſtory '(148), very judiciouſly anſwers the Objections, 'which the ſaid Father had learnedly made againſt 'the vulgar Opinion, founded upon the Authority 'of *Apollodorus*, as he is cited by *Diogenes Laërtius* (149).' Mr *Moreri*, intending to make uſe of the firſt Lines in this Paſſage, did it with too little Attention, and thereby fell into a great Overſight. VII. It is not true, that *Apollodorus, quoted by the ſame* Diogenes, -- *affirms* -- *that there was an Eclipſe of the Moon at Carneades's* Death. *Diogenes* vents it only upon *ah Hear-ſay*, without quoting *Apollodorus*. He adds, that it looked as if the moſt beautiful of all the Stars, next to the Sun, ſympathized with *Carneades* (150). Others ſay, the Sun was darkened at the ſame time (151). VIII. The *Athenians* having pillaged *Oropus*, *Moreri* ſhould not have ſaid, that *they were the Cauſe of That Pillage*. It is a wrong Expreſſion in that Place. IX. It is falſe, to ſay, 'that *Carneades* was againſt following Probability; he owns a Man ought to ſquare his Actions by it (152). X. *Plutarch*'s Piece againſt *Colotes* ought not to have been quoted; for there is not one Word of *Carneades* in it. XI. But Father *Rapin* ought to have been quoted (153), whom *Moreri* has copied Word for Word, near a Page together.

(143) Diog. Laert. lib. iv, in Carneade init. n. 62.

(144) Id. ibid. n. 64.

(145) See Remark [F], Citat. (63).

(146) Diog. Laërt. ibid. n. 65.

(147) Labbe Chronolog. Franc. Tom. II, p. 395, ad Ann. Rom. 625.

(148) Pag. 289, &c.

(149) Labbe, ubi ſupra, p. 396.

(150) Συμπάθειαν, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις αἰνιττόμενον τῷ μεθ' ἥλιον κάλλιστα τῶν ἀστέρων. Ut comperti ſibi videri poſſit pulcherrimum poſt ſolem ſidus. *Diog. Laërt. lib.* iv, n. 64.

(151) Suidas, in Καρνεάδης.

(152) See the Remark [E], Citation (8).

(153) Rapin's *Compariſon of* Plato *and* Ariſtotle, *Part* IV, *cap.* I, *pag.* 369.

CARRANZA (Bartholomew), a Native of *Miranda* (*a*), in *Navarre*, was one of the moſt illuſtrious *Dominicans* in the XVIth Century. He ſignalized himſelf in the Council of *Trent*, *Ann.* 1546 [A], eſpecially whilſt the Matter of Reſidence was in agitation (*b*). He maintained, not only that Reſidence is of divine Right, but alſo that the contrary Opinion is a diabolical Doctrine (*c*). *Philip* of *Auſtria*, who had been his Pupil (*d*), took him with him (*e*), when he went into *England* to marry Queen *Mary*. He thought him very capable of refuting and exterminating the Proteſtant Faith, which had taken deep Root in that Country. He laboured very earneſtly in this Miſſion; he cauſed ſeveral Books to be burned, and a great many People to be baniſhed, and the Univerſity of *Oxford* to be reſtored. He was made the Queen's Confeſſor, and pleaſed *Philip* to that degree, that, by his means, he was preferred to the firſt See in *Spain*, (the Archbiſhopric of *Toledo*), *Ann.* 1557 (*f*). He aſſiſted at the Death of *Charles* V (*g*) [B], which,

(*a*) *From whence he was called* Bartholomew de Miranda.

(*b*) *Father* Paul, lib. II, pag. 207.

(*c*) Id. ibid. pag. 240.

(*d*) Vinc. Baron. Apol. Tom. II, lib. v. pag. 237.

(*e*) Nicol. Anton. Biblſ. Hiſt. Tom. I, pag. 147.

(*f*) Id ibid.

(*g*) Who died *September* 21, 1558.

[A] *He ſignalized himſelf in the Council of* Trent, Anno 1546.] *Moreri* is miſtaken ten Years, when he ſays, Carranza *ſpoke, before the Council, the firſt Sunday in Lent, in the Year* 1556, *That Oration which we ſtill have of his. Oration* is very improper; it ought to have been *Sermon*. *Nicolas Antonio*, who very expreſsly obſerves the Year, to have been 1546, makes uſe of the Word *Concio* (1). There was no Council in 1556.

(1) Nicol. Anton. Bibl. Hiſp. Tom. I, p. 148.

[B] *He aſſiſted at the Death of* Charles V.] No one can deny This. *Famianus Strada* owns, that *Bartholomew de Miranda*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, adminiſtred the Sacraments of the Church to that dying Emperor: 'Tolstano antiſtite procurante 'quæ Chriſtiano ritu luctanti animæ ſuppeditantur 'ſacramenta (2).' ----- *The Archbiſhop of* Toledo '*adminiſtring thoſe Aſſiſtances, which a departing 'Soul is ſupplied with after the Chriſtian manner*.' Father *Paul* knew nothing of this; if he had, he would have taken notice of it in that place, where he makes mention of *Conſtantius Pontius* and our *Carranza* (3). The Jeſuit *Palavicini*, who ſpares him in nothing, accuſes him for having attributed That to *Pontius*, which belonged to *Carranza*, *viz.* that *Pontius* attended the Emperor in his laſt Extremity. 'Illius (*Carranzæ*) loco Pontium ac'cepit Suavis hallucinatus: nam revera Carolo mo'ribundo adfuit Carranza, & pro dignitate quam 'obtinebat extrema Eccleſiæ officia illi præſtitit in 'vitæ exitu (4). ----- *He miſtakes* Pontius *for* Carranza: *for, in truth*, Carranza *aſſiſted* Charles '*in his laſt Moments, and, by Virtue of the Dig-*

(2) Strada de Bello Belg. lib. I. Dec. I. p. 35.

(3) Fra. Paoloſ. lib. v. pag. 399.

(4) Palavic. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. lib. xiv. cap. xi. ſub fin.

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which, as much as any thing else, occasioned People to say, that That Emperor died a Lutheran [C]; for, in 1559, *Carranza* was taken up for an Heretic by the Inquisition (*b*). After having defended himself in *Spain* till 1567, he was removed to *Rome*, where his Imprisonment continued very long. At last Sentence was given against him in 1576, importing, that, though they had no certain Proofs of his Heresy, yet, forasmuch as there were very great Presumptions against him, he must make a solemn Abjuration. Upon his Submission to this Order, he was removed into the Convent of the *Minerva* (*i*), where he died a little after (*k*), *viz.* the second of *May*, 1576, at Seventy two Years of Age. They tell us Wonders of

(*b*) Spond. ad Ann. 1559, n. 29.

(*i*) A convent of Domin. cans at *Rome*.

(*k*) Spond ibid. Nic. Ant. ubi supra.

' nity he had obtained, performed to him the last ' Offices of the Church, at his Death.' *Palavicini* therefore is a Witness that *Carranza* performed the last Offices of the Church to *Charles* V. *Nicolas Antonio* saith the same thing (5). I shall produce *Campana* as a fourth Witness, in the following Remark.

(5) Ubi supra.

[C] *Which - - - occasioned People to say, that the Emperor died a Lutheran.*] It is notoriously known, that *Carranza* lost his Archbishopric and his Liberty, as an Heretic; and that, after fifteen or sixteen Years Imprisonment, he was declared suspected of Heresy, and condemned, as such, to an Abjuration, and other Penalties (6). It is not very strange therefore, that several Catholics and Protestants should suspect, upon different Motives, that *Charles* V died not averse to the Sentiments of *Luther*, since he was willing to render up his Soul in the Hands of such an Archbishop. The *Spaniards* knew very well the bottom of these Presumptions; and, finding they cannot deny that *Carranza* assisted at the Death of that Emperor, they come off with saying, that *Charles* V sent for him to censure and reprove him. See how the Count *de la Roca* turns the matter: ' Don *Bartholomew de Carranza*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, was present at the ' Funeral of the immortal *Charles* V, at which all ' his Family assisted. This Prelate arrived a little ' before at St *Justus*, where the Emperor expected ' him with Impatience, having heard that his Residence in *England* had engaged him in some Heretical Opinions, which after that gave him abundance of Trouble: this generous and catholic Prince ' thought himself obliged to reprimand him (7).' This Author takes no notice, that the Emperor was prepared for Death by *Carranza*: but his Silence is of no weight, since Cardinal *Palavicini*, who gives the same reason for *Carranza*'s appearing at that Ceremony (8), that *John Antony de Vera* (9) gives, acknowledges, in express Terms, that this Archbishop afforded to the dying Prince all the Assistance, that the Church affords on such an Occasion, *Extrema Ecclesiæ officia illi præstitit in vitæ exitu* (10). *Spondanus*, perceiving the Artifice of the *Spanish* Historians, thought himself obliged to oppose the Testimony of *Campana* to That of *Sandoval*, Panegyrical Historiographer to *Charles* V. *Sandoval* owns that his Imperial Majesty saw *Carranza*, but denies, that he spoke to him, though he had a Desire to question him about some erroneous Opinions charged upon him. *Spondanus*, notwithstanding this Account from *Sandoval*, gives an entire Credit to *Campana*, who says, in *Philip the Second*'s Life, that *Charles* thanked *Carranza* for having assisted him on that necessary Occasion, confessed his Sins to him, received the Sacrament from him, and had several spiritual Discourses with him till his Death. ' Carolum gratias ei egisse de adventu ad ipsum in tali necessitate, & confessum ei esse sua peccata sacramentaliter, atque Eucharistiam de ejus manu sumpsisse, ac multa spiritualia colloquia cum eo habuisse usque ad transitum: ' quod & nos verum putamus, cum plures id asserant (11).' *Spondanus* verily believes all this, without any regard to *Sandoval*, who had not denied it, but for fear such a thing would have made *Charles* V pass for an Heretic: ' Sed Sandovalium ' qui nonnisi laudes *Caroli* prosequitur timuisse, ne ' si diceretur *Carolus* sacramentum in fine à Miranda, qui postea - - - - infamatus est de pravâ ' doctrinâ, suscepisse, & extrema verba cum eo habuisse, id in *Caroli* dedecus ac quoddam animæ ' periculum verteret (12).'

(6) Spondan. ad Ann. 1559. n. 29.

(7) History of *Charles* V. pag. 347.

(8) Causa cur Illic adesset ea fuit quod delato ad Carolum rumore sinistram opinionis quæ de corrupta Archiepiscopi mente spargebatur, ad se hominem accersiri jusserat, ut ipsum commoneret. *Palavic. ubi supra.*

(9) He is the same with the Count *de la Roca*.

(10) Palavic. ibid.

(11) Spondan. ad Ann. 1558, n. 9.

(12) Id. ibid.

FACTS concerning *Charles* the Fifth's Confessor.

We have observed, that Father *Paul* did not touch upon this Circumstance; but he has made himself amends in another place, and has not neglected the Occasion of making *Charles* V appear under the Character of a Prince suspected of Heresy: for, giving an Account of the cruel Executions in *Spain*, he observes, ' that *Constantius Pontius*, who died ' some Days before in the Prison of the Inquisition, and who had been *Charles the Fifth*'s Confessor in his Solitude, and received his last Groans, ' was burned in Effigy (13).' He was imprisoned immediately upon That Prince's Death (14). ' This ' last Execution, *adds he*, tho' done on an Image, ' appeared more terrible than any of the rest; every ' one concluding there was no Connivance or Pity ' to be expected from a Prince, who did not so ' much as spare a Person, whose Disgrace would ' be a Blemish to his own Father's Memory (15).' *Mezerai* carries the Reflexion farther; for, after having related how *Philip* caused several Lutherans to be burned, ' nay the very Effigies of *Constantius Pontius* Confessor to *Charles* V, and who ' administred to him at the Point of Death; *he adds*, ' that it was no wonder he could, without scruple, ' blast his Father's Memory, since, as some say, he ' had a mind to have him indicted after his Death, ' and his Bones burnt, for being an Heretic, nothing restraining him but this Consideration, that, ' if his Father died an Heretic, he had solicited ' his Estates, and consequently had no Right of re- ' signing them to his Son (16).' In this Account are several Particulars: I. That *Pontius* was Confessor to *Charles* V. II. That he performed the Functions of That Office in the Agonies and dying Gasps of That Emperor. III. That he was burnt in Effigy. IV. That This reflected upon *Charles*'s Memory. And, V. That *Philip* would have got his late Father condemned to be burnt for Heresy, but for some weighty political Reasons, that restrained him. *Mezerai* relates this last Circumstance as being the Opinion of some People; but others affirm it without any Restriction (17). We shall see hereafter (18) upon what Authority *Brantome* reports it. I believe this for certain, that it is a matter very uncertain. The first and second Points are denied by the *Spanish* Writers (19). They own, that *Pontius* (20) was Preacher to *Charles* V, but deny his being his Confessor, and maintain, that he was in the Prison of the Inquisition before the Death of That Prince. See what the Count *de la Roca* says: ' When the Inquisition arrested ' *Constantine*, at *Seville*, *Charles* was heard to say, ' *If* Constantine *be a Heretic, he is a very great* ' *one* (21).' That Prince's last Confessor was called *Francis Villalva* (22). The third Point is most true. And, as for the fourth, it may be said, that the Conviction of *Constantius Pontius* gave ground for some Suspicions relating to *Charles* V. We ought not to forget, that it does not appear that *Carranza* had any Share in the Spiritual Direction of That Emperor; and, if he administred to him the Sacraments of the Church upon his Deathbed, it was, say some, because the Monastery of *St Justus* was in his Diocese. He went to the Convent, as soon as he heard the Emperor was ill, and arrived there the Day before his Imperial Majesty's Decease. ' Placidissimè expiravit (*Carolus*) præsente ' Bartholomæo Carranza à Miranda Archiepiscopo ' Toletano, Ordinis Dominicani, loci Ordinario, ' qui audita ejus infirmitate accurrerat, & pridie ' obitus advenerat, summa ejus, ut quidem scribunt, consolatione (23). - - - - - - - Charles *expired very calmly in the Presence of* Bartholomew Carranza *of* Miranda, *Archbishop of* Toledo, ' *a Dominican, and Ordinary of the Place, who, hearing of his Sickness, hastened to him, and arrived* ' *the Day before his Death, to the great Consola-*

(13) Father *Paul*, lib. v. pag. 399.

(14) Nella quale (pregione) per imputatione d'heresia fu posto immediate dopo la morte dell' Imperatore. *Mr* Amelot de la Houssaye *has not rendered this.*

(15) Mr *Amelot de la Houssaye has put here this marginal Note.* Nothing hindered him from proceeding against his Father, as against an Heretic, but the fear he had, that, if his Father had been such, the Resignation of his Dominions had been void upon that account.

(16) Mezerai, Abr. Chronol. ad Ann. 1559. Tom. V, pag. 90

(17) *Amelot de la Houssaye.* His Words are quoted above, in Citation (15).

(18) *In Remark* [8], *of the Article* CHARLES V.

(19) *See Cardinal* Palavicini's History of the Council of *Trent*, lib. xiv. cap. xii n. 3.

(20) I call him so, according to the common Error; but I have sufficiently declared, in the Article PONTIUS, that he was not so called.

(21) *Count de la* Roca's History of *Charles* V, pag. 335.

(22) Palavic. ibid. ex Joanne Antonio Vera, & Sandovallio.

(23) Spondan. ad Ann. 1558, n. 9.

of his Patience [*D*]. His chief Books are *Summa Conciliorum*, and a *Spanish* Catechism in *Folio*, which has been put in the Index [*E*].

You will find an ample Account of the Merit and Adventures of *Carranza* in Mr *Varillas*'s Preface to the fifth Tome of his History of Heresy. See likewise the Twenty third Book of the same History. He has not forgot to observe, that the General of the Jesuits favoured *Carranza*. An Apologist of the *Dominicans* (*l*) made use of this in answer to a Jesuit, who had a mind to call this great Prelate's Faith in Question. Gratitude obliged the General of That Society to defend *Carranza* in this Conjuncture; for it was he who gave the Jesuits leave to settle in *Toledo*, which his Predecessor had vigorously opposed (*m*).

(*l*) Vincent Baron. Apolog. Tom. I. pag. 64.

(*m*) Id. ibid.

'*tion of the Emperor as some write.*' We shall speak more fully of this Part of *Charles*'s History under his own Article, in the Remark [*D*]; where we shall observe some Faults of the Abbot *de St Real*.

[*D*] *They tell us Wonders of his Patience.*] One of the greatest Instances, that can be given of it, is, that, though he knew himself innocent, he did not in the least blame his Judges. '*Perceiving* 'himself near Death, upon St *Athanasius*'s Day, 'who was the greatest Prelate, and the most per-'secuted of any the Church had in his time, in pre-'sence of the holy Sacrament, which was brought 'him for his Viaticum, and of all the Religious 'in the Convent of the *Minerva*, at *Rome*, where 'he died (24), he said, with Tears in his Eyes, '*That by the glorious* LORD *he was going to re-'ceive, and before whom, in a few Hours, he must 'give up his Account, he had never mortally of-'fended him in matters of Faith; that, notwith-'standing, he esteemed it a just Sentence that was 'pronounced upon him, in consequence of what had 'been alledged and proved against him*; an Action 'that acquired him so high an Esteem of Innocence, that, when he was interred, though it was upon a Working-day, all the Shops were 'shut up as close as if it had been *Easter*. The 'People had as great a Veneration for his Corps, 'as they could have had for That of a Saint (25).' It is an edifying thing, that the People made it appear they did Justice on this Occasion to oppressed Innocence. The People are not always blind (26); though here they did their Duty but by halves: they ought at the same time to have expressed their Indignation against That unjust Tribunal, which had been so long persecuting an innocent Man; and, at least, they should have made it appear, that they wished his wicked Judges might be stigmatized with some Mark of Infamy: For how insupportable is it to see a learned Prelate, against whom no Proof was produced, not able to get out of his Informers Clutches, 'till he had suffered a long and painful Captivity, and then to be discharged with a Brand, designed only to save the Honour of his execrable Persecutors? In order to hide the Injustice they had done *Carranza*, they were obliged to declare, that there were strong Presumptions against him; without which they had stood too much exposed to the Complaints and Indignation of the People. This is the Point, wherein the Public was imposed upon, and at which the People should have been offended. But this is to require too many things at one time from the Multitude. It is the part of wise Men to behold this double Iniquity, and humbly to adore the divine Providence, which suffers the Tribunal of the Inquisition, a real Abomination introduced into the Holy Places, not only to reign and triumph thus long in so many Christian Countries, but also to enlarge it's Phylacteries, and spread it's Roots every way.

(24) *These Words therefore, in* Thuanus, lib. lxxxiv, pag. 76, *cannot be true?* Tædio carceris miser Carranca, cum nihil contra ipsum probaretur, tandem extinctus est. — *The unhappy* Carranca, *when nothing could be proved against him, at length died through the tediousness of his Imprisonment.*

(25) *The Count de la Roca's History of Charles V, pag.* 348.

(26) Interdum vulgus rectum videt, est ubi peccat. *Horat. Epist.* I, *lib.* ii, *ver.* 63.

[*E*] *He wrote a* Spanish *Catechism* — — — *which has been put in the Index.*] *Nicolas Antonio* says this was the Cause of *Carranza*'s Persecutions. 'Qui 'liber Autori suo infortunii tota causa fuisse dicitur: 'quare prohibitus est in Romano Indice (27).' You may find, in Father *Paul*, what a Clamour the Bishop of *Lerida* made against the Congregation of the *Index* for having approved this Book. The Bishop of *Lerida* inveighed against the Sentence of the Congregation, and related *several Places in the Book, which, taken in the Sense he gave them, seemed worthy of Censure; and, what is worse, taxed the Conscience of the Prelates* of That Congregation. Hereupon the Chief complained to the Legates. The Dispute was concluded, upon some Excuses made by the Bishop of *Lerida*, and on Condition that no Copies should be given of the Attestation, that had been remitted to *Carranza*'s Agent. The Count *de Luna*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, recovered the Attestation out of the Agent's Hands (28).

(27) Nic. Antonio Bibl. Hisp. Tom. I, pag. 148.

(28) *Father* Paul, lib viii, ad Ann. 1563, pag. 724.

CARTEROMACHUS (SCIPIO), Native of *Pistoia* in *Tuscany*, was a learned Man in the XVIth Century. He understood very well both *Latin* and *Greek* [*A*], and was very happy in his Explications of the difficult Passages of the ancient Authors. He was very much respected at *Venice*, from whence he had never parted, but for the Confusions of the War, which threatened to interrupt his Studies. He retired to *Rome*, where he found a favourable Protection in Cardinal *Francis Alidosi*'s Family. He followed him to *Ravenna*, whence, when that Cardinal had lost his Life, he returned to *Rome*. He was placed, by Pope *Leo* X, with *Julius de Medicis*, in quality of a learned Man, and had undoubtedly raised himself

[*A*] *He understood very well both* Latin *and* Greek.] This appears by his Writings: 'Quâ litteraturâ fuerit, sive carmen Græcè sive Latinè pangeret, sive orationem elucubraret, ex multis 'ejus scriptis unicuique erudito viro licet inspicere (1). — *His Writings will satisfy any learned 'Man of his Abilities in* Greek *or* Latin *Poetry, 'or Prose.*' *Alcyonius* ascribes to him a profound Knowledge in the *Greek* Language. 'Cui, *says he* (2), tametsi Latinus est, attamen vel Græci ipsi 'in suæ linguæ cognitione & subtilitate primas deferunt. — *Whom, though an* Italian, *the* Greeks *themselves allow to excel in the Knowledge and 'Accuracy of their Tongue.*' Some Pages after, see how he makes *Julius de Medicis* speak to his Cousin *John* Cardinal *de Medicis*, afterwards Pope *Leo* X. 'Multos græcâ litteraturâ ingnes viros domi habes, 'ad quorum æmulationem non desistis cum omni 'genere exercitationis, tum maxime stilo, augere 'partam eloquentiam: atque inter hos maxime 'eminet Scipio Carteromachus, quem honorificentissime pro tua natura liberalissimèque tractas, cum 'præsertim videas illum quamquam Latinum Græce 'sic loqui & scribere, ut solus post veterum Græcorum Platonis, Socratis, Demosthenis, & Strabonis interitum, orbæ eloquentiæ tutor relictus videatur (3). — *You have with you many Men 'famous for* Greek *Learning, in Emulation of whom, 'you continue to improve the Eloquence you have 'acquired, in every kind of Exercise, particularly in 'Stile: among these the most eminent is* Scipio Carteromachus, *whom you treat with that great 'Respect and Liberality, which is natural to you, 'being sensible, that, though he is an* Italian, *yet 'he speaks and writes in the* Greek *Language so 'well, that, since the Death of the ancient* Greeks, Plato, Socrates, Demosthenes, *and* Strabo, *he seems 'to be left as the only Support and Guardian of 'Orphan Eloquence.*'

(1) Pier. Valerian. de Literat. Infel. lib. ii, pag. 72.

(2) Petrus Alcyonius, in Medice Legato pœniteriore, fol. g. iij. verso.

(3) Id. ibid. sub fine, *Observe, that this Dialogue of* Alcyonius *relates to the time of* John de Medicis's *Embassy about the Year* 1512.

self to some honourable and advantageous Post, if Death had not anticipated his Master's Friendship (a). I shall quote one Author, who says that he lived with Cardinal *John de Medicis*, in 1512 (b): this Cardinal was afterwards Pope *Leo* X. I shall cite another Author, to shew, that *Carteromachus* was free from Ostentation, and that he died at about the Age of Forty three Years [B].

(a) *Taken from* Pietius Valerianus de Literatorum Infelicitate, lib. ii, p. 72, 73.

(b) *See Remark* [A], *Cites.* (3).

[B] Carteromachus *was far from Ostentation, and died at about the Age of Forty three Years.*] He must be provoked, and spurred, before he would discover himself in his Discourse to be a Man of Learning. What a fine Commendation! and how few learned Men deserve it! He, who has given it to *Carteromachus*, ought to be believed; he speaks of a Man that was dead, and to whom he was personally known. 'Bononiæ primum videre contigit 'Scipionem Carteromachum, reconditæ & absolutæ 'eruditionis hominem, sed usque adeo alienum ab 'ostentatione, ut ni provocâsses, jurâsses esse litera-'rum ignarum. Cum eo post Romæ fuit mihi 'propior familiaritas. Et decessit haud multo major 'annis quadraginta duobus (4). —— *I chanced to* 'meet with Scipio Carteromachus *first at* Bononia, 'a compleat Scholar, *but so far from Ostentation*, 'that, unless you provoked him to discover his 'Knowledge, you would swear he was illiterate. 'was more intimately acquainted with him afterwards 'at Rome: *and he died not much above Forty two* 'Years of Age.' The Letter, out of which I take these Words, is dated the first of *March* 1524.

(4) Erasm. Ep. v, lib. xxiii, pag. 1209. *He had said, in his* Ciceronianus, Scipionem Carteromachum agnosco rerum citra ostentationem in utraque literatura doctum.

CARTHAGENA (John), was first a Jesuit, and after that a *Franciscan*. He was a *Spaniard* by Nation, and Professor at *Salamanca*; but removed from thence to *Rome*, where he taught Divinity with Applause, under the Pontificate of *Paul* V. He died at *Naples*, in 1617 (a). No Man was ever more devoted to the Interest of the Court of *Rome* than *Carthagena*, or stood up more peremptorily for the Papal Rights. This appears by his Works published upon the Quarrels between *Paul* V, and the Republic of *Venice* [A]. The *French* have found Arguments in these Works, wherewith to defend themselves against the malicious Complaints of the *Spaniards* [B]. *Carthagena* made likewise some extravagant Suppositions concerning God's Favours to some Saints [C]. The Reader will find, in the last Remark, a Specimen of his Genius.

(a) *See* Nicolas Antonio, Bibliothec. Hispan. Tom. I, p. 512, 513.

[A] *The Works he published upon the Quarrels between* Paul V, *and the Republic of* Venice.] These are the Titles: *Pro Ecclesiastică libertate, & potestate tuenda adversus injustas Venetorum leges*; printed at *Rome* 1607, in Quarto. *Propugnaculum Catholicum de jure belli Romani Pontificis adversus Ecclesiæ jura violantes. Rome* 1609, in Octavo.

[B] *The* French *found Arguments in them, wherewith to defend themselves against the malicious Complaints of the* Spaniards.] They were continually complaining of the Alliances *France* concluded with the Protestant Powers. They used Exaggerations and Hyperboles, to cry down particularly the League, which was formed in favour of the Elector *Palatine*, and of which, said they, the King of *England* is the Head: whereupon they vented their Spleen against that Monarch to such a Degree, that they *were within an Hair's breadth of displaying all that infamous Satire, they had formerly printed against him under the Name of the* Corona Regia (1). To this, among other things, Father *Carthagena* was objected (2), who, *in* Rome, *a* Spanish *Monk, writing to the Pope, for the Pope, and by his Order, takes up a whole Chapter to prove* *. 'That the 'Pope might, with a safe Conscience, when he 'thought it proper, make use of infidel Soldiers, 'to assist him against all those who were for violating the Liberties of the Church.' The same Monk was produced (3) wielding *another Book* (4), *expressly to prove that it is lawful to war with Catholics, if the case requires it; and concluding thus*, 'That it does not belong to a Subject to enquire 'whether the Causes of a War be just.' They quoted (5) another Maxim of the same Monk. 'All Eccle-'siastics are obliged by the divine and natural Right 'to maim and kill their Enemies in defence of the 'Republic, without being guilty of any Irregularity; and may enter upon and enjoy the Estates of 'Enemies, with as much Reason as any secular 'Soldier whatever.' The *Spanish* Writers on one side with their Complaints against the Leagues of *France*, and the *French* on the other with their Apologies, thought little of what was to come, and that, before an Age was at an end, Proofs would be changed into Objections on both hands. They may now say, both of them,

Mutemus clypeos, Danaumque insignia nobis
Aptemus (6).

Then change we shields, and their Devices bear.
Dryden.

(1) Ferrier, Catholique d'Etat, pag. 151, *In the Collection of Historical Pieces, published Ann.* 1643.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 238.

* Propugnac. Catholic de jure belli Romani Pontificis, lib. iii, cap. i.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 95.

(4) Propugnac. Cathol.

(5) Ferrier, ibid. pag. 87.

(6) Virg. Æn. lib. ii, ver. 389.

Whilst a disinterested Spectator makes this Reflexion.

Nescia Mens hominum fati sortisque futuræ (7).

O thoughtless Men, and to the future blind!

(7) Id. ibid. lib. x, ver. 501.

[C] *He made some extravagant Suppositions concerning* GOD's *Favour to some Saints.*] He pretended, that St *Joseph*, and some others, were sanctified before they were born. *Claudius Dausqueius*, or *Dausquius*, Canon of *Tournay*, wrote against this Fancy, and says, among other things, that *Carthagena* wrested the holy Scriptures with too much Presumption. 'Palam in oculis Ecclesiæ Romanæ præ-'cipiti temeritate in sacras literas involavit, easque 'obtorto collo in affectatæ novitatis patrocinium 'interpretando contra Concilii Tridentini edicta de-'pravavit (8). —— *He openly, in the face of the* 'Romish *Church, and with a precipitate Rashness, laid his hands on the sacred Writings, and, interpreting them contrary to the Edicts of the Council* 'of Trent, *wrested and forced them to patronise the* 'novel Opinions *he affected to advance.*' A *Flemish Franciscan* took Fire at this; and writ a Book against the Canon; who replied, and did not shew more Moderation than his Adversary. This Doctrine of *Carthagena*'s is to be found in his *Homiliæ sacræ cum Catholicæ tum Moralis de Religionis Christianæ arcanis.* According to *Dausquius*'s Account of this Work, it consists of nothing but a parcel of high-flown insignificant Words (9); 'Ista incuriosa curio-'sitate victus Carthagena volumina ista quibus orbis 'cymbalum audire meruit (an etiam voluit) inscribit 'de Religionis Christianæ Arcanis. Quia scilicet ar-'tano quodcunque Moses volumine clausit, & de arca-'nis Catholicæ veritatis quæcunque Galatinus com-'pilavit, veritate, diligentia, immanitate superavit 'Cartagena (10). —— Carthagena, *subdued by That* 'incurious Curiosity, *entituled those Volumes, by* 'which he deserved, *(or even was willing) to be* 'called The World's Drum, De Religionis Chri-'stianæ Arcanis, —— Of the Mysteries of the Chri-'stian Religion. *For* Carthagena *surpassed, in outrageous extravagancy, whatever* Moses *comprehended in the secret Volume, and whatever* Galatinus 'compiled, *with Truth and Diligence, concerning the* 'Mysteries of the Catholic Truth. There is one Book in these Volumes, called *Arcana Deiparæ, ac Josephi Mysteria*; in which the Author vents a very scurvy piece of Impertinence (11); which is, that St *Joseph* may be reckoned among the Martyrs, because the Jealousy, which tore his Heart, upon seeing

(8) *See* Dausquius, Sancti Josephi Sanctificatio extra uterum, pag. 82.

(9) In illa voluminum Carthaginensis impudentia verborissima (cui loquacitate cedit unicus Scriptor ab omni ævo) censores, &c. *Ibid.* pag. 109.

(10) Ibid. pag. 116.

(11) Dausquius, ibid. pag. 119, *calls it* Blasphemia propudiosa.

seeing his Wife grow every Day bigger, could not but give him insupportable torment. 'Cum ergo 'B. Josephus immani zelotypiæ dolore angeretur, 'neque levamen hoc, quod ei adsumere licebat, 'quæritaret, Evangelista dicente, cum esset justus, 'noluit eam traducere, consequens est cor ejus gra-'vissimo doloris vulnere fuisse exulceratum. —— 'Profecto hujusmodi perplexitas, & plusquam civile 'bellum inter sensum & rationem, non poterat non 'immaniter viscera Josephi disrumpere, & excarnifi-'care ------ cogitatio illa non potuit non esse 'illi grave martyrii genus (12).' He confirms his Thought by the Authority of *Solomon*: 'Cum ze-'lotypicus amor sit, ut ait Salomon, dura sicut in-'fernus æmulatio, non poterat non vehementer, & 'absque ulla interruptione Josephi cor transversari, 'sicut & infernus summopere torquet, & nec per 'momentum excruciare cessat (13). —— *Since Jea-lousy, according to* Solomon, *is painful as Hell, the Heart of* Joseph *must, of necessity, have been vehe-mently, and without interruption, pierced through; as Hell greatly afflicts, and never ceases to torment.*' How are the Mysteries of our holy Religion exposed to the Railleries of profane Men, when some dare create such sort of Martyrs! The Canon of *Tournay* was in the right, when he thought these Whimsies were no better than Blasphemies. *Sensus virgineum uterum intumescentem videns adulteram judicabat;* —— *Seeing the Virgin's Belly to swell, he judged that she was an Adultress*; these are *Carthaginel's* Words, and here is the Answer of the Canon (14): 'Josephus Chrysostomi testificatione cavebat vel mi-'nimam Virgini afferre molestiam, & tu dicis *Jose-phum eam adulterum judicasse.* Impie! Ac si di-'cat, *Manifestaque crimina plenus fert utero.* —— 'Joseph, *according to the Testimony of St* Chrysostom, *was careful not in the least to molest the Virgin; yet you say, that* Joseph thought her an Adultress. 'Impious! *As if he should say*; Her swelling Womb 'too plain the Crime betrays.

(12) Tom II. J. iv. Homil. iii, pag. 123, n. cæterum apud Dan-quium, ibid.

(13) Apud Dan-quium, pag. 122.

(14) Id. ibid. pag. 124.

A Professor of *Louvain* was not the better for the judicious Reflexions of the Canon of *Tournay*. 'One 'Day he ran into an excess of Impiety and Impu-'dence; for, explaining the Trouble that St *Joseph* 'was in, and designing to give an account of the 'Reason why he thought of leaving the Holy Vir-'gin, he said it was because that great Saint was 'afraid of being looked upon as a *C------timebat 'vocari C*----Modesty does not allow me to say, 'what he was not ashamed to utter in a full Au-'ditory.' This I find Word for Word in a Book printed at *Cologn* in 1685, and intituled, *The Histo-ry of the Intrusion of the Sieur* du Bois *into his Pro-fessorship to explain the Holy Scriptures, in the Uni-versity of* Louvain, *and of the manner how he dis-charges that Employment; with some Reflexions on the Reasons of his Reputation and Credit.*

CASSANDRA, Daughter of *Priamus* and *Hecuba*, was tempted by *Apollo*, and deceived him. He promised her the Gift of Prophecy, provided she would give him her Maiden-head [*A*]. She made a show of agreeing to the Bargain; but, when she had obtained her Ends, she disappointed the Seducer, and broke her Word. *Apollo* did not revenge himself in recalling what he had given her, but in making her find no Credit, whatever she undertook to foretel (*a*). She was looked on as a Fool, before her Predictions were fulfilled; and allowed to be a wise Woman only after their Accomplishment (*b*). *Servius* relates after what manner they were rendered useless [*B*]. Others give another account of it [*C*]. However it

(*a*) Apollodor. lib. iii, pag. 227.

(*b*) Plut de Præc. Reipubl. p. 812.

[*A*] Apollo *promised her the Gift of Prophecy, provided she would give him her Maiden-head.*] I have observed often before, that nothing can be worse concerted than the System of the ancient Hea-thens. We have a Proof of it before us: It was a received Doctrine among them, that the Priestess of *Apollo* at *Delphos* was to be a Virgin; otherwise she was incapable of being inspired (1). It could not be therefore supposed, after this, that *Apollo* would offer a Virgin the Gift of Prophecy, provided she would give up her Maiden-head. Some observe from hence the Artifices of the Devil, and his pro-found Malice (2); but this is to suppose it a true History, when it is no more than a Poetical Fiction. The Author, I am now speaking of, has committed another Fault. He supposes, that the Sybil of *Cumæ* was tempted by *Apollo* in the same manner with *Cassandra*; for a Confirmation of which (3) he quotes some Verses of *Ovid* (4), which mention no Promise of Prophecy. To find an exact Conformity between these two Temptations, it must be said, that *Apollo* made an Offer in general to *Cassandra* of whatever she thought fit to demand; for so he did to the Sybil (5). A modern Author supposes, that, in effect, the Promises to *Cassandra* were confined to nothing, and that she made choice of Prophecy (6): but the Authority of *Apollodorus* and *Servius* allow not of this Supposition. These two Authors say, the one that *Apollo* promised *Cassandra* to make her a Propheteſs (7); the other, that he promised her nothing; but, that *Cassandra*, having demand-ed the Gift of Prophecy as the Price of her Maiden-head, was taken at her word (8). The Sybil, be-ing left to her own choice, to ask all the advantages she would, demanded a long Life; and, forgetting to add a perpetual Youth, she might have ob-tained that likewise for the Loss of her Maiden-head.

(1) *See* Petit de Sibyllis, p. 114.

(2) Id. pag. 121.

(3) Ibid. pag. 122.

(4) Ex lib. xiv, Metamorph. Ovidii.

(5) Eligo, ait, virgo Cumæa, quid op-tes, optatis potiere tuis. —— *He said, Name all your Wish, my fair* Cumæan *Maid.* Dr Garth, Ovid. Metam. lib. xiv, ver. 140.

(6) Vigenere, *in the Argument to* Philostratus's Cassandra, Tom. I, p. 660. *printed in Quarto, and* Tom. II, pag. 77.

(7) Apollodor. lib. iii, pag. 227.

(8) Servius in Æn. lib. ii, ver. 247.

(9) Ovid. lib. xiv, ver. 144.

Excidit ut peterem juvenes quoque protinus annos;

Hos tamen ille mihi dabat, æternamque juventam

Si venerem paterer (9).

Unmindful of the sad Effects of Time,
Thoughtless, I bargain'd not for youthful Prime:
The amorous God woo'd have bestow'd even This,
Nor thought too dear a Purchase for the Bliss.

But she considered it would be too dear a Purchase: she valued her Honour therefore at a high rate.

[*B*] Servius *relates after what manner the Pre-dictions of* Cassandra *were rendered useless.*] It was effected by *Apollo*'s Spittle; the Operation of which was so effectual, that *Cassandra*'s words met with no belief. He was angry to see the Lady deny her Promise, but concealed his Resentment, and begged at least the Favour of a Kiss from her: His Request was granted; upon which he spit upon her Mouth, and thereby rendered the Talent he had given her of no use to her. 'Apollo, cum amasset Cassan-'dram, petit ab ea ejus concubitus copiam: illa hac 'conditione promisit, si sibi ab eo futurorum scien-'tia præstaretur: quam cum Apollo tribuisset, ab 'illa promissus coitus denegatus est; sed Apollo, dis-'simulata paulisper ira, petiit ab ea, ut sibi osculum 'saltem præstaret, quod cum illa fecisset, Apollo os 'ejus inspuit; & quia eripere Deo semel tributum 'munus non conveniebat, effecit ut illa quidem 'vera vaticinaretur, sed fides non haberetur (10). This is *Servius*'s Account in his Comment upon these words of *Virgil*:

(10) Servius in Æn. lib. ii, vers. 247.

Tunc etiam fatis aperit Cassandra futuris
Ora, dei jussu non unquam credita Teucris (11).

(11) Virgil. Æn. lib. ii, ver. 246.

Cassandra - - - - - -
Foretold our Fate; but, by the God's decree,
All heard, but none believ'd the Prophecy.
Dryden.

[*C*] *Others give another account of it.*] Which is, that *Helenus* and *Cassandra*, being Twins, were car-ried in their Infancy to the Temple of *Apollo*, where they were left a whole Night, either through For-getfulness, or out of Custom. The next Morning two Serpents were found twisted round their Bo-dies,

it be, when *Troy* fell into the Hands of the *Grecians*, this Propheteſs fled into the Temple of *Minerva*, which ſecured her Life, but not her Honour [*D*]. *Ajax*, the Son of *Oïleus*, raviſhed her in the middle of the Temple. We have obſerved, elſewhere (*c*), how *Minerva* reſented this Injury, and will obſerve, in this Place, ſome things relating to the Puniſhment that followed this obſcene Impiety [*E*]. It is remarkable, that the Puniſhment was inflicted on the Sex that received the Injury,

(*c*) *In the Remarks* [*B*] *and* [*C*] *of the Article* AJAX, *the Son of* Oïleus.

dies, and licking their Ears, by which both of them were endowed with the Gift of Prophecy (12). This puts me in mind of *Melampus*'s Adventure: One Day, whilſt he was ſleeping, two Serpents came, and licked his Ears: when he awaked, he was ſurprized to find he underſtood the Language of Birds, by which means he was able to foretel a great many things (13).

(12) Tzetzes in Lycophron Euſtathius in Iliad. 6. Scholiaſtes Euripidis in Hecub. apud Meziriac. in Epiſt. Ovid. pag. 479.

(13) Apollodorus, lib. ii. Scholiaſtes Homeri in Odyſſ. xi. Scholiaſtes Apollonii in lib. I, apud Meziriac, ibid. pag. 480.

[*D*] *She fled into the Temple of* Minerva, *which ſecured her Life, but not her Honour.*] *Virgil* thought not fit to affirm that ſhe was raviſhed (14); he contents himſelf with repreſenting the condition ſhe was in when dragged out of the Temple.

(14) Bene diſſimulavit de ſtupro Caſſandræ. *Servius, ibid. ver.* 403.

Ecce trahebatur paſſis Priameïa virgo
Crinibus à templo Caſſandra adytiſque Minervæ,
Ad cœlum tendens ardentia lumina fruſtra;
Lumina, nam teneras arcebant vincula palmas.

Behold the Royal Propheteſs, the Fair
Caſſandra, *dragg'd by her diſhevell'd Hair;*
Whom not Minerva's *Shrine, nor ſacred Bands,*
In ſafety cou'd protect from ſacrilegious hands.
On Heav'n ſhe caſt her Eyes, ſhe ſigh'd, ſhe cry'd,
(Twas all ſhe cou'd); her *tender Arms were ty'd.*
DRYDEN.

Quintus Calaber is not ſo reſerved; he tells us plainly, that *Ajax*, Son of *Oïleus*, raviſhed her in the very Temple of *Minerva* (15). This is the general Tradition (16); to which many public Monuments, in ſeveral Cities of *Greece*, ſerved for Witneſſes (17). See the Article of This AJAX. Some ſay, *Caſſandra* was *Minerva*'s Prieſteſs (18); others, that ſhe was *Apollo*'s (19); yet, if we will believe *Virgil*, ſhe had been betrothed to *Chorœbus*.

(15) Q. Calab. lib. xiii, v. 421.

(16) *See* Servius, in Æn. I, ver. 41.

(17) Pauſanias, lib. I, pag. 14. lib. 5, pag. 367. lib. x, pag. 343.

(18) Servius in Æn. ii, v. 404.

(19) Tractata comis antiſtita Phœbi
Non profecturas tendebat ad æthera palmas.
Caſſandra *liſts her Hands to Heav'n in vain, Dragg'd by her ſacred Hair.*
TEMPLE STANYAN.
Ovid. Metam. lib. xiii, v. 409. *See* Euripides in Troadibus, ver. 253.

——— Juveniſque Corœbus,
Mygdonides. Illis ad Trojam ſortè diebus
Venerat, inſano Caſſandræ incenſus amore,
Et *Gener* auxilium Priamo Phrygibuſque ferebat,
Infelix qui non *ſponſæ* præcepta furentis
Audierit (20).

——— young Corœbus, *who by Love was led*
To win renown, and fair Caſſandra's *Bed:*
And lately brought his Troops to Priam's *Aid:*
Forewarn'd in vain by the Prophetic Maid.
DRYDEN.

(20) Virg. Æn. lib. ii, ver. 342.

Homer makes mention of a Prince, who came to demand *Caſſandra* in Marriage, and promiſed upon that condition to raiſe the Siege of *Troy*, demanding no Fortune, he being contented with *Caſſandra*'s Beauty.

Ἕκτα δὲ Πηλείωνα δυσαρήων ἐλάσειεν
Κασσάνδρην ἀνάδνον. ὑπόσχεσις δὲ μέγα ἔργον
Ἐκ τεύχεα δάκοιμι δαιζόμενόν περ Ἀχαιῶν (21).

(21) Hom. Iliad. lib. xiii, ver. 365.

Caſſandra's *Love he fought, with Boaſts of Pow'r,*
And promis'd Conqueſt was the proffer'd Dow'r.
POPE.

Whereupon *Priam* conſented to the Match. *Homer* calls this *Priam*'s Son-in-law, that was to be, *Otbryoneus*, and makes him die in a Combat. *Virgil* likewiſe makes *Corœbus* to be ſlain the Night *Troy* was taken. *Pauſanias* makes mention of this *Corœbus*, as of one, who was to marry *Caſſandra* (22).

(22) Pauſan. lib. x, pag. 344.

[*E*] *We ſhall obſerve* ——— *ſome things relating to the Puniſhment that followed this obſcene Impiety.*] *Plutarch* obſerves, that it was not long before his time, that the *Locrians* had left off ſending Maids to *Troy*, to expiate that lewd Action of *Ajax* (23). There did theſe Wretches ſpend their Lives in ſweeping the Temple of *Minerva*. Here is a Repreſentation of their Employment, and their Equipage, according to *Amiot*'s Tranſlation.

(23) Plut. de ſera numin. vindicta, pag. 557.

Où les pieds nuds, ſans aucune veſture,
Sans voile aucun, ni honneſte coiffure,
Ne plus ne moins qu' eſclaves, tout le jour
Des le matin elles ſont ſans ſejour
A ballier de Pallas la Déeſſe
Le temple faint juſques en leur vieilleſſe.

Where when the tributary Virgins come,
They attend the daily Drudgery of the Dome.
A Load of Sorrow in their Looks they wear,
Naked their Feet, diſhevell'd is their Hair;
Nor dare they, but by Night, to th' awful Shrine repair.
From Youth to Age, in ſad Reſtraint they live,
'Till welcome Death bring them a late Reprieve.

To this let me add *Vigenere*'s Proſe, which will give us a more particular Account of the Puniſhment which *Ajax*'s Impiety drew upon the *Locrians*. "*Timæus* the *Sicilian*, and *Callimachus*, are more "particular in this matter, informing us, that, about "three Years after *Ajax*'s Death, the Plague broke "violently out upon his account over all *Locris*. "The People hereupon conſulted the Oracle, which "told them, that, for a thouſand Years following, "they were to appeaſe *Minerva* of *Troy*, and ſend her "every Year two Virgins, that were to be choſen "by Lot. Theſe poor Wretches were obliged to "go privately by night through the moſt ſecret un-"frequented ways they could find out, and in a Diſ-"guiſe, to throw themſelves, if poſſible, into the "Temple; where if they arrived in Safety, they "were detained to ſweep and waſh the Temple; "from whence they never dared depart, nor ap-"proach the holy Shrine but by night; being more-"over ſhaved, and cloathed in an ill favoured Robe, "and bare-legged: though very few of them were ſo "happy as this; for, as ſoon as the *Trojans* were ac-"quainted with their ſetting out from *Locris*, which "was uſually at certain Seaſons of the Year, they "lay in wait for them; and, if by chance they fell "into their hands, they were ſure to be murdered "by Stones or Swords without any mercy: which "done, they burned their Corps upon the place "with barren Wood, and threw the Aſhes from off "the top of Mount *Tracon* (24) into the Sea. So "ſeverely could the Gods of the Gentiles puniſh "thoſe, who offended them (25).

(24) It ſhould have been *Traſon*.

(25) Vigenere upon Philoſtratus's Ajax the Locrian. Tom. I. pag. 721.

Vigenere quotes *Timæus* the Hiſtorian, and *Callimachus* the Poet, as formally, as if the Pieces, in which they left us theſe Accounts, were ſtill extant; but this is to impoſe upon us: He had dealt more honeſtly and ingenuouſly, if he had quoted *Lycophron*'s Scholiaſt; for it is he who gives us this Relation, upon the Authority of thoſe two Authors. He obſerves (26), that *Periboea* and *Cleopatra* were the two firſt Maids that were ſent by the *Locrians*; and that, in time, the *Locrians* made ſome ſmall Variations in the Method of their Choice: at firſt they ſent two Virgins of full Age, afterwards Infants a Year old, with their Nurſes. If the *Trojans* murthered them before they could arrive at the Temple, the *Locrians* were obliged to proceed to a new Choice. This Cuſtom expired a thouſand Years after the *Trojan* War. Χιλίων δ' ἐτῶν παρελθόντων μετὰ τὸν Τρωικὸν πόλεμον ἐπαύσαντο τῆς τοιαύτης θυσίας. *Exactis mille annis à bello Trojano, abſtinuerunt ab ejuſmodi piaculo.* It ought to be read Τρωικὸν, and not, as ſome Editions have it, Φωκικὸν. The learned *Caſaubon* had better have given the Text this Correction, than have criticized *Timæus*, upon Pre-

(26) Tzetzes in Lycoph. v. 1142.

tence

Injury; for the *Locrians* were obliged every Year to ſend ſome of their young Maids to *Troy*, where they led a very indifferent Life. This laſted for many Ages, and not one of thoſe poor Girls was ever known to have forfeited her Honour (*d*). *Theon* the Sophiſt has made an Obſervation, of which I intend to ſay ſomething [*F*]. *Caſſandra*, in the Diviſion of the Spoils, fell to *Agamemnon*'s Share: This Prince was not diſpleaſed with her [*G*]; which, they ſay, made *Clytemneſtra*

(*d*) See St Jerom's Words in the Remark [*E*], Citat. (31).

tence that there were not much more than Eight hundred forty Years between the *Trojan* and the end of the *Phocian* War (27). Obſerve, that he makes this Reflexion in his Comment upon an Author, who is proving how difficult it is to take Precautions enough againſt thoſe, who undertake to find out a ſecret unforeſeen Entry for any thing into a City. Of this he produces the *Trojans* as an Example, who employed all imaginable care to hinder the *Locrian* Virgins Entrance into *Troy*, and all to no purpoſe. You may ſee he ſpeaks of that Cuſtom under the Time preſent, which is a ſtrong Proof that it was then in being (28). Μαρτύριον δὲ ὅτι τὰ εἰσπεμπόμενα μετ' ἐπιδυλῆς κρείττον φυλάξαι. Οἱ γὰρ περὶ Ἴλιον ἄνθρωποι ἐκ τούτου χρόνου καὶ οὕτω διαλελαγμένοι, ἔσω δύνανται φυλάξαι μὴ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰς Λοκρίδας. Καίτοι τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἡ στάσις καὶ ἡ φυλακή. Ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι περιέχονται τῷ καθεῖν λανθάνοι, πολλὰ εἰσάγονται σώματα. Quod autem ejus rei quæ ſubdole immittitur, difficilis cautio ſit, teſtimonio probari poteſt. Nam qui Ilium colunt homines a tanto tempore in eo laborantes, & tanta diligentia ad hoc diſpoſiti, nondum cavere poſſunt, quo minus Locrides Ilium ingrediantur: qui tamen in eam rem ſtudii tantum impendant, & tanta cautione utantur. Sed nimirum pauci ad fallendum attendentes fallunt, & ita multas in urbem Locridas inducunt. —— *That it is difficult to prevent the clandeſtine Entrance of a thing, may be proved by example. For the* Trojans, *notwithſtanding all their Care and Circumſpection, cannot yet prevent the* Locrian *Virgins from entring into* Troy. If this Author were now living, he might confirm his Aphoriſm by the Example of a Multitude of People, who retired out of *France* for the Sake of their Religion, in ſpight of the beſt concerted Meaſures to prevent their Eſcape. I ſay nothing of thoſe ſucceſsful Wiles, by which contraband Goods are brought in, in the Face of a thouſand Cuſtom-houſes, and as many Officers, and *notwithſtanding* Colbert's *greateſt Precautions* (29).

(27) Caſaub. in Æneæ Poliorc. cap. xxxi. pag. 1784.

(28) Id. ibid. pag. 1704.

(29) Et trompant de Colbert la prudence importune. *Boileau, Sat.* xvii, *ver.* 195.

Caſaubon has made a conſiderable Miſtake in his Tranſlation of that Paſſage in *Polybius*, where he ſays, that there were a hundred noble Families among the *Locrians*, diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral Prerogatives, out of which the Virgins, ſent every Year to *Troy*, were to be choſen. Ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον οἱ Λοκροὶ καλὸν τὸν χρησμὸν κληροῦν τὰς ἀποσταλησομένας παρθένους εἰς Ἴλιον (30). *E quibus*, according to *Caſaubon*'s Verſion, *Locrenſes illas tantum virgines ſorte legere ex oraculi reſponſo tenebantur, quæ erant quotannis ad Ilium mittendæ*. This *Latin* plainly ſignifies, that the *Locrians* had ſent every Year a hundred Virgins to *Troy*; but *Polybius* ſays nothing of this, nor mentions the Number they ſent. Let us add here this Paſſage of St *Jerom*: 'Juſtum eſt & 'Locras virgines non tacere, quæ cum Ilium mit'terentur ex more per annos circiter mille, nulla 'obſcœni rumoris & pollutæ virginitatis ullam fabu'lam dedit (31). —— *Nor ought we to forget the* 'Locrian *Virgins, who were ſent to* Troy, *accord*'*ing to a Cuſtom, which continued about a thouſand* 'Years; *none of whom were ever cenſured as having* 'ſuffered *their Chaſtity to be violated.*' He does not pretend to commend theſe Virgins for that none of them were raviſhed, but for that no one of them ever ſuffered herſelf to be debauched, which, without doubt, is very remarkable, conſidering the length of the way, and the Continuance of the Cuſtom. That the *Trojans* never thought of enjoying them in their Paſſage, is no wonder; they conſidered them as Victims accurſed; they looked on them as unclean Animals, fit for nothing, but to be firſt murthered, and then burnt, and whoſe Aſhes were to be ſcattered in the Air (32), as a means of Expiation. *Tzetzes* (33) obſerves, that one of them died upon the Mountain *Traron*, near the City of *Troy*, and that the *Locrians* buried her, and ſaid nothing, but, from that time, omitted ſending any more, because they

(30) Polyb. lib. ii, cap. iii, pag. 914. *Edit.* Amſtel. 1670.

(31) Hieronym. contra Jovinian. lib. i, cap. xxvi.

(32) They threw them into the Sea. *Lycophr.* ver. 1158.

(33) Tzetzes in Lycophr. ver. 1159.

thought the Space of Time, which the Oracle required, was compleat. In this they found themſelves deceived; the Famine began again in their Country, and they ſaw themſelves conſtrained to renew the Cuſtom they had diſcontinued; though, inſtead of two, they ſent but one, imagining, that for the Future one would ſuffice for the Expiation of *Ajax*'s Fault. The Scholiaſt pretends they put a wrong Interpretation upon the Oracle, ſince *Apollo*, without preſcribing any ſet time, had commanded them to ſend two Virgins to expiate the outrage committed upon *Caſſandra*. This Obſervation is of no weight; he had been juſt before ſaying himſelf, that the Oracle had preſcribed a thouſand Years (34), and in this ſeveral other Authors agree (35). It is true, *Ælian* ſuppoſes, that the Oracle impoſed this Puniſhment in general till the *Trojan Minerva* was ſatisfied (36). Let us not forget what *Strabo* aſſures us of, which is, that, in his Time, it was diſcourſed in *Troy*, that the *Greeks* had never totally ruined that City (37); for a Proof of which, they urged, that the *Locrians* began to ſend their Daughters thither almoſt immediately after. To this *Strabo* anſwers two things. I. That *Homer* makes no mention of *Caſſandra*'s being raviſhed. II. That the *Locrians* began not to ſend their Virgins till the Times of the *Perſian* Monarchy. There is a groſs Miſtake in the Tranſlation of theſe Words of *Strabo*: Αἱ γὰρ Λοκρίδες παρθένοι μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀρξάμεναι ἐπέμποντο κατ' ἔτος (38); for inſtead of *Locrenſes quidem virgines paulo poſt ceperunt Ilium mitti quotannis*, the Tranſlator has it *Locrenſes*, &c. *mitti more antiquo*; Which ſignifies that this Cuſtom was more ancient than the War of *Troy*. And this in ſhort is a Blunder of the Tranſlator.

(34) Id. ibid. ver. 1141.

(35) Lycophron. ver. 1153. Scholiaſt. Homer. in Il. xiii, ver. 66, ex Callimacho.

(36) Ælian. apud Suidam, page 652. in στοιχ.

(37) Strabo, lib. xiii, pag. 413.

(38) Strabo, lib. Edit. Genev. 1587.

[*F*] Theon, *the Sophiſt, has made an Obſervation, of which I intend to ſay ſomething.*] This Obſervation is a Precept in Rhetoric, touching the manner of refuting a Narration. The Matter of Fact, ſays he, ought to be denied, either in affirming it to be a Thing impoſſible, or very unlikely; but, if it is manifeſtly true, we muſt then go another way to work, and enquire if the Narration be perfect in all it's Parts, or whether it contains ſomething needleſs, or if one Part of it does not contradict another. If it can ſtand this Scrutiny, ſee whether it be attended with Decency and Utility: for, as certain Actions ought not to have been committed, ſo after Commiſſion ought they not to be reported, but lie buried in Silence. How unſeemly would it therefore be, after having repreſented *Ajax* guilty of that Impiety, he is ſaid to have committed, to add, that he ſuffered no Misfortunes thereupon either by Sea or at home, but lived to a good old Age. It is eaſy to conceive, that *Theon* means, that, if ſome Orators had related *Ajax*'s Adventures, without breaking the Rules but in this one particular, *viz.* of not ſuppreſſing the good Fortune which attended his Impiety; there would be no other Means left of refuting their Narration, but to object, that they were not ſilent in a Point, wherein they ought to have been ſo. The Common-Place of Uſefulneſs and *Decorum* would be the only Weapon to be oppoſed againſt them: They would be liable to cenſure, only for having expoſed to the Eyes of the Public a fortunate Impiety; a thing which is repugnant to Decency, and may prejudice good Manners. I muſt give the Reader this *Greek* Sophiſt's own Words; for they have ſomething very ſurprizing in them, and are little conformable to the Laws of Hiſtory, or to Sincerity; but Rhetoric has ſome peculiar Roles of it's own (39). Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα καλῶς τρόπον εἰρηθείη, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀσεβὴς τε, καὶ ἀσύμφορος ἀνήκοον. Ἔστι γὰρ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἃ περιχθῆναι μὲν ἐκ ἐχρῆν, φθάσαντα δὲ περιχθῆναι, σωπᾶσθαι συμφέρει. οἷον, εἴ τις τὸν Λοκρὸν Αἴαντα τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀσεβῆσαι, οἷα λέγεται, ἀνεξελέγκτως, μήτε ὑπὸ θαλάττης, μήτε

(39) See the Remark [*A*], of the Article CASTRITIUS (TITUS). See alſo the end of Remark [*B*] of the Article CASSIUS Family.

temneſtra jealous, and was one of the Reaſons that provoked her to murder her Huſband (*e*) [*H*]. *Caſſandra* was not ſpared: ſhe was maſſacred at the ſame time. In the ſame manner they treated two Boys, Twins, which ſhe had by *Agamemnon* (*f*). She was very handſome, and had been ſought for in Marriage by great Men (*g*). Her Sepulchre proved a Subject of Diſpute between the City of *Mycenæ*, and that of *Amyclæ* (*h*). Each of them pretended they had it. She had a Temple erected to her at *Leuctra*, where her Statue was worſhipped, under the Name of *Alexandra* (*i*) [*I*].

(*e*) Homer Odyſſ. lib. xi, Hygin. cap xvii, Philoſtrat. in Caſſandra.

(*f*) Pauſan. lib. ii, pag. 147, Edit. Lipſ. 1696.

(*g*) See Remark [*D*].

(*h*) Pauſan ibid.

(*i*) Id. lib. iii, pag. 277.

Lycophron ſpeaks of a Temple built to *Caſſandra* by the *Daunians*, and by the Inhabitants of *Dardania*, where her Statue ſerved for an *Aſylum* to thoſe Virgins, who had no mind to marry, and who founded their Denial upon the Homelineſs, or mean Extraction, of the Gallants that courted them. The Remedy they made uſe of on this Occaſion, was to embrace the Statue of *Caſſandra*. But they were firſt to dreſs themſelves up like Furies, and change their Complexion, by the Application of ſome Drugs deſigned for that Purpoſe. They devoted themſelves, after a very particular manner, to the Worſhip of *Caſſandra*, and adored her as a Deity (*k*). This Paſſage in *Lycophron* is one of thoſe he has expreſſed with the greateſt Clearneſs [*K*]; and yet it is impoſſible for us to find any Authority for it in the Authors now remaining. Hence it is, that the Commentaries of our Critics are very dry upon that Place.

(*k*) Lycoph. ver. 1128, &c.

Plutarch tells us, that there was, at *Thaleme* (*l*), an Oracle of *Paſiphaë*, and that ſome were of Opinion that *Caſſandra* died in that Place, and had the Sirname *Paſiphaë* given her, becauſe ſhe uttered Oracles to every one (*m*).

(*l*) A Town of the *Peloponneſus*.

(*m*) Ex Plut. in Agide & Cleom. pag. 799.

μήτε οἶκοι κακόν τι αὐτὸν περιφύσαι, ἐν γήρᾳ μετ' εὐδαιμονίας τελευτηκέναι. Quæ omnia ſi, quemadmodum oportet, ſe habebunt, ad indecorum & inutile deveniemus. Sunt enim quædam, quæ quemadmodum fieri non debebant, ita poſtquam facta ſunt, ſtientia involvi præſtat. Ut ſi quis Ajacem Locrenſem ita impium fuiſſe erga Minervæ numen, ut fertur, oſtendat. ac deinde neque in navigatione, neque domi quicquam illi triſte acciditſe, ſenemque vita feliciter defunctum probet (40). However, this makes for the Tradition of the Puniſhment inflicted on *Caſſandra*'s Raviſher.

(40) Theon. in Progymn. cap. vi, pag. 87, 88. Edit. Lug. Batav. 1626.

[*G*] Agamemnon *was not diſpleaſed with* Caſſandra] He fell in love with her, if *Euripides* may be credited (41), and obtained her from the *Greeks*, as a particular Diſtinction. She was not diſpoſed of by Lot, but ſet a-part as a Preſent for that King (42), who made her his Concubine (43) I have elſewhere taken notice of *Horace*'s wrong Argument. It is under the Article BRISEIS (44): The Poet would prove, that his Friend has no reaſon to be aſhamed of loving a Servant Maid, ſince *Agamemnon* thought it no Diſgrace to him to be in love with King *Priam*'s Daughter:

(41) Ἔρως ἐπέβαλε αὐτὸν ἐνδῆσαι πάρος. Amor ſatisfecit puellæ ducisque cum. *Euripid. in Troad. ver.* 855.

(42) Ἐκλεξάμενον νιν ἄλλων Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ Eximiam eam & exortem accepit rex Agamemnon. *Ibid. ver.* 249.

(43) Ibid. ver. 44, 252.

Arſit Atreides medio in triumpho
Virgine rapta (45).

Amidſt the Triumph of his conquering Arms,
Atrides *figh'd for fair* Caſſandra's *Charms.*

(44) Rem. [*E*].

(45) Horat. Od. iv, lib. ii, ver. 7.

Hyginus ſhould not have ſaid, that Ὀρέστης, to revenge his Brother *Palamedes*'s Death, told *Clytemneſtra* a Lie, aſſuring her, without any Grounds for it, that her Huſband was bringing a Rival, or rather a Concubine, home with him, meaning *Caſſandra* (46); for it was no more than what was true. *Pauſanias* tells us, that *Caſſandra* was with Child by *Agamemnon*, and was actually delivered of Twins, who were murdered, by *Ægiſthus*, upon their Father's Tomb (47).

(46) Hygin. cap. cxvii.

(47) Pauſan. lib. ii, pag. 59.

[*H*] Clytemneſtra *was jealous, and it was one of the Reaſons that provoked her to murder her Huſband.*] *Hyginus*, in the Place before quoted, ſays, that the Diſcourſe of *Palamedes*'s Brother had the deſired Effect. *Clytemneſtra*, being informed that her Huſband was bringing *Caſſandra* home, was reſolved to get rid of them both, and did it accordingly. She confeſſes, in *Euripides*, that the Injury, her Huſband did her in ſacrificing *Iphigenia*, would not have provoked her to murder him; but he returned, ſaid ſhe, with a fanatical Wench, whom he placed in my Bed, ſo that we were two Brides under one Roof.

Ἀλλ' ἦλθ' ἔχων μοι Μαινάδ' ἔνθεον κόρην
Λάκτισις τ' ἐπεσίφρησε, καὶ νύμφα δύω
Ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δώμασι κατέχομεν.

Sed venit adducens mihi Mænadem, afflatam numine puellam, & lectis intulit, & ſponſæ duæ in iiſdem ædibus continebamur (48). *Meziriac* imagines, that *Pindar* aſſigned theſe two Reaſons for *Clytemneſtra*'s Attempt; but he is miſtaken: *Pindar*'s two Reaſons are, the Remembrance of *Iphigenia*'s Sacrifice, and the Apprehenſion of *Agamemnon*'s Anger. She had been leading a very diſſolute Life in his Abſence (49), which ſhe thought could not long be kept concealed, nor go unpuniſhed: This is manifeſtly *Pindar*'s Senſe; and I wonder it eſcaped *Meziriac*'s Eyes. See his Notes upon *Ovid*'s Epiſtles, p. 891.

(48) Euripid. in Electrâ, ver. 1032, pag. 627.

(49) Ἕτερα δ' ἐκτὸς λέχεσι δαμαλίζομέναν ἐνύχιοι παράγαν ποίτας. An alienо in cubili luſcientem more juvenco noctурni tranſiverſam egerant concubitus. *Pindar. Pyth. Od.* xi, pag. 670.

[*I*] *She was worſhipped under the Name of* Alexandra.] She was known as well by this, as That of *Caſſandra*; witneſs *Lycophron*'s Poem; it is called *Alexandra*, becauſe it is a Prophecy, which the Poet aſcribes to *Caſſandra*. *Tzetzes*'s Conceit is very pleaſant; he would have her called *Alexandra*, παρὰ τὸ ἀλύξαι τὴν ἀνδρῶν συνουσίαν, becauſe ſhe avoided Copulation, or, to expreſs myſelf in *Meziriac*'s Terms, *becauſe ſhe avoided a carnal Conjunction with Men.* I believe ſhe as heartily avoided Fire, Water, and Precipices. So that the Etymology of her Name might as well be drawn from thence.

[*K*] Lycophron *ſpeaks of a Temple of* Caſſandra, *This Paſſage is one of thoſe he has expreſſed with the greateſt Clearneſs.*] And yet the Diſpoſition of the Words admit of a great many Doubts. For we cannot tell whether he means, that theſe honeſt Girls were to be ſecured from Matrimony, by virtue of *Caſſandra*'s Statue, or whether he aſcribes that Virtue to the Habits they ſhould wear, and to the Ointments with which they ſhould change their Complexions. The latter Senſe is not abſurd; for it is eaſy to imagine, that their new Equipage was a Remedy for Love. Obſerve the Words of this Poet:

Ἐμὸν περιπτύξουσιν ὑλέτειας βρέτας
Ἄλκαρ μέγιστον κτώμεναι νυμφευμάτων
Ἐσυνόων ἐσθῆτα καὶ ῥᾴθος βαφᾷ
Πεπαμέναι θρόνοισι φαρμακηρίοις.

Meam ulnis amplectentur ſtatuam,
Remedium nuptiarum habituræ maximum,
Furiarum veſtem & faciei tincturam
Coloribus adeptæ medicatis (50).

(50) Lycophron. ver. 1135.

They ſhall embrace my Statue, and meet with the ſureſt Remedy againſt Matrimony, having obtained the Garb of the Furies, and a Complexion altered by Ointments. This ſort of *Aſylum* was very rare; it was found, doubtleſs, to be of no uſe. This, perhaps, is the only one to be met withal; yet it was unknown to the Hiſtorians and Geographers.

CASSIUS, the Name of a *Roman* Family. They, who are contented to say that it was *Patrician*, are as much out as they who absolutely affirm it to have been no other than *Plebeian* (*a*) [*A*]. *Antonius Augustinus* (*b*), and *Corradus* (*c*), say, upon better Grounds, that there were two Families of this Name, the one *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*. For we meet with one *Cassius*, who was Consul a few Years after the Extinction of the Royalty, and a long time before the *Plebeians* had obtained, in the Year of *Rome* 387, to be admitted to the Consular Dignity. So likewise we read of another *Cassius*, Tribune of the People, an Office conferred on none but *Plebeians*. This *Cassius* was Tribune about the beginning of the VIIth Century of the Republic. Wherefore it follows, that either there were two Families of the *Cassii*, one *Patrician*, the other *Plebeian*, as *Suetonius* has observed in That of the *Claudii* (*d*); or, that the same Family, *Cassia*, which was *Patrician* at first, became afterwards *Plebeian*, as it has happened to several others. However, I think it no easy thing to determine the Matter [*B*]. The ancient Authors are not over clear in this Point. It seems *Tacitus* knew of no other Family *Cassia*, but the *Plebeian* [*C*], or else he knew that the *Plebeian* was no ways descended from the *Cassii Patricians*.

(*a*) Glandorp. Onomastic. pag. 202.

(*b*) In Famil. Romanis.

(*c*) In Brutum Ciceronis, pag. 178; *but he is mistaken in saying there were several* Cassii *among the first Consuls; for there was but one.*

(*d*) In Tiberio, init.

[*A*] *They, who are contented to say it was* Patrician, *are as much mistaken, as they, who affirm it was only* Plebeian.] *Richard Streinnius* (1) ought not to have ranked this Family with the *Patricians*, without some Distinction. For, among all the *Cassii*, he speaks of, there is but one, who was undoubtedly a *Patrician*; the rest being of the same Family with That *L. Cassius Longinus*, whom he makes Tribune of the People in the Year of *Rome* 616. He knew how to reprove *Valerius Maximus* for having made a *Cassius*, who was both *Patrician* and *Consular*, Tribune of the People (2); but in the same Page he does something like it. *Glandorpius* commits a quite contrary Fault; for, after having said, that the *Cassii* were *Plebeians*, he begins the Catalogue of the Men of that Name with him, who was condemned to Death for High-Treason, in the Year of *Rome* 269, after he had been thrice Consul (3). There were no Consuls chosen from among the *Plebeian* Families, till after the Year 387; nor were there ever any Tribunes of the People among the *Patricians*, purely as *Patricians*.

(1) In Stemmat. Gent. & Familiar. Romanar.

(2) Val. Maxim. lib. v, cap. viii.

(3) Glandorp. Onomastic. pag. 200.

[*B*] *Either there were two Families of the* Cassii —— *or the* Cassian *Family, which was* Patrician *at first, became* Plebeian. *I think it no easy thing to determine the Matter.*] *Cicero* seems to set us right, when he says, that *Cassius, Julius Cæsar*'s Assassin, was born of a Family, that could not endure the supream Dominion, nor so much as a great Power in any one Man whatsoever (4). Without doubt, he had then in his Eye That *Spurius Cassius*, who was condemned by his own Father, in the Year of *Rome* 269, for having aspired to the Royalty. Now it is most certain, that the *Cassii Longini*, of whom he, who conspired against *Cæsar*, was one, were *Plebeians*: since therefore he was of that Family, *natus in ea familia*, that could not endure the Ambition of *Spurius Cassius*; may we not from thence conclude, that the *Plebeian* Family of the *Cassii* was descended from the *Patrician*? But it may be answered, That *Cicero*, in this Place, is no sufficient Witness; for, besides that he speaks cursorily and obscurely of *Spurius Cassius*'s Adventure, which he could never have done, had he been certain of the Matter, we may observe he supposes in the same Place, that *Brutus, Julius Cæsar*'s Murderer, was descended from him, who expelled *Tarquin*; which, notwithstanding, is a thing very much to be doubted (5). We may therefore say, that *Cicero* behaved himself then like an artful Advocate, who lays hold of every thing he thinks advantageous to his Cause. See *Cerradus* upon these Words in *Cicero*'s *Brutus*; 'Concessum est Rhetoribus mentiri in historiis ut 'aliquid dicere possint argutius. —— *Rhetoricians* 'are allowed to falsify in History, for the sake of 'a smart Expression.' *Brutus* and *Cassius* were not displeased to have it thought they were descended from those of the same Name, who had so eminently distinguished themselves; and, without doubt, their Adherents took care to have it spread abroad upon Occasion. There was likewise a Report, tho' less probable, that *Spurius Cassius* received his Punishment from his own Father's Hand. *Cicero* found this would be of Service to his Cause; and therefore he laid hold of it. Which an Orator might do, tho' those things were very uncertain; so that *Cicero*'s Authority in this Place does not remove the Uncertainty.

(4) Quid? C. Cassius in ea familia natus quem non modo dominatum, sed ne potentatum quidem cujusquam ferre potuit, me auctorem, credo, desideravit? *Cicero Philipp.* 2.

(5) See, above, Remark [*K*], of the Article BRUTUS (MARCUS JUNIUS.)

[*C*] *It seems* Tacitus *knew of no other Family of the* Cassii, *but the* Plebeian.] For, speaking of *L. Cassius*, who was married to *Drusilla, Germanicus*'s Daughter, he speaks of him as being of a *Plebeian* Family, but a Family very ancient and illustrious by their Office (6). *Plebei Romæ generis, verum antiqui honoratique* (7). If *Streinnius* had thought of this Passage, he had changed the Situation of this Family in his Book, or made himself better understood. The *Cassii Longini* were, without doubt, all *Plebeians*. It is therefore a Mistake in *William Grotius* (8), to say, that *Caius Cassius Longinus* was of a *Patrician* Family.

(6) Tacit. Ann. lib. xi, cap. xv.

(7) See the preceding Remark.

(8) In vitis Jurisconsultorum, pag. 108.

CASSIUS VISCELLINUS (SPURIUS), after having been thrice Consul, once General of the Horse (*a*), under the first Dictator *Rome* ever had, and twice honoured with a Triumph, was condemned to Death, *An. Rom.* 269, for having aspired to the Royalty (*b*). Mr *Moreri* gives us here two Articles, instead of one [*A*]; and, besides that, is guilty of four Errors [*B*]. He knew not how

(*a*) In *Calepinus*, the General of the Horse is not well distinguished from *Spurius Cassius*, thrice Consul, &c.

(*b*) See Remark [*A*].

VALERIUS Maximus, not over exact, is misunderstood by *Moreri*.

[*A*] *Mr* Moreri *is pleased to present us with two Articles instead of one.*] He has chosen the worst Method he could take in regard to our *Spurius Cassius*, whom he distinguishes from him spoken of in the fifth Book and eighth Chapter of *Valerius Maximus*. It is very easy to perceive, if we diligently examine the Originals, that He, whom *Valerius Maximus* speaks of in this Place, is the same with Him, whose Punishment he takes notice of in another (1), and whose History is handed down to us by *Livy* and *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*. There is nothing there but the Punishment of one and the same Man; but, because the Circumstances are differently related, and *Valerius Maximus*, who is far from being an exact Compiler, speaks of it sometimes after one manner, sometimes after another, Mr *Moreri* chose rather to multiply Beings without any Necessity, than to keep to the most reasonable, or rather, if I dare say so, the only reasonable Opinion, *viz.* That which reduces the whole Matter to the only Fact mentioned in the Text of this Article. Let us examine into the Grounds of these Confusions.

(1) Lib. vi, cap. iii.

DIFFERENT Accounts of this *Cassius*'s Condemnation.

Dionysius Halicarnassæus (*a*) and *Livy* (*b*) allow, that the most probable Opinion is, that the two Questors accused *Spurius Cassius* before the People, and, having obtained Sentence of Death against him, caused him to be executed. *Livy*, however, tell us, as a less likely Tradition, that *Cassius* had no other Judge but his own Father, who, having called

(*a*) Antiq. Rom. lib. viii.

(*b*) Decad. i, lib. ii.

to rectify *Valerius Maximus*. No more did That Author's Commentators [C]. All things

called his Son to a Trial in his own House, caused him to be whipped, and put to Death; after which he consecrated to *Ceres* his Son's *Peculium*. *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* gives us a second Tradition, though not so probable, yet delivered in Books worthy our Belief; which is, That *Cassius*'s Father, having first suspected his Son, examined into the bottom of the Affair, acquainted the Senate with it, and produced those Proofs upon whose Authority his Son received Sentence of Death from them; after which his Father carried the condemned Criminal home, and put him to death. Among other Reasons, for which *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* opposes this Tradition, this is one; *viz.* That, even in his Time, the Place, where *Cassius*'s House stood, was to be seen near the Temple of the Earth, which House had been razed after his Punishment. He adds, That, in process of time, part of the Ground was allotted out to build the Temple of the Earth upon, and that the other part thereof was left empty and open. I would not relate these Circumstances, but only to make it more plainly appear, that Mr *Moreri* did not well understand those Authors, whose Authority he produces to prove there were two *Cassii* put to death.

For, if he had judiciously compared *Valerius Maximus*, the main Cause that led him into his Mistake, with the two Historians I have quoted, he would have found, that this Author speaks only of the *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus*, mentioned by those two Historians. In effect, what says *Valerius Maximus* in the eighth Chapter of his fifth Book? That *Cassius*, imitating *Brutus*'s Example, and, knowing that his Son, Tribune of the People, had proposed a Law never heard of before (it was the *Lex Agraria*), and that he gained himself a strong Party by his factious and popular Intrigues, condemned him in his own House, assisted by his Friends and Relations, for having a Design to make himself King; that he ordered him, after he had been whipped, to be put to death, and consecrated his *Peculium* to *Ceres*. In the third Chapter of his fifth Book he tells us how enraged the People were at *Spurius Cassius*, and that they had less regard to his two Triumphs, and three Consulates, than the Apprehensions of his Ambition, and that the Senate and People, not contented with his Death, pulled down his House, and raised, in the room of it, a Temple to the Earth. It is very plain, that all he says in both these Places, except the gross Mistake of having made one of the *Cassian* Family Tribune of the People at that time (4), agrees with *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus*, according to the different Circumstances of his Trial, as related by *Livy* and *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*. I own he there seems to be deceived, and that it is better, since he cannot be altogether excused, to allow, that of one and the same Matter of Fact he made up two, than to say, He falsified the Circumstances of a Trial, with an Intent, in one Place, to shew the Severity of a Father, and in another that of the People. But Mr *Moreri* should have corrected this Author by the Authority of good Historians.

(4) He has committed another Mistake, of which hereafter.

[B] *And besides that, he is guilty of four Errors.*] I. He would find it a hard Task to prove, that the Father of our *Cassius* was called *Spurius*. If he has placed the pretended *Spurius Cassius* very injudiciously in the Year of *Rome* 230; for, since he is not taken notice of but for his Severity to his Son, it follows, that this Severity was exercised very near that time. If so, *Cassius* must of necessity have punished his Son in *Tarquin*'s Time, and there must have been Tribunes of the People before the Expulsion of *Tarquin*, than which nothing can be more false and absurd. Therefore that Chronology concerning the Year 230 of *Rome* is wrong. Let us add, in the third place, That it only serves to confound the Author that makes use of it; for, if *Spurius Cassius* was living at that time, his Son must have been Tribune of the People very near the Time, to which *Livy* and *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* refer the Punishment of *Spurius Cassius Viscellinus*, *viz.* in the Year of *Rome*, 269; which proves, that *Moreri* had no reason to conceive two *Cassii* punished almost at the same time, one by his own Father, the other by the People, for aiming at the Throne, by means of the *Lex Agraria*. For two such Examples almost at the same time, in two Persons of the same Name, and for the same Offence, would never have escaped the Observation of so many Historians, who have not left us one Word of it. But, fourthly, he should not have barely said *Cassius had a Son who was Tribune*, but that he was Tribune of the People, and have refuted the pretended Dignity *Valerius Maximus* confers upon him. The learned *Manutius* has suffered himself to be misguided in this Point by *Valerius Maximus* (5).

(5) Fuit in ea familia (*Cassia*) qui necari filium voluerit, quod Agrariam legem tribunus plebis tulisset, quasi de regno cogitaret. *Paulus Manut. in Cicer. Philipp.* 2.

[C] *No more did that Author's Commentators.*] The *Valerius Maximus Variorum* (6) gives us no reason to think they were sensible of their Author's Blunders. No body enquires if his *Cassius*, in the fifth Book, be the same with him in the sixth, or thinks it strange that the Sentence and Execution in the fifth Book, should be a Domestic Affair, and in the sixth the Affair of the Senate and People. One of these Commentators refers the *Cassius* of the Sixth Book to the Year of *Rome* 668, which is only Four hundred Years lower than it ought to be. Father *Cantel*, the *Dauphin*'s Scholiast, thinks it enough to observe, on the Passage in the fifth Book, that the Author agrees neither with *Livy*, nor *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*; but he ought also to have observed, either there or on the sixth Book, that he is inconsistent with himself. As to this last Passage, he refers us to Places that are nothing to the purpose. We ought to be more careful of Numbers, in Works designed for the Instruction of Youth.

(6) Ex nova recensione A. Thysii. *Lugd. Batav.* 2655. in 8vo.

A Mistake of *Valerius Maximus*, about the Temple of the Earth.

The same Commentators are so favourable to their Author, as not to reproach him for having spoken too negligently of the Temple of the Earth. His Expressions about it make it appear he was willing we should think the Building of this Temple was one of the Articles of the Sentence pronounced against *Cassius*, and one of the chief Reasons of his Punishment. 'Senatus Populusque Romanus, *says* 'he (7), non contentus capitali eum supplicio afficere, interempto domum superjecit, ut Penatium quoque strage puniretur, in solo autem eadem Telluris fecit. Itaque quod prius domicilium impotentis viri fuerat, nunc religiosæ severitatis monumentum est. —— *The Senate and People of* 'Rome, *not satisfied with putting him to death,* 'pulled down his House, that he might be punished 'likewise in the Destruction of his Penates, and upon the Spot built the Temple of the Earth. What 'therefore was formerly the Habitation of a weak 'Man, is now a Monument of religious Severity.' It is plain he looks on the building of this Temple as part of the Punishment inflicted on *Cassius*. This a Commentator ought to have censured, since it was observed before, upon the same Subject (8), that the Temple of the Earth, vowed by *T. Sempronius*, was built, according to *Servius*, in That Part of the City, which was called *Carinæ*; for it appears from *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, that the Temple of the Earth, built on part of the Ground, where *Cassius*'s House stood formerly, was towards That Part of the City. Wherefore That Temple was not built 'till near Two hundred Years after *Cassius*'s Execution (9), and therefore was not designed to aggravate his Punishment: and indeed they would have thought of it very late; accordingly we see that *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* makes no Connexion between that Punishment and the building of the Temple, but looks on them as two Things of very different Dates.

(7) Lib. vi. cap. iii.

(8) Val. Max. pag. 534. Vet.

(9) Sempronius vowed it in the War with the Picentines, An. Rom 485.

The Temple of the Earth, which *Pliny* takes notice of (10), was built long before That vowed by *Sempronius*. But this will not serve to justify *Valerius Maximus*; for, if the Dispute was to be determined by this Passage, it must be confessed, that this Temple of the Earth preceded *Cassius*'s Punishment. In effect, *Pliny*'s Words imply, that, *Anno* 596, the Censors ordered several Statues to be removed, and even That of *Spurius Cassius*, who had aimed at the Royalty, and which he had erected in the Temple of the Earth, to be melted down. Perhaps, instead of the Temple of the Earth, it ought to have been said the Temple of *Ceres*: for, as it was *Spurius Cassius*, who, during his second Consulate, dedicated the Temple of *Ceres* (11), which

THE Temple of the Earth mentioned by *Pliny*.

(10) Lib. xxxiii. cap. vi.

(11) Dion. Hal. lib. vi.

things rightly considered, Mr *Hoffman* is, at least, as much in the wrong as Mr *Moreri* [D].

which *Posthumius* the Dictator had made a Vow of three Years before, it is not unlikely he chose to erect his Statue there sooner than any where else. But of this I dare not be certain. I only add, that neither *Charles Stephens*, *Calepin*, *Lloyd*, or *Hoffman*, who quote *Valerius Maximus*'s Words, take notice of his Mistake.

Observation on *Pliny*, and Father *Hardouin*.

I shall observe, by the by, that *Pliny* follows the Tradition, according to which the Father condemned and punished his Son in his own House (12); and one would think that Father *Hardouin* was tender of *Pliny*'s Honour, in his Note upon the Passage of that Author. For, having quoted the Words of *Livy*, who says, that the Thing was related by some in the same manner, he adds, that *Valerius Maximus* and *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* affirm it likewise, and that others maintain that *Cassius* was precipitated. No body would be able to guess, by this, what was the true Opinion of *Livy* and *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, which does not at all agree with *Pliny*'s. If this Account be not altogether exact, we may very well excuse the Author, whose learned Commentary is the Effect of an uncommon Vigilance and Application.

(12) Lib. xxxiv, cap. iv. Florus *follows that Tradition likewise*, lib. i. cap. xxvi.

[D] *Mr* Hoffman *is, at least, as much in the wrong, as Mr* Moreri.] For if, on one side, Mr *Moreri* is mistaken, when he makes *Spurius Cassius*'s Father flourish in the Year of *Rome* 230, *Hoffman*, on the other, is as much deceived, when he supposes *Valerius Maximus* to have said, that, after the Son had been whipped, and executed, by his Father's Order, the Booty was applied to the building a Temple to *Ceres*. *Templo dein Cereris ex prædâ extructo*. We have already observed (13), that *Cassius* dedicated this Temple, and therefore it could not be built after his Death. Besides, a Rebel's confiscated Estate was never called a Booty. To conclude, If he had a mind to cavil upon the Account of the many Temples built to *Ceres*; we might at least urge the Words of that antient Author against him; 'Verberibus affectum necari jussit, ac peculium 'ejus Cereri consecravit (14). —— *He ordered* 'him to be whipped, and then put to death, and 'dedicated his Effects to* Ceres.' Do these Words imply the building a Temple to *Ceres*? And, since he was willing to specify the Use that was to be made of this *Peculium* consecrated to *Ceres*, why did he not consult *Livy* (15), *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* (16), and *Pliny* (17), who all tell us that they made a brazen Statue out of it.

(13) In Citation (11), above.

(14) Val. Max. lib. v, cap. viii.

(15) Lib. ii.

(16) Rom. Antiq. lib. viii.

(17) Lib. xxxiv, c. p. iv.

CASSIUS LONGINUS (Lucius), lived in the VIIth Century of *Rome*. He was a Judge of such inflexible Severity, that his Tribunal was called the *Rock of the Accused* [A]. I am of Opinion that he ought to be distinguished from That *Lucius Cassius*, of whom *Cicero* speaks in his Book of the famous Orators, and in his third Book *de Legibus* [B], but not from him who brought that famous Maxim *CUI*

[A] *His Tribunal was called* The Rock of the Accused.] It is not to *Cicero* that we are obliged for this Particular, as *Julian Brodeau* imagined, and for which he is, with as much Modesty as Justice, reprehended by Mr *Menage* (1), but to *Valerius Maximus* (2), who did it by way of Complement to *Marc Antony*, the *Triumvir*'s Grandfather. This *Marc Antony* was one of the best Orators in his Time. Whilst he was going into *Asia*, in Quality of Questor, he heard that he was summoned to appear before the dreadful Tribunal of *L. Cassius* the Pretor, which Tribunal was called *Scopulum Reorum*, there to answer to the Crime of Incest alledged against him. He, waving the Benefit of the Laws, which forbid any Process against those, who were absent *Reipublicæ causâ*, returned to *Rome*, appeared, and was acquitted (3). A modern Author imagines, that *Caius Aquilius* was the Man, whose Tribunal was called *The Rock of the Accused* (4). This *Aquilius* was Pretor at the same time with *Cicero* (5).

(1) Amenitat. Juris, cap. xiii, pag. 440. Edit. Francof. 1680.

(2) Lib. iii, cap. vii, not. 9, ut apud Menagium. *Ibid.*

(3) See, above, the Article ANTONY (Marc) the Orator, Citation (2).

(4) Bibliotheque Universelle, Tom. XIII, pag 121.

(5) Bertrand in vitis Jurisc. pag. 223, *for which he quotes* Cicero's Topics.

[B] *He ought to be distinguished from That* Lucius Cassius, *whom* Cicero *mentions in his Treatise of Illustrious Orators, and in his Third Book* de Legibus.] *Cicero*'s Description of him makes it evident, that he is speaking of *L. Cassius*, Tribune of the People, *Anno* 616; for he attributes to him the *Lex Tabellaria* (6), enacted under the Consulate of *M. Lepidus* and *C. Mancinus*. There is no doubt that *Lucius Cassius*, Consul in the Year 626, and Censor in 628, is the same with him who was Tribune of the People in 616. It is not likely therefore that his Tribunal was called *The Rock of the Accused*; for then we must suppose, that, after having attained to the highest Employment in the Republic, he re descended to the Pretorship about twelve or thirteen Years after; since the Pretor, of whom *Valerius Maximus* speaks in relation to *Marc Antony*'s Cause, must needs have been in that Office about the Year 640; otherwise we must suppose That Author not to have been so exact as he ought, when he expressed the Qualities of *L. Cassius*.

(6) A Law permitting the People no longer to vote *viva voce*, but to deliver their Suffrage in Writing. See *Meursius* upon *Alexander ab Alexandro*, lib. iv, cap. iii. pag. 304.

A false Citation of F. *Cantel*.

Father *Cantel*, in his Notes upon the *Valerius Maximus in usum Delphini* (7), removes the whole Difficulty at once: He tells us, that *L. Cassius*, by an extraordinary Creation made Pretor, after he had been both Consul and Censor, because he had the Reputation of being a very severe Man, obtained, by an Order of the People, an Authority of enquiring into Crimes of Incest, at a Time when the Priests were complained of for having proceeded too gently against the Vestal Virgins accused of Uncleanness. The Mischief is, that neither *Livy*'s Abridgment, nor *Asconius Pedianus*, both which the Father quotes, speak one word of the Matter. The Abridgment of *Livy* says only (8), that *Æmilia*, *Licinia*, and *Martia*, Vestal Virgins, were condemned for Incest, and that there was an Account how this Incest had been committed, discovered, and punished. A noble Piece of History lost! What a Misfortune is it that we cannot hear the Grave, Majestic *Livy* upon it! It is pity likewise that we do not know all that *Dion* wrote concerning the Process of these Vestals. We meet with something of it in the *Excerpta* published by *Valesius* in 1636 (9): But let us examine *Asconius Pedianus*'s Words: he is something particular, especially in what relates to *L. Cassius*. 'When *Sextius Peducæus*, says he (10); 'Tribune of the People, accused *L. Metellus*, High 'Priest, and the whole College of the Priests, for 'not having found the Vestals guilty of Incest, pu'nishing only *Æmilia*, and suffering the other two; '*Marcia* and *Licinia*, to be acquitted: the People 'deputed *L. Cassius*, a Man of extraordinary Se'verity, to take out a fresh Information against 'them, who not only condemned those two, but 'several others with them; for which it was thought 'he behaved with too much Rigour in the matter.'

(7) In lib. iii, cap. vii, p. 179, 180.

(8) Epit. 63.

(9) Pag. 628.

(10) Ascon. Pedian. in Orat. Cicer. pro Milone.

It does not in the least appear from this Passage, that *L. Cassius* had before this been Consul and Censor, nor that the Pretorship had been conferred upon him after an extraordinary manner: however, it may be inferred from hence, by making some allowance, that he obtained then from the People an extraordinary and special Commission, such as those of the *Grand-jours* in *France*, or Mr *Boucherat*'s Commission (11), by virtue of which he took cognizance of Poisoners and Witches in 1680. So that, provided we suppose *Valerius Maximus* to have expressed himself very ill in representing to us That Man as a simple Pretor, who had already discharged the highest Employments of the Common-wealth, and who was at that time invested with an extraordinary Authority, that he might enquire into some very important Causes; we may allow *L. Cassius*, Tribune of the People in 616, Consul in 626, and Censor in 628, to have presided at a Tryal of Incest about the Year 640, and to have been *Marc Antony*

(11) Mr *Boucherat* was Chancellor of France in 1684, after having passed thro' the most eminent Offices of the Gown. He died in *September*, 1693.

CUI BONO into Credit [C]; nor from him who, according to *Saluſt*, was Pretor *An. Rom.* 642 [D]. The judicial Severity of this *Caſſius* made all rigid Judges be called

the Orator's Judge. According to the Character *Cicero* has left of him (12), he will appear a fit Man to acquire the Reputation of being the Rock of the Accuſed: though, on the other hand, Severity was a Quality ſo cuſtomary in that Family, that it is not eaſy to decide, if he, who had this terrible Reputation, was the Tribune of the Year 616, or his Son, or his Brother, or his Nephew, or his Couſin. *L. Caſſius ex familia tum ad cæteras res tum ad judicandum severiſſima* (13). —— Lucius Caſſius *of a Family remarkable for it's Severity in every thing, particularly in giving Judgment.* Add to this a Paſſage in *Tacitus*: *Ita dignum majoribus ſuis & familiæ Caſſiæ per illas quoque gentes celebratæ* (14). - - - *Thus worthy of his Anceſtors, and the* Caſſian *Family, famous likewiſe among thoſe People.*

(12) Tum L. Caſſius multum potuit non eloquentiâ ſed dicendo tamen; homo non liberalitate, ut alii, ſed ipſâ triſtitiâ & ſeveritate popularis. —— *At that time* L. Caſſius *had great Authority, tho' not by Eloquence, yet by his manner of ſpeaking; a Man popular, not through Liberality, like others, but thro' Gravity and Severity itſelf.* Cicero in Bruto, cap. xxv.

WHETHER we know from which *Caſſius* comes the Maxim *Cui Bono.*

This Queſtion is as far from being determined from this Obſervation, *viz.* that *Cicero*, who ſeveral times takes notice of the Maxim *cui bono*, introduced by one *L. Caſſius* a very ſevere Judge, the ſame no doubt with him, whoſe Tribunal was called *Scopulus Reorum*, takes no notice that he had ever been Conſul and Cenſor: for to this it may be anſwered, that his Buſineſs being only to repreſent the Qualities of a good Judge, it was unneceſſary to name his other Employments; and that otherwiſe one might pretend that *L. Caſſius*, Tribune of the People in 616, of whom *Cicero* ſpeaks in his Book of the famous Orators, never was Conſul nor Pretor, becauſe *Cicero* mentions not a word of it. If I ſhould be asked upon what grounds I pretend, that the Maxim *cui bono* was introduced by *L Caſſius*, the Rock of the Accuſed; I would produce that beautiful Paſſage in the Oration *pro Roſcio Amerino*. 'L. Caſſius ille 'quem populus Romanus veriſſimum & ſapientiſſimum judicem putabat, identidem in cauſis quærere 'ſolebat CUI BONO FUISSET (15). Sic vita homi-'num eſt, ut ad maleficium nemo conetur ſine ſpe 'atque emolumento accedere. Hunc quæſitorem 'ac judicem fugiebant atque horrebant ii quibus periculum creabatur; ideo quod tametſi veritatis erat 'amicus, tamen naturâ non tam propenſus ad miſe-'ricordiam, quam implicatus ad severitatem videbatur. Ego - - - facile me paterer vel illo ipſo acerrimo judice quærente, vel apud CASSIANOS Judices, quorum etiam nunc illi, quibus cauſa dicenda eſt, nomen ipſum reformidant, pro Sex. Roſcio dicere. —— Lucius Caſſius, *He, whom the* Roman *People eſteemed to be the beſt and wiſeſt of Judges, was wont, upon Cauſes, to enquire,* WHO IS THE GAINER? *Such is the nature of Mankind, that no one is wicked without the proſpect of Advantage. They, who were in danger, fled from and dreaded this Inquiſitor and Judge; for, though he was a Friend to Truth, yet he was naturally more inclined to Severity, than Mercy. For my own part - - - I ſhould not be afraid to plead the Cauſe of* Sextus Roſcius *before that ſevere Judge himſelf, or any* Caſſian *Judge, whoſe very Name now affrights Thoſe, whoſe Cauſe is to be pleaded.*'

(13) Cicero in Verr. Orat. ii. *ſpeaking of one* Caſſius, *made Military Tribune during* Verres's *Trial.*

(14) *Tacit. Annal. lb.* xii. *cap.* xii, ſpeaking of one *Caſſius*, who, even in times of Peace, vigorouſly maintained a military Diſcipline in his Government of *Syria.*

(15) *Cicero* has the ſame Obſervation in *Orat. pro Milone, cap.* xii, & *Philipp.* 2, *cap.* xiv.

WHETHER a Conſul deſcended to the Office of a Pretor.

I have mentioned a thing, which requires a Digreſſion. I ſuppoſed, that they, who had exerciſed the higheſt Offices of the Republic, never deſcended to the Employment of a Pretor: and yet a Return to this Charge, after the Poſſeſſion of the Conſulate, is not without example; but this is a Caſe, which will not affect our *L. Caſſius*. They, who had the Misfortune to be degraded, retired thither for a Rehabilitation. This we have from *Plutarch* (16), ſpeaking of *Cornelius Lentulus Sura*, who was expelled the Senate after he had been Conſul, and could not be reſtored till he had been a ſecond time Pretor. *Dio* makes the ſame Obſervation upon this *Lentulus* (17); and, in another place (18), tells us, that *Saluſt* was made Pretor *An. Rom.* 706, that he might be re-admitted into the Senate. It was, without doubt, upon this very Motive, that the Triumvirs made *Ventidius* Pretor again (19), he, together with *Marc Antony*, having been declared Enemies to the Republic. This Office may, without this Reaſon, have been conferred twice upon the ſame Perſon; for we learn from *Aſconius Pedianus* (20), that *Marius Gratidianus* was twice Pretor: and the Reaſon is, becauſe he was extreamly beloved by the People: but it is likely there was no Interpoſition of the Conſulate and Cenſorſhip between his two Pretorſhips: ſo that this Inſtance is not ſufficient to illuſtrate what relates to our *Caſſius*. The Example of *Mancinus*, who was made Pretor after all the Diſgraces he ſuffered before *Numantia*, whilſt he was Conſul (21), amounts to nothing more than That of *Lentulus Sura*: But *Metellus Pius*'s carrying the Pretorſhip and Pontifical Dignity from his Conſular Competitors would be of ſome weight, if it might not be alledged, that theſe words in *Aurelius Victor, Adoleſcens in petitione Præturæ & Pontificatus, Conſulares viros prælatus eſt* (22), ſignify no more than that he had Conſular Competitors for the Pontificate. We are not to imagine, that *Aurelius Victor*, nor thoſe ſuperior to him, obſerve, in their Narrations, That Logical Rule, *viz.* That a Propoſition, compounded of ſeveral Subjects, is falſe, if the Attribute agree not to each Subject, diſtinctly and ſeparately taken. As for the Queſtorſhip, a Dignity inferior to That of Pretor, I cannot deny but it had been enjoyed by ſome, who before that had been Conſuls; and let us ſee here what a learned Man has obſerved upon it: 'Though the Queſtors had no 'Right of Juriſdiction, no Power to ſummon any 'before them, or impriſon them, *neque vocationem 'neque priſtinam habebant*, yet it was a Dignity, 'that Men, who had been Conſuls, thought not 'fit to decline. *T. Quintius Capitolinus* was Queſtor 'with *Martius Valerius*, after he had been thrice 'Conſul; and ſo was *Cato* the elder, after he had 'triumphed, and gone through all Offices; nay, 'the *Lex Pompeia* provided, that none but Men of 'Conſular Dignity ſhould execute that Charge (23). But ſince the Pretorſhip has no Inſtance of the ſame nature, I have reaſon to ſuppoſe there was a Difference in this reſpect between thoſe two Officers.

(16) In Vitâ Ciceronis.

(17) Lib. xxxvii.

(18) Lib. xlii.

(19) Id. Dio, lib. xlvii.

(20) In Orat. Cic. contra C. Anton. &c.

(21) Aurel. Vict.

(22) This Paſſage puts the Commentators to a great deal of trouble.

(23) Du Bouley Threſor des Antiquit. Romaine, pag. 825.

[C] —— *But not from Him, who brought into Credit the famous Maxim* CUI BONO. The Paſſage in the Oration *pro Roſcio Amerino*, which I have quoted in the foregoing Remark, ſhews what this Maxim meant, and the uſe the Pretor *L. Caſſius* made of it. I add here, that it contains a great deal of Senſe in it, and that it is founded upon a Principle, which meets with but few Exceptions in the World, *viz. That no one tranſgreſſes without the Proſpect of an Advantage; and that in criminal matters Preſumption is againſt thoſe who are Gainers by them.* I ſpeak of Crimes puniſhable by earthly Judges. For which reaſon *Caſſius* the Pretor thought, upon good grounds, that, in criminal Tryals, the Judge went a great way, if he could diſcover of what Advantage the Crime in queſtion might be to the Accuſed. Not but there are ſome, whom no Advantage can induce to commit a Crime (24), as there are others, who will do it for a very little Profit, or even not to break a Cuſtom of being wicked (25): However, this no ways weakens *Caſſius*'s Maxim; we know very well, that, in things of this nature, there can be no Rules of a metaphyſical or even phyſical Generality. See the Uſe *Hobbs* makes of this Maxim in the Fifty ſeventh Chapter of his *Leviathan*; *la Mothe le Vayer* in his Diſcourſe upon Hiſtory, *p.* 201. *Tom.* ii of the Edition in 12°, and the Author of divers Thoughts upon Comets, *p.* 683.

(24) This is Cicero's Obſervation in the ſame Place, where he makes mention of *Caſſius*'s Maxim. *Illud Caſſianum*, Cui bono fuerit, *in his perſonis valeat, etſi bono nullo emolumento impelluntur in fraudem, improbi ſæpe parent.*

(25) Si cauſa peccandi in præſens minus ſuppetebat, nihilominus inſontes ſicuti ſontes circumvenire, jugulare. Scilicet ne per otium torpeſcerent manus aut animus, gratuitò potius malos atque crudelis erat. *Salluſt. in Bell. Catil. ſpeaking of* what Cataline *executed by the Hands of his Creatures.* See Cic. de Offic. lib. ii. cap. xiv, p. 275.

[D] —— *nor from Him, who, according to* Saluſt, *was Pretor* An. Rom. 642.] This Pretor may very well be the Author of the Maxim *cui bono*; and the Rock of the Accuſed; for *Saluſt* repreſents him as a Man of ſuch extraordinaty Probity, that his private Word went as far as the public Faith; which Conſideration prevailed with *Jugurtha* to deliver himſelf up to the Mercy of the *Romans*; *Caſſius*, who was ſent to perſuade him to come to *Rome*, having not only given him a ſafe Conduct from the Republic, but alſo his own Word. *Privatim præterea*, ſays *Saluſt*, *fidem ſuam interponit, quam ille* (Jugurtha) *non minoris quam publicam dutebat. Talis ea tempeſtate fama de Caſſio erat* (26). If This be the ſame with Him, of whom *Valerius Maximus* ſpeaks in relation to *Marc Antony* the Orator, he muſt be a different Man from the Tribune of the People in 616; for it is very unlikely, that a Man, who

(26) Salluſt. in bello Jugurthino, cap. xxxii, fin.

called *Cassiani* [*E*]. The Preſident *Bertrand* has ignorantly transferred this Honour to another *Caſſius Longinus* [*F*]. A Miſtake of *Corradus* ſhall be enquired into [*G*].

who had been Cenſor in 628, ſhould be no more than meer Pretor in 642.

The *Variorum* Comment upon *Salluſt*, publiſhed by *Thyſius* at *Leyden* in 1656, mentions two very oppoſite Opinions. Some maintain, that *Caſſius* the Pretor, who was diſpatched to *Jugurtha*, was the ſame with him, who, when he was Tribune, made the *Lex Tabellaria* be ratified: Others ſay it was he, who, being Conſul, ſome time after the *Numidian* Expedition (27), and commanding an Army againſt the *Gauls*, was cut to Pieces by the *Tigurini* (28). This laſt Opinion, to which *Sigonius* (29) and *Glandorp* aſſent, ſeems the moſt probable; for, if *L. Caſſius*, who was overthrown by the *Tigurini* in 646, had been Tribune of the People in 616, he muſt have been the ſecond time Conſul in 646, of which the Conſular Tables take no notice. He was rather, as *Sigonius* conceives, the Son of That Tribune, than the Tribune himſelf.

(27) *Glandorp. pag.* 203, allows ſix Years between his Pretorſhip and his Defeat, tho' there were no more than four.

(28) The *Swiſs* of *Zurich*.

(29) In Faſtis Conſul.

This to me appears very certain, that the *L. Caſſius*, Author of the Maxim *cui bono*, and who was *Reorum Scopulus*, was he, who was Tribune of the People in 616; or he, who, being Pretor in 642, was ſent to *Jugurtha*. The *Delphin* Commentator on *Cicero*'s Orations, is of this laſt Opinion; to which *Valeſius* (30) agreed before him, but without reprehending *Lindenbrogius*, who holds to the other ſide, and whom he has reproved upon another account in the very ſame Note. *Corradus*, in his Commentary upon *Cicero*'s *Brutus*, and the *Delphin* Scholiaſt upon the ſame Book, *Glandorpius*, and ſeveral others, are of *Lindenbrogius*'s Opinion. I hope this will excite the Learned to ſearch into the Bottom of the Queſtion.

(30) In Ammian. Marcell. lib. xxii, pag. 322, Edit. in fol. 1681.

[*E*] *His Severity made all rigid Judges be called* Caſſiani.] This we have learned already from a Paſſage in *Cicero* (31): the Reader has here another of the ſame Author (32). *Non quæro judices* Caſſianos, *veterem judiciorum ſeveritatem non require.* - - - - *I want not* Caſſian *Judges, I require not the ancient judicial Severity. Cicero* had a little before ſaid ironically; *etiam illum ipſum quem tu in coborte tua* Caſſianum *judicem habebas.* - - - - *Even He, the* Caſſian *Judge, whom you had in your Cohort.* To this relates the Paſſage in *Ammianus Marcellinus*'s Twenty ſixth Book: *Jura quidem prætenduntur & leges, & Catonianæ, vel* Caſſianæ *ſententiæ, ſuco perliti reſident Judices;* - - - *There is indeed a ſpecious Pretence of Law, and of* Catonian *or* Caſſian *Determinations; and there is a formal Appearance of Judges.* And this other of *Marcus Aurelius* (33). *Puto me non erraſſe, ſiquidem & tu notum habes Caſſium, hominem* Caſſianæ *ſeveritatis, & diſciplinæ.* - - - - *I believe I was not miſtaken, ſince even you are acquainted with* Caſſius, *a Man of* Caſſian *Severity and Diſcipline.* To all this may be added a Paſſage in the ſame *Marcellinus*'s Thirtieth Book concerning the Emperor *Valentinian*. 'Judices nunquam conſulto malignos 'elegit: ſed ſi ſemel promotos agere didicit immaniter, Lycurgos inveniſſe ſe prædicabat & *Caſſios*, columina juſtitiæ priſcæ, ſcribeaſque hortabatur aſſiduè ut noxas vel leves acerbius vindicarent. - - - 'He never purpoſely choſe auſtere Judges: But if, 'when once promoted, he found, that they behaved 'with cruelty, he gave out, that he had met with 'Lycurgus's, *and* Caſſius's, *the ſupports of ancient* 'Juſtice; *and he was perpetually exhorting them by* 'Letter to animadvert *even ſeverely on ſlight Offences.*' Obſerve, that *Lindenbrogius* refers *Marcellinus*'s firſt Paſſage not to *Lucius Caſſius*, but *Caius Caſſius*, who lived in and after *Tiberius*'s Reign, and who was chief of the *Caſſian* Sect among the Civilians. He ought to have remembered, that, upon theſe words in the Twenty ſecond Book of the ſame Hiſtorian, *Judicibus Caſſiis triſtior & Lycurgis*, he had obſerved, that the *Judices Caſſiani* were ſo called from *L. Caſſius*, of whom *Cicero* ſpeaks in his *Brutus*, and of whom he pretends *Martellinus* ſpoke in that place.

(31) In Remark [*B*].

(32) In the fifth Oration againſt *Verres*, which is likewiſe called the third *in Verrem*, becauſe amongſt thoſe Orations there are two, which are only preliminary. Mr *Valois* the younger, *in Amm. Marcell. pag.* 471, applies one of theſe Paſſages to the firſt *in Verrem*, quoted by his Brother: this muſt certainly be an Error of the Preſs, as is *Veterem*, which is there put for *Verrem*; for, pag. 321, the Elder cites three *in Verrem*.

(33) Epiſt. ad Præf. Prætor.

[*F*] *The Preſident* Bertrand *has ignorantly tranſferred this Honour to another* Caſſius Longinus.] The Paſſages before quoted make up one of the greateſt Elogies Poſterity could find to render Juſtice to the Integrity of *L. Caſſius*, and to immortalize that Paſſion he had to make the rigour of the Laws prevail in his Age. The Preſident *Bertrand* is very much out here (34). He obſerves from *Suetonius*, that *Caius Caſſius Longinus*, who lived under *Nero*'s Reign, was blind, and he pretends that to be a ſignal Mark of an extream Severity, which he proves in the Inſtances of *Caſtellius*, *Appius*, and *Catulus Meſſalinus*. He adds, that this *Caſſius* was ſo ſevere a Judge, that his Bar was called *Scopulus Reorum*. There lies the Miſtake; for he, whoſe Tribunal was ſo called, lived in the days of *Marc Antony* the Orator, about the Year of *Rome* 640, and more than One hundred and fifty Years before *Nero*'s Reign. *Menage* (35) has obſerved it; as did likewiſe *William Grotius*, Brother to the great *Hugo Grotius*, long before (36). It is true he makes *Bertrand* ſay, that *Caſſius* drew That Character upon him by his too great Cruelty; *propter nimiam ſævitiam*; whereas *Bertrand* makes uſe of the Term *ſeveritas*: but perhaps the leaſt Criticiſm upon this would be to renew the *Caſſian* Severity.

(34) Lib. ii, de Jurisper. p. 274.

(35) Amœnitat. Juris, cap. xliii. pag. 420.

(36) *Inviſis Jureconſultorum, quorum in Pandectis extant nomina.* A Work which lay a long time among the Papers of the deceaſed: and worthy of a more correct Impreſſion. It was printed at *Leyden*, in 1690.

[*G*] *I ſhall not forget a Miſtake of* Corradus.] I have produced a Paſſage in *Cicero*, where he ſpeaks of one *L. Caſſius*, who, having been elected Military Tribune, could not have ſat as *Verres*'s Judge, if the Cauſe had been adjourned to the Year following. *Corradus* (37) imagined, either that *Aſconius Pedianus*'s Notes upon the Place had been falſified, or that the Commentator was miſtaken in ſuppoſing, that *Cicero* was ſpeaking of the ſame *L. Caſſius*, who brought in the *Lex Tabellaria* in 617 (38). If *Aſconius* had had that Thought, he had fallen into a very childiſh Error; for there being, according to *Corradus*'s Computation, Sixty ſeven Years at leaſt between the paſſing of that Law, and *Verres*'s Tryal, what a Blunder muſt it be, to imagine, that a Man ſhould be elected Military Tribune, Sixty ſeven Years after he had been Tribune of the People, and when he muſt be near a hundred Years old? But there is nothing of this in *Aſconius*'s Notes; and *Corradus* could not rightly underſtand them. *Aſconius* (39), endeavouring to prove, that *Cicero* was in the right, when he ſaid, that the *Caſſian* Family was always obſerved to have been very ſevere, as well in judicial Matters, as upon other Accounts, obſerves, that from that Family ſprung the *Leges Tabellariæ*, and That *Caſſius*, who asked the Queſtion *cui bono*.

(37) In Brutum Ciceronis, pag. 179.

(38) According to *Corradus*; though, according to others, it was in 616.

(39) In præm. Act. in Verrem.

CASSIUS LONGINUS (Caius), one of the Murderers of *Julius Cæſar*, and he who ſaid to one of his Accomplices, *Strike, though your Daggar paſs through my Body* (*a*), was one of the greateſt Men of his Age. It is true he was a little violent, and to him are aſcribed the Counſels which ſometimes carried *Brutus* too far (*b*). He was a thorough-paced *Epicurean*, and yet behaved himſelf better, and lived up to the Rules of Morality with more Exactneſs, than the greateſt part of the Heathens. He never drank any Wine (*c*). Every one knows that he had this Encomium given him, that he was called the laſt of the *Romani* (*d*). He married *Junia*, *Brutus*'s Siſter, and, as it is thought, had great reaſon to diſtruſt her Conduct [*A*]. He was an excellent Commander, as he made appear to the World, after *Craſſus*'s

(*a*) In cæde dubitanti cuidam, vel per me, inquit, feri. *Aurel. Victor. de Viris illuſtr. pag.* 104.

(*b*) Plut. in Bruto, pag. 1006. *A.*

(*c*) Seneca, Epiſt. 83.

(*d*) See Remark [*B*], of the Article BRUTUS (Marcus Junius).

[*A*] *He married* Junia, Brutus's *Siſter, and it is thought he had great reaſon to diſtruſt her Conduct.*] For otherwiſe he muſt have been deaf to common Fame, or at leaſt have been ignorant of the Suſpicions and Railleries, which fell from the Mouth of the moſt eloquent Orator in *Rome*. *Cicero* ſuppoſes, in the

Crassus's Defeat. The *Parthians*, in pursuit of their Victory, made an Irruption into *Syria*, and sat down before *Antioch*. *Cassius* repulsed them so warmly, that he constrained them to raise the Siege, and took such effectual Measures to beat their Parties, and draw their Army into a disadvantageous Place, that he routed it, killed *Osaces* their General, and obliged *Pacorus*, the King's Son, to abandon *Syria* (e). These things being rightly considered, the greatest part of *Glandorpius's* Criticisms on *Rutilius* falls to the Ground [B]; as will appear in the Remarks. *Marc Antony* began to be sure of the Victory, as soon as he heard that *Cassius* was dead (f). Mr *Moreri's* Faults in this Article are not very many [C]. Mr *Furetiere* has committed a very great Mistake in relation to *Cassius* [D]. *Plutarch* seems to me

(e) Dio, lib. xl. *See Rem.* [A]

(f) Cujus morte inaudita, Antonius exclamasse dicitur. Vid. *Aurel. Vict. de Viris illustr. pag.* 204.

the following Passage, that *Servilia*, not content to have given herself up to *Cæsar*, abandoned to him her Daughter *Junia*, *Cassius's* Wife. ' Mater M. ' Bruti Servilia, cum pretiosum ære parvo fundum ' abstulisset à Cæsare subjiciente hastæ bona civium, ' non effugit dictum tale Ciceronis: Equidem quo ' melius emptum sciatis, comparavit Servilia hunc ' fundum Tertia deducta. Filia autem Servilia erat ' Junia Tertia, eademque C. Cassii uxor: lascivient ' Dictatore tam in matrem quam in puellam, tunc ' luxuriam senis adulteri civitas subinde rumoribus ' jocisque carpebat, ut mala non tantum seria forent (f). — Servilia, *the Mother of* Marcus Brutus, *having purchased a valuable Farm, at a small price, from* Cæsar, *who exposed the Goods of the Citizens to sale, could not escape This Saying of* Cicero. *That you may judge of the Cheapness of the Bargain, you must know that* Servilia *procured this Farm* * for a THIRD part less than the Value. *Now* JUNIA TERTIA *was the Daughter of* Servilia, *and Wife of* C. Cassius; *and the Intrigue of the Dictator with both Mother and Daughter was the Conversation and Jest of the whole Town. Glandorpius* refers us to this Passage in *Macrobius*; and yet he does not know which of *Servilia's* two Daughters *Cicero's* Raillery strikes at; whether at *Junia*, *Lepidus* the Triumvir's Wife, or *Junia* the Wife of *Cassius*. *Utra Tertia fuerit in quam jocatus est Cicero (locus est apud Macrobium lib. ii Saturnal. cap. ii.) non facile dixerim* (2). Can any Man that reads the whole Passage doubt which it was? Observe, that *Cassius's* Wife survived her Husband Sixty four Years (3).

(f) Macrob. Saturn. lib. ii. cap. ii. pag. 263. *See also* Sueton. in Cæsare, cap. l. *I shall quote his Words in Remark* [A], *of the Article* SERVILIA

* It is impossible to preserve the Ambiguity of the Phrase *Tertia deducta*, in *English*.

(2) Gland. Onomast. pag. 478.

(3) Tacit. Annal. lib. iii, sub fin.

[B] *When we consider — that he defeated the* Parthians — *and slew their General* — Glandorp's *Criticisms upon* Rutilius *fall to the Ground.*] Almost his whole Criticism (4) upon a Passage in *Bernardin Rutilius* (5), in which *Cassius*, *Pompey's* Lieutenant and Governour of *Syria*, is said to have warred with the *Parthians*, is ill grounded. The Error in the Passage vanishes, if those two words, *Pompey's Lieutenant*, be suppressed: for in most of the rest we may agree with *Rutilius*. In effect, *Dio* says, that, tho' *Cassius* had not accepted the Command of the Army, which was offered him by the Soldiers, and to which *Crassus* had consented, he nevertheless took upon him the Government of *Syria* (6), after *Crassus's* Defeat, and the *Parthian* Invasion had made it absolutely necessary. It has been already shewn, with what success he managed the War, and how he drove the *Parthians* out of the Province, where he commanded. *Glandorpius* was not ignorant of this in pag 205 (7). So that I cannot comprehend the Reason which he urges against *Rutilius* in pag. 470. It is true, said he, after *Crassus's* Defeat, the Questor *Cassius*, finding himself blocked up in *Antioch*, made several successful Sallies upon the *Parthians*; but this was without any formal Declaration of War; *Bellum nullum justum aut indictum cum illis gessit*. Was it not sufficient that this was a Continuation of that War, which *Crassus* had carried into their Country? What War can be more formal, than that one, commanding in a Province, should fight with those, who with an armed force had broken into it, in consequence of a Victory gained over the Aggressors? If *Glandorpius* had not made use of this Reason, which has spoiled his Criticism, but had satisfied himself with supposing, that *Rutilius* had in view the Wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, his Reflexion had been effectual. Let us see *Cicero's* Account of *Cassius's* Exploits in *Syria* after *Crassus's* Overthrow. ' Neque vero classes de- ' erunt: tanti Tyri Cassium facient, tantum ejus in ' Syria nomen atque Phœnice est. Paratum habet ' Imperatorem C. Cassium P. C. Respublica contra ' Dolabellam, nec paratum solum sed peritum, at- ' que fortem. Magnas ille res gessit ante Bibuli fune- ' mi viri adventum, cum Parthorum nobilissimos ' duces maximasque copias fudit, Syriamque immani ' Parthorum impetu liberavit (8). — *Nor will Fleets be wanting; so highly do the* Tyrians *esteem* Cassius, *and so great is his Renown in* Syria *and* Phœnicia. *The Common-wealth, Fathers Conscript, has a General,* C. Cassius, *ready against* Dolabella, *not ready only, but skilful and valiant. Great Things did he perform, before the Arrival of* Bibulus, *having defeated the bravest Commanders, and gallantest Armies of the* Parthians, *and delivered* Syria *from the violent Attacks of That People.*' See him likewise in the twentieth Letter of his fifth Book to *Atticus*, where he pretends to have alarmed the *Parthians*, and encouraged *Cassius* by his March. ' Ru- ' more adventus nostri, & Cassio, qui Antiochia te- ' nebatur, animus accessit, & Parthis timor injectus ' est. Itaque eos, cedentes ab oppido Cassius insе- ' quutus rem bene gessit, qua in fuga magna auctori- ' tate Osaces dux Parthorum vulnus accepit, eoque ' interiit paucis post diebus. — *Upon the rumour of my Approach,* Cassius, *whowas shut up in* Antioch, *took Heart, and The* Parthians *began to fear. They drew off from before the City, and* Cassius, *pursuing them, gained a Victory; in which Flight,* Osaces, *a Man of great Authority, and General of the* Parthians, *received a Wound, of which he died a few Days after.*' See also *Josephus* cap. 12. lib. 14. Antiq. Judaic.

(4) Onomastic. pag. 470.

(5) An *Italian* Lawyer, who wrote the Lives of the Lawyers, printed at *Basil*, in 1537, and 1557.

(6) Τῆς Συρίας ἐν τε τῷ παρόντι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα προέστη. Tunc Syriæ præfuit & deinde etiam. *Dio, lib.* xl.

(7) Syriam ad versus Parthos defendit, Osace duce cum magna copiarum parte interempto. *Glandorp. Onom. pag.* 205.

[C] *Mr* Moreri's *Faults — are not very many.*] He says *Cassius* was overcome by *Cæsar*, which is false. *Cassius*, after *Pompey's* Defeat, submitted to the Conqueror, and, without any Blows, delivered him up the Fleet under his Command. He had even then a mischievous Design upon *Cæsar's* Life. ' C. Cassius — me auctorem, credo, deside- ' ravit: qui etiam sine his clarissimis viris hanc rem in ' Cilicia ad ostium fluminis Cydni confecisset, si ille ' ad eam ripam quam constituerat, non ad contrariam ' navim appulisset (9).' Nor is it more true, that, *when* Augustus, Marc Antony, *and* Lepidus *entered into a Combination to revenge* Cæsar's *Death*, Cassius *upon that retired into* Syria; for both he and *Brutus* had, before that, secured those Countries which they thought most convenient for their Affairs. As soon as they saw *Marc Antony* and young *Octavius* grown too strong for *Cæsar's* Assassins in *Italy*, they left it, not to go to those Provinces the Senate had assigned them, but to make sure of better: to which end *Cassius*, who was very well known and esteemed in *Syria*, made choice of that, whilst *Brutus* secured *Macedonia*. This we have from *Dio*, *Plutarch*, and several other Historians. I omit saying, that *Moreri* ought to have quoted *Florus* in his fourth Book and seventh Chapter, and not the sixth Chapter of the third Book: He has likewise quoted the first Book of *Epicurus's* Life, written by *Gassendus*, instead of the second. He calls *Cassius's* Freed-man *Dandorus*, though *Plutarch* and *Dio* call him *Pindarus* (10).

(8) Cicero. Philip. xi. cap. xii.

(9) Ib. Philip. ii.

(10) He whom *Cassius* prevailed upon to kill him.

[D] *Mr* Furetiere *has committed a very great Mistake in relation to* Cassius.] I dare venture to say, that these words in *Aulus Gellius* were at least the remote cause of it: *Eum Cassium postea satis notum est vitiis Parthis fusoque exercitu suo miseram mortem oppetisse* (11). *Aulus Gellius* is speaking of a certain Fatality, which was said to attend the Horse of *Sejanus*, which ever brought those, who were in Possession of him, to an untimely end; and, among other Instances brought to prove it, he alledges That of *Caius Cassius*, into whose hands the Horse fell after *Dolabella's* violent Death. Then he adds, that it

(11) Aul. Gell. lib. iii, cap. ix.

me to contradict himself, touching the Death of this illustrious *Roman* [*E*]; and *Dio*'s Reasoning is not just [*F*]. *Eusebius*'s Chronicle wants a little Correction in this Place [*G*]. I wonder that *Plutarch*, and the rest of the Historians, have omitted an Apparition of *Julius Cæsar* to *Cassius* [*H*].

Here is one thing worthy our Observation. *Cassius*, according to *Epicurus*'s Principles, believed the Soul to be mortal; and yet, on the Day in which *Julius Cæsar* was assassinated, he addressed his Prayers to the Manes of *Pompey the Great* [*I*]. He had, upon this occasion, forgot his Philosophy: Nature was more prevalent in him than Art. It was not so with him, when *Brutus* told him, that a Spectre had appeared to him; for, though he ought to have been uneasy under the Apprehension of the Success that attended their Undertaking, he philosophized cooly

it was well known, that *Cassius* died a very miserable Death after having overthrown the *Parthians* (12), and after the loss of his own Army. Nothing could be more improper, than to mention, on such an occasion, *Cassius*'s Advantages over the *Parthians* so long before. Either this Passage has been corrupted, and *Parthis* is put for *Partibus* (13), or else *Aulus Gellius* did not think of what he was saying. Besides, Mr *Furstiere*, who says, that *Cassius*, Master of this Horse, after *Dolabella*'s Death, died in a War against the *Parthians* (14), took it upon trust, or did not consider *Aulus Gellius*'s Words: for, if he had in the least considered it, he would have found that he means That *Cassius*, who was *Cæsar*'s Murderer: and every body knows, that That *Cassius* died not in the *Parthian* War, but in the Battle of *Philippi*, where *Marc Antony* got the Day, as may be seen in *Moreri*.

(12) Or after the *Parthians* had been overthrown.

(13) *See* Gland. Onomast. pag. 470. *The best Editions of* Aulus Gellius *have it* partibus.

(14) Dict. Univers. *under the Word* Cheval.

[*E*] Plutarch *contradicts himself touching the Death of this illustrious* Roman.] He says in one place, that *Cassius* killed himself with the very Dagger he had used against *Cæsar*, and looks on it as a sort of Mystery (15): in another place he only says, that *Cassius* made his Freed-man *Pindarus* kill him (16), and even observes, that *Pindarus* did this Business by cutting off his Head (17). This is confirmed by *Velleius Paterculus*; 'Lacerna caput circumdedit 'extentamque cervicem interritus liberto præbuit. Deciderat Cassii caput cum, &c (18). — *He covered 'his Head with his Cloak, and fearlessly stretched 'out his Neck to his Freed-man. He had cut off the 'Head of* Cassius, *when*, &c.' Now a Dagger is not very proper for such an Execution; and it is certain, most of *Cæsar*'s Murderers made use of Daggers (19). The way for *Plutarch* to have kept up to some Uniformity, had been to say, either that *Cassius* recommended that Dagger to his Freed-man, or that the Freed-man had no other (20).

(15) Plut. in Vitâ Cæsaris, pag. 740.

(16) In Vitâ Marc. Anton. pag. 924, & in Vitâ Bruti, pag. 1004.

(17) In Vitâ Bruti, ibid.

(18) Paterc. lib. ii, cap. lxx.

(19) Suet. in Cæsare, cap. lxxxii, & Val. Pitiscus.

(20) You may see the Figure of *Brutus* and *Cassius*'s Dagger, in a Medal of *Brutus*, pag. 270, of Mr *Spanheim*'s Commentary upon the *Cæsars* of *Julian*.

[*F*] Dio's *reasoning is not just.*] Having said, towards the end of his Forty seventh Book, that *Cassius* made *Pindarus* kill him, and that *Brutus* would be killed likewise by one of his Followers, he begins his Forty eighth Book with saying; Ὁ μὲν οὖν Βροῦτος ὅτι Κάσσιος ὕπτιος ἀπώλετο ξίφεσιν οἷς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεχρήσατο σφαγεῖς (21). Ad hunc igitur modum Brutus & Cassius oppetierunt iis quibus Cæsarem interfecerant gladiis confossi. — *Thus fell* Brutus *and* Cassius, *stabbed with the very Swords, with which they had killed* Cæsar. But, with the Respect due to the ancient Historians, we may say this Narration is a little imperfect, and that no considerate Reader will find any good consequence in it. *Brutus* and *Cassius* were killed by some of their Retinue; they fell, therefore, by the very Swords, with which they had murdered *Cæsar*. This would be more credible, if it appeared they had killed themselves. *Suetonius* indeed says, that some of these Assassins killed themselves with the same Daggers; but he names none of them. *Nonnulli semet eodem illo pugione quo Cæsarem violaverant interemerunt* (22).

(21) Dio, lib. xlviii, init.

(22) Suet. in Jul. fub. fin.

[*G*] Eusebius's *Chronicle wants a little Correction.*] We find there, that *Cassius* seized on *Judæa*, and pillaged the Temple of *Jerusalem* before *Cæsar*'s Death (23); which is false on several Accounts. There was no need of securing *Judæa* at that time; for the *Jews* lived peaceable in Subjection to the *Romans*. *Cassius* never plundered the Temple of *Jerusalem*; if he had, *Josephus* would not have let such an Action pass in Silence, nor contented himself with saying only, that *Cassius* exacted a large Sum of Money from the *Jews*. This was done after *Cæsar*'s Death, when he went to make sure of *Syria* (24). *Eusebius* had been in the right, if he had said, that *Cassius* pillaged the Temples at *Rhodes*; though That ought not to be placed, as it is in his Chronicle, two Years after *Cæsar*'s Death. *Scaliger* says (25), he has mistaken two Years; to me it appears to be but one. However it be, *Cassius*, having defeated the *Rhodian* Fleet, took away their Ships and Money, and pillaged their Temples: He left them nothing but the Chariot of the Sun; and had used them more roughly, but that he remembered the time, when he studied among them. They thought themselves so sure of the Victory, that they shewed him the Chains they had prepared for the *Romans*. they should take Prisoners (26). See how *Valerius Maximus*, that he might the better vent some mysterious witty Conceits, has handled what relates to the Chariot of the Sun (27).

(23) Euseb. in Chron. Num. 1973.

(24) *See* Scaliger's Animadv. in hunc locum Chron. Euseb. pag. 158, *where he observes, that* Jornandes, *according to his Custom, copies these Mistakes from* St Jerom.

(25) Ibid. pag. 160.

(26) Dio, lib. xlvii, pag. 395.

(27) Val. Max. lib. i, cap. v, n. 8.

[*H*] Plutarch, *and other Historians, have omitted an Apparition of* Julius Cæsar *to* Cassius.] I wonder at this Silence in *Plutarch*, who has so carefully recorded all the Prodigies relating to the War with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and that in so great a number, that he thought himself obliged to tell us, that *Cassius* began to waver in his Epicurean Principles (28). *Dio*, who is as careful and industrious upon this Head, as *Plutarch*, takes no more notice of this memorable Apparition than he; and I know none but *Valerius Maximus*, who does. During the Battle at *Philippi*, says he (29), *Cassius*, pushing on with extream Ardor, saw *Cæsar*, who with a Mein more than human, and an angry menacing Countenance, came up full speed to charge him. This Spectacle so amazed him, that he turned his Back, saying, *It is time to give over; what is there more to be done, if to have killed him be not sufficient? Quid enim amplius agas si occidisse parum est?* I should be more surprized to meet with this Adventure in no more than one Author, if I did not know, that there are many things remarkable for their Singularity, which we have but from a single hand; and even sometimes it happens that this single Witness speaks of it but occasionally, and that a long time after the Business is over. Of this the Reader finds several Examples here and there in this Work: Here is one. We are told only by *Ammianus Marcellinus* the Expedient which *Alexander* made use of to expel Sleep (30); and in all likelihood we had never known it, but that he had a mind to give *Julian*, the Apostate, some Superiority over *Alexander*.

(28) Plut. in Vitâ Bruti.

(29) Val. Max. lib. i, cap. ult.

(30) Ammian. Marcell. lib. xvi, cap. v.

A remarkable Fact concerning *Alexander*, which is only to be found in *Ammianus Marcellinus*.

[*I*] *He believed the Mortality of the Soul; and yet on the Day, wherein* Julius Cæsar *was assassinated, he addressed his Prayers to the Manes of* Pompey.] *Plutarch* adds to this Relation, a Reflexion of his own: He says, the Greatness of the Enterprize, and the Dangers, with which it was surrounded, threw *Cassius* into a sort of Enthusiasm, which made him forget his Principles of Philosophy. Καὶ γάρ ἐν καὶ λέγεται Κάσσιος εἰς τὸν ἀνδρεῖον τὰ Ποωτικὰ περὶ τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως ἀποκλῖναι, ἐκπλαγῆναι σωτῆ, παίσας ἐκ ἀλλοτρίων ὧν τῶν Ἐπικούρ λόγων. ἀλλ' ὁ καιρὸς (ὡς ἔοικεν) ἤδη τὸ δεινὸ παρεσκεύαζε, ἐνθουσιασμὸν ἐνεποίει καὶ πάθος, ἀντὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν λογισμῶν. *Quin etiam Cassius fertur, quamvis ab Epicuri doctrina non abhorreret, eam statuam ante aggressionem respiciens tacitus, Pompeium invocasse. Verum articulus ille, utpote tanto jam ingruenti discrimine, amotis prioribus rationibus, fanaticum eum & commotum reddidit* (31).

(31) Plutarch. in Jul. Cæs. pag. 730, *A. See him likewise in* Brutus, pag. 995, *D.*

coolly upon the Matter, and ended with a Wish, that the vulgar Opinion touching the Existence of *Genii* were true [*K*]. The Reason he urged was capable of reviving his Friend's Hopes, and shews us at the same time, that Unbelievers are not always induced to Unbelief by the Motives of Self-love (*g*). I shall enquire into those Religious Phrases, which, they say, he used in haranguing his Soldiers before the Battle [*L*].

(*g*) See Divers Thoughts upon Comets, n. 187, pag. 503.

[*K*] *When* Brutus *gave him an account of an Apparition —— he philosophized coolly upon the matter, and ended with saying, he wished the vulgar Opinion touching the Existence of* Genii *were true.*] This we have from *Plutarch*, Δαίμονας δ' ἢ εἶναι πείθομαι, ἢ τοὺς ἀνθρώπων ἔχειν ἀλλους, ἢ φαντὰ, ἢ δύναμιν, εἰς ἡμᾶς δύνασθαι. ὡς ἴσχυεν ἂν ἐκεῖνον ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἵπποις καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ναυσὶ τοσαύταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν ἀρωγαῖς ἐπιστεύομεν, ἀσεβήματον ἔργον καὶ κακλήσεων ἀγεμόνες ἄνδρες. Genios porro neque esse credibile est: neque si sint, hominum habere figuram vel vocem vel vim quæ ad nos pertingat. Nam equidem ita esse velim, ne tantum equitatu, peditatu, & tanta classe, verum etiam deorum ope freti sanctissimorum & pulcherrimorum duces factorum essemus (32). —— *It is not credible, that there are* Genii; *or, if there be, that they have the Shape or Voice of a Man, or a Force suitable to us: For such I should wish them to be; that, depending not only on our Horse and Fleet, and such a great Fleet; but relying likewise on the Assistance of the Gods, we might perform the noblest and most gallant Actions.* Mr *Balzac* found so much Beauty in this Discourse of *Cassius*, that he paraphrased upon it, on purpose to give us a great Idea of the *Roman* Conversation. ' See, says he (33), how *Cassius* handles a business so disagreeable, and how he improves it for the Benefit of Conversation. Without being a stupid Admirer, or an incredulous Opiniator, he says pleasantly to his Friend, *That the Cares of his Soul, the Distractions of his Mind, the Weariness of his Body, and Darkness of the Night, might very well create that strange Vision, and present it to his Eyes: That, for his Part, the Principles of the Philosophy he professed would not allow him to believe there were any* Genii, *and much less that they were visible: That, notwithstanding, he wished there were, and that his Philosophy were false: Because, in all appearance, these incorporeal Spirits being just and virtuous, the Action of the Ides of* March *was so honourable, and their Cause so honest, that they must needs be of their Party. If so, the Common-wealth would find Friends and Allies, of whom they never dreamed, ready to fight with and support them upon occasion. And then they were not to reckon only on their side so many Companies of Foot, so many Troops of Horse, so many Legions, and Ships: for there was an immortal People, victorious Armies ready, without any Pay, to declare for the Justice of their Cause, whom nothing could tempt to serve* Antony *against* Brutus, *or prefer Tyranny to Liberty.* These, *Madam*, were the dying words of the Republic; which after she had pronounced, she expired. This was the *Roman* Spirit, and the natural Language of Majesty. And do not you think *Cassius* expressed himself very eloquently in it? Should you not be glad to have a more intimate Acquaintance with this excellent Man, and to hear him in some other of his Conversations, upon Subjects more agreeable, and at another time than the Day before the Battle of *Philippi* (34)?'

(32) Id. Ib. Brut. pag. 1001, B.

(33) Balzac, Oeuvres diverses, discours 2, pag. 52, 53.

(34) Here *Balzac* is mistaken; for *Plutarch*, *ubi supra*, says, that this Discourse between *Brutus* and *Cassius* was the Day after the Apparition, and that they were not then passed out of *Asia* into *Europe*.

Plutarch observes, that *Brutus* was encouraged by his Friend's Reasons. They were indeed specious enough; but some will say, did not the Phantom tell *Brutus* that he was his evil Genius? Does not this destroy *Cassius*'s Supposition, that the *Genii* always protect the justest side? Now if we have as much to fear from the ill Offices of these *Genii*, as we have to hope from their good ones; what signifies it whether there be any or no? I answer, that, if we only follow the Light of Nature, an Idea of good *Genii* will be easier formed to us than of wicked ones; and so *Brutus* might more readily be touched by *Cassius*'s Reflexions than by the Discourse of the Phantom.

[*L*] *I shall examine into those religious Phrases, which they say he used in haranguing his Soldiers.*] *Brutus* and *Cassius*, upon a Review of the Army near the Gulf of *Menas* (35), forgot not the Custom of haranguing the Soldiers: *Cassius*, as being the elder Man, made the Speech; and did it so effectually, that they all cried out, *Let us go on, lead us where you please.* Ravished at this Exclamation, he began afresh, and that with this Wish; May the Gods, who preside over War, waged on a just account, grant you a Reward worthy your Fidelity. Θεοὶ μὲν, ἔφη, πολέμων δικαίων ἡγεμόνες, τῆς εἰς ὑμᾶς, ὦ συστρατῶται, καὶ περθυμίας ἀμείψονται (36). *Dii quibus justa bella curæ sunt pro hac fide vobis, commilitones, faxint bene.* He then represented to them the good condition in which, through the Care of their Generals, who had taken all those Measures, which Prudence and the Art of War could suggest, they then were: These, continued he, are the utmost Precautions of human Foresight: the rest depends upon your Valour, and the divine Blessing. Τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀναθήσεις παρὰ τε ὑμῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν (37). *Reliqua & à vestra virtute & à Diis propitiis expectanda sunt.* We will justly pay you all we have promised you; and as we have already assigned Rewards for your Fidelity, so will we take care, by the Gods Assistance (38), to make you Presents worthy the Greatness of the Victory. A Man who talks at this rate must surely have forgotten *Epicurus*'s Principles. Is it not likely, that *Cassius*, upon the brink of that important Day, on which depended all his Fortune, had recourse to those very Divinities, whose Providence he had before been taught to deny? Was he not one of those who forget all the Maxims of Infidelity upon a dangerous Crisis? I have two things to answer: First, It is not certain, that the Speech we find in *Appian* is the same, word for word, as he spoke it. The Historians were Masters of these sort of Harangues; They turned them as they pleased, and mixt in them whatever of their own they thought necessary. My second Answer is, That, supposing *Cassius* continued still as firm to the Doctrine of *Epicurus* as ever, yet might his Discourse be such as the Historian has represented it. He knew well such Expressions as these would be very acceptable to the Soldiers. From thence he conceived a great Argument for Hope, which it was his Business to improve. A wise General, upon these Occasions, suits his Language, not to his own Philosophical Opinions, but the inbred Notions of his Army.

(35) *In* Thrace.

(36) Appian. lib. iv, Bell. civil. pag. 646.

(37) Id. ibid. pag. 647.

(38) Κατὰ γνώμην θεῶν. Dii volentibus, ibid.

CASSIUS LONGINUS (Caius), a great Civilian in *Nero*'s Reign.

(*a*) De Origine Juris, leg. 2, §. fin.

Some Critics pretend, that *Pomponius* (*a*) has confounded him with *L. Cassius Longinus*, who married a Daughter of *Germanicus* [*A*]. This is less to be wondered at than

[*A*] *Some Critics pretend, that* Pomponius *has confounded him with* Lucius Cassius Longinus, *Son-in-law of* Germanicus.] I shall not enter into a Dispute either for or against him. They say that of two Persons he has made but one, having confounded *L. Cassius Longinus* with *Caius Cassius Longinus*; of whom, the first was Consul *An. Rom.* 783, and after that married to *Drusilla*, *Germanicus*'s Daughter, in 785, and at last slain by *Caligula*'s Order: The other was Governor of *Syria* under *Claudius*, and banished by *Nero*. *Lipsius*, who, treading in *Glandorp*'s Steps, has arraigned *Pomponius* upon this Matter, is called to an Account, in his Turn, by the President *Bertrand*, and *William Grotius*. This Affair shall be enquired into upon another Occasion.

I shall

than the little Conformity, which appears in the cotemporary Authors, touching the Punishment which *Nero* inflicted upon our Lawyer [*B*]. Some of them say that he banished him; others, that he put him to Death. The Commentators have neglected

I shall only observe at present, that, if it be true, as *Lipsius* pretends (1), that he, who was married to *Drusilla* in 785, had been Consul in 783, it is strange *Tacitus* should not say one of Word it, when, upon account of this Wedding, he tells us who this *Cassius* was, whom *Tiberius* had made Choice of to bestow upon his adopted Grand-daughter; and is so particular as to tell us, That, it is true, his Family was *Plebeian*, but very ancient, and dignified with several Employments of the Commonwealth, and that this *Cassius* had been bred up under the severe Discipline of his Father, and was more to be admired for his Affability, than for the Greatness of his Soul (2). Can any Affectation of Brevity, though ever so great, excuse, in such a Case, the mentioning, when the thing is known, that such a Man was a Consul, and how he discharged That Trust. It follows, therefore, either that *Cassius* was not Consul in 783, or, which is not very likely, that *Tacitus* knew nothing of it. On the other side, if *Pomponius* believed his *Cassius Longinus* had been Consul in 783, how came he to be ignorant of a thing more glorious to him, than the Consulship, and not to know that the same *Cassius* had the Honour, two Years after, to marry *Tiberius*'s Grandchild? It is a strange thing, that he should be mistaken, in giving *Caius Cassius* the Consulship of *Lucius Cassius*, and afterwards, when his Hand was in, that he would not give him likewise the Wife of *Lucius Cassius*.

But it may be alledged, in *Lipsius*'s Behalf, that *Suetonius* says expresly, that *Drusilla* was married to *Lucius Cassius Longinus*, a Man of Consular Dignity. To which I answer; *Suetonius* says no more, than that *Caligula* took his Sister *Drusilla* from her Husband *Cassius*, who had been Consul. Now these two Expressions are very different. There were five Years between *Drusilla*'s Marriage, and *Caligula*'s Reign: In which Interval, *L. Cassius* might have been Consul by Substitution, and so *Drusilla*'s Husband might be of Consular Dignity when he lost his Wife, though he was not when he married her. See what odd Conclusions some Men draw from Passages, which they quote, and do not weigh with a *Cassian* Exactness. *Suetonius* says, *Lucio Cassio Longino Consulari collocatam* (Drusillam) *abduxit* (Caligula) (3). *Lipsius*, without taking notice of *Caligula* or the *abduxit*, makes *Suetonius* say, *Drusillam collocatam L. Cassio Longino Consulari*: Words, which, being propounded after so loose a manner, and as a Proof of *Lipsius*'s particular Opinion, naturally bear no other Sense than this: Drusilla *was married to* L. Cassius Longinus, *who had been Consul*. *Des Cartes* has very well observed, that the main Spring, from whence our Errors flow in Philosophical Matters, is, that we crowd more things into our Judgments than our distinct Ideas present to us. We may say likewise, that the multitude of Mistakes, that abound in critical Writings, proceed chiefly from the Licence the Critics take of extending farther than they ought the Authorities upon which they build.

(1) Lipsius in Tacit. Annal. lib. vi, cap. xv.

(2) Cassius Plebei Romæ generis, verum antiqui honoratique, & severa Patris disciplina eductus, facilitate sæpius quam industriis commendabatur. *Tacit. Ann. lib. vi, cap. xv.*

(3) Sueton. in Calig. cap. xxiv.

[*B*] *There is but little Conformity in Authors touching the Punishment, which* Nero *inflicted upon our Lawyer.*] The Splendor, in which our *Caius Cassius Longinus* had lived, seems to me to leave no room for those two different Accounts, so directly opposite one to the other, of *Nero*'s Treatment of him. Some say, he put him to death; others, that he banished him into *Sardinia*. These are two contradictory Opinions; it is saying *Nero* did put him to death, and he did not put him to death; how comes it about that we should have Authority for the *Aye* and the *No*, by virtue of what some Authors, almost cotemporary, have left behind them? It would be not less surprizing, if People should begin to say now, that *Barneveilt* was only banished, and Mr *Fuques* put to death. But, whether we have reason to be surprized or no, all that can be said as certain, is, that on one side several ingenious Men, relying upon the Authority of *Suetonius* and *Juvenal*, affirm, that *Nero* put *Caius Cassius* to death; on the other, that many learned Men, building upon the Credit of *Tacitus* and *Pomponius*, assure us, in the most express manner, that he was sent into Banishment.

Let us first hear the Evidence these two last give. 'Tunc Consulto Senatus, *says* Tacitus (4), Cassio & Silano EXSILIA decernuntur. —— DEPORTATUSQUE IN INSULAM SARDINIAM Cassius, & Senatus jus expectabant (5). — *By Decree of the Senate*, Cassius *and* Silanus *were sentenced to Banishment*. —— *And* Caius Cassius *was carried into the Island* Sardinia, *&c.*' Here *Tacitus* leaves him, without telling us what became of him afterwards; but we find in another Author, that he was restored by *Vespasian*, and died peaceably. 'Plurimum in civitate auctoritatis habuit, eo usque donec eum Cæsar CIVITATE PELLERET; PULSUS AB EO IN SARDINIAM, revocatus à Vespasiano, diem suum obiit (6). —— *He had great Authority in the State, 'till* Cæsar *banished him; and, being driven by Him into* Sardinia, *and afterwards recalled by* Vespasian, *he died at Home.*' Let us see, whether *Suetonius* and *Juvenal* tell us as clearly, that *Nero* caused him to be put to death. *Suetonius*, having told us, that *Nero* put whom he thought fit to death, upon the least Pretence, without having any regard to Persons or Distinction, adds, with respect to four Persons, the Crimes of which they were accused (7). *Cassius Longinus*, the Civilian, one of the four, was accused, says he, for having preserved *Cassius*'s Picture, one of *Cæsar*'s Murderers, in the Genealogical Table of his Family; *quod in vetere gentili stemmate C. Cassii percussoris Cæsaris imagines retinuisset*. This, according to *Tacitus*, is one of the Heads of this Great Man's Accusation. 'Objectavit Cassio (*Nero*) quod inter imagines majorum etiam C. Cassii effigiem coluisset, ita inscriptam, DUCI PARTIUM (8). —— Nero *objected to* Cassius, *that, among the Pictures of his Ancestors, he respected That of* C. Cassius, *inscribed thus*, 'TO THE LEADER OF THE PARTY.' This proves, that these two Historians speak of the same *Cassius*; and yet they say very expresly, one, that he was banished, the other, that he was put to death. For *Suetonius* must have been in a Dream, if he had spoken, as he does, without designing to let us know, that *Nero* ordered this Civilian to be put to death. As for *Juvenal* (9), I find him no less positive than *Suetonius*. Not but that a Banishment into *Sardinia*, which was looked on as a desolate, unhealthy, Island, might pass with him for a Misfortune bad enough, to say, that *Cassius Longinus*, whose mighty Riches had brought him to it, was an Example of the Miseries, to which the Rich, and not the Poor, are exposed; which is the Design of the Poet in that Place; but he had before determined what manner of Misfortune he would impute to the Wealthy, and said, that a great many had been strangled by their accumulated Treasures.

(4) Tacit. Annal. lib. xvi, cap. ix.

(5) *Lipsius* looked on these last Words as a Wound incurable; but they have been ingeniously corrected by the President *Bertrand*, and *William Grotius*, both lighting almost upon the same Thought; the first reads it *nec Senatus jus expectabatur*; and the other, *nec Senatus jussus expectabatur*. *Nicolas Heinsius*'s Conjecture, which *Mr Rittershusius*, *Animadv. ad Tac. pag.* 282, takes to be the most probable of all, is, that it ought to be read *At Senectus ejus respectabatur*. But *Don Nicolas Antonio*, *de juribus Exulum*, *lib.* i, *p.* 72, pretends it ought to be *at senex tutius aspectabatur*, or *despectabatur*.

(6) Pomponius in lib II, de Orig. Juris.

(7) Sueton. in Ner. cap. xxxvii.

(8) Tacit. Ann. lib. xvi, cap. viii.

(9) Juven. Sat. x, ver. 12, &c.

Sed plures nimia congesta pecunia curâ
STRANGULAT.

But more have been by Avarice oppress'd,
And Heaps of Money crowded in the Chest.
DRYDEN.

It follows therefore, that the two Examples, viz. of *Longinus* and *Seneca*, which follow immediately after, must be Examples of Death.

Temporibus diris igitur, jussuque Neronis
Longinum & magnos Senecæ prædivitis hortos
Clausit, & egregias Lateranorum obsidet ædes
Tota cohors.

For this, in Nero's *arbitrary Time,*
When Virtue was a Guilt, and Wealth a Crime,
A Troop of cut-throat Guards were sent to seize
The Rich Men's Goods, and gut their Palaces.
Idem.

Tacitus

neglected to clear up this Confusion [C]. They, who will have it, that *Germanicus*'s Son-in-law was a Civilian (*b*), have, I think, no Grounds for it [D]. The Omission of one Word has occasioned a great Mistake in Mr *Chevreau*'s History [E]. It was not corrected in the Edition of the *Hague*, 1698.

(*b*) Glandorp. Onomast. pag. 204, 468.

Tacitus observes likewise, that *Cassius*'s Riches were one Cause of his Persecution; from whence it appears, that *Juvenal*, and he, meant the same Man. 'Nullo crimine, *says he*, *Annal. cap. 7. lib. 16.* 'nisi quod Cassius OPIBUS vetustis & gravitate morum - - - - præcellebat. —— Cassius's *only Crime* 'was his great Wealth, and the Gravity of his 'Manners.' The other Cause of his Persecution, was his Gravity, that Virtue of Severity hereditary in his Family, of which he had given so many Examples, as well in maintaining a Military Discipline in *Syria* in the very midst of Peace (10), as in affirming, that the Law ought to be observed, which adjudged all That Man's Slaves to death, who had been murdered by any one of them (11).

(10) Tacit. Ann. lib. xii, cap. xii.

(11) Id. Ann. lib. xiv, cap. xliii. *See likewise* Chap. xlviii, Book xiii, *and* xii.

[C] *The Commentators have neglected to clear up this Confusion.*] It is not easy to conceive why they neglected inquiring either into *Tacitus* or *Pomponius*'s Mistake, or That of *Juvenal* and *Suetonius*. The Commentators upon *Juvenal* (12) and *Suetonius* (13) tell us, that *Nero* put *Cassius Longinus* to death, and say nothing of *Tacitus*'s Opinion, so very opposite to it. Those upon *Tacitus* (14) make no mention of the contrary Account, but speak only of his Exile. No more do they, who have written the Lives of the ancient Civilians (15). There are even some Writers, who quote *Suetonius*, to prove that *Cassius* was blind (16), but take no notice of what is close to it, that *Nero* put him to death.

(12) Britannicus, Autumnus, Farnabius, Pratens, &c *I do not pretend to affirm this absolutely of all, any more than of the Commentators upon* Suetonius.

(13) Suetonius *Variorum*, Grævii, Pitiſci, Ch. Stephens *and* Lloyd *do the same.*

(14) Lipsius, Ryckius.

(15) Bertrand, William Grotius.

(16) Glandorp. pag. 205. Bertrand. pag. 274.

(17) Sueton. in Caligula, cap. xxiv, lvii.

[D] *There is no Foundation for saying, that* Germanicus's *Son-in-law was a Civilian.*] If he had been so, *Tacitus* certainly would have added it to the rest of his good Qualities, which he sums up on occasion of his marrying *Tiberius*'s Grand-child. *Suetonius*, who makes mention of him, and tells us, that *Caligula* first deprived him of his Wife, and, after that, of his Life (17), would have characterized him to us as a Civilian, if he really had been, as *Glandorpius* pretends (18), That Famous Civilian, who succeeded, in the Profession of the Law, *Mafurius Sabinus*, and whose Mother, *Tubero*'s Daughter, was *Sulpitius*'s Grand-daughter, the Oracle of the Law. *Suetonius* has represented *Cassius Longinus* as a Civilian, who was really so (19); why therefore was he not as exact in relation to *L. Cassius Longinus? Tacitus* has not omitted *C. Cassius*'s Skill in the Law. *Cæteros ea tempestate Cassius præeminebat peritia legum* (20).

(18) Onomast. pag. 204.

(19) In Nerone, cap. xxxvii.

(20) Tacit. Annal. lib. xii, cap. xli.

A MISTAKE of *Hoffman.*

Mr *Hoffman* has multiplied these Civilians after another manner; he has made one of him, who was put to death by *Nero*, according to *Suetonius*, and another of him, who was only banished into *Sardinia* by the same *Nero*, according to *Tacitus*.

[E] *The Omission of a Word has occasioned a great Mistake in Mr* Chevreau's *History.*] It is, in all Appearance, an Error of the Press. We find, in the ninth Chapter of the third Book of his History of the World, that Nero *put* Cassius Longinus *to death, for having placed, among the Pictures of his Ancestors, That of* Julius Cæsar. The Printer omitted *the Murderer of*, and the Corrector, not well remembring the Story, and finding, notwithstanding the Omission, a Cause plausible enough for *Nero* to put any one to death, left the thing as he found it, and they have not thought fit in *Holland* to rectify it. This Conjecture is very probable, and I wish we found, in the Books that are extant, no greater Errors of the Copyists and Printers than this.

Since the first Impression of this Dictionary, we have had an Edition of Mr *Chevreau*'s Works (21), according to *the Alterations*, made by him, *almost in every Page of the former Editions* (22). I find no Alteration in the Passage, relating to our *Cassius*; so that now I dare not lay the Fault upon the Printers.

(21) *At the* Hague, 1698.

(22) The Publisher's Preface.

CASSIUS HEMINA (Lucius), a *Roman* Historian, who flourished in the beginning of the VIIth Century of *Rome*. He composed four Books of Annals. By the Passages we find quoted from them (*a*), we may judge that he went back as far as the Times preceding *Romulus*, and that he continued it thro' the Kings of *Rome*, down to his own Times. He described the second *Punic* War in his last Book (*b*). They, who say that he lived in *Augustus*'s Reign, are very much mistaken [A], and confound him with *Cassius Severus* [B]. There is, in *Charles Stephens*'s Dictionary, a wretched Blunder concerning *Cassius Hemina* [C].

(*a*) *See* Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag. 27, 110.

(*b*) Bellum Punicum posterior. *Prisciani*, lib. vii, *apud Vossium de Hist. Lat. pag.* 27. *The Noun in* or *were formerly common to both Genders.* Vossius, ibid.

[A] *They, who say he lived in* Augustus's *Reign, are very much mistaken.*] *Vossius* has discovered the Grounds of their Mistake. *Priscian*, says he (1), quotes, in one place, *Cassius ad Mæcenatem*, and, in another, *Cassius ad Tiberium*; upon this, they imagined it related to *Cassius Hemina*. *Simler* first maintained, in his Epitome of *Gesner*'s *Bibliotheca*, that *Cassius Hemina* had dedicated his History and Annals to *Mæcenas* and *Tiberius*. *La Popelinière* afterwards affirmed the same thing (2). *Guillandin* and *Dalechamp* push the Matter farther; they think *Pliny* ought not to have called an Author very ancient, *vetustissimum*, who, as they gather from the Persons, to whom he dedicated his Works, preceded him not above seventy Years; they change therefore *vetustissimum* into *verissimum* (3). The Truth of the Matter is, that this *Cassius Hemina* flourished when the *Ludi Sæculares* were celebrated for the fourth time, *viz. Ann. Rom.* 608 or 607. As to *Priscian*'s *Cassius*, he was *Cassius Severus*, the Orator, if *Vossius* (4), and Father *Hardouin* (5), may be believed.

(1) Voſſius de Hiſtoric. Lat. pag. 87.

(2) *Cassius Hemina* wrote Annals, and some Historical Books, which he sent to the Emperor *Tiberius*, and *Mæcenas*. *La Popelinière Hiſt. des Hiſtoires, pag.* 318.

(3) Cassius Hemina vetuſtiſſimus auctor Annalium. *Plinius, lib.* xiii, *cap.* xiii.

(4) Vossius, ubi supra.

(5) In Indice Autorum Plinii; *where there is a Mistake in the Article of* Cassius Hemina; *for the beginning of* Tiberius's *Reign is placed in the Year of* Rome 780.

(6) Vossius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 110.

[B] ----- *and confound him with* Cassius Severus.] *Vossius* seems very much in the right, when he charges this Mistake upon *Tertullian*'s Copyists (6). It is, without doubt, better to lay the Charge here, than to throw it upon *Tertullian* himself. However it be, we find *Cassius Severus* cited, with *Cornelius Nepos*, in *Tertullian*'s Apology, and That to justify a Matter, of which it is certain *Cassius Hemina* treated; whereas it does not certainly appear, that the other *Cassius* wrote any History, properly speaking. *Vossius* thinks therefore, that *Tertullian* quoted only *Cassius*, meaning *Hemina*, and that *Severus* at length crept into the Text, as the Gloss of an ignorant Copyist. He confirms his Conjecture by this Observation; *viz.* that *Minutius Felix*, and *Lactantius*, repeating *Tertullian*'s Objection, quote *Cassius*, without adding *Severus*. It is true, they rank him after *Cornelius Nepos*; but it does not follow from thence, that they pretend his History to be subsequent to That of *Nepos*; for then we might, upon as good ground, conclude, that *Lactantius* supposed *Varro* to have lived in the Reign of *Tiberius*, because he places him after *Cassius*; *Latini Nepos, & Cassius, & Varro* (7). It has been observed to those, who run down *Calvin*, for having added, immediately after he had been speaking of *Arius*, *surrexit postea Sabellius*, that a great many, well versed in Ecclesiastical History and Chronology, have sometimes ranked the Heretics preposterously, where there was no occasion to give a precise Account of the Time in which they lived (8).

(7) Lact. Divinor. Institut. lib. i. cap. xiii.

(8) *See* Epistola Apologetica Jacobi Basnagii, impressa Burdigalæ, 1667, *where these Words are quoted from* Nicolas Vignier; apud Alexandriam congregata fuit Synodus constans probè & Catholicis Episcopis, per quorum literas à utraque Arii & Sabellii damnata fuit; *and these from* Carranza; damnavit ita Celixtum, Arium, Photinum, & Sabellium.

[C] *There is, in* Charles Stephen's *Dictionary, a wretched Mistake concerning* Cassius Hemina.] We there find one *Cassius Hemina*, a Surgeon of *Rome*, made a Citizen for his great Skill, and gratified with a Shop in the Place called *Acilia*. This is said upon the Credit of *Pliny*, Chap. 7 of the Twenty fifth Book, and the third of the thirtieth; though

though there is nothing of this in either of the forecited Places, nor in any other throughout *Pliny*. All he has said, which bears any Relemblance to it, is in the first Chapter of the Twenty ninth Book: 'Cassius Hemina, says he, a very ancient Author, 'assures us, that the first Physician, that ever came 'to *Rome*, was *Archagatus*, the Son of *Lysanias*, 'who removed thither out of *Peloponnesus* in the 'Year of *Rome* 535, where he had the Privilege 'of a Citizen, and had a Shop bought for him, 'at the public Expence, in the Place called *Acilia*.' The Reader may see plainly the enormous Difference there is between what *Pliny* is made to say, and what he really does say. And it is very strange to me, that neither *Frederick Morel*, Royal Professor, nor Mr *Lloyd*, nor *Hofman*, have corrected this gross Blunder in *Charles Stephens*. It is entire and perfect in the Edition of 1620, and That of 1662. Mr *Lloyd* has only altered the Figures, which refer to the Citation from *Pliny*, without making them better: He has reduced them to these two, 7. 25. Mr *Hofman* has copied *Lloyd*, Letter for Letter. Immediately after, they give us, in good order, from the Remarks of *Vossius*, the Article of *Cassius Hemina*, the Annalist, the only one they ought to have mentioned, omitting their chimerical Surgeon of that Name.

CASSIUS SEVERUS (TITUS), a famous Orator in *Augustus*'s Time, who distinguished himself principally by a fatirical Humour, which drove him at length into Banishment, a Misfortune attended with a great many others, which ended not but with his Life (*a*). Mr *Moreri* has confounded him with another *Cassius*, sirnamed *Parmensis*, a great Versifier, and one of *Cæsar*'s Murderers: A Mistake, which has led him into a great many others [*B*], besides those which sprung

(*a*) See Remark [*G*].

[*A*] Moreri *has confounded him with another* Cassius, *sirnamed* Parmensis. I cannot find, that any of the Ancients have given him the Name of *Severus*; and yet Father *Hardouin* tells us (1), he was called *Cassius Severus Parmensis*, and that the Orator, *Cassius Severus*, to prevent the being confounded with him, was sirnamed *Longulanus*, from *Longula*, the Place of his Nativity (2). I could wish he had given us Proofs of all this, and told us whether the Poet was sirnamed *Parmensis*, because he was born at *Parma*. Of this we have reason to doubt, when we consider that *Horace* calls him *Hetruscum* (3), *Tuscan*, and that *Parma* was then in *Gallia Cisalpina*; but, since it once belonged to *Tuscany*, why might not a Man, who was a Native of *Parma*, be still called *Hetruscus*? The same Father *Hardouin* observes, that the preceding Editions of *Pliny* marked *Cassius Severus, Longulanus*, as if they had been too different Authors, and that, in effect, *Similer*, in his Abridgment of *Gesner's Bibliotheque*, has made *Longulanus* a distinct Author. He tells us moreover, that there is an Epigram of this *Cassius Parmensis* upon *Orpheus*, inserted by *Pithœus* in his Collection of antient Poems, published at *Paris* in 1590. I add to this, that the Epigram upon *Orpheus* appeared before *Pithœus*'s Collection. *Achilles Statius* was the first, who published it (4): Afterwards *Nathan Chytræus* adorned it with a Comment. Many are of Opinion, that it is a supposititious Piece, and that *Achilles Statius* was the real Author of it (5). Every one knows how *Muretus* imposed upon the greatest Critic of his Time (6), in making some Verses pass with him for *Trabeas*'s (7), as having been found in an old Manuscript, which *Muretus* had made himself. Why might not *Achilles Statius* make the same Trial of the public Taste? *Sigonius* did it once, as appears by the Book *de Consolatione*, which he would have pass for *Cicero*'s.

(1) Comment. in Plin. Tom. I, in Indice Autorum.

(2) A Town of *Italy*, in the Country of the *Volsci*, near *Rome*.

(3) Lib. I, Sat. 10.

(4) *In his Notes upon* Sueton. de claris Rhetoribus.

(5) *See* Vossius de Poet Lat. *and the* Thesaurus Scholasticus Eruditionis.

(6) Jos. Scaliger.

(7) An old comic Poet.

[*B*] *A Mistake, which has led him into a great many others.*] I. He observes that *this* Cassius's *Writings, for being prejudicial to the Reputation of Persons of Quality, made* Augustus *enquire into all the remarkable Pieces, which were published.* This shows he did not rightly understand the Passage in *Vossius*: *Scriptis suis procacibus profecidisse viros fœminasque illustres, eaque re occasionem dedisse Augusto, ut* de libellis famosis cognitionem susciperet (8). Who would imagine, unless he saw it, that the Emperor, by this Passage, was curious of enquiring into the Famous Pieces, that were made public, and not rather armed with a just Indignation against scandalous Libels, and ordering his Judges to enquire into them, and punish the Authors? I believe Mr *Moreri* would have come off better, if he had gone back to the Source which *Vossius* shewed him, I mean the First Book of *Tacitus*'s Annals; for there he would have found, that *Augustus* was the first, who, by vertue of the Law *de Majestate*, took cognizance of the Books, which the *Latins* called *Famosi*; from whence he would have concluded, that it was not out of Curiosity for all Famous Writings, but to cause a judicial Information against such Pieces, as those of *Cassius Severus*, that the Emperor was brought to this new Piece of Law. Now, what sort of Writings were these of *Cassius Severus*? They were Satires, wherein the Reputation of several Illustrious Persons of both Sexes had been torn to Pieces. Let us see *Tacitus*'s Words. 'Primus Augustus cognitionem de famosis libellis 'specie legis ejus (*Majestatis*) tractavit, commotus 'Cassii Severi libidine, qua viros fœminasque illus- 'tres procacibus scriptis diffamaverat (9). —— Au- 'gustus *was the first, who took cognizance of diffa-* 'matory *Libels by Virtue of the Law* de Majestate, 'moved thereto by the Licentiousness of Cassius Seve- 'rus, *with which he libelled the Characters of Per-* 'sons *of the first Rank, both Men and Women.*' II. Mr *Moreri* says, in the second place, that *Cassius Severus* 'was one of those, who conspired a- 'gainst *Cæsar*; that, after the Defeat of *Brutus* and 'Cassius, in the Year 712, he followed young *Pom-* 'pey; after that *Antony*, and that at length *Au-* 'gustus gave *Varus* orders to kill him, who, having 'found him in his Study, set it on Fire, and burnt 'him and his Books together.' All this is false, and belongs to another *Cassius*, quite different from the present, as we shall see hereafter (10). III. *Tacitus says, however, (Moreri* goes on*) that he was confined, by* Tiberius's *Order, to the Isle of* Crete. This is something indeed, and properly belongs to our *Cassius*; but Mr *Moreri* cannot keep long in the right Road, without launching out again. *Tacitus* does not tell us, that it was *Tiberius* who confined *Cassius* to the Isle of *Crete*; he says only, under the Year 777, which was the tenth of *Tiberius*, that *Cassius*'s Punishment was aggravated; for, instead of suffering him to continue in *Crete*, he was shut up in the little Isle of *Seriphus*, with an Interdiction of Fire and Water (11). We cannot gather from this Passage whether he was banished into *Crete* under *Augustus*'s Reign, or after his Death; and, supposing it was after the Death of that Emperor, Mr *Moreri* has, however, put Words into *Tacitus*'s Mouth which he never spoke. But what if we should prove, that he was banished in *Augustus*'s Reign? which is done thus. *Cassius*, according to St *Jerom*'s Chronicle, died *An. Christi* 33 (12), and the Twenty fifth of his Exile: It follows therefore, that he was confined to the Isle of *Crete An. Dom.* 8, which was the Fiftieth of *Augustus*'s Reign. Now, since *Augustus* did not die till the Fifty sixth Year of his Reign, *Cassius*'s Exile must precede *Tiberius*'s Reign five or six Years. Hence it is that *Scaliger* reckons that *Ovid* and *Cassius* were banished much about the same time (13). IV. This evidently proves another Fault in Mr *Moreri*: He makes St *Jerom* say, that *Cassius* died *after he had been an Exile fifteen Years, in the fourth Year of the* CCth *Olympiad; that is to say, about the Year of* CHRIST 24. It is but looking into St *Jerom*'s Chronicle, and we shall there find, that *Cassius* died in the Twenty fifth Year of his Exile, the fourth of the CCIId Olympiad, the Thirty third of JESUS CHRIST, and the Nineteenth of *Tiberius*. We cannot suppose here, that the Printer mistook one Figure for another; for, besides that there are some of these Numbers written at length, in this Article of *Moreri*, is it likely a Print-

(8) De Hist. Lat. pag. 109.

(9) Tacit. Annal lib. I, cap. lxxii.

(10) In Remark [*L*].

(11) Annal. lib. iv, cap. xxi.

(12) Andr. Schottus *has erroneously made it* 39, *in his Tract* de claris apud Sen[illegible] Rhetoribus.

(13) Scaligeri Animadv. in Eusseb. pag. 18[illegible], ad num. 2048.

sprung from another Cause. The Reader shall have them in the Remarks, with a Blunder of the learned Apologist of Cardinal *Mazarin* [C]. *Vossius* has likewise confounded the Orator with the Poet [D]; for which he has been censured in some Remarks, which will not all stand the test. Some, on the other side, have split *Cassius Severus* into two [E]. This is not He, to whom *Ovid* wrote [F]; which *Scaliger* knew very well, though he refutes the Error by bad Reasons [G]. Difficulties

ter should mistake the Figures three times together, with the Symmetry we find here between the Faults? V. His last Blunder is, That he applies to *Cassius Severus* what *Horace* spoke of *Cassius Parmensis*, *viz.* That his Poetical Vein was more rapid than a Torrent, *&c.* I omit the Authors cited at the End of the Article, which have not one Word of our *Cassius Severus*.

[C] *A Blunder of a learned Apologist of Cardinal* Mazarin.] I mean *Gabriel Naudæus*. *Cassius Parmensis*, says he (14), *having written against* Augustus, Albius Tibullus *undertook his Defence.*

(14) Naud. Dialog. de Mascurat. pag. 64.

* Hor. lib. I, Ep. 4, ver. 3.

* Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat?

But as for the Emperor, he was not at all concerned at it. Never was any thing more improperly alledged than this Verse of *Horace*; for he not only does not assure us, that *Tibullus* wrote any thing relating to *Cassius Parmensis*, and speaks only as doubting of it; but he supposes that, if *Tibullus* was about any thing of that nature, it was not to answer a Satire written against *Augustus*, but to exceed *Cassius Parmensis*. See the Verses following, and consult Mr *Dacier*'s Notes upon them.

Albi nostrorum sermonum candide Judex,
Quid nunc te dicam facere in regione Pedana?
Scribere quod Cassi Parmensis opuscula vincat?
An tacitum Sylvas inter reptare salubres,
Curantem quicquid dignum sapiente bonoque
est (15)?

(15) Hor. Ibid.

Albius, *the fairest Critic that I know,*
What shall I say, that you are doing now?
In Pedan *Fields do you design to write*
More great than Cassius, *and with higher flight?*
Or do'st thou gravely walk the healthy Wood,
Considering what befits the Wife and Good?

CREECH.

EXAMINATION of a Criticism of Mr *Dacier* on *Vossius*.

[D] Vossius *has likewise confounded the Orator with the Poet.*] Mr *Dacier*, in his excellent Notes upon *Horace*, has taken notice of this Mistake (16). If it were true, that the Poet was called *Severus* (17), I should see but one Proof of *Vossius*'s having confounded him with the Orator; for in this case he might have given the Poet the Name of *Cassius Severus Parmensis*, without confounding him with the Orator. And as for the Passage in *Quintilian*, which relates to *Cassius* the Orator, and which Mr *Dacier* quotes, to prove that *Vossius* had confounded the two *Cassii*, it can be no Proof; for *Vossius* had not that Passage in View, but quoted another out of the same *Quintilian*, relating, not to *Cassius Severus* the Orator, but *Cornelius Severus* the Poet (18). There is therefore but this one Proof left to Mr *Dacier*; which is, that *Vossius* applies to *Cassius Parmensis* what the old Scholiast upon *Horace* says of *Cassius Severus* on Od. vi. lib. v; so that Mr *Dacier* might have said that *Vossius* has applied to the Poet *Cassius*, not only what belongs to the Orator, but also what belongs to *Cornelius Severus* the Poet. *Vossius* is not guilty of this Mistake in his Book of the *Latin* Historians; for there he applies this Ode of *Horace* to *Cassius Severus* the Orator, distinguishes him from *Cornelius Severus*, and censures *La Popelinière* for having confounded them (19).

(16) Tom. V, pag. 147, five in 6 Od. Epod. aut lib. v.

(17) Hardouin. in Indice Autorum Plin *assures as he was.*

(18) Vossius de Poetis Lat. pag. 24.

(19) Vide Vossium de Hist. Lat. pag. 109.

[E] *Some have split* Cassius Severus *into two.*] We shall now see, that, as, on one hand, *Cassius Severus*, and *Cassius Parmensis*, have been reduced into one, so, on the other, *Cassius Severus* has been divided into two. *Glandorpius*, having related most of the Things, which are reported of him, presently after tells us, that there was another *Cassius Severus*, flourishing under *Vespasian*, and mentioned by *Pliny cap. xi. lib. xxxv* (20); but this is the same with him, who was banished for his Slanders. This will appear at first Sight, if we consider upon what Occasion *Pliny* speaks of this *Cassius*: After having spoken of certain Dishes of so enormous a Capacity, that perhaps Luxury never appeared in greater Triumph than there, he adds, that *Vitellius*'s Dish was not more infamous, than That of *Asprenas*, with which a hundred and thirty Guests had been poisoned, as *Cassius Severus*, *Asprenas*'s Accuser, objected to him. Now we are told by *Suetonius* (21) that it was in *Augustus*'s Reign that *Asprenas* was brought to Justice, by *Cassius Severus*, for poisoning.

(20) Glandorp. Onomast. p. 299.

(21) In Aug. cap. lvi.

[F] *This is not he, to whom* Ovid *wrote.*] *Glandorpius* had committed another Error a little before; for he thought that *F. Cassius Severus* was the same, to whom *Ovid* wrote the Eighth Epistle of his First Book *de Ponto*. Father *Andrew Schottus* was in the same Error (22), and so was *Vossius* (23); tho' *Scaliger* had refuted it, upon the Doubt he saw *Lilius Giraldus* in, whether the Orator *Cassius Severus*, and that *Severus*, to whom *Ovid* wrote, were one and the same Person.

(22) De claris apud Senecam Rhetor.

(23) Voss. de Histor. Lat. pag. 109.

[G] Scaliger —— *refutes this Error by bad Reasons.*] He says (24) there is as much difference between the one and the other, as between *Cassius*'s Family and That of *Cornelius*; for He, to whom *Ovid* wrote, was the Poet *Cornelius Severus*; the other is *Cassius Severus* the Orator. It appears plainly by these Words, that *Scaliger* was persuaded, that this *Cassius* was of the Family *Cassia*, one of the most Illustrious of *Rome*; but this is false, since, according to *Tacitus*, that Orator was of mean Extraction (25). *Scaliger*'s other Reason is a Riddle to me: I have read the Place over and over again, without comprehending any thing of it. He says that *Cornelius Severus* was yet living after the Death of *Augustus*; but *Cassius Severus* had been five Years exiled before the Death of that Emperor, almost at the same time that *Ovid* was. The Printers must have forgot some Word, as for Example *Romæ*; for, without that, *Scaliger* would argue pitifully; and, if it be supposed, that he said, that *Cornelius Severus* lived at *Rome* after the Death of *Augustus*, it is a convincing Reason, that this *Cornelius* was not *Cassius Severus*, who, having been exiled before the Death of *Augustus*, never returned from his Exile. This is the true Means effectually to remove *Giraldus*'s Doubt, and to confute the Opinions of *Glandorpius* and *Vossius*. They need only be referred to *Ovid*'s Letter. They will find it dated in the fourth Year of his Exile, and directed to a Man, who enjoyed all the Pleasures of *Rome*, and all the Delight of his Country House; which, at that Time, did no ways agree with the Orator *Cassius*, confined to the Island of *Crete*. If *Giraldus*'s Doubt concerned the Second Letter of the Fourth Book *de Ponto*, it may also be solved by the Letter itself, since it is directed to a Poet, who was in Prosperity.

(24) Scalig. Animadvers. in Chron. Euseb. pag. 183. Edit. Amstelæ 1658.

(25) Relatum de Cassio Severo exsule, qui *sordida origine*, malefica vitæ, sed orandi validus, &c. *Tacit. Ann. lib.* iv, *cap.* xxi.

It must be known, that, besides the Eighth Epistle of the First Book *de Ponto*, there is one (26) in the Fifth Book, written to one *Severus*, who was a Poet by Profession, as is easy to be gathered from the manner in which *Ovid* writes to him. Perhaps it is *Cornelius Severus*, as *Vossius* (27) and Father *Briet* (28) have thought. So that, according to *Vossius*, the Eighth Letter of the First Book *de Ponto*, and the Second of the Fourth Book, were written to the same Friend. If it be so, it must not be believed, that those Letters were placed according to the Order of Time; the Second of the Fourth Book is of older Date than the Eighth of the First, seeing in the First *Ovid* makes Excuses to his Friend for not having yet written to him. Moreover, considering his Friend under divers Occupations, in the Eighth Letter of the First Book, he says nothing whereby it may appear that he wrote to a Poet. This would be very singular in Persons who pretended to Poetry, and who applied themselves so much to it as *Ovid* and

(26) It is the second.

(27) De Poëtis Lat. pag. 34.

(28) De Poët. Lat. pag. 28.

culties may be formed as to the Time, wherein *Caſſius* was puniſhed for his Satires [*H*]; for Authors diſagree concerning the Laws, which *Auguſtus* publiſhed againſt

and *Cornelius Severus*. So that there is ſome ſmall reaſon to queſtion, whether thoſe two Epiſtles are to the ſame Perſon; but it is very certain, that neither the one nor the other were written to *Caſſius Severus*.

[*H*] *Difficulties may be formed as to the Time, wherein* Caſſius *was puniſhed for his Satires.*] St *Jerom*'s Calculation, concerning the Exile of This Satiriſt, is capable of embroiling other Calculations. *Caſſius* is juſtly called Satirical: He might alſo paſs for a Martyr to Slander, ſince, having drawn a hard Exile upon himſelf by his Satires, and not altering his Tone after his Diſgrace, he raiſed new Enemies againſt himſelf, without appeaſing thoſe he had already angered (29). Which drew a harder Storm upon him, and ſuch an exceſſive Poverty, that he had ſcarcely wherewith to cover his Nakedneſs. He died in that miſerable Condition in the Twenty fifth Year (30) of his Exile, according to St *Jerom*. Now, as it was the nineteenth Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, This Exile muſt have began five or ſix Years before *Auguſtus* died. But how ſhall we make this agree with *Dio*, who does not ſay, that *Auguſtus* puniſhed any Libellers, or gave Orders to ſuppreſs the ſatirical Licence, till the Seven hundred and ſixty fifth Year of *Rome*, that is to ſay, two Years before the Death of That Emperor? It muſt not be queſtioned, but that Thoſe Proceedings and Regulations are the ſame, which made *Tacitus* ſay, that *Auguſtus*, being angry at the Libels of *Caſſius Severus*, was the firſt who ordered Information to be taken, by the Law *de Majeſtate*, againſt That kind of Writings. Neither muſt it be doubted, but that That Writer was baniſhed from *Rome* very near the ſame Time that the Emperor made thoſe new Ordinances. So that either St *Jerom*'s Chronology, is not right, or That of *Dio* is not ſo. *Suetonius* will not clear up the Matter; he will tell us, indeed, that *Auguſtus* made ſuch like Ordinances, but not in what Year of his Reign. Neither does *Tacitus* note the Time of it; he ſatisfied himſelf with only ſhewing the Occaſion of it.

(29) Per immodicas inimicitias ut judicio patrum Senatus in Cretam amoveretur effecerat. Atque illic eadem ægritudo, recentia veteraque odia advertit, bonisque exutus, interdictio igni atque aqua, saxo Seriphio conſenuit. *Tacitus Ann. lib. iv, cap. xxi.*

(30) XXV exilii ſui anno in ſumma inopia mortuus, vix panno veranda contectus. *Chron. Euſebii.*

HORACE miſunderſtood concerning the Laws againſt Satires.

If it be difficult to fix the Period of the Edict of *Auguſtus* againſt Libels, it ſeems not to be ſo to find in general, that he publiſhed it in the latter Years of his Life. From whence it appears, that They are deceived, who ſay, that *Horace* had regard to it, where he makes his Friend repreſent to him, that there were Laws againſt ſatirical Poets (31). The Commentator *Chabot* ſays upon this, that *Suetonius* ſpeaks of the ſame Law, which is meant in theſe Words of *Horace*, and quotes *Suetonius* very ill, mutilating the Paſſage on one ſide, and adding, on the other, Gloſſes and Explanations, all in *Italic*. So that one cannot diſcern what is *Suetonius*'s, from what is not. But the groſſeſt Fault is to pretend, that *Horace* had the Law in View, which *Suetonius* mentions; a Law, which was not made till a long time after That Poet's Death; which happened in the Thirty ſixth Year of the Reign of *Auguſtus*, Twenty Years before That of this Emperor. *Torrentius* committed the ſame Fault in his Commentary on *Suetonius*: *Ad novum Auguſti*, ſays he, *hæc de re edictum reſpexit haud dubie Horat. l. ii. ad Trebatium.* Si mala condiderit, &c. —— Horace *undoubtedly had in view the new Edict of* Auguſtus *concerning this matter, in lib. ii.* Ad Trebatium, &c. The Author of the new Commentary *Variorum* on *Suetonius*, in 8vo, is of the ſame Opinion with *Torrentius*. The Dauphin (32) Scholiaſt goes farther ſtill, ſaying, that *Horace* conſidered alſo the Edict of *Auguſtus*, in the Firſt Epiſtle of the Second Book, where it is more plain, that he ſpeaks of an ancient Law, eſtabliſhed on the Occaſion of the unbridled Liberty of the Farce-Players.

(31) Si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, jus eſt Judiciumque. *Horat. Sattr. i, lib. ii, ver. 82.*

(32) In Sueton. Aug. cap. lv, pag. 276.

- - - - - - - - Quin etiam lex
Pœnaque lata, malo quæ nollet carmine quemquam
Deſcribi. Vertere modum formidine fuſtis,
Ad bene dicendum delectandumque redacti (33).

(33) Horat. Epiſt I, lib. ii, ver. 152.

Till Laws commanded to regard Mens Fame,
Severely laſh the Vice, but ſpare the Name.

Fear made them civil, and deſign to write
With Modeſty, ſpeak well, and to delight.

CREECH.

It is commonly believed, that the Poet means only there the Prohibition, which was made by the Laws of the twelve Tables, to defame any one whoſoever. *Forſterus* (34) has erred yet more groſsly than all thoſe I have mentioned; he not only applies *Horace*'s Verſes, before cited, to the Edict of *Auguſtus*, but alſo theſe Words of the Art of Poetry;

(34) Hiſtor. Juris civil lib. i, cap. xxxi, pag. 222.

- - - - - - Lex eſt accepta chorusque
Turpiter obticuit, ſublato jure nocendi.

Thus was the Chorus loſt; their railing Muſt
Grew ſilent, when forbidden to abuſe.

Idem.

THE Writings of *Labienus* condemned to be burnt.

Might the Epoch of the Edict of *Auguſtus*, noted by *Dio*, and pointed out by *Tacitus*, be criticized with reaſon, if the Buſineſs of *Labienus* were alledged, whoſe Books were condemned to be burnt, before *Caſſius Severus* was called to an account for his ſatirical Writings? It ſeems at firſt to be an Objection, ſince it cannot be true, that the Proceedings of *Auguſtus* againſt Libels began with thoſe of *Caſſius Severus*, or two Years before the Death of that Emperor, if it be true that the Senate cauſed *Labienus*'s Books to be burnt, at a time when *Caſſius* was yet quiet at Home. Now it appears from *Seneca*, that this happened at ſuch a time; ſince, when he bemoans the Loſs of *Labienus*'s Writings, and the Author's Reſolution to ſhut himſelf up in the Tomb of his Anceſtors, that he might not ſurvive the Productions of his Wit, he remarks, that, at the ſame time that thoſe Books were burnt, *Caſſius Severus* ſaid, *They muſt now burn me alive, becauſe I have them by heart* (35). ' Caſſii Severi hominis Labieno ' junctiſſimi bellè dicta res ferebatur: *Illo tempore* ' *quo libri Labieni ex Senatus-conſulto urebantur,* ' *nunc me, inquit, vivum uri oportet, qui illos edi-* ' *dici* (36).'

(35) Some Authors ſpeak of this, as if *Caſſius* had ſaid ſo of his own Books; *Eraſm. Apophthegm. lib. viii. pag. 659. Jeremiah de Pours, pag. 677 of the Divine Melody*, where he calls him *Caſſianus: Chriſtianus Libertus, pag. 111. Exercitat. de ſcribendis & aſtimandis libris*, and others.

It may be anſwered, that the Books of *Labienus* were not properly defamatory Libels, or Satires, againſt every body; that they were Hiſtories, wherein he ſpoke like a Commonwealth's-man, much for the Advantage of *Pompey*, and of thoſe who had endeavoured to revive his Party; that, to ſay the truth, thoſe kind of Writings offend as much as defamatory Libels; and that *Auguſtus* thought himſelf obliged to take cognizance of them; but that it might be on another foot, than when he made the Ordinances, ſpoken of by the Hiſtorians, whom I have cited above.

(36) Seneca, Præfat. lib. xxv, Controverſiarum.

Say what you will, I ſhall never be perſuaded that the Writings of *Labienus* were only condemned becauſe the Author ſpoke well of *Cæſar*'s Enemies. It is true, that, under the fierce and cruel *Tiberius*, it coſt an Author (37) his Life for having praiſed *Brutus*, and for having ſaid, that *Caſſius* was the laſt *Roman*: but Hiſtory notes alſo, that it was the firſt Proceſs, which was begun upon ſuch an account; and we ſee by the Speech of the Accuſed, that *Auguſtus* withdrew not his Affection from *Livy*, nor diſcharged *Aſinius Pollio* and *Meſſala Corvinus* from their Offices, tho' they had ſpoken very advantageouſly of *Cæſar*'s Enemies. We learn there alſo, that divers Writings, very injurious to That Emperor, or to *Auguſtus*, were not taken notice of. From whence it is very eaſy to infer, that, if the Books of *Labienus* were condemned to be burnt, it is becauſe they were full of Invectives againſt a great number of Perſons. *Seneca* does not permit us to doubt, but that they were of That Character; for ſee here what he ſays of it: ' Liberas tanta ut libertatis nomen exce-
' deret, ut quia paſſim ordines hominesque laniabat
' Rabienus vocaretur. Animos per vitia ingens, &
' ad ſimilitudinem ingenii ſui violentos, & qui Pom-
' peianos ſpiritus nondum in tanta pace poſuiſſet.
' Memini aliquando cum recitaret hiſtoriam, mag-
' nam partem convolviſſe & dixiſſe, *Hæc quæ tranſeo*

(37) Cremutius Cordus. *Conſult* Tacitus Ann. libr iv, cap. xxxiv.

poſt

against Libels. *Plutarch* did not consult Chronology well in speaking of our *Cassius* [I]. The satirical Humour of This Man inclined him often to set up for an Accuser, without being discouraged by the bad Success of his Causes [K]. The manner

' *post mortem meam legentur.* Quanta in illis libertas fuit, quam etiam Labienus extimuit (38). —— ' *The Liberty he took was so great, that it exceeded the Name of Liberty, insomuch that, by tearing to pieces whole Orders, and Mankind in general, he acquired the Name of* Rabienus. *He was a very wicked Man, and naturally violent, nor had he laid down the Spirit of his Party (That of Pompey) after so long a Peace. —— I remember once, when he was reciting his History, and had gone through great Part of it, He said;* What I pass over will be read after my Death. *How great was the Liberty taken in them, which even* Labienus *dreaded?*' If he had kept within the same general Terms, as *Livy*, he had enjoyed the same Impunity with him, and would not have found an intimate Friend in *Cassius Severus*, nor a great Admirer of his Writings. Moreover, the same *Seneca* declares, that, before *Labienus*'s Books were condemned to be burned, they had never heard of the like Proceedings; and he congratulates the Public, for not having thought of that kind of Punishment, when *Cicero* was put to death. ' Res nova & insueta ' supplicia de studiis sumi: bono hercle publico ' ista in pœnas ingeniosa crudelitas post Ciceronem ' inventa est. Quid enim futurum fuit si Triumviris ' libuisset ingenium Ciceronis proscribere? Dii melius quod eo sæculo ista ingeniorum supplicia ' cœperunt quo & ingenia desierunt (39).'

(38) Seneca Præf. lib. v, Controversiarum.

(39) Id. ibid.

DISAGREEMENT between *Tacitus* and *Dio*.

It results from all these Authorities; I. That *Labienus*'s Books were not burned, by reason of the Partiality, which appeared in them, in general, for *Pompey*'s Friends. The Speech of *Cremutius Cordus* is a Proof of it. II. That they were very satirical Writings; *Seneca* insinuates it clearly. III. That they were the first Writings of that kind that were burned. IV. That it was done before either the Person or the Satires of *Cassius Severus* were attacked. But this can never be reconciled with *Dio*, nor with *Tacitus*; the latter will have the Libels of *Cassius* the Cause of *Augustus*'s proceeding, by the Law *de Majestate*, against Satires; the other will have it, that the Order of informing against Libels, and burning them, and the punishing of some satirical Authors, preceded the Death of *Augustus* but two Years. St *Jerom*, with the Twenty five Years time that he gives to the Exile of *Cassius Severus*, deceased in the nineteenth Year of *Tiberius*, would not be a good Mediator here. It must necessarily be, that the one or the other have been very little exact. Should it be *Seneca*? should He have confounded the Time? Would That, which *Cassius* said only in his Exile, have been attributed to him by *Seneca* as a Jest, spoken at *Rome* before his Exile? But, if *Seneca* be deceived as to a thing, which passed in his time, and which concerned two Orators of his Acquaintance; how can we depend upon any thing he says? If he has told us the Truth, we have here a convincing Proof of a Fact, which *Vossius* finds ambiguous, or at most probable, *viz.* that *Labienus* died in the Time of *Augustus* (40).

(40) Vossius, de Histor. Lat pag. 117.

[I] Plutarch *did not consult Chronology well in speaking of our* Cassius] He says, that, *Tiberius* being one Day in the Senate, a Senator represented to the Assembly, that they ought to speak freely, and declare, without dissembling, what concerned the public Good. This beginning having made every body very attentive, the Senator directed his Speech to *Tiberius*, to tell him, that there were great Complaints against him, no one daring to tell him of it, for giving himself too much Trouble for the Commonwealth, and for sacrificing his Pleasures and his Health to it. As he continued a long Series of such Discourse, it is said, adds *Plutarch*, that the Orator *Cassius Severus* said, *The Liberty This Man takes will cause his Death* (41). It is impossible *Cassius* should say This on the same Day that the Senator uttered these Flatteries; since *Cassius*, exiled before *Augustus* died, never was recalled. I wonder, that the vast Memory of *Theophilus Raynaud* (42) did not supply him with this Example of the punishing defamatory Libels, when he was speaking of what was done by the *Romans* in that Respect.

(41) Plutarch. *Discernment of the Flatterer and the Friend, chap.* xvii.

(42) Theoph. Rayn. Erotemat de malis ac bonis libr. 8, pag. 72.

[K] *His satirical Humour prompted him often to set up for an Accuser without being discouraged by his bad Success* (43).] If ever any Man deserved not to be pitied in the Miseries of his Exile, it was doubtless *Cassius Severus*; for, besides the Character of his Detraction, which was an excessive and incorrigible Sourness, he pleased himself so much with accusing, that one would have thought he had set up for a common Accuser. This bad Inclination engaged him to take upon him the most ill-grounded Causes, and not to be discouraged at the loss of them. It was so common to see Persons acquitted in those Trials, that *Augustus*'s Wish, that the *Forum* he was building, which went but slowly forward, might be accused by *Cassius* (44), was put among his Jests. *Augustus*'s Thought is grounded only on the double Signification of *absolvere*; that Word signifying to *finish* and to *absolve*. This Jest is but a Quibble, or Pun, according to the Relish of the present times; I say the present times; for it is not yet fifty Years, since these kind of Equivocations passed for Attic Salt (45). However it be, This Quibble is no less a Proof of *Cassius*'s Inclination to accuse, than the Exclamation he made in beginning his Plea against *Asprenas*, whose Accuser he was: *I am living by the Grace of the Gods, and I have wherewith to find Life pleasant, since I see Asprenas in the Hands of Justice.* Nothing can be more judicious than the Reflexion of *Quintilian* on this Exordium. ' Sine dubio in omnibus statim accusationibus hoc agendum est, ne ad eas libenter ' descendisse videamur; ideoque mihi illud Cassii ' Severi non mediocriter displicet; *Dii boni, vivos & quo me vivere jubet, Asprenatem reum video.* ' Non enim justa ex causa, vel necessaria, videri ' potest postulasse eum, sed quadam accusandi voluptate (46). —— *No doubt, in all Accusations, this is first to be taken care of, that we seem not to undertake them willingly; for which reason I am not a little displeased with the Exclamation of* Cassius Severus: Ye Gods, I am alive, and, to make my Life pleasant, I see *Asprenas* accused. *For he does not seem to have been his Accuser justly, or through Necessity, but out of a certain Pleasure he took in accusing.*' Assuredly this *Cassius* was a villainous Fellow, and those who resemble him in every Age deserve to die as miserable as he, and to make one say, according to the Translation of *Amiot*,

Que desormais autant en puisse il prendre
A qui voudra telle chose entreprendre (47).

May the same Fate, for the Future, attend the same Undertakings.

For if, in the *Roman* Commonwealth, where they looked upon accusing as a Gate, through which young Advocates of Quality entered into the World (48), and as a noble Career, which could perfect Orators (49), and imprint Fear in the wicked (50), they nevertheless despised and hated those, who made a Trade of accusing; what can be said strong enough, under Christianity, and in States, which govern themselves otherwise than ancient *Rome*: I say, what can be represented strong enough against those, who use this Trade? I quote *Quintilian* again: he declares, that there is but little Difference between a Robber on the Highway, and a professed Accuser: *Accusatoriam vitam vivere & ad deferendos reos præmio duci proximum latrocinio est* (51). *Cicero* looks upon it as a great Blemish on the Family *Junia*, to have produced an Orator, who exercised the Trade here mentioned. ' Iisdem ' temporibus M. Brutus, in quo magnum fuit, ' Brute, dedecus generi vestro, qui cum tanto nomine esset patremque optimum virum habuisset ' & juris periitissimum, accusationem factitaverit, ut ' Athenis Lycurgus. Is magistratus non petivit, ' sed fuit accusator vehemens & molestus, ut facile ' cerneres naturale quoddam stirpis bonum degeneraviss vitio depravatæ voluntatis (52). —— *At the same time lived* M. Brutus, *in whom, O* Brutus, *your Family was greatly disgraced: Who, notwithstanding*

BAD Character of this *Cassius*. He delighted in accusing.

(43) *From thence proceeds this Jest of* Augustus. Cum multi Severo Cassio accusante absolverentur, & Archi. tectus fori Augusti exspectationem operis diu traheret, ita jocatus est, *Vellent Cassium & meum Forum accuset.... Many Persons, accused by* Cassius *having been* absolved, *and the Architect of* Augustus's Forum *happening to delay the Work,* Augustus *made this Jest*; I wish *Cassius* would accuse my *Forum*. Macrob. Saturn. lib. ii. cap. iv.

(44) See the foregoing Citation.

(45) Witness the Verses of St *Amant*, in the Article BAUTRU (WILLIAM), Citation (1).

(46) Quintil. Instit. Orat. lib. xi, cap. i.

(47) It is a Translation of one of *Homer*'s Verses, applied by *Scipio Africanus* to the Death of *Tiberius Gracchus*. See *Plut. in Vitâ Gracchor.* pag. 834.

(48) Quintil. lib. xii, cap. vii. Apuleius in Apologia. *See his Words in the Article* ALBUTIUS (TITUS), Citation (11).

(49) Cicero de Officiis, lib. ii, cap. xiv.

(50) Quintil. lib. xii, cap. vii.

(51) Id. ibid.

(52) Cicero, in Bruto, cap. xxxiv.

manner in which he tormented the Orator *Cestius* (*b*), who had made an Answer to *Cicero*'s Oration *pro Milone*, suffices to shew, that there never was a more extravagant Caviller, nor a more quarrelsome Man, than he: And it is very remarkable, that he never pleaded in Defence of the accused (*c*), except when he was forced to plead his own Cause in the like condition. Mr *Hofman* is deceived in certain things [*L*]. Authors do not agree about *Cassius Severus*'s Country [*M*]. We shall see the Mistakes of *Peter Crinitus* in the Remarks [*N*].

(*b*) *See the Article* CESTIUS, *and* Seneca Præf. lib iii, Declam. pag. 337.

(*c*) Seneca Epitom. Declamat. lib. iii, pag. 336.

It

'withstanding his great Name, and that his Father 'was the worthiest of Men, and an excellent Lawyer, 'yet practised the Trade of Accusation, as Lycurgus 'did at Athens. This Brutus did not aim at the 'Magistracy, but was a vehement and vexatious 'Accuser; so that you might easily see, that a de'praved Inclination had corrupted the natural good 'Disposition of his Race.' He remarks, in another place, that a Person must almost have renounced the Title and Nature of a Man, to put the Lives of many Persons in danger; and that a Brand of Infamy and Cowardice is printed on his Fame, who puts himself in a Condition to deserve the Epithet of *Accuser*. 'Duri hominis vel potius vix hominis vi'detur periculum capitis inferre multis: id cum pe'riculosum ipsi est, tum etiam sordidum ad famam 'committere ut accusator nominetur, quod contigit 'M. Bruto summo genere nato, illius filio qui juris 'civilis in primis peritus fuit (53).' What would he say now, were he a Christian, and saw Persons, called by their Character to quite another thing, set up for Informers, and perpetual Accusers, sometimes by printed Libels, sometimes by Letters, without mentioning the Author's Name; inclosing all kind of Business in the extent of their Accusations, Crimes of State, Crimes of Heresy; placing themselves in the Centre of all kind of Spies and Newsmongers; being no more discouraged, than *Cassius Severus*, at the perpetual Absolutions of those whom they attacked, &c. What would he say? It may be easily guessed. There is a very fine Chapter in *Balzac*'s Conversations (54); see here the latter Part of it. 'We have yet a Fragment of a 'Plea of the Orator *Calvus* against this Man so 'universally hated, the infamous *Vatinius*: and 'That Fragment is in the Collections of the ancient 'Rhetoricians in these terms (if my Memory does 'not deceive me); *Hominem nostræ civitatis audacissimum, factiosum, sordidum, accusatorem*; wherein 'I see he does not forget That ill quality, among 'those of *Vatinius*, whom he accuses of being an 'Accuser.' Once again, it was incomparably more pardonable, in those times, to set up for an Accuser, than it is in our Age: for, what will not a Man do in a Democracy to gain the People's Affection? Now they did the People of *Rome* a great Pleasure in accusing those, who had exercised the Offices of the Republic: they looked upon Accusers as Hounds that fall upon Wolves. Ἔδοκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλως αὐτοῖς (Ῥωμαίοις) ἄγαν σεφράσιος ἐκ ἀγενὲς εἶναι, τὸ τῆς καλιγορίας ἔργον· ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ τοὺς νέους ἐζέλονζο τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπιφυομένους ὁρᾶν, ὥσπερ σκύλοις ἀγριωτέοις σκύλακας. *Et quidem videbatur alioqui vel non suppetente causa res non pudenda accusatio, sed delectabantur juvenibus improbos ut generosis canibus feras consectantibus* (55). Thus, at present, in Commonwealths, there is no better way to gain the Applause of the Mob, than to declaim against the Magistrates in the Pulpit.

(53) Id. de Officiis, lib. ii, cap. xiv.

(54) It is the 4th of the 34th Conversation, *pag.* 329.

(55) Plut. in Lucullo, init. *See the Remark* [*D*] *of the Article* St BERNARD.

[*L*] *Mr* Hofman *is deceived in certain things.*] He is more correct here, than Mr *Moreri*; yet he is not so much as he might be; *quisque suos patitur manes*.

I. In the first place, he gives us *Cassius Severus*, an Orator, in an Article by itself, with the Judgment that *Quintilian* makes of him; to which he adds, that his Writings were suppressed by a Decree of the Senate: for this he cites *Suetonius*, and at last refers us to *Vossius*. This Article is found entire in Mr *Lloyd*'s Dictionary, who gave it as he had found it in *Charles Stephens*, except the Reference to *Vossius*, which he added to it. Complaint may be made against all three, in respect to the Citation from *Suetonius* (56): for, as he only speaks of the suppressing of *Cassius*'s Books, to inform us, that they were approved afterwards by *Caligula*, with those of *Cremutius Cordus* and *Labienus*, the Decree ought not to have been spoken of, which forbad the reading of them; or else he ought to have informed us, that That Interdiction was taken off some time after. II. Next to This Article, Mr *Hofman* gives us another, which is That of *Cassius Severus* of *Parma*, an Orator; of whom he says divers things, which belong only to *Cassius Severus* of the foregoing Article. He cites some Authors indeed, as *Horace* in the nineteenth Satire (57) of the first Book; *Paterculus*, *Appian*, and *Orosius*, who say nothing of That *Cassius*. So that, not content with having made two Articles for one and the same Man, he falsly gives the Surname of *Parmensis* to *Cassius Severus* the Orator, and applies to him what was only said of another *Cassius*. The worst is, that he concludes the Article with this Interrogation, full of doubt, in a thing that has no manner of Difficulty? *An idem cum Cassio Poëta?* The Orator *Cassius*, confined by *Augustus* in the Island of *Crete*, and by *Tiberius* in That of *Seriphus*, where he died in the Twenty fifth Year of his Exile, is he the same Man with the Poet *Cassius* of *Parma*, whom *Augustus* put to Death at *Athens*, a little after the Battle of *Actium*, above forty Years before *Tiberius* mounted the Throne? III. Mr *Hofman* is judged by his own Words; for, in the foregoing Page, he had given us the Article of the Poet *Cassius* of *Parma*; where he had said, that, after the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, That Poet retired to *Athens*, and that *Varus*, who was sent by *Augustus* to kill him, found him busy at his Study, and having killed him, brought away his Books and his strong Box. In all this he has followed Mr *Lloyd* word for word: and the latter had done the same by *Charles Stephens*, whom he had better have corrected for having suppressed all the Actions of That *Cassius*, from the Battle of *Philippi* to that of *Actium*; for it is not true, as they affirm all three, that, after the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, he retired to *Athens*: he attached himself to the Son of *Pompey*, and afterwards to *Marc Antony*, and had Employs under both, and did not go to *Athens* till after the Battle of *Actium*, in the Year 722 of *Rome*. He was the only one remaining of those, who had murdered *Cæsar* (58); but he did not live long after his Retreat (59); and it is believed that he lived not quite fourteen Years, after he had assisted at That Murther (60). However it be, Mr *Hofman*, who anticipates his Death, by making him go to *Athens* a little after the Battle of *Philippi*, in the Year 712 of *Rome*, makes him so much the fitter to be distinguished from *Cassius Severus*, confined in the Island of *Seriphus* in the Reign of *Tiberius*.

(57) It must be 10, and not 19. The first Book of the Satires of *Horace* contains but 10, and the second but 8.

(56) One of them at least ought to have quoted expressly the 16th Chapter of the Life of *Caligula*.

(58) Vell. Paterc. lib. ii, cap. lxxxvii.

(59) Val. Max. lib i, cap. vii. n. 7.

(60) *See* Casaubon ad Suet. in Jul. cap. ult.

(61) Suet. ibid.

(62) Petav. Rationar. Temp. Parte I, lib. iv, cap. xx.

Note by the way, that *Suetonius* says, that hardly any of *Cæsar*'s Murtherers survived him above three Years (61): yet it is true, that many of them passed That time. *Petavius* has made *Suetonius* speak without Exception; *nullus triennio amplius superstes fuit — ut ait Suetonius* (62). Mr *Chevreau*, in the fourth Chapter of the third Book of the History of the World, says, that none of them could outlive *Cæsar* above three Years.

(63) Voss. de Hist. Lat. pag. 110.

(64) Lib. iv, Epist. xxvii.

(65) *Cataneus* calls this *Severus*, *Julius*, without giving any reason for it; and consequently he distinguishes him from him, to whom the 6th Letter of the 3d Book is written, whom he makes *Pliny*'s Countryman.

[*M*] *Authors do not agree about* Cassius Severus's *Country.*] Father *Hardouin*'s Opinion about This *Cassius*'s Country is very opposite to That of *Vossius*; for *Vossius* (63) pretends, that, when *Pliny* the younger (64) demanded for *Herennius Severus* the Pictures of *Cornelius Nepos*, and of *Titus Cassius*, Countrymen of the *Severus* (65), to whom he writes, he means our *Cassius Severus*. If this be true, the latter was not of *Longula*, as Father *Hardouin* pretends (66), since *Cornelius Nepos* was Neighbour to the *Po* (67); which those of *Verona* explain to their Advantage (68), in order to procure the Honour to their City of having produced *Cornelius Nepos*. But *Cataneus* disputes this Honour briskly with them, and maintains, that *Parma* is nearer the *Po* than *Verona*; and that, since *Titus Cassius* was of *Parma*, *Cornelius Nepos* must have been born there likewise (69). I leave them to dispute it. However, it is

(66) *In Indice Auctorum Plinii.* I believe he grounds what he says on the List of the Authors of the 35th Book of *Pliny*.

(67) Padi accola. *Plin. lib.* iii, *cap.* xviii.

(68) Vossius de Hist. Lat. p. 69.

(69) Comment. in Plin. Epist. xxviii, lib. iv.

It is but just, that I should also discover the fair side of our *Cassius Severus*. His Eloquence made him reign over his Auditors; he turned them which way he would; he disposed of their Anger at his Pleasure. They were so delighted to hear him, that they feared he should end too soon. His Voice united two Perfections, which seldom go together; it was strong, and had much Sweetness: And, as he was of a majestic Stature, it might be said, that his Body seconded his Wit well. The Gravity, which he wanted in the Conduct of his Life, appeared signally in his Words; for, when he set jesting aside, his Speech had all the Weight and Character of the Harangue of a Censor (*d*). He had such a ready Wit, that he succeeded much better in the things he said *extempore*, than in those he had studied. His *Impromptu*'s at the Bar were much more charming than the Thoughts he brought prepared: They, who pleaded against him, took great care not to interrupt him; they were sensible that, by stinging him, they gave new Strength to his Eloquence, and that it was an Advantage to him to be put out of the Thread of his Discourse. Unexpected Cases were more favourable to him, than the Study of the Closet (*e*); yet never any Man prepared himself more carefully than he. His Speeches were extreamly elaborate; he could not suffer any Negligence in them: They were filled with great Thoughts; all was to the purpose; the shortest Inattention of his Auditors made them lose a good thing (*f*). The good Fortune he had so often experienced, as to what his Mind suggested to him *extempore*, never made him less careful to prepare himself. He was not contented with strong Meditation, but wrote also almost all that he had to say. This is the Substance of the Judgment, which *Seneca* made of this Orator (*g*), and which serves him for a Preface to a curious Recital [*O*]. *Quintilian*'s Judgment does not agree in all things with this. Observe, that our *Cassius*, and one of those Men, whose Combats diverted the People of *Rome*, resembled each other so perfectly, that it was hard to distinguish the one from the other [*P*].

(*d*) Quamdiu extra jocos se continebat, censoria oratio erat. *Seneca, Præf. libr. Declam. pag.* 336.

(*e*) Melius semper fortuna quam cura de illo meretur. *Id. ibid.*

(*f*) Nulla pars erat quæ non sua virtute staret: nihil in quo auditor sine damno aliud ageret: omnia intenta aliquò petentia. *Id. Ibid.*

(*g*) Id. ibid.

true, that *Catanæus* seems to be ignorant of the Difference there is between the Poet *Cassius Parmensis*, and the Orator *Cassius Severus*. Perhaps *Vossius* is mistaken after *Glandorpius* (70), in taking *Titus Cassius*, mentioned by *Pliny* the younger, for the Orator *Cassius Severus*; for, if *Pliny* had asked the Picture of *Cassius Severus* from a Man, whose Name was *Severus*, and for a Man, whose Name was likewise *Severus*, he would I think have said something on That Conformity of Name. But I confess that such a Proof is not conclusive. However it be, *Pliny* says nothing, which signifies either that he speaks of a learned Person whose surname is *Severus*, or that He, of whom he speaks, is rather *Cassius* the Orator, than *Cassius* the Poet: Both of them might have had the *Prænomen* of *Titus*. Besides, the Readings of the old Manuscripts vary extreamly (71). Some have it *Titii Catii*: others *Titi Atii*; and in the Margins there is *Attici*, or *Catili*.

(70) Onomastic. Roman. p. 209.

(71) Vide Gruteri Not. in Plin. Veterum Edit. Lug. Bat. 1669.

[*N*] *We shall see the Mistakes of* Peter Crinitus.] He says (72), I. That *Cassius Severus*, Native of *Parma*, as Authors say, was counted by *Ovid* among the Poets, who flourished in his time, such as *Sabinus*, *Montanus*, *Melissus*, and *Propertius*. II. That it is He, who, having signalized himself in the War of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, retired to *Athens*, where he was killed by the Order of *Augustus*. III. That *Horace* wished him ill, as he testified in divers places, and chiefly in the Iambic Verses imitated from *Archilochus*. IV. That he must not be confounded either with *Cornelius Severus*, or with the Orator *Cassius Severus*. He plainly commits the Fault, which he condemns in others; I mean, that he confounds *Cassius Parmensis* with *Cornelius Severus*, and with *Cassius Severus*: for, since he acknowledges, that the first was put to death during his Retreat at *Athens*, he ought to count him for dead from the Year 723 of *Rome*, more or less. Now, as *Ovid* was then but a young Scholar of twelve or thirteen Years, it must not be thought, that he put him in the List of the Poets his Contemporaries, which he gave us in his old Age. This admits of no Difficulty, when That List is examined (73), wherein he opposes, against some Passages of a Critic, the Reputation he had at *Rome*, at the time when he lived there with such and such (those whom *Crinitus* names), a *Severus*, and some others. Let the Reader judge, whether this *Severus* be not *Cornelius Severus*, with whom *Crinitus* takes it very ill that *Cassius Parmensis* should be confounded. It is moreover certain, that those Verses, imitated from *Archilochus*, are only the sixth Ode of the fifth Book of *Horace* (74), which concerns only the Orator *Cassius Severus*. It will be perceived, without my remarking it, that *Crinitus* falls into the Faults above-mentioned, concerning the suppressing of the Exploits of *Cassius Parmensis*, from the Battle of *Philippi* to That of *Actium*.

(72) De Poet. Lat. cap. xlvii.

(73) It is in the 16th Letter of the 4th Book *de Ponto*.

(74) This Ode proves, that, at first, *Cassius Severus* durst not vent his Calumnies on formidable Persons. Afterwards he became more bold. See *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 1, *cap.* lxxii.

[*O*] Seneca *makes a Judgment of this Orator, which serves him for a Preface to a curious Recital.*] That Recital contains the Answer, which *Cassius* made, when he was asked, why he succeeded much better in the Causes that he pleaded, than in the declamatory Speeches that he made on imaginary Subjects. It was much the Custom in those times to declaim on such Subjects. *Seneca*, who had asked *Cassius* this Question, relates what was answered him. *Cassius* made fine Remarks upon it, which I advise you to read in the Original. I content myself to copy something of *Seneca*'s Preamble. We read there, that sometimes an Orator, who made himself admired at the Bar, miscarried in the particular Exercises of Declamations, and that no one was more subject to this Inequality than *Cassius Severus*. *In nullo hoc fiebat notabilius* (75). To this purpose, *Seneca* gives us the Elogy of That Orator's Eloquence, and describes the Character of it. Nothing was wanting in him, adds he, of what serves towards declaiming well. His Words were chosen; his Stile was full and lively, and contained more Thoughts than Words; and yet *Cassius*, in declaiming, remained below himself, and below many others. 'Omnia habebat, quæ illum ut bene 'declamaret, instruerent: phrasim nec vulgarem, 'nec sordidam, sed lectam: genus dicendi non re'missum aut languidum, sed ardens & cogitatum: 'nec lentas, nec vacuas explicationes, sed plus 'sensûs quam verborum habentes: diligentiam, 'maximum etiam mediocris ingenii subsidium. Ta'men non tantum infra se cum declamaret, sed 'etiam infra multos erat. Itaque raro declamabat, '& non nisi ab amicis coactus (76).' Note, that his Eloquence appeared finer to his Auditors, than to his Readers; what he published did not answer the Admiration he had acquired; there was a greater Disproportion in it, than that which reigns commonly between the Success of a recited Speech, and the Success of a published Speech. 'Non est, 'quod illum ex his quæ edidit æstimetis. Sunt 'quidem & hæc quibusdam grata. Verum elo'quentia ejus longe major erat quam lectio. Non 'hoc ea portione illi accidit qua omnibus 'fere, quibus majori commendationi est audiri 'quàm legi, sed in illo longe majus discrimen 'est (77).'

(75) Senec. in Præf. lib. iii, Epitomes Declamat. pag. 335.

(76) Id. ibid. pag. 336.

(77) Id. ibid.

[*P*] *Our* Cassius, *and* - - - - *another Person resembled each other so perfectly, that it was hard to distinguish the one from the other.*] *Pliny* and *Solinus* speak of it. 'Cassio celebri oratori Armen-

'tarii

tarii Mirmillonis (78) objecta similitudo est (79).
'---It was objected to Cassius, the celebrated Orator, that he resembled Mirmillo, the Gladiator.'
Armentarius Myrmillo & Cassius Severus Orator ita se mutuo reddiderunt, ut si quando pariter viderentur dignosci non possent, nisi discrepantiam habitus indicaret (80). ---Myrmillo, the Gladiator, and Cassius Severus, the Orator, were so alike, that, when seen together, they could not be distinguished, but by their Dress.' I wonder Solinus forgot to paraphrase the Circumstance, which Pliny had mentioned, which is, that this Resemblance was objected to *Cassius*. If he had paraphrased it, he would have told us perhaps, that the Jesters pretended that there had been private Gallantries in the Case, which occasioned those two Men to resemble each other. How do we know, but that it was said, that they were like each other in Humour, and that the one was no less a Gladiator at the Bar, than the other in the Amphitheatre?

(78) *Father* Hardouin *pretends, that* Armentarius *signifies here a Man that keeps a Flock; and that* Mirmillo *is a proper Name.* Salmasius *in* Solin. pag. 30, *says the contrary.*

(79) Plin. lib. vii, cap. xii.

(80) Solin. cap. i, pag. 8.

CASSIUS CHÆREA, chief of the Conspiracy, that destroyed *Caligula*, was Captain of the Guards [*A*]. He had served as a Captain in the Legions, which mutinied in *Germany*, a little before the Death of *Augustus* (*a*). Upon that Occasion, he made his way, Sword in Hand, through the Soldiers, who abused their Captains. He was a Man of Courage and Integrity (*b*), and who did not execute *Caligula*'s severe Orders without Repugnancy. The Compassion, which he had for the poor People, was the reason that he did not gather the Money of the Tributes and Imposts (*c*) with all the Forwardness, that the Emperor required; for he had a Commission for it. This Humanity passed for want of Courage with *Caligula*: That cruel Tyrant insulted and reproached his Captain of the Guards insufferably; he never gave him the Word without chusing a Term, which was a severe Raillery on a soft and effeminate Life [*B*]; and this did not fail to make the Officers, and the Soldiers, to whom *Cassius* was to give the Word, laugh (*d*). Provoked to see himself the Object of his Master's Raillery, and the Jest of his Regiment, he formed the Plan of a Conspiracy; he made choice of Accomplices; he encouraged them when there was occasion for it; in a Word, he managed the Plot so well, that it was executed by the Death of *Caligula* (*e*). He always reserved to himself the Advantage of giving him the first Blow [*C*]. Some say, that he gave him a great Blow with his Sword behind in the Neck; others, that, looking him in the Face, he cut off his Jaw-bone (*f*). After this Execution (*g*) he fled to the House of *Germanicus* (*h*), and, hearing that the Senate was pleased with his Conduct, he shewed himself publickly. One of the Consuls made a long Speech on Liberty, and concluded, that the Conspirators, and chiefly *Chærea*, ought to be raised to the greatest Honours. *Chærea* went to ask the Word from the Consuls; they gave him the Word *Liberty*; he brought it to the Cohorts, who obeyed the Senate: and, as he was All in that Party, he sent a Tribune, whose Name was *Lupus*, to kill *Cæsonia*, the Wife of *Caligula*, with their Daughters (*i*). In the mean time, *Claudius* was saluted Emperor in the Camp of the *Prætorian* Cohorts, and the Senate was forced to approve this Election, whether they would or not. The new Emperor did not fail to cause *Chærea* to be punished [*D*], who suffered Death with great Constancy (*k*).

(*a*) Tacit. Annal. lib. i. cap. xxxii.

(*b*) Tum adolescens & animi ferox inter obstantes & armatos ferro viam patefecit. *Id. ibid.* Ἄλλως τε γὰρ ἀρχαιότροπός τις ἀνὴρ ὁ Χαιρέας ἦν. Chærea vir erat antiquis moribus præditus *Dio. lib.* lix, *pag.* 762.

(*c*) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix, c. i.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Id. ibid.

(*f*) Sueton. in Calig. cap. lviii.

(*g*) It was done in the 41st Year of Jesus Christ, *January* 24.

(*h*) Joseph. Antiquit. lib. xix, cap. i.

(*i*) Ibid. cap. ii.

(*k*) Ibid. cap. iii.

[*A*] *He was Captain of the Guards.*] *Seneca* calls him in general *Tribunus Militum* (1): but *Suetonius* is more exact; he says, 'Primas sibi partes 'Cassius Chærea Tribunus cohortis Prætoriæ depoposcit (2). —— Chærea, *Tribune of the* Prætorian *Cohort, claimed the Preference.*' The learned Dr *Bentley*, in the Eighty first Page of his Notes on the Chronicle of *Malala*, gives our *Cassius* the Character of Tribune of the People. It is a small Mistake, which cannot prejudice the astonishing Erudition of That Author.

(1) Seneca, de constantia sapient. cap. xviii.

(2) Sueton. in Calig. cap. lvi.

[*B*] Caligula *never gave him the Word, without choosing a Term, which was a severe Raillery on an effeminate Life.*] See *Josephus*, who speaks very amply of all this (3). *Suetonius* expresses himself thus. 'Quem (Cassium Chæream) Caius seniorem jam ut mollem & effœminatum denotare 'omni probro consuerat, & modo signum petenti 'Priapum aut Venerem dare, modo ex aliqua causa 'agenti gratias osculandam manum offere formatam 'commotamque in obscœnum modum (4). —— 'Whom (Cassius Chærea) *now grown old*, Caligula 'was wont opprobriously to treat as an effeminate 'Man, and sometimes, when he demanded the Word, 'would give him Priapus or Venus; *sometimes*, 'when he thanked the Emperor on some Account, 'he would offer him his Hand to kiss, forming and 'moving it after an obscene manner.' *Seneca* says very near the same thing; but he adds, that *Chærea* gave some cause for these Jests by his broken and effeminate Voice, and that he did not seem to be the Man he shewed himself afterwards, when he gave *Caligula* such a hard Blow. 'Chæreæ tribuno militum sermo non pro manu erat, languidior sono & infracta voce suspectior. Huic Caius 'signum petenti modo Veneris, modo Priapi dabat: 'aliter atque aliter exprobrans armato mollitiem. 'Hæc ipse perlucidus, crepidatus, armillatus. Coëgit itaque illum uti ferro, ne sæpius signum peteret. Ille primus inter conjuratos sustulit: ille cervicem mediam uno ictu decidit, plurimum deinde undique publicas ac privatas injurias ulciscentium gladiorum ingestum est: sed primus vir fuit qui minimè visus est (5). —— Chærea, *the Tribune of the Soldiers, had a Voice, not answerable to his Courage, but broken and effeminate.* Caligula, *when he demanded the Word, gave him sometimes* Priapus, *sometimes* Venus; *reproaching him, as a Soldier, with Effeminacy, several ways. This the Emperor did, though himself sunk in Luxury and Effeminacy. He obliged* Chærea, *therefore, to use the Sword, that he might have no occasion of often demanding the Word. He was the chief Conspirator; He it was, who, at one Blow, struck off the Emperor's Head; many Swords afterwards rushed on him, in revenge for public and private Injuries; but* Chærea *first appeared the Man he was little thought to be.*'

(3) Joseph. Antiq. lib. xix, c. i.

(4) Suet. in Calig. cap. lvi.

(5) Seneca, ubi supra.

[*C*] *He reserved to himself the Advantage of giving him the first Blow.*] See *Suetonius* in the Remark [*A*]. Mr *de Tillemont* (6) has not considered *Seneca*'s Expressions maturely enough: He will have it, that *Seneca* has said, that *Chærea* split *Caligula*'s Head in the middle with one Blow; It is not the sense of these Words, *cervicem mediam uno ictu decidit*, or as some read, *dissidit*. Mr *de Tillemont* is mistaken in another thing (7): he says, that *Cornelius Sabinus*, as some say, struck off *Caligula*'s Jawbone with his Sword. *Suetonius*, whom he quotes, attributes that Blow to *Chærea*, according to some.

(6) History of the Emperors, Tom. I, p. 338.

(7) Ibid.

[*D*] Claudius ----- *did not fail to cause* Chærea *to be punished.*] It was confessed that the Action of *Chærea* shewed a great Courage; but, on the other

other side, that it was a Perfidy, and ought to be punished for an Example to those who should dare to attempt upon the Life of Emperors (8). *Suetonius* pretends, that the Conspirators, who were put to death, were punished partly for an Example, and partly because to the Death of *Caligula* they would have added That of his Successor *Claudius*: *Exempli simul causa & quod sum quoque cædem depoposcisse cognoverat* (9). *Dio* deserves to be heard. 'Claudius, says he (10), rejoiced at the Death of 'Caligula; yet he caused *Chærea* to be put to death: 'he did not think that he owed any Thanks for 'being raised to the Throne by means of this Con-'spiracy; but he was angry with him, who dared 'to lay Hands on an Emperor, and thought at a 'Distance on his own Safety.' The Politics of Princes have something that is capricious; they do their Endeavour to debauch each others Subjects; they give Retreat to Conspirators; they protect Rebels; and they do not see, that it is a fair Lesson of Revolt for their own Subjects, and a near Hope of Relief. This Extravagance proceeds from thinking only on the present; for, if they considered the Consequences, a Prince would never contribute a Penny, nor a Word, in favour of Rebellions.

(8) Joseph. lib. xix, cap. iii.

(9) Suet. in Claud. cap. xl.

(10) Dio, lib. lx, pag. 765.

CASTALIO (SEBASTIAN), born in the Country of the *Allobroges* [*A*], in the Year 1515, deserves a good Place among Authors [*B*]. The chief of his Works is a *Latin* and *French* Translation of the Scripture. It is very variously spoken of; some blame it much, others speak very well of it [*C*]. He acquired the Esteem and Friendship of *Calvin*, during his Abode at *Strasburg*, in the Year 1540, and 1541; and he lodged also some Days with him (*a*). *Calvin* procured a place of Teacher in the College of *Geneva* for him, or rather exhorted him powerfully to accept it (*b*). *Castalio*, having exercised it near three Years, was compelled

(*a*) See Remark [*B*].

(*b*) See ibid.

[*A*] *He was born in the Country of the* Allobroges.] I have been forced to make use of this general Expression, because I could not discover any thing more particular. The Epithet of *Allobrox* is given him in his Epitaph. It may equally signify, that he was either of *Dauphiné* or *Savoy*. Mr *Allard* is of the first Opinion (1); but he builds on an Author, who did not say what he makes him say: for these Words of *Sammarthanus*, 'Ex aspe-'ris & silebrosis Allobrogum montibus humili or-'tus fortuna (2). —— *Born, of mean Parents, in* 'the rugged Mountains of the Allobroges;' do not signify, that he was born in the Mountains of *Dauphiné*. *Le Croix du Maine* makes *Castalio* a Native of *Savoy* (3). Dr *Spon* (4) and Mr *Leti* (5) make him a Native of *Chatillon* in *Bresse*.

(1) Allard, Biblioth. of Dauphiné, pag. 68.

(2) Sammarthanus, Elog. lib. ii, pag. 226.

(3) La Croix du Maine Biblioth. Franc. pag. 453.

(4) Spon. Hist. de Geneve, lib. iii, pag. 257, ad Ann. 1544.

(5) Leti, Istoria Genevr. na, Tom. III, pag. 79.

[*B*] *He deserves a good place among Authors.*] His Works would be very considerable by their Quality and their Number, though it should not be known, that he lived but Forty eight Years. He made it appear, that he was skilled in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Hebrew*. He caused four Books of Dialogues to be printed at *Basil*, in the Year 1545, which contained the chief Histories of the Bible in fine *Latin*, that Youth might form themselves by them both to Piety and Latinity together. They were reprinted in the Year 1548, and since with Corrections and Additions in the Year 1551 (6). These three Editions have been followed by divers others (7). In 1546, he published the Translation which he had made (8) of the Sybilline Verses with Notes, and of the Books of *Moses* (9). This was followed, in 1547, by his *Latin* Translation of the Psalms of *David*, and by all the other Songs in the Scripture. In 1548, he published a *Greek* Poem on the Life of *John the Baptist*, and a *Latin* Poem, which is a Paraphrase on the Prophet *Jonas*. I omit his Translation of some Parts of *Homer*, and of some Books of *Xenophon*, and St *Cyril* (10); I shall speak in the following Remark of the most important of his Works. Let us add here only, that he put several *Italian* Treatises of the famous *Ochinus* into *Latin*, and particularly the thirty Dialogues, some of which seemed to favour Polygamy. *Martin Ruarus* was in the wrong to take it ill, that *Cavinius* attributed the Translation of those Dialogues to *Castalio*. 'Scribis Castellionem XXX. Ochini 'dialogos in *Latinam* linguam transtulisse. Id ego 'utut mihi dubium, cum nonnisi à Castellionis ini-'micis mera suspicione ductis affirmatum videam, 'in medio tamen relinquam (11). —— *You write, that* Castalio *has translated the thirty Dialogues of* Ochinus *into* Latin. *Though I doubt of the* 'Truth of this, since I see it affirmed only by the 'Enemies of Castalio, and upon mere Suspicion, yet 'I will leave it undetermined.' But he is not in the wrong to reprimand him for having reported, that *Lælius Socinus* published it under the Name of *Felix Turpio*. It is certain that this false Name does not appear in that Work, and that *Ochinus*'s true Name appears in it. Let it not be said, that *Bullinger* observes, that *Ochinus* caused it to be printed by an *Italian*, his Friend (12); for That *Italian* is no other than *Peter Perna* a Printer at *Basil*, who put his Name at the end of the Book according to custom. How could *Lælius Socinus*, who died in the Year 1562, cause a Book to be printed, which was not in the Press before 1563? *Calovius*'s Error proceeded from this, *viz.* that there are certain Dialogues of *Castalio*, to which *Faustus Socinus*, who published them, put a Preface, under the Name of *Felix Turpio Urbevetanus* (13). *Castalio* is the Author, and not the Translator, of these Dialogues: They treat of Predestination, Election, Free-Will, and Faith, and were printed with some other Pieces of the same Author (14), in the Year 1578. *Ruarus* says, that it was at *Basil*: if it be so, the Title was falsified; for it bears *Argentorati per Theophil. Philadelph.*

(6) Epitome Bibloth. Gesneri, pag. 745.

(7) I make use of That of *Leyden*, 1620, in 8vo.

(8) In *Latin* Heroic Verse.

(9) In *Latin* Prose.

(10) Taken from the Epitome of *Gesner*, *ubi supra*.

(11) Mart. Ruarus, Epist. xlvii, Cent. I, pag. 226, 227.

I shall mention here and there some other Writings of *Castalio*, in the Remarks of this Article. I leave the Curious to examine if he be not the Author of the *Latin* Translation of some Treatises of St *Chrysostom*, and of St *Cyril*, of which the Epitome of *Gesner* speaks, under the Word *Johannes Theophilus* (15). It is a feigned Name, which our Author gave himself before a Translation (16): It is thought that he took the feigned Name of *Martinus Bellius* in another Work. I have spoken of it more than once (17); but without saying, that he denied, before the Ministers of *Basil*, who summoned him to appear, that he was the Author of that Compilation. *Apellatus coram Basilensis Ecclesiæ Ministris Bellii Farraginem —— falso ejurasti* (18). It is *Beza*, who reproached him with it, and who adds, that it was translated into *French*, and printed in that Language at *Lyons*, where *Castalio*'s Brother had brought the Manuscript. Our Author sets forth some very particular Opinions in the Work, which he entituled *Moses Latinus* (19), as, that the Bodies of Malefactors should not be left on the Gibbet, nor those that steal be punished with Death, and that it would be better to re-establish the ancient Custom of having Slaves. His foundation was, That the Political Laws of *Moses* oblige all Nations (20). His Notes on the Epistle to the *Romans* were condemned by the Church of *Basil*, because they opposed the Doctrine of Predestination, and of Efficacious Grace (21). Yet he procured the Sale of them in the said City, after they were translated into *French* (22).

(12) Bullinger. in Præf Simleri libris præfixa, apud Roar, ibid. pag. 227.

(13) *This suspects to* Faustus Socinus Senensis.

(14) Quæstio an perfecte legi Dei obediri possit. Responsio ad Bonrhaum de Prædestinatione. Defensio adversus Calvinum de Calumnia.

(15) Epit. Gesneri, pag. 503.

(16) See Remark [*F*].

(17) See in the Article BEZA, Remark [*F*], and in the Article SOCINUS (MARIANUS), Remark [*B*], where I speak of *Labat*.

(18) Beza, ad Defens. & Reprehens. Castell. pag. 452.

(19) It is the Translation of the Books of *Moses*, of which I spoke above Chat. (9).

(20) *Taken from* Beza ad Defens. & Reprehens. Castell. n. 6, in Lucam, pag. 451. Oper. Tom. I.

(21) Beza, de Prædestinat. adv. Castellion. pag. 384. Tom. I. Oper.

(22) Id ad Defens. & Reprehens. pag. 431.

[*C*] *Some blame his Translations of Scripture much; others speak very well of them.*] *Thuanus* says, that many Persons judged, that *Castalio* applied his impure Hands to That Work with an insolent Temerity. 'Impuras manus multorum judicio ad sacra 'tractanda attulit, cum à rebus ad tantum opus ne-'cessariis homo imparatissimus novam Bibliorum in-'terpretationem insolenti temeritate molitus est (23).' The Fault, which was the most generally condemned in his *Latin* Translation, is the Affectation of making use of Classic *Latin* only, which made him say *Genius* instead of *Angelus*; and *Latio* instead of *Baptismus*, and *Respublica* instead of *Ecclesia*, and *Collegium*

(23) Thuan. lib. xxxv, in fin.

compelled to leave it in the Year 1544, and to seek another Dwelling, for having maintained some particular Opinions [D]. He retired to *Basil*, where he obtained

Collegium instead of *Synagoga*. *Vossius* (24), and divers other learned Persons, censured him, with reason, for it. He is accused of having run into another Extreme in his *French* Translation (25), I mean, of making use of low and mean Terms. See here the Examples, which a Jesuit gives of them, after having criticized him, on the effeminate Expressions, and the frequent Diminutives, of the *Latin* Translation of the *Song of Songs*. ' He is yet more ' impudent in his *French* Translation; for he scoffs ' openly at the Holy Ghost in six or seven Places; ' as, when he should say a Jew, he says *un Rongné*, ' (one that is cut) that is to say, *circumcisus*: as ' when he translates the Words of St *James*, in the ' eleventh Chapter, *superexaltat misericordia judi-* ' *cium*; that is to say, says this sordid Fellow, *La* ' *misericorde faict la figue au jugement*: - - - - *Mercy* ' *makes a mock of Judgment*; as, when he speaks ' of *David* in the Seventy seventh Psalm, and trans- ' lates his own Words, *De post fœtantes accepit eum*, ' that is to say, says this true Swine herd, *Il le tira* ' *du cul d'une charrue*, —— *He took him from the* ' *Plough-Tail*. In a Word, translating these Words ' of *David* in the Eighth Psalm, *Ex ore infantium* ' *& lactentium perfecisti laudem*, he turns them, ' like a bad Turner, (though he was so by his ' Trade), *Des petits morveux que sont à la mam-* ' *melle*, —— *Snotty Children at the Breast* (26).' Note, that it is false, that the Translation is such, as is reported in the two last Examples (27). *Henry Stephens* exclaimed no less than this Jesuit against *Sebastian Castalio*, *Who studied*, says he (28), *the Language of the Beggars, or, at least, such as made the Readers laugh, instead of considering the Sense of the Passage*. He cites, for Example, *La misericorde faict la figue au jugement*. This manner of translating seems to him the strangest kind of Blasphemy, of which he has spoken in that Chapter; and he adds, ' He has not only taken delight in Words ' used by Beggars, and in their manner of speaking, ' but has taken all kind of Liberties; calling her, ' whom the Husband keeps besides his Wife, a ' Back Woman (*arriere Femme*,) as we say a Back ' Shop (*arriere Boutique*,) whom the *Latins* have ' called *Pellex*, (borrowing the Word from the ' *Greeks*, who had also borrowed it from the *He-* ' *brews*,) and using the Word *Avant-peau* instead ' of *Prepuce*; saying *rongné* instead of *circoncis*, ' (*circumcised*), and *empellit* instead of *incircuncis*, ' (*uncircumcised*). He transforms GOD also into a ' Monsieur *de Rochefort*. Briefly, there is not even ' *To carouse it (faire carous)* that has not found place ' in this Translation. This is the new Invention ' that the Devil has found, in our Time, to infringe ' the Authority of the Holy and Sacred Word of ' GOD: who, of his Mercy, provided against it in ' good time, having permitted, that the Author of ' the said Translation (of whom a very good Opi- ' nion was had for some time) should condemn him- ' self with his own Mouth, and make known by ' what Spirit he was led (29).' *Beza* was not silent upon this: He maintained, that the Jargon of *Poi-* *tou*, the grossest of all the Jargons of *France*, may appear less barbarous than the Stile of *Castalio* (30). Note, that Mr *Simon* affirms, that, in the *French* Translation of *Castalio*, is to be discovered the same Affectation of writing in an elegant and polished Stile, as in the *Latin* Translation (31) He gives a Judgment of the latter, which, to take altogether, is glorious for *Castalio* (32). You will find some things of it in the Additions of Mr *Teissier* (33). You will find there also, that Three learned Persons (34) have spoken of that Translation with Praise. One of them was so charmed with it, that, in praising of it, he felt a Poetical Rapture arising in him, which obliged him to add the Language of the Muses to his Prose, to represent his Admiration (35). Sir *Thomas-Pope Blount* has collected many Passages, some disadvantageous to *Castalio*, and others advantageous (36); I refer you thither, and add only, that he forgot the Praises, which *Episcopius* gave this Translator of the Scriptures (37), and the Invective, which is in a Preface to the New Testament, printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1560 (38). We must not forget, that *Castalio* begun the *Latin* Translation at *Geneva* in the Year 1542, and that he finished it at *Basil* in the Year 1550: it was printed at *Basil* in the Year 1551. He dedicated it to *Edward* King of *England*. He gave a second Edition of it in the Year 1554, and another in the Year 1556. The Edition of 1573 is more esteemed than all the rest (39). The *French* Translation was dedicated to *Henry* the Second, and printed at *Basil* for *John Hervagius* in the Year 1555. As to the Disputes, which arose been *Castalio* and *Beza*, concerning the Translation of the Scripture, see the Author whom I quote (40). Let us not forget that he complained, That, having been the first that had made an exact Description of the Temple of *Solomon*, he was not only not thanked for it, but that, on the contrary, he was abused by those, who made use of his Labour. ' Nonnihil mirari se dicebat tuorum ingenuitatem, ' qui cum subtilem effigiem Templi apud Ezechie- ' lem, in qua una exprimenda primus potissimum ela- ' boraverat, surripuissent, non modo in suis Bibliis ' quibus eam inserebant non laudarunt auctorem, cu- ' jus labore suas merces ornabant, sed etiam eum in- ' finitis convitiis onerarunt (41).' It is *Baudouin*, who speaks thus to *Theodorus Beza*.

The *Latin* Bible of *Castalio* has lately been reprinted in *Germany* (42), and they have added to it *Ejusdem* (Castellionis) *delineatio Reipublicæ Judaicæ ex Josepho; nota prolixior in Caput ix. Epistolæ ad Romanos, nec non defensio versionis novi fœderis contra Th. Bezam.*

I cannot forbear to impart a small Distrust, which I had, and the Effect it produced. That, which *Beza*, *Henry Stephens*, and *Garasse*, say of *Castalio's French*, made me judge, at first, that That Writer had treated the Scripture, as *Scarron* treated *Virgil*: but I thought afterwards, that they ought not to be believed on their Word, and that Passion might have made them amplify. In this Uncertainty, I took the *French* Bible of *Castalio*; I opened it in divers Places; I sought carefully for those burlesque Phrases, which they have reproached him so much with; I could find none of them except That of *Faire la Figue*: I could not find *cul de la charrue*, (*Plough Tail*,) nor *petits morveux*, (*snotty Children*,) that Father *Garasse* quotes. And I cannot sufficiently wonder at the Impudence of That Calumniator. It must be owned here, that there are unhappy Persons, who can never avoid the Strokes of Slander. If another than *Castalio* had made That Translation of the Scripture, they would not have complained so much against his Language. I add, that the Words *Avant-peau*, *Rongné*, &c. are not low and mean: they are as noble as those of *Prepuce* and *Circoncis*. He who makes use of them is only blameable for a superfluous Innovation: His good Intention (43) does not justify him.

[D] *He was compelled to leave his place of Teacher - - - - - - for having maintained some particular Opinions.*] He was so vexed, that he could not make *Calvin* approve of the Impertinencies of his *French* Translations of the New Testament, that he begun to spread some Errors, and to maintain, that the *Song of Songs* was an obscene Piece, which ought to be left out of the Canon of the Scriptures. He inveighed against the Ministers, who opposed his Intention. He was cited before the Senate, where he was heard, and declared convicted of Calumny, and he was commanded to leave the Town. Thus *Beza* reports the Matter. ' Indignatus quòd suas ' ineptias in Gallica Novi Testamenti Versione Cal- ' vino non probasset, eousque efferbuit, ut exotica ' quædam docere non contentus, palàm etiam Canticum ' Solomonis tanquam impurant & obscœnam cantio- ' nem ex Canone expungi juberet, & repugnantes ' Ministros atrocissimis convitiis proscinderet. Id ' illi verò sibi non ferendum meritò rati, hominem ' ad Senatum vocant: ubi pridie Calend. Junii pa- ' tientissimè auditus, cognitaque causâ calumniæ ' damnatus, ex urbe excedere jussus est (44).' ' Hoc eodem anno per Sebastianum illum Castalio- ' nem fictæ pietatis hominem Satan vos fidemque ' vestram impellere & levi primùm, ut videbatur, ' ictu, sed periculosissimo quatere voluit: quo ta- ' men

(24) Vossius Institut. Oratoriar. lib. iv, cap. i.

(25) See *Sammarthan. Elog. lib.* ii, *pag.* 126.

(26) Garasse's Doctrine curieuse, pag. 202, 203.

(27) See the end of this Remark.

(28) Henry Stephen's *Apology for* Herodotus, lib. i, cap xiv, pag. 96.

(29) Id. ibid. pag. 97.

(30) Beza, ad Defens. & Repreh. Sebast. Castell. Init. pag. 430, 431, Oper. Tom. I.

(31) Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament, lib. ii, cap. xxv, p. 349. They have put a marginal Note in the Edition of *Rotterdam*, which informs us, that *Henry Stephens* reproaches That Translator *for speaking the Jargon of Beggars*.

(32) Id. ibid. cap. xxi, pag. 324, &c.

(33) In the Eloges, taken out of *Thuanus*, Tom. I, pag. 223, 224.

(34) Elperius, Humfred, *and* Portus Cerlolanus.

(35) You will find those Verses in Mr *Simon's Critical History of the Translations of the New Testament*, ch. xxiv, pag. 274.

(36) Pope Blount, Cens. Author. pag. 493, & seq.

(37) Episcopius, Institut. p. 277.

(38) Mr *Simon* mentions it, *Critical History of the Translations of the New Testament*, pag. 273.

(39) Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament, p. 324.

(40) Id. Crit. History of the Translations of the New Testament, c. xxiii, pag. 273, &c.

(41) Respons. ad Calvin & Bezam pro Franc. Balduino, fol. 68. verso.

(42) In the Year 1697, at *Leipsic*, by *Tho. Fritsch*, in Folio.

(43) See his Preface.

(44) Beza in Vitâ Calvini, ad Ann. 1544, pag. 372, Oper. Tom. III.

tained the Profeſſorſhip of the *Greek* Tongue (*c*). He paſſed the remainder of his Life in that Place, and died there the Twenty ninth of *December*, 1563 (*d*). He was buried in the great Church at *Baſil*, by the Care of three *Poliſh* Gentlemen, who had been his Diſciples (*e*) [*E*], and who cauſed an honourable Epitaph to be put on his Tomb. He had the Misfortune to expoſe himſelf to the Indignation of *Calvin*, and of *Beza*, who loaded him with Reproaches. They perſuaded themſelves, that he deſerved them, for having followed a relaxed Method in the Doctrine of Predeſtination, and for having diſapproved of puniſhing Heterics (*f*). The *Latin* Tranſlation, which he made of ſome of *Ochinus*'s Work, laid him under great Suſpicions of Heterodoxy. He was alſo accuſed of favouring the Enthuſiaſts [*F*]. To judge of him by the Deſcription that his Adverſaries gave of him, he

(c) See his Epitaph at the end of his *Dialogi Sacri*.

(d) See the ſame Epitaph.

(e) Their Names are in the Epitaph.

(f) See Remark [*F*], of the Article BEZA, and the Remark [*B*], of the Article SOCINUS (MARIANUS), Grandſon, &c.

' men malo & occulto veneno civitas veſtra anno xlv
' homine ipſo tanquam ſpuma expulſo purgata eſt
' (45). —— *The ſame Year, Satan endeavoured to*
' *ſhake you and your Faith, by the means of* Sebaſtian
' Caſtallio, *a Man of pretended Piety; the Blow, tho'*
' *ſeemingly light, was a dangerous one: however*
' *your City was purged from the latent Poiſon in the*
' *Year* 45, *by ſpewing out, as it were, the Man him-*
' *ſelf.*' This Recital ſeems over-ſtrained, when compared with an Atteſtation, which *Calvin* gave to This School Maſter of *Geneva*. It imports, that he laid down this Office voluntarily, that he had behaved himſelf ſo well in it, that he was judged fit to be a Paſtor, and that nothing had hindered him from being promoted to that Office, but the particular Opinion he had concerning the *Song of Songs*, and the Article of the Deſcent of JESUS CHRIST into Hell; and, in ſhort, that it is the only Reaſon why he left *Geneva*. *Caſtalio* ſpeaks to *Calvin* in this manner; ' In eo teſtimonio tu teſtaris, mihi à vobis
' diſcedendi unam cauſam fuiſſe, diſcordiam illam de
' Cantico Canticorum, & de interpretatione tua ca-
' pitis fidei de Chriſti deſcenſu ad Inferos. Tua
' verba ſunt hæc: *Hoc breviter teſtamur, talem*
' *fuiſſe à nobis habitum, ut noſtrò omnium conſenſu*
' *jam ad munus paſtorale deſtinatus eſſet.* Et in fine
' verba ſunt hæc: *Ne quis ergo aliud quippiam cauſæ*
' *eſſe ſuſpicetur, cur à nobis diſcedat Sebaſtianus, hoc*
' *quocumque venerit teſtatum eſſe volumus. Scholæ*
' *miniſterio ſponte ſe abdicavit. In eo ita ſe geſſe-*
' *rat, ut ſacro hoc miniſterio dignum judicaremus.*
' *Quominus autem receptus fuerit, non aliqua vitæ*
' *macula, non impium aliquod in fidei noſtræ capiti-*
' *bus dogma, ſed hæc una, quam expoſuimus cauſa*
' *obſtitit* (46). —— *In That Teſtimonial you teſtify,*
' *that the only reaſon of my leaving you, was, my*
' *different Notion of the* Song of Songs, *and of your*
' *Interpretation of the Article of Faith concerning the*
' *Deſcent of* CHRIST *into Hell. Your Words are*
' *as follows.* We briefly atteſt this, that ſuch was
' our Opinion of him, that, by commmon conſent,
' he was deſigned for the Paſtoral Office. *And at*
' *the end are theſe Words.* That no one therefore
' may ſuſpect there was any other Cauſe, of *Seba-*
' *ſtian Caſtallo*'s leaving us, we certify this where-
' ever he comes. He voluntarily reſigned his place
' of Teacher in the School. He behaved himſelf ſo
' in it, that we judged him worthy of this ſacred
' Charge. Nor was it any Blemiſh in his Life, or
' any impious Tenet, but the reaſon above-mention-
' ed alone, which prevented his being admitted to
' it.' He declares, that he ſhewed this Atteſtation to divers Perſons, and alſo to ſome Miniſters. Conſult Dr *Spon*, who does not ſay, that he was expelled the City, but only that he was depoſed (47). See, below, my Remarks againſt Mr *Teiſſier*.

(45) Danæus, Epiſt. Dedic. libri de Hæreſ ad Senatum Genevenſem.

(46) Caſtellio, in Defenſ. ad Author. libelli, cui, titulus eſt Calumnia Nebulonis, pag. 19.

(47) Spon. Hiſt. de Genev. lib. iii. pag. 257.

[*E*] *He was buried in the great Church of* Baſil, *by the care of Three* Poliſh *Gentlemen —— his Diſciples.*] I have learned this Particular in the Inſcription of an Epigram at the End of his *Sacred Dialogues* (48). We find a much more memorable Particular in the *Scaligerana*: *Caſtalio* was laid in the Tomb of the Family of the *Grynæus*'s; but a Profeſſor of That Family made him be taken up again. This perhaps was the Reaſon, which made the Three *Poliſh* Gentlemen take care of *Caſtalio*'s Funeral. See *Scaliger*'s Judgment here. ' Si non cum affectu
' vel ignominia Simon Grynæus juſſit Caſtalionem
' ex ſuo ſepulchro educi & alibi ſepeliri, nihil mali.
' Sunt qui nolunt alios in ſuo ſepulchro ſepeliri, ſed
' in noſtra religione non deberet fieri (49). —— *If*
' Simon Grynæus *did not order* Caſtalio *to be re-*

(48) Alliud (*Epitaphium*) de monumento quod ei tres Poloni —— locarunt in ſummi Templi Baſil. periſtyllio in pavimento.

(49) Scaligerana, voce Grynæus, pag. 101.

' *moved out of his Sepulchre, and buried elſewhere,*
' *out of Paſſion, or to diſgrace his Memory, there was*
' *no harm in it. Some there are, who diſlike that*
' *others ſhould be buried in their Sepulchres; but*
' *under our Religion This ſhould not be done.*' He excuſes and blames *Grynæus*'s Action at the ſame time. He excuſes it, if Paſſion did not produce it, and if there was a Temper uſed, which did not make the Memory of the deceaſed ignominious; and he blames him, ſince he pretends, that Proteſtants ought not to be ſo weak, as to fancy that others ſhould not be buried in their Sepulchres. It is difficult to imagine, that *Simon Grynæus* was free from Paſſion in this Buſineſs, and that divers Conſiderations of humane Intereſt did not incline him to behave himſelf as he did. We ſhall ſee preſently, that they had blackened *Caſtalio* like any Devil.

[*F*] *He was accuſed of favouring the Enthuſiaſts.*] This is what *Beza* means, in cenſuring him for attempting to enervate the Authority of the Scripture, as not containing the Sublime Divinity, which St *Paul* taught, *viva voce*, his moſt knowing Diſciples. ' Ut
' qui ſua quadam in Sacrorum Bibliorum perverſio-
' nem præfatione palàm verbi divini ſatis perſpicuam
' auctoritatem convellere ſtuduiſſet, ſuiſque in prio-
' rem ad Corinth. Epiſtolam adnotationibus, ut à
' verbo ſcripto tanquam imperfecto nos abduceret,
' diſertè ſcripſiſſet, Paulum quandam Theologiam,
' ea quam ſcriptis tradidiſſet reconditiorem perfectos
' neſcio quos ſuos diſcipulos docuiſſe (50). —— *As*
' *openly endeavouring, in a certain Preface on the*
' *Perverſion of the ſacred Books, to deſtroy the ſuffi-*
' *ciently evident Authority of the Divine Word; and*
' *as having expreſsly written, in his Notes on the*
' *firſt Epiſtle to the* Corinthians, *(to draw us off from*
' *the written Word, as imperfect,) That St* Paul
' *taught certain of his moſt knowing Diſciples, a more*
' *ſublime Doctrine, than what he had delivered in*
' *his Writings.*' *Scaliger* ſaid, that *Caſtalio* had imbibed divers Doctrines of the Anabaptiſts (51). Nothing contributed more to rank him among the Enthuſiaſts, than his *Latin* Tranſlation of the *Theologia Germanica*: It is a Book full of Fanaticiſm, and which ſpoiled many Perſons in the *Netherlands*. See here what *Sainte Aldegonde* wrote to *Beza* in the Year 1567. ' Eſt genus novum ἐνθουσιαστῶν qui
' tum ex illa, quam noſti, Theologia Germanica
' dudum à Caſtellione Latinè reddita, tum ex Tau-
' lero deliro ſanè Monacho, tum porro ex aliorum
' quorundam & veterum & recentiorum hæreticorum
' furoribus, eas conſunnt rhapſodias, quæ non jam
' ſuperſtitioſæ ac rudi plebeculæ, ſed ipſis etiam
' viris, & mediocri eruditione, & non contemnenda
' pietatis ſpecie præſtantibus, ita vehementer arrident,
' ut certatim omnes ad eorum libros quaſi ad recon-
' ditum aliquem theſaurum accurrant. Omnia eorum
' deliramenta percenſere, nimis foret longum, &
' ipſe non potes pleraque ignorare, cui fuerit cum
' hujuſmodi monſtris (in quibus Caſtellionem ego
' non infimo loco poſuerim) perſæpe conflictandum
' (52). —— *There is a new kind of Enthuſiaſts,*
' *who, from the* German *Theology, tranſlated into*
' Latin *by* Caſtalio, *from* Taulerus *a crazy Monk,*
' *and from the Ravings of other Heretics both Antient*
' *and Modern, patch together theſe Rhapſodies which*
' *are ſo very agreeable, not only to the ſuperſtitious*
' *and ignorant Vulgar, but to Men of moderate Learn-*
' *ing, and no contemptible Piety, that they all preſs*
' *to the Books of theſe Men, as to ſome hidden Trea-*
' *ſure. It would be tedious to reckon up all their*
' *wild Notions, nor can you be ignorant of moſt of*
' *them, who have often been obliged to encounter theſe*
' *Monſters, among whom I reckon* Caſtalio *not the*
' *leaſt*

(50) Beza in Vitâ Calvini, ad Ann. 1553, pag. 377.

(51) Scaligerana I, pag. 28.

(52) Philippus Marnixius, Epiſt. ad Beram. *It is the ſixth among the Letters of Beza, p. 206, Tom. III. Oper.*

he must not only be taken for a very dishoneſt Man, but even for a wicked Wretch [G]. I ſhall relate (g) ſeveral Fragments of the Apology, which he publiſhed. (g) In Remark [G].

'leaſt conſiderable.' *Beza* was perſuaded, that *Caſtalio* had tranſlated that Book into *Latin*; yet he durſt not affirm it in a public Work, before he had informed himſelf whether it could be poſſible to produce good Proofs of it, if *Caſtalio* ſhould deny it. A wiſe Precaution, and which ought not to be neglected ſo often as it is. Let us ſee what he wrote to a Phyſician of *Baſil*. 'Hoc amabo te reſcribe, ſi quam 'fecero in mea reſponſione mentionem Bellii, & 'Theologiæ Germanicæ, & ille ſe eorum librorum 'authorem inficietur, num id poſſim ità ſecurè, affir-'mare, ut ſi neceſſe fuerit, teſtibus etiam aut idoneis 'argumentis convinci poſſit. Nam de re ipſa, id 'eſt, quin revera libros illos ac præſertim præfatio-'nem Bellianam ediderit, non dubito: ſed videndum 'nobis eſt ut non tantum detegatur iſte, verùm 'etiam convincatur, ut tandem omnes norint quæ 'ſit ſanctì iſtius viri conſcientia (53). —— *I deſire* 'you would inform me in your Anſwer, whether, if 'I ſhould mention Bellius, and the German Theolo-'gy, in my Reply, and He ſhould deny that he is the 'Author of thoſe Books, there is ſufficient Evidence 'and Arguments to confute him: for as to the Fact, 'that is whether he really publiſhed thoſe Books, 'eſpecially the Preface to Bellius, I have no doubt of 'the truth of it; however we muſt be careful not only 'to deteſt him, but to prove the Fact, that the World 'may know the Conſcience of this Holy Man.' *Hoornbeeck* did not underſtand the whole Senſe of theſe Words (54): He did not ſee, that *Beza* intended to ſpeak of *Caſtalio* as the Author of the *Latin* Tranſlation, and not as the Author of the Work itſelf, intituled *Theologia Germanica*. He adds, that this Work was alſo tranſlated into *Latin*, and printed at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1558, under the Name of *John Theophilus*. He had already ſaid, that the *Dutch* Tranſlation was very imprudently praiſed by *Martin Luther*. He was ignorant, that the Firſt Edition of the *Latin* Tranſlation is of *Baſil* 1557. The Epitome of *Geſner's Bibliotheque*, informing us of this, remarks that *Caſtalio* is he, who tranſlated that Work under the Name of *Joannes Theophilus* (55). Dr *Spon* makes him Author of the Work it ſelf, and is miſtaken: *He wrote*, ſays he (56), *another Book entituled* Theologia Germanica, *and a Treatiſe of the Old and New Man*. Mr *Jurieu* was deceived much after the ſame manner, ſince he has ſaid that *John Theophilus is the Author of a Book entituled* Theologia Germanica (57). See here another Miſtake of Dr *Spon*: He did not know, that the Treatiſe of the Old and New Man is only the *French* Tranſlation, which *Caſtalio* made of the *Theologia Germanica*. This is what we find in *La Croix du Maine* (58), who was otherwiſe ignorant, that That Work in *Latin* is but a Tranſlation. Note that *Caſtalio* denied, before the Miniſters of *Baſil*, that he had any Share in that Book (59).

(53) Beza, Epiſtola ad Guilelmum Grataro-lum. *It is the* 46th *Oper. Tom.* III, pag. 257. *See the* 451ſt *Page of the firſt Volume of his Works.*

(54) Hornbeeck Summa Controverſ. lib. vi, pag. 409.

(55) Epit. Geſneri, pag. 745.

(56) Spon. Hiſt. de Genev. pag. 252.

(57) Jurieu, Apolog. pour les Reformat. Tom. I, pag. 106.

(58) La Croix du Maine Bibliotth. Franc. pag. 453.

(59) Beza ad Defenſ. & Reprehenſ. Caſtell. init. pag. 431. Oper. Tom. I, *& alſo* pag. 451.

[G] *To judge of him by the Deſcription his Adverſaries gave of him, he muſt be taken* - - - - - *for a very wicked Man*] He compoſed an Apology in the Year 1558, wherein he complains of two of *Calvin*'s Writings by name (60); one was intituled, *Anſwers to certain Calumnies, Blaſphemies*, &c. and appeared in the Year 1557. The Title of the other was *Calumniæ Nebulonis cujuſdam*, &c. and was printed the Year following. He maintains, that he never ſaw the two Works, which *Calvin* aſcribed to him (61). He ſays (62): 'Vocas 'me ſubinde in Gallico libello blaſphemum ca-'lumniatorem, malignum, canem latrantem, ple-'num ignorantiæ & beſtialitatis, plenum impuden-'tiæ, impoſtorem, ſacrarum literarum impurum cor-'ruptorem, Dei prorſus deriſorem, omnis religio-'nis contemptorem, impudentem, impurum canem, 'impium, obſcœnum, torti perverſique ingenii, 'vagum, balatronem. Nebulonem verò (ſic enim 'interpretor *Brouillon*) appellas octies, & hæc omnia 'longè copioſius, quàm à me recenſentur, facis in 'libello duorum foliorum, & quidem perparvorum. 'De Latino verò, quid multis opus eſt? Titulos 'eſt: *Calumniæ Nebulonis*. Finis eſt: *Compeſcat 'te Deus, Satan:* media ſunt ejuſdem coloris. —— 'In a French Treatiſe, you load me with the op-'probrious Names of Blaſphemous Calumniator, Ma-'lignant, Barking Dog, full of Ignorance and Be-'ſtiality, full of Impudence, an Impoſtor, an Impure 'Corrupter of the ſacred Writings, a Mocker of God, 'and Deſpiſer of all Religion, an Impudent Fellow, a 'Filthy Dog, an Impious Wretch, Obſcene, of a diſtort-'ed and perverſe Mind, a Vagabond, and a Raſcal. You 'call me* Knave *(for ſo I interpret* Brouillon*) eight 'times; and all theſe you beſtow more plentifully upon 'me, than I reckon up, in a little Piece of two Leaves, 'and theſe very ſmall. As for your* Latin *Work, 'it is ſufficient to obſerve, that it is intituled,* Ca-lumniæ Nebulonis, —— The Calumnies of a Knave: *It ends with,* The Lord rebuke thee, 'Satan: *The Middle is in the ſame Strain.*' He not only repreſents to him what the Goſpel pronounces againſt him, who wrongs his Brother, but alſo what *Calvin* himſelf had written in the *Chriſtian Life*. 'Nihilne te movet (ut cætera taceam), 'tui ipſius libellus ille, quem ſcripſiſti de Vita Ho-'minis Chriſtiani? Qui libellus ita ſancta, ità pia 'precepta continet, ut nuper præſente me dixerit 'quidam, operæ pretium eſſe, ut tibi ſcribat ali-'quis Epiſtolam, in qua te interroget, utrum fieri 'poſſit, ut horum duorum libellorum videlicet, 'Vitæ Hominis Chriſtiani, & Calumniæ Nebulo-'nis, &c. *idem ſit Author* (63). —— *To ſay nothing 'of other things, have you no Regard to your own 'Book,* Of the Life of a Chriſtian? *A Book, ſo 'full of holy and pious Precepts, that a certain 'Perſon ſaid lately in my Preſence, that it was 'worth while to write a Letter to you, and aſk 'you, whether the ſame Perſon could poſſibly be Au-'thor of the two Books,* Of a Chriſtian's Life, *and* 'The Calumnies of a Knave.' He juſtified himſelf particularly from the Crime of Theft, as we ſhall ſee below, and from that of Perfidiouſneſs, Cruelty, and Blaſphemy. After having ſet down *Calvin*'s Words, he ſays to him; 'Hæc accuſationis tuæ ſumma eſt, 'in qua me infimulas ſuperbiæ, perfidiæ, inhuma-'nitatis, ingratitudinis, fraudulentiæ, impudentiæ, 'ſcurrilitatis, blaſphemiæ, denique impietatis (64). —— *This is the Sum of your Accuſation, in which 'you charge me with Pride, Perfidy, Inhumanity, 'Ingratitude, Knavery, Impudence, Scurrility, Blaſ-'phemy, and Impiety.*' If you knew me to be ſuch, when I lived with you, why did you almoſt compel me to teach in the College of *Geneva*? Can any one in Conſcience commit the Education of Children to ſuch a Man? 'Si jam tum talem cogno-'viſti quæro ex te, qua conſcientia me poſtea iſtic 'ludo literario præfeceritis, & multum recuſantem 'pertraxeritis, tu & unà duo tui ſummi amici, & 'ſummæ in Sabaudia authoritatis viri concionatores. 'Quæſo te, quorum hominum eſt pueris inſtituen-'dis præficere hominem, quem tu ſceleratum eſſe 'ſcires, idque in ea urbe, quam *vos* ſanctam etiam 'impreſſis libris appellatis (65)?' Why did you give me a Teſtimonial of a good Life, after I had taught in that School about three Years? Whereupon he alledges the Words, which you have read in the Remark [D] (66). You cannot ſay, continues he (67), that you did not know me to be ſuch till after that time; for, beſides that you plainly inſinuate the very contrary, you would be the moſt ſtupid of all Men, if, while I lived with you, and taught in the School of *Geneva*, I had been ſuch as you deſcribe me to be, and in the mean time you ſhould not have perceived it. He owns that he was not free from Vanity (68), and reports an Effect of it, which I ſhall mention hereafter (69): He acknowledges alſo, that he loved a merry Humour, but not in Matters of Religion. He ſays (70); I have always cenſured thoſe, who bantered in theſe Matters; two of your beſt Friends know it well. One of them, having publiſhed a merry Book, intituled *Zographia*, I went to give him my Advice, and, not finding him, I gave it him by a third Perſon. But he was ſo far from profiting by it, that he publiſhed a ſecond Writing of the ſame Nature, entituled *Paſſavantius*, and has hated me mortally ever ſince. The other is a Perſon, to whom I am much obliged; he has entertained me in his Houſe; I know him to be pious: I wrote to him, that he would do well not to publiſh any more facetious Books on holy Subjects: He was not angry at my Advice, as the other was. Note, that he obſerves (71), that *Calvin* had prefixed

(60) Caſtellio Defenſ. pag. 2.

(61) Id. ibid. pag. 3.

(62) Id. ibid. pag. 5.

(63) Id. ibid. pag. 7.

(64) Id. ibid. pag. 17. *See the* 267th *Letter of the* Epiſtol. Eccleſiaſtic. & Theolog. *Edit. of* Amſterd. 1684. *in Fol.*

(65) Id. ibid. pag. 28.

(66) Citat. (46).

(67) Caſtellio Defenſ. pag. 19, 20.

(68) Id. ibid. pag. 22.

(69) In Remark [M].

(70) Caſtellio, Defenſ. pag. 24.

(71) Id. ibid.

lished. I do not pretend, that they ought to be looked upon as a faithful Description of his Enemies; it will suffice me that they be taken for a general Image of the Corruption of Nature, and for a Subject of Reflexions. Many other Persons agree in praising him for his good Morals [*H*]. What he answered, when he was accused

prefixed a Preface to a Piece of this nature, composed by one of those two Authors.

Upon *Calvin*'s upbraiding him with having entertained him in his House (72), this is his Answer. He acknowledges, that he lodged with him at *Strasburg*, but that, at the Week's End, he went away, to make room for *Mademoiselle du Verger*, who would have Lodgings in *Calvin*'s House for herself, and her Son, and her Son's Servant (73). You desired me civilly to yield my Chamber to That Servant; I did so, and paid you for my Diet. Some time after I was desired, by your Folks, to come and look after your Servant, my Countryman, who was sick. I went, and assisted him 'till his Death, that is to say, for seven Days; and I lived on your Bread, but have not lodged with you since that time (74). He relates some Services he did to *Calvin*'s Family, whilst he went to the Diet of *Ratisbon*; and concludes, that they could not lay any Ingratitude, or Treachery, to his Charge.

The Appendix to his Apology is remarkable. *Calvin* and *Beza* are upbraided in it for having too eagerly picked up the flying News, which was spread concerning their Enemies, and inserting it, with all Speed, in the first Book they published. You hate me, said he to them, and therefore you easily believe all the Ill, that is said of me: and either do not believe, or turn the Good you hear of me to a bad Sense. 'Accidit in vobis ad levitatem illam capitale odium mei: quo fit, ut de me quicquid mali dicitur, id, quia vultis, facilimè credatis. facilè enim (inquit idem Cæsar) credunt homines quæ volunt. Rursumque si quid boni dicitur, id vel non credatis, vel maligna interpretatione depravetis (75).' Your Emissaries relate or write to you all the Fables that please your Palate; you take your Measures according to their News, whereby you expose yourselves, early or late, to Confusion. 'Talia de me jactant levissimi homines, & ea vobis veluti conducti, vel referunt, vel scribunt, quia vos talia libenter audire sciunt. Atque ita ineunt à vobis certè non honesta mercede gratiam. Vos hisce rumoribus, atque auditionibus, permoti de re non levi, leve consilium initis; auditiones illas etiam monimentis literarum mandatis: quorum vos si non è vestigio, at certè aliquando pœnitere necesse erit, cum incertis rumoribus servatis, & plerique ad voluntatem vestram ficta respondeant (76).' If your Emissaries deceive you, you also deceive them in your turn; they hear an hundred false Reports from you, which they spread up and down (77). You have endeavoured to make me odious to all the World, and for that end you have represented me as a dangerous Cabbalist, who had Emissaries in the Country and City, at the Gates of the Town, and in Taverns. Some *Frenchmen*, who came hither (78) from *Strasburg* with that formidable Idea, which you give of my Person, were much surprized to find me in Want, and at quiet, and expressed a great Indignation against the Authors of so many Fables. 'Patefecunt artes, conatusque vestri, sicuti nuper patuere quibusdam juvenibus Gallis, qui huc ab Argentina profecti sic habebant aures imbutas istis de me rumoribus, ut me putarent passim emissarios habere non solum in diversoriis, verum etiam ruri, & in portis urbis. Denique eam de me opinionem imaginemque animo conceperant, ut me arbitrarentur magnum aliquem, & opibus, atque authoritate pollentem virum, quasique satellitum caterva stipatum, cujus insidias esset effugere difficile. Ubi deinde nihil tale deprehenderunt, contraque homuncionem viderunt, pauperem, vilem, abjectum, quietum, nihil molientem, nullius nec splendoris, nec authoritatis, mirati sunt non absque stomacho illa mendacia, mecumque tandem congressi, tam ab illis abhorruerunt, mihique adhæserunt, quàm antè cognitam veritatem à me abhorrentes illis adhæserant (79).' You stir up the Magistrates against me, and, not being able to bring them to satisfy your Passion, you make use of all kind of Arts to take away my Reputation, and hinder my Writings from being read. You publish Books against me; and you endeavour to obtain, that I may not be permitted to answer you (80). You forbid your People to speak to me, and, if any of them venture to do it, they become suspected by you, and you become their Enemies. This is the reason, that many, who would come to see me, dare not. 'Quoniam illi (*Magistratus*) vestræ cupiditati vel non obsequuntur, vel nondum obsequuntur, vos (quod proximum est) me toto orbe quibuscunque modis fieri potest certatim infamatis: mea scripta (ut papam possis agnoscere) ne legantur pro virili prohibetis: ipsi contrà scribitis, mihi ne respondere permittatur, quoad ejus fieri potest, cavetur. Vestris ne me conveniant vetatis, si qui convenerint plerumque suspectos habetis, & abhorretis. Quo metu sit, ut multi me quamvis cupientes convenire non audeant, id quod nonnulli, & mihi, & aliis confessi sunt (81).' You cover your Hated under the fair Pretence of the Love of Truth, and you abuse your Eloquence and Wit, to make your Accusations probable to the People, which is not difficult, nothing being so good but what may be poisoned, nor any thing so ugly, but what may be covered with Paint. 'Interea nomine studii tuendæ veritatis odium vestrum prætexitis: veram ejus causam (quippe vobis parum honestam, dissimulatis, causamque vestram apud imperitos probabilem redditis ea arte, quæ docet de quavis re proposita probabiliter disputare in utranque partem. Qua quidem arte sic instructi estis, (atque utinam tam præclaris ingeniis, vobisque divinitus longè alios ad usus concessis, non abuteremini) ut vix quicquam vel tam benè dici, aut fieri possit, quin id interpretando deformare, vel tam malè quin fucare possitis, præsertim judice mundo, apud quem valere maledicta quid mirum, cum nullum sit ipsi suavius pabulum (82).' What remains of the Appendix contains good Admonitions: and it must be granted, that *Castalio*, how heretical soever he may be accounted, hath in his Writings given more signal Examples of Moderation, than the Orthodox, who opposed him.

Father *Garasse* sets forth, that *Calvin says of* Castalio, *that, when he drank, he was used to say, before he tasted the Wine*, Tu quis es? *Then having tasted it, if it was pretty good, or ind fferent, he answered*, Ego tum qui sum; *But, if it was excellent, he answered*, Hic est Filius Dei vivi (83). I do not believe that *Calvin* said this.

[*H*] *A great number of Persons agree in praising him for his good Morals*] There appeared a great Plainness in him, and a very great Aversion to Ostentation (84). *Beza* agrees to the Fact, tho' he gives the worst turn to it he possibly can (85); but it must be remembered that he speaks as an Enemy. During the Disputes about *Arminianism*, they reprinted, in *Holland*, the *Consilium ad vastatam Galliam anno* 1567, *datum per Sebastianum Castalionem, ubi causæ præsentis tum belli simulque medicina ejus indigitantur, ac præsertim diligenter examinatur ac perpenditur an consentientis vis sit adhibenda.* —— *Advice to* France *laid waste, in the Year* 1567, *given by* Sebastian Castalio, *in which the Causes of the present War, and at the same time the Remedy, are pointed out, and in which it is particularly examined, whether Consciences are to be forced. Theodorus Bomius*, who procured that new Edition, was criticized for it by the Anti-Remonstrants. They blamed him for having taken *Castalio*'s stinking Bones out of the Grave again (86) He answered, that That Man deserved all manner of Praise; he alledged the honourable Testimony, which the University of *Basil* gave him; he cited *Melanchon*'s Letters, *&c* (87). 'Bomius (*in Vederario suo edito anno* 1617. *p.* 20) adversario huic respondens, mirifice Castalionem commendat; honorificum de eo citat testimonium Universitatis Basileensis, in qua Theologiæ (88) Professorem

(72) Cum te domi meæ aluerim.

(73) Castell. Defens. pag. 26.

(74) Id. Ibid. pag. 27.

(75) Id. Ibid. pag 36.

(76) Id. Ibid. pag. 38, 39.

(77) Neque vero plus Illi vobis, quàm vos illis nocetis. Nam & a vobis il l verissim multa falsa audiunt quæ deinde disseminant, quo fit ut utrique cæteros decipiendo scandalis Ecclesiam replea-tis. *Id. Ibid.* pag. 39.

(78) That is, to *Basil*.

(79) Id. Ibid. pag. 40.

(80) *See here the Words, which* Baudouin, Responsi. 3, fol. 168, verso, *suppose that* Castalio *made use of, speaking of* Beza. De singulari æquitate tua quam admirabatur nescio quid narrabat, cum te diceret muris arcubus officere ut id quem impotentissime lacessebas, non liceret aut respondere aut responsionem edere, propteresque tuæ clementiæ gratias ageret qua eum hoc labore liberabas

(81) Castell. ib. pag. 41.

(82) Id. ibid. pag. 42.

(83) Garasse Doctrine curieuse, pag. 201.

(84) Homo simplex & ab omni fastu alienus. *Sammarth. Elog.* pag. 126.

(85) Eratquadam πεπαιδευμένου specie neptissime ambitiosa Ac plane ex eorum genere quos Graci ἀγυιάτους appellant —— *Under an appearance of Humility, he was most foolishly ambitious; and plainly one of those, whom the Greeks call* Hanging about in their Opinion. Beza in Vita Calv ad Ann. 1544, pag. 372.

(86) Quod sententia Castalionis ossa è sepulchro produxerit. *Salomon Theodatus in Pacificatorio disputat Belgii*, pag. 103.

(87) Id. ibid. pag. 103, 104.

(88) *It ought to have been said* Linguæ Græcæ.

accused of Theft, will shew us that he was poor [I]. There are no different Opinions on the Point of his Poverty; no one denies, but that it was with great Difficulty he got Bread for himself and Children, who were not a few; for he left four Sons and four Daughters (b). *Montagne* pities this Author's ill Fate [K]. Many Persons

(b) See the Latin Verses on his Death, at the end of his *Dialogi Sacri*.

'fessorem egit. Ex Philippi quoque Melanchthonis & Christophori Carlelii ad ipsum datis literis 'laudes ejus exaggerat.' Let us confirm this by a Passage, taken from an *Arminian* Minister's Letter: 'The Divines of *Basil* give *S. Castalio* the great 'Testimony of an excellent Piety; and *Polanus*, a 'great Predestinarian, confesses also, that *Castalio* 'was *of an Holy Life, and of an Exemplary Conversation.* —— I do not find, that their Adversaries (89) ever gave them a good Testimony, 'as *Polanus* did *Castalio*, in the very Place, where 'he disputes against him concerning Predestination (90).' I think we may raise a general Consideration, which will be a strong Proof of this Man's good Life and Learning. His Enemies tried him down as the Plague of Orthodoxy, and a Disturber of the Reformed Church. They endeavoured to engage the Magistrates of *Basil* to drive him away. The Consistory of *Basil* did not spare him; he was cited before them concerning some Books, which were imputed to him: One of his Works was condemned by it (91). Some Professors of the University wrote against him (92). It is pretended, that, after having been confounded in a public Dispute on Predestination, the Curators of the University ordered him not to go beyond the Limits of his Employ, and not to concern himself with Divinity. 'Omnes norunt, quum 'in disputatione publica de prædestinatione tibi os 'occlusum esset, adeo ut quod hisceres non habe'res, nisi illud unum tui similibus solenne, te scilicet ista mysteria non capere, tibi (inquam) tum, '& aliàs aliquoties, ab Academia præfectis edictum 'fuisse ut in tuæ professionis finibus manens, à 'Theologicis rebus abstineres (93).' All this witnesses, that they had no Indulgence for him. So that it is very plain, that, if he was not banished, he was obliged for it to the Merit of his Learning, and the Edification he gave to all the City, by his Piety and Virtue. *Scaliger* says, *Castalioni facerunt injuriam cum doctus esset, factum objecerunt* (94). —— *They injured* Castalio, *to whom, being a learned Man, they objected Pride.*

(80) That is, *Calvin* and *Beza*.

(90) Letter of *Charles de Nielles*. It is the 364th among the *Epist. Eccles. & Theolog.* Edit. of *Amsterdam* 1684, *pag.* 951.

(91) See Remark [B].

(92) *See* Theod. Beza, ad Defens. & Reprehens. Castell. init. pag. 43. Tom. I. Oper.

(93) Beza, ibid. pag. 43.

(94) Scaligerana, pag. 46.

Let us note, by the way, the Fault, that crept into the Title of the Book which *Bonius* caused to be re-printed. They have wrongfully put the Year 1567 to it. I think they ought to have made it 1562. For this Writer, dying in the Year 1563, could not give That Advice to desolated *France*, but on the Occasion of the first Civil War of Religion. *La Croix du Maine* observes, that he is made the Author of a Book entituled *Advice to desolated France* (95). The first Edition is not of the Year 1578, as the Author (96) whom I quote affures; it preceded the Peace made in the Year 1563. *Baudouin*, in his Answer to *Beza* (97), mentioned this Advice, as a Book printed about the time that *Antony*, King of *Navarre*, died.

(95) La Croix du Maine, Bibliotheque Franc. pag. 453.

(96) Salom. Theodotus in Pacificatorio Diffesti Belgii, pag. 103.

(97) Fol. 68, verso.

[I] *His Answer, when he was accused of Theft, will shew us that he was poor.*] *Calvin* upbraids him with stealing of Wood. 'Quæro ex te, dum 'proximis annis tibi harpago in manu erat ad 'rapienda ligna, quibus domum tuam calefaceres, 'an non te propria voluntas ad furandum impulerit? tibi ſi ad justam damnationem hoc unum 'sufficit, quod sciens, & volens, turpe, & scelera'tum lucrum ex damno alieno captas, quicquid 'de necessitate obstrepis minimè te absolvet (98). '—— *What was it, pray, but a natural Inclination to Theft, which prompted you, of late Years, with Hook in Hand, to steal Wood for Firing? If this one Accusation is sufficient to condemn you, which charges you with knowingly and voluntarily making a vile and wicked Gain by another's Loss, what Noise soever you make about Necessity will never acquit you.*' How do you know this, answered *Castalio* (99). You did not see it, and you ought not to believe it on Hear-say: Why do you not examine your Informers? Why do you not ask them, whether they were Eye-witnesses of it, and whether the Circumstances of the Action do not take it out of the Degree of Theft? The printing of your Clients, and your Credulity, which foments it, have deceived you here, as on an hundred other Occasions. 'Decipit hic te profectò, ut '& in multis aliis rebus, & tuorum lingvacitas, & 'ejusdem allectrix tua credulitas. Scis illud, *facile 'credunt homines quæ volunt* (100).' Then he relates the Fact thus: That, being in very great Indigency, and unwilling to leave off his Translation of the Scripture, he took a Hook, at his leisure Hours, to pull up the Pieces of Wood, which floated on the River: This Wood belonged to no body, but the first Possessor; so that, continues he, I might appropriate it to myself without Fraud, to have wherewith to warm myself. The Fishermen, and many others, made use of the Hook with me; this was done in the Sight of all the Town. 'In eo studio cum ita totus essem, ut vel mendi'care mallem, quam desistere, & in ripa Rheni 'habitarem, capiebam interdum succisivis horis 'harpagone ligna, quæ solet, dum exundat, Rhenus secum rapta devehere, quibus domum meam 'calefacerem. Hoc tu furtum interpretaris. Certè 'non bonus, neque candidus interpres. Publica 'sunt illa ligna, & primi occupantis (101).' He adds, That, during the overflowing of a River, which discharges itself into the *Rhine* above *Basil*, above an hundred Persons employed themselves to stop the Pieces of Timber, which drove down towards the City, and that he and four of his Friends stopped many of them, in reward whereof the Magistrates caused four Pence per Head to be given them, besides the Wood. He takes the City of *Basil*, and divers learned Persons in particular, to witness, that his pretended Theft consisted only in That (102). He protests, before God and Men, that he ever had a singular Aversion to Lying and Theft from his Youth (103). He ends, with saying, That he knew the Fable of his Theft had been spread in *Geneva*; but that he imagined it was only the Discourse of *John Calvin*'s Friends, who are wont to spread all that may defame their Patron's Enemies, without any Judgment. 'I did not believe, continues he, that you, who know me, would give any Credit to That Story, and I could not easily have believed, that you would have made it public, though you were known to me. 'Putabam sermones esse tuorum, qui de iis à quibus te abhorrere sciunt, quælibet spargere solent 'nullo judicio. Sed te, te (inquam) qui me nosses, 'hæc credere non putabam: Ut verò etiam publicato libro in totum orbem, & ad posteritatem 'spargeres, ita me Deus amet, quamvis te nossem, 'non facilè credidissem (104).

(98) Calvin. in calumniis Nebulonis, pag. 748. Tractat. Theolog.

(99) Castalio, in Defens. pag. 322.

(100) Id. ibid. pag. 12.

(101) Id. ibid.

(102) Id. ibid. pag. 14.

(103) Id. ibid. pag. 15.

(104) Id. ibid.

[K] *It was with great Difficulty he got Bread.* —— Montagne *pities this Author's ill Fate.*] Those, who have said, that he employed himself by turns in digging the Ground with a Spade, and instructing his Scholars (105), designed without doubt to insinuate to us, that his Fortune was but very small. Mr *Varillas* explains their Words thus: 'Castalio, *says he* (106), struggled all his Life-time 'with ill Fortune, but chiefly after he was driven 'out of *Geneva*: His Friends assisted him but little 'in his great Indigency; and he complains of it 'in a mystical manner to one among them, to 'whom he dedicated his *Moses*, by telling him, 'that he distilled his Oil but by drops into his 'Lamp. It is said, that he was at last reduced, 'by the Necessity of maintaining his numerous Family, to divide his Time, to study in the Morning, and to dig the Remainder of the Day; yet 'this did not hinder him from dying of Poverty, 'his Misfortune having given him no Author to 'pity him but *Montagne*.'

(105) Suburbanum prædium sua ipse quotidie manu foderet, susceptamque juventutis erudiendæ curam alterno telluris colendæ labore adæquaret. *Scævola Sammarth Elog. lib.* ii, *pag.* 126.

(106) Varillas's History of Heresy, Tom. VI. Book 26, p. 322.

Is it not a very deplorable thing, that a Man, so full of *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, should be so poor? He died of Poverty, if we believe *Scaliger* (107). Those who would compare the Lives of the Ancients with those of the Moderns, should compare this Man with That *Valerius Cato*, whose Poverty served *Bibaculus* for a Jest (108).

(107) Mortuus est ex paupertate. *Scaligerana, page* 46.

(108) Sueton. de Illustr. Grammat. cap. xii.

Persons say, that he was a Minister; but there is some Reason to believe, that they do not speak the Truth (*i*). I shall not have many things to say against Mr *Moreri*, nor against Mr *Varillas*, nor against Mr *Teissier* [*L*]. A Remark must be made on the Name

(i) See Remark [*L*].

' xit ad extremam senectam, sed in summa pau-
' perie, & pene inopia, abditus modico gurgustio,
' postquam Tusculana villa creditoribus cesserat, ut
' auctor est Bibaculus:

Si quis forte mei domum Catonis,
Depictas minio assulas, & illos
Custodis videt hortulos Priapi,
Miratur quibus ille disciplinis
Tantam sit sapientiam assecutus,
Quem tres caulituli, & selibra farris,
Racemi duo, tegula sub una
Ad summam prope nutriant senectam.

' Et idem rursus:

Catonis modo, Galle, Tusculanum,
Tota crediter urbe venditabat.
Mirati fumus unicum magistrum,
Summum grammaticum, optimum poetam,
Omnes solvere posse quæstiones,
Unum difficile expedire nomen.
Eu cor Zenodoti, en jecur Cratetis.

' —— *He lived to an extream Old-Age, but in the*
' *utmost Poverty, and almost in a starving Condition,*
' *biding himself in a little Cottage, after he had left*
' Tusculum *for Debt; as* Bibaculus *informs us:*

" Whoever happens to visit the Habitation of my
" Friend *Cato*, and sees his homely Hut, and little
" Garden, cannot help wondering by what Discipline
" he became such a Philosopher, as to live, to ex-
" tream Old-Age, in a little Hut, on three Roots, half
" a Pound of Bread, and two Clusters of Grapes.

' *And again,*

" *Cato*'s Creditors, *Gallus*, lately exposed to sale
" his Estate at *Tusculum*. We were surprized,
" that so great a Philosopher, Grammarian, and
" Poet, who could solve all Questions, could not
" extricate himself from one Debt. Behold, ano-
" ther *Zenodotus*, and another *Crates*!

However, *Montagne*'s Words deserve to be quoted: He says (109): ' I hear, with a great shame to our ' Age, that, in our sight, two most excellent Per-' sons in Learning are dead for want of having ' wherewith to fill their Bellies; *Lilius Gregorius* ' *Giraldus* in *Italy*, and *Sebastianus Castalio* in *Ger-* ' *many*: And I believe there are a thousand Men, ' who would have invited them upon advantageous ' Conditions, or assisted them where they were, if ' they had known it. The World is not so generally ' corrupted, but that I know a Man, who could ' wish heartily, that the Means, his Friends have ' left him, might be employed, as long as Fortune ' would let him keep them, in sheltering from Ne-' cessity remarkable Persons, who are in some kind ' of Esteem, whom Misfortune sometimes extreamly ' oppresses, and would put them at least in such a ' Condition, that it should only be for want of just ' thinking if they were not contented.' Two Rea-sons have engaged me to copy this Passage: the one is taken from the Solidity of the Reflexion, which accompanies this curious Fact; the other, because most of my Readers, who should desire to know what *Montagne* has said, would find it difficult to satisfy themselves; for the alphabetical Table of his Essays would not assist them in finding this Place; and he is not an Author, who, by the Title of his Chap-ters, or the Connexion of Matters, facilitates the Search of what one remembers to have read in his Essays. Local Memory knows not what to stick to in That Writer: for which Reason the Table of Matters ought to have been better than it is. *Ca-stalio* should have been there under his Name, or at least under the *learned Poor*, or the *Poverty of some learned Persons*, &c. How ill is That Table made! and how many others are like it!

(109) Montaigne's Essays, Book I, chap. xxxiv, p. 353.

[*L*] *I have but little to say against Mr* Moreri, *or against Mr* Varillas, *or against Mr* Teissier.] The first pretends, without any proof, that *Castalio* was of the Mountains of *Dauphiné* (110). These words: Beza *himself, who was of his Party, owns that it* (111) *was full of Faults; and he adds, that* Castil-lon *believed it was indifferent to follow any Religion one had a Mind to*: these words, I say, are very absurd; for is it most evident, that *Beza* was never of the same Party with those, who hold the Indif-ferency of Religions. Moreover, is it not visible, that, having made a Translation of the New Testa-ment, he was *Castalio*'s Rival; and that, for that reason, no one was so much disposed, as he, to find Faults in the Translation of the latter? Add to this, that he espoused *Calvin*'s Quarrels, who was *Castalio*'s great Enemy, before the Bible of the latter was published. Mr *Moreri* perfectly resembles those, who should say, *The Translation of the New Testa-ment by* Messieurs *of* Port-Royal *is not good*: *Father* Bouhours *himself* (112), *who is of their Party, owns that it is full of Faults*. Lastly, it cannot be said, without gross Ignorance, that *Beza* believed, that *Castalio* was of the Reformed Religion. I do not find, in the Book quoted by Mr *Moreri* (113), that the Indifferency of Religions was the Heresy, which *Beza* imputes to *Castalio*.

(110) See Rem. [*A*].

(111) That is the Translation of *Castalio*'s Bible.

(112) He has made also a *French* Transla-tion of the New Testament.

(113) The Life of *Calvin* by *Beza*.

I shall begin my Criticisms on *Varillas* with this, since he assures us, that *Beza* says, that *Castalio* left *Geneva, because he held all Religions to be indifferent* (114). There is more likelihood, continues he, *that his Stile, which without Comparison was more florid than that of* Calvin, *made him jealous*. Here are two Faults; for it is false, that *Castalio* equalled *Calvin* in good *Latin*: all those, who have any knowledge in Stile, will readily grant it me. In the second place, *Castalio* had not yet shewed the Ornaments of his Pen, when he left *Geneva*. He translated the Scripture *with so much piraty, that the Paint appears almost every where in his Stile, and so abundantly, that it often disgusts, instead of pleas-ing*. This Proposition of *Varillas* is not true; and, if it were, this would not be so: *Nevertheless it must be owned in recompence, that no other Translation comes near it, for the Beauty, and the Perspicuity of it* (115). Is not a Man, who makes these two Judgments of one Translation, an ingenious Critic? *He seems to say in his Argument on the Song of Songs, that it contains not the mystical Love of* Jesus Christ *and his Church, but the infamous Amours of* Solomon *and one of his Mistresses* (116). I have fully verified that these words are false; I have not found any Argument on the Song of Songs in *Ca-stalio*'s *French*, or *Latin* Bible (117).

(114) Varillas's History of Heresy, Book xxii, pag. 22.

(115) Varillas, pag. 22.

(116) Id. Ibid.

(117) I have consulted five Editions.

Mr *Teissier* (118) was in the wrong to say, that our Author *called himself always Castalio* after the Adventure, which I shall mention by and by. *He was*, continues he, *first of all a Minister at* Geneva. *Calvin*'s Attestation, alledged above (119), refutes this invincibly, and convicts *Beza* of not having strictly followed the Laws of History, which require, that no Obscurity be left in a Recital. He relates, that, the City of *Geneva* being afflicted with the Plague in the Year 1542, those who were infected with the Distemper wanted a Pastor to comfort them (120). Most of them feared the Contagion; but *Calvin*, *Castalio*, and *Blanchet*, offered them-selves. The chance fell on *Castalio*, who never-theless impudently rejected that Employ (121). It is natural to conclude from these words, that he was one of the Ministers of *Geneva*: so that they are not so clear as they ought to be. The Word *Com-forter* ought to have been put instead of *Pastor*, which *Beza* makes use of, and then the Reader would have had no reason to think, that *Castalio* was a Minister; for, though a Person be not so yet, he may nevertheless offer himself to comfort the infected. We see by the alledged Attestation, that he aspired to the Ministry, and that he would have been admitted to it, if he had not held cer-tain Opinions. I believe, with Dr *Spon*, that *he had preached sometimes* (122); but this proves only, that he aspired to the Office of a Pastor. I conclude, that the Jesuit *Garasse* is deceived as often as he called him Minister. He has often done it, and al-ways

(118) Teissier's Additions to the Eloges, Tom. I, pag. 222.

(119) In Rem. [*D*], Citat. (46).

(120) Pastoris constantes ac se-quoti opera requireretur. *Beza in Vita Calvini, ad Ann.* 1542, *pag.* 37.

(121) Dr *Spon*'s *History of* Gene-va, *pag.* 251, and Mr *Lett*, *Hist. Geneer. Tom.* III, *pag.* 76, do not say this.

(122) Dr *Spon*, *ubi supra*, *pag.* 221. Note that Mr *Lett*, *ubi supra*, *pag.* 79, 80, says plainly, that *Castalio* was a Minister.

Name of *Caſtalio* [*M*]. I could make another on the Imprudence of this learned Man, but ſhall not. If he had kept within the Bounds of his Profeſſion, he would have done greater Services, than he did, to the Commonwealth of Learning, as *Peter Ramus* has well obſerved [*N*], and would have ſecured himſelf from many Vexations. Inſtead of this, he ſet up for a Myſtic, and a Devotee, and concerned himſelf with the moſt nice and obſcure Queſtions of Divinity. He ought to have left them to thoſe, to whom, by their Office, they belonged; or, if he muſt by all means intrude into this Commerce, he ſhould have applied *Æſop*'s Advice to himſelf (*k*). I have heard Perſons, who paſſed for wiſe Men, ſay, that, for want of taking his Meaſures agreeable to that Advice, he had done what was ſaid of the laſt Duke of *Burgundy* concerning his Irruption into *Germany* (*l*).

(*k*) He ſaid to *Solon*, We muſt not come near Kings at all, or ſay nothing but pleaſing things to them. Plut. *in the Life of* Solon, *pag.* 461, *of Mr* Dacier's *Tranſlation, Ed.tion of* Holland.

(*l*) Whilſt he knocked his Head againſt that powerful Body of *Germany*, which is all of Iron. *Mezerai Abreg. Chron. Tom.* III, *pag.* 325, *ad Ann.* 1475. *Add the* Fragilem truci commiſit pelago ratem *of* Horace, *Od.* III, *lib.* I, *ver.* 10.

ways with groſs Abuſes. Here is an Example of it: 'We underſtand, that *Sebaſtian Caſtalio*, who 'was a Carpenter by Trade (123), has truly 'hacked and hewed the Holy Scripture, if his 'Daughters have ſpun it: This wretched Man, of 'a very mechanic and ſervile Mind, worthy to be 'a Miniſter, as he was in effect, beſides his Car'penter's Trade, has ſo planed the Scripture, and 'ſpoiled it in ſo great a number of very important 'Clauſes, that he makes us juſtly apprehenſive of 'giving up the Bible into the Hands of Mecha'nics and Idiots (124).'

(123) This is a Fact of which I am very uncertain.

(124) Garniſſ's Doctrine curieuſe, pag. 506, 507.

Mr *Teiſſier* ſuppoſes, that *Caſtalio* was baniſhed; which is contrary to *Calvin*'s Atteſtation: and note, that Mr *Leti* reports, that *Caſtalio*, being threatened with Baniſhment and Depoſition, in caſe of relapſing, did not wait for the Effects of the Threats, but retired to *Baſil* (125). Two of the three Cauſes of his Exile, reported by Mr *Teiſſier*, are falſe; for, his Preface to the Tranſlation of the Bible, and his Notes on the firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, were not made till many Years after his Retreat from *Geneva*. All the Authors, that I have conſulted, ſay, like *Beza*, that he retired directly to *Baſil*. Mr *Teiſſier* is the only Perſon I have read, who ſays, he retired to *Bern*, and that he was driven from thence for his Errors.

(125) Leti, Hiſtor. Genev. pag. 80.

[*M*] *We muſt make a Remark on the Name of* Caſtalio.] He confeſſes that in his Youth he ſuffered himſelf to be drawn to Vanity. 'Inſoleſcebat 'animus ſtulta quadam & juvenili perſuaſione cog'nitionis earum ſcientiarum, & linguarum, quibus 'ſæpe ſolent earum ſtudioſi plus tribuere quam ſpiri'tui (126). —— *My Mind grew vain from a fooliſh* 'and youthful *Perſuaſion of my Knowledge of thoſe* 'Sciences and Tongues, *to which Thoſe, who ſtudy* 'them, *uſually attribute more than to the Spirit.*' He brings this Proof for it: When I was at *Lyons*, before I went to you (127) at *Strasburg*, ſays he, ſome one, by miſtake, called me *Caſtalio*, inſtead of *Caſtellio*: I was pleaſed with it, remembering the Fountain *Caſtalius*, conſecrated to the Muſes: this made me in love with that falſe Name; I preferred it before That of my Family, and adorned my ſelf with it at the beginning of a Book. 'Quod 'ego nomen audiens, à Muſarum fonte Caſtalio 'derivatum, adamavi, atque amplexus ſum, meque 'omiſſo deinceps Caſtellionis nomine patrio, Caſtalio'nem appellavi. Quin etiam hoc idem nomen pri-

(126) Caſtell. Defenſ. pag. 31.

(127) He directs his Speech to *Calvin*.

'mis mei Prodromi literis primorum verſuum config'navi, videlicet, ut eſſet inſignior etiam ad poſteros 'mea ſuperbia. Eram enim, ſi Muſis placet, Poëta, '& Græcæ plane levitatis Muſopatagus *. Hæc 'ego confiteor, & execror, nec ſolum nunc confi'tens erubeſco, verum etiam anteà ſæpe ſolus cogi'tans, cum me majorem veri cognitionem adeptum 'conſcientia pro mille teſtibus accuſaret, pudore ſuf'fuſus ſum. Itaque deinceps omiſſa illa gloriola Græ'ca, nactus, quam ſæpe optavi, occaſionem mutandi, 'patrio me nomine Caſtellionem appellari cupio (128). —— *Hearing which Name, derived from* 'the Caſtalian *Spring of the Muſes, I grew fond of* 'it, *and, laying aſide my paternal Name* Caſtellio, *I* 'called *myſelf* Caſtalio. *Beſides which, I prefixed* 'this *Name to a Book of Poems, that my Pride might* 'be *the more taken notice of by Poſterity. For I* 'was *a Poet, an't pleaſe the Muſes, and a very noiſy* 'one. *This I confeſs, and abhor; nor do I now* 'only *acknowledge it with ſhame; but often, in my* 'private *Reflexions, when, upon a greater Inſight* 'into *Truth, Conſcience, like a thouſand Witneſſes,* 'has *teſtified againſt me, I have been overwhelmed* 'with *Confuſion. Throwing off, therefore, from that* 'time, *this* Greek *Vanity, and meeting with an* 'Opportunity, *I had long wiſhed for, of making* 'the *Change, I deſire I may be again called by my* 'paternal *Name* Caſtellio.' The end of this Paſſage ſhews us, that he did not perſiſt in that little Vanity, and that he returned to his true Name. He calls himſelf before his *French* Bible *Sebaſtian Chateillon*.

* *Mucoſitas* γος Rectitor clamoſus, vel perſonare omnia faciens ſive verſificator obſtrepe-rus.

(128) Caſtel. Defenſ. *See* Scaligerana prima, pag. 42.

[*N*] *If he had continued within the Bounds of his Profeſſion, he would have been more ſerviceable to the Republic of Letters, as* Peter Ramus *has well obſerved.*] I ſet down his words, that they may ſerve for a Supplement to the Collections of Sir *Thomas-Pope Blount* (129). 'Utinam tanti ingenii 'tamque bonis artibus ac literis eruditi vis illa in hoc 'unico Græcæ profeſſionis argumento verſari malu'iſſet, nihil mea quidam ſententia in iſto genere lau'dis Baſilea comparandum habuiſſet (130). —— *I* 'wiſh *the Force of ſo great and learned a Genius* 'had *confined itſelf to the Profeſſion of the* Greek 'Tongue *alone; Baſil, in my Opinion, could have* 'ſhewn *nothing equally praiſe-worthy.*' Thus ſpeaks *Ramus*, after having made mention of ſome Books, which *Caſtalio* had tranſlated.

(129) He has not alledged this Paſſage of *Ramus* in his *Cenſura Auctorum*, *p.* 493, where he collects the Judgments on *Caſtalio*.

(130) Petrus Ramus, in Baſilea, pag. 52.

CASTELLAN (*a*) (Peter), great Almoner of *France* in the XVIth Century, was a Man of great Merit and Learning. His Father, a younger Son of a *Walloon* Gentleman, bore Arms all his Life-time, and ſettled himſelf at *Archi* in *Burgundy* [*A*]; where he married, and had two Sons, of whom our *Peter Caſtellan* was the youngeſt. This Child had the Misfortune to loſe Father and Mother before he attained to the uſe of Reaſon: His Tutors neglected both his Eſtate and Mind;

(*a*) His true Name was *du Chaſtel*.

(1) Ex antiqua & nobili Hauverderiorum familia in Belgis —— Quintinus Caſtellanus Petri Caſtellani pater ortus eſt. *Petrus Gallandius in Vitâ Caſtel. pag.* 1.

(2) Eques auratus magnæ ſcientiæ militaris & fortitudinis laude ſtipendia fecit. *Ibid. pag.* 2.

(3) Beza's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, *lib.* II, *pag.* 80.

[*A*] *His Father, a younger Son of a* Walloon *Gentleman —— ſettled himſelf at* Archi *in* Burgundy.] If *Gallandius* has not flattered his Friend about his Birth, they have done him great wrong in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Reformed Churches, and in *Moreri*'s Dictionary. According to *Gallandius*, *Du Chatel* was not only a Gentleman, but alſo of a very ancient Nobility (1), and the Son of a brave Knight (2). *Beza* ſpeaks quite otherwiſe of it: He ſays (3), *That good Biſhop, ſirnamed* Chaſtelain, *of very mean Condition. Moreri* ſuppoſes, that *Caſtellan*, being asked by *Francis* I, *if he was a Gentleman?* anſwered, *That he did not will know from which of the three that were in* Noah's *Ark he was deſcended.* This is incompatible with the Narrative of *Gallandius*. Obſerve alſo, that all thoſe, who ſpeak of *Caſtellan*'s Country, make him to be born at *Langres*; yet *Gallandius* gives him another Country much more obſcure than that. It is a common thing enough, for learned Men, who are born in ſome Village, to pretend themſelves Natives of the next neighbouring City. Such a one is ſirnamed *Aurellanenſis*, who was not born at *Orleans*, but in the Neighbourhood of it. I imagine, that *Caſtellan* was ſirnamed *Lingonenſis* for ſome ſuch reaſon.

[*B*] *He*

Mind; nevertheleſs he was ſent to *Dijon* in the eleventh Year of his Age, to ſtudy under a famous Teacher (*b*). His Progreſs made his Maſters admire him. He learned *Greek* without the Aſſiſtance of any Body; and he had not been above ſix Years at *Dijon*, before they gave him a Claſs to teach [*B*]. He acquitted himſelf very worthily of that Charge, and he quickly had a moſt convenient Occaſion to ſhew his Wit in a full Audience [*C*]. The deſire he had to ſee learned Perſons, and chiefly *Eraſmus*, induced him to travel. He begun with *Germany*, where he ſaw ſeveral learned Men; and at laſt he ſtopped at *Baſil* with *Eraſmus* [*D*], who, ſoon

(*b*) His Name was *Peter Turreau*, in *Latin Turellus*. See Remarks [*B*] and [*C*].

[*B*] *He had been but ſix Years at* Dijon, *when they gave him a Claſs to teach.*] *Beza* was not ill informed on this Article. He ſays (4), *He was firſt of all Regent at* Dijon, *under Mr* Peter Turreau, *eſteemed one of the chief Diviners of his Time.*

(4) Id. ibid.

[*C*] *He had ſoon occaſion to ſhew his Wit in a full Audience.*] We have juſt ſeen, that *Peter Turreau* paſſed for a great Conjurer. He was called before the Magiſtrates for it, and he ran the hazard of being condemned as an Infringer of the divine and human Laws. 'Turrellus præceptor 'impietatis accuſaretur, quod contra jura canonica '& civilia contraque ſacras literas ex aſtris fata 'hominibus eventura prædicere diceretur (5).' *Caſtellan*, full of Gratitude for his Maſter, pleaded his Cauſe ſo vigorouſly, that he had him abſolved. He diſcourſed learnedly and eloquently on Aſtronomy, and on the Divinations, which depend upon it: He ſhewed, that ſome of them were very innocent, and others very criminal; but that *Turreau* did not concern himſelf with the laſt. See the Subſtance of his Plea in *Gallandius*. *Caſtellan's* Youth made his Speech more worthy of Admiration; and without doubt the Judges thought, that they ought to pay a great regard to the extraordinary Merit of ſuch an Advocate. 'Ipſe ſingulari pietate præditus, calore 'juvenili efferveſcens, veluti egregius iconiæ pa- 'renti nutritia perſolvens pullus, defenſionem ſui 'præceptoris profeſſus ad judicum ſubſellia laureatus 'acceſſit (6). —— Quem ita diſſerentem incompara- 'bili quadam eloquentiæ & animi magna incitatione 'cum audiviſſent judices, qui ad ſævitiam inflamma- 'ti, ut fere fit in rebus quæ ad religionem ſpectant, 'ad damnandum reum ad tribunal venerant, ita 'ſtupentes & attoniti redditi ſunt, ut vix verbum 'ullum proloqui poſſent. —— Ita eo perorante & 'vultu & animo immutati ſunt, ut non modo de 'abſolutione Turrelli, ſed etiam de adoleſcente ge- 'neroſo & diſerto laude & præmio ornando cogita- 'rent. Inter quos cum ſederet Boudetus Lingo- 'nenſis antiſtes, homo doctus, advocatis aliquot 'Theologis adoleſcentem non vulgariter laudavit '& honorario munere donatum dimiſit (7). —— 'Caſtellan, *endowed with uncommon Piety, and glowing with youthful Heat, like the generous Young re-* 'paying the Parent Stork for it's Nouriſhment, *un-* 'dertook the Defence of his Preceptor before the Tri- 'bunal of the Judges. —— *Whom when the Judges* 'heard, *pleading with incomparable Eloquence, and* 'great Emotion of Mind; *thoſe very Judges, who,* 'inflamed to cruelty, *as it uſual in Matters of Re-* 'ligion, *came with a full intent of condemning the* 'accuſed, *were ſo aſtoniſhed and confounded, that* 'they had not a word to ſay. —— *During his Ha-* 'rangue, *they were ſo changed both in Mind and* 'Countenance, *that they not only entertained thoughts* 'of acquitting Turreau, *but likewiſe of beſtowing* 'Praiſe and Reward *on the generous and eloquent* 'Youth. *Among whom,* Boudetus, *Biſhop of Lan-* 'gres, *a learned Man, calling together ſome Di-* 'vines, *complimented the young Orator, and dimiſ-* 'ſed *him with a Reward.*'

(5) Galland. ubi ſupra, pag. 13.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Id. pag. 28, 29.

[*D*] *He ſtopped at* Baſil *with* Eraſmus.] *Beza* was not ignorant of this Journey of *Caſtellan*; but it ſeems he did not place it at the time he ought to have done: he thought, that *Caſtellan* did not go to *Baſil* till after having ſtudied the Law at *Bourges* under *Andrew Alciatus*; but he ought to have ſaid, on the contrary, that he did not ſtudy the Law at *Bourges* till after his Journey to *Baſil*. Theſe are *Beza's* Words; *From* Bourges *he came to ſtudy at* Baſil, *where he improved in Philoſophy and Religion, living with the Rector* Sebaſtian Munſter (8) Nothing like it is ſaid in his Life; but on the contrary it is obſerved there, that he went from *Baſil*, when the Catholic Religion was aboliſhed there, and that he had publickly preached againſt a ſeditious Miniſter. 'Se- 'cuta Baſileæ & aliis in Germaniæ locis tragica è 'templis imaginum exturbatione, & variis de reli- 'gione tumultibus exortis, cum Eraſmum, Baſilea 'relicta, Friburgum proficiſcentem animadverteret, 'ipſe quoque (poſtquam publice concionatorem ſedi- 'tioſum confutaſſet) in quietiora pacatioraque loca 'demigrare ſtatuit (9). —— *It happening, at that* 'time, *that the Images were driven out of the* 'Churches, *at* Baſil, *and other Places of* Germany, 'and various Tumults *ariſing on account of Religion,* 'Caſtellan, *obſerving, that* Eraſmus *had retired from* 'Baſil *to* Fribourg, *reſolved likewiſe (after having* 'publickly confuted a ſeditious Preacher) *to ſettle in* 'ſome more quiet and peaceable Habitation.' If it could be ſaid, that *Caſtellan* was twice at *Baſil*, there would be no oppoſition between *Beza* and *Gallandius*; the latter would have only ſpoken of the firſt Journey, and the other only of the ſecond. A Letter from *Eraſmus* to *Caſtellan* (10) ſeems favourable to thoſe, who ſhould ſay, that the latter was twice at *Baſil*. He had been there before the entire aboliſhing of the Catholic Religion, which fell out in the Year 1529. *Gallandius* affirms it; and he was there in the Year 1531. This is what, it ſeems, may be gathered from a Letter, which *Eraſmus* wrote to him from *Fribourg*, dated *September* the 24th, later than the printing of his Apophthegms. The Epiſtle Dedicatory of that Work is dated the Twenty-ſixth of *February* 1531; and *Eraſmus's* Letter, I ſpeak of, contains the Thanks of the Author, for the Praiſe which *Caſtellan* had given him, on account of his Apophthegms; therefore that Letter of *Eraſmus* muſt neceſſarily be later than the Month of *September* 1531. That Letter ſhews, that *Caſtellan* did not live far from *Fribourg*; it ſpeaks of ſome Partridges, which *Caſtellan* had ſent to *Eraſmus* (11); it teſtifies, that, whenever *Caſtellan* would come to eat a Fowl with *Eraſmus*, he ſhould be very welcome. 'Si tantus eſt amor in me tuus, ornatiſſime 'juvenis, ut juvet etiam cum umbra colloqui, iſtius 'quidem voluptatis ſcito tibi paratam fore copiam, 'quoties erit commodum. Quod ſi quando poſſis 'iſtam ſi non tragicam, certe ſplendidam perſonam, 'quam tibi fortuna impoſuit, deponere, & uno Clau- 'dio Alberico, velut Achate, comitatus ad pullum 'ſimul lacerandum venire familiariter, aut etiam in- 'vocatus, ſi libet, obrepere, quemadmodum Naſica 'ſolet Ennio, juvaret interdum tali contubernio re- 'pubeſcere. —— *If your Love of me, moſt accom-* 'pliſhed Youth, *be ſo great, that you take a Pleaſure* 'even *in converſing with my Shadow, know, that it* 'will afford you that Pleaſure, *as often as it ſhall* 'be convenient. *But if you can for a time lay aſide* 'That Splendid, *if not Tragical, Character, with* 'which Fortune *has inveſted you, and, accompanied* 'by Claudius Albericus *only, as another* Achates, 'make me a friendly Viſit, *and pull a Fowl to pieces,* 'or, *without Invitation, if you chuſe it, ſteal to me,* 'as Naſica *does to* Ennius, *it would be a pleaſure to* 'me ſometimes to grow young *again in ſuch Company.*' All this might indeed ſignify, that *Caſtellan* lived at that time at *Baſil*, and ſo *Beza* would not be miſtaken. Another Letter, dated the ſeventh of *February* 1532 (12), obſerves, that *Caſtellan* had met with a Biſhop for his Patron, and that he had written to *Eraſmus*, that he ſhould ſpeedily leave *Paris*. Doubtleſs this Biſhop is he, of whom *Gallandius* makes mention: he was of the Family of *Tonnerre*, and nominated to the Biſhopric of *Potiers*. *Caſtellan* had taught him polite Literature at *Bourges*; and he followed him afterwards to *Paris*. 'Utebatur fami- 'liariter Comite Tonorienſi Epiſcopo Piſtavienſi de- 'ſignato, qui tum in eodem legum ſtudio Alciato 'quoque operam dabat, quem etiam politioris do- 'ctrinæ literas Græcas & Latinas ſubcifivis horis do- 'cebat.

(8) Beza, ubi ſupra.

(9) Galland. pag. 21.

(10) The 15th of the 27th Book.

(11) De perdicibus jam iterum miſſis habeo gratiam. *Eraſm. Epiſt.* xii, lib. xxvii. pag. 1516.

(12) Septimo Id. Februarii 1531, juxta veſtram ſupputationem. *Id. Epiſt.* xxiv, *lib* xxvi, pag. 1437.

soon finding him to be a very able young Man, placed him with *Frobenius*, in the quality of Corrector of the Press (*c*). *Erasmus* found the Benefit of it; for, upon *Castellan*'s Advice, he corrected several Faults, which otherwise would have remained in his Works [*E*]. They left *Basil* at the same time, when the *Romish* Religion was quite abolished there. *Erasmus* retired to *Friburg*, and *Castellan* returned to *France*; and, when he was preparing to see *Italy*, he was desired, at *Dijon*, to take the Care of some young Scholars upon him, who were designed to be sent to *Bourges* to study the Law there, under *Alciatus*. Those, who requested this of him, were the chief of the Parliament of *Burgundy*. He accepted this Offer: but, while Matters were preparing for this Journey, he employed himself in two very different Things; he read some public Lectures on the *Greek* Text of St *Paul*'s Epistle to the *Romans*, and private Lectures of Love to his Landlord's Daughter. Let us say rather, that That Maid, being extreamly handsome, tempted and cajolled him so much, that he could not resist such a dangerous Forwardness. Perceiving, that she was with Child, he told her Mother of it, and begged her Pardon for the Fault, and most humbly desired her to let her Daughter be delivered so privately, that no one should know of it. The good Mother did not fail to do it; she managed the Business so cunningly, that her Husband himself knew nothing of it. A Year after her lying-in, That Daughter was married suitably to her Condition, and under the Notion of a very chaste Virgin [*F*]. As for the Boy

(*c*) Eum Frobenio commendavit, atque ut honesto loco & stipendio sibi in emendandis Græcis Latinisque exemplaribus adjutor esset, effecit. *Galland. in Vitâ Petri Castel.* pag. 20.

'cebat. —— Percurso legum veluti stadio cum eo 'Episcopo Lutetiam reversus (13).' That which creates some difficulty, is, that *Peter Gallandius* affords us no vacant time, wherein we may place the second Journey to *Basil*, after his Studies at *Bourges*: for he sends his Friend from *Bourges* to *Paris* with the nominated Bishop; and afterwards places him with a Bishop of *Auxerre*, for the Journey to *Rome*. For the rest we understand by *Erasmus*'s two Letters to *Castellan*, that both of them wrote a very bad Hand. *Erasmus* seems vexed that he made no more of *Castellan*, when they were together; but *Castellan* was very well satisfied with the Civilities he had received from him. 'Quod mihi subinde occinis comitatem, humanitatem, atque etiam 'merita nescio quæ in te mea, usque adeo nihil horum agnosco, ut me mei pudeat quoties mecum reputo quam parvam habuerim, quum apud nos esses, 'tuæ dignitatis rationem. Sed ita est hominum ingenium, præsentem virtutem, si non odimus, ut ait Flaccus, certè negligimus, sublatam ex oculis quærimus invidi, aut si minus invidi, certe incogitantes. Quo magis admiror singularem istius ingenii candorem, qui toties prædices humanitatem meam, cujus Scythicam inhumanitatem merito posses incusare: neque gravabor hanc culpam sarcire pro viribus, si vel sese dederit occasio, vel tu submonueris quibus in rebus tibi possim commodare (14). —— *As to my Courtesy, Humanity, and I know not what Merit of mine towards you, which you every now and then tell me of, I am so far from acknowledging any such thing, that I am ashamed of myself, as often as I recollect the little regard I paid to your Worth, when you were with me. But such is the Disposition of Mankind, Virtue, when present, if not hated by us, as* Horace *says, is certainly neglected: but, when removed from our Sight, we seek after it with envy, or, if not with envy, yet certainly without thought. For this reason, I am the more surprized at that singular Candour of Mind, which induces you so often to cry up my Humanity, whom you might justly accuse of* Scythian *Inhumanity: nor shall I think it any trouble to repair this Fault, with the utmost care, if either an Opportunity offers, or you shall inform me how I may be serviceable to you.*

(13) Galland. ibid. pag. 25.

(14) Erasm. Epist. xxiv, lib. xxvi, pag. 1436.

[*E*] *Upon* Castellan's *Advice,* Erasmus *corrected several Faults, which otherwise would have remained in his Work.*] *Erasmus*'s Railleries against the *French* animated *Peter Castellan* in such a manner, that he employed Day and Night in the Study of the *Greek* Tongue, and Divinity, and all kind of Literature. With this Labour, and the Goodness of his Parts, it was not very difficult for him to acquire a profound Learning; which made him discover, that the Strength of *Erasmus* did not lie in the *Greek* Language. Moreover, the little time that That great Man employed in composing his Books, did not permit him to avoid all manner of Faults: It was a Happiness for him, that his Works passed through the Hands of such a learned Corrector, as our *Castellan* was. 'Hic juvenis Erasmicæ gloriæ æmula'tione, & ejus falsis in ingenia Gallica, quibus pa'rum in literis tribuebat, cavillationibus incensus, 'noctes & dies in Græcarum literarum Theologiæ'que atque omnis humanioris doctrinæ commenta'tione ita versabatur, ut Erasmum satis præcipitan'ter commentantem (15), & è Græco non probe in'tellecta in Latinum sermonem male vertentem, fre'quenter suorum errorum admoneret. Quæ ille, 'qui plurimum Castellani opera uteretur, cum 'agnoscere, atque emendare ejus admonitu coge'retur, plurimum tribuebat atque deferebat. Me'mini Castellanum mihi frequenter dicere Erasmum 'in literis Græcis supra vulgus tum parum promo'visse, in auctoribus qui ab usu communi remoti es'sent insigniter hæsitavisse. Itaque quæ ex illis ver'tebat aut commentabatur, majore ex parte adjuvan'tibus doctis, qui ei hanc operam navabant, præsti'disse (16). —— *This young Man, fired with an Emulation of* Erasmus's *Glory, and at his keen Jests on the* French *Wits, to whom he ascribed but little Learning, applied himself so closely, Night and Day, to* Greek, *Divinity, and all kind of polite Learning, that he frequently pointed out the Errors, which* Erasmus, *through too much haste, and translating out of* Greek *into* Latin *what he did not thoroughly understand, was guilty of. Which when the latter, who was greatly assisted by* Castellan, *was forced to acknowledge, and, upon his Admonition, to amend, he confessed himself highly obliged to him. I remember often to have heard* Castellan *say, that* Erasmus *had but a very moderate Knowledge of the* Greek *Tongue, and that he was remarkably at a loss in uncommon Authors. Therefore, in those things, which he translated, or commented on, out of such Authors, he was for the most part obliged to the Assistance of learned Men.*'

(15) See, above, the Article BUDÆUS, Citat. (16).

(16) Galland. ibid. pag. 20.

[*F*] *The Daughter of his Host —— cajolled him —— became with Child —— and was married —— under the Notion of a very chaste Virgin.*] The Question is, whether the Husband agreed the next Day after his Marriage, that *Agur* had much reason to say, There be *three things, yea four*, which are wonderfully difficult to discern; *the way of an Eagle in the Air, the way of a Serpent on the Rock, the way of a Ship in the Sea, and the way of a Man with a Maid* (17). How do we know, whether he did not say to himself, in his conjugal Embraces, the Parody of these five Verses of *Lucretius*?

(17) Prov. xxx, 18, 19.

Avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante
Trita solo: juvat integros accedere fontes
Atque haurire, juvatque novos decerpere flores,
Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam
Unde prius nulli velarint tempora Musæ (18).

(18) Lucret. lib. iv, init. *Compare the rem non novam of the Remark* [*B*], *of the Article* BULGARUS.

- - - - - inspir'd, I trace the Muses Seats,
Untrodden yet: 'tis sweet to visit first
Untouch'd and Virgin Streams, and quench my Thirst.

Boy that she brought into the World, *Castellan*'s Brother took him and educated him as his own Child. The time of those young Persons going to *Bourges* being come, he went with them, and improved very much in the Knowledge of the Law, to which he did not so much apply himself, but that he cultivated polite Literature very much. His Application to Study was surprizing [*G*]. His Desire of seeing *Italy* was soon satisfied; for the Bishop of *Auxerre*, who was to go thither upon an Embassy, desired to have him with him as a Man of Letters. *Castellan* did not stay long at *Rome*, where almost nothing pleased him but the Remains of Antiquity [*H*]. He went to *Venice*, where he found an Employ, to be exercised

I joy to crop fresh Flow'rs, and get a Crown
For new and rare Inventions of my own.
CREECH.

Lastly, how do we know, but that some excellent Anatomist had fortified him against all Events by such a Discourse as this? 'Gentlemen, if you find 'no Obstacle in the Passage, or if the Defeat be not 'bloody, suspect nothing upon that account to the 'Disadvantage of your Wives. Believe me, in this 'matter, as well as in many others, a pleasing Error 'is better than a vexatious Truth.' This is what the Sieur *Lami* said to his Auditors in a Lecture of Anatomy (19).

(19) Lami Discourf. Anatom. pag. 89.

Some perhaps may imagine, that there is no likelihood that *Peter Gallandius* said, that his Friend *Castellan* got his Landlord's own Daughter with Child; for it seems That Landlord should be the Father of *Castellan*'s Disciple; in which case the Fault would have been so criminal, that the Historian, to save his Friend's Reputation, would have passed it in silence. Therefore lest it should be thought, that I have translated ill, I will place here the Terms of the Original. 'Versabatur in ædibus 'honorati & primarii cujusdam civis, cui puella erat 'forma admodum venusta & eleganti, à qua frequenter 'multis illecebris ad amores & voluptatem invitaba-'tur. Itaque etsi ea erat virtutis & continentiæ in-'dole ut —— tantis tamen puellæ blandimentis qui-'bus non modo adolescentia lubrica, verum etiam 'ætas corroborata caperetur, captus, eam gravidam 'reddidit. Quod ubi cognovit nihil antiquius du-'cens quam ut eul juvenili cupiditate incensus fu-'rorum obtuleret, citra ignominiam quantum fieri 'posset, consuleret, senili quadam prudentia ad ma-'trem accessit, culpam confessus, & veniam preca-'tus, per omnia sacra rogare cœpit honesta aliqua 'occasione in eum locum filiam abduceret, ubi citra 'infamiæ notam clam parere & citra turpitudinis sus-'picionem in ædes paternas reduci posset. Quod 'ita matris prudentia administratum est, ut non mo-'do alios sed & patrem ipsum flagitium latuerit, & 'anno postquam puella enixa est, in matrimonium 'honestissime collocata sit (20). —— *He was conver-'sant in the Family of an honourable and chief Citi-'zen, who had a very beautiful Daughter, who was 'ever tempting him by various Allurements to Love 'and Pleasure. Therefore, notwithstanding his natu-'ral Virtue and Continency was such, that —— yet, 'captivated by the Girl's Blandishments, which were 'able to ensnare, not only easy Youth, but even con-'firmed Age, he got her with Child. Which disco-'vering, and judging that he ought above all things to 'consult the Reputation of Her, whom in the warmth 'of youthful Lust he had debauched, with the Pru-'dence of an old Man he went to her Mother, con-'fessed his Fault, and, begging pardon, conjured her 'to take an Opportunity of sending her Daughter 'where she might lye-in privately, and without 'Infamy, and return unsuspected to her Father's 'House. The Affair was so conducted by the prudent 'Mother, that not only others, but even the Father, 'knew nothing of the Matter, and the Girl, a Year 'after her lying in, was honourably married.* By this you see, that *Gallandius* gives us plainly to understand, that *Castellan* lodged at the Maid's Father's House; for, if he had designed to have observed only that he went very often to That Man's House, he would have made use of an Expression (21), which would have been improper, at least in this Place, by reason of an Ambiguity very dangerous to *Castellan*'s Honour. It is a Phrase, of which the most natural, the most common, and the most reasonable Sense, is That which I give it; it leads us directly to an Idea, which aggravates *Castellan*'s Crime, though his Historian has abstained from all Terms, that might represent to us the domestic Pedagogy; and that, if we carry it so far, it must be by joining together some Probabilities. I confess, on the other side, that he would have been less excusable, if he had not lodged in the same House with this Daughter; for, in that Case, he would have sought such Occasions, which he might easily have avoided: but, being under the same Roof with the Tempter, Opportunities fell in his way, whether he would or no. The Author of his History found a very wise Conduct in the Care, which was taken to save the Daughter's Reputation. 'Quæ tanta in 'consulendo honori puellæ prudentia & tegendo fla-'gitio industria me adduxit, ut ne hanc quidem ado-'lescentiæ labem silentio prætereundam esse existi-'maverim (22). —— *Which great Care of the 'Girl's Honour, and Industry in concealing the Crime, 'induced me not to pass in silence this Slip of his 'Youth.*' There is nothing extraordinary in it. He should not have begun by telling the Mother, that her Daughter was with Child, but by telling her of her Daughter's ill Inclinations: otherwise it was to act like those, of whom it is reasonably said: *they think after they have spoke.* It was well for *Castellan*, that *Beza*, and other Writers of that Party, were ignorant of this Adventure.

(20) Galland. pag. 21, 22.

(21) Versari in ædibus.

(22) Gallandoius. pag. 23.

[*G*] *His Application to study was very surprizing.*] He slept hardly three Hours in the Night. he lay on the Ground, without any other Pillow than his Gown, which he wraped about his Head; and as soon as he awaked, he immediately run to his Books. It was in vain to advise him to study less; he did not listen to those kind of Remonstrances (23). When he was in the Office of King's Reader, he resumed that strong Application; and, to have a more proper time to study, he never dined, but took a piece of Bread at eight a Clock in the Morning, and supped at five in the Evening. He attended at the King's going to Bed, and did not retire till he slept. He went to sleep four Hours at most, and then to his Study without Intermission till ten o' Clock, when the King went to his Devotions. 'Hanc personam 'ubi tanti Regis judicio & voluntate sibi impositam 'esse vidit, noctes & dies, veluti Prometheus Caucaso, 'se rursum libris affixit, nullum non auctorum genus 'in omnibus linguis ita manibus pervolutavit, ut in 'singulis totam vitam contriviſſe quivis etiam exer-'citatissimus eum diceret (24). —— Tres ipse horas, 'quatuor ad summum, dormiebat; quibus exactis, 'nocte intempesta, excitatus in horam decimam, do-'nec Rex sacris operaretur, in literarum studia im-'defessus incumbebat (25). —— *When he saw him-'self invested with this Character by the Judgment 'and Will of so great a King, he again fixed himself 'to his Books, like* Prometheus *to Mount* Caucasus, *'and turned over almost every Author in every Lan-'guage, insomuch that the most conversant in them 'would have said that he had spent his whole Life in 'the Study of each in particular. —— He slept but 'three, or four Hours at most: after which, rising 'in the middle of the Night, he studied indefatigably 'till ten in the Morning, when the King went to 'Prayers.*'

(23) Id. ibid. pag. 25.

(24) Id. ibid. pag. 41.

(25) Ibid. pag. 42.

[*H*] *He staid not long at* Rome, *where almost nothing pleased him but the Remains of Antiquity* (26).] He was so scandalized at the Corruptions, which he observed in the Court of *Rome*, that, for many Years after, he could not think, or speak, of them without Indignation. He pushed the matter so far, that he believed Religion was but a meer Farce at *Rome*, which they made use of to deceive the World, in order to preserve Dominion. *Calvin* has not said much more of it; *Calvin*, I say, who has been so much insulted, and so often called an egregious Calumniator for

(26) Cum omnia fere præter antiquitatis vestigia quædam improbaret. *Ibid.* pag. 27.

exercised in the chief Town of the Island of *Cyprus*. The Bishop and Inhabitants of that Town wanted a Man, who understood *Greek* and *Latin*, and who could teach Literature, and they offered him a Pension of two hundred Crowns. *Castellan* undertook to serve them, and taught two Years in their Town with much Success; insomuch that they were not well pleased when he left them to go and see *Egypt*. He saw it like an ingenious Person, for he could discourse of all that belonged to it, as if he had lived there all his Life. Having heard of the good Reception, which the Sieur *de la Forêt*, his most Christian Majesty's Embassador, gave to the *French* at *Constantinople*, he had a Mind to see that great City: In his Journey thither he stopped two Months at *Jerusalem*. *La Forêt* conceived a singular Esteem for him, and recommended him to *Francis* I, and to some great Lords of the Court. Cardinal *du Bellai*, and some others, recommended him to the same Prince for a very learned Man. *Castellan* confirmed their Testimony by the Discourses he had with the King, which were so pleasing to him, that he used to make *Castellan* speak of a great many things whilst he was at Dinner and Supper [*I*]. A little while after, he gave him the Office of his Reader, which *Colin*, who was fallen into Disgrace, had exercised [*K*]. This obliged *Castellan* to study more than ever, that he might be able to answer the Questions, which the King his Master, who was curious, and a Lover of good Literature, might ask him. He lulled him asleep, every Night, by the Explication of some Author (*d*); he allowed also some Hours for the Instruction of the Princess *Margaret*, That Prince's Daughter. He made use of the Favour, to which he had attained, for the Good and Advancement of Learning, and caused some good Regulations to be made for the Advantage of the Professors, and of the King's Library. It is assured, in his Life, that he laboured hard to maintain the Catholic Religion, against those who sollicited the King of *France* to cast off the Pope's Yoke; not but that he knew, as well as any Body, the need the Church stood in of being reformed; but he foresaw, that, if *Francis* I. appeared never so little indifferent as to the Innovators, they would take so much Boldness upon them, that they would overturn every thing, the

(d) Francisco Regi ad quietem se comparanti Latinas Græcasque historias & tragœdias ad verbum pene vertens interpretabatur, & dormiturienti ad fidem inter legendum præclari alicujus loci sententiæve explicatione, tanquam emodulata Pythagoreorum musica, eum ad quietem tranquillam deterris curis omnibus & perturbationibus componebat. *Ibid. pag.* 42.

for having made use of these words: *The first Article of their secret Theology* (he speaks of the Popes and Cardinals) *which reigns among them, is, that there is no* God: *the second, that all that is written and preached of* Jesus Christ *is but Falshood and idle Talk: the third, that all that is contained in Scripture concerning Eternal Life, and the Resurrection of the Body, are meer Fables* (27). Compare this with what I am going to say of *Castellan*'s Life, and you will find no great difference. 'Memini eum aliquando, cum Pontificum Romanorum supinas libidines, avaritiam, & rapacitatem, religionis contemptum, superbiamque Cardinalium, luxum, & ignaviam, nundinationesque, cauponationes, & flagitia reliqua sulicorum Romanensium describeret, & cætera quæ tunc vidisset commemoraret, ita animo concitari & indignatione commoveri consuevisse, ut ei non modo in facie color, sed & toto corpore gestus motusque immutarentur; ut etiam mihi frequenter diceret sibi esse persuasissimum ne Pontifices quidem Romanos religionis & sacrorum antistites, tot suis suorumque flagitiis sceleribusque contaminatos, vere & ex animo Christum colere; quæ autem in religione facerent, retinendæ dominationis causa, veluti larva ad fallendum apposita, egregie simulare (28). —— *I remember that, when he was describing the wanton Lusts, Avarice, and Rapaciousness of the* Roman *Pontiffs, their Contempt of Religion; the Pride, Luxury, and Laziness of the Cardinals, their riotous Feastings, and other Vices, which he had observed in the Court of* Rome, *he would be so moved with Indignation, that not only the Colour in his Face, but the very Motions and Gestures of his Body, would be changed: insomuch that he would often tell me, he was fully persuaded, that the Popes themselves, the supream Heads of Religion, contaminated with so many Vices of their own and those about them, did not sincerely and from their Hearts worship* Christ; *but that whatever shew they made of Religion, it was an egregious Cheat, carried on only for the Sake of Power.*' See what I quote out of *Erasmus*, in Remark [*GG*] of the Article CALVIN.

(27) Instit. lib. iv, cap. vii, n. 27, apud John Hay, Defence of the Demands, pag. 27.

(28) Gallandius, pag. 27.

[*I*] Francis I *made him speak of a great many things, while he was at Dinner and Supper.*] *Castellan* had not only much Learning, but also a very good Grace in speaking; which made him be heard with much Attention and Delight, when he discoursed on the Questions which *Francis* I proposed to him. 'Prudenti regi fere semper affabat; & ad ea quæ in percontando ab eo ponebantur sic respondere solitus erat, ut facilè quivis naris non obesæ eum omnia ingenio summo, acerrimis studiis, atque usu maximo cognita & perspecta habere judicasset. Huc accesserat vocis ea lenitas, vultus gestusque compositi decor, & sermonis comitas, elegantia, & gratia, ut, quod de Pericle prodidit Eupolis, Pitho quandam flexanimam in ejus labris sessitare homines putarent. Itaque quoties differebat, Regem, silentibus aliis omnibus, in eum oculos conjicere, ex ejus ore veluti auribus suspensum pendere, & singula verba ab eo emissa tanquam oracula probare animadvertisse (29). —— *He generally fixed by the King at Supper, and returned such Answers to the Questions, which were put to him, that a Person of any Skill might easily judge, that, by dint of Genius, and Application to study, he had acquired a compleat Knowledge of every thing. To this was added, That Mildness of Voice, that graceful Aspect and Deportment, that Courtesy, Elegance, and Grace of Language, that, as* Eupolis *said of* Pericles, *Men would think Persuasion itself dwelt upon his Lips. As often therefore as he discoursed, you might see the King (the rest keeping Silence) fix his Eyes on him, hang on his Words, and receive every Sentence as an Oracle.*' From the first Conversations the King approved of him much (30), and, because some considerable Persons conceived a great Jealousy at it, and laboured to put him out of Countenance, and to hinder him from insinuating himself into the King's Mind by his fine Discourses, the King charged the Dauphin to tell him, that he should not regard any Body's Threatnings, but continue to speak freely and boldly. 'Cumque essent qui, ejus felicitati invidentes, silentium ei imperare contenderent, atque ab hoc de rebus omnibus apud Regem dicendi instituto deterrere pararent, per filium natu maximum Delphinum Rex ipse eum hortatus est ut intrepide & constanter ad suam mensam loqueretur, neque cujusquam interpellatione aut minis de sententia deduceretur (31).'

(29) Ibid. pag. 42.

(30) De variis rebus differentem & sermocinantem avidissimis auribus rex inter cœnandum & prandendum eum audiret, & repudiatis aliorum opinionibus in ejus sententiam descenderet. *Ibid. pag.* 38.

(31) Ibid. pag. 39.

[*K*] *The King gave him the Office of his Reader, which* Colin *had exercised.*] *Gallandius* (32) pretends, that *Colin* made himself odious by Discourses, which created Quarrels, and that those, who were against him, speaking in *Castellan*'s Favour on one side, while his Merit recommended him on the other, *Colin* was dismissed, and *Castellan*

(32) Ibid. pag. 40.

the State as well as Popery. For which Reason he thought it expedient, that Indulgence should be used towards Inquisitors and Informers [L]; tho' it happened very often, that they accused innocent Persons. On the other side, he did not approve of the Rigour of Capital Punishment, and brought also some Trouble upon himself, for having interceeded in favour of some erring Persons, who were threatned with Death (e). The Exactness, with which he maintained the Episcopal Laws against the Pretensions of the Church of *Rome*, made him odious beyond the *Alps*; and he greatly displeased the *Sorbonne* by the Protection he granted to *Robert Stephens* [M]. He occasioned the Assembly of *Melun* (f), in which some Prelates and Doctors prepared the Instructions of those, who were to be deputed to the Council. He never appeared more eloquent, more grave, and more majestic, than when he prepared *Francis* I. for Death, and when he made That Monarch's Funeral Oration [N]. I forgot to say, that he had obtained of him

(e) He appeased the King towards the *Vaudois* three Years before the Execution of *Cabrieres* and *Merindol*. *Ibid. pag.* 60, and caused *Dolet* to be once released out of Prison. *Ibid. pag.* 62.

(f) The Year 1545. See the last Remark.

stellan advanced in his Place: *Castellan*, I say, who had never dreamed of such a Preferment, and who would rather have had an Employ in the Army, than in the Church. *Beza* relates the Thing in another manner. He says, that 'Castellan presented 'himself to *James Colin*, at that Time Reader 'in Ordinary to King *Francis* I, and that God 'would have it, that *Colin* offered him to the 'King, who was desirous to hear ingenious Persons 'at his Table, and chiefly those, who brought 'him any thing new (33). The Issue of that Presentation, *continues he*, was such, that *Chastelain* 'thrusting *Colin* out, remained the King of *France*'s 'Favourite until his Death.' Another reports, that *Colin* and *Castellan* disputing, on a time, on something, in his Majesty's Presence, *Colin* grounded himself on his Books; *Castellan* spoke as an Eyewitness, and maintained, that the Authors quoted by *Colin* were mistaken. This placed *Castellan* so high in the King's Opinion, that he received Orders to remain at Court, and that afterwards he obtained the Bishopric of *Tulle*. 'Narrat Petrus à 'Sancto Juliano in præfatione ad historiam Burgundionum, cùm incidisset quæstio quædam inter 'eum & Castellanum coram Francisco primo, Colinusque librorum auctoritate tantùm uteretur, 'Castellanus verò, qui rem, de qua agebatur, etiam 'oculis usurparat, sua auctoritate testibusque approbasset vera his libris non contineri, tantam hinc 'istum gratiam affecutum esse apud Regem, ut in 'aula manere jussus sit, indeque Episcopatu Tutelensi donatum (34).' It is very dangerous to recommend an abler Person than one's self. I do not question but that *Castellan* was very prejudicial to *Colin*, either without endeavouring it, or as *Beza* relates it.

(33) Beza Eccles. Hist. lib. II, pag. 80.

(34) Baluzius not. ad vitam Petri Castellani, pag. 147.

[L] *He was of opinion, that Indulgence should be used towards Inquisitors and Informers.*] He was not ignorant, that there were many Calumniators in the Catholic Church, who, through Hatred, Jealousy, Ambition, and Covetousness, persecuted innocent Persons, by falsly imputing Lutheranism to them: but he thought those kind of Accusers ought to be supported, though their Suspicions should be ill grounded; for, said he, the Innocent, who are accused, clear themselves; Criminals are not punished, if they are not accused. He made use of a Passage of *Cicero* (35), concerning the Dogs of the Capitol, from which he concluded, that, to suppress the Audaciousness of Innovators, the Dogs, who bark after them, must be protected and favoured for the sake of the public Good. 'Neque fieri pósse 'quin in factione quoque diversâ calumniatores essent, qui odio, invidiâ, vel nimio studio suas opes '& dignitates retinendi potius, quàm pietatis affectu, bonos aliquando viros pro Lutheranis persequerentur; ferendos tamen esse quoties in suspicione, à qua etiam crimen abesset, suspectos in 'judicium vocarent. Quod si innocentes essent accusati, absolvi possent, condemnari autem nocentes, 'nisi accusarentur, non possent. Quam ad rem locum illum ex Cicerone pro Roscio de canibus Capitolinis adducebat, ut illos olim, cùm fures internoscere non possent, rectè latratu appetere solitos esse quicunque noctu Capitolium ingressi essent; ita ut metu lymphaticorum quorundam comprimeretur audacia, quoties moribus & longo usu 'in Ecclesia recepta privata auctoritate abrogarent 'aut seditiosè damnarent, latratores, à quibus appeterentur, reipublicæ causa favore prosequendos 'esse (36).' It cannot be denied, that this Maxim is of Use for the Good of the Public, and chiefly in troublesome Times; but it is also certain, that it is a Source of Injustice. We must lament, upon this, the Fate of Mankind, and the fatal Necessity, which obliges, on so many Occasions, to sacrifice the Right of private Men to the Use of the Public. The Honour and Innocency of a Family become but too often the Prey of a suspicious or wicked Informer; Justice would require, that this Informer should be exemplarily punished, either for his Temerity or Malice; but the public Good requires, that such Persons should be left to bark against every Body, and that they should go unpunished, when they confound the Innocent with the Guilty. This keeps ill affected Persons in awe; and it is better to accuse ten times without Necessity, than to fail once to inform against those, who deserve it. This is the reason, that many good Persons are neglected, whilst the Bad are in Credit. A good Man will not take upon him the Trade of a Spy, or an Informer; an ill Man takes this Office willingly, and thereby makes himself useful, and sometimes necessary. However it be, you see on what Foundation our *Peter Castellan* would have Quarter given to those unjust Accusers, who blemish so many innocent Persons. The Good of the Church required Dogs, who did not only bark against Heretics, but indifferently against all those, who, by their Moderation, and Spirit of Toleration, became suspected. *Castellan* is not the only Man, who adopts this Maxim.

(35) See, below, the Article St BERNARD, Citation (9).

(36) Gallandius, pag. 58.

[M] *He displeased the* Sorbonne, *by the Protection he granted to* Robert Stephens.] It was a Protection, which did not last long enough; *Castellan* was tired at last with resisting the Torrent of the *Sorbonnists*, and he gave up to them *Robert Stephens*, who complained of it in this manner: 'Immediately, as being agitated by I know not 'what Fury, he leaves him a Prey to the Divines, 'whom he had supported against such Furies, by an 'Inspiration of God rather than by a pure and sincere 'Affection. It was in hopes to gain a Cardinal's 'Cap, that he gave up himself so servilely, and 'without reason, to them; for he hated them 'much (37).' His Passion was allayed some Days after, and he was vexed, that they should oppress that learned Man, and compel him to seek another Country (38). Admire *Castellan*'s Fate; he was suspected of Lutheranism, as well because he understood *Greek* and *Hebrew*, as because he disapproved of the Cruelty of the Inquisitors, and some Abuses of the Church: And when he turned Persecutor, to clear himself of these Suspicions, it was thought he did it only out of Ambition. *Gallandius* tells us all these Things himself. 'A quibusdam, qui quicquid politioribus literis tinctum est, 'aut ex Hebræis Græcisque literis eruditum, statim 'Lutheranum esse clamitant, affinem ei sectæ, ab 'aliis verò aulæ pontificiæ corruptos mores, nundinationes rerum sacrarum, & quam vocant superstitionem improbantibus, purpurei galeri desiderio fictum & personatum simulatorem habitum 'esse non ignoro (39).'

(37) Robert Stephens's Answer to the Censures of the Divines of *Paris*, fol. 22, Edit. of 1552, in 8vo.

(38) Ibid. fol. 24, verso.

(39) Gallandius ubi supra, p. 58.

[N] *He made that Monarch's Funeral Oration.*] It consisted of two Sermons, which Mr *Baluze* caused to be printed, when he published *Castellan*'s Life, composed by *Gallandius*. Every body knows the Complaints of the *Sorbonne* on *Castellan*'s expressing himself pretty plainly concerning Purgatory; he

him the Bishopric of *Tulle*, and afterwards that of *Macon*. He designed to have retired after the Death of That Prince, but *Henry* II would have him continue to follow the Court as before; and, as soon as the Place of Great Almoner of *France* became vacant, he conferred it upon him. That Office is of a great Extent, and may become a Foundation of many good things, when it is administered by a Person, who knows and practises all the Duties of it. This our *Castellan* did, and, among the good Uses he made of the Money, which he disposed of, we must not forget what concerns the Women of ill Fame [*O*]. He quitted the Bishopric of *Macon* for that of *Orleans*, which was in the Neighbourhood of the Places, where *Henry* II delighted to reside. That Prince, preparing himself for the Expedition of *Germany*, went from *Amboise* to *Orleans*, and permitted the Great Almoner to absent himself from the Court for two Months. *Castellan* desired that Leave of him, in order to set the Affairs of his Diocese in Order. He had not leisure to correct the Abuses of it; but he cleared it from a great Number of vagabond Priests, who were ignorant, and led a scandalous Life [*P*]: He preached often; but, one Day, while he was preaching, he was taken with a violent Palsy, which soon degenerated into an Apoplexy, and carried him off in a very little time. He died the third of *February*, 1552 (*g*). The Protestants made many Reflexions on this Death [*Q*]. He was a Man very well versed in the Oriental Languages (*h*), and

(*g*) *Taken from his Life, composed by* Peter Gallandius, *his Friend, and published by Mr* Baluze *at Paris, in the Year* 1674.

(*h*) *See* Colomiés in Gall. Orient. pag. 14, 15.

he declared, that he believed the King's Soul went directly to Heaven. The Deputies of the *Sorbonne* fell into the Hands of a Banterer (40), who laughed at them. I know, said he to them, the late King's Humour; he stayed seldom long in one Place, and, if he went through Purgatory, it was but to taste the Wine there. *Beza* (41) and *Thuanus* (42) relate the Thing very amply.

(40) *Mendoza* the King's Steward.

(41) Beza, Hist. Eccl. cap. ii, pag. 80.

(42) Thuan. lib. iii, pag. 58.

[*O*] *We must not forget what he did in relation to the Women of ill Fame.*] I shall only speak of the Maids, who were shut up in the House of Repentance, and who did not deserve the Name of Repentant Maids; for they were neither Maids nor repentant: they had prostituted themselves, and having afterwards put themselves into a Monastery, to expiate their Faults there, and not having wherewith to subsist, they went a begging from Door to Door, which gave them Opportunity to take up their first Trade again. *Castellan* tried all ways to find a sufficient Fund for the Subsistence of those Creatures, and ordered, among other Things, that they should work with their Hands. It was with difficulty he persuaded them, that they ought not to walk up and down in the City, but to keep religiously in their Monastery. 'Vix verbis exprimi potest quantis sudoribus & molestiis operam dederit ut mulieres, quæ Lutetiæ corpore vulgato quæstum meretricium fecissent, ex vitæ contaminatæ pœnitentia ad castitatem, bonam frugem, & religiosam vitam in monasterio profitendam conversæ, verè id quod profiterentur præstarent. Nam cum iis reditibus qui ad usus vitæ necessarios requiruntur destitutæ vicatim & ostiatim mendicare cogerentur, & ejus rei occasione sui copiam magno cum probro facere vulgo dicerentur, re prius diligenter multumque cum prudentibus bonisque viris communicata, illis demum multis rationibus, quamquam ægrè, persuasit ne monasterium semel ingressæ, cum hac ignominiosa boni nominis & famæ jactura per urbem in posterum divagarentur (43).'

(43) Galland. pag. 210.

[*P*] *He purged his Diocese from vagabond Priests, who were ignorant, and led a scandalous Life.*] He began the Reformation of his Diocese with the Priests, and ordered, that all those, who had not settled Habitations, and who only went from Place to Place, begging to say Masses, should leave the Country immediately. In fifteen Days he drove so great a number of them away, that one might have formed a good Army of them. 'Doctrinæ & vitæ sui populi cognitionem institutionemque à capite, hoc est, à sacerdotibus exorsus, eorum qui nullam certam stationem habentes, velut errones circumforanei, Missas undiquaque aucuparentur, tantum numerum intra dies quindecim Episcopatus sui finibus exegit, ut ex iis justus propemodum exercitus cogi posse videretur (44).' Having examined them, he found them very ignorant, and very much corrupted; yet he gave them travelling Charges. It was a very great Abuse to suffer such People, who offered themselves, as one may say, from Door to Door, to say Masses at a low Rate. 'Cùm eos interrogatos literarum omnium ignaros, omnium sordium maculis infames, nulli certo homini aut loco auctoratos mercedula se veluti venales ad sacra obeunda obtrudere didicisset (45).' This Evil has been a little remedied; but it is still so great, that it moved a Catholic, Author of a Book, printed in *Holland* in the Year 1681, to make very vehement Complaints about it: 'It is a comical thing, *says he*, in *Italy*, to see ten or twelve Priests in a Vestry, waiting for some Fop, who, for a Mass, gives them a *Giulio* to buy Bread withal, and that very often they are turned out of the Vestry, by the Sacristan, before they have earned a Penny. This is not seen at *Paris*; but there are above a thousand of those Adventurers, who have no fixed Parish, and have much a-do to subsist by their Masses: I shun them as Pick-Pockets, and am glad of one thing, which is, that neither Priest nor Monk ever had any of my Money by way of Payment for their Masses, and I should think it to be a kind of Sacrilege to give it: No Man should be ordained without an Office or Benefice, and then we might be free from these Vagabonds (46).'

(44) Ibid. pag. 234.

(45) Ibid. pag. 235.

(46) Sure and honest Means for the Conversion of all Heretics, *Part* II, *pag.* 26, 27.

[*Q*] *The Protestants made many Reflexions on his Death.*] Let us see those of *Beza*. Speaking of *Castellan*, he says, 'That he was at last provided with the Bishopric of *Maçon*, and afterwards of *Orleans*, after the buying and selling of several Benefices. He was a Man of Wit, well learned in *Latin*, and favouring the Protestant Religion, at first, so far, that he maintained *Robert Stephens*'s Cause a long while - - - when he was attacked by the *Sorbonne*, who found fault with a certain Impression of the Bible, which he had made (47). - - - But this good Bishop, complying so far as to persecute those, whom he had excus'd before as much as he could, became Bishop of *Orleans*, where God waited for him in the Passage. For being come, the Eve of his Entry, according to Custom, to the Monastery, which they call St *Fuerte* (48), and got into the Pulpit to preach, where there was a great number of People, by reason of the Novelty of seeing a Bishop preach, as he was threatning very sharply those, who were called Heretics, he was struck with such a sudden and violent Pain of the Cholic, that, being carried away, he ended his Days miserably the following Night (49), to make his Entry elsewhere than into *Orleans*. Five Days after, *viz.* the ninth of *July*, were also executed, *&c.*' *Beza* is mistaken both as to the Day and the Year. According to what he says, *Castellan* should have died the fourth of *July* 1549; but it was the third of *February* 1552. Let us add another good Protestant Witness to *Beza*: 'Now that I am speaking of Church men, I remember one, who is seldom forgot, when they speak of such Judgments of God, *(viz.)* *Petrus Castellanus*. For, indeed, we have in him (as much as in any other) a notable Example of God's Judgment: because, after having made great Profession of the Gospel during the Reign of King *Francis*, the first of that Name, so far as to incur the Displeasure of the *Sorbonne*, (which he did not fear, by reason of the Support he had from the said Prince) he

(47) Beza, Hist. Eccles. pag. 80, 81.

(48) *Du Peirat*, Antiquities of the Chapel, *pag.* 382, says, that this Prelate was struck with an Apoplexy, as he was preaching the Word of God in the Church of *St Lawrence* of *Orgeres*, before he had made his Entry into the City of *Orleans*.

(49) *Gallandius*, *pag.* 136. says, that *Castellan* fell into an Apoplexy first on his left Side, and afterwards on his right Side, that he could not breathe, and that he was suffocated before three Days: *ante triduum suffocatio fecato fit.*

and moreover so universal a Scholar, that *Francis* I, who boasted never to have seen any learned Man, whose Knowledge he had not exhausted in two Years [*R*], declared, that he had never found this Man's Erudition defective. *Castellan* wrote but few Things [*S*]. Very surprizing Effects of his Eloquence are reported [*T*]. We

' he turned his Coat in the Reign of King *Henry*, ' the second of that Name; (forasmuch as he per- ' ceived that those, who made Profession of the ' Gospel, had not, then, the best of it at Court) ' and even turned it so that it was no longer known. ' And, not contented with that, he came to *Orleans*, ' (of which City he had newly obtained the Bi- ' shopric) to preach strongly and firmly against the ' Religion, which he had before maintained. And, ' indeed, he went sometimes into the Pulpit; but ' as he was disgorging Blasphemies, in a Sermon, ' against the True Religion and his Conscience, he ' was seized with a Sickness, which would not suf- ' fer him to come down from the Pulpit in the ' same manner as he got up into it. It is said, that ' one half of his Body burned, and the other was as ' cold as Ice: They speak also of a Dysentery; inso- ' much that Death followed it, in a few Days, with ' horrible Cries and Groans (50).' *D'Aubigné* (51) cites a Book, entituled *Dan*, wherein it was said, that Bishop *Castellan*, who sent Protestants with great Coldness to be burned, *died half frozen, and half burned*. *Chassanion* relates the same Thing, as *Beza* and *Henry Stephens*, concerning the Death of This Prelate. See the hundred and sixth and the hundred and seventh Pages of a Book, which he published in 1586, entituled, *Memorable Histories of the great and marvellous Judgments and Punishments of GOD*.

I believe I may say Three Things on this Subject. I. That *Beza* and *Henry Stephens*, &c. have not acted thro' meer Slander, but out of Zeal for Religion. II. That what they have said is very proper to serve their Cause, in confirming the People already reformed in their Opinions. III. That it is likely they went too fast in their Decisions. *Calvin*, *Beza*, and several others, were persuaded, that all those, who had at first favoured the Reformation, either by endeavouring to mollify the Minds of the Persecutors, or by shewing an extream Desire to see the Evils of the Church at an end, were so many Apostates and Traitors to their Consciences, if they continued in the Communion of *Rome*, and if they changed their Behaviour towards the Reformed. I say they were too hasty in their Judgment. To believe, that the Church stands in need of Reformation, and to approve a certain manner of reforming it, are two very different Things. To blame the Conduct of those, who oppose a Reformation, and to disapprove the Conduct of those, who reform, are two very compatible Things. So that *Erasmus* may be imitated, without being an Apostate or a perfidious Man, without sinning against the Holy Ghost, and without betraying the Lights of one's Conscience: and this is what, it seems, *Beza* did not understand: He imagined, that all those, who agreed, that *Calvin* and *Luther* were in the right in many Things, were, from that time forward, fully persuaded, that they ought to break with the Church of *Rome*, and raise Altar against Altar, break and cast down Images, and not stop at the Sight of the Streams of Blood, which were going to be spilt. This is an Illusion: Doubtless, there were many Persons, who believed, that, since the Reformation met with such great Obstacles, that put *Europe* into the utmost Confusion, God shewed, that the Time of reforming was not yet come. Many Persons will be always conceited with this Principle, That it is a less Evil to tolerate the Abuses both of Church and State, than to endeavour to heal them by Remedies, which over-turn the Government (52). It would be difficult to determine, whether *Castellan* was one of those. But all Persons, free from Prejudice, will grant me, That one cannot be too reserved in accusing others of preaching against their Consciences. The Chancellor *de l'Hospital* made very fine Verses on *Castellan*'s dying almost in the Pulpit. He praised this Prelate much (53). Some body has said that *Castellan* was poisoned. *Peter de St Julien* (54) testifies, that it was the Opinion of That Bishop's domestic Servants.

[50] Henry Stephens's Apology for *Herodotus*, pag. 312.

[51] D'Aubigné, Tom. I, Book II, chap. xi, p. 112.

[52] Expediebat quasi ægræ sanctæque Reipublicæ requiescere quomodocunque ne vulnera curatione ipsa rescinderentur. *Florus*, *lib.* III, *cap.* xxiii.

[53] Du Pelrat's *Antiquities of the Chapel*, p. 384. *Mr* Baluze Not. ad Vitam Castel. pag. 165. Colomiés, Gall. Orient. pag. 13. *Some groan Tres Chancellor's Verses They are also in* Morerl.

[54] *In the* Antiquities of *Mascon*, pag 425. apud Colomesium Gallia Orient. pag. 12.

[*R*] Francis I *boasted never to have seen any learned Man, whose Knowledge he had not exhausted in two Years.*] This deserves Attention. *Francis I* boasted, that, of many very learned Men, with whom he had conversed, he had found none but *Castellan*, who could supply him with something new for two Years. That is to say, all the rest were soon exhausted, and reduced either to repeat or be silent. They shewed the Bottom of their Bag; but *Castellan* was a living Spring, which never dried up. *Gallandius*'s Words are fine enough to deserve to be copied. ' Cum de doctis hominibus loquere- ' tur (*Rex*) dictitare solebat se permultis extra com- ' munem aliorum aleam positis doctis hominibus per- ' sæpe familiariter usum esse & delectatum, verùm ' præter Castellanum neminem sibi ad eam diem ' visum cujus eruditionem omnem non intra bien- ' nium exhausisset; Hunc veluti omnium artium ' quendam oceanum semper vivo gurgite redundan- ' tem ad se accedentem semper videri novum nec ' unquam antè auditum. Eam esse ejus immortalis ' ingenii vim & doctrinæ fœcunditatem, ut nunquam ' in ulla disputatione hæsitare & titubare visus esset ' (55).' Perhaps there are no Persons, whose Conversation is more to be feared by a learned Man, than That of great Lords, who love Learning. For, as they are used to speak without Preparation on the Things, which are under their Cognizance, they conceive an ill Opinion of a Man who does not answer readily to the Questions, which are asked him concerning his Profession. Now how many learned Divines are there, who would be cruelly puzzled by a Question, put on a sudden, concerning the Year, Progress, Issue, and chief Circumstances of a Council? I have heard a famous Historiographer of *France* confess ingenuously, That he did not know in what Age *Philip the Fair* lived. The more a Man reads, and the more Collections he makes, the less fit is he to answer immediately to Questions about Matters of Fact; so that there are some Persons, that make their Learning no less to be admired in their Books, than their Ignorance in Conversation. The *Blondel*'s, the *Salmasius*'s, and a very small number of such like Persons, are not subject to this Misfortune. But others fall into dangerous Hands, when they are to go through the continual Questions of a Person of Quality, who loves Books. I have heard say, that the Marshal *de Crequi*, being retired to a Country-House during his Disgrace (56), sent for the most learned Man of that Part of the Country. The Prior of a Monastery was brought to him. Fifteen Days had not passed before he said, that They had brought him the most ignorant Man in the World. Not but that this Prior knew a great many Things, and might have satisfied Monsieur *de Créqui*, if he had had Time to prepare himself; but, to tell immediately the proper Names, the Dates, and other Circumstances, was what he could not do. See the Margin (57).

[55] Galland. pag. 74.

[56] In 1672, when he refused to serve under the Marshal *de Turenne*.

[*S*] *He wrote but few Things.*] They ascribed to him a *Latin* Letter of *Francis* I, against *Charles* V, published in the Year 1543 (58). I have already spoken of his Funeral Oration of *Francis* I.

[*T*] *They relate very surprizing Effects of his Eloquence.*] He made such moving Discourses in the Hospitals, Prisons, and Cloysters of *Paris*, that he made all his Auditors weep, and filled them with an ardent Desire of well doing (59). Having employed Two Months in reducing an Abbess of *Pontoise* to Reason, who did not well administer the Revenues of an Hospital, founded by St *Lewis*, he did not depart till he had given the Nuns a Sermon, which touched them in such a manner, that they cast themselves on the Ground, with a thousand Sobs and Sighs, beat their Breasts, wept abundantly, and promised to perform their Duty better for the Future. ' Ea vi eloquentiæ rerumque & sententiarum è sacris ' literis depromptarum tum gravitate tum copia de ' virginitatis, caritatis, & misericordiæ officiis mun- ' dique contemptu, nobis præsentibus disse nit, ut ' omnes sese humi affligentes, maximis singultibus & ' suspiriis

[57] The President *de Mesmes* was learned, and delighted so much in the Conversation of learned Men, that it was said of him, that in eight Days time he exhausted a Doctor. *Continuation of the* Menagiana, pag. 216.

[58] Mezerai, Tom. II, pag. 1017. Varillas's History of *Francis* I, Tom. II, pag. 440.

[59] Galland. in Vit. Cast. pag. 110.

We shall make but one Remark, for Mr *Moreri*'s Faults, and for those of some other Writers [*U*]; and we shall report what Mr *Varillas* observes concerning the Assembly of *Melun* [*X*].

Note,

'suspiriis editis, sua pectora pugnis contunderent, '& maximam vim lachrymarum profundentes se long' aliter quam superioribus temporibus officium 'facturas profiterentur (60).' When he preached to the Repentant Maids, he began with representing the Horrors of an impure Life, and ended with the Praises of Conversion. Each Part of his Sermon had it's Effect: The first drove almost to the Brink of Despair: The last filled with Consolation. *Gallandius* expresses this very nobly: Here are his Words. 'Ad virum aliquando passas, sed vitæ contaminatæ tædio in monasterio castitatem professas, 'ingressus, cum fœditatem veneream gravissimis 'verbis insectatus esset, ea verba de resipiscentia & 'pœnitentia fundebat, ea è sacris literis exempla & 'testimonia ad laudem ejus vitæ ad pudicitiam sanctam conversæ adducebat, ut quæ prima oratione 'capillo passo humi consternatæ & pectora pugnis 'acriter tunderent, faciem unguibus deformarent, '& lamentis atque ejulatibus omnia complerent, oratione postrema ad se revocatæ, manibus ad cœlum 'versis, Deo gratias agerent, se longè felicissimas 'prædicarent, & in suscepto vitæ instituto constanter perseveraturas iterum atque iterum voverent (61). —— *Whom he preached to those, who had been debauched, but, tired with an impure Life, had professed Chastity in a Monastery, beginning with a severe Invective against the Filthiness of Lust, he discoursed in such a manner concerning Repentance and Penance, and brought such Examples and Testimonies from Holy Writ in praise of a Life converted to Modesty, that the Women, who, at the beginning of his Oration, lay stretched on the ground with dishevelled Hair, violently beating their Breasts, and disfiguring their Faces with their Nails, and filling the Place with Cries and wailings, recovering themselves at the end of his Discourse, and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, returned GOD thanks, declared themselves the happiest Women in the World, and vowed again and again to persevere with Constancy in the Course of Life they had undertaken.*' We may add to this what the Chevalier *Casal* wrote to Pope *Paul* III. 'The Bishop of *Mascon* made the Funeral Oration of 'Francis I very learnedly, and much to the Purpose, except that he was not well heard by reason 'of the great Groans and Weepings occasioned by 'the said Bishop's Words. I shall endeavour to 'have a Copy of it, which I will send your 'Holiness.' You will find this in the *Epistles of Princes* collected by *Ruscelli*, and translated by *Belleforest* (62).

[*U*] *I shall make but one Remark, for Mr* Moreri's *Faults, and for those of some other Writers.*] I. He supposes that *Castellan* was of *Langres*, and ignoble, against the express Testimony of *Gallandius*. II. That *Francis* I made him his Preacher, on account of a certain Answer, which I have already related (63). Is it not to scoff at That Great Prince, to pretend, that he rewarded a Jest with such an Holy Employ as That of a Preacher? It was no ways by That pretended Jest, that *Castellan* gained That Monarch's Friendship. It was by his fine and learned Discourses: The Place, which was given him, was That of the King's Reader, and not That of Preacher (64). III. If he had *taught polite Literature at* Paris, as *Moreri* affirms, *Gallandius* would have said something of it; his Silence thereupon ought to pass for a solid Refutation of *Moreri*: But, besides, how likely is it, that a King's Reader, who is daily waiting at his Master's Table, and at his going to Bed, should trouble himself with teaching in a College? *Moreri* was more in the right, when he said, That *Castellan became That same Prince's Library-Keeper, after* Budæus. IV. They did not *begin*, as he affirms, *to reward* his Virtue by *the Abbey of* Auberive. Doubtless, he meant the Abbey of *Hauvilliers* (65), which *Gallandius* calls, in *Latin*, *Abbatiam Altovillarensem*: But That Abbey was so far from being the first Reward of *Castellan*, that, on the contrary, he had it not before he parted with his Bishopric of *Tulle*. He parted with that Bishopric, when he received that of *Macon*. It was in the Year 1543, that he obtained the Abbey of *Hauvilliers*; and he had been made Bishop of *Tulle* in the Year 1539. Mr *Baluze* observed (66), that *Gallandius* had no reason to say, That *Francis* I conferred Three Benefices on *Castellan* in one Year, (*viz.*) the Provostship of *Estaus* (67), the Bishopric of *Tulle*, and the Abbey of *Bellepercbe* (68): *Intra unius anni spatium tribus sacerdotiis, Præfecturæ Evaunensi, Episcopatu Tutelensi, & Abbatia Bellopertensi eum ornavit* (69). For *John de Cardaillac* was Abbot of *Bellperche* from the Year 1484, till 1543, as his Epitaph witnesses, published by Messieurs *de Ste. Marthe* in the fourth Part of their *Gallia Christiana*. So that That Abbey was not given to *Castellan* till four Years after he had obtained the Bishopric of *Tulle*, to which he was certainly promoted in the Year 1539. V. It is not true, that the Dignity of Great Almoner of *France* was conferred upon him before the Bishopric of *Macon*. He had that Bishopric in the Year 1544, and he was not made Great Almoner, till the Twenty fifth of *November* 1547, in the Reign of *Henry* II (70). *Thuanus* has committed a Fault here; he believed, that *Francis* I gave the Great Almonery to *Castellan* (71). Several others have committed the same Fault (72), as the Sieur *du Peirat* observes. He is not himself free from Censure, since he believes, that *Castellan* was Almoner in Ordinary to *Francis* I, and Bishop of *Macon*, in the Year 1531 (73). This is very false. Father *Jacob*, having said, that *William Budæus* died in the Year 1540, adds, That the Place of the King's Library-Keeper was given to *Peter du Chatel* by *Francis* I, who afterwards gave him the Bishopric of *Tulle* (74). This is to confound Order: for we have seen, that That Bishopric was conferred upon him in the Year 1539. The same Author says, that *du Chatel* died preaching, in the Year 1558 (75). He ought to have said 1552. The Sieur *Catherinot* has sadly said, that *du Chatel* was Professor at *Bourges* (76). *Mezeray* had no reason to say he was disgraced (77).

[*X*] *We shall repeat what Mr* Varillas *observes concerning the Assembly of* Melun.] He says (78), I. That 'the chief Divines of the Faculty of *Paris* had 'Orders to be at *Melun*, and to give his Majesty 'their Opinions in writing, supported by the Authority of the Holy Scriptures, Councils, and Fathers, and also of Reason, on the Points, which 'had served the Heretics for a Pretence to separate 'from the Communion of the Catholics. II. That 'those Doctors acquitted themselves of their Duty 'with such an Exactness, as would make at present 'the finest Monument of the *Sorbonne*, if their Opinions had been preserved with the same Sincerity as they were given,' but that the most judicious were suppressed by *du Chatel*. 'III. That 'that Man, who knew the Oriental Languages, and 'good Litorature, in Perfection, was not so learned in Divinity. IV. *That nevertheless* he had an 'itching Desire to assist in the Council, in Quality 'of Embassador of *France*, and that his Credit at 'Court was sufficient to obtain that important 'Commission, because, on the one side, there was 'no Sword's Man learned enough to maintain it with 'Splendor; and, on the other side, the Prelates 'durst not pretend to it, for fear of being ridiculed, 'if they appeared in the Quality of Ministers of a 'Secular Prince, in an Assembly, where they were 'to be Judges.' V. That therefore he wanted nothing, in his own Opinion, but a quick and particular Knowledge of the Difficulties, which should be proposed there, that he might make his Doctrine to be as much admired as his Eloquence; 'and, as he was too vain to borrow it from others, 'he resolved to steal it so cunningly, that he could 'not be accused of Theft. VI. That he kept the 'Writings of the Doctors, to make his Advantage 'of them in his pretended Negotiation, and —— 'made Extracts of them, which contained almost 'nothing else but the Decrees, which came from the 'same Faculty four Years before, against *Luther*'s 'Doctrines. VII. That it was in that manner 'that

(60) Id. pag. 124.

(61) Ibid. pag. 124, 125.

(62) Fol. 151, verso.

(63) In Remark [*A*].

(64) See his Life, pag. 41. These Words of *Gallandius*, *pag.* 46. *Primum omnium inter Scribas & Ministros cubiculi rius Reges co-optatus*, signify, as it seems to me, that he was placed in the List between the Secretaries of the Cabinet, and the Officers of the Chamber; that is, that his Majesty's Reader was reckoned one of these Officers.

(65) In the Diocese of *Rheims*.

(66) In notis ad vitam Castellani, pag. 140.

(67) In the Diocese of *Limoges*.

(68) In the Diocese of *Montauban*.

(69) Galland. pag. 48.

(70) See du Peirat's Antiquities of the Chappel, pag. 383.

(71) Thuan. lib. iii, pag. 57.

(72) Jacob. Severtius in Tractatu de Episc. Matisconensibus. Carolus Sausseius, lib xiv. *Annal. Eccles. Aurelianenses. Claudius Robertus in Gallia Christiana.*

(73) Du Peirat ubi supra, pag. 455.

(74) Treatise of Libraries, pag. 468.

(75) Ibid. pag. 469.

(76) Catherinot's Typographical Annals of *Bourges*, *pag.* 4. The whole Book contains but eight Pages.

(77) Mezer Hist. of *France*, Tom. II, pag. 1059, in Folio.

(78) Varill. Hist. of *Francis* I, Book xi, pag. 136, & seq.

Note, That the Chancellor *Poyet* was *Caſtellan*'s great Enemy; for which ſee the Continuation of the *Menagiana*, pag. 289, of the Edition of *Holland*.

' that *du Chatel*, without thinking of it, and without any other Motive, than that of collecting ' Memoirs to ſignalize himſelf in an Employ, ' which was not given him, contributed to the ' encreaſe of *Calvin*'s Hereſy in *France*; becauſe, ' if the Doctors Opinions had been printed, the ' People, being confirmed by that means in the ' Belief of their Anceſtors, would not have ſo ' eaſily inclined to Novelty.' This is a terrible Accuſation; and I cannot poſitively ſay, whether it is falſe or true; but, if *Caſtellan* committed ſuch a Fraud, we muſt abate prodigiouſly of the Eſteem he is in. However, the Hiſtorian is miſtaken in two Things: He has ſuppoſed, that *du Chatel* was not a Biſhop at the Time of that Aſſembly, that is, in the Year 1545; for he takes it for granted, that no Prelate durſt make himſelf ſo ridiculous as to pretend to the Embaſſy of *France* in the Council: So that he muſt ſuppoſe, that *du Chatel*, who aſpired to That Embaſſy, was no Biſhop. He knew not therefore, that the Biſhopric of *Tulle* was given him in the Year 1539, and That of *Macon* in the Year 1544. This is Mr *Varillas*'s firſt Fault; and it is a Fault, which overthrows the chief Foundations of his Narrative. The ſecond conſiſts in his ſuppoſing, that, if the Opinions of the Doctors had been printed, the People would not have embraced Lutheraniſm. This is a great Illuſion; if the Prieſts and the Prelates loſt part of their Flock, it was not for want of having publiſhed a very great number of Books, as good as they were able to publiſh in thoſe times. *Calvin* and *Beza* would as well have anſwered the Advices of thoſe Doctors, as the other Books, which appeared.

Note, that Mr *Varillas* ſuppoſes, in the Hiſtory of *Henry* II (79), that the Deputies of the *Sorbonne*, who had orders to complain of the Funeral Oration of *Francis* I, wherein *Caſtellan* had denied Purgatory, were alſo to accuſe him of three other things, the ſecond whereof was the ſuppreſſing of the Advices. (79) Pag. 69, Edit. Holl.

CASTELVETRO (LEWIS), a *Modeneze*, one of the moſt ſubtle Writers of the XVIth Century, is chiefly known by his Commentary on *Ariſtotle*'s *Art of Poetry*. Meſſieurs *Moreri* and *Teiſſier* (*a*) will amply inform, concerning his Hiſtory, thoſe who ſhall conſult them. I ſhall only dwell on a Particular, which they have not unfolded, and which concerns the Proceſs he had at the Tribunal of the Inquiſition [*A*]. He was a Man, who was too fond of criticizing [*B*]. *Thuanus* places his Death in the Year 1571.

(*a*) Eloges taken from *Thuanus*, Tom. I, p. 390.

If his too ſtrong Inclination to criticize was blameable, his Weakneſs, in not bearing to be criticized, and the Paſſion which is imputed to him againſt his Cenſurers, were much more ſo. It is pretended, that he made uſe of violent means againſt them. His way of citing was very defective. I have ſpoken of it in the Preface to this Dictionary (*b*); but you may ſee that Matter more at large in the Continuation of the *Menagiana* (*c*). You may find there alſo, *That* Caſtelvetro's *Houſe happening to be ſet on Fire at* Lyons, *he cried out* al Poetica, *ſave my Poetry*; and that *the beſt Edition of That Book is That of* Vienna *in* Auſtria. They might have added, that he had reaſon to ſhew, by the Cries he made during the Fire, that he looked upon That Work as the beſt Production of his Pen. By a like Sign it was known what Picture a famous Painter of Antiquity valued moſt. The other Writings of *Caſtelvetro* are much inferiour to his Poetics, which is nevertheleſs

(*b*) In that of the firſt Edition, at §. iii.

(*c*) At the 822 Page of the Edition of *Holland*.

[*A*] *I ſhall confine myſelf to the Proceſs he had at the Court of the Inquiſition.*] To avoid the Conſequences of it, he retired into Proteſtant Countries. He would have preſented himſelf before the Council, to have his Cauſe judged there; but the Pope ſent word to his Legate, the Cardinal of *Mantua*, that, ſince *Caſtelvetro* had been accuſed before the Inquiſition of *Rome*, he muſt come thither as an accuſed Perſon. The Pope cauſed him to be aſſured, that he would uſe him as mildly as he could; that, if he found him innocent, he would not only abſolve him, but do him good alſo; and, if he found him guilty, he would exact nothing from him but a private Recantation. The Confidence, which *Caſtelvetro* put in theſe Promiſes of the Pope, did not laſt, and was of no uſe to him. He appeared before the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, where he was three times examined (1); but, finding himſelf puzzled by the Queſtions, which were asked him, and chiefly becauſe of a certain Book of *Melanchthon*, which he had tranſlated into *Latin*, he fled; and choſe rather to expoſe himſelf to the moſt infamous Sentence that could be pronounced againſt him for Contumacy, than to deliver himſelf up to the Diſcretion of his Judges, by imploring their Clemency. He retired to *Baſil*, where he died, repenting of his Errors as an Author has ſaid (2). Cardinal *Palavicini* thinks, that, in favour of *Caſtelvetro*'s fine Writings, Credit ought to be given to That Author. ' Quamquam ' adjumentum quod ipſius ſtylus ſuppeditavit politio- ' ribus jucundioribuſque diſciplinis, obſervationum ' raritate, commentationum ſubtilitate promeretur, ' ut grati animi cauſa fides benigne habeatur authori ' narranti ipſum poſtremo reſipuiſſe (3). —— *Tho' ' the Aſſiſtance, which his Pen gave to the politer and ' more pleaſing Studies, by uncommon Obſervations, ' and ſubtle Remarks, deſerves, that, in Gratitude, ' we ſhould believe the Author, when he relates, that ' Caſtelvetro at laſt repented.*'

(1) The 11th, 14th, and 19th, of *Octob.* 1560. Palavic. Hiſt. du Concil. de Trent, Book xv, cap. x, n. 15.

(2) Taken from the *Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent, of Cardinal *Palavicini*, *ibid.*

(3) *Id. ibid.*

[*B*] *He was a Man that was fond of criticizing.*] Mr *Teiſſier* ſets down a Paſſage of *Balzac* concerning our *Caſtelvetro* (4); and I ſhall produce another. ' I am very deep in the Quarrel of *Hannibal Caro*; ' but I do not change my Paſſion, and eſteem him ' always an honeſter Man than his Adverſary, though ' perhaps his Adverſary may be a greater Doctor than ' he. I have ſeldom ſeen a Grammarian of the force ' of That *Modeneze* (5), either here, or in the Com- ' mentaries on *Ariſtotle*'s Poetry. Nevertheleſs it ' muſt be confeſſed, that he tranſgreſſes ſometimes ' by too much Subtilty, and that, in ſhort, he was ' a public Enemy, who could not endure any Body's ' Merit or Reputation.' This is what *Balzac* (6) wrote to *Chapelain* in the Year 1640. Father *Rapin* (7) ſays, that *Caſtelvetro* was naturally a moroſe Man, who, through a contradicting Humour, made it a Law to himſelf, to have always ſomething to ſay againſt *Ariſtotle*'s Text. O! what an ill Character is it, to be of a Spirit of Contradiction! It makes one tranſgreſs the moſt ſacred Bounds.

(4) Eloges, taken from *Thuanus*, Tom. I, pag. 390. *Note*, that in his ſecond Edition which appeared ſince the firſt printing of this Article, he has quoted part of the other Paſſage of *Balzac*, which is ſeen here.

(5) Caſtelvetro *was born at* Modena.

(6) The 5th Letter of the 5th Book.

(7) Preface to the Reflexions on the Art of Poetry.

[*C*] *He made uſe of violent means againſt his Cenſurers.*] Read theſe words of Mr *Chevreau*; they are in a Letter, which he wrote to Mr *de la Menardiere*. ' I have juſt made an end of reading your ' Poetry, wherein you treat *Caſtelvetro* after a ' ſtrange manner: and perhaps formerly you would ' have been the worſe for it, if what *Paſquin* re- ' proached him with in ſome place be true, *That he ' came from Words to Blows, from the Pen to the ' Sword, from Ink to Blood; and that he cauſed a ' gallant Man to be murdered, who had taken the ' Liberty to contradict him* (8).

(8) Chevreau's Miſcellanies, *pag.* 330, *Edit. of the* Hague, 1697.

[*D*] *His*

theleſs a Work, in which many Defects have been found [D]. There are ſome Treatiſes of this Author, which, being poſthumous [E], are deſtitute of the beſt Share of the Patrimony, which he would have left them, if he had publiſhed them himſelf.

[D] *His Poetics are a Work, in which many Defects have been found.*] Conſult Mr *de la Monnoye*, in the Preface to his Poetics; and if you do not find That Work, have recourſe to Mr *Teiſſier*, who has given ſome Extracts of it (9). Mr *de Scudery*, having refuted the Opinion of *Taſſo*, *That Morality is not a Poet's Object, who ought only to think of diverting others*, adds, 'That *Taſſo* was not 'alone in ſuch an unreaſonable Error: *Caſtelvetro*, 'though a great Man, carried the Extravagance 'much farther than he; and, after having ſpent half 'his Life time on *Ariſtotle*'s Poetics, and exhauſted 'all his *Latin* in that Work, has told us, that Poe-'try was only invented, *per dilettare, & per ricreare gli animi della rozza moltitudine, & del commune populo, —— To amuſe and divert the Minds of the Vulgar.* Indeed it was well worth *Ariſtotle*'s while to give himſelf the Trouble to 'preſcribe Rules for that Art, if ſuch was the end 'of it: and *Caſtelvetro* has well employed his time, 'if his Labour was only fit to divert the Mob.

De meſme l'Araignée, en filant ſon ordure,
Uſe toute ſa vie, & ne fait rien qui dure;

Her Ordure ſpinning, thus, the Spider drains
Her vital Strength, yet nothing laſting gains;

'Said one of our famous Poets. But this is not 'That Author's only Hereſy; he ſays, a few Lines 'after, that *Empedocles, Lucretius, Nicander, Heſiod, Virgil*, and divers others, whom he names, 'are not Poets, becauſe they treat of Sciences in 'their Works. He ought then to degrade *Homer* 'with the reſt, and more than the reſt, ſince there 'is ſcarce an Art or Science in all the Learning of 'Men, which is not found in the *Iliad* and *Odyſſey* '(10).' I omit the other Obſervations, which he made againſt *Caſtelvetro*'s Maxim.

(9) Teiſſier Elog. de Mr de Thou, Tom. I, pag. 392.

(10) Scudery's Preface of the *Alaric*, pag. 6, Edit. of the Hague.

[E] *There are ſome poſthumous Works of His.*] The Work intituled, *Le Rime del Petrarca ſpoſte per Lodovico Caſtelvetro*, was publiſhed by the Care of *James Caſtelvetro*, the Author's Nephew. This Nephew owns, that his Uncle had not put a finiſhing Hand to it, *avegna che non habbiano ricevuto dal loro autore quella perfettione, che, vivendo egli, & riveggendogli, haurebbe potuto loro dare.* He tells us in the Epiſtle Dedicatory, dated from *Modena* the firſt of *February* 1582, that the late *John Maria Caſtelvetro*, his Father, had publiſhed, 'Una operetta di Lodo-'vico Caſtelvetro ſuo fratello —— da lui dettata 'ne gli ultimi giorni della vita ſua, per correggere 'alcuni falli da altri commeſſi in materia di lettere, '& inſieme con eſſa una giunta fatta dallo ſteſſo ſuo 'fratello ad uno de libri della lingua di M. Pietro 'Bembo. —— *A Piece by* Lewis Caſtelvetro, *dictated in the laſt Days of his Life, to correct ſome Faults committed by others, with reſpect to Literature, and alſo an Addition of the ſaid Brother to* Peter Bembus's *Grammatical Obſervations on* Petrarch.' That Expoſition of *Petrarch* was printed at *Baſil*, in 4to, in that Year, at the Expence of *Peter Sedabuni*, Bookſeller.

CASTILE (Alphonsus X. of that Name, King of), more famous by his Application to Aſtronomy, than by his Crown, began to reign in the Year 1252. The firſt Troubles he met with proceeded from the unjuſt Fancy he took into his Head to repudiate his Wife (*a*), under pretence of Barrenneſs, and to look for another in the Court of *Denmark*. The King of *Arragon*, his Father-in-law, deſigned to oppoſe the Affront intended againſt his Daughter; but I cannot tell whether he would have ſucceeded in it; the Queen's being with Child, which was diſcovered when the Princeſs of *Denmark* arrived (*b*), was, without doubt, the true Reaſon why the Divorce did not go forward. The Queen paſſed from one Extreme to another; for ſhe had nine Children; it was more than was neceſſary for her Huſband's Happineſs and Quiet: It was for his Sins that he had ſuch a fruitful Wife (*c*). Yet he was not contented with this Fruitfulneſs, but got Children elſewhere by ſtealth. As for what concerns the Princeſs of *Denmark*, ſhe did not return into her Country: The Archbiſhop of *Seville*, the King's Brother, quitted his Band for the Love of her, and married her: but this gave her but little Satisfaction; Vexation, and Reſentment of the Injury, brought her ſoon to her end. *Alphonſus* was neither beloved by his Subjects, nor by the neighbouring Kings; yet his Reputation was very ſplendid in foreign Countries. His Knowledge, Parts, Eloquence, and Politics made a Noiſe there; which induced part of the Electors to confer (*d*) the Imperial Crown upon him [A], while the other part elected *Richard*, Earl of *Cornwall*, Brother to *Henry*, King of *England*. *Alphonſus* did not go to ſupport, by his Preſence, the Party, which had elected him; ſo that his Title of Emperor never was a real thing. They were tired with waiting for him; and, as the Suffrages could not be united in favour of his Competitor, (for he was dead) they proceeded to another Election. The Empire was given (*e*) to *Rodolphus*, Count of *Habſburg*, notwithſtanding the Oppoſitions of *Alphonſus*'s Embaſſadors. The Pope acknowledged *Rodolphus* for Emperor; and, not having been able to obtain of *Alphonſus*, who went to him at *Beaucaire* on the *Rhone*, the Renunciation of his Rights, he obtained it at laſt by the Threatnings of

(*a*) *Iolante* or *Violante*, Daughter of the King of *Arragon*.

(*b*) In 1254.

(*c*) Some of his Children were like thoſe, of whom *Ovid. Metam. lib* i, *ver.* 148, ſays, Filius ante diem patrios inquirit in annos. *The Son impatient wants the Father's Death.*

(*d*) In 1256, or, as others ſay, in 1258.

(*e*) In 1273.

[A] *Part of the Electors conferred the Imperial Crown upon him.*] They, who ſay, he refuſed it, are miſtaken. Some have added a pleaſant Remark to this Error; which is, that he was ſatisfied with the ſingle Title of Emperor of the Weſt: *Imperium Germanicum oblatum recuſavit, Occidentalis Imperatoris titulo contentus* (1). When a King refuſes a Kingdom, he does not reckon it among his Titles: and beſides, the Empire of *Germany*, and the Empire of the Weſt, are not different Dignities. The Truth is, that *Alphonſus* accepted the Empire, and really deſigned to go and take Poſſeſſion of it; but, by being unſeaſonably, what *Fabius* was when there was occaſion for it (2), he wholly ruined his Affairs. So that he was not ſatisfied with the Title; but againſt his Will he had nothing elſe. I find no kind of ground for what ſome ſay, that, after having refuſed the Empire, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, by the intereſted Arts of the Pope, to accept it. 'Oblatum ab Electoribus imperium 'modeſtè deprecatus eſt, ſapientiæ ſuæ vim eo ipſo 'teſtatus. Poſtquam vero perſuaſionibus Pontificis 'Alexandri

(1) Hofman. Lexic Univ. Vol. I, pag. 89.

(2) *Mariana* calls him pretty often *Cunctator, delayer, lingerer.*

of Excommunication, and granted him some Amends for his Loss on the Tythes of the Church [*B*]. I have said already, that this Prince was not beloved by his Subjects. He was exposed several times to the Plots of the Grandees, who knew very well how to hold Intelligence with the neighbouring Princes. At last he saw his Son *Sanches* at the Head of a powerful Faction, which grew very formidable by the Discontent the People were in on account of the Alteration of the Coin, and the unjust means he made use of to fill his Treasury. This Rebellion must have the more sensibly affected him, as it was accompanied with great Ingratitude; for he had consented (*f*), in favour of *Sanches*, to exclude the Sons of the deceased Prince *Ferdinand*, his eldest Son, from his Succession (*g*). It is true, he did it only to avoid the Troubles, which were to be feared from *Sanches*, if the Rights of *Ferdinand*'s Children were not sacrificed to him. That Sacrifice brought only some Delay to the Civil-Wars. *Sanches*, being sure of succeeding his Father, was not satisfied; he found, that *Alphonsus* lived too long: Wherefore, tired with waiting some Years, he took up Arms, and strengthened himself with the Assistance of the King of *Granada*; he assembled the States of the Kingdom at *Valladolid*; he granted the Deputies all that they desired; and, if he refused the Title of King, it was either because he was satisfied with possessing the substantial Part of the Royal Authority, or the better to excite the Peoples Affection: in a Word, Prince *Emanuel*, his Uncle, pronounced Sentence of Deposition against the King in the Assembly of the States. In the mean time, the King held another Assembly, but much less numerous, at *Toledo*, where, being too desirous to preserve a certain Medium, he had not Boldness nor Circumspection enough. The Succours, he received from the King of *Morocco*, did him but little Service. The Curse, which he solemnly pronounced against *Sanches*, raised no Scruple in the Soul of this Rebel [*C*]: This hardened Son regarded neither the Thunders of his temporal Father, nor those of his spiritual Father; for he laughed at the Pope's Excommunication [*D*]. But some Cities left him, by reason of the Interdiction, which came from *Rome*, on those, who should follow his Party. Two of his Brothers left him also. The Death of *Alphonsus* put an end to this Civil War, in the Year 1284. He ordered his Heart to be buried on Mount *Calvary*; but that Order was not performed. His Heart and his Bowels are at *Murcia*, and his Body at

(*f*) In 1276.

(*g*) Who died in the Year 1275, and by his Contract of Marriage with *Blanch.*, Daughter of St *Lewis*, his Children were to represent him if he died before his Father. *Mezerai Abr. Chronol.* ad Ann. 1269.

(3) Matthias, Theatr. Hist. pag. 964.

(4) Omnia consilio & æquanimitate moderatus, pristinos honores regios tandem recuperavit. *Id. ibid.*

(5) Lib. xiii, sub fin.

(6) Mezerai, Chron. Abridg. ad Ann. 1274.

(7) Mariana, lib. xiv. cap. v.

'Alexandri aures dedit qui sui commodi — causa 'eum instigavit ut oblatum imperii axioma à Germa- 'nis acciperet, & quem recusarat titulum usurparet 'multas — molestias — expertus est (3).

'— *He modestly declined the Empire, offered him 'by the Electors, in which very thing he gave an In- 'stance of his Wisdom. But after that, in compliance 'with the Persuasions of Pope* Alexander, *who, for 'his own Interest, pressed him to accept of the Em- 'pire offered him by the* Germans, *and take upon 'him the Title, he had refused, he experienced many 'Troubles.*' They add, that his Son deprived him of the Kingdom, and afterwards restored it to him again (4). The last of those two Facts is very false.

[*B*] *The Pope made him some amends for his Loss on the Tenths of the Church.*] The Pope permitted him to appropriate the third Part of the Tithes to himself, which were used to be employed in building and repairing sacred Places. *At that time the Kings of* Castile *began to lay hands on the Ecclesiastical Revenues.* This is what *Mariana* tells us (5). But Mr *de Mezerai* goes farther: we must hear him. He says (6); *King* Alphonsus *yielded and remitted his Right to the Pope's Disposal, on the granting him the Tithes upon the Clergy of his Kingdom, to make War against the* Moors. *Thus the Amends, whatever happens, are always laid on the People, who pay all.* For that time, the People were not charged anew; Had they not paid the Tithes without it? None but the Clergy suffered by it: Now they have good Shoulders; they need not be pitied. Perhaps Mr *de Mezerai* meant, that the Clergy never wanted Inventions to make themselves amends on the People: That is another matter.

[*C*] *The Curse, which he solemnly pronounced against* Sanches, *raised no scruple in the Soul of This Rebel.*] My Readers will not be displeased to find here the Words of *Mariana*. 'Ab Al- 'phonso Rege Hispali in publico conventu San- 'ctius furiali carmine devotus, & jure paterno 'diris execrationibus caput revinctus, regnique suc- 'cessione spoliatus est, octavo mensis Novembris 'die (7). - - - - - Sanches *was solemnly cursed, 'with dreadful Imprecations, by his Father, in a 'public Assembly, and declared disinherited, on the 'eighth of* November.' *Alphonsus* gained nothing by it; his Son felt no Remorse for it (8), and had also the Fortune to reign like a good Prince: so that he gave *Salust*'s Maxim the Lye; 'Imperium facile 'iis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est (9). '*Power is easily kept by the same Arts, by which 'it is at first gained*;' he exercised well an Authority, which he had criminally obtained. 'Spo- 'liati ejectique patris nota ad posteritatem infamis: 'alioqui in bonorum Principum numero; imperium 'enim flagitio partum bonis artibus exercuit (10). '— *Branded with Infamy to Posterity for de- 'priving and banishing his Father: in other Respects 'to be reckoned among the good Princes; for he ex- 'ercised that Authority well, which he had wickedly 'obtained.*' This is something: it is even very much.

(8) Sanctius neque ea rei gloria tactus. *Id.*

(9) Sallust. in Præf. belli Catilin.

(10) Mariana, lib. xiv, cap. viii.

[*D*] *His Son laughed at the Pope's Excommunication.*] Let us see *Mariana*'s Expressions again. 'Novum, *says he* (11), ex Italia *(subsidium petitum)* religionis objecta specie. Sanctius apud 'Martinum Pontificem Maximum per oratorem de 'impietate atque ingrati animi noxa postulatur, 'superstite patre in omnia regni jura invasisse, ne- 'que præ ambitione regnandi senis obitum ex- 'pectare. Ergo in imperiorum loco haberi manda- 'tum est quicumque relicto Alfonso filii partes se- 'querentur: dati etiam judices à Pontifice in causa: 'urbes & oppida Sanctio addicta ex ritu Christiano 'sacrificiis interdixerunt. Itaque eodem tempore 'non eadem de causa in Aragonia & Castella sa- 'crorum veluti justitium fuit, mœsta provincia, 'Sanctioque judicibus, si eos nancisceretur, extre- 'ma quævis comminanti. — *A new Subsidy was 'demanded from* Italy, *on Pretence of Religion.* 'Sanches *was accused to Pope* Martin *of Impiety 'and Ingratitude, in seizing the Royal Authority 'during the Life of his Father, and, through an 'Ambition of reigning, not waiting the Death of 'the old King. It was decreed therefore, that 'whoever, deserting* Alphonsus, *should follow 'the Party of his Son, should be deemed impious. 'The Pope likewise appointed Judges in the Cause: 'The Cities and Towns, which submitted to* Sanches, *'were forbidden the use of Sacrifices after the Chri- 'stian Manner. At the same time therefore, tho' 'not upon the same Account, there was, as it were, 'a Vacation, or Intermission of the Performance of 'Religious*

(11) Ibid. cap. viii.

at *Seville*. He is the firſt King of *Caſtile*, who permitted all the public Acts to be drawn up in the vulgar Tongue [*E*]. He cauſed the Bible to be tranſlated into the ſame Language (*b*). He was neither happy in his Wife [*F*], his Children, or his Subjects. No one is ignorant of the great Expences he made in Aſtronomical Obſervations [*G*], and the Cenſure he is ſaid to have paſſed on the Works of God [*H*]. It

(*b*) Ex Mariana Hiſtoria.

' *Religious Rites, both in* Arragon, *and* Caſtile; *the* ' *Province being in Affliction, and* Sanches *threat-* ' *ning the Judges with the utmoſt Extremities, if* ' *they fell into his Hands.*' This is the Account he made of the Thunders of the Vatican; he threatned the Pope's Sub-delegates with the moſt rigorous Puniſhments, if they fell into his Hands.

[*E*] *He was the firſt King of* Caſtile, *who permitted the public Acts to be drawn up in the vulgar Tongue.*] I cannot tell why *Mariana* attributes to that Regulation the Ignorance and Barbarity, which ſpread over *Spain*; for they were no leſs in *France*, tho' ſuch a Regulation was not ſettled there till the Reign of *Francis* I. And it is as true, that the Study of fine *Latin* was never more in faſhion in That Kingdom, than ſince it was ordered, that all the public Acts ſhould be written in *French*. Let us hear *Mariana*: ' Primus Hiſpaniæ regum ven- ' dendi atque paciſcendi vulgari Hiſpanorum lingua ' poteſtatem conceſſit; eam linguam nimirum quæ ' rudior erat excolere locupletareque eo decreto ' cupiebat; ſacros Bibliorum libros in maternam ' linguam vertendos etiam curavit. Ex eo tempore ' in regiis diplomatibus ac publicis tabulis Latina ' lingua cujus antea uſus erat deſiit uſurpari, unde ' pudenda literarum ignoratio in noſtram gentem ' atque utrumque ordinem invaſit (12). —— *He* ' *was the firſt of the Kings of* Spain, *who granted* ' *leave to ſell and bargain in the vulgar* Spaniſh ' *Tongue; he deſired, no doubt, by this Decree to* ' *cultivate and enrich That Language, which was* ' *the more barbarous; he took care likewiſe to get* ' *the Scriptures tranſlated into the vulgar Tongue:* ' *From that time, the* Latin *Tongue, which was* ' *before in uſe, ceaſed to be employed in the Royal* ' *Mandates and Public Acts; from whence a ſhame-* ' *ful Ignorance of Learning enſued, and invaded* ' *both Clergy and Laity.*'

(12) Id. ibid. *See here what he ſays, lib.* xiii, *cap.* xii. Primus Hiſpaniæ regum Latinæ linguæ uſu in publicis tabulis antiquato, Hiſpanicam linguam ſubſtituit.

[*F*] *He was unhappy in his Wife.*] I find in a Chronicle of *Arragon*, inſerted in the third Volume of the *Hiſpania Illuſtrata* (13), that *Iolante*, the Wife of *Alphonſus*, did unwillingly return to her Husband, after ſhe had fled into *Arragon* with her two Grandſons. This is not the chief Point: The Chronicler adds, that ſhe paſſed for an unchaſte Woman. ' Iolans ad virum ingratis decedit: quæ ' magnorum regum filia, uxor, & parens, ſummo ' dedecore impudicitiæ famam effugere non potuit.'

(13) Pag. 113.

[*G*] *Every one knows the great Expences he made in Aſtronomical Obſervations.*] He chiefly made uſe of the Labour of ſome learned Jews, whom he ſent for to *Toledo*. Rabbi *Iſaac Hazan* (14) contributed moſt to the drawing up the Aſtronomical Tables, which are called *Alfonſines*, and which appeared in the Year 1270. The Jews of *Seville* maintain, that That Rabbi is the Author of them (15). *Voſſius* ſays, that *Alphonſus* ſpent Forty thouſand Ducats on that Work; *quadraginta ducatorum millia:* but it is likely, that he meant *quadringenta*, or elſe he made uſe of a Book, wherein the Printers had put *quadraginta* inſtead of *quadringenta*: for, if *Alphonſus* ſpent but Forty thouſand Ducats on that Work, it would not be worth mentioning; and we find, in other Authors, the Sum of Four hundred thouſand Ducats (16). But thoſe Aſtronomical Tables did not coſt the King of *Caſtile* moſt upon that Account; their Dearneſs conſiſts chiefly in their being the Cauſe that he loſt the Empire of *Germany*: to which doubtleſs *Mariana* alluded when he ſaid, that *Alphonſus* loſt the Earth by contemplating Heaven too much. ' Erat Alfonſo ſub- ' lime ingenium, ſed incautum, ſuperbæ aures, lin- ' gua petulans, literis potius quam civilibus actibus ' inſtructus, dumque cœlum conſiderat obſervatque ' aſtra, terram amiſit (17). —— Alphonſus *had a* ' *ſublime Genius, but incautious, proud Ears, and* ' *a petulant Tongue, and was more converſant in* ' *Books, than in Acts of Government. This Prince,* ' *while he was contemplating the Heavens, and ob-* ' *ſerving the Stars, loſt the Earth.* He fixed the Epoch of Thoſe Tables to the firſt Day of *June* 1252, which was That of his Acceſſion to the Crown; and he regulated the Concurrence of that firſt of *June* in ſuch a manner to other Epochas, that he made it fall on the Two hundred and thirtieth Day of the Year 2000 of the Æra of *Nabonaſſar*, and ſo of the reſt, as may be ſeen in *Moreri*.

(14) That is to ſay, *Chanter*. He had that Name becauſe he was a Singing man in the Synagogue of *Toledo*. *Voſſius de Scient. Mathem. pag.* 180.

(15) Auguſt. Ricius, in libro de motu octavæ Sphæræ, apud Voſſium, *ibid.*

(16) Expendit in hanc rem ad quater centena millia aureorum. *Sethus Calviſius, ad Ann.* 1252. *Matthias Theatr. Hiſtor. pag.* 964. *Moreri* ſays four hundred thouſand Crowns.

(17) Mariana, lib. xiii, c. xx.

[*H*] ----- *the Cenſure, which he is ſaid to have paſſed on the Works of* GOD.] *Mariana* ſays in general, that *Alphonſus* was ſo bold as to blame the Works of Providence, and the Conſtruction of our Bodies (18). For the Proof of this Fact, he alledges but a vulgar Tradition, which had been preſerved from hand to hand. It is a ſign, that the cotemporary Hiſtory did not mention, and had not warranted, thoſe Libertine Diſcourſes of the King of *Caſtile*, to prevent doubting of it in future Ages. That Hiſtorian adds, that GOD moſt juſtly puniſhed *Alphonſus*'s raſh Tongue by *Sanchez*'s Rebellion. ' Ema- ' nuel ſanè patruus *(Sanctii)* ſuo & aliorum pro- ' cerum nomine Alfonſum publica ſententia in con- ' ventu pronunciata regno privavit, ea calamitate ' dignum quod divinæ providentiæ opera, & hu- ' mani coporis fabricam, inſigni linguæ procacitate ' ingenitique confidentia accuſare auſus fuerit, uti ' vulgo hominum opinio eſt, ab antiquo ducta per ' manus. Vocis ſtoliditatem numen juſtiſſimæ vin- ' dicavit. —— Emanuel, *the Uncle of* Sanches, *in* ' *his own Name, and in the Name of other Nobles,* ' *deprived* Alphonſus *of his Kingdom by a public* ' *Sentence; which That Prince merited for daring* ' *ſeverely and boldly to cenſure the Works of divine* ' *Providence, and the Conſtruction of the human Body,* ' *according to the common Opinion, founded on Tra-* ' *dition. Heaven moſt juſtly puniſhed the Folly of* ' *his Tongue.*' Although the Silence of ſo wiſe an Hiſtorian, as to the Syſtem of *Ptolemy*, ought to be of ſome weight, yet I believe, that, if *Alphonſus* exerciſed his audacious Cenſure on any part of the Univerſe, it was on the celeſtial Sphere. For, beſides that he ſtudied nothing more, it is certain, that, at that time, Aſtronomers explained the Motion of the Heavens by ſuch intricate and confuſed Hypotheſes, that they did no Honour to GOD, nor anſwered in any wiſe the Idea of an able Workman. So that it is likely it was from conſidering that Multitude of Spheres, of which *Ptolemy*'s Syſtem is compoſed, ſo many eccentric Circles, ſo many Epicycles, ſo many Librations, ſo many Vehicles, that he happened to ſay, *That if* GOD *had asked his Advice, when he made the World, he would have given him good Counſel* (19). Before we proceed any farther, let us put a Salvo here, which a modern Author ſuggeſts to us (20). If the King of *Caſtile* had ſaid conditionally, what they will have him to have ſaid abſolutely, he would have been very excuſable: inſtead of the Words abovementioned, make uſe of theſe: *That if* GOD *had made the World ſuch, as is ſuppoſed in the Syſtem of* Ptolemy, *he might have good Advice given him for another time*; and you will diminiſh the ſcandalous Boldneſs of *Alphonſus* very much. *Lipſius* does not report the thing, as if it concerned the Diſpoſition of the Heavens in particular, but keeps to general Terms: ' Mitior, *ſays he* (21), Alphonſi X. Hiſpa- ' niæ regis, ſed non melior vox aut ſenſus, qui ' ſolitus providentiam itidem culpare & dicere; *ſi* ' *principio mundi ipſe Deo adfuiſſet, multa melius* ' *ordinatiuſque condenda fuiſſe.* —— *The Words and* ' *Meaning of* Alphonſus X. *King of* Spain, *were* ' *not a whit better, though leſs outrageous: This* ' *Prince uſed to blame Providence, and ſay, that, If* ' *He had been of* GOD's *Counſel at the Creation,* ' *many Things would have been contrived and or-* ' *dered better.*' *Lipſius* quotes no body; but *Theophilus Raynaud* (22), in relating this ſame Impertinence, alledges *Mariana*, *Rodericus Sanctius* (23), and *Alphonſus Spina* (24). A modern Compiler adds, ' That the King had no ſooner ſpoken this Blaſ- ' phemy, but the Thunder fell into the Bed where ' he

(18) Ibid. lib. xiv, cap. v.

(19) I uſe the Terms of the Author of the Plurality of Worlds. He ſays, pag. 15, of the Edition of *Holland*, *The Confuſion of all theſe Circles was ſo great, that, at a time wherein nothing better was yet known, a King* of Arragon (a Fault of Impreſſion, I believe, for King of *Caſtile*) *a great Mathematician, but probably very little devout, ſaid, that if God, &c.*

(20) News from the Republic of Letters, *May* 1686, p. 488.

(21) Monit. & Exempl. Polit. cap. iv.

(22) Th. Raynaud. Tract. de Eunuchis, Præf. & pag. 81.

(23) Part IV, Hiſt. cap. v.

(24) In Fortalitio Fidei, lib. iv, Conſ. 9. Bello 138.

It is said that Astrological Predictions were the Cause of the Misfortune which crushed him [*I*]. It were to be wished, for the Honour of Learning, that a Prince, who was so adorned with it [*K*], had governed his People more fortunately, and more wisely. They had begun to form a Code, or Body of Laws, in his Father's Reign.

' he lay, which struck his Wife, and two of his ' Children; that he fled through the Chambers of ' his Palace, followed by the Thunder, which ' burnt his Shirt, and would probably have done ' the same to his Person, if he had not prostrated ' himself on the Ground, to ask GOD pardon for ' his Crime (25).' Our Compiler refers us to *Rodericus Sanctius*, *Mariana*, and *Bzovius*: but I am very sure, that *Mariana* does not speak of it, and that he would have mentioned it, if any certain Tradition of such a wonderful Accident had been in *Spain*. Doubtless he knew what another Historian relates of it: Since then he has adopted nothing of it, we must believe, that he had great reason to look upon it as a Forgery. However it be, here are the Particulars of *Rodericus Sanctius*'s Relation (26). The King repeated his Blasphemy often, *That, if he had been of GOD's Counsel at the Creation of Man, certain things would be in better order than they are.* ' Si à principio creationis humanæ Dei altissimi consilio interfuisset, nonnulla melius, ordinatiusque condita fuisse.' The Governor of the Infant *Emanuel* saw an Angel in his Dream, who informed him, that it was resolved in the celestial Council, that *Alphonsus* should die dethroned, and even die a cruel Death, if he did not do Penance. That Governor asked the Reason of it: he was answered, that it was because *Alphonsus* had been so rash as to censure the Works of GOD: *Blasphemiam Alfonsi vanamque temeritatem divina opera corrigere molientis id meruisse:* and he was commanded to exhort That Prince to repent. The Governor obeyed; but *Alphonsus* laughed at him, and repeated his Blasphemy. He was then at *Burgos*. Some Days after, as he was at *Segovia*, an Hermit had a like Vision, and went and gave him an Account of it, and exhorted him to retract: the King was angry, and called him Fool, and continued in his Sin. The Night following there were such horrible Storms, accompanied with Thunder and Lightning, as if Heaven was falling. The Fire from Heaven burned, in *Alphonsus*'s Chamber, the King and Queen's Cloaths; then the Prince in Distress sent for the Hermit, confessed his Sins to him, cried, humbled himself, and retracted his Blasphemy: The more he wept, the more the Storm diminished, and at last quite ceased. *Rodericus Sanctius*, in the beginning of this Relation, alledges the Annals of *Spain* (27), and in this at least it is not to be questioned but that he is mistaken; for, if the Annals had mentioned it, *Mariana*, who wrote after him, and who was infinitely more ingenious and judicious than he, would not have alledged only the popular Tradition, nor suppressed the Dreams, the Storms, and the Repentance. However, the *French* Compiler relates this Prodigy unfaithfully. A Lutheran Minister applies *Alphonsus*'s Blasphemy to the System of the Heavens; and adds, that the Punishment of This King was, to die an Exile in a foreign Country (28). This is false; for he died at *Seville* (29), one of the Cities, which continued loyal to him.

(25) *Father L'Enfant, Month of March*, pag. 143.

(26) Hist. Hispan. Part IV, cap. v.

(27) Ut tradunt Hispanorum Annalia.

(28) Spizelius in Fœnice Literato, pag. 218, 219.

(29) Mariana, lib. xv, cap. vii.

[*I*] *It is pretended, that Astrological Predictions were the Cause of the Misfortunes which crushed him.*] It is said, that, knowing by Astrology, that he should be dispossessed of his Kingdom, he became so suspicious, so mistrustful, so cruel, that he raised an innumerable number of Enemies, which ruined his Affairs. It is very possible, that a Prediction, which is in itself only a Chimera, may become a most real Evil by the Course it makes one take. The Examples, which are alledged of Predictions that have been accomplished, are almost all built on this Foundation. But let us hear *Mariana*. ' Id fore astra memorant portendisse ejus artis non ' ignaro, si ars est & non potius inane mortalium ' ludibrium, quod à prudentibus semper accusabitur, & semper tamen patronos habebit. Ex eo ' ferunt suspicacem esse redditum, atque ex metu ' suscepta crudelitate magnam ejus odii partem con- ' citasse quæ illi calamitati fuit (30). - - - - - *They relate, that, through his Knowledge in Astrology, he discovered by the Stars that it would be so; if That really be a Science, and not rather a vain Delusion, which prudent Men will always decry, and which yet will never fail of Patrons. Hence, they say, he grew suspicious, and, becoming cruel thro' Fear, raised great Part of That Odium against him, which was his Ruin.*'

(30) Id. lib. xiv, cap. v.

[*K*] *The Sciences - - - with which he was adorned.*] He understood Astronomy, Philosophy, and History, as if he had been only a Man of Letters, and composed Books on the Motions of the Heavens, and on the History of *Spain*, which are very fine. ' Quid admirabilius quam in cæstris ' educato armaque à prima ætate tractanti tantam ' fuisse astrorum, philosophiæ, rerumque gestarum ' cognitionem, quantam vix otiosi homines in umbra assequuntur? Exstant de astrorum conversionibus, de Hispanica Historia ab Alfonso edita volumina magno ingenio, incredibili studio (31). ' —— *What can be more surprising, than that a Prince, educated in a Camp, and handling Arms from his Childhood, should have such a Knowledge of the Stars, of Philosophy, and the Transactions of Men, as Men of Leisure can scarce acquire in their Retirements? There are extant some Books of* Alphonsus *on the Motions of the Stars, and the History of* Spain, *written with great Skill, and incredible Care.*' *Rodericus Sanctius* gives us to understand that *Alphonsus* had only ordered some learned Persons to write those Books. ' Idem ' Alfonsus rerum in orbe gestarum librum accommodatissimum per sapientes scribi fecit, quem ' generalem Historiam Hispani appellant (32). - - - - ' Astrologus appellatus est. Cujus nomine, nescio ' an sapientia, tabulæ Alfonsinæ & aliæ Astrologicæ ' confiderationes compilatæ sunt, & sub ejus regio ' nomine lustrantur (33). —— Alphonsus *caused a most useful Piece of what passed in the World to be written by some learned Men, which the* Spaniards *call a General History.* —— *He is called an Astrologer; under whose Royal Name the* Alphonsine *Tables, and other Astrological Considerations, were compiled and published.*' Those who can consult *Nicolas Antonio* (34) may doubtless satisfy their Curiosity on this Point. I cannot tell where a Minister of *Rotterdam* (35) has read what he says concerning *Alphonsus*'s Knowledge of Law. ' Legibus fuit deditissimus, omnium ferè populorum & gentium de legibus volumina evolvit, ac ' septem libros pro æquitatis moderatione collegit, ' ut & hominibus & divino cultui necessaria singulis innotescerent. — *He applied himself very much to the Study of the Laws; he turned over the Books of the Laws of almost every People and Nation, and collected seven Books, for the Regulation of Justice, that every one might know their Duty both in Temporal and Spiritual Things.*' Without doubt this has no other Foundation, than what has been said above (36), concerning the Compilation of the Law-book, or Code, of *Castile*, made in the Reign of *Alphonsus*; which is not a Proof, that That Prince understood the Civil-Law, unless we will maintain, that *Justinian* was the most learned Civilian of his Age. Consider well what I quote out of *Rodericus Sanctius*, and you will not question, but that the Minister of *Rotterdam*'s Words come from thence: it is perhaps from the thirtieth Hand: ' Alfonsus ' legibus condendis deditissimus fuit - - - - - leges ' enim Romanas in regnis suis legi fecit licet minime ' eis subjiceretur. Demum ex omnibus summa ' moderatione & ratione ac æquitatis vibramine ' septem libros quos partitas vocant instituit & salubriter compilavit, in quibus sacratissimæ leges ' non solum ad causas hominum decidendas, sed ' ad divinum cultum dirigendum augendumque continentur. - - - - Alphonsus *devoted himself much to the framing of Laws - - - - - - he caused the* Roman *Laws to be read in his Kingdoms, though they were not obligatory on his Subjects. At length he collected out of them all, with the greatest Moderation, and regard to Equity, seven Books, containing, not only the Laws relating to human*

(31) Id. lib. xiii, cap. ix.

(32) Rodericus Sanctius Hist. Hispan. Part IV, cap. i.

(33) Id. ibid.

(34) *In his* Bibliotheca Hispana vetus. *See the* Journal des Sçavans, 1697, pag. 462, *Edit.* Holl.

(35) Ridderus, de Erudit. cap. iii, pag. 147. apud Saldenum, de libris, pag. 318.

(36) Towards the end of the Text.

Reign. That great Work was finiſhed by his Care. No regard was paid to his Will, by which he had left his Kingdom to his Grandſon *Alphonſus* [*L*], by Entail to *Ferdinand*, the Brother of *Alphonſus*, and afterwards to *Philip*, King of *France* (*i*). *Sanches* maintained himſelf on the Throne, while his Nephews could ſcarce enjoy their Liberty. *Iolante*, their Grandmother, was fled with them in time to the Court of the King of *Arragon*, to avoid the Attempt, which their Uncle might probably form againſt their Life, even whilſt *Alphonſus* was yet living, if he had them in his Power. So true it is, that the deſire of reigning ſtifles all Sentiments of Humanity, and perverts all Juſtice! This Reflexion is made by *Mariana* [*M*].

(*i*) Mariana, lib. xiv, cap. vii.

'*human Judicature, but thoſe likewiſe, which concerned the Direction and Promotion of Divine Worſhip.*' It would be to deceive one's ſelf moſt groſly, to pretend, that *Alphonſus* himſelf was the Compiler of thoſe Laws. He performed, in this, the Part, which *Theodoſius*, *Juſtinian*, *Lewis* XIV, have acted in the Compilation of the Codes, which bear their Name. *Mariana* does not permit us to queſtion it. They who ſay, that *Alphonſus* had read the Bible fourteen times (37), aſcribe to him what belongs to another *Alphonſus*, King of *Arragon* and *Naples*, who lived in the XVth Century. I ſpeak of it in his Article (38).' It is not the only thing, which is taken from the latter, and aſcribed to the former: Mr *Hoſman* has attributed to the King of *Caſtile*, beſides the fourteen times reading of the Old and New Teſtament, what *Antony Panormitanus* reports concerning the King of *Naples*'s Inclination to Learning, and concerning the Cure of a Fit of Sickneſs by the reading of *Quintus Curtius*. To make amends, Mr *Lloyd* transfers the King of *Caſtile*'s Labour, and the Expences of the Aſtronomical Tables, to the King of *Arragon*.

(37) *Moreri* ſays it, and *Matthias* alſo, *Theatr. Hiſt. pag.* 694. where, for that reaſon, he calls him *regem pium & religioſiſſimum.*

(38) NAPLES (ALPHONSUS I. King of), Rem. [C], towards the end.

[*L*] *He had left his Kingdom to his Grandſon* Alphonſus.] Conclude from hence, that the Monk *Don Peter de St Romuald* has drawn from very muddy Springs what he wrote, 'that *Alphonſus* 'declared the youngeſt of his Children his Succeſſor to the Crown, preferring him before his 'eldeſt Son *Sanches*, having found by the Rules 'of Aſtrology, that he would be moſt favoured 'by the Stars; which was the Cauſe of their mutual Hatred, and at laſt of the Death of that 'youngeſt Son, and of himſelf: for the Elder, not 'being able to bear his being diſinherited, rebelled againſt him, made him die in Priſon, and killed his Brother, and then ſeized the Crown (39).' It is impoſſible to accumulate more Falſities than are here; and yet this Paſſage has (40), and will, ſerve many other Compilers for an Original.

(39) Abridg of the *Theſaurus Chron. Tom.* III, *ad Ann.* 1282.

[*M*] *This Reflexion is made by* Mariana.] Let us ſet down his Words. 'Violantes Caſtellæ regina nepotum ætatem in quos potiſſimum erat 'propenſa ludibrio eſſe dolens Sanctio prælato, neque ſatis ab ejus injuria tutam, uſque adeo omnia jura pervertit exitiabilis imperandi cupido, 'fugam meditata —— cum illis in Aragoniam abiit, Alfonſo nequicquam cum res eſſet indigna 'prohibere conato dolenteque, adeo ut nulla ſui 'propria regnique clade moveri magis potuiſſet (41). —— Gallo regi curæ erat ne in patrui poteſtatem redacti ſalutis, libertatis certe periculum adirent, non ignaro naturam mortalium ambitioſam & imperii cupiditate in crudelitatem pronam eſſe (42). ----- Violante, *Queen of* Caſtile, *being grieved, that the Age of her Grand-children, whom ſhe was particularly fond of, was had in contempt, and* Sanches *preferred to them, and thinking that they were not ſafe from his Attempts (ſo far does the deſtructive Thirſt of Power pervert all Juſtice!) fled with them into* Arragon; Alphonſus, *upon the News, endeavouring in vain to prevent it, and grieving more than for his own and his Kingdom's Misfortunes. ----- The* French *King, who knew that humane Nature was ambitious, and prone, through Luſt of Power, to Cruelty, took care they ſhould not fall again into the Hands of their Uncle, and riſk at leaſt their Liberty, if not their Lives.*' This Picture is very good.

(40) Father *L'Enfant* inſerted it in his Month of *March*, *pag.* 143.

(41) Mariana, lib. xiv, cap. iii.

(42) Id. ibid. cap. iv.

CASTILE (BLANCHE of), Queen of *France*, Mother of St *Lewis*, had very great Qualities. She was Daughter of *Alphonſus*, the ninth King of *Caſtile*, and was married to *Lewis* of *France*, the eldeſt Son of *Philip Auguſtus* (*a*), the Twenty third of *May*, 1200. She was crowned, with her Huſband *Lewis* VIII, the ſixth of *Auguſt*, 1223, and declared Regent by That Prince's Laſt Will, in the Month of *November*, 1226. Their eldeſt Son, *Lewis* IX, began then his twelfth Year, and at that Time the Kings of *France* were not of Age 'till Twenty one Years compleat. So that the Regency of this Lady was of Continuance long enough to give her an Opportunity of ſhewing her Ability and Courage. She ſtood in need of both theſe Talents; for the young King was ſcarce crowned, the firſt of *December*, 1226, but there aroſe a terrible Civil-War. The Princes and Grandees of the Kingdom confederated together, and laid for the Foundation of their Confederacy, That the Regency of the Kingdom was given to a foreign Woman (*b*). *Blanche* was not diſturbed in ſuch a nice and dangerous Conjuncture, and, making uſe of all the means, that her Prudence could ſuggeſt to her, ſhe baffled That formidable Party, as often as they renewed their Plots. It is ſaid, that her Beauty was not uſeleſs to her [*A*] on theſe Occaſions, and that it did her very good Services, without injuring her Honour. Every one is not agreed as to this laſt Point, and but few Queens have more experienced the Malignity of Slander. She was

(*a*) At Pontoiſe, in Normandy.

(*b*) Joinville Chronique du Roy Sainct Loys cap. xiv.

[*A*] *Her Beauty was not uſeleſs to her.*] A Modern Hiſtorian (1) ſpeaks of that Beauty, as one would do in *Clelia*, or in ſome other Romance; he ſays; No Lady 'durſt conteſt for Beauty with '*Blanche*, and all of them confeſſed freely, That 'ſhe infinitely out-did them in a good Mien. —— Neither Seaſons, nor Years, had altered her Beauty, and the Ten Children that ſhe brought into 'the World neither diminiſhed the Freſhneſs nor 'the Delicacy of it. *But let us come to the Matter in hand.* Her Chaſtity, *continues he*, was impenetrable; yet That Virtue was moſt doubted of during her Life, and after her Death. There are yet ſome Satires, which attack her in ſo nice a 'Part; and the worſt was, That ſhe gave Pretence 'to Calumny. She was perſuaded of one of the 'moſt dangerous Principles, wherewith Ladies can 'be prepoſſeſſed, That there are Conjunctures, rare 'indeed, yet poſſible, which permit them to neg'lect the out-ſide of their Honour, provided they 'preſerve the Solidity of it inviolably: that is to 'ſay, That Queen *Blanche* laid down for a Foun'dation of her Politics, that ſhe might in Con'ſcience endeavour to make ſuch great Perſons in 'love with her, as ſhe deſpaired to engage in her 'Intereſts by any other way, when it concerned her to

(1) Varillas's Minority of St *Lewis*, *pag.* 8, 9. It is but a Fragment, printed at the *Hague*, in the Year 1685.

was not only accuſed of Love Intrigues (*c*), but alſo of lending a Hand to thoſe of the King her Son [*B*], to make him neglect the Government of the State, and to preſerve a more abſolute Authority. The particular Care ſhe had taken in educating him [*C*], and the good Fortune wherewith ſhe diſſipated all the Storms, which were formed during his Minority, inſpired this young Prince with much Reſpect and Affection for her. It may be affirmed, that he ſuffered her to aſſume too much Authority over him: Hiſtory has preſerved ſome Particulars of it [*D*], which perſuade us, that this Queen had brought too haughty an Humour with her from her Country. It was not the way to correct it, to fall out, as ſhe did, with the Queen her Daughter-in-law: On the contrary, That Rivalſhip in Authority could only render her Paſſions more imperious. It is eaſy to imagine, that St *Lewis* was not very quiet among all thoſe Diſputes between his Mother and his Wife; for, fearing to diſguſt the former, he durſt not ſo much as careſs the latter (*d*). He took his Wife with him into the Holy Land (*e*), when he engaged in the Cruſade, and left the other as Regent in his Kingdom. It muſt be confeſſed, to the Glory of the Queen-Mother, That, though ſhe expected, without doubt, to reign in the Abſence of her Son, yet ſhe endeavoured to diſſuade him from that unfortunate Expedition (*f*). She did not live 'till the Return of St *Lewis*; for ſhe died in the Year 1252 (*g*), having ſignalized herſelf in that ſecond Regency by many prudent Actions, in divers nice Conjunctures. The Kingdom ſuffered much at that Time, by

(*c*) See the Article THIBAUT, Earl of *Champagne*.

(*d*) See the Remarks [*D*], and [*G*].

(*e*) In the Year 1248.

(*f*) Hiſtory of St *Lewis*, lib. vi, n. 15, pag. 321.

(*g*) St *Lewis* did not return to *France* till the Year 1254.

'to avoid or to end a Civil War. There will be 'but too many Proofs of it in the Sequel of this 'Hiſtory.' See the Article of THIBAUT, Earl of *Champagne*.

[*B*] *She was accuſed — of lending a hand to the Gallantries of the King her Son.*] St *Lewis* ſhewed himſelf, all his Life-time, to be much addicted to Virtue: but it was almoſt impoſſible, that he ſhould preſerve the Appearance of Chaſtity before he was married. Private Perſons ſtumble much more in that regard, than in all the other Duties of Chriſtianity, either becauſe their Conſtitution drives them with more force towards Impurity, than towards other Vices; or, becauſe the Point of human Honour is incomparably more favourable to young Men, who ſin againſt Chaſtity, than to thoſe, who commit other Crimes. If this be true as to private Perſons, much more will it be ſo with reſpect to a young Prince. Nevertheleſs it is pretended, that he, of whom we ſpeak, did not ſtumble in ſo ſlippery a way. 'It is true, it did not pleaſe GOD, he 'ſhould eſcape the Strokes of Calumny. It could 'not be imagined, that, being yet but Nineteen 'Years of Age, he could live without Blemiſh in 'the midſt of the Dangers of a Court, and in a 'Place, where every thing prevents one's Deſires. 'And beſides, the corrupt Courtiers, pleaſed with 'authorizing their Diſorders by the Example of 'their Prince, ſupported, (if they did not form 'them) ſome Reports, which ran, and which were 'accompanied with probability enough to alarm 'thoſe, who intereſted themſelves in his Virtue. A 'good Monk, among others, thought himſelf obliged to give the Queen notice of it, and told it her 'in ſuch a manner, as to perſuade her, that he queſtioned it leſs than he deſired. Nay, he made her 'ſenſible, that ſhe was ſuſpected of knowing it as 'well as any Body, and that ſhe troubled herſelf 'but little with what her Son did, provided ſhe governed. She could hardly receive a more ſenſible 'Blow. But, conſidering the Zeal of That Fryer, 'more than the manner wherewith he ſpoke, ſhe 'juſtified the King, and herſelf, with ſo much Modeſty, that it was not poſſible to doubt, but that 'ſhe thought herſelf aſſured of her Son's Chaſtity, 'and that, on her Part, ſhe was not capable of having any Hand in the Faults he might commit. 'He was himſelf ſo far from it, and all his Actions 'ſhewed it ſo plainly, that thoſe vain Reports vaniſhed immediately, and for ever (2).'

(2) Hiſtory of St *Lewis*, *Book III, ad Ann.* 1233, *pag.* 134, *Edit.* of Bruſſels, 1688. *The Author cites the fifth Volume of* The Hiſtorians of *France*, *publiſhed by* du Chene, *pag.* 446.

[*C*] *The particular Care ſhe had taken in educating him.*] She ſuckled him herſelf, nor would ſuffer him to take any other Milk. A Circumſtance is related about this, which is not only extremely ſingular, but alſo very proper to ſhew us how ſtrongly ſhe was poſſeſſed with this Reſolution. 'One Day, 'when the Queen was in a violent Fit of a Fever, 'which laſted extraordinarily, a Lady of Quality, 'who, to pleaſe her Majeſty, or to imitate her, 'ſuckled her own Child alſo, ſeeing little *Lewis* 'cry for Thirſt, took upon her to give him the 'Breaſt. The Queen, coming out of her Fit, asked 'for her Son, and gave him her Breaſt; but little '*Lewis* would not take it, either becauſe he was 'ſatisfied, or becauſe he did not like hot Milk, 'after having taken as much of the cool as he wanted. It was not difficult to gueſs at the Cauſe, 'and the Queen ſuſpected it preſently. She pretended to be in pain to thank the Perſon, to 'whom ſhe was ſo much indebted for the good 'Office ſhe had done to her Son in her Illneſs; and 'the Lady, thinking to make her Court, confeſſed, 'that the Tears of little *Lewis* had ſo ſenſibly moved 'her, that ſhe could not forbear aſſiſting him. But 'the Queen, inſtead of anſwering, gave her a ſcornful Look, and, putting her Finger in her Son's 'Mouth, compelled him, in that manner, to bring 'up all that he had taken. This Violence made 'all thoſe wonder, who ſaw it; and the Queen, to 'make their Aſtoniſhment ceaſe, ſaid, That ſhe 'could not endure, that another Woman ſhould 'have a Right to diſpute the Quality of Mother 'with her. So much they were then perſuaded, 'that the ſuckling of Children made Part of their 'Education (3).'

(3) Varillas's Minority of St *Lewis*, pag. 10.

[*D*] *Her Son ſuffered her to aſſume too much Authority over him. Hiſtory has preſerved ſome particulars of it.*] This imperious Woman, having conceived ſome Hatred towards her Daughter-in-law, hindered her, as much as ſhe could, from lying with the King her Husband; and That Prince ſubmitted, againſt his Will, to this new kind of Servitude. For, when he durſt venture to go to his Wife's Bed, he took care not to be ſurprized there. Can you ſee a greater Tyranny, than That, which a Husband and a Wife ſuffer, who have not the liberty of performing the Conjugal Duty at their Pleaſure? Queen *Blanche* would not ſo much as ſuffer her Son to viſit his Wife, when dangerouſly ill. Let us prove all this by a cotemporary Author. 'The Reaſon, why the Queen did not love the 'King's Mother, was the ſevere Uſage ſhe received 'from her; for ſhe would not ſuffer the King to 'viſit, or be in Company with, the Queen his Wife, 'but forbad him as much as ſhe could. And when 'the King went his Progreſs ſometimes in his 'Kingdom, and had his Mother Queen *Blanche*, 'and his Wife Queen *Margaret*, along with him, 'his Mother commonly made them to be ſeparated 'from each other, and they never lodged together. 'It happened one Day, that, they being at *Pontoiſe*, 'the King's Lodging was above That of the Queen 'his Wife, and he had inſtructed his Yeomen of the 'Hall in ſuch a manner, that, when he had a mind 'to lie with the Queen, and when Queen *Blanche* 'was coming to the King or Queen's Chamber, 'they beat the Dogs, that they might make a 'Noiſe, which the King hearing, he would hide 'himſelf from his Mother: but the ſame Day Queen '*Blanche* happened to find the King in the Queen 'his Wife's Chamber, who was come to ſee her, 'becauſe ſhe was very ill of a Miſcarriage, and 'found the King hid behind the Queen, for fear 'he ſhould be diſcovered; but the Queen-Mother 'perceived

QUEEN *Blanche* was Nurſe to her Son.

by the Fury of a great number of weak People (*b*), whom certain Fanatics infatuated [*E*]. The Oppreſſion of the People under the Yoke of the Clergy was lamentable. A vigorous Action was done, to cure it in ſome meaſure [*F*]. The News of *Blanche*'s Death afflicted the King her Son very much. The Queen her Daughter-in-law wept alſo heartily for it; but ſhe was ſincere enough to own the true Reaſon of her Tears [*G*]. Some Authors tell certain Things of Queen *Blanche*, which chiefly prepare the way for her Canonization [*H*]. On the other ſide, certain Monuments ſtill remain of the Paſſion, which the Earl of *Champagne* had for her, which ſeem to ſignify, that he did not always ſigh in vain. I ſhall ſpeak of it in That Earl's Article. The new Hiſtorian of St *Lewis* vindicates her ſtrenuouſly on that Article, but does not deny, that She had ſome Faults [*I*]. His manner of expreſſing himſelf engages me to ſet down his own Words.

(*b*) They are called *Paſtoureaux*. See the Hiſtory of St *Lewis*, lib. x, pag. 113, & ſeq. ad Ann. 1251.

' perceived him, and took him by the Hand, ſaying to him, Come away, you have nothing to ' do here, and put him out of the Chamber. When ' the Queen ſaw, that Queen *Blanche* ſeparated her ' Husband from her, ſhe cried out aloud, Alas! will ' you not let me ſee my Lord, neither living nor dying? and ſaying ſo ſhe fainted away, ſo that it was ' thought ſhe was dead: and the King, thinking ſo ' too, returned immediately to ſee her, and recovered ' her from her ſwoon (4).'

(4) Joinville's Chronicle of St *Lewis*, *chap.* lxxvi, pag. 262, 263.

[*E*] *The Kingdom ſuffered —— by the Fury of weak People, whom certain Fanatics infatuated.*] Queen *Blanche* did not at firſt diſcover their pernicious Errors. An Author ' makes it a very meritorious thing in her, that ſhe owned ſhe was miſtaken in her Judgment of the *Paſtoureaux*; a very ' mean Praiſe, in my Opinion. For to take wicked Men for good Men is but an human Error, ' which may proceed from the Goodneſs of the ' Heart, and which Self-love takes a delight to confeſs: But if, being good Men, they had been ' calumniated, without any other Support than their ' Innocence, in that caſe ſuch a Confeſſion could ' not be praiſed too much, and in that caſe alſo it ' muſt be but ſeldom expected (5).' This Reflexion of the new Hiſtorian of St *Lewis* is very fine and judicious.

(5) Hiſtory of St *Lewis*, lib. x, pag. 125.

THE Tyranny of the Chapter of *Paris*, puniſhed by Queen *Blanche*.

[*F*] *The Oppreſſion of the People by the Clergy was lamentable. A vigorous Action was done, to cure it in ſome meaſure.*] ' The Chapter of *Paris* had impriſoned all the Inhabitants of *Chatenai*, and of ' ſome other Places, for divers Things, which were ' imputed to them, and which were forbid to Bondmen; for ſuch was then the People's Condition, ' eſpecially the Inhabitants of the Country (6). ' They were ſold with the Lands, as a Dependance, ' which belonged to it (7). So that a Crowd of ' thoſe miſerable People languiſhed in the Priſons ' of the Chapter, where, wanting neceſſaries for ' Life, they were in danger of being ſtarved to ' Death. *Blanche*, moved to Compaſſion by the ' Complaints, which ſhe received from them, ſent ' to deſire that, in Conſideration of her, they might ' be releaſed upon Bail, aſſuring, that ſhe would ' inform her ſelf of the Matters, and would do all ' manner of Juſtice. But the Chapter, after having ' anſwered, That no Body had any thing to do ' with their Subjects, and that they might put them ' to Death if they pleaſed, ſent again to ſeize the ' Women and the Children, whom they had ſpared ' at firſt. Then, in hatred to ſee them honoured ' with ſuch a Protection, they were uſed in ſuch a ' manner, that many of them died either through ' Famine, or the Inconveniencies they ſuffered by ' Heat, in a Place hardly able to contain them. ' *Blanche*, full of Indignation at an Action no leſs ' inſolent than inhuman —— went with main ' Force to the Priſon of the Chapter, and ordered ' the Gates of it to be broken open: And, becauſe ' ſome Difficulty might have been made about it, ' for fear of the Cenſures, ſo common in thoſe Times, ' ſhe gave the firſt Stroke with a Stick ſhe had in ' her Hand. That Stroke was ſo well ſeconded, ' that the Gate was broke down in an inſtant, and ' a Crowd of Men, Women, and Children, came ' out with diſfigured Faces, who, caſting themſelves ' at her Feet, prayed her to take them under her ' Protection, without which the Favour that ſhe had ' done them would coſt them very dear. She did ' it, and ſo effectually, that, after having ſeized on ' the Revenues of the Chapter, till they had ſubmitted to the Authority, wherewith ſhe was entruſted, ſhe even obliged them to affranchiſe thoſe ' Inhabitants for a certain Yearly Sum. It was almoſt at that Time that thoſe kind of Affranchiſings ' began, or, at leaſt, that they became very common.' If any one thinks that I have cited too long a Paſſage here, they muſt complain, That, in ſhewing them a fine Piece of our *Blanche*'s Hiſtory, I have alſo expoſed two or three very ſingular Facts to their View. So that their Complaint will be very ill grounded.

(6) Id. pag. 122, 123.

(7) This is what was anciently called *Servus glebæ*, or *glebæ adſcriptitius*.

[*G*] *The Queen, her Daughter-in-law, wept —— But ſhe had the ſincerity to own the true Reaſon of her Tears.*] It would be a little ſurprizing, that a Queen, ſo conſtrained in her Matrimonial Rights, as the Wife of *Lewis* IX was, ſhould be afflicted to ſee, that ſhe ſhould no longer find, at her return into *France*, The Author of her Conſtraint. The *Sire de Joinville* did not fail being ſurprized at the young Queen's Affliction; ' he knew how much, and for what reaſon, ſhe hated the deceaſed; but ſee here the unfolding of his Surprize: ' After I was gone ' out of the King's Chamber, *ſays he* (8), Madam ' *Mary de Bonnes vertus* came and deſired me to go ' and comfort the Queen, who was very much afflicted. When I was come into her Chamber, and ' ſaw her cry ſo bitterly, I could not forbear telling ' her, That Womens Tears are not to be believed; ' for the Moan that ſhe made was for the Woman ' ſhe hated moſt in the World. Then ſhe told me, ' That it was not for her that ſhe cried, but for the ' great Uneaſineſs wherein the King was, and alſo ' for their Daughter, who was left in the keeping of ' Men: who was ſince Queen of *Navarre*. He adds the Occaſion of this Hatred: It is, ſays he, becauſe Queen *Blanche* hindered the King her Son, as much as ſhe could, from lying with his Wife: ' And the Reaſon why the Queen did not love the ' King's Mother, was, the great Severity with ' which ſhe treated her; for ſhe would not ſuffer ' the King to viſit or keep the Queen his Wife Com' pany, but hindered it as much as ſhe could (9).'

(8) Joinvil. ubi ſupra, pag. 264.

(9) See the Sequel of this Paſſage in the Remark [*D*], Cit. (4).

[*H*] *They relate certain things of her, which prepare the way for her Canonization.*] She was not contented to be enrolled in the third Order of St *Francis*, *according to the Devotion of thoſe Times* (10), but ſhe made alſo *Profeſſion of the Order of* Citeaux (11), to the Abbeſs of *Maubuiſſon*, a few Days before ſhe died. When ſhe was brought to That Abbey (12), where ſhe would be buried, ſhe was dreſſed with *Royal Ornaments over her Religious Habit* (13). But this is no very extraordinary Thing. I do not mention it as a Proof of what is in Queſtion here: I only think it has been of ſome uſe to procure, in Proceſs of Time, the Title of *Bleſſed* to Queen *Blanche*, to place her in ſome Martyrologies, and to relate ſome Miracles and Apparitions about her (14).

(10) Meſeral, Chron. Abrégé, ad Ann. 1252. Tom. II, pag. 732.

(11) Hiſtory of St *Lewis*, lib. x, pag. 124.

(12) She founded it about the Year 1242. King St *Lewis* ratified that Foundation a little before his Departure for the Holy Land. *Ibid. lib.* v, *pag.* 277.

(13) Ibid. *Book* x, *pag.* 124.

(14) Ibid. pag. 125, 126.

[*I*] *The new Hiſtorian of St* Lewis *vindicates her —— but does not deny, that ſhe had ſome Faults.*] The Hiſtorian's Name, of whom I ſpeak, was Mr *de la Chaiſe*: I have heard ſay, that he was Counſellor in the Preſidial of *Poitiers*, and a Friend of the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*. ' Few Princeſſes, *ſays* ' *he* (15), have been ſeen, who deſerve to be cleared from ſo many Calumnies, if this were a Place ' for it. Not that ſhe never committed any Faults. ' By what Privilege ſhould ſhe be exempted from ' them? She was a Woman, and reigned. But, if ' ſome Faults are found among ſo many great Qualities, ought ſhe therefore to be expoſed to Malice, ' and to the fantaſtical Judgments of thoſe, who are ' pleaſed to undervalue what is ſo univerſally eſteemed? She had perhaps too much haughtineſs in reſpect of the Grandees, in her firſt Regency: ' and, ' perhaps

(15) Ibid. pag. 126.

' perhaps she went a little too fast on some Occasions. ' It is very probable, that she used the Queen, her ' Daughter-in-law, somewhat roughly, through a ' Jealousy of Authority, which is but too natural: ' And I would not assert, that she did not endeavour ' to preserve the Power too long, which her Ability, ' and the Quality of Mother, had given her over ' *Lewis* in his earliest Youth.'

CASTOR, an ancient Author. See the Remark [O], of the Article DEJOTARUS.

CASTRITIUS (MARCUS) was a Magistrate of *Placentia*, in the 669th Year of *Rome* [A], when the Consul *Cneïus Carbo*, endeavouring to engage all the Towns of *Italy* in the Party of *Marius*, against *Sylla*, required Hostages of them. As *Castritius* would not suffer the Inhabitants of *Placentia* to give him any, *Carbo* pretended to frighten him, by saying, that he had many Swords; and I many Years, answered *Castritius*; and the thing went no farther. A like Answer was made by *Solon*, and by some others [B]. They meant by it, that the few Years, which remained, were not worth the making a false Step. This *Castritius* cannot be He, whom *Cicero* mentions in the Oration for *Lucius Flaccus*; for it appears by the Honours, which the Inhabitants of *Smyrna* did to the latter, that he did not die very old (a). Besides *Cicero* expresses himself in a manner, which shews that he had not a very great Opinion of that Man's Merit. The same *Cicero* speaks elsewhere of a MARCUS CASTRITIUS (b), who is, doubtless, different from the other two; for he praises him in earnest, and says, that *Verres*, being Pretor in *Sicily*, made him some Presents. Now the Magistrate of *Placentia* was very old, when *Verres* was yet but Questor, under *Cneïus Carbo*, in the Six Hundred and Sixty ninth Year of *Rome*.

(a) At Castritium quibus verbis, Dii immortales! decus patriæ, ornamentum pop. Rom. FLOREM JUVENTUTIS appellant. *Cicero pro L. Flacco, cap.* xxxi.

(b) M. Castritium summo splendore, ingenio, gratia præditum. *Id. in Verr. Orat.* 3. *cap.* 80.

[A] *He was a Magistrate of* Placentia, *in the 669th Year of* Rome.] The Commentary *Variorum* on *Valerius Maximus* places this Event in the Year of *Rome* 621; which is a great Blunder: But Mr *Moret de la Feyolle*, who places it in the 667th Year, and Father *Cantel* (1), who places it in the 671st Year, have their Reasons for it: They follow some *Fasti Consulares*, two Years different from others. I cannot tell upon what Mr *de la Feyolle* builds, when he calls *Cn. Castritius* him, who has the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, in *Valerius Maximus*, whom he cites. See his History of the *Roman* Commonwealth (2). In the Supplement to *Moreri*, this Article is placed under the Word *Castratius*. We shall say hereafter (3), that *Charles Stephens* has committed the same Fault.

(1) In Val. Max.

(2) At the 250th Page of Tom. II. That History was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1675.

(3) In Remark [B], of the following Article.

[B] *He made to* Carbo *an Answer, like That, which had been made by* Solon, *and some others.*] I shall set down what is found in *Cicero* upon this Subject: ' Hoc illud est quod Pisistrato tyranno à Solone responsum est, cum illi quærenti qua tandem spe fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur, senectute (4). —— *This is the Answer* Solon ' *gave to* Pisistratus *the Tyrant, who asking him, upon* ' *what Hope relying, he so boldly resisted him, the* ' *other is said to have replied, On old Age.*' *Confidius*, made a like Answer to *Julius Cæsar* (5), and *Cejetius* to the *Triumviri* (6). See the *Prose Chagrine* of *la Mothe la Vayer*, at the Three hundred and Thirty seventh Page of the ninth Volume of his Works.

(4) Cicero in Catone majore, cap. xx. *See also* Plutarch *and* Diogenes Laertius in Vita Solonis.

(5) Plut. in Cæsare, pag. 714. C.

(6) Val. Maxim. lib. vi, cap. ii.

CASTRITIUS (TITUS) taught Rhetoric at *Rome*, in the IId Century, with more Reputation than any of his Cotemporaries. *Aulus Gellius*, who was his Disciple, speaks of him as of a Man of great Importance (a), and of great Judgment; and it is easy to know, by his Remark on a Period of a Speech of *C. Gracchus* (b), that he ingeniously discerned those false Thoughts, which become almost imperceptible, when they are hid under the harmonious Cadence of fine Language. Another Sign of his discerning Faculty appears elsewhere (c) [A]. His Probity contributed, no less than his Learning, to make him esteemed by the Emperor *Hadrian* (d), and, if it be never so little considered, how he censured some Senators, whom he instructed (e), and who appeared one Day before him, cloathed in a manner very unbecoming their Rank [B], I mean undressed, and, as we should say at present, in a Morning-Gown, we shall easily perceive, that he preserved the grave

(a) A. Gellius, lib. xi, cap. xiii, & lib. xiii, cap. xx.

(b) Id. lib. xi, cap. xlii.

(c) Id. lib. i, cap. vi.

(d) Id. lib. xiii, cap. xx.

(e) Id. ibid.

[A] *We meet with another Sign of his discerning Faculty*] It was when he refuted some Critics, who took it ill, that *Metellus*, making a Speech to the People, to recommend Marriage to them, had owned, that it was a necessary, troublesome, State. ' Si sine uxore, Quirites, possemus ' esse, omnes ea molestia careremus. Sed quoniam ' ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode, ' nec sine illis ullomodo vivi possit, saluti perpetuæ ' potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum (1) —— ' *If, my Countrymen, we could all live without* ' *Wives, we should be free from this Trouble. But* ' *since Nature has so ordered it, that we can neither* ' *live conveniently with them, nor at all without* ' *them, we should consult a lasting Happiness, rather* ' *than a short Pleasure.*' It is, said they, as much to deter People from Marriage, as to advise them to it; and they shewed how he ought to have turned the Thing. It cannot be denied, that they gave a good Turn to it. But *Castritius* represented to them, that a Man of *Metellus*'s Character, who exercised the Censor's Office at that Time, ought to speak otherwise than a Rhetorician; that a Rhetorician is permitted to make use of false and captious Reasons, and that it is a Shame for him not to make the best of a bad Cause; that it is not the same with a Magistrate, who is venerable by the Gravity of his Manners, and by his Dignity; for he ought not to say any thing in public, of which he and others are not convinced, and chiefly when the Question is about a Fact exposed to daily Experience, and public Evidence (2); and therefore that *Metellus* had done well to acknowledge what was plain to every Body, by which he had made himself more fit to establish the important Point, on which he spoke (3); for his Ingenuity, having sheltered him from all Suspicions of Disguise and Art, disposed the Auditors to believe the rest.

(1) A. Gellius, lib. i, cap. vi.

(2) Præsertim cum super ea re diceret quæ quotidiana intelligentia & communi pervulgatoque vitæ usu comprehenderetur. *Id. ibid.*

(3) De molestia igitur cunctis hominibus notissima est confessus, eaque confessione fidem sedulitatis veritatisque commeritus, &c. *Id. ibid.*

[B] *He censured some Senators —— who appeared —— cloathed in a manner unbecoming their Rank.*] It is hard to guess what Mr *Moreri* meant, when he made *A. Gellius* say, that *Castritius* made use of great Severity *against two of his Auditors, who were too magnificently dressed.* I. *A. Gellius* does not reduce

grave Spirit of ancient *Rome*. It cannot well be determined, whether he was the Son, or a Relation, of That *Caſtritius*, whom *Pliny* cites, as an Author, who had written of Gardening (*f*) [*C*], nor whether thoſe two deſcended from a *Caſtritius*, who diſcovered *Murena*'s Conſpiracy to *Auguſtus* (*g*), and whom That Prince helped afterwards out of a very bad Buſineſs, only by the way of Interceſſion.

(*f*) In Indice, lib. xix.

(*g*) Sueton. in Aug. cap. lvi.

duce the cenſured Auditors to two; he ſays, *diſcipulos quoſdam ſuos*. II. He adds, that they were Senators; and this is what Mr *Moreri* ought not to have ſuppreſſed. III. He does not ſay, that they were too magnificently dreſſed, but, on the contrary, that *Caſtritius* ſaw them *tunicis & lacernis indutos, & Gallicis calceatos*. Theſe Faults are corrected in the Edition of this Country; but they have cited the Twenty firſt Chapter of the thirteenth Book of *A. Gellius*, inſtead of citing the twentieth, which Mr *Moreri* quoted right (4); and they have over-looked what he ſaid, that *Caſtritius* was more commonly called *Caſtraitius*; for they have retained his *Caſtritius, ſee Caſtritius*, and given the Article of This Rhetorician under the Word *Caſtraitius*, as he has done. Note, that it is no miſtake to cite Chapter 21: there are Editions, which cite thus the Chapter relating to *Caſtritius*; but, there being others, in which it is Chapter 20, to correct it right, it ſhould be ſaid; *See the thirteenth Book of* A. Gellius, *Chapter 20, according to ſome Editions, or Chapter 21, according to others*. *Charles Stephens* gives the Name of *Caſtretius* both to That Rhetorician, and to the Magiſtrate of *Placentia*; two Articles which do not appear in *Lloyd*'s Dictionary. Mr *Hofman*, who copied them from *Charles Stephens*, advertiſes, in the Article of the Rhetorician, that it muſt be read *Caſtricius*, and he lengthens his Original, to refer us to the Cenſure of the two Auditors, too well cloathed, in *A. Gellius, fevcritatem ejus contra duos auditores nimium ornatos*. This it is to truſt to bad Guides.

(4) Some Editions, and among them That of *H. Stephens, Pariſiis*, 1585. in 8vo, refers this to chap. 20, others to chap. 21, becauſe they make of chap. 14, chap. 14, and 15.

[*C*] *We cannot determine, whether he was the Son, or a Relation, of that* Caſtricius, *whom* Pliny *cites as an Author, who wrote about Gardening.*] Father *Hardouin* (5) cenſures a Miſtake of *Simler*, who has ſaid (6), that *Titus Caſtritius*, mentioned by *A. Gellius*, wrote a Book, intituled *Cepurica* (7), out of which *Pliny* took many Things. If the Fountain-heads were conſulted, theſe Miſtakes would be avoided, and then *Simler* would have found, that *A. Gellius* ſpeaks of a *Caſtritius*, whoſe Diſciple he was, and, conſequently, who could not have wrote Books, quoted by *Pliny*.

(5) Indice Auctorum Plinii.

(6) Epit. Geſneri, pag. 805.

(7) In *Greek* κηπουρικὰ, that is to ſay, *de re hortenſi*.

CATALDUS, one of the Saints of the Church of *Rome*, and the particular Patron of the City of *Taranto*, was Biſhop of the ſame City (*a*). It is reported, That, about a thouſand Years after his Death, he appeared to a Prieſt, and ſaid to him, *Go and dig up a Book, which I have compoſed, and which I hid in ſuch a Place; carry it immediately to the King: It is a Work, which contains the Secrets of Heaven.* It was in a Dream that he appeared to this Prieſt, and gave him this Order: He repeated this Apparition divers times; for little Faith was given to this Dream, and his Order was not obeyed. At laſt he ſhewed himſelf in another manner; the Curate being alone in his Church, and perfectly awake, ſaw St *Cataldus* in his Epiſcopal Ornaments, who commanded him to go and dig up his Book the next Day, in the Place he had ſhewed him in his Dream, and to carry it ſpeedily to the King. He threatned him with ſevere Puniſhment in caſe of Diſobedience. The Prieſt proved more tractable at that time; for the next Day early he walked in Proceſſion with the People to the Place, where That Work was buried. It was found there in a leaden Box (*b*); and they found, that it contained the Miſeries, which would ſpeedily oppreſs the whole Kingdom of *Naples*, and of which you will find the Deſcription in the Writer whom I cite (*c*). It is pretended, that this happened in the Month of *April*, 1492 (*d*). Some affirm, that this prophetical Book gave ſome Hopes, that the Kingdom of *Naples* would be ſecured from this approaching Ruin, provided the King ſhould execute what St *Cataldus* preſcribed to him [*A*]. This Clauſe, of which *Alexander ab Alexandro* makes no mention, might confirm the Suſpicions of thoſe, who take this for a pious Fraud [*B*]. They would not be contented with meer Suſpicions, if they had read

(*a*) Alexander ab Alexandro. Genial Dier. lib. iii, cap. xv, pag. m. 734.

(*b*) Poſtera luce ſolemni pompa miniſtrum cum populi comitatu ad latebram, in qua longiſſimo ævo libellus latuerat, proceſſiſſe: eumque plumbeis tabellis obſignatum, & clavis obſeratum inveniſſe, ſatis conſtat. *Id. ibid. pag.* 735.

(*c*) *Taken from* Alexander ab Alexandro, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Spondanus, Annal. Eccleſ. ad Ann. 1492, n. 13. *He cites* Infix. in Diar. Vit. S. Cataldi.

[*A*] *He appeared to a Prieſt —— and directed him to a Book, concerning the Miſeries, from which the Kingdom of* Naples *might be ſecured, provided the King ſhould execute what St* Cataldus *preſcribed to him.*] This Condition is mentioned by *Spondanus*. 'Nimirum menſe Aprili, ex revelatione prædicti 'Sancti repertum fuiſſe librum tabellis plumbeis ab 'eo dum viveret juſſu divino ſcriptum, obſeratum- 'que; quo vaticinium continebatur de calamitatibus '& miſeriis quibus regnum vexandum eſſet, niſi 'Rex, ad quem illicò librum mitti præcepit, ad a- 'muſſim obſervaret quæ in eo præcepta reperiret (1). —— *To wit, that, in the Month of* April, *by the Revelation of the aforeſaid Saint, a Book was found, in a leaden Box, written by him, during his Life, in purſuance of a divine Command, and locked up; in which was contained a Prophecy of the Calamities and Miſeries, which the Kingdom was to ſuffer, unleſs the King, to whom he ordered the Book immediately to be ſent, ſhould exactly obſerve what he ſhould find preſcribed in it.*' He adds, that *Philip de Comines* ſpoke of this Work of St *Cataldus*. But this cannot be ſaid, without taking too much Liberty; for *Philip de Comines* makes no kind of mention of This Saint. Theſe are his Words: 'Le Roy Ferrand —— porta grande paſſion en ſon 'cœur de voir venir ſur luy cette armée —— & 'ſi trouva un livre eſcrit, comme m'ont certifié des 'plus prochains de luy, en deffaiſant une chappelle, 'où y avoit deſſus: *La Verité* *, *avec ſon Conſeil ſecret*: & veut l'on dire qu'il contenoit tout le mal 'qui luy eſt advenu: & n'eſtoient que trois à la 'voir: & puis le jetta au feu (2). —— *King Ferrand —— took it much to Heart, to ſee ſo great an Army come againſt him ------ and found a Book written (as thoſe that were near him have aſſured me) at the demoliſhing of a Chapel, whereupon were theſe Words,* Truth with it's ſecret Council; *wherein it is pretended all the Evil that happened to him was contained. Three Perſons only ſaw it; and he threw it into the Fire.*'

(1) Spondan. Annal. Eccleſ ad Ann. 1492, n. 13, pag. m. 204.

* Perhaps there was, in *Italian*, *Il vero*, or *la verita*, &c. that is to ſay, *The Truth*.

(2) Philip de Comines, *Book* 7, *chap.* 11, pag. 465, 466.

[*B*] *This Clauſe confirms the Suſpicions of thoſe, who take this for a pious Fraud.*] It is certain, that *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, and his eldeſt Son, led a ſcandalous Life, and tyrannically oppreſſed the People (3). They feared the Preparations and Confederacies, which were forming againſt the Kingdom of *Naples*. The People always fear ſuch Wars; but they are chiefly more afraid of them, when they imagine, that the Crimes of the Sovereign, and his long Impenitency, have expoſed him to the Wrath of God. It is then neceſſary to have recourſe to the

(3) *See* Philip de Comines, *Book* 7, *chap.* 12.

read the Paſſage I ſhall cite out of a cotemporary Author, who relates the Hiſtory and the Motives of the Impoſture [C]. It is not agreed where *Cataldus* was born, nor at what time he lived; ſome ſay he was born in *Scotland*, others in *Ireland*. There

the moſt proper Expedients, to avoid the public Misfortunes; it is a very good Expedient to pretend a Prophecy, which may affect the Sovereign, and inſpire him with ſuch a good Amendment of Life, that his Subjects may promiſe themſelves the Aſſiſtance and Protection of appeaſed Heaven. So that it is probable, that, in thoſe Times, ſome Perſons, well affected to the public Good, thought on this religious Contrivance: a Box of Lead was made; a Book was put in it, which contained what was thought neceſſary; it was buried; an Eccleſiaſtic was produced, who declared, that, ſleeping and waking, he had received an Order, of the utmoſt Importance, from St *Cataldus*; the Book was eaſily found in the Place directed to, with the Threats and neceſſary Counſels in it. Here are then divers Circumſtances, fit to perſuade, that the Diſcovery of that Prophecy was an artful Contrivance; but, if it be ſuppoſed, that *Cataldus* threatened only, and that he did not preſcribe a certain Method to *Ferdinand* to prevent the Calamities, it is much harder to diſcover, that there was a religious and politic Trick in it.

I need not ſay, that there is no manner of likelihood, that *Cataldus* buried ſuch a Book, or that, after many Ages, he revealed That Treaſure, and ordered it to be preſented to King *Ferdinand*'s but, as it is probable, that ſuch a Thing was pretended, it will not be improper to touch upon the Reaſons, which might make one doubt of it. I ſay, that the Fact of That Suppoſition is probable; for, beſides the Uſe which might be hoped from it, in the Neceſſities of the State, and the Unquietneſs of the People, we have a cotemporary Author, who reports for a certainty (4), that this Book was dug up. He not only lived at that time, but dwelt near the Place, which was the Scene of the Event. He affirms, that the People accompanied the Prieſt in Proceſſion, who dug up That Prophecy. Moreover, he is a learned Man. Could he be deceived in ſuch a Fact? Durſt he have told a Lie on ſuch an Adventure? This is what cauſes a Belief, that a Prophecy of St *Cataldus* was ſuppoſed. But here are ſome Reaſons to queſtion it. That Author, with his great Learning, ſhews much Credulity. *Philip de Comines*, ſpeaking of a prophetic Writing, ſhewed to King *Ferdinand* (5), does not ſpeak of *Cataldus*, nor of the other Circumſtances, mentioned by *Alexander ab Alexandro*. It may then reaſonably be believed, that thoſe, who related to him what concerned That Writing, told him nothing concerning the Apparitions of That Saint, nor concerning the Proceſſion, which is ſuppoſed to have marched at the Diſcovery of the Book. It is therefore very likely, that no ſuch Proceſſion was made; for, if it had been made, it would have been the firſt Thing that would have been told to *Philip de Comines*. Now if *Alexander ab Alexandro* deceives us in this Point, he deſerves no Credit in the reſt.

Having mentioned the Reaſons to believe, and the Reaſons to doubt, I muſt add, that, the other Day one of my Friends maintained againſt me, that it is impoſſible to attain to a full Certainty about this. He ſaid, we are too far diſtant from that time, and no verbal Proceſſes were made of That Adventure; or, if any were made, they could not at preſent exclude all Suſpicions. I have obſerved, in another Article (6), the prodigious Negligence of thoſe, who love to relate myſterious Events: they take no Precautions againſt thoſe, who are not diſpoſed to believe any thing of it: they want Charity for thoſe, who ſtand moſt in need of it. Why do they not cauſe legal Informations to be made? Why do they not cauſe verbal Proceſſes to be drawn up? For Example, the *Tarantines* ought to have deſired the Magiſtrates to cauſe to be ingraved on a Pillar, that, on ſuch a day, ſuch a Prieſt had dug up a Book in the Preſence of all the People, and that he had taken his Oath, that St *Cataldus* had appeared to him, &c (7). An authentic Copy of the Act, that the Magiſtrates had drawn up, ought to have been ſent to the Places where the Records of the Kingdom were kept; the Ambaſſadors of all the foreign States ought to have been deſired to ſend their Maſters ſuch a Copy. You will tell me, that the Legend of St *Cataldus*, cited by *Spondanus*, witneſſes this great Event: I anſwer, that it is only of uſe to thoſe, who have no need of it. They, who believe ſuch a thing on the Credit of a Legendary, would believe it as well on a Hearſay; and they, who are incredulous, and conſequently Objects of Charity for the great Promoters of extraordinary and ill proved Adventures, are not moved with the Teſtimony of the Legend. So that they are cruelly forſaken, when the Remedy that ſhould cure them is neglected.

For the reſt, let us not wonder, that it is difficult to averr things, which are ſaid to have happened towards the end of the XVth Century; for I do not think it poſſible for private Men to diſcover certainly what concerns the Blackſmith of *Salon* (8). The thing is yet freſh; it is but two or three Months ago (9), that he was ſent to *Paris*, to acquit himſelf of a Commiſſion, which an Apparition had given him, to go and tell the King certain things. He was at *Paris*, and at the Court, and was ſent home again. This is all that is certain of it; a thouſand other Facts, which have been vended in the public News, are doubtful; for ſome Perſons deny them, and others affirm them: Some maintain, that he ſpoke to the King himſelf; others ſay that he ſpoke only to a Secretary of State. The moſt indefatigable Inquiſitors would loſe their Patience, before they had cleared the Truth, buried under a Heap of oppoſite Affirmations and Negations. The ſtrangeſt and moſt likely thing to deceive Poſterity is, that an anonymous Author had the Preſumption to cauſe a Letter to be printed (10), wherein he relates I know not what familiar Converſations he had with the Blackſmith of *Salon*. He ſets forth many ſtrange Particulars, which cannot be ſufficiently wondered at. Muſt the Public be ſo ſoon deceived, and muſt a Snare ſo ſoon be laid for Poſterity? Should any thing be ſuffered to appear about this, but what is well atteſted, and may paſs for an inconteſtable Fact? For our part, let us advertiſe the Public to reject theſe Impoſtures. The Audacioufneſs of thoſe Writers cannot be better puniſhed than by giving no Credit to their Relations. The News Writer, who declared he believed the anonymous Author's Letter to be apocryphal, when he publiſhed it (11), is much to be praiſed: This will ſerve for ſomething in a proper Time.

I have given you the Particulars of a long Converſation, wherein Mr - - - - - maintained to me, that we cannot be aſſured, that the Diſcovery of the pretended Book of St *Cataldus* was made in *Tarante*. We ſhall ſee preſently, that he went too faſt, and that the Reality of that Proceſſion, and it's Conſequences, is a Fact certain enough.

[C] *I ſhall cite a Paſſage - - - - - which ſhews the Hiſtory and the Motives of the Impoſture.*] I deſire my Reader to look upon the foregoing Remark only as a Picture of the Vanity of Conjectures; I ſpeak of the moſt plauſible Conjectures, which can be made, when the Circumſtances of an Action are but imperfectly known, and when we judge of things without hearing both Parties. We hear but one of them in the preſent Buſineſs, if we only conſult *Alexander ab Alexandro*, and thoſe who have copied him. And therefore we run the hazard of making fallacious Conjectures, what care ſoever we take to conſult Probability. To proceed prudently in it, we ought to enquire, whether other Authors, as credible as he, have not related the thing differently. I have found one, who informs me, that the Account of that Writer is That of the People, and that ſome learned Perſons, acquainted with the Court, related that Adventure after another manner. *Jovian Pontanus* informs me, that a bold and ambitious *Spaniſh* Monk ſet up for a Preacher, though he knew nothing.

(4) Satis conſtat, *ſays he twice* In eo certum eſt. *Alexander ab Alexandro. Genial. Dier. lib.* 3, *cap.* 25, *pag.* 734.

(5) *See* Philip de Comines's *Words in the preceding Remark.*

(6) In the Remark [C], of the Article CATTHO.

(7) Note, that this inſcription ought to have been made during the Novelty of the Event; for, without that, it would not be a good Proof at this time.

(8) It is the place where *Noſtradamus* was born, in *Provence*.

(9) This I wrote in the beginning of *June*, 1697.

(10) It is printed in the *Hiſtorical Letters*, and in the *Political Mercury*, of the Month of *May*, 1697.

(11) See the *Hiſtorical Mercury*, of *May*, 1697.

There are some, who pretend, that he lived in the IVth Century, or the beginning of the VIth; but *Johannes Juvenis* says, that he converted the *Tarentines*, in the Year 160 (*e*), after the Ascension of the Son of GOD, or else in the 166th Year of the Christian Æra (*f*). *Bartholomew Moron*, and *Bonaventura Moron* his Brother, who have written his Life, the one in Prose, and the other in Verse (*g*), follow, very nearly, the same Chronology, since they assert, that he entered into *Tarento* under the Pontificate of *Anicetus*, and in the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius*, about the Year 170. *Dempster* makes him flourish after the middle of the IVth Century (*h*). *Alexander ab Alexandro* makes him younger about an hundred Years. Consult the learned *Usher* (*i*), who maintains, that *Cataldus* was not born in *Scotland*, as *Dempster* pretends, but in *Ireland*; and he quotes several Authors. I am surprized that he was ignorant of the Passage of *Jovian Pontanus*, which I have set down in the Remark [*C*].

(*e*) Johan. Juvenis in Præfat. librorum de Antiquitate & variis Tarentinorum Fortunis, apud Usserium de Britan. Eccles. Primordiis, pag. 789. Edit. Dublin 1633.

(*f*) Id. lib viii, cap. ii, apud eund. ibid.

(*g*) A Poem of six Books, intitled *Cataldias*: it was printed at *Rome* with an *Italian* Discourse of the same Author, in praise of *Cataldus*, and with the Life of that Saint, by *Bartbol. Moron.*

(*h*) Dempst. Hist. Eccl. Scotor. lib. iii. n. 278.

(*i*) Usser. de Brit. Eccl. Prim. pag. 752, &c.

thing. He preached with so much Audaciousness, that he boasted of a particular Communication with an Angel, of whom he learned, as he said, what he taught the People concerning Religion: He affirmed, that That Angel revealed to him what Persons enjoyed the Blessedness of Heaven, or suffered in Hell (12). Lastly, Not being able to persuade *Ferdinand* to drive all the Jews out of his Kingdom of *Naples*, as his Cousin *Ferdinand*, King of *Arragon*, had expelled them from his Dominions, he bethought himself of a Trick. He engraved what he pleased on a leaden Plate, pretending that St *Cataldus* was the Author of it, and buried This Piece of Metal under the Wall of an half ruined Chapel near *Taranto*. Three Years after, having suborned a Priest, who declared that St *Cataldus* had appeared to him, *&c.* he caused That Piece of Lead to be digged up. Some Enigmatical Words were found in it, which tended to acquaint the King, that he was bound to extirpate Judaism. The pretended Order of *Cataldus* was, that *Ferdinand* should not read That Writing, but with one of his Servants, whom he should know to be most virtuous and faithful. This Prince discovered the Cheat, and did not employ the Monk to decypher the Prophecy. The Monk was so angry at it, that he inveighed against every body: He could hardly spare St *Cataldus*; and he grew so hot, that all the States of *Italy*, and chiefly the Court of *Rome*, were alarmed at the Discovery of the leaden Plate. A great number of Persons, who understand *Latin*, have not *Pontanus*'s Books; therefore they will be well pleased to find his Narrative here in the original Tongue: 'Denique cum 'Ferdinando persuadere arte nulla aut ratione posset, 'ut universam Judæorum gentem omnino exter- 'minaret è regni finibus, exemplo Ferdinandi pa- 'truelis Hispaniarum regis, Tarenti cum ipse age- 'ret, commentum hoc iniit. E plumbo tabulam 'divi Cataldi nomine clanculum à se inscriptam 'haud Tarento procul in sacello semidiruto sub 'parietem occuluit, quam triennio post eruendam 'curavit, corrupto sacerdote, qui diceret, in somnis 'astitisse sibi Cataldum monstrantem quo in loco 'tabella esset abdita, commonentemque uti cum 'populo supplice, collegioque sacerdotum, iret ad 'effodiendam illam, quam effossam curaret ad 'regem deferendam, communicandam ab eo uni 'tantum viro, quem è suis optimum nosceret, 'ac maximè fidum. Deum enim iratum illi 'futurum, clademque ac calamitatem immissu- 'rum, ni quod in tabula scriptum esset, & cau- 'tum, à rege præstaretur. Scriptum verò ipsum 'per ambages quasdam ac latebricosa verba eò 'spectabat, uti Judæorum exterminatio indicaretur. 'Rex accepta tabula deprehendit fraudem, qua de- 'prehensa minimè Franciscum ad eam legendam 'secum adhibuit, arbitratus eum interpretaturum 'verba in eam sententiam, dissimulavitque rem ip- 'sam summa cum taciturnitate ac prudentia. At 'Franciscus re cognita, furore percitus, quòd tan- 'tum commentum falsum eum habuisset, non po- 'pulo, non regi, vix ipsi Cataldo publicis pepercit 'in prædicationibus, in tantumque incanduit, ut 'Italia ferme omnis, ipseque in primis Romanus 'Pontifex de tabulæ hujus fuerit inventione solici- 'tus, atque anxius (13).' Note, that *Philip Camerarius* relates the Story of the *Neapolitan* Civilian (14) as a true History: It is in the second Volume of his Historical Meditations (15). He adds to it *Philip de Comines*'s Words. *Simon Goulart*, the *French* Translator of That Work of *Camerarius*, has often inserted his own Collections in it between Crotchets: I am certain he would have inserted *Pontanus*'s Narrative with all his heart, if he had known it. He has inserted another Fact in that Place, which may properly be produced here: 'John de la Gesse, Secretary of the Chamber to 'Francis de Valois, Duke of Alençon and Anjou, 'caused his poetical Works to be printed at *Ant- 'werp* by *Plantin*, in the Year 1583. In the sixth 'Book of the Miscellanies, pag. 678 and 679, he 'translates a *Latin* Prediction of *Cataldus* against 'the Apocalyptic *Babylon*, beginning with these 'Words, *Heu heu plange, infelix Babylon.* This is 'all the *Latin* that is there, the Poet having been 'contented to give Forty two *French* Verses, which 'mention wonderful Exploits of a King of *France*, 'his signal Victories, and his Death on Mount 'Calvary, after a long Course of Years employed 'in War. He promises at that time a great Re- 'storation of Things, and speaks of it as of the 'end of the World: which I would not decypher 'more particularly for good Reasons (16).' Here we have an Example of prophetic Cheats. The pretended Book of St *Cataldus* concerned only the Kingdom of *Naples*, and it was scarcely seen by any body. And yet here is a *French* Poet, who, an Age after, pretends that there were Threats in it against the *Babylon* of St *John*, and most magnificent Promises for a King of *France*. They, who make use of such kind of Contrivances, are very glad to screen themselves under some great Name. That of *Cataldus* seemed fit for this Design; and thus they built one Cheat upon another. You must remember, that *Pontanus*'s Narrative made no great Progress, and did not stop the Course of Lies. There are some Writers, who relate the Discovery of *Cataldus*'s Predictions as a Truth, without making any mention of the other Relation: *Bartholomew Moron* does so, in the Life of St *Cataldus*, which he wrote: he quotes the Records of the Church of *Taranto*, the Testimony of *Alexander ab Alexandro*, and what he might have read in the first Chapter of the eighth Book of *Peter Galatin*, *De Ecclesia destituta* (17). *Antony Caraccioli* published, at *Naples*, in the Year 1626, an anonymous Annalist, with four other ancient Chronologers. This Annalist says, that, in the Year 1494, were dug out of the Ground some leaden Plates, on which St *Cataldus* had engraven his Prophecies, and spoke of the sudden Death of the King; and that the King accordingly did die immediately after they presented that Monument to him. 'Isto anno 'MCCCCXCIIII. fuit repertus Tarenti liber Sancti 'Cataldi confixtens in tribus laminis plumbeis, vi- 'delicet duabus extremis semiscriptis, & media scrip- 'ta ex utroque latere; qui præsentatus fuit Domi- 'no Regi, loquens de dicti Regis repentina morte; '& sic fuit repente mortuus (18).' We have seen, that This Discovery is placed in the Year 1492. This did not serve the turn of our Annalist; he wanted that the King of *Naples* should die suddenly; but found no such thing at that time; he therefore pitched upon the Year of *Ferdinand*'s Death.

(12) Frater Franciscus Hispanus —— quamvis rudis atque indoctus, tractus tamen audacia, atque ambitione, pulpitum ascendere est ausus, tantoque sive fastu, sive temeritate, palàm ut asseveraret, prædicare se de religione, Christianisque de rebus, docente ac dictante Angelo, cujus admonitu & futura quædam prædiceret. .. qui cum div a in cœlo è mortalis agerent qui rursus apud inferos cruciarentur, falret ac profiteret. *Jov. Pontanus de Sermone, lib. ii. cap. ult. p.* 1623.

(13) Id. Ibid. pag. 1623, 1624.

(14) That is, of *Alexander ab Alexandro.*

(15) In the first Book, chap. xl.

(16) *Simon Goulart*, in *Chap.* 11. *Book* 1, of *Vol.* II. of the *Histor. Meditat. of* Camerarius, *p.* 48.

(17) *See* Usser. de Britannic. Eccles. Primord. pag. 758.

(18) Id. ibid.

CATIUS,

CATIUS, an Epicurean Philosopher, whom *Cicero* mentions [*A*]. *Horace* speaks also of him in one of his Satires, if we believe the Commentators [*B*]. Mr *le Fevre* confuted them by Arguments, which Mr *Dacier*, his Son-in-law, opposed [*C*], making use of the Liberty which prevails in the Commonwealth of Learning.

[*A*] Cicero *mentions him.*] He says, that *Catius* called *Spectra* what *Democritus* and *Epicurus* had called εἴδωλα; whereby they understood the Images, which represent the Objects of the Senses to us, and which the School-men call *Intentional Species*. He says also, that *Catius* had not been long dead, and gives him the Surname of *Insuber*. These things are found in a Letter (1), which he writ to That *Caius Cassius*, who conspired against *Cæsar*, and who was much addicted to the Epicurean Sect. This Man, thinking that *Cicero* had rallied the Epicureans on their Rusticity, because of those *Spectra* of *Catius*, answered him (2), that he would quote so many Rustic Stoics, that he would make him confess, that *Catius* was of *Athens*. He adds, that *Catius* was one of the ill Interpreters of *Epicurus*'s Words; and, because he says so on occasion of a very grave Sentence of the Head of the Sect, *viz.* (3) *That a Man cannot live voluptuously, without doing that which is good and just*, he gives us to understand, that *Catius*, explaining the Doctrine of εἴδωλα very badly by his *Spectra*, was moreover one of those unworthy Epicureans, who understood of the Voluptuousness of the Body, what their Master meaned only of the Joy of the Soul. This is, without doubt, the chief Foundation of those, who will have it, that *Horace* made choice of *Catius*, to set forth divers Kitchin Precepts and Maxims, fit to turn the Parasites and voluptuous Epicureans into Ridicule, *Epicuri de grege porcos*.

(1) It is the 16th of the 15th Book, *ad Familiares*.

(2) This Answer is the 19th Letter of the same Book. *Lambinus*, in *Horat. Sat.* 4, *lib.* 2, ought not to have attributed this second Passage, concerning *Catius*, to *Cicero*, as he has done.

(3) Οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδέως ζῆναι χωρὶς τοῦ καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ζῆν.

[*B*] Horace ----*likewise, if we believe the Commentators.*] If it is an Error to pretend, that the *Catius* of *Cicero*, and the *Catius* of *Horace*, are the same Person, People have been a long time mistaken on that Subject; for we read in the old Interpreters of *Horace*, that That Poet, to laugh at the Epicureans, made use of the Person of *M. Catius* the Epicurean, Author of four Books about the Nature of Things, and the Supream Good. *We find there also, that the same Catius* boasted in his Work, when he treated of any thing relating to Pastry (4), that he was the Inventer of it: *Hæc primus invenit & cognovit Catius Miltiades*, said he, speaking of himself. It must not be questioned, but that the Author of those four Books is the same, of whom *Quintilian* spoke thus in the first Chapter of the tenth Book of his *Institutions*: Catius, *of the Sect of the Epicureans, is no profound Author: but is however agreeable: In Epicureis levis quidem sed non injucundus tamen autor est Catius*. Neither must it be questioned, but that This Man is the *Catius Insuber* of *Cicero*. The Surname of *Miltiades* might occasion a Difficulty, and determined *Cruquius* to believe, that *Catius Insuber* is not he whom *Horace* laughed at so often. The other Commentators find no Difficulty in it. *Lambinus*, *Chabot*, *Fabrini*, &c. pretend, that the Poet speaks of the Epicurean Philosopher *Catius*. *Petrus Victorius* (5) and *Gassendus* are of the same Opinion. In a word, it was the general Opinion when Mr *le Fevre* confuted it.

(4) Mr *Dacier*, pag. 365, of the Seventh Tome, translates the old Commentator and it may be he is in the right.) as if he had said, that *Catius had wrote a Book of Pastry-work: wherein he put I, speaking of some kind of Cake, I have invented it; I have brought it into use*: but the other Explication seems more literal; for this is the *Latin* of it, according to the Edition of *Cruquius*, pag. 460. *Iterdat cum quod de opere pistorio in libro scribit de se ipso, hæc primus invenit & cognovit Catius Miltiades.*

(5) In Ciceron. Epist. 16. lib. 15, ad Famil.

(6) Tanaquillus Faber, Epist. 57. lib. 2.

[*C*] *Mr* le Fevre *confuted them by Arguments, which Mr* Dacier *has attacked*, &c.] Mr *le Fevre*'s (6) chief Reason is, that *Catius*, being dead before *Cicero*, was not living when *Horace* composed the fourth Satire of the second Book. Mr *Dacier* says, that This Proof is very weak, and that we ought to keep to the general Opinion. See here how he argues: 'Because *Catius* was dead, when *Cicero* wrote the 'sixteenth Letter of the fifteenth Book, must it 'therefore follow, that he was dead, when *Horace* 'wrote That Satire? It is certain, that *Cicero*'s Letter 'was written in the fourth Consulate of *Augustus*, 'in the Year of *Rome* DCCXXIII. *Horace* was then 'Thirty six Years of Age. Why could he not then 'have wrote That Satire before That Age? There 'is not the least room to raise a Doubt about it? 'So that the Passage of *Cicero*, instead of proving 'what Mr *le Fevre* pretended, serves, on the contrary, to inform us, that That Satire is one of *Horace*'s Works, which he composed when he was 'yet young, and on this side of Twenty five Years 'of Age (7).'

(7) Remarks on *Horace*, *Tom. VII*, *pag.* 348.

This is one of those Passages, on which one can hardly believe one's own Eyes, and which might pass for a Prodigy, if one had not experienced what Inattention can do. There are some Geometricians, who, having laboured three or four Hours to rectify a Calculation, and to find out the Cause of their Misreckoning, have found at last, that it proceeded from saying, in multiplying, three times seven is twenty two. It is by a like Inattention that Mr *Dacier* has written in his Copy, and has left in the Printer's Proofs, that *Cicero* wrote to *Cassius* in the Year of *Rome* 722, in the fourth Consulate of *Augustus* *; and consequently it is a Mistake, which concludes nothing against his Capacity, of which he has otherwise given so many Proofs. Every one knows, that *Cicero* perished in the fatal Proscriptions of the Triumvirate in the Year of *Rome* 710. It is not then certain, *that the Letter to* Cassius *was written in the fourth Consulate of* Augustus, in the Year of *Rome* 723: It was in the fourth Consulate of *Julius Cæsar*, as is noted in the Summary of That Letter, and probably it was That occasioned the Inattention. However it be, Mr *le Fevre*'s Proof will have some force, if, for this, it be sufficient that *Catius* was dead, when *Horace* composed the fourth Satire of the Second Book: for, since the fourth Consulate of *Julius Cæsar* falls in the Year of *Rome* 708, which was the Twentieth of *Horace* more or less, it follows from thence, that, when that Poet was twenty Years of Age, *Catius* was not then living. Now there is little likelihood, that *Horace* composed, at that Age, the Satire in question. I confess it would not be impossible, and it is not without example, that very young Poets have made very good Satires. Perhaps also *Horace* took care to correct that Satire before he published it as we have it; but however, this ought to have been made use of in criticizing Mr *le Fevre*.

[* Mr *Dacier* corrected this Mistake in the Edit. of 1704. REM. CRIT.]

There is another much better way of doing it, which is to say, that the Death of *Catius* ought not to hinder *Horace* from making use of the Fiction, or Dialogism, which he used. The Jurisdiction, which Poets have given themselves over Time, is sufficiently known; Antidates are no shameful Faults in them: So that, if this Epicurean Philosopher was held, at *Rome*, in the same Repute, which *Montmaur* was in at *Paris*, nothing could hinder *Horace* from making use of him, after his Death, as an Interlocutor in a Poetical Dialogue, to turn Gluttony, and the Parasitical Spirit, which might reign at that time among the false Epicureans, into Ridicule. I do not think, that any Difficulty would have been made, in *France*, to use *Montmaur*'s Name in a Satire, Fifteen or Sixteen Years after his Death, in the same manner as That of *Catius* is made use of in *Horace*. Perhaps also This Poet did not pretend, that his Satire should be taken for a fictitious Dialogue between *Catius Insuber* and himself, and that he only made choice of That Name, because he was to utter such Thoughts as agreed with that Philosopher (8). This seems to me to be most likely; but, if he had taken it the other way, I do not think he ought to be blamed for it, as *Plato* was for having made use of Interlocutors, some of whom were dead and others living (9). Poets are more privileged in that than Philosophers. All things duly considered, *Cicero*'s Passage does not seem a Proof, that *Horace* composed That Satire in his Youth. One would be much mistaken, to pretend, that all those, of whom *Juvenal* speaks in the present Tense, were yet living (10). *Boileau*, in his tenth Satire, spoke lately of *Roberval*, as of a Man yet living: If Posterity should conclude from thence that *Roberval* was not dead in the Year 1694, they would be much deceived.

(8) Chiefly if he was the same with *Catius Miltiades*, who boasted, in his Writings, of having enriched the Art of Pastry by his Inventions. See above, Citat. (1).

(9) Apud Athenæum, lib. xi. c. xv. p. m. 505, 506. Vide etiam, lib. v, cap. 17, 18, & Macrobium, Saturn. lib 1, cap. 1.

(10) Alii verò de Agrippina Claudii uxore (in qua opinione & nos fumus) intelligi volunt quæ, ut scribit Tranquillus, maritum medicato fustulit boleto post adoptatum Neronem, nam Poëta ita plerumque de mortuis loquitur ac si viverent præsentesque essent; ut de Crispino, Mario Prisco, Mathone cauſidico. *Britannicus in Juven. Sat.* 14 *ver.* 69.

Mr *le Fevre*'s other Reasons testify, that he had not taken notice enough, that, in *Catius*'s time, generally

WHETHER *Horace* himself, an Epicurean, could laugh at his Brethren.

Learning [D]. *Gaſſendus* deſerves a little Cenſure here [E]. *Coſtar* deſerves it no leſs [F]; *Glandorpius* has committed another Miſtake [G]; and I would not warrant,

nerally ſpeaking, the Epicureans were ridiculed on the account of good Chear; without any regard being had either to the Frugality of *Epicurus*, or to the Purity of his true Maxims. The Irregularity of divers Epicureans drew this Blame on the whole Sect; and it muſt not be imagined, under pretence, that *Horace* and his Friends followed the ſame Sect, that he would ſpare thoſe, who diſgraced it, and thereby loſe the occaſion of making uſe of his Jeſts and Railleries. A Satiriſt is too eager, to neglect ſuch Advantages. Do we not ſee, at this preſent time, that the *Carteſians* are the firſt, who cry out againſt thoſe, who have built Chimeras on Mr *Des Cartes*'s Principles, though thoſe Chimeras be not prejudicial to good Manners, as the falſe Interpretations of *Epicurus*'s Doctrine were, which became thereby actually and juſtly more expoſed to the Strokes of cenſuring Writers? Who would believe, that *Boileau*, if he were of Mr *Des Cartes*'s Sect, as perhaps he is, would abſtain on that account from jeſting upon it in a Satire, and from ſhooting Darts at it ſometimes, even when he ſhould find himſelf in a way to utter good Thoughts, and it ſhould happen, that the Abuſe ſhould be carried ſo far as to baſe and infamous Practices? *Credat Judæus Apella.*

But if Mr *le Fevre* has not proved, that the Fourth Satire of the Second Book of *Horace* does not concern the Epicureans in general, and the Philoſopher *Catius* in particular, he teaches us at leaſt, by the Paſſage of *Cicero* concerning the Death of That *Catius*, that the ancient and modern Interpreters of *Horace* have not rightly apprehended in what manner *Catius* is introduced there. Doubtleſs, they believed, that he lived at the time, when the Satire was publiſhed, and that the Poet's Intention was, that his Narrative ſhould be taken for a real Fact, I mean for a real Converſation with That Philoſopher. But, as it is very likely that *Catius* was dead, when *Horace* made That Satire, it muſt not be imagined, that he gave it as a true Dialogue with the deceaſed; he only feigned a Perſon, who was called *Catius*, which was ſufficient for him.

[D] —— *making uſe of the Liberty, which prevails in the Common-Wealth of Learning.*] This Common-Wealth is a State extremely free. The Empire of Truth and Reaſon is only acknowledged in it; and under their Protection an innocent War is waged againſt any one whatever. Friends ought to be on their Guard, there, againſt their Friends, Fathers againſt their Children, Fathers-in-law againſt their Sons-in-law, as in the Iron Age.

—— non hoſpes ab hoſpite tutus,
Non ſocer à genero (11).

No Rights of Hoſpitality remain,
The Gueſt by him, who harbour'd him, is ſlain.
The Son-in-law purſues his Father's Life, &c.

DRYDEN.

Every body, there, is both Sovereign and under every-body's Juriſdiction. The Laws of the Society have done no Prejudice to the Independency of the State of Nature, as to Error and Ignorance: in that reſpect, every particular Man has the Right of the Sword, and may exerciſe it without asking leave of thoſe who govern. It is very eaſy to know why the ſovereign Power ought to leave every one at liberty to write againſt Authors, who are miſtaken, but not to publiſh Satires. It is becauſe Satires diveſt a Man of his Reputation, which is a kind of civil Homicide (12), and conſequently a Puniſhment, which ought only to be inflicted by the Sovereign; but the criticizing of a Book tends only to ſhew, that an Author has not ſuch and ſuch a degree of Knowledge. Now as he may enjoy all the Rights, and all the Privileges, of the Society, with this Defect of Knowledge, without his Reputation of an honeſt Man and a good Subject of the Common-Wealth receiving the leaſt Blemiſh by it; no Uſurpation is made on the Majeſty of the State, in ſhewing the public the Faults, which are in a Book. It is true, the Reputation of being a learned Man, which an Author has acquired, is, ſometimes, diminiſhed thereby, as alſo the pecuniary Profit, which he drew from it: but if it be done in Support of the Cauſe of Reaſon, and for the Intereſt of Truth only, and in a civil manner, no Body ought to find Fault with it (13). Such Critics have nothing in common with the Writers of diffamatory Libels; they advance nothing without Proof; they are both Witneſſes and Accuſers, expoſed to the Puniſhment of Retaliation; they run the ſame hazard they make others run; but a Libeller hides himſelf, that he may not be obliged to prove what he publiſhes, and that he may do evil without being anſwerable for it. So that natural Juſtice requires, that every Member of the Common-Wealth ſhould preſerve his Independency as to the Refutation of Authors, without any regard to the Relation of Father, Father in-law, Husband, Brother, *&c.* We have ſeveral Inſtances of it: *Joſeph Scaliger*, and *Iſaac Voſſius*, have not ſpared their Fathers Opinions; and we ſee that Mr *Bernoulli*, Profeſſor at *Baſil*, and Mr *Bernoulli*, Profeſſor at *Groningen*, do not ſpare each other, notwithſtanding their being Brothers (14).

[E] Gaſſendus *deſerves a little Cenſure here.*] He obſerves, that *Horace*'s calling *Catius Inſuber* a learned Man, is a thing very honourable to his Memory (15): but, if he had conſulted the place well, he would have ſeen, that it was meer Irony, and that *Horace* is ſo far from being fit to be cited in favour of *Catius*'s Learning, that, on the contrary, his Teſtimony can only ſerve to make that Philoſopher ridiculous. It is not many Years ago, that a *Carteſian* having ſaid in his Conferences, that this Propoſition *Two and Two make Four* admits of no Difficulty, found himſelf ſoon after crowned with the praiſe of a learned Man for that Thought. *Two and Two make Four*, ſaid one of the Company, *as Mr ſuch an one has learnedly obſerved.* If the Acts of that Conference were public, I would rather make uſe of them to prove, that this Philoſopher had been called *learned*, than to alledge as *Gaſſendus* did, the *Docte Cati* of *Horace*'s Satire, in honour to the Memory of *Catius Inſuber*. It had been better not to have paſſed over in Silence the four Books he had written *De rerum natura & de ſummo bono.*

Permit me to obſerve by the way, that there are ſo many Citations in the Writings of *Gaſſendus*, that it muſt not be wondered at, if they are not all right, ſince his main Deſign conſiſted in ſomething elſe, *viz.* Philoſophical Doctrines. It may be affirmed, that he was the moſt excellent Philoſopher among the Humaniſts, and the moſt learned Humaniſt among Philoſophers: *Philoſopherum literatiſſimus, literatorum maxime Philoſophus.* Thoſe who took care of the Edition of his Works, after his Death, had not patience enough; from whence it happened, that they have very often miſplaced the Citations. For example, in the Fifteenth Page of the firſt Volume, they cite *Terence in Andr.* over againſt a Paſſage of *Perſius*; whereas they ought to have placed the Citation three or four Lines higher, where the Author had quoted a Paſſage of *Terence.*

[F] Coſtar *deſerves it no leſs.*] Theſe are his Words: 'Is *Catius*, who diſcourſes in *Horace* * ſo 'ſeriouſly and gravely about Cookery, a leſs polite 'Author for it, and has he loſt any thing of his 'eſteem (16)?' The leaſt School-Boy, who had read That place of *Horace* with a little Attention, would anſwer *yes* to this Queſtion of *Coſtar*, ſince it is plain, that the *Catius* of *Horace* is a Perſon, who is turned into ridicule. I do not know why Mr *de Girac* took no notice of this Fault of his Adverſary.

[G] Glandorpius *has committed another Miſtake.*] Having ſpoken of *Catius Celſus*, Prætor in the Conſulſhip of *L. Cotta* and *L. Torquatus*, which was in the Year of *Rome* 688, he adds, that there was another *Catius* before him (17): it is he, who makes the ſubject of this Article; for *Glandorpius* attributes to him what *Quintilian* and *Cicero* ſay of *Catius* the Epicurean; nay, and he pretends, that it is of him that *Horace* ſpoke in the Fourth Satire of the Second Book. How then could he imagine him anterior to

(11) Ovid. Metam. lib. 1, ver. 144.

(12) See the Diſſertation on diffamatory Libels, at the end of this Dictionary.

(13) The Abbot *de St Real* has ſaid ſomething againſt this Theſis, in his Book entituled *de la Critique*: it would be eaſy to refute him.

(14) See the *Journal of the Learned*, 1698.

(15) Gaſſend. de vita & moribus Epicuri, lib. 2, cap. 6.

* Sat. iv, lib. ii.

(16) *Coſtar*, Continuation of the Defence of *Voiture*, pag. 485.

(17) Glandorp. Onomaſt. pag. 211.

rant, on *Chabot*'s Authority, that *Catius* taught *Virgil* Epicureism [*H*]. A particular Reason engages me to infer, in this Article, a Miſtake of *Scaliger*, in relation to the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*, of which I ſpoke in the Project of this Work [*I*].

Catius Celſus? It muſt be, that he neither thought on the common Opinion, that he, of whom *Horace* ſpeaks, was then yet living; nor on the Paſſage of *Cicero*, which informs us, that *Catius Inſaber* died a little before the Year of *Rome* 708.

[*H*] *I would not warrant, on the Authority of* Chabot, *that* Catius *taught* Virgil *Epicureiſm.*] If I ſhould be aſked, from whence *Chabot* (18) had it, that *Virgil* reliſhed Epicureiſm by the means of our *Catius*, born at *Milan*, I believe I might anſwer, without any Miſtake, that it is out of the Commentary of *Joſeph Scaliger* on the *Catalecta* of *Virgil*; but, for all that, I ſhould not be the more certain of the Fact, ſince That great Critic gives no good reaſon for it. I find indeed in *Servius* (19), that *Virgil* and *Varus* had learned Philoſophy under *Siron* (20): but nothing at all of *Catius*: and beſides, all the *Inſubrians* were not of *Milan*.

(18) In Horat. Sat. 4, lib. 2.

(19) In Eclog. vi, Virgilii.

(20) *Scaliger* and *Chabot* call him *Seiron*, and ſay that *Virgil* was his Diſciple at *Milan*.

[*I*] *A Fault of* Scaliger —— *of which I have ſpoken in the* Project *of this Work.*] I had reſolved to ſuppreſs this Remark, ſince I could not inſert it in it's natural place, which was the Article of the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*, which I do not give in this Edition: I ſay, I had reſolved on it, when a particular Reaſon made me take other Meaſures. I will explain what it is; but firſt of all I ſhall ſet down the Remark, as it is found in the Project of this Dictionary.

REMARK on the Effect of Inattention. *Scaliger* quoted for an Example.

The great *Scaliger*, who exerciſed himſelf often in the Rules of Arithmetic, than any Banker or Financier, fell doubtleſs into ſuch an Inattention, when he computed the weight of the famous *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*. He found by his Calculation, that, ſince the Merchant, who bought the pieces of That *Coloſſus*, loaded Nine hundred Camels with them, the weight thereof amounted to Seven hundred twenty thouſand Pounds, or to One hundred and forty four Quintals (21): for, ſays he, the Burthen of a Camel is double to That of a Mule, and contains Eight hundred Pounds. By the Rule of Multiplication it is eaſy to avert, that Nine hundred Camels, each of them loaded with Eight hundred Pounds, carry Seven hundred twenty thouſand weight; but to find that One hundred and forty four Quintals are equivalent to Seven hundred twenty thouſand weight, Five thouſand muſt be taken for an *hundred* in multiplying: that is to ſay, one muſt have forgot, that a Quintal is but an hundred Pound weight, and take it to be five thouſand Pounds weight. A great Wit will ſooner fall into theſe Miſtakes than an indifferent one, and does not deſerve any Inſult for it. Therefore the Harſhneſs of *Leo Allatius*, who has reproved this Error in Multiplication with very injurious Words, is but little excuſable. Mr *Chevreau* takes him to task roundly for it (22): He ought to be thanked for it; but he will give me leave to ſay, that, ſince he believed, that *Scaliger* reckons nine hundred Pounds for the loading of a Camel, he ſhould not have overlooked, as he has done, this Miſtake of *Scaliger*, *viz.* that the loading of nine hundred Camels make but Seven hundred and twenty thouſand Pound weight. After being miſtaken in ſetting down Nine hundred inſtead of Eight hundred, he ought to have found a Miſtake in That Sum of Pounds, and not be ſatisfied with finding one in the Equivalency, which *Scaliger* has put between That ſame Sum and One hundred and forty four Quintals. He had erred conſiſtently, which is a ſort of exactneſs not to be deſpiſed. Mr *Chevreau* believes, that this Paſſage was miſprinted, and conſequently he would not have it ſerve for the uſe, to which I employ it here, that is to ſay, as an Example of the Effect of Inattention.

(21) Scalig. Animadverſ. in Chron. Euſebii, pag. 138, Edit. 1658.

(22) Hiſtory of the World, Tom. IV, pag. 20, Edit of *Holland*, 2687, and pag. 310, Edit of *Holl.* 1698.

I have inſerted in this place this Paſſage relating to the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*, for the ſake of thoſe, who might have objected to me, that I ſuppoſe, without reaſon, that it is ſometimes ſaid, in multiplying, three times ſeven *is* twenty two. The cauſe that I aſſign of this ſmall Miſtake of *Scaliger*, ſeems to me to be ſo much the more likely, becauſe I find no ground for a Conjecture, which might at firſt preſent itſelf to the mind: which is, that perhaps the Quintal, of which he ſpeaks, and which is That of *Guienne* and of *Spain*, weighed five thouſand Pounds (23): but ſome Perſons, who have informed themſelves well of the matter, have aſſured me, that no ſuch Quintal is known either in *Guienne* or in *Spain*.

(23) Vulgo ut mercatores noſtri & Magnati in Aquitania & Hiſpania loquuntur (*ſeptingenta viginti millia pondo*) eſſent centum quadraginta octo quintalia. *Scaliger. Animad. in Chron. Euſebii, pag.* 138.

This is what I ſaid in my *Project*. I would not have repeated it in this Article, if Mr *Chauvin*, a Miniſter of *Rotterdam*, had not communicated a Memorial to me, ſent from *London*, containing ſome critical Remarks on my *Project*. They were ſent to be inſerted in his new Journal of the Learned, publiſhed at *Rotterdam*. I cannot tell whether he will do it or not: I have deſired him to do it, and to add my Anſwer to thoſe Remarks (24). One of theſe Remarks contains a Conjecture, much more probable than mine, of the Cauſe of *Scaliger*'s Error. I am very glad that the Public gains by it; and I am not aſhamed that another has gueſſed better than myſelf. Here is the Paſſage of the Memorial:

(24) Having been invited to *Berlin*, to be Profeſſor of Philoſophy, ſince the firſt Impreſſion of this Page, he continues his Journal there, and has inſerted the Memoir in Queſtion, and my Anſwers, in it, in the Months of *March* and *April*, 1696 [§ * Mr *Chauvin* died at *Berlin*, the 6th of *April*, 1725, aged 85 Years. REM. CRIT.]

'I believe it may be conjectured how the great *Scaliger* miſtook in the Calculation he made of the weight of the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*; the Pieces whereof were the Loading of Nine hundred Camels. *Scaliger* takes each Loading to Eight hundred Pound weight; which is, according to him, the double Load of a Mule, and whereof the total amounts to Seven hundred and twenty thouſand Pound weight, which he reduces, by an enormous Error, to One hundred and forty four Quintals. Commonly, good Arithmeticians cut off the Cyphers in their Multiplications, which are at the end of the Number they intend to multiply, and of the Multiplier, and multiply only the Figures, to avoid an uſeleſs redoubling of the Cyphers. Afterwards they add as many Cyphers to the Product of their Multiplication as they had cut off from the Multiplicand, and from the Multiplier, if it has alſo any Cyphers. For example, I would know what the Price of 400 Hogſheads of Wine amounts to at 90 Livres the Hogſhead; I multiply only 9 by 4, which are the Figures of my two Numbers, and which give me the Product 36; to which I add afterwards the three Cyphers, which are in both my Numbers, the Multiplicand and the Multiplier, which makes juſt 36000 Livres, and is the Price that I would know. Likewiſe *Scaliger*, having valued every Camel's Loading at the rate of the double Loading of a Mule, at 800 Pound weight, which make juſt 8 Quintals, and, there being 900 Camels, he multiplied 9 by 8, which produced 72. Now, as it happens often, that thoſe, who calculate, prepoſſeſs themſelves ſo much, that ſometimes they not only do what they think not of, but likewiſe the contrary of what they intend to do; *Scaliger*, having the double loading of a Mule for that of a Camel in his Head, inſtead of adding the two Cyphers, of the multiplied Number 900, to the Number 72, which was the Product, which would have made 7200, which is the juſt Number of the Quintals, doubled the Product 72, which made 144; ſuch a different Number from 7200, the juſt Total of the Quintals, that it is impoſſible to conceive how it could happen otherwiſe, there being no probability in the Author's Conjecture, who pretends, that *Scaliger, forgetting, that a Quintal is but an hundred Pounds*, counted it at the rate of Five thouſand Pounds.'

What the Author of the Memoir has been ſaying, ſeems to me a very happy Thought, and I do not queſtion but that he gueſſes at the true Cauſe of *Scaliger*'s Error; an Error, which by this way is no leſs a ſtrong Proof of the Effect of Diſtractions, than by the way I have ſhewed.

CATO the Cenſor. Look for PORCIUS (MARCUS).

CATTHO (ANGELO), Archbiſhop of *Vienne*, in the XVth Century, was of *Taranto*. As he had addicted himſelf to the Party of *Anjou*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Dukes *John* and *Nicolas* of *Calabria* (*a*), who pretended ſucceſſively *to the Marriage of the only Daughter of Duke* Charles *of* Burgundy ——— kept him *near the ſaid Duke's Perſon, to negotiate that Marriage on their Part.* This Negotiation had no Succeſs; they *did not live long, but died ſoon after one another.* After their Death, the Duke of *Burgundy*, *knowing the great Senſe and Virtue of* Angelo Cattho, *retained him in his Service, and gave him a Penſion.* *Cattho* civilly took his leave of him after the Battle of *Morat*, and retired to the Court of *Lewis* XI (*b*), where he was well received; and the Dignity of the King's Almoner was conferred upon him, and afterwards the Archbiſhopric of *Vienne*. Some ſay he ſerved *Lewis* XI as a Phyſician and Aſtrologer [*A*]. *He was a Perſon of a good Life, great Literature, and Modeſty, and very learned in Mathematics* (*c*). ——— *He died, having lived holily and auſterely, and lies in his Church of* Vienne (*d*). A ſtrict Friendſhip was formed between him and *Philip de Comines*, whilſt they were at the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Court; and it continued whilſt they were in the Service of *Lewis* XI (*e*). It was at the Sollicitation of *Angelo Cattho*, that *Philip de Comines* wrote the Memoirs which we have of his compoſing. He declares ſo in his firſt Lines, and addreſſes his Diſcourſe to him in ſeveral Places of his Work, which he does ſometimes, to praiſe him for having foretold things to come, a long time before they came to paſs [*B*]. Some ſurprizing Particulars are told of This Perſon's Gift of Prophecy [*C*], and which might afford Matter for many Reflexions. I muſt take notice

(*a*) They were Heirs of the Houſe of *Anjou*, and had great Right to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

(*b*) Taken from a Diſcourſe at the beginning of the Proofs and Illuſtrations of the Memoirs of *Philip de Comines*.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 3.

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 9.

(*e*) Ibid. pag. 3.

[*A*] *Some ſay, that he ſerved* Lewis XI, *as a Phyſician and Aſtrologer.*] *Peter Matthieu*, having written, that That Prince, being fallen into a fainting Fit, *was ſo ſpeedily aſſiſted by the Lord* du Bouchage, *who was his Phyſician, and afterwards Archbiſhop of* Vienne, *that, after having taken a Cluſter, he recovered*, advertiſes us, in the Index, that we muſt put out the Name of *du Bouchage*, and read *Angelo Catto* (1). When he ſpeaks of the Aſtrologers, which *Lewis* XI employed, and had an Eſteem for, he expreſſes himſelf thus (2): 'But he had chiefly 'a great Eſteem for *Angelo Cattho*, a *Neapolitan*, 'who came into *France* with the Prince of *Tarante*, 'and had foretold to the Duke of *Burgundy*, and 'the Duke of *Gualderland*, their Misfortunes. The 'King gave him the Archbiſhopric of *Vienne*, on which 'he could not reſide, by reaſon of the great Diſturbances he met with from thoſe of *Dauphiné*, and was 'forced to retire to *Rome* (3).' *Naudé* ſays the ſame Thing (4), and quotes the Life of *Angelo Cattho*, compoſed by *Sleidan* (5). I ſhall quote *Claudius Robert* below, who aſſures us, that our *Cattho* was Phyſician to *Lewis* XI. Let us hold this for certain: for *Philip de Comines* mentions it. *You came there*, ſays he (6), ſpeaking of a Sickneſs of *Lewis* XI, *immediately, my Lord of* Vienne, *you who was then his Phyſician.* I do not think, that *Peter Matthieu* is in the right, when he ſays, that *Cattho* came into *France* with the Prince of *Taranto*; for it appears plainly by *Philip de Comines* (7), that That Prince left the Duke of *Burgundy*, to come to *Lewis* XI, the Eve before the Battle of *Morat*, and that *Angelo Cattho* was with That Duke after the Loſs of That Battle. The Hiſtorian, having ſpoken of the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Affliction, after the Misfortune of That Day, does he not ſpeak thus? 'And this, my 'Lord of *Vienne*, you know better than myſelf, as 'being the Perſon, who helped him to drive away 'his Melancholy, and cauſed his Beard to be ſhaved, 'which he had let grow (8).' I cannot tell whether we may believe what *Don Juan Vitrian* ſays, that *Angelo Cattho* took refuge in *France*, with *John* of *Anjou*, Duke of *Calabria*, and that, after That Duke's Death, and That of his Son *Nicolas* of *Anjou*, he put himſelf into the Service of the Duke of *Burgundy* (9).

(1) Peter Matthieu, Hiſtory of *Lewis* XI, *Book* x, circa Init. pag. m. 522, ad Ann. 1480.

(2) Id. ibid. lib. 11, pag. 729.

(3) See Remark [*D*], at the end.

(4) Naudé's Additions to the Hiſtory of *Lewis* XI, pag. 119.

(5) He has placed it before his Latin Tranſlation of *Philip de Comines*.

(6) Philip de Comines, lib. 6, cap. 7, pag. m. 377, ad Ann. 1480.

(7) Id. lib. 5, cap. 3, pag. 268.

(8) Id. ibid. cap. 7, pag. 275.

(9) Juan. Vitrian's preliminary Notes on *Philip de Comines*.

(10) He was the Son of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*.

[*B*] Comines —— *ſometimes praiſes him for having foretold Things to come.*] He relates, that *Don Frederic of Arragon*, Prince of *Taranto* (10), who had been a Year with the Duke of *Burgundy*, in hopes of marrying his Daughter, was diſguſted with the Delays, 'and took leave of That Duke, 'the Evening before the Battle of *Morat*. —— Some 'ſay, *continues he*, that he made uſe of your Advice, 'my Lord of *Vienne*; for I have heard him ſay ſo, 'when he came to the King, and alſo the Duke of 'Auſtria, called Count *Julio*, and divers others, 'and that you wrote, and ſaid, in *Italy*, what would 'happen in the firſt and ſecond Battle, ſeveral Days 'before they were fought (11).' See here how he ſpeaks to him in another Place: 'King *Alphonſus* '—— had a Son, who was a fine Man, whoſe 'Name was *Don Ferrand*, aged Twenty two or 'Twenty three Years, bearing Arms alſo, and well 'beloved in That Kingdom: and a Brother, called 'Don *Frederic*, ſince King, after *Ferrand*, in our 'Time, a wiſe Man, who commanded their Naval 'Forces, having been educated a long time in theſe 'Parts, of whom you, my Lord of *Vienne*, have 'many times aſſured me, by Aſtrology, that he 'ſhould be King: and he promiſed me, from that 'time, Four thouſand Livres, yearly Revenue, in 'the ſaid Kingdom, if it ſhould ſo happen to him: 'And That Promiſe was made Twenty Years before it came to paſs (12).'

(11) Philip de Comines, Book 5, cap. 3, pag. m. 266. ad Ann. 1476.

(12) Id. lib. 7, cap. 4, pag 437a ad Ann. 1494.

[*C*] *They relate ſome ſurprizing Particulars of his Gift of Prophecy.*] There is a Summary of the Life of *Angelo Cattho*, prefixed to the Pieces, which ſerve for Proofs and Illuſtrations to the Memoirs of *Philip de Comines*. That Summary *was found among the Papers of an ancient Man, ſtudious and curious of Hiſtory*; He, who compoſed it, declares, that he relates there *what had been collected and heard concerning him* (13), *by the Report of three Perſons of great Credit, Prudence, and Authority* (14). You will find theſe Words there (15): 'Being in the 'Service of King *Lewis* —— happened the third 'Battle, fought at *Nancy*, in which the ſaid Duke 'was killed, the Eve of the *Epiphany*, in the Year '1476; and, at the Hour that the ſaid Battle was 'given, and at the ſame Inſtant that the Duke was 'killed (16), the ſaid King *Lewis* heard Maſs in the 'Church of *St Martin* at *Tours*, at leaſt ten Days 'Journey diſtant from the ſaid Place of *Nancy*; and, 'at the ſaid Maſs, the ſaid Archbiſhop of *Vienne* 'ſerved him as Almoner, who, giving the *Pax* to 'the ſaid Lord, ſaid theſe following Words to him: '*Sir, God give you Peace and Reſt: You have both if 'you pleaſe*, quia conſummatum eſt: *Your Enemy, 'the Duke of* Burgundy, *is juſt now killed, and his 'Army defeated.* Which Hour, being ſet down, 'was found to be the ſame Hour, wherein the 'ſaid Duke was really killed. And the ſaid Lord, 'hearing theſe Words, was greatly aſtoniſhed, and 'asked the Archbiſhop, whether what he ſaid was 'true, and how he knew it. To which the Archbiſhop anſwered, that he knew it, as the other 'Things, which our Lord had permitted him to 'foretel to him, and to the late Duke of *Burgundy*: and, without any more Words, the ſaid Lord 'made a Vow to God, and to *St Martin*, that, 'if the News he told was true, (as it proved effectually

(13) That is to ſay, of *Angelo Cattho*.

(14) *They are firſt* John Francis de Cardonne, *Lord* de la Foleyne, *the King's Steward*. 2. John Briſonnet, *ſecond Preſident of the Accompts at Paris*. 3. Rinaldo d'Albano, *a Neapolitan Gentleman*.

(15) Summary of the Life of *Angelo Cattho*, p. 4.

(16) Peter Matthieu, Hiſtory of *Lewis* XI, *Book* 7, pag. m. 392, ſays, that it was the next Day after the Battle, that the Archbiſhop of *Vienne* told the King the News in preſenting the *Pax* to him.

notice of some Faults of Mr *Moreri* [D], and of Dr *Nicolo Toppi* [E], and of Mr *Varillas* [F].

fectually soon after) he would cause the Bars of *St Martin's* Shrine (which were of Iron) to be made all of Silver: Which Vow the said Lord performed afterwards, and caused the said Grate to be made, to the Value of an Hundred thousand Livres, or thereabouts.' See two other Predictions: 'Angelo Catthe met, one Morning very early, Messire *William Briçonnet* —— General of *Languedoc*, who was going to *Lewis* XI. to *Plessis* at *Tours*.' Having been some time without speaking, and looking up to Heaven, and then on the said General, he said at last these Words to him: *General, I have told you many times, that the passing and frequenting of Waters is dangerous for you, and that, some time or other, it would prove very dangerous to you, and perhaps the Cause of your Death: I come from* du Plessis, *where you are going: the Waters are out at* Pont-Saincte-Ann, *the Bridge is broke; and there is a bad Boat: if you believe me, you will not go thither.* Nevertheless the General would not believe him, but went on: and, indeed, he was in the greatest danger in the World of being drowned; for he fell into the Water, and, if he had not taken hold of a Willow-Tree, he had been lost. He was carried back to his House, where he lay a long time sick, as well through the Fright, as the great Quantity of Water, which had got into his Body through his Mouth, Nose, and Ears (17).' In That Sickness, he was visited by *Angelo Catthe*, who said, one Day, to him, you will make a great Figure in the Church, and be very near being Pope. *Briçonnet* was married to *Raoullette de Beaune*, a young Woman, who had already brought him some Children, and who was not very well pleased with the Prediction; 'For it was as much as to say, that she should should die first (a Thing, which Women do not willingly love to hear): nevertheless the said Lady lived a long time after, and had several Children, and, for that Reason, they and divers others, said often, that the said Archbishop did not always say true: But, at last, she went off first, and the said General, her Husband, survived her, who lived a long time a Widower without talking of becoming a Churchman (18);' but, at last, having followed *Charles* VIII to the Conquest of *Naples*, 'he was made a Churchman at *Rome*, Bishop of St *Malo*, and Abbot of St *Germain des Prez*, and then Cardinal, and afterwards Archbishop of *Reims*, and of *Narbonne*, and had some Votes in the Election of a Pope, after the Death of *Alexander* VI (19).' Some Authors report, that *Angelo Catthe* foretold to *Bajazet*'s Brother, 'That one of the greatest Kings of *Christendom* should endeavour to re-establish him; but that it would be without any Effect, and that he had much more reason to fear his private, than his public Enemies; that he had no need to fear the Sword or the Bowstring; that his Fate was occult, and that his Death was hid (20).' This Brother of *Bajazet* fled at first to the Island of *Rhodes*, from whence he passed into *France*, where he lived some Years. He was afterwards sent to *Rome*, to be kept by *Innocent* VIII. He lived there till the Year 1494, when he was poisoned by *Alexander* VI, whilst the King of *France* thought of restoring him (21).

(17) Summary of the Life of *Ang. Catthe*. pag. 5, 6.

(18) Ibid. pag. 7.

(19) Ibid. pag. 8.

(20) Recollets's Life of Sultan *Comet*, p. 112.

(21) Taken from the same Life, pag. 176, & seq.

These are things, which nonplus Philosophy; for there is no good System to be invented, which can account for them. And therefore most Philosophers deny the Facts of this Nature, which are so frequent in Books, and yet more frequent in common Discourse. But it must be owned, that the denying of all these Things has it's Inconveniencies, and does not satisfy the Minds of those, who weigh exactly the Reasons *pro* and *con*. The Reason of a Christian Philosopher will, without any Difficulty, admit the Supposition, that GOD communicates to some Persons the Quality of a Prophet, when it is requisite to establish or confirm the Truths of great Importance to Salvation, or to stop the over-flowing of Sin, or to strike some very great Blow, necessary for the Good of the Church. If *Angelo Catthe* had been in Circumstances of this Nature, it might be comprehended, that GOD had raised him up to Prophecy; but he was a Courtier, who laboured only to negotiate an advantageous Marriage, according to the World, for his Masters, or to settle himself in a good Post; he was moreover one, who pretended to Astrology. Now nothing seems more unworthy of GOD, than to reveal Things to come to an Astrologer; I mean, to reward the most impertinent and chimerical Study with so exquisite a Favour. If a Devil, or any disorderly Spirit, should reveal Things to come to Calculators of Nativities, and Makers of Figures of Geomancy (22), such things might be comprehended; for, since he is criminal, nothing hinders him from being capricious and fanciful, and from directing his Conduct by Puerilities, the better to make a Mock at Things. But besides, can a created Spirit see, that, in twenty Years, the Husband of a young Wife shall be a Cardinal? To predict this, must he not know the Series of an almost infinite number of corporeal and spiritual Motions? Can the Knowledge of a Creature contain so many Things at once? And, if it contains them, there is no Free-Will: All the Thoughts of Man are linked, with a natural and indissoluble Tye, to the Tad of each other. These are then Abysses, wherein a Philosopher's Reason cannot but lose itself; it chooses rather to deny whatsoever is said of Predictions, an inconvenient Resource! for who can think, that *Philip de Comines* would tell a Lie, in affirming, that *Angelo Catthe* had told him several times, that *Frederic* of *Arragon* should be King, twenty Years before the Event?

(22) I have said, in the Remark [D], of the Article RUGGIERI, that, if Astrology be a means of divining, it is necessarily a Part of Magic.

I do not deny, but that there is reason to place most of the Stories, which are spread about Predictions, in the Rank of Fables: for it must be owned, that they, who cry them up with the greatest Confidence, have too much neglected to guard against an incredulous Reasoner: They seldom speak of Predictions till after the Event; they take no care to prove them according to judicial Forms; they do not strengthen them with the Authority of an incontestable Monument. Now, 'tis they neglect this, on Occasions, where it would be most easy to oppose an impenetrable Buckler against the Strokes of Incredulity, they ought not to wonder, that their Relations are called in question. One of Those Occasions is the Mass, at which they pretend, that *Angelo Catthe* declared to the King the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*: They ought to have presented a Petition to That Monarch, to request him most humbly to declare, to his whole Council, what *Angelo Catthe* had said to him, and order his Chancellor to draw up an Act of it, which should be inserted in the Archives of the Crown, and among the Records of the Parliaments of the Kingdom. They should have exhorted him to cause some Columns to be erected, with an Inscription, containing the Fact, or to desire him, at least, to cause it to be engraven on the Bars of the Shrine of St *Martin*, since, in consequence of such a Prophecy, he had vowed a Silver Grate for That Shrine, and had accomplished his Vow. What could incredulous Men have said in such a Case? And what could they have opposed against such cotemporary and authentic Monuments? But, without taking such Measures, if This Adventure had been true, it would have maintained itself against Incredulity. *Lewis* XI would have told it an hundred times at Table, and before the Embassadors of Princes; and so there would have been some Writings, which would testify, that it came from his Mouth. I am certain, that the Records of St *Martin*'s Church would have contained an Act about it, if it were true, that That Prince had caused a Silver Grate to be made, in Performance of his Vow. Since, then, This Adventure is only supported by the Witness of an anonymous Writer (23), who declares, that he does not relate any thing of *Angelo Catthe*, but what he heard three Persons say, we may reasonable reject it. Besides, since *Philip de Comines* does not speak of it, we have reason to decide, that it is a Fable. It is impossible, that he should have been ignorant of That Dialogue between his Friend and *Lewis* XI, and that, having known it, he should have said nothing of it in his Memoirs, wherein he speaks of some other Predictions of *Angelo Catthe* of less Importance than That. His Silence is a negative Argument, which is, in this Case, a good Demonstration, or, at least, of quite another

(23) The Author of the above-quoted Summary of the Life of *Catthe*.

REFLEXIONS on the Difficulty of explaining what is said of Predictions, and on the Neglect of strengthening such Reports with judicial Forms.

Weight, than the Affirmation of three Persons named by the anonymous Author. Observe, that the anonymous Author does not say, that those three Persons gave Testimony about that Dialogue; so that it may be pretended, that he heard it but from one of them. Now, when the chief of the three Predictions is a Fable, the other two may be rejected; and so the Author of the Summary cannot reasonably cure any Body of the Spirit of Unbelief.

Note, that Mr *Amyraut* has made use of These three Facts, to shew, that Things to come may be foretold, without being a Prophet (24). His Design is to answer this Argument of the Catholics: There have been some Doctors in the *Roman* Communion, who have foretold Things to come: It is, then, the true Church, since GOD preserves the Gift of Prophecy in it.

(24) Amyraut, Of the Elevation of Faith, and the Abasement of Reason, p. 258, 259.

[D] *I shall take notice of some Faults of Mr* Moreri.] I. He says, that *Angelo Cattho* was born at *Benevento*; but those, who might very well know the thing, make him a Native of *Taranto*. II. He makes him Great Almoner of *France*; but he ought to have known, that That Title did not begin but in the Person of Cardinal *de Meudon*, in the Reign of *Francis* I (25). Before That Time they used the Title of the King's Great Almoner; and this very Title was unknown in the Time of *Lewis* XI; It began to take place in the Person of *Godfrey de Pompadour*, Bishop of *Perigueux* under *Charles* VIII (26). III. *Claudius Robertus* informs us, That *Angelo Cattho* was buried in his Metropolitan Church. See his Words here: 'Angelus Cato 'Tarentinus, ex Medico & Eleemosynario Ludo-'vici XI. cujus suasu scripsit commentarios rerum 'Francicarum Philippus Cominens. Jacet in sua 'Metropoli. Ejus erat symbolum: ingenium superat vires (27). —— Angelo Cattho *of* Taranto, *formerly Physician and Almoner to* Lewis XI, *by whose Persuasion* Philip de Comines *wrote an History of the* French *Affairs. He lies buried in his Metropolis. His Motto was*; Ingenium superat vires —— The Abilities of the Mind are superior to Those of the Body.' This makes me question what Mr *Moreri* says; That, in 1494, he went to *Benevento*, and that he died there, in 1497. We have seen, that another Author (28) affirms, That he was obliged to retire to *Rome*. This is doubtful. As for Mr *Moreri's* Omissions, they may be known by comparing his Article with mine.

(25) See *du Peirat's* Antiquities of the King's Chapel, *Book* I, *chap.* lxi.

(26) Id. ibid.

(27) Claudius Robertus, in Gallia Christiana, pag. 182, in Catal. Præsul. Viennens. n. 96, apud Dionys. Gothofred. *in the Proofs and Illustrations of* Phil. de Comines, *pag.* m. 10.

(28) Matthieu, *above, Remark* [A], *Cuat.* (1).

[E] ---- *And of Dr* Nicolò Toppi] He speaks of an *Angelo Catone* of *Benevento*, and of an *Angelo Catone* of *Taranto*. The first, says he, was very well versed in all Sciences, and for that reason most dear to *Charles* VIII. His Merit, and that Monarch's Favour, raised him to the Archbishopric of *Vienne*. The second was Physician and Almoner to *Lewis* XI, who ingaged him to write *li Commentarii delle cose di Francia*, —— *An History of the* French *Affairs*; as *Philip de Comines* informs us, quoted by *Claudius Robertus*, pag. 182 of the *Gallia Christiana* (29). It is plain that the Author of the *Biblioteca Napoletana* has split one Author into two; for the same *Angelo Cattho*, who was Physician and Almoner of *Lewis* XI, was Archbishop of *Vienne*; and That was before *Charles* VIII ascended the Throne: It is false, that he wrote a Book at the Sollicitation of *Lewis* XI, and that *Philip de Comines* speaks of it, and that *Claudius Robertus* alledges *Comines* for a Proof of such a Thing. How much are Matters of Fact altered, when the Words of an Author are wrong understood! Yet those of *Claudius Robertus* are very intelligible. *Nicodemo* has not criticised *Nicolo Toppi* upon it.

(29) Nicolo Toppi, Biblioteca Napoletana, pag. 27.

[F] ---- *And of Mr* Varillas.] See here what he says (30): 'The Favourers of Judiciary Astrology triumph here upon the Credit of *Philip de Comines*, who reports, That the famous *Angelo Cattho* had taken Part with the Duke of *Burgundy*; either because he had at first preferred That Prince to the King of *France*, or because he had only followed the Example of other learned Persons of his Time, who were wont to go and seek their Fortune in the *Netherlands*, for the only reason, that they made it there with more ease, than elsewhere. He continued That Duke's Domestic, 'till, having exactly cast his Horoscope, he foresaw, that he should die in a pitch'd Battle. From that Time he sought an Occasion to leave him as decently as he could; and, having found it after the Battle of *Morat*, he laid hold of it, as a Man of Understanding. He made his Treaty before-hand with *Lewis* XI; who was not contented to honour him with his Confidence: but his Majesty gave him also the Archbishopric of *Vienne*, and kept him nevertheless at his Court. He said Mass before him in the Church of St *Martin* of *Tours*, at the same time when they fought at *Nancy*; and, when he gave him the Cover of the Chalice to kiss, he said to him: *Sir, GOD gives you Peace* (31).' There are divers Faults in this Narration. I. The Favourers of Judiciary Astrology cannot make any Advantage of what *Cattho* said to *Lewis* XI, during the Mass, at the Moment that Duke *Charles* was killed; for it is plain, that he did not know by Astrology what passed at that time near *Nancy*. II. It is not true, That Astrologers take Advantage of this, on the Credit of *Philip de Comines*. How should they do it, since he says nothing of it? III. It is not true, that the learned Persons of *Italy*, or other Places, *were wont to go and seek their Fortune in the* Netherlands. IV. Nor *that they did it there with more ease than elsewhere*. Can any Examples be given of it? Had it not been better to have said, That *Angelo Cattho* was left with the Duke of *Burgundy*, to negotiate his Master the Duke of *Calabria's* Marriage? This was what ingaged him first at That Court. V. It is not to be found in the Summary of his Life, that he foresaw, by the Horoscope, that the Duke *should die fighting in a pitch'd Battle*. This is only to be found there; 'After the Battle 'of *Morat*, knowing the Obstinacy of the said Duke, 'and, it may be, the Misfortunes, which were to befal him and his Family, he civilly took leave 'of him (32).' What a wide Difference is there between this, and what Mr *Varillas* reports! How enormous is it! The worst is, that *Philip de Comines*, the Author cited by him, does not so much as advance the Conjecture, which we have just now seen. VI. It is not true, that *Angelo Cattho* was Archbishop of *Vienne*, when Duke *Charles* was killed.

(30) Varillas's History of *Lewis* XI, *Book* vii, *pag.* 150, *Edit. of* Holland.

(31) The Author relates the Sequel of the Discourse. See it above, Rem. [C], Citat. (15), towards the middle.

(32) Summary of the Life of *Angelo Cattho*, pag. 4.

The *Spanish* Author (33), who commented on *Philip de Comines's* Memoirs, says, That *Angelo Cattho*, having conjectured or divined the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy*, passed into the King of *France's* Service, a little before it happened, and foretold That Monarch the Loss of That Duke's Battles. This is not exact; for, from the time that This Astrologer was with *Lewis* XI, the Duke lost but one Battle. I forbear to say, that That Author is too modern, to be believed, when he speaks, without quoting Authorities.

(33) Juan. Vivian.

CATULLUS (CAIUS (*a*) VALERIUS), a *Roman* Poet, was born at *Verona* [A], in the 666th Year of *Rome* (*b*). The Beauty of his Verses procured him the Friendship and Consideration of the Learned, and of the fine Wits, who were

(*a*) *Quintus*, according to *Pliny*, lib. 37, cap. 6.

(*b*) The second Year of the 173d Olympiad, wherein St *Jerom* places his Birth, it, according to *Calvisius*, the 666th of *Rome*.

[A] *He was born at* Verona.] St *Jerom* does not believe what Mr *Moreri* attributes to him, That our Poet was born in the Peninsula of *Sirmio* (He does not say so in the least, but names *Verona* positively); much less has he placed his Birth in the CLXIIId Olympiad. *Moreri* was deceived by these Words of *Giraldus* (1): 'Natus quidem in Penin-'sula Sirmione lacus Benaci in agro Veronensi, at 'ipsemet ad ipsam Sirmionem cecinit, Olympiade 'circiter CLXX. ut Hieronymus ex Chronicis Eu-'sebii observat. —— *Born indeed in the Peninsula* Sirmio *of the Lake* Benacus, *near* Verona, *as he himself declares in Verses to that very* Sirmio, *about the CLXXth Olympiad, as* Jerom, *from the Chronicles of* Eusebius, *observes*.' It was easy to perceive two Citations here, and to see, that St *Jerom* was not alledged for the Place of his Birth.

(1) De Poët. Dial. x.

were then at *Rome*, in great Abundance; and, as the ancient *Romans* had not laid down those Rules of Politeness, which at present make those, who compose obscene Verses, and full of bare-faced Debaucheries, fall into public Contempt and Hatred (*c*), *Catullus* did himself no great harm by the gross Obscenities, and infamous Impurities, with which he poisoned many of his Poems. It is believed (*d*), that he gave the Name of *Lesbia* to the most famous of his Mistresses, in honour to *Sappho*, who was of the Island of *Lesbos*, and whose Verses pleased him wonderfully. He translated, or imitated, some of them. The true Name of That Mistress was *Clodia* (*e*). He is very far from the Method of our Poets, who complain always of the Rigour and Insensibility of their fair ones; as for him, he speaks of his *Lesbia*, as of a Woman, who asked him how many Kisses would satisfy him [*B*], and, which is worse, as of a Woman, who prostituted herself to the first Comer. He composed some satirical Verses against *Cæsar* (*f*), which served only to shew the Moderation of the offended Person [*C*]; he was not silent indeed about the heinous Injury he had received from him; but he was contented to oblige the Poet to make him Satisfaction, and the same Day he invited him to Supper. *Suetonius* adds, that *Cæsar* continued to lodge at *Catullus*'s Father's House (*g*); but some learned Men believe, that That Historian did not well observe the Times [*D*]. All our Poet's Verses are not of an ill Example; in some of them (*h*), he expresses such inconsolable Grief for the Death of his Brother, as is altogether edifying. He neither made his Fortune by his Verses, nor in his Travels into *Bithynia* with *Memmius* (*i*), who had obtained the Government of it after his Pretorship. It may easily be known, that he was poor (*k*). Those who say, that *Furius* and *Aurelius* were his intimate Friends, made but a scurvy Knot of them [*E*]; for Those two Men

(*c*) See the *News from the Republic of Letters*, June 1684, Art. 4, pag. 367.

(*d*) Is. Vossius in Catul. pag. 189.

(*e*) Apuleius Apolog.

(*f*) Epigr. 30, 58.

(*g*) Sueton. in Cæsare, [illegible] 73.

(*h*) [illegible], pag. 67, 69, 101.

(*i*) See how he complains of him in the 28th Epigram, which ought to make but one with the 29th.

(*k*) Epigr. 13, 26.

[*B*] *He speaks of his* Lesbia, *as of a Woman, who asked him how many Kisses would satisfy him.*] It is in the seventh Epigram;

Quæris, quot mihi basiationes
Tuæ, Lesbia, sint satis superque?

Lesbia, *my Fairest, you require*
How many Kisses I desire.

He answers, that he desired as many as there are Grains of Sand in the Deserts of *Lybia*, and Stars in the Heavens. As for this Mistress's prostituting herself, see how he speaks of it:

Cœli, Lesbia nostra, Lesbia illa,
Illa Lesbia, quam Catullus unam
Plusquam se, atque suos amavit omnes,
Nunc in quadrivils & angiportis
Glubit magnanimos Remi nepotes (2).

Lesbia, *my Friend, the beauteous She,*
Who more than Life was dear to me,
Now plies in Alleys and in Streets,
And lits with ev'ry Man she meets.

(2) Catull. Epigr. 11x.

It is said, that this filthy Woman was the Sister of the infamous *Clodius*, the great Enemy of *Cicero*. See the Article METELLUS CELER, Remark [*A*], Citat. (3).

[*C*] *His satirical Verses against* Cæsar *served only to shew the Moderation of the offended Person.*] I shall set down all that *Suetonius* says of it, whereby it will appear that *Morteri* gave a very erroneous Account of that Action. 'Valerium Catullum, à 'quo sibi versiculis de Mamurra perpetua stigmata 'imposita non dissimulaverat, satisfacientem eadem 'die adhibuit cœnæ, hospitioque patria ejus sicut 'consueverat uti perseveravit (3). —— *Notwithstanding he could not be ignorant, that* Valerius 'Catullus *had stigmatized him for ever in some* 'Verses *concerning* Mamurra, *yet he the same Day* 'invited him to an Entertainment, and continued to 'lodge with his Father, as before.' *Crinitus* confounded the last Part of this Narrative; since, instead of saying, That *Cæsar* continued to lodge at *Catullus*'s Father's House, he says, That *Catullus* had Leave to continue in *Cæsar*'s House as before, or to make use of the Law of Hospitality, that was between their Families, as before (4). He had reason to conclude from That Law of Hospitality, established between *Cæsar* and the Father of *Catullus*, that This Poet was of no mean Birth; but he should not have said, that *Suetonius* tells us, that the Father of *Catullus* lodged familiarly in the House of *Julius Cæsar*. *Suetonius* says nothing of it; and perhaps that Person never set his Foot in *Rome*. Father *Briet* (5) has transcribed all these Faults of *Crinitus*.

(3) Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. cap. 73.

(4) Crinit. de Poet. Lat. lib. 2, cap. 27.

[*D*] Suetonius *did not well observe the Times.*] *Scaliger* pretended to have surprised him in a notorious Fault (6); but he himself is guilty of a great Mistake. He will have it, that the Reconciliation of *Catullus* with *Cæsar* happened after the Triumph of the latter, and he builds on the satirical Verses of *Catullus*, which make mention of the Spoils of *Pontus*, and of those of *Spain*; consequently they were made after the Victory of *Munda* over the Sons of *Pompey*. Now *Cæsar* went no more into *Gaul* after that last Triumph; so that he could lodge no longer with the Father of *Catullus*, who lived on the other side of the *Po*. This seems convincing, and *Scaliger* would have done well to stop here, as *Casaubon* did in making use of this Remark (7); but he says, that, after the Passage of the *Rubicon*, *Cæsar* went no more into *Gaul*. 'Cæsar non potuit uti ejus (*Catulli*) patris hospitio 'nisi ante bellum civile quum proconsulari imperio 'obtineret Gallias Cisalpinam & Transalpinam. '---- Post transitum Rubiconia, Cæsar nunquam 'postea in Gallias suas reversus est (8).' This is manifestly false. He returned thither, when he went into *Spain*, first to drive out *Pompey*'s Lieutenants before the Battle of *Pharsalia* (9), and afterwards to drive out *Pompey*'s Sons themselves, after the Defeat of *Cato* and *Scipio* in *Africa*. We shall see, in the Remark [*I*] (10), that it is not very certain, that *Cæsar* did not lodge with his Host at *Verona*, after he was reconciled with *Catullus*.

(5) Briet, de Poet. Lat. pag. 14, 15.

(6) Scalig. Animadvers. in Eusseb. n. 1960, pag. mihi 155.

(7) Casaub. in Sueton. Cæs. cap. 73.

(8) Scalig. ubi supra.

(9) Cæsar Insectis in quo agere destinaverat ab urbe proficiscitur atque in ulteriorem Galliam pervenit. *Cæsar, lib. 1, de Bell. Civil. cap. 33, fin.*

(10) Towards the end of the second Paragraph.

[*E*] Furius, Aurelius, *and He, make but a scurvy Knot.*] According to *Crinitus*, these two Men were *Catullus*'s dearest Friends (11). It is true, that, in the eleventh of his Epigrams, he represents them as ready to go to the end of the World, and into the wildest Places, with him; but he says so many disobliging Things of them in other Places, that it cannot be thought their Friendship was of any Continuance. He represents them as open-mouthed Wolves, that, for want of having wherewithal to live, could never free themselves from Hunger.

(11) Inter cæteros amicos Furium & Aurelium magnopere dilexit. *Crinitus de Poetis, lib. 2, cap. 27.*

Aureli pater esuritionum,
Non harum modo, sed quot aut fuerunt,
Aut sunt, aut aliis erunt in annis (12).

(12) Catull. Epigr. 21.

Aurelius!
Father of Famine, present, and to come!

(13) Id. Epig. 23.

He could not have described a Beggar otherwise than he does them (13). On the other side, he represents them as greedy of Sodomy (14), as of Bread

(14) Verum a te metuo tuoque pene Infesto pueris bonis malisque. *Id. Epigr.* 15.

Men wanted Bread. We have not all his Works [*F*]: Thoſe which remain have been printed, and commented upon ſeveral times [*G*]. The Poem of the Vigil of *Venus* is falſely attributed to him. His Death is ill placed by St *Jerom* in the laſt Year of the CLXXXth Olympiad [*H*], that is, according to *Calviſius*, in the Year of *Rome* 696. He muſt then have lived but thirty Years; and he lived longer, but not ſo long as *Joſeph Scaliger* pretended [*I*]; who makes him live above

Bread, and threatens them with an horrible Treatment (15), if they they ſlander him, or debauch the Object of his Flame. This goes beyond Raillery: No body makes ſuch Verſes on the beſt Friends he has; and, if it was true, that theſe Perſons were ill lodged, ill provided with Houſhold-ſtuff, and ill fed, it was therefore the more diſobliging to jeſt upon them for it. So that it is very likely, that *Catullus* paſſed from Friendſhip to a furious Hatred againſt thoſe two Perſons, and all for an infamous Love. 'Cum horum utroque graves poſtea 'inimicitias geſſit, eoſque acerbiſſimis verſibus inſectatus eſt, tum quod ipſum mollem notaſſent, 'tum quod puerum ipſi earum Aurelius quidem 'tentaſſet, Furius vero etiam conſtupraſſet (16). '—— *He had afterwards a grievous Quarrel with 'theſe two Perſons, and ſatirized them in the bit-'tereſt Verſes, both becauſe they had branded him 'with Effeminacy, and becauſe* Aurelius *had indeed 'attempted a Youth, whom* Catullus *loved, and* Furius *had actually debauched him.*' But, admire the Fondneſs of the Poets for their Productions; they rather chuſe to let the Public know the Praiſes they have given to Perſons, whom they afterwards defame, than to ſuppreſs the Verſes, in which thoſe Praiſes are contained. We have ſuch Examples in the Poems, and alſo in the Letters, of ſome modern Authors. When Authors fall out with any one, after the firſt Edition of a Book, it is uſual to leave the Praiſes, they had given him, out of the ſecond; it muſt be then, that Poets and Epiſtolary Writers, who do not ſo, or who, in Imitation of *Catullus*, inſert in the firſt Editions the good and the bad Things, which they have ſaid, of the ſame Perſons, do it becauſe they are pleaſed with the manner, in which they have turned their Thoughts. They prefer the Praiſe, which they hope to draw from it, to the Blame of having blown both hot and cold. When I ſaid, *in Imitation of* Catullus, I conſidered, that he himſelf publiſhed the Collection of his Poems, as appears by his Epiſtle Dedicatory to *Cornelius Nepos*. As for what remains, *Voſſius* durſt not decide, that the *Aurelius* of *Catullus* is *L. Aurelius Cotta*, as ſome think; but he believes his *Furius* is *Furius Bibaculus*, who was far, ſays he, from being a ſtarveling; for we learn from *Horace*, that he was thick, and fat, and a great Eater. *Iſte nihil minus fuit quam eſuriter, erat quippe obeſus & vorax, ut ex Horatio conſtat* (17). The Place of *Horace*, which *Voſſius* hinted at, is in his fifth Satire of the ſecond Book:

(15) Pædicabo ego vos, & irrumabo, Aureli pathice, & cinæde Furi. *Id Epigr.* 16, vide etiam *Epigr.* 21.

(16) Muretus in Ep gram. 21. Catulli.

(17) Iſaac Voſſius in Catull. pag. 32.

——— ſeu pingui tentus omaſo
Furius hybernas cana nive conſpuet Alpes.

Or, ſtrutting big behind a monſtrous Paunch,
Furius with hoary Snow beſpews the wintry Alps.

(18) See *Dacier* on *Horace*, Tom. VI, pag. 411, Edit. of *Holland*.

According to ſome Interpreters (18), *tentus pingui omaſo* ſignifies, that Furius *was ſwelled up with the Tripes that he had eaten; as if* Horace *would have ſaid, that* Furius *fed on none but ſuch kind of Meat*: But others will have it, that theſe Words ſignify, that *Furius* had a great Paunch, a great Belly. *Voſſius* adopts both theſe Significations. He would not get clear ſo eaſily of *Catullus*, as of *Horace*, ſince the *Furius* of *Catullus* was ſo far from having a great Paunch, that he was ſo dry, as ſcarce to have any Spittle.

Atqui corpora ficcior cornu,
Aut ſi quid magis aridum eſt, habetis,
Sole, & frigore, & eſuritione.
Quare non tibi ſit bene ac beate?
A te ſudor abeſt, abeſt ſaliva,
Mucuſque, & mala pituita naſi.
Hanc ad munditiem adde mundiorem,
Quod cuius tibi purior ſalillo eſt,
Nec toto decies cacas in anno:
Atque id durius eſt faba & lapillis,
Quod tu ſi manibus tetas, friceſque,
Non unquam digitum inquinare poſſes (19).

(19) Catull. Epigr. 23.

The Subſtance of theſe Verſes is, that Furius *was ſo dry, with Heat, Cold, and Hunger, that he had neither Sweat nor Spittle left, nor could blow his Noſe; and that he was ſo cleanly, as not to go to ſtool ten times in a Year*, &c. I leave it to thoſe, who wrote ſo many Satires againſt the Paraſite *Montmaur*, to judge, whether *eſuritor* and *vorax* are Terms ſo oppoſite, as *Voſſius* pretended: However it be, he cannot be juſtified, for having taken the *Furius* of *Catullus* for a very fat Man.

[*F*] *We have not all his Works.*] *Crinitus* obſerves, that *Terentianus Maurus* ſpeaks of an *Ithyphallic* Poem of *Catullus*, and that *Pliny* (20) aſcribes to him a Poem on the Inchantments uſed to make one's ſelf beloved; a Matter, which had been treated of, before him, by *Theocritus*, and which *Virgil* treated of after *Catullus*. As for the *Ithyphallic* Verſes, or concerning the impure Divinity of *Priapus*, *Crinitus* ſhould not have ſaid, that they are loſt.

(20) Plin. lib. 28, cap. 2. Crinitus, *and* Geſner *after him, cite* lib. 38.

[*G*] *What remains, has been printed and commented upon ſeveral times.*] The chief Editions of *Catullus* are thoſe of *Scaliger*, and *Paſſerat*. The firſt of thoſe two Critics corrected many Paſſages, with great Penetration of Mind, and an uncommon Erudition. The oldeſt Edition, if I am not miſtaken, is That of *Venice* 1488, with the Commentaries of *Antony Parthenius*. The Commentaries of *Muretus*, Thoſe of *Achilles Statius*, and the *Lectiones* of *Titius*, are not to be deſpiſed. Mr *Gravius*, to whom the Public is indebted for ſo many good Editions, procured one of *Catullus* at *Utrecht* in the Year 1680, wherein he inſerted the entire Notes of a very great number of Commentators. The Edition of *Iſaac Voſſius*, printed at *Leyden* (21), in the Year 1684, is accompanied with a very learned Commentary. See, upon this, and on the Edition *in uſum Delphini*, the *News from the Republic of Learning*, 1684. A *Florentine*, called *Tuſcanella*, made a very ample Index to *Catullus*, which was inſerted by *John Gebhard* in his Edition *Variorum* of *Frankfort* 1621.

(21) *In the Title there is only* proſtant apud Ilzacum Littleburii Bibliopolam Londinenſem.

[*H*] *His Death is ill placed, by St* Jerom, *in the CLXXXth Olympiad.*] The Britannic Expedition is ſpoken of in the Verſes, which *Catullus* made againſt *Cæſar*. Now That Expedition was made the firſt time in the 698th Year of *Rome*. It is then moſt certain, that *Catullus* was not dead in the Year 696.

[*I*] *He lived not ſo long as* Joſeph Scaliger *pretended.*] Let us examine his four Reaſons a little. He ſays (22), I. That *Catullus* was living, when *Virgil* compoſed his Æneid, and to prove it he alledges theſe Verſes of *Martial*:

(22) Scaliger, Animadv. in Euſeb. n. 1960.

Sic forſan tener auſus eſt Catullus
Magno mittere paſſerem Maroni (23).

(23) Mart. Epigr. 24, lib. 4.

Perhaps the ſoft Catullus *dared to ſend*
His Sparrow to great Maro, *as his Friend.*

Now *Virgil* did not compoſe That Work till a long time after the Death of *Julius Cæſar*. II. That the Satire of *Catullus* makes mention of the four Triumphs of *Julius Cæſar*: there paſſed but little time then between the Poet's Reconciliation with the Emperor, and the Death of the latter, ſince *Cæſar* was killed a Year after his Triumphs. III. That it ſeems *Cornelius Nepos* wrote under *Auguſtus*: Now *Catullus* makes mention of the Chronicles of *Cornelius Nepos*. IV. Laſtly, that *Catullus*, aged Seventy one Years, ſaw the Secular Games celebrated in the 737th Year of *Rome*: This appears plainly by his *Carmen Seculare*; for why would he have made That Poem, if he had not been living when thoſe Games were celebrating?

It

above Seventy one Years: This is to run into another Extream; and we shall make it appear, by many Reasons, that this great Critic is wrong in advancing an Opinion so different from every Body else.

Some

It is usually said, against the first of these Reasons, that *Martial* made use of a Poetical Licence or Fiction (24), and that he knew very well he said there what was very far from being true (25); but, that he was sure his Lie would please *Silius Italicus*, a great Admirer of *Virgil*, to whom he was compared. It is added, that the word *forsan* weakens the Boldness of his Fiction (26). These Answers have very little Solidity; for, to begin with the last, the word *forsan* (perhaps) does not hinder *Martial* from having plainly supposed, that *Catullus* was living, when *Virgil* wrote his Æneid. From their having been living at the same time, it cannot be concluded, that the one had communicated his Poems to the other; this is the reason of the *forsan*: but, if, perhaps, the one had communicated them to the other, it follows necessarily, that they were cotemporaries: so that, notwithstanding the *perhaps*, the Fact in question here was set down and decided by *Martial* with all the Confidence imaginable. Now it is not likely, that he would have supposed a Falsity in it: he could not be ignorant, that the Faults of Chronology, which are pardoned in the Poets, are not of that nature. How would *Boileau* be criticized at present, if he had said any where, that perhaps *Marot* shewed his Manuscript to Cardinal *du Perron*? *Scaliger* must be answered then, that *Martial* supposed a false Fact, and that it is not strange he should have been mistaken in it, since *Joseph Scaliger* himself, and Mr *Menage*, made false Suppositions as to the time when *Dourat* or *Ronsard* were living (27). I shall observe by the way, that the *Passer* of *Catullus* signifies, in *Martial*, the whole Collection of his Poems, as the *Arma virumque* signifies, in *Ovid*, and in *Martial*, the whole Æneid, and the *Æneadum genitrix* signifies, in *Ovid*, the whole Poem of *Lucretius*. *Scaliger* complains (28), that a certain Author stole this Remark from him; *Quæ à nobis accepta flellio in suas Variæ transtulit.* *Isaac Vossius* (29) says upon this, that he meant *Carrio*, and that *Parthenius* had made That Remark long before *Scaliger*.

The second Reason is not strong; for it is most uncertain, that *Catullus* made mention of *Cæsar*'s last Triumphs. See how he speaks:

> Paterna prima lanuata sunt bona,
> Secunda præda Pontica, inde tertia
> Ibera, quam scit amnis aurifer Tagus:
> Hunc Gallicæ timent, timent Britanniæ (30).
>
> *His Goods and Patrimony quite consumed,*
> *And next his* Pontic, *and* Iberian *Spoils,*
> *Yet* Gaul, *and distant* Britain, *dread his Sword.*

I wonder *Isaac Vossius* took no notice of the last of these four Verses, which confirms his Conjectures so powerfully. He will have it (31), that *Præda Pontica* does not signify the Spoils of King *Pharnaces*, conquered by *Cæsar* after the Death of *Pompey*; but the Money, which *Cæsar* drew from *Bithynia* by the Correspondence he had with King *Nicomedes* (32). As for the *Præda Ibera*, the same *Vossius* explains it of the Booty made by *Cæsar* in the War of *Portugal* in 693, and laughs at those, who understand it of the Victory of *Munda*; for *Munda*, says he, is above two hundred Miles from the *Tajo*. All this is wonderfully confirmed by the following words; *Hunc Gallicæ timent, timent Britanniæ.* Here is the fourth Booty; The *Gauls* and *Britain*, being stripped by this Conqueror, feared him. The Booty of *Spain* had therefore preceded That of *Gaul*; it does not therefore belong to a Triumph later by some Years than the Conquest of *Gaul*, such as was That of *Munda*. Why did not *Vossius* add, that, if *Catullus* had spoken of the Spoils of King *Pharnaces*, he would not have forgot those of *Egypt*, nor those of *Africa*, since it is certain, that *Cæsar*'s three triumphal Entries, one for *Egypt*, one for the Kingdom of *Pontus*, and one for *Africa*, were made in three Days successively (33) after the Defeat of *Cato*? The Year following, he triumphed over the Sons of *Pompey* for the Victory of *Munda*. How could *Catullus* have ended his Catalogue with the plundering of *Gaul*, if he had spoken of the Triumphs, which followed the end of the Civil-Wars; or how could he have forgot the Spoils of *Egypt*, and those of *Africa*, if he would have mentioned Those of *Pontus*, and those of *Munda*? All this persuades me, that he made his Satire a little after the Invasion of *Britain*: for, besides that *Isaac Vossius* (34) shews plainly enough, that the last words, *facer generque perditistis omnia*, ought not to be understood of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, but of *Cæsar* and *Mamurra*, it may be said, that, before the breaking out of the War, the Disputes between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* had brought Matters to such a pass, that every body might know, that the Republic was upon the brink of Ruin. 'Fortunatus illius (Hortensii) exitus qui ea non vidit cum fierent quæ providit futura; sæpe enim inter nos impendentes casus deflevimus, cum belli civilis causas in privatorum cupiditatibus inclusas, pacis spem à publico consilio esse exclusam videremus (35). —— Hortensius 'luckily died, not seeing what he foresaw would 'happen; for we often lamented in private the impending Misfortunes, when we saw the Ambition of 'particular Men likely to draw on us a Civil War, 'and the Hopes of Peace excluded from the Public 'Councils.' After all, there is no likelihood, that *Catullus* would have dared to make such outrageous Verses against *Cæsar*, when *Pompey*'s Party was entirely ruined at the Battle of *Munda*. *Cæsar*'s Authority was then too terrible. I should be apt to believe, that That Satire was composed before the Passage of the *Rubicon*, and that therefore *Suetonius* is not mistaken, when he says, that *Cæsar* continued his Commerce of Hospitality with the Father of *Catullus* after his Reconciliation with the Son. The Title of *Imperator unice*, which is given to *Cæsar*, should seem to be contrary to this, by I know not what Allusion to a Decree of the Senate, who gave him that Title (36): but, as *Scaliger* does not insist on that Proof, it ought to be looked upon as weak. He owns that *unicus* may be taken for *eximius*. I believe another Sense may be given to That Word.

> Esne nomine Imperator unice
> Fuisti in ultima Occidentis insula,
> Ut ista vostra diffututa mentula
> Ducenties comesset aut trecenties (37).

That is to say; *Is it for That you are the only General that has been in* Britain? *Is it only to the end*, &c. In the Article of MAMURRA (38), I shall confute those, who say, that *Cæsar*, at his Return from the last Expedition of *Spain*, heard the News of *Catullus*'s Verses at *Cicero*'s House.

The third Reason is altogether void; for, under pretence, that *Cornelius Nepos* flourished, according to St *Jerom*, in the 714th Year of *Rome*, it must not be inferred from thence, with *Scaliger*, that he was at that time busy in writing the Chronicle, mentioned by *Catullus*. *Scaliger*'s Principle, that an Author is said to flourish or become illustrious, when he publishes a Work, cannot be proved by the Witness he alledges (39), considering the great variety of Ages, wherein Writers publish the Work, which procures them most Honour. Some publish their first Book early, and afterwards write many, which are much better, and are the true Epoch of their Glory; others do not set up for Authors till they are advanced in Years. Who shall tell us after what manner *Cornelius Nepos* governed himself? He composed several Books: Suppose he published many of them under *Augustus*, must it therefore be believed, that his Chronicle did not appear under *Julius Cæsar*, and even before the Passage of the *Rubicon*? Did not *Henry Valois* flourish in the Reign of *Lewis* XIV? Can any one say, that this is no exact Phrase? And yet he had published some excellent Books under *Lewis* XIII.

The fourth Reason must needs have appeared very strong to *Vossius* (40), since, to ward against it, he supposes, of his own Authority, and without the Testimony

(24) Voss. de Poet. Lat. p. 28.

(25) Ramirez de Prado in Martial. Epig. 14. lib. 4.

(26) Nisi forte confugias ad hanc vocem *forsan* quæ vox dubitantis est non asserentis. —— *Unless perhaps you have recourse to the Word* forsan, *which implies a Doubt, not an Assertion.* Brit. de Poet. Lat. pag. 15. *See also* Vossius, ubi supra.

(27) See the Remark [E], and [R], of the Article DAURAT.

(28) Animadv. in Eusebium, pag. 355. Edit. 1658.

(29) In Catull. pag. 5.

(30) Catul. Epig. 30.

(31) In Catull. pag. 72.

(32) See Suetonius, in Cæs. cap. 2.

(33) Plutarch. in Cæsar. p. 733. Dion, lib. 43. ad Ann. 708, says, that Cæsar entered four Days successively in triumph. 1. for Gaul, 2. for Egypt, 3. for Pontus, 4 for Africa.

(34) In Catull. pag. 73.

(35) Cicero in Bruto, fub fin.

(36) *Scaliger* refers us, concerning this Decree, to Number 1972, which is the fourth Year of the 183d Olympiad, and the 709th of *Rome*; but neither He, nor St *Jerom*, say any thing of it under that Number. *See* Dion, lib. 43.

(37) Catull. Epigr. 30.

(38) Rem. [B].

(39) Diodorus, Eusebius, Diogenes Laertius.

(40) In Catull. pag. 81.

Some learned Men believe, that *Cicero* pleaded for *Catullus*; but I do not find they bring any Proofs for it [*K*].

mony of any Author whatſoever, that the Secular Games were celebrated in the beginning of the VIIIth Century of *Rome*, and before the Death of *Catullus*. As for me, I had rather ſay, that this Poet, conſidering that the laſt Secular Games had been celebrated in the Year of *Rome* 604 (41), thought that others would be celebrated in the Year 704, and prepared his *Carmen ſæculare ad Dianam* before-hand, and publiſhed it, although thoſe Games had not been celebrated. How many Poems for Feaſts, or for Ceremonies, do we find, whereof the Celebration, which ſeemed infallible, was not performed? I ſhall not enquire, whether it be very certain, that *Catullus* is the Author of the Title of That ſmall Poem, or whether the Praiſes he gives to *Diana* may have no relation to the ſecular Games, as it is commonly believed, that the Twenty firſt Ode of the firſt Book of *Horace* has none. I am willing to believe, what Mr *Dacier* ſays concerning that Ode, *that it is but preparatory to the ſecular Hymn*, which is to be ſeen *at the end of the fifth Book, and a meer Exhortation to the two Choruſ's of young Maids and Boys* (42). If *Horace* made an Ode, which was but preparatory, might not *Catullus* make Verſes, which were but preparatory? I obſerve by the way, that thoſe Verſes of *Catullus* are ſomewhat contrary to this Tenet of Mr *Dacier*: *There were two Choruſ's in the ſecular Hymns, which were ſung to* Apollo *and* Diana, *one of young Boys, and the other of young Maids, both ſinging by turns, the firſt the Praiſes of* Apollo, *and the other the Praiſes of* Diana. *Catullus* makes the Praiſes of *Diana* to be ſung as well by the Boys, as by the Girls (43). However it be, and what difficulty ſoever may be found in the *Carmen ſæculare* of *Catullus*, it ſeems to me, that there are fewer Inconveniencies in ſuppoſing what I do, than in ſaying, either with *Voſſius*, that there was a Celebration of Secular Games in the beginning of the VIIIth Century of *Rome*, or, with *Scaliger*, that *Catullus* was yet living in the 737th Year. *Voſſius*'s Suppoſition is not only deſtitute of Witneſſes, but alſo contrary to the Teſtimony of *Dio* (44). That Hiſtorian declares, that the Secular Games, celebrated in the 737th Year, were the fifth: now we know that the fourth were celebrated a long time before the end of the VIIth Century of *Rome*. *Scaliger*'s Suppoſition is ſurrounded with a thouſand Intricacies: For how can it be conceived, that *Catullus* was above thirty Years without making any Verſes, and that a Reign like That of *Auguſtus*, ſo fruitful in great Events, and ſo favourable to Poets, ſhould have drawn nothing from his Vein? How can we imagine, that no Poet of that Court ſpoke of him as of a living Man? Why ſhould not *Ovid* have placed him in the number of the Poets, to whom he endeavoured to be known in his Youth? Laſtly, Should *Cornelius Nepos* have been of ſuch a depraved Palate, as to place *Virgil* and *Horace*, and all the other Poets of that Rank, below *Catullus*? Now this is what he muſt have done, according to *Scaliger*'s Suppoſition. See here the Words of *Cornelius Nepos*: 'L. Julium Calidium, quem poſt Lucretii Catullique mortem multo elegantiſſimum Poetam, noſtram tuliſſe ætatem vere videor poſſe contendere —— expedivit (45). —— *He diſpatched* L. Julius Calidius, *whom our Age may, I think, boaſt of as the moſt elegant Poet, after the Death of* Lucretius *and* Catullus.' This Conjunction of *Lucretius* and *Catullus* is already ſomewhat ſtrange, if it be true, that the latter did not die till after the Year 737; for it is unqueſtionable, that the firſt died towards the beginning of the VIIIth Century of *Rome*. But, not to inſiſt upon this, let us content ourſelves with this other Difficulty. Is it poſſible, that *Cornelius Nepos*, who, according to *Scaliger*, lived ſome Years after the Secular Games of the Year 737, and conſequently who ſaw *Virgil* and *Horace* in the Heighth of their Glory, did not believe, that they were able to diſpute the firſt Rank with *Julius Calidius*: that firſt Rank, I ſay, which he did not hold till after the Death of *Lucretius* and *Catullus* (46)? How much reaſon has *Voſſius* to ſay, that *Scaliger*'s long Diſpute concerning the Age of *Catullus* contains nothing but what deſerved to be ſuppreſſed! 'Hæc ſi adtendiſſet Scaliger, profecto non 'inſtituiſſet longam iſtam diſputationem de ætate 'Catulli, in qua nihil omnino eſt quod non melius 'ſit tacuiſſe. Sane ne ſemel quidem ſoopum attigit (47).' So true is it, that great Wits ſometimes ſleep (48).

[*K*] *Some learned Men believe, that* Cicero *pleaded for* Catullus; *but I do not find that they bring any Proofs for it.*] Mr *de Balzac* declared himſelf for the Opinion, which does not ſeem to me to be ſolid. I ſhall tranſcribe what he has ſaid upon it; and I begin with the *Latin* Verſes, wherein he has ſpoken of *Catullus* without naming him:

peſtem tamen ille minorem
Scaligeri, Tullique Cliens, & Cæſare læſo
Conſpicuus ſæclis, nigro devovit Averno,
Nec tales Verona tulit ſine vindice chartas (49).

He a leſs Miſchief did deteſt, who boaſts
The Patronage of Scaliger, *and* Cicero,
And famed for ſtand'ring mighty Cæſar's *Name;*
Nor could ſuch Papers in Verona *claim*
Impunity.

There was a Critic, who did not underſtand, who was ſpoken of in theſe Verſes. Now here is *Balzac*'s Reflexion on the pretended Obſcurity, which he was reproached with. 'Thoſe, who alledge 'That ancient Poet, without naming him, content 'themſelves with calling him the Poet of *Verona*: 'witneſs,

Veronenſis ait Poeta quondam.

'But, as for me, to make him the eaſier to be 'known, and to give more light to the Deſcription I 'give of him, I add the two moſt remarkable, and the 'moſt known, Paſſages of his Life, to the City where 'he was born. I have alſo inſerted in it the greateſt 'Honour, that was done to his Memory ſince his 'Death. And I maintain, that one, who is no 'Stranger to Antiquity, and who is not ignorant of 'the preſent State of our Republic of Letters, is 'obliged to know, that *Catullus* offended *Julius Cæſar* by a ſlanderous Epigram; that, in his Life-'time, he was defended by *Cicero*'s Eloquence; that, 'ſince his Death, he has been re-eſtabliſhed by *Sca-'liger*'s Critical Obſervations; that he owes the 'gaining of a Law-Suit to the one, and the Preſer-'vation of his Honour, that is of his Writings, to 'the other; which is a ſecond, better, and more 'glorious Life than the firſt (50).' You ſee, that *Balzac* ſuppoſes, as a certain and known Fact, that *Cicero* pleaded for *Catullus*. He is not the only one, who affirms it: *Achilles Statius* ſays it alſo (51). *Petrus Crinitus* had already ſaid it, and had made uſe of a Proof, taken from the Thanks, which *Catullus* gave *Cicero* in the Epigram; *Diſertiſſime Romuli Nepotum*, &c (52). Theſe are his words: 'Ingenii facilitate & doctrina adeo Romæ acceptus, atque civibus gratus fuit Catullus, ut Marci Tullii patrocinium meruerit: quod ipſum eleganti epigrammate ingenue teſtatus eſt, quo gratias Ciceroni patrono egit (53). —— Catullus *had ſo far ingratiated himſelf with the* Romans *by his ready Wit, and Learning, that he merited the Patronage of* Cicero; *which he in ingenuouſly confeſſes in an elegant Epigram, in which he thanks his Patron* Cicero.' But it is moſt falſe, that *Catullus* thanks *Cicero* in his Epigram for having pleaded for him: He thanks him in general, without particularizing any thing. *Muretus* owns, that the Cauſe of the Thanks cannot be gueſſed at: 'Agit gratias M. Tullio, 'quod ob beneficium ab eo acceptum divinare non 'poſſumus. Nam qui ad fundum Tiburtem hoc loco confugiunt, nihil aliud quam inſcitiam patefaciunt ſuam (54). —— *He thanks* Cicero, *but for what ſervice we cannot gueſs. They, who have recourſe, on this Occaſion, to the Eſtate at* Tibur, *only diſcover their own Ignorance.*'

(41) According to *Zoſimus*; for *Cenſorinus* places the Celebration of them in 627.

(42) Dacier's Remarks on *Horace*, Tom. I, pag. 264, Edit. of *Holland*.

(43) Dianæ ſumus in fide Puellæ & pueri integri: Dianam pueri Integri Puellæque canamus. *Catull. Epig.* 35, pag. 55, 56.

(44) Lib. 54.

(45) In Vitâ Pomp. Attici.

(46) This Reaſon might ſerve to ſhew, that the Life of *Pomponius Atticus* was written before *Virgil* and *Horace* had acquired their great Reputation.

(47) Iſaac Voſſius, in Catull. pag. 73.

(48) Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus. *Horat. de Arte Poet.* ver. 359.

(49) Balzac Entret. 17, pag. m. 201.

(50) Id. ibid.

(51) Achilles Statius, in Catullum, init.

(52) It is the 50th.

(53) Petrus Crinit. de Poëtis, lib. II, cap. 27, pag. m. 671.

(54) Muretus, in Catull. Epig. 50.

CAVALCANTE (Guido), a noble *Florentine* [*A*] of the XIIIth Century. I only add, to what *Moreri* has said of him, that he was a Man much given to Meditation, and that it was said, that his profound Speculations had no other Aim, than to find, that there was no GOD [*B*].

(a) By Mr *Vossius* in *Theologia Gentilis*.

(b) In the Remark [*B*].

I have been informed (*a*), that the Passage of *Balzac*, which I have cited (*b*), is to be found in the *Decameron* of *Boccace*, and that I should oblige many Persons, if I gave it more at length. It is for this Reason you will meet with it below, with greater extent [*C*]. I have been advised likewise to add some farther Particulars to those found in *Moreri*. I shall say then, that our *Guido*, Son of *Cavalcante de Cavalcanti*, having engaged himself in the Party of the *Guelfs*, experienced the Vicissitudes of Fortune: He was banished, and afterwards recalled, and shewed great Constancy in his Misfortunes, and never forgot to cultivate his Mind. He was not only an able Philosopher, but a very good Poet likewise. He composed, in *Italian*, a Work on the Rules of good Writing, and there remain some of his Verses, which are much esteemed. His Song on terrestrial Love has been commented on by many learned Persons [*D*]. He was married to the Daughter of

[*A*] *A noble Florentine.*] We find, in a Letter, written from *Rome*, the fourteenth of *April* 1581, by *Alphonso Ceccarelli da Bevagna* (1), that a Chronicle, composed about Two hundred Years before, made the Family of the *Cavalcanti* very ancient. 'Le dirò che le posso monstrare —— una Cronica 'manoscritta di un Giovanni, Figliuolo del Conte 'Nicolo de Barbiano, scritta circa a 200 anni sono, 'dove si tratta a pieno delle Famiglie di Firenze 'secondo l'Historia scritta da Piero Canigiano nel '1103, e della Famiglia de' Cavalcanti dice che 'hebbe la sua prima origine della nobilissima stirpe 'Steelesia de Gotti, da Ariberto Cavalcante Steelesio, e che furono padroni di Pescia con titolo di 'Conte (2). —— *I advance what I can prove.* —— 'that a Manuscript Chronicle of John, Son of Count 'Nicolo de Barbiano, written about Two hundred 'Years ago, which fully treats of the Families of Florence, according to the History written by P. Canigiano, in 1103, and of the Family of the Cavalcanti, says it is descended from the noble Steelesian 'Race of the Goths, from Aribert Cavalcante, a 'Steelesian, and who were Patrons of Pescia, with 'the Title of Counts.' The same Chronicle says, that *Anfalde*, who is the Stock of the House of *Medicis*, settled in the City of *Florence* in the Year 806, and that he was married to *Irinia Cavalcante*. The Letter, which I have cited, makes mention of another Chronicle (3), which said but little of that Family. *Di casa Cavalcanti dice molte poco, e tocca l'origine di questa casa imperfattamente e con pochi parole* (4). Note, that *Michael Poccianius*, speaking of our *Guido Cavalcante*, does not represent him as being of an ancient Extraction; but he observes one thing, which shews, that he was a considerable Person: He says, the Chiefs of the Tradesmen banished him, because he followed the Faction of the White. At last he was recalled, and died in the Year 1300 (5).

(1) It is in the *Volume*, intituled Lettere Storiche, Politiche, ed' Erudite, raccolteda Antonio Bulfon, *printed in the Year* 1685.

(2) Lettere Storiche, &c. pag. 183, 184.

(3) It is that which *Antonio Manetti* composed.

(4) Ibid. pag. 185.

(5) Ex Michaele Poccianio de scriptis Florentinis, pag. 77. *Note, that he calls him* Calecanthius, *and that, speaking in the 26th Page of* Bartholomew, *he says* Cavalcanthius.

[*B*] *It was said, that his profound Speculations had no other Aim, than to find that there was no GOD.*] I freely confess, that I borrow the following Passage from *Balzac* only: 'Percioche alcuna 'volta speculando molto astratto da gli huomini de- 'veniva, si diceva tra la gente volgare, che queste 'sue speculationi erano solo en cercare se trovar si 'potesse che Iddio non fosse (6).

(6) Balzac, *Letter* 57 *of the 6th Book, pag.* 256. *of the first Vol. of the Edit. in Fol.*

[*C*] *It will be seen below more at large.*] *Boccace* relates, that there were at *Florence* several Clubs, composed of rich Persons, who, in their turn, gave an Entertainment, and that That of *Betto Brunleschi* had endeavoured to gain over *Guido Cavalcante, and not without reason*; 'for, besides that he was the 'best Logician in the World, and a perfect Natural 'Philosopher (Things which the Company never troubled their Heads about) he was also a very 'polite Gentleman, of a good Address, and knew 'better than any one how to do every thing becoming a Gentleman; and with all this he was 'very rich, and knew how to do honour to 'those he thought deserved it, as far as Words 'could express it; but *Betto* was never able to gain 'him; he and his Companions believing the reason to be, that *Messire Guido*, often buried in Contemplation, became an absent Man in Company; 'and, inasmuch as he held part of the Epicurean Notions *, the meaner sort said, that all his Speculations tended only to enquire, whether we 'might not discover, that there was no GOD (7).' One Day *Betto*, and his Company, passing on Horseback by the *Piazza* of *Santa Reparata*, and seeing *Guido* among the Marble Monuments in that Quarter, said thus: 'Let us go, and teize him. Upon 'which, spurring their Horses, as if they would attack him, they came upon him unawares, and began to say to him; *Guido*, you refuse to be 'of our Society; but why? When you have found 'out, that there is no GOD, what will you have 'done? To whom *Guido*, seeing himself surrounded by them, replied, Gentlemen, you may make 'me what you please in your own Houses then, 'laying his Hand on one of the Monuments, he leaped over, with great agility, to the other side. 'And, thus getting clear of them, he went away. 'They all stood astonished, looking one at another, 'and began to say, that he had no sense, and that 'what he had replied was not to the purpose; for 'that they had no more to do where they were 'than other Citizens, nor *Guido* more than themselves. To whom *Betto* said; 'Tis yourselves, 'who have no sense, if you understood him not; 'He has, decently and in few Words, said the 'severest thing in the World on us; for, if you 'consider it well, these Sepulchres are the Houses 'of the Dead, because they lay the dead in them, 'and they continue there: such he says is our 'House, giving us to understand, that we, and 'other Ignoramus's, are worse than dead, in comparison of himself, and other learned Men, and, 'being thus here among these Tombs, we are in 'our own House. Then every One understood what '*Guido* meant, and were ashamed at it, nor ever 'meddled with him again, and from that time 'looked upon *Betto* as a subtile and understanding 'Cavalier (8).'

(7) Boccace, Decameron. No. vol. 9, *the 6th Day.*

(8) Id. ibid.

Here we surprize *Balzac* in just such a Fault as we have seen elsewhere (9). If he had cited the Decameron of *Boccace*, which is a Book universally known, we should not have had a great Idea of his Reading; but, by not telling us whence he had This Passage, he was in hopes, I. That it would be supposed he had met with it in some Piece of Secret History: II. That he himself should be the Author quoted, when any one should mention this Character of *Cavalcante*: for of a thousand Persons, who read the Decameron, scarce two or three remember what is not an Adventure of Gallantry, or Pleasantry. Now the Novel, where *Cavalcante* is spoken of, is not of this Nature.

(9) In Remark [*I*] of the Article GONTAUT (Charles de), at the end.

[*D*] *His Song on Terrestrial Love* (10) *has been commented on by several learned Men.*] The famous *Egidius* of *Rome*, who was General of the *Augustins*, and Archbishop of *Bourges*, and one of the most consummate School-men of his Age (11), wrote a Commentary on This Song (12). Some think, this was the first time any one commented on the Verses of another composed in the vulgar Tongue (13). We find with this Commentary some Notes of *Celsus Cittadini* on the same Song, in the Edition of *Siena*, 1602, in 8vo (14). *Dino del Garbo*, a Florentine, and a great Philosopher, and Physician to Pope *John* XII, followed the steps of *Egidius* of *Rome*, with whom he was almost cotemporary: He likewise commented on this Song of *Cavalcante*. *Paolo*

(10) It begins with these Words, *Donna mi prega perche voglio dire.*

(11) He died the 22d of *December*, 1316, at the age of 69 Years. *Elogium in Encomiastico Augustin.* p. 85.

(12) Crescimbeni Istoria della volgar Poesia, pag. 85, 296.

(13) Ibid.

(14) Ibid.

* *Balzac* has suppressed these Words of *Boccace*. *E perch'io egli alquanto tenevo della opinione de gli Epicurii.*

of *Farinata de gli Uberti* (c) [E]. The famous Poet *Dante* boasts of having had a share in his Friendship (d); but he makes him the Son of one, whom he places in the *Shades*, among the Followers of *Epicurus*, who denied the Immortality of the Soul (e); and thus our *Guido* followed his Father's Footsteps. I believe, I am not mistaken, in supposing that ANDREW CAVALCANTE (f), the fine Genius, who flourished in the XVIIth Century, was of this Family. *Thuanus* asserts it, with regard to BARTHELEMI CAVALCANTE, a Person famous for his Writings and his Negotiations, who was born at *Florence* in the Year 1503, and who died at *Padua*, the ninth of *December*, 1562 (g). See his Article in *Moreri*; but give no Credit to *Thuanus*, when he says (h), that *Guido* (i) was cotemporary with *Petrarch*, and that we have still the Verses, which *Petrarch* addressed to him. *Guido* died before the other was born.

(c) *Taken from* Giovanni Mario de Crescimbeni, Istoria della Volgar Poesia, pag. 85.

(d) Dante si gloriava d'aver goduta l'amicizia di lui, e nella vita nuova suo primiero amico lo chiama. *Id. ibid.*

(e) *See* the Hell of *Dante*, Canto 10.

(f) *See his Elogy, pag. 351, of the first part of* Notizie istorno a gli Huomini illustri dell' Academia Fiorentina of Mr *Rilli*.

(g) Thuan. Hb. 34. pag. m. 684.

(h) Id. ibid.

(i) He means without doubt the GUIDO CAVALCANTE of this Article.

Paolo del Rosso, James Mini, Plinius Tomacelli, and lastly *Jerôme Frachetta*, a Philosopher of *Rovigo* (15), commented likewise on it (16); and all This has been printed (17). The Author, who informs me of these things, observes, that the *Italian* Poetry is greatly obliged to *Cavalcante*, who gave it both Strength and Beauty. *La prole che l'a resa immortale, sono i suoi nobilissimi Componimenti, a i quali molto e tenuta la Volgar Poesia, perciochè da essi ricevute non poca robustezza, e splendore* (18). Compare this, if you please, with these Words of a Commentator on *Dante*. *Cavalcante di Cavalcanti —— had a Son named* Guido Cavalcanti, *a Man of great Learning, a good Philosopher, and tolerable good Poet; but, for want of having read the* Greek *and* Latin *Poets, deficient in the Politeness requisite in a complete Poet* (19).

Observe, that we find, in a Work of *Marsilius Ficinus* (20), in Explanation of the Doctrine of our *Cavalcante*, touching the Nature of Love. The Author there bestows great Commendations on him.

[E] *He married a Daughter of* Farinata de gli Uberti.] He is one, whom *Dante* lodges, in the Shades, in the same Quarter with *Cavalcante di Cavalcanti*, and who became Head of the *Gibeline* Faction, which, by his Counsels, gained a signal Victory over the *Guelfs* of *Florence* (21). Our *Guido* was yet alive, when *Dante* composed the Tenth *Canto* of his *Hell*

(15) He lived in the 16th Century.

(16) Crescimbeni, Istoria della volgar Poesia, p. 85, 296.

(17) Ibid. pag. 296.

(18) Ibid. pag. 85.

(19) Grangier, Comment. sur l'Enfer de Dante chap 10. p. 103.

(20) *It is the Commentary on the* Convivium Platonis, *among the Works of* Plato, pag. m. 1167.

(21) *See the 10th Canto of* The Hell of *Dante*, and the Notes of *Grangier*.

CAULIAC (GUY DE), a Physician of the University of *Montpellier* (a), and Author of a Book of Chirurgery, which was greatly esteemed [A], flourished in the XIVth Century. He studied, at *Paris*, under *Henry de Hermondavilla*, chief Physician of *Philip the Fair* (b). He was Physician of Pope *Urban* V (c), and of Pope *Clement* VI (d). He was at *Montpellier*, and pretty old, when he wrote his Treatises of Chirurgery, in the Year 1363 (e). He speaks very modestly of them, and as of a Book, in which he had only collected what he had read in good Authors (f).

(a) Du Verdier Vau-Privas, Bibl. Franc pag. 519.

(b) Riolan, Recherch. des Recholes de Medicine, pag. 196, 213.

(c) *See* Lindenius Renovatus, pag. 368.

(d) Riolan, ubi supra, pag. 184.

(e) And not in the Year 1499, as *Konig* affirms, *Bibl pag.* 278.

(f) *See* Gesner, Biol. fol. 280.

[A] *He is Author of a Book of Chirurgery, which is greatly esteemed.*] It would be endless to repeat the Names of all those, who have translated it, or who have procured Editions of it with Notes, or with Supplements (1). Let us be contented to point out some few.. ' *John Tagaut*, a very learned Physician, enlarged and improved the Chirurgery of ' *Guy de Cauliac*, taken from the *Arabians*, from ' the Chirurgery of the *Greeks*, together with his ' fine *Latin*, which is as pure as That of *Cicero*, ' though the Subject Matter of it be very different ' (2).' They printed, at *Lions*, in 1579, the Chirurgery of *Guy de Cauliac, newly restored to it's dignity by* Laurence Joubert, *who, besides his new Translation, has inserted several fine Remarks in the Margin* (3).

(1) *See* Du Verdier, Bibl. Franc. pag. 519.

(2) Riolan, Recherch. des Recholes de Medecine, pag. 213.

(3) Du Verdier, Bibl. Franc pag. 785.

CAURRES (JOHN DES), born at *Moreul* (a), in *Picardy*, was Principal of the College of *Amiens*, and Canon of *St Nicolas* in the same Town. He had taught the Youth twenty Years (b), when, in 1575, he published a Work, which I shall speak of below [A]. He published some others, the Titles of which you will find in *La Croix du Maine*, and in *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*. He was yet alive in 1584, and *ceased not being of Service to the Public, as well by his learned Writings, as by the Instruction he gave the Youth, whom he had in Charge, at the College of* Amiens (c). He wrote some *French* Verses, which were not good. He made some very passionate on the Death of the Admiral *de Coligni*, and on the Punishment of the Count *de Mongommeri*, and was not ashamed to make an Ode in praise of the Massacre of *Paris*. All these Pieces are found in the fourth Book of his Moral Works.

(a) And not *Moreent*, as *Du Verdier* says, *Bibl Franc. pag.* 666.

(b) *Eleven at* Amiens, *and nine in other Places.* Des Caurres, Moral Works, Book 6, chap. 43, fol. m. 355, verso.

(c) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franc pag. 214.

[A] *He published a Work, which I shall speak of below.*] He intituled it, ' Moral Works, diversified ' with Stories full of fine Examples, enriched with ' Lessons of Virtue, and embellished with various ' Sentences and Discourses. The whole taken from ' the most distinguished and remarkable Authors, ' *Greek, Latin*, and *French*, who have ever wrote, ' for the instruction of all Persons, who aspire to ' Virtue, and Christian Philosophy.' He got it printed at *Paris*, for *William Chaudiere*, in the Year 1575, in 8vo. It is a Book of Three hundred and fifty seven Leaves. I have not seen the Edition of the Year 1583, which is enlarged more than half (1). It was difficult for the Author to augment such a Work; for he had not recourse to the Originals; he only copied the modern Compilers, as *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* observes very justly. ' He has borrowed and collected, Word for Word, his *Moral* ' *Works* from several *French* Authors and Translators, to wit from the Anthology of *Peter Breslay* ' the *Angevin*, from the Commentary of *John Corras* ' on the Arrêt of *Martin Guerre*, from the Translation of the Books of the Imposture of Devils by ' *James Grevin*, and many others (2).'

We must add, that he is a Compiler, who falsifies things, or who fetches them from a poisoned Source. I will give an Instance. He says, that the cruelty of *Caligula* proceeded from his Nurse; and he proves it thus. ' *Dio*, a *Greek* Historian, ' relates, that this cruel Man, during his Infancy, ' was suckled by a Nurse of *Campania* in *Italy*, ' named *Pristilla*, who contrary, to the Nature of ' Women, had as much Hair on her Stomach, as a ' Man has Beard on his Chin; and, besides This, ' few of the *Roman* young Gentlemen could equal ' her in throwing a Lance, in dextrously managing ' a Horse, and in drawing a Bow with Certainty. ' It happened, one Day, as she was preparing to ' give the Breast to *Caligula*, one of her Servant-' Maids gave her some little Offence; which she took

(1) La Croix du Maine, Bibl. Franc. pag. 214.

(2) Du Verdier, Bibl. Franc. pag. 600.

Works. He had a good Opinion of his own Merit, and he thought that his fine Qualifications had exposed him to the Persecutions of Envy [B]. He has informed me of a Particular, which I was entirely unacquainted with; namely, that there was a time, when Women carried Looking-glasses over their Bellies [C]. I know not whether he was ever cited among the *Roman* Catholic Authors, who have related the Story of Pope *Joan*; but he deserves to have been; for he tells it, without the least Doubt of the Truth of it (d).

(d) Des Caurres, Moral Works, Book 5, chap. 16, fol. 225, verso.

'took so ill, that she immediately killed her, and 'so covered her Breasts with her Blood, that *Caligula* drank several Times, and very abundantly, 'of it: Imitating in this the Custom of the Women 'of her Country, who usually wet their nipples 'with the Blood of a Goat; in order, say they, 'to render their Children more strong and ro-'bust (3).'

(3) Des Caurres, Moral Works, Book 2, chap. 25, fol. 73.

It is not true, that *Dio* relates these things. I suspected, in reading the Book of *Des Caurres*, that he stole them from *Antony de Guevara*, and, to satisfy myself, I consulted The *Horloge des Princes*, and found, that my Conjecture was true. This *Spanish* Impostor (4) relates this pretended Story of the Nurse of *Caligula*, as if he had read it in *Dio*, *in the second Book of the* Cæsars. There are many other Things, which *Des Caurres* has robbed him of, without naming him, and without depriving himself of the liberty of disguising them a little.

(4) Ant. de Guerre, Horloge des Princes, 3th a. cap. 21. pag. m. 703.

[B] *He believed, that his fine Qualifications had exposed him to the Persecutions of Envy.*] He dedicated his *Moral Works* to *Monseigneur Antony*, Lord of *Crequy*, and forgot not the Common Place, that he did so, that, *by prefixing so illustrious a Name to his Work, he might make head against, and repel the Attacks of* Zoilus's, *perpetual Enemies of human Felicity* (5). *For I can assure you, my Lord*, adds he, *that if we believe*, &c. to *moreover* exclusively: In Fol. aiiii verso, of the Epistle Dedicatory of the *Works Moral and Diversified of* John Des Caurres, Paris, William Chaudiere, 1575, in 8vo. It must be this Edition, the Epistle Dedicatory not being to be found in That of 1583. Compare This with Remark [C] of the Article ANTESIGNAN.

(5) *Epistle Dedicatory* to Des Caurres's Works, fol. a iiii, verso.

[C] *He informs me that there was a Time, when Women wore Looking-Glasses over their Bellies.*] I believe This Fashion continued not long; but it will not be amiss to take notice, that it made it's appearance in the World. *John des Caurres* condemns it with great severity: I am going to quote a long Passage, in which he censures some other Fashions. 'On this occasion (Ladies) give me 'leave to ask you, whether it be possible you can 'please God, and be saved, and yet do what he 'forbids. No sure: and, whether you will or no, 'you must either no longer wear your Hair, like 'the Wings of a Bat, or in Fashion of a Net, by 'which diabolically to catch and ensnare Men, in 'order to gratify your disorderly Appetite; or you 'must be lost, and damned. For undoubtedly This 'is forbidden you in the Old and New Testament. 'And if the King had so commanded, you would 'have done it: but for the Commandment, which 'God gives you, you will not comply; but rather, you will die (as it is said) in your disobedience and Pride, through this Worldly-mindedness, which deceives you; nay, which renders 'you so ugly and abominable to look at, that, if 'you knew how ill it becomes you, you would rather set Fire to it, than shew it, for the ill grace 'it gives you. And I wish to God it were permitted to call all those, who wear these things, 'Whores, in order to cure them of so doing! 'Good God! Alas! what an unhappy time are 'we fallen into, to see such depravity on Earth, as 'we see, to see our Women carry, even into 'Church, Looking-Glasses hanging over their Bellies! Read all Histories, Divine, Human, and Prophane; you will not find, that the Immodest, and 'Harlots, ever wore them in public, 'till this Day, 'when the Devil is let loose in *France*; which is 'still more detestable, before God and Men, than 'all other Abominations.' And, though only Courtesans and Masquerading Ladies make use of them, 'in time no City Lady, or Servant-Maid, will be 'without them (6)'

(6) Des Caurres, Moral Works, Book 6, chap. 21, fol. 305.

CAUSSIN (Nicolas), a *French* Jesuit, Confessor to *Lewis the Just*, was born at *Troies* in *Champagne* (a), in the Year 1580. He entered himself among the Jesuits at Twenty six Years of Age, and acquired much Glory by teaching Rhetoric in several of their Colleges. Afterwards he betook himself to preaching (b); and, as the Reputation, which he acquired, on that Account, was supported and encreased by the Books he published, he was thought worthy to be placed near the King as Director of his Conscience. He did not acquit himself of that Office to the Satisfaction of the Prime Minister [A]; and, according to the most common Opinion, it was because he behaved himself in it as a good Man ought to do. Some have

(a) His Father practised Physic there. *Eloy of Father Caussin, before his* Holy Court.

(b) Alegambe, Biblioth. Script. Societ. Jesu, pag. 361.

[A] *He was thought worthy to be placed near the King, as Director of his Conscience: but he did not acquit himself of that Office to the Satisfaction of the Prime Minister.*] Father *Caussin*'s Disgrace was one of those Events, which occasion much Speculation, and are little spoken of, and whereof the Cause is never plainly known. Nevertheless, something of it is come to the Knowledge of the Public. It is pretended, that this Jesuit, a little before his Death, gave one of his Friends the Original of some Letters, written with his own Hand to the General of his Order, to Father *Seguiran*, and to the Prince of *Condi*; and the Public saw, by some Fragments of those Letters (1), that Father *Caussin* drew that Disgrace upon himself, for having refused to reveal certain things, which he had heard from *Lewis* XIII, in his Confession, and to consult his Superiors concerning the Direction of that Prince, when, to know their Advice, he must have discovered part of the Secret of the Confession. The same Fragments discover to us, that he disapproved *Lewis* the XIIIth's Conduct towards the Queen his Mother. Now That was the most proper means to incense the Cardinal. Mr *de la Barde* has observed, that That Cardinal caused Father *Caussin* to be turned out, by reason of the Scruples which he raised in the Prince's Mind with relation to the Hardships exercised towards *Mary de Medicis*. 'Hic postea Lu-'dovici XIII. Regis Confessarius fuit, qui quo-'niam ei scrupulum injecerat, de Mariâ Reginâ 'matre haud satis pie habitâ, atque Aulâ, & regni 'finibus abscedere coactâ, Aulâ & ipse Richelii 'operâ, cui cum Mariâ lites intercessere, faceſſere 'pridem jussus fuerat (2).' The Author of Father *Caussin*'s Elogy has reason to say, that he ought to be admired, because he chose rather to draw such a Cardinal's Hatred upon himself, by following the Dictates of his Conscience, than to please That Cardinal in straying from the right way. 'It 'must be said, for the Honour of That generous 'Father, that he behaved himself in such a manner at Court, that he left a Subject for Admiration behind him, and obliged People to confess 'with wonder, that his Soul was of an extraordinary Magnanimity; since, having such a Power 'against him, able to load him with Good or 'Evil in an Instant, he did not seek his Favour, either for himself or any of his Relations, and feared 'Disgrace very little, choosing rather to suffer 'all in his Person, than to fail in the Duty of a 'faithful Confessor. It is indeed an advantageous 'and very bold Word, which St *Augustin* spoke 'in

(1) See the Conversations of *Eudoxes* and *Eucherius* on the History of *Arianism*, and on the History of the *Iconoclastes* of Father *Maimbourg*, reprinted in *Holland*, in the Year 1683. They were burnt at *Paris* by the Hand of the Hangman, in the Year 1674.

(2) Labardæus, de rebus Gallicis, lib. 9, sub. fin.

have said, that he suffered himself to be too much surprized by the Artifices of a Jesuit of the Duke of *Savoy*'s Court [*B*]. There is some likelihood, that he intrigued, to cause Cardinal *de Richelieu* to be expelled from the Court [*C*]. However

* Mirant bus omnibus insitatam Animam, quæ hominem tantum innumerabilibus præstandi, nocendique artibus celebratum, vel amicum non optaret, vel non formidaret inimicum — *Every one admiring at that uncommon Disposition of Mind, which neither desired to make a Friend of, nor feared to displease, a Man so famous for innumerable Acts of benefiting and hurting.* S. Aug. Conf. lib. 6, cap. 10.

(3) Elogy of Father *Caussin*, before the *Holy Court*.

(4) This appears from the Conversations of *Eudoxus* and *Eucharistus*, cited above.

(5) *Arnauld*, last Page of the Advertisement of the 4th Denunciation of the Heresy of the Philosophical Sin.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) In the Life of Cardinal *Richelieu*, Book 6, cap. 16, pag 47, of the 2d Tom. Edit. of *Holl.*

(8) The Cardinal wrote this himself, as Mr *Aubery* affures. *Ibid. pag.* 48.

'in favour of his dear *Alipius* *; but it agrees as 'well with the generous Father *Caussin*; and 'That alone makes his Elogy more glorious than 'an hundred others (3).' The Author of that Elogy did not know, that Father *Caussin*'s Letters, concerning his Disgrace, are in the Hands of the Jansenists (4); but believed them lost: for see what he says: 'I know this Matter was a great 'Problem; and, when it happened, it was 'diverfly interpreted. But Time has decided the 'Difference of the divided Opinions; and Truth, 'having made it's way through the Clouds, justified the Sincerity of such an heroic and glorious Action. He had written the History of it 'himself in an excellent Letter, which was unfortunately lost, and which would nevertheless deserve to be published for the Satisfaction of People, 'if it could be recovered.'

It is pretended, that this Jesuit did not believe, that *Attrition, caused by fear of Hell only*, was sufficient *to be justified in the Sacrament* (5); and it is also surmised, that his Doctrine on that Subject gave occasion for his Disgrace. Mr *Arnauld* shall be my Witness. 'It is known from Persons most worthy of 'Credit of the old Court, that your Father *Caussin*, 'being Confessor to the late King, thought himself 'obliged to tell him, that this was not sufficient, 'and that there could be no Justification without 'loving God. Which was an occasion for Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who suspected him, to have him 'banished, and confined to *Quimper*, by persuading 'the King that That Doctrine was not good. And 'That was it which moved him afterwards to make 'use of all his Credit, to cause what Father *Segue* 'not had said on that Subject, in his Remarks on 'the Book of the holy Virginity, to be censured, 'which That Minister told the King was the same 'thing with what Father *Caussin* had told him (6).'

The Silence of Father *Alegambe*, and his Continuator, cannot be sufficiently admired. The former, publishing his Book after Father *Caussin*'s Disgrace, did not so much as take notice, that he had been the King's Confessor: the latter, publishing his since the same Jesuit's Death, observes indeed, that he was Confessor of *Lewis* XIII, but without speaking the least Word of his Disgrace. Mr *Moreri* has been no less mysterious, than the two Jesuits, who have written the *Bibliotheque* of the Writers of their Order: he neither says any thing of That Employ of Father *Caussin*, nor of his Banishment from the Court.

[*B*] *It is said that he suffered himself to be too much surprized by the Artifices of a Jesuit of the Duke of* Savoy*'s Court.*] Let us abbreviate what Mr *Auberi* published on that Subject (7). Father *Monod*, Confessor of the Duchess of *Savoy*, designing to embroil *France*, laboured vigorously to make the Queen-Mother re-called. 'For which reason 'he took care, in the Journey that he made to the 'Court of *France*, to contract Friendship with Father *Caussin*, a Jesuit also, and the King's Confessor, and to have several Conferences with him; 'wherein he had no great Trouble to persuade him, 'and to gain all the Credit he desired to have with 'him, being quite another Statesman and Courtier, 'than the other was, *and having as much Wit and 'Malice*, if we must believe what the Cardinal-'Duke said in some Dispatch, *as Father* Caussin *had 'Simplicity and Ignorance*. So that, having already 'that Advantage, he did no longer question the 'Success of the Business, and that such a Religious 'Prince, as *Lewis* XIII was, would follow the Motions and Advice of his Confessor in point of Conscience. And indeed the King shewed some extraordinary Disquiets and Troubles, after that Father *Caussin* had renewed his Scruples concerning the Removal of the Queen-Mother, and disposed 'him to re-call her, against his Prime-Minister's 'Inclination and Opinion.' The Duke of *Savoy* informed the Cardinal of 'the secret Practices of 'those two Fathers (8): others affirm, that they 'were discovered by the Imprudence of Father *Caussin*, who, being sollicited by the Duke of *Angoulesme* about an Abbey of Nuns, which he desired, insinuated to him, that he should have Patience till the Cardinal was turned out of Employ, 'as he would infallibly be in few Days, and that 'he should then have a speedy and full Satisfaction. Which the Duke having acquainted His Eminence with, he was much pleased that he had 'discovered the Cause of the extraordinary Trouble 'the King had appeared to be in for some time, and 'laboured also immediately to find a Remedy for 'That pressing Evil.' That Remedy was a Billet, which he sent to his Majesty against the Confessor. That Father 'did not find himself proof against so 'violent an Attack, nor in condition to resist This 'declared War. Wherefore, being without comparison much the weaker, he was forced to yield, 'and to receive the Law from the stronger, who 'had him expelled with some Infamy from the 'Court, and confined to *Quinpercorentin* in the 'Lower *Britany* (9).' Mr *Auberi* notes this under the Year 1639; but he himself supplies us wherewith to convince him of not having marked the Year right. 'The Cardinal, having thus 'brought one of those two Directors to his Duty, '*says he* (10), had not his end so easily of the other, 'or at least had not so speedy Satisfaction of him, 'tho' he had it at last more amply and more exemplarily.' Some Pages after (11), he informs us, that the Duchess of *Savoy* sent Word to the Cardinal of the Detention of Father *Monod*, the fourth of *January* 1639. Most Historians (I speak of those, who put the Year in the Margin) fall too often into such like Inconveniencies. See the end of the Remark [*G*].

(9) Ibid. pag. 50.

(10) Ibid. cap. 17, pag. 50.

(11) Pag. 63.

It results from this Narrative, how advantageously soever it be turned for the Cardinal, that Father *Caussin*'s Aim was only to re-call *Mary* of *Medicis*. His Design might be lawful; for, in short, it does not seem, that a Prince's Conscience can be in a good Condition, when he treats his Mother ill. But it is true, that, in the state *France* was in, the Prince could hardly keep *Mary de Medicis* near him, without exposing his Kingdom to great Troubles; she was so much surrounded with *Boute-feus*: and, after all, it was very difficult to endeavour the recalling of That Princess, without aiming at the Cardinal's Ruin. An Author, whom I have quoted before, informs me, that the Jesuit *Caussin* undertook, with good Success, to reconcile *Lewis* XIII with the Queen his Wife, and by that means to take away the Barrenness of That Princess. This seems to me to be the most plausible sense that can be given to That Author's Words. 'Lewis XIII, *says* 'he (12), gave Father *Caussin* very great Access 'to his Person; and, having afterwards relished 'his Conversation, he admitted him very far into 'his Favour, even so far as to Familiarity, and 'treated him with so much Confidence, that it 'might well be judged he observed some excellent 'Parts in that Father, which had so easily and 'speedily gained his Heart. And it was no ways 'questioned but that it was That strong and generous 'Inclination, which he shewed in his Majesty's Service, and for his Honour, that made him extreamly 'zealous for the public Good, and for the perfect 'good Understanding of the Royal Family, which 'his Designs only aimed at. And we have learned, 'by a faithful and unexceptionable Deposition, that 'France is partly indebted to his wise Counsels 'for the rich Present it has received from Heaven, 'which it enjoys now in the sacred Person of it's 'august Monarch, a most worthy Son and lawful 'Heir of his Father's Virtues.'

(12) Father *Caussin*'s Elogy.

[*C*] *It is probable, that he intrigued to cause Cardinal* de Richelieu *to be expelled from Court.*] If we may believe the Memoirs of the Abbot *Siri* (13), that Jesuit had, in his Conversations with the King, concluded the removing of the Cardinal for four Reasons. I. Because of the Queen-Mother's Exile. II. Because his Eminence left *Lewis* XIII the Name of King only. III. Because he oppressed the People too much. IV. Because of

(13) They who cannot consult them in the 8th Tome, pag. 573, and following, need only read the new Life of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, printed at *Amsterdam*, in the Year 1694, Tom. II, pag. 310, &c.

ever it be, his Employ was taken from him, and he was confined to a Town of *Britany*. He had leave to return to *Paris* after the Death of That Cardinal, and died there in the Jesuits House, the second of *July*, 1651 [*D*]. None of all his Works did him more Honour, than That, which he intituled *The Holy Court* [*E*]. He published many others, both in *Latin* and *French* [*F*]. It is a very singular thing, what is said of his Sympathy with the Sun (*c*). The Sieur *Bullart* is fallen into some Anachronisms [*G*].

(*c*) See Remark [*G*], Citat. (28).

I have

of the great Services he did the Protestants, to the Prejudice of the Catholic Religion. He even engaged himself to maintain those four Points against the Cardinal in his Majesty's Presence; and he proposed to the Duke of *Angoulesme* to take the Cardinal's Place. That Duke, having advertised the chief Minister of This Plot, was the Cause of Father *Caussin*'s Disgrace, as the Abbot *Siri* says.

[*D*] *He died ---- the second of* July, 1651.] Mr *Moreri*, who was mistaken in the time that *Caussin* became a Jesuit (14), is moreover mistaken as to the time of his Death; he has placed it in the Year *One thousand six hundred fifty five*. *Bullart* and *Witte* have noted the time of his Death as they ought, but not the Duration of his Life. One of them will have it, that *Caussin* died *the second of* July 1651, *in the Sixty ninth Year of his Age* (15), the other, that he died the second of *July* 1651, in the Eighty first Year of his Life, and in the Fifty seventh of his Profession of a Jesuit (16). This neither agrees with Father *Alegambe*, nor with Father *Southwell*. According to Father *Alegambe*, the Entrance of *Caussin* among the Jesuits was in the Year 1606, and *Caussin* was then Twenty six Years of Age. He must therefore have died at the Age of Seventy one Years, and in the Fourty fifth of Year of his Religious Life. Father *Southwell* pretends, that *Caussin* became a Jesuit at the Age of Twenty six Years, and in the Year 1596. He died therefore at the Age of Eighty one Years, and must have been but Fifty five Years a Jesuit. I believe we must keep to Father *Alegambe*

(14) He says that *Caussin* entered into a Religious Order in 1605. *Alegambe* says it was in 1606; and *Southwell* that it was in 1596.

(15) Bullart, Academ. of Sciences, Tom. II, pag. 225.

(16) Witte, Diar. Biograph.

[*E*] *Of all his Works none did him more Honour, than That, which he intituled the* Holy Court.] It has been printed I know not how many times (17), and translated into *Latin*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *Portuguese*, *High Dutch*, and *English* (18). The first Edition of the first Volume is of the Year 1625, in 8vo. The other Volumes followed soon after. I shall criticize Mr *Bullart* hereafter (19), who said, that *Caussin* retired from the Court, to compose the *Holy Court*: he ought to have said that he revised and inlarged it, during his Disgrace.

(17) The Edition that I make use of, is of *Brussels* 1664, in 2 Vols in 4to. There is one of *Paris*, 1680, in 2 Vols in folio.

(18) Sotuel, Biblioth. Societat. Jesu, pag. 647.

(19) Rem. [*G*], Citat. (30).

[*F*] *He published several other Books, both in* Latin *and* French.] The first Essays of his Pen were the sacred Symbols; some Pieces of Poetry, which are to be found in the Royal Pomp, and the Parallels of Eloquence (20). His Elogy says, that he made those three Books, when *he was yet pretty young*. Nevertheless, it is observed, in the *Bibliotheque* of the Jesuits, that the *Electorum symbolorum & parabolarum historicarum syntagma, seu de symbolica Ægyptiorum sapientia & polyhistoris symbolici lib.* 12, was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1618; and that the *Eloquentiæ sacræ & humanæ parallela* was printed at *le Fleche* in the Year 1619. So that the Author was near forty Years of Age, according to Father *Alegambe*'s Account, and near fifty according to Father *Southwell*'s Account, when he published those two Books. *Is that to be yet pretty young?* Among his other Works, I observe chiefly his Apology for the Society of the Jesuits, printed in the Year 1644; the Answer to the Objections concerning Moral Divinity; the Triumph of Piety, which he published on Occasion of the taking of *Rarbet* in the Year 1629; the Answer, which he published three Years after to Mr *Drelincourt* (21), against That Triumph of Piety; the *Angelus Pacis*, printed in the Year 1650; the *Regnum Dei seu dissertationes in libros Regum cum aliis tractatibus* printed also in the Year 1650 (22).

(20) Father *Caussin*'s Elogy. See the last Remark.

(21) This Book of Mr *Drelincourt* is the second Part of the Church's Triumph under the Cross. The Author informs us, in the Preface, that *Caussin*, in the second Edition of his Book, had fought all ways imaginable to maintain, that the taking of *Rochel* was a Proof, that That City was Heretical. Mr *Drelincourt* confutes him invincibly in his Preface.

(22) *Taken from* Southwell, Bibl. Soc. Jes p. 627.

[*G*] *The Sieur* Bullart *is fallen into some Anachronisms.*] I have already noted his Mistake concerning Father *Caussin*'s Age (23). Let us say no more of it, but see what remains. 'Father *Caussin* 'had not long dedicated himself to God under 'the Habit and Rule of St *Ignatius*, before he pre-

(23) See below, Remark [*D*], Citat. (15), &c.

'sented the first Fruits of his Study to the Public. 'It was That rare Book of the Sacred Symbols, 'which, penetrating into the Hieroglyphics of the 'Egyptians, clears the Enigma's, that an ancient 'Author hides from us under mysterious Cha-'racters (24)'. We have already seen, that this Book was printed in the Year 1618; that is to say, according to Father *Alegambe*, twelve Years after *Caussin* was entred among the Jesuits. According to Father *Southwell*, *Caussin* had been Twenty two Years enrolled in the Order of St *Ignatius*. Not having it in my Power to compare the Editions, I desire those, who may have the Conveniency of doing it, to see if the Approbation of the Provincial of the Jesuits is well dated in the Edition of *Cologne*. I speak of the Book *de symbolica Ægyptiorum Sapientia*. That Approbation is dated from *la Fleche*, the nineteenth of *November* 1627, in my Edition, which is of *Cologne*, in 8vo, in the Year 1631. I do not question, but that the Printers have put 1627 for 1617. Therefore I shall not make use of That Date, to prove, that the first Book, which the Jesuit *Caussin* published, is not the Hieroglyphics of the *Ægyptians*. The Preface of That Work might serve me for a Proof of this; for the Author says there, that, being about his Rhetoric, he thought of this Book. 'Cum libros de triplici eloquentia & appa-'ratum quendam ex florentissima exemplorum copia 'ad oratoriam facultatem instruerem, adjeci quoque 'animum ad symbolicam veterum sapientiam. ——' *Being employed in writing the Book of the three* 'kinds of Eloquence, and an Apparatus to Rhetoric, 'from a great variety of Examples; I applied my 'Thoughts likewise to the symbolical Wisdom of the 'Ancients.' Note, that he had published a Collection of *Greek* Poems (25) in the Year 1612, and a *Latin* Translation of one of *Richeome*'s Works (26) in the Year 1613. So that it could not be said, in Strictness, that the Explication of the Hieroglyphics was the first Essay of his Pen. *Those fine Works* (these are Mr *Bullart*'s Words (27), and he speaks, 1. Of the Sacred Symbols. II. Of the Royal Pomp. III. Of the Parallels of Sacred and Profane Eloquence) *having made his Name known among the Learned at Court, his Superiors desired also that the Prince should know his Person. Father* Gonteri, *one of the most famous Preachers of their Society, brought him to the* Louvre, *and presented him to* Henry IV, *who received him with many Caresses, and, seeing the Splendor that shined on his Face, he said, That he would prove, one Day, one of the most distinguished Persons of his Society.* This is to confound Chronology; for those Three Works of Father *Caussin* did not appear till after the Death of *Henry* IV. The Symbols, which, according to Mr *Bullart*, were his first Essay, did not come out till 1618. The Narrative, which is in Father *Caussin*'s Elogy, is as much confounded, as the Order of Time. Here are the Words of the Author of That Elogy (28): 'Fa-'ther *Caussin* had a very particular Sympathy with 'the Heavens, especially with the Sun; which he 'called his Planet, and of which he felt very nota-'ble Operations, as well on his Body, as on his 'Mind, according to it's Approach, or Withdraw-'ing, and proportionably as it was clear or cloud-'ed. And This Affinity was not only observed ac-'cidentally, but appeared constantly in the Fire of his 'Eyes, and in the lively Colour of his Face, which 'carried something celestial, and which formerly 'touched *Henry the Great* with an extraordinary E-'motion. That Prince, so judicious in the Know-'ledge of Men, looking one Day in his Face, when 'he was yet but young, accompanied with Father 'Gonteri, one of the most famous Preachers of his 'Time, having never seen or known him before, 'went towards him thro' the Crowd, took him by 'the Hand, and caressed him so much, that he was 'put to the Blush, and those, who were about him, 'were

(24) Academy of Art and Sciences, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(25) Thesaurus Græcæ Poëseos, ex omnibus Græcis poëtis collectus. *Alegambe*, *pag.* 351.

(26) *Versio à* Gallico *Latina* justa funebria Henrico Magno Galliarum Regi à Ludovico Richeomo scripta. *Id. ibid.*

(27) Acad. des Arts & des Sciences, Tom. II, pag. 224.

(28) Pag. 5, &c

I have juſt read a Letter (*d*), in which it is aſſerted, that the Queen-Mother cauſed him to leave *Paris*, and baniſhed him into *Britany*, to oblige Cardinal *Mazarine*, whom he had offended; and that the Reaſon of this Diſgrace proceeded from the Book *De Regno & Domo Dei*, which he had publiſhed in the Year 1650, and in which he had ſaid ſome good things concerning the Qualities of Princes.

(*d*) Of *Guy Patin* printed with thoſe of ſome other illuſtrious Perſons, at *Amſterdam*, *ex Ædibus Joannis Brant*, *Anno* 1702, 8vo. See *pag.* 200.

'were aſtoniſhed at it, adding, That he had diſ-'covered him among all That great Company, 'and that he muſt be ſerviceable to him: and, 'turning to Father *Gonteri*, he ſaid to him aloud, 'by a remarkable Prognoſtication: *You have a Com-'panion there (Father) who, I think, will prove in 'time one of the greateſt Ornaments of your Society.*' Compare this with Mr *Bullart*'s Narrative, and what difference will you not find between the Original and the Copy? for it muſt not be queſtioned, but that Mr *Bullart* copied That Elogy, turning what he borrowed from it after his manner. He ſucceeded no better in what follows. 'Father *Cauſſin* ac-(29) That of Confeſſor of *Lewis* XIII. 'cepted, indeed, That difficult Office (29), and 'exerciſed it, for ſome time, with great Prudence 'and Piety; but, ſeeing the Royal Family in Diſ-'cord, he left it with the ſame Indifference, and 'returned to his Convent; where, diſengaged from 'the Troubles of a prophane Court, he employed 'all his Thoughts in the compoſing of That great 'and marvellous Work of The *Holy Court*.' That Work was already tranſlated into *Latin*, before This Father left the Court (30); beſides, his leaving it was no ways voluntary: He was forced to yield to Perſecutions, and to the imperious Deſires of the chief Miniſter; and he did not return to his Convent; for he was confined to the Lower *Britany*.

(30) See in *Alegambe*, *pag.* 175, that *Henry Lemaſmans* tranſlated moſt of the Books of the *Holy Court*, in 1636, 1637, and 1638. If I am not deceived, Father *Cauſſin* was ſent from Court in *December*, 1637.

I am ſure, that moſt of the Elogies of Illuſtrious Men are full of ſuch like Anachroniſms, and that they are often committed in them, than the Sophiſm *à non cauſa pro cauſa* in the Scholaſtic Books. To avoid this, the form of Annals ought to be given to the Hiſtory of Great Men: but the Annaliſts themſelves are not always exempt from Anachroniſms; for it often happens that they ſay nothing of an Affair, till the Year in which that Affair ends. Then they go back to the beginning, and give the Origin and Progreſs of it, and crowd together five or ſix Years, without ſetting down any Date; ſo that their Readers are put out of the way of an exact Chronology.

CEA, or CEOS, an Iſland of the *Ægean* Sea. Look for ZIA.

CERASI (Tiberius) flouriſhed towards the end of the XVIth Century. He was an Advocate, and practiſed for twenty Years at the Bar of *Rome*, and afterwards became a Conſiſtorial Advocate, in 1589. He was Advocate of the Public Revenues, and of the Apoſtolic Chamber, and afterwards Clerk of the ſame Chamber, and, at laſt, the Pope's Treaſurer. Although he wrote many Things, the Public has ſeen only his *Anſwers*, among the Counſels of *Farinacius*. He died at *Rome* the ſeventh of *May*, 1601, as it is ſaid, of Grief and Vexation, for having been ſeverely reprimanded by Pope *Clement* VIII (*a*). He was in his Fifty ſeventh Year. He left all his Eſtate to the Hoſpital of the Conſolation, and was buried in the Church of our Lady *del Populo* (*b*).

(*a*) Tiberii mortis cauſam attuliſſe dicitur Clementis Pontificis acris quædam ac vehemens objurgatio. *Proſp. Mandoſius Bibl. Romana Cent.* I, *pag.* 24.

(*b*) *Taken from the ſame*, ibid.

CERATINUS (James), a learned Man of the XVIth Century, and a good *Grecian*, gave himſelf this Name, according to the Cuſtom of the Time, becauſe he was of *Hoorn* in *Holland* [*A*]: We ſhall explain this [*B*]. He has been adorned with great Elogies by *Eraſmus* [*C*], not only on the account of his good Life, but alſo on the account of his Learning. *Eraſmus*, having been deſired by *George*, Elector of *Saxony*, to make choice of a Perſon to fill the Place, which the Death of *Moſellan* had left vacant in the Univerſity of *Leipſic*, ſent him *Ceratinus* (*a*), who had alſo an offer of the Profeſſorſhip of the *Greek* Tongue in the College of the three Languages at *Louvain*. *Ceratinus* was not very well received at *Leipſic*; and it appears, by ſome Letters of *Eraſmus* (*b*), that he drew that cold Reception upon himſelf, by not ſhewing Averſion enough for *Lutheraniſm*. This happened in 1525. Before that Time, he had taught the *Greek* Language privately at *Louvain* (*c*); whither he retired, when the War, and the Plague, made him leave the Place, which he had in the College of *Tournay*. He died at *Louvain*, the twentieth of *April*, 1530, in the Flower of his Age (*d*). He was a Prieſt; and one

(*a*) Erasm. Epiſtol. 29, lib. 20, pag. 994.

(*b*) The 42d, and the 44th of the 3:th Book.

(*c*) Id. Epiſt. 72, lib. 27, pag. 756.

(*d*) Val. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 406.

[*A*] *He gave himſelf this Name —— becauſe he was of* Hoorn *in* Holland.] Mr *Moreri* ought not to have been in Suſpence about it: He does not know whether *Ceratinus* was born at *Hoorn* in *Holland*, or at *Horne* in the Country of *Guelderland*. Properly ſpeaking, *Horne*, which he ſpeaks of, is not in *Guelderland*.

[*B*] *We ſhall explain This.*] *Hoorn*, in *Dutch*, is as much as to ſay a *Horn*. In *Greek*, a *Horn* is called κέρας: Thus *James Ceratinus* is the ſame thing, as *James the Horned*, a Title, which he preferred before That of *Hornanus*, under which This Author is ſometimes denoted, and before that of *Teyng*, which was the Name of his Family: I ſay, he preferred it before all others, as well becauſe it was *Greek*, and that under that Language he diſcovered but to few People the Infamy, which attended the Word *Horn*, as becauſe his Celibacy ſheltered him from ill-natured Alluſions, to which his Name might have expoſed him, if he had had a Wife.

[*C*] *He has been adorned with great Elogies by* Eraſmus.] *Eraſmus* thought him learned enough to be Profeſſor in the midſt of *Italy*, and much more learned than *Moſellan* had been. *Jacobus Ceratinus* (ſays he) *homo tam Græcanicæ literaturæ callens ut poſſet vel in media Italia profiteri, nec ſe ipſo inferior in literis Latinis* (1). In another Letter (2); he expreſſes it yet more ſtrongly: *Græcanicæ literaturæ tam exacte calleni, ut vix unum aut alterum habeat Italia quicum dubitem hunc committere, nec in Latinis ſui diſſimilis eſt. —— So perfect a Maſter of the* Greek *Tongue, that* Italy *cannot ſhew one or two, with whom I ſhould ſcruple to compare him; nor is he unlike himſelf in the* Latin. See here how he ſpeaks in another Place (3). *Succeſſit Petro Moſellano, ſed decem Moſellanis eruditior, etiam Moſellani doctrinam & ingenium haud vulgariter amabam. —— He ſucceeded* Peter Moſellan, *but more learned than ten* Moſellans, *though I had an uncommon value for the Learning and Abilities of* Moſellan. As to his Morals, he ſays, That he was the beſt Man in the World,

(1) Erasm. Epiſt. 28, lib. 20, pag. 993.

(2) The 31ſt of the ſame Book, pag. 395.

(3) Epiſt. 41, lib. 30.

one thing happened at the Time of his Ordination, which deserves to be known [D]. He was mistaken, when he wrote to *Erasmus*, that he had seen him at *Deventer* [E]. There is a Treatise of his *De sono Græcarum Literarum*, a Translation of St *Chrysostom*'s first and second Dialogue on the Excellency of the Priesthood, and a *Greek* and *Latin* Lexicon [F], which was printed with a Preface of *Erasmus*, in the Year 1524.

World, without Paint or Art, and so modest, that it went even to excess. *Modestia pene immodica moribusque plane niveis & ab omni fuco prorsus abhorrentibus* (4). —— *Of excessive Modesty, and of a Character the whitest, and most free from all Paint. Moribus est sincerissimis & ad amicitiam appositis; adeo ut non minus videatur natus gratiis quam musis.* (5). —— *He is a most sincere, and most friendly Man; insomuch that he seems no less born for the Graces, than the Muses. Habet unum hoc vitium Ceratinus noster, immodice modestus est, sic verecundus ut pene putidulus sit* (6). —— *Our* Ceratinus *has this one Fault; he is modest to excess, and so bashful as even to give disgust.* *Valerius Andreas* relates a good part of these Passages; and besides he cites *Junius*, who praised *Ceratinus* much in his Proverbs, (I shall speak of it hereafter), and in his *Batavia*; *In qua à singulari modestia ac virginali quodam pudore commendat.* —— *In which he commends him for his singular Modesty, and girlish Bashfulness.* But *Valerius Andreas* has taken no notice, that the Elogy of *Exactissimi vir judicii*, which he believes *Erasmus* gave to *Ceratinus*, is designed for *Henry Stromer*, to whom he was recommended. See the Twenty ninth Letter of the twentieth Book (7).

(4) Ibid. 28, lib. 20, pag. 993.

(5) Ibid. 29, lib. 20, pag. 994.

(6) Ibid. 31, lib. 20, pag. 995, vide etiam Epist. 41, lib. 30, pag. 192.

(7) In the 994th Page.

[D] *A Thing happened at the time of his Ordination, which deserves to be known.*] *Adrian Junius*, Country-man of *Ceratinus*, after having heaped a great many Praises upon him, adds (8), That he has it from good Hands, that *Ceratinus*, unwilling to disobey his Father's severe Orders, went to *Utrecht* to be ordained Priest He was examined according to Custom, and upon his ingenuous Confession, that he did not know one Rule of the Grammar by heart, which they asked him, he was rejected as an ignorant Man, and commanded to go and study his Grammar with more Application. He went away without saying any thing, and was contented to tell the Cause of his Exclusion to a learned Clergy-man, who, going immediately into the Assembly of the Examinators, represented to them the Mistake they had just committed: that there was not a more learned Person in *Louvain*, than he, whom they had turned away to learn his Accidence, and that he had given public Proofs of his Knowledge, by a most pure *Latin* Translation of St *Chrysostom*'s Books concerning the Priestly Dignity. They considered the Matter; *Ceratinus* was called in again: Excuses were made him from the Necessity of conforming themselves to the usual Practice, and he was ordained Priest. If those Gentlemen had asked *Ceratinus*, *Per quam regulam?* as they do Scholars, who are examined in their *Despauter* (or Grammar,) and who are obliged to decline their Name by Rule; I say, if they had treated him at that rate, because they had been advertised, that he was a proud Man, they could not have been blamed. There goes a Story, that a young conceited Fellow, ready to be received into Orders, had the Mortification of being first examined in this manner, *Musa quæ pars orationis?* and that having answered, *Aquila non capiat muscas*, they replied to him *Neque Ecclesia superbos*; and that he was sent back without Ordination.

(8) Adag. IV, cent. V.

[E] *He wrote to* Erasmus, *that he had seen him at* Deventer.] A Letter, which *Erasmus* wrote to him in the Month of *April* 1519 (9), wherein he calls him *Hornensis*, informs us, I. That *Ceratinus* had desired *Erasmus*'s Friendship, and that, among other Things, he had told him, that he had seen him at *Deventer*. II. That he had mentioned to him some Circumstances, which he thought would make him remember it *Erasmus* answered him, That it was an Illusion, and to prove it, he made use of those very Circumstances; he observed to him, That, when he departed from *Deventer*, the Bridge was not yet made, and that he did not set out so soon for *England* (10). If I am asked, Why I take notice of these Trifles? I answer, That it is to give an illustrious Example of an Illusion, which is very common; and for which one might excuse one's self better than is commonly done, by considering, that some very learned Men fall into it. When an Author becomes very famous, those, who have studied in the same Universities with him, take I know not what Delight, to say, in Companies, where That Author is spoken of, That they knew him a long time before, that they saw him a Scholar, *&c.* They fancy, that they do thereby participate, in some measure, of That Great Man's Glory: and, on that account, they relate more Facts than are believed, and more are believed than are true (11). I am sure, that many Persons will know themselves by this. However, we see here, by the Example of *Ceratinus*, that one ought not to trust too much to one's Memory: for it must not be questioned, that he meant it honestly.

(9) It is the 32d of the 5th Book.

(10) Quod existimas me tibi Daventriæ conspectum vel hoc argumento facile deprehendes tenuis ludi mentis Imaginatione, quod cum ego Daventria discederem, nondum fluvii è qui urbem præterfluit ponte junctus erat.

(11) See below, Remark [I], of the Article *CAMDEN.*

[F] *We have of his* —— *a* Greek *and* Latin *Lexicon.*] *Boxhornius* (12) is mistaken, in pretending that it is the first *Greek* Lexicon that was made. *Valerius Andreas* (13) is not much less mistaken when he says, That *Ceratinus* is the first, after *Aldus Manutius*, who enlarged and published such a Lexicon. The Preface (14), which *Erasmus* prefixed to This Work of *Ceratinus*, is sufficient to shew, that it had already been enlarged by several Persons, and re printed several times. Nay, Somebody had inserted some proper Names in it, which *Erasmus* did not approve. It seems at first, that *Gesner* believed, that This was meant of *Ceratinus* (15): which is visibly false, if the Preface be never so little examined; but, if *Gesner*'s Expression be narrowly considered, he will be cleared. The same *Boxhornius* does not distinguish the manner how *Ceratinus* taught *Greek* in *Louvain*. He says, *Græcæ* (linguæ) *Professorem egit Lovanii*: These Words are deceitful; they lead all Readers to imagine, that *Ceratinus* was a Professor of the *Greek* Language in the University of *Louvain*; which is not true. *Swertius* (16), from whom *Boxhornius* took the Epitaph of *Ceratinus*, with the Fault of Impression *Minoritidas* for *Minoritas*, that is to say, the *Franciscans*, should have informed him, that *Ceratinus* taught *Greek* only in private, *privatim*. *Valerius Andreas* makes use of the same Word.

(12) In Theatr. Holland. p. 373.

(13) Bibl. Belg. pag. 406.

(14) It is in the 28th Book of his Letters.

(15) Gesn. in Biblioth. in Cognomino.

(16) Athen. Belg. pag. 358.

CERINTHUS, an Arch-Heretic, cotemporary with the Apostles, attributed the Creation of the World not to God, but to Angels (*a*). He taught, That Jesus Christ was the Son of *Joseph*, and that the use of Circumcision ought to be retained under the Gospel. He is looked upon as the Chief of the converted Jews, who raised the Tumult in the Church of *Antioch* (*b*), related by St *Luke* in the fifteenth Chapter of the *Acts of the Apostles*. They raised that Disturbance, by declaring to the Faithful, That, without Circumcision, they could not fail to be damned. It is said also, that he was one of those, who, some Years before (*c*), had censured St *Peter* for having preached the Gospel to the *Gentiles* (*d*). *Epiphanius*, who says all this (*e*), pretends, nevertheless, that *Cerinthus* came after *Carpocrates*, which is to pervert Chronology [*A*]. *Cerinthus* passes for one of the chief Heads of

(a) Epiphan. adversf. Hæresf. pag. 210.

(b) In the Year 51.

(c) That is to say, in the Year 35.

(d) Acts xi.

(e) Epiphan. ubi supra, pag. 211.

[*A*] Epiphanius —— *pretends, that* Cerinthus *came after* Carpocrates, *which is to pervert Chronology.*] *Lambert Danæus* censures those very justly, who say, That the *Cerinthians* are a Sprig of the *Carpocratians*.

of the Millenarians; he is accuſed of having taught, That, after the Reſurrection, the Church ſhould continue a thouſand Years upon Earth, and that it would be a terreſtrial Reign of JESUS CHRIST, a Time of Temporal Proſperity, and Voluptuouſneſs [*B*]. Upon which ſome believed, that he was the true Author of the *Revelations* [*C*], and that he fathered it upon St *John*. Every one knows what is ſaid of that Apoſtle, concerning his Averſion for *Cerinthus*; I ſay, every one knows, it is reported, that he would not go into the ſame Bath where that Archheretic was. The Ancients have varied on this Subject, and the Moderns have added ſome Circumſtances to it, which might paſs for a pious Fraud [*D*]. Some have applied to *Cerinthus*, what *Theodoret* ſaid concerning certain Defenders of the *Moſaical*

(1) Lamb. Danæus, de Hæreſ. cap. 8, fol. m. 25.

(2) Iſidor. lib. 8. Etymolog. cap. 5.

(3) In his firſt Epiſtle, chap. 2, ver. 19, 22; and chap. 4, ver. 3.

(4) Danæus, ibid. cap. 7, fol. 22, verſo.

(5) Euſeb. lib. 4 cap. 7.

(6) Danæus, ubi ſupra, cap. 8, fol. 25.

(7) Caius adverſus Proclum, apud Euſebium, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3, cap. 28, pag. m. 100.

(8) Dionyſius lib. 2, de promiſſionibus, apud Euſebium. ibid.

(9) Euſebius, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3, ex Dionyſio, lib. 2. de promiſſion.

(10) The Tranſlation, which was made of theſe *Greek* Words, cited by *Euſebius*, in the 25th Chapter of the 7th Book, ſeems to be better; here it is. *Et in iis quibus ita honeſtus parari poſſe exiſtimabat; feſtos nimirum, &c.*

Carpocratians (1). He ſays, that *Tertullian* and *Epiphanius* aſſert it, that St *Auguſtin* affirms it, being deceived by *Epiphanius*: and that *Iſidorus* (2) has copied this Error from St *Auguſtin*. He ſhews, by two Reaſons, that *Cerinthus* lived in the Apoſtles Time; one is taken from what ſhall be ſaid hereafter, when we ſhall ſay, that St *John* did not go into the Bath; the other is taken from hence, *viz.* that That Apoſtle ſeems to have refuted ſome Errors of *Cerinthus* (3). He maintains, on the other ſide, that *Carpocrates* lived in the Time of *Antoninus Pius* (4), and he obſerves, that *Theodoret* places him in the Reign of *Hadrian*, and that *Euſebius* makes him live at the Time when *Saturninus* dogmatized (5). It ought to have been ſaid, That *Euſebius* advances this, quoting St *Irenæus* for it. This would have given ſome weight to the Proof. *Danæus* does not forget to obſerve, that *Epiphanius* has confuted himſelf, having acknowledged, that *Cerinthus* oppoſed the Apoſtles more than once (6). Let us conclude, that Mr *Moreri* erred, when he ſaid, that *Cerinthus* was a Diſciple of *Carpocrates*.

[*B*] *He is accuſed of having taught the* Millennium, *a Time of temporal Proſperity and Voluptuouſneſs.*] See here in what manner *Caius* relates this Opinion (7). In ſome Relations, which *Cerinthus* has written, as if he had been ſome great Apoſtle, he tells us ſome monſtrous Opinions, which he feigns, the Angels have revealed to him: He affirms, that the Reign of JESUS CHRIST ſhall be eſtabliſhed on Earth after the Reſurrection, and that Men ſhall live in *Jeruſalem*, being again ſubject to Concupiſcence and Voluptuouſneſs, and that it ſhall be a Marriage Feaſt, which ſhall laſt a thouſand Years. Thus *Caius* repreſents this Fact. *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in the Time of *Euſebius*, repreſents the thing more groſly. *Cerinthus*, ſays he (8), believed, that the Reign of JESUS CHRIST ſhould be terreſtrial; and, as he was much addicted to bodily Pleaſures, he feigned, that the Voluptuouſneſs, which he deſired, ſhould make up the eſſential Part of That Reign: he makes it to conſiſt in ſatisfying the Belly, and the Parts below, that is to ſay, in eating, drinking, marrying, celebrating of Feaſts, and offering of Sacrifices; for under theſe laſt Terms, which are more modeſt, he covered thoſe Voluptuouſneſſes. I ſhall ſet down the *Greek* Words, with the *Latin* Tranſlation of *Valeſius*, that it may be ſeen whether my Conjecture has any ground (9). Ἐπίγειον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τῦ Χριςῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὧν αὐτὸς ἀρίγκλο, φιλοσώμα[illegible] ὢν καὶ πάνυ σαρκικὸς, ἐν τέτοις ἐνεσεσολεῖν ἔσεσθαι, γαςρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαςέρα πλησμονῶν: τετέςι σιτίοις καὶ πο[illegible]οῖς καὶ γάμοις, καὶ δι' ὧν ἐυφημίτερον ταῦτα φάσκη ποιεῖσθαι, ἑορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἱερείων σφαγαῖς. *Regnum Chriſti terrenum futurum. Et quarum rerum cupiditate ipſe flagrabat, utpote voluptatibus corporis obnoxius carnique addictus, in iis Regnum Dei ſitum fore ſomniavit, in ventris, & earum, quæ infra ventrem ſunt, partium explenda libidine: h. e. eſſ in cibo & potu, ac nuptiis, atque, ut honeſtiori vocabulo ejuſmodi voluptates velaret, in feſtis* (10) *& ſacrificiis & hoſtiarum mactationibus.* My Conjecture is, that *Cerinthus* did not expreſsly teach, that the Happineſs and Glory of the Reign of JESUS CHRIST ſhould conſiſt in indulging Gluttony and Luxury, but that he made uſe of another turn of Expreſſion; that he had recourſe to the Rejoicings, which are proper for Days of Feaſting, particular Days deſigned for Sacrifices, and for feaſting on them. The *Greek* Words, which I have cited, inſinuate plainly, that he covered his meaning under modeſt Phraſes. But it was thought lawful to withdraw the Curtain, and to paraphraſe them in ſuch a manner, that all the Deformities of his Opinions might eaſily be diſcovered. If my Conjecture was certain, there would be ſome little Trick in the Proceedings of *Cerinthus*'s Enemies; for, in ſhort, what Right has any body to impute Particulars to an Author, which he does not mention? Why may he not enjoy the Benefit he ought to expect from the Generality of his Expreſſions? For the reſt, *Valeſius* does not approve, that, inſtead of ἐυφημότερον we ſhould read ἐυθυμότερον (11); and he alledges for it the Tranſlation of *Rufinus*: 'Nec aliter legiſſe Rufinum ex verſione ejus 'apparet. Sic enim vertit: *Et ut aliquid ſacratius* 'dicere videretur, *legales* aiebat *feſtivitates rurſus* 'celebrandas. Feſtorum ſcilicet & ſacrificiorum nomine libidines ſuas velabat Cerinthus, ut honeſtatem quandam in ſpeciem præferret (12). —— *That* 'Rufinus *read it no otherwiſe, is plain from his Tranſlation. For he thus renders it*: And that he might 'ſeem to imply ſomewhat more ſacred, he ſaid that 'legal Feſtivals would be celebrated. *That is*, Cerinthus *veiled his wanton Gratifications under the* 'Name of Feaſts and Sacrifices, *that he might keep* 'up an Appearance of Decency.'

[*C*] *Some have believed, that he was the true Author of the* Revelations.] The ſame *Dionyſius*, whom I have quoted in the foregoing Remark, informs us, that there had been ſome Perſons, who wholly rejected the *Revelations*, as a Work, which was not of St *John*, nor of any Apoſtle, nor of any other Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, and which did not deſerve to be called a *Revelation*, ſince it was covered with ſuch a thick Veil, that nothing could be underſtood in it; that *Cerinthus* had compoſed it, and put St *John*'s Name to it, to credit his Viſions under the Authority of ſuch a venerable Apoſtle; Κήρινθον δὲ τὸν καὶ τὴν δι' ἐκείνε πλανθέσαν Κηρινθιανὴν ςρατόμαγον αἵρεσιν, ἀξιόπιςον ἐπιφημίσαι βελόμενον τῷ ἑαυτῦ πλάσματι ὄνομα. *Cerinthum enim qui nominis ſui ſectam conflavit, cum magnæ auctoritatis nomen ad faciendam fidem commentis ſuis vellet præfigere, Joannis titulum operi ſuo indidiſſe* (13).

[*D*] *The Ancients have varied on this Subject, and the Moderns have added to it —— a pious Fraud.*] The Variation of the Ancients conſiſts in this, that ſome pretend, that this Fact concerns *Cerinthus*, and others, that it concerns *Ebion*. You will find in *Euſebius*, that St *John*, being entred into the Bath, and underſtanding, that *Cerinthus* was there, went away immediately, and bid his Companions do ſo too; 'let us fly from hence, ſaid 'he to them, for fear that a Bath, wherein the Enemy of Truth is, ſhould fall upon us. Φύγωμεν μὴ καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον συμπέσῃ, ἔνδον ὄν[illegible] Κηρίνθυ τῦ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐχθρῦ. *Fugiamus inquit, ne Balneum corruat, in quo Cerinthus eſt, inimicus Veritatis* (14). *Euſebius* quotes St *Irenæus*, who ſays, that St *Polycarp* had been heard to ſay ſo (15), and that the thing was done in *Epheſus*. If you conſult *Epiphanius*, you will find that St *John*, who never went into the Bath, was prompted, one Day, by the HOLY GHOST, to go thither. But, hearing that the Arch-heretic *Ebion* was there, he apprehended the Cauſe of the Inſpiration he had received: he knew, that the HOLY GHOST had not inclined him to go thither, but to give him an Occaſion to ſhew how much Truth is to be eſteemed, and with what Diſdain the Friends of GOD, and the Inſtruments of the Devil, ought to be treated. He groaned then, and ſpoke theſe Words loud enough to be heard by all thoſe, who were preſent, 'Haſte away, *my Brethren, let us go from hence, for fear the Bath* 'ſhould fall, and cruſh us to pieces, with Ebion, be-

(11) As *Chriſtophorſon* has done.

(12) Valeſius, Not in Euſebium, pag. m. 54.

(13) Euſebius, lib. 7, cap. 25, pag. m. 273. ex eodem Dionyſio.

(14) Euſebius, ubi ſupra, lib. 3, cap. 29, pag. 100. *He quotes St Irenæus in the third Book againſt Hereſies. See the ſame* Euſebius, lib. 4, cap. 14, pag. 128.

(15) Ὡς ἐν ταῖς ῥαδέσως Πολυκάρπε, that is to ſay, according to the Tranſlation of *Valeſius*, *ait ſe à Polycarpo accepiſſe*. But ſince *Euſebius*, *lib. 4, cap. 14, pag. 128*, obſerves, that *Irenæus* ſays, that ſome Perſons who were yet living, had heard *Polycarp* ſay ſo, it is a Proof, that *Irenæus* was one of that Number.

faical Law, who would have the Angels to be adored, and who grounded themſelves on this Reaſon, That GOD, not being viſible, nor to be touched, or comprehended, the divine Good-will ought to be procured by the Miniſtry of Angels (*f*). It is alſo pretended, that St *Paul* aimed at This Heretic, when he warned the Faithful to reject thoſe, who, by Humility of Spirit, and by the Service of Angels, meddled with

(*f*) *See Father* Garnier, in Actario operum Theodoreti apud Ittigium de Hæreſiarc. ſeculi 1 & 2, pag. m. 52.

cauſe of his Impiety (16). *Baronius*, to reconcile *Irenæus* and *Epiphanius*, ſays, that it might happen that *Cerinthus* and *Ebion* were together in the Bath (17): But *Mr de Tillemont* obſerves, *That it is not neceſſary to have recourſe to this Conjecture, it being no rare thing for St* Epiphanius *to be miſtaken in Hiſtory* (18). He adds to this, ſays he (19), *ſeveral Particulars leſs certain, and of leſs Importance.* Note here the Progreſs of Stories: St *Irenæus* probably was the firſt, who publiſhed the Action of St *John*; he was contented to relate what he had heard of it: but thoſe, who ſucceeded him, finding his Narrative too naked, did flouriſh upon it. They did not think it a glorious thing for That Apoſtle's Memory, that it ſhould be thought, that he bathed himſelf in a public Place; for which reaſon they affirmed that he never did it, and, if he deſigned it one Day, it was by order from above. Afterwards a Cauſe of the Inſpiration muſt be ſought for: 'It was found in this, that it was requiſite to make the Faithful know, that they ought to abhor the Enemies of Truth, and believe, that the Divine Juſtice is always ready to ſhew great Examples of Severity againſt Hereſiarchs. But, becauſe they thought it was not proper, that the Readers ſhould think, that St *John* was afraid without Neceſſity, or that the implicite Threatning contained in his Words proved vain, they ſuppoſed, that the Hereſiarch, with whom he would not bathe, was cruſhed under the Ruins of the Houſe. This is what the following Ages have added to St *Epiphanius*'s Flouriſhing.

(16) Epiphan. adverſ. Hæreſ. n. 30, pag. 148, 149.

(17) Baron. ad Ann. 74. n. 9.

(18) Tillemont's Memoirs of Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Tom. I. pag. 1085. *Edit. of* Bruſſels.

(19) Id. ibid. pag. 924.

I confeſs ingenuouſly, that I had never read This Addition, before I read it in a Letter of the learned *Reineſius*; but I have found it ſince in ſeveral Authors, whom he does not alledge. He ſpeaks of it, after he had obſerved, that the cotemporary Writers do not ſay, that *Frederic Barbaroſſa* was trod under Foot by the Pope, but that their Silence has not hindered their Succeſſors from inventing That Circumſtance, and affirming it boldly. 'Similis, *adds he* (20), huic hiſtoriæ interpolatio temeratiove commiſſa eſt ab illis, qui ſive Ebionem ſive Cerinthum (variant enim) Epheſi ruinâ baloearum, in quibus diſputaret unà cum auditoribus ſuis, oppreſſum eſſe narrarunt. Cum enim legiſſent apud *Iren. l. 3. c. 3. Epiphan. hær. 30. Euſeb. l. 3. Hiſt. Eccl. c. 23. & l. 4 c. 14.* è relatu B. Polycarpi, S. Johannem Evang. & Apoſtolum, cum in balneis quas loturus intraverat Cerinthum cum ſuis eſſe audiviſſet, Feſtinate, dixiſſe, fratres; Egrediamur, ne domus corruat & pereamus cum Cerintho, qui intus eſt, inimico Veritatis; quod timere ne fieret dixerat Apoſtolus, id factum ſic eſſe interpretati ſunt. In hac culpa eſt ille qui notas marginales Epiphanio Latino, excuſo Baſil an. 1560. inculit; fingit enim *miraculum à Johanne editum: & Victor. Strigel.* qui *Schol. ad Proverb. Salom. c.* 22. tanquam Irenæi *ſenſu* adfert hæc: *Egreſſo Johanne domus ſtatim collapſa Cerinthum & turbam reliquam oppreſſit*: quod veterum & proximorum Apoſtoli & Cerinthi temporibus nemo dixerat. Plura ejuſmodi Oratores, tam Eccleſiaſticos quam Politicos, peccaſſe circa hiſtorias ſine dubio notaſti, (ſane obſervantur quotidie) deque iis moneri juventutem veræ hiſtoriæ & elegantiorum literarum intereſt. —— *The ſame kind of Interpolation or Violation is committed by thoſe, who related, that* Ebion *or* Cerinthus, *(for they differ as to the Perſon) while he was diſputing, was cruſhed, together with his Auditors, by the Fall of a Bath. For, having read, in* Irenæus, lib 3. c. 3. Epiphan. hær 30. Euſeb. l. 3. Hiſt Eccl. c. 23. & l. 4. c. 14. *from the Relation of St* Polycarp, *that St* John *the Evangeliſt and Apoſtle, going into a Bath, and hearing, that* Cerinthus *and his Followers were there, cried out, Haſte, my Brethren, let us retire, leſt the Houſe fall, and we periſh with* Cerinthus, *who is within, That Enemy of Truth; have interpreted as Fact what the Apoſtle had ſaid he feared would happen. In this miſtake is He, who added marginal Notes to the* Latin Epiphanius, *printed at* Baſil, ann. 1560; *for he pretends, that St* John wrought a Miracle; *and* Victor Strigelius, *who,* Schol. ad Proverb. Salom. c. 22. *produces theſe as the Words of* Irenæus: St *John* being gone out, the Houſe immediatly fell, and cruſhed *Cerinthus*, and the reſt of the Company; *which no one of the Ancients, and near the Times of the Apoſtle and* Cerinthus, *ever ſaid. You muſt have obſerved many Faults of this kind as well in Eccleſiaſtical as Political Orators, in regard to Hiſtory, which it is for the Intereſt of true Hiſtory and polite Literature, that Youth ſhould be put in mind of.*' If I had ſhortened this Paſſage, I had robbed many of my Readers of a Piece of Knowledge, which will pleaſe them, which is, that the like Falſifications are to be found both in Eccleſiaſtical and Lay Orators, of which it concerns Youth to be informed. A Fault an hundred times more common than it ſhould be! If an Author ſays, that certain Things were feared; another will ſay, that they actually happened. A bad and ſhameful Imitation of the Noveliſts (21)! Perhaps *Reineſius* remembered only the two Authors, whom he quotes; one is He, who put Notes in the Margins of St *Epiphanius*; the other is *Victorinus Strigelius*: but here are ſeveral others. Brother *Bernard* of *Luxemburg* affirms, that the Venerable *Bede* ſays, that St *Polycarp* relates (22) what St *John* ſaid and did, and that, as ſoon as the Apoſtle was gone out, the Fall of the Bath cruſhed *Cerinthus* to death. 'De iſto Cherinto 'dicit Beda ſuper Epiſtolam Joan. narrat enim de 'illo ſcilicet Joanne auditor ejus ſanctiſſimus vir & 'martyr fortiſſimus Polycarpus Smyrneorum antiſtes, 'quod tempore quodam cum apud Epheſum balnea 'lavandi gratia fuiſſet ingreſſus, & vidiſſet ibi Che'rinthum exire, continuo diſceſſit non lotus, di'cens; Fugiamus hinc ne balnea ipſa nos corrum'pant, in quibus eſt Cherinthus inimicus veritatis. 'Quo egreſſo balneum cecidit, & hæreticum cum 'ſuis oppreſſit (23). —— Beda, *in the Epiſtle of St* John, *ſays it of That* Cerinthus; *for* Polycarp, *Biſhop of* Smyrna, *a moſt holy Man, and valiant Martyr, relates of him,* viz. St John, *that, going one Day into a Bath at* Epheſus, *and ſeeing* Cerinthus *come out, he immediately departed without waſhing, ſaying, Let us fly hence, leſt the very Bath, in which is* Cerinthus, *The Enemy of Truth, corrupt us. After he was gone, the Bath fell, and cruſhed the Hereſie, and his Followers.*' *Prateolus* aſſerts, that St *Irenæus* ſays, in the third Chapter of the third Book againſt Hereſies, that St *John* found *Cerinthus* ſitting in the Bath with his Followers, and vehemently diſputing, and impudently and blaſphemouſly denying that JESUS CHRIST was GOD: St *John* roſe up, and warned his Friends to retire with him from thence, becauſe GOD was going to puniſh ſuch impudent Blaſphemies. As ſoon as he was gone out, the Houſe fell, and deſtroyed *Cerinthus* and all his Company. You may eaſily believe, that *Prateolus* does not leave ſuch a Place, without moralizing againſt the Authors of Sects. Read all that he ſays. 'Quod vero contemporaneus ſanctlo Joanni Evangeliſtæ fuerit, teſtatur divus 'Irenæus lib. 3. adverſus hæreſes cap. 3. cum de 'beato Polycarpo loquens, ait veniſſe aliquando in 'balneum Joannem, & illic reperiſſe Cerinthum 'hæreticum una cum confortio ſuorum ſedentem, 'inter quos Cerinthus acertime diſputabat, impuden'terque blaſphemus negabat Chriſtum Deum eſſe. 'Atque ſurgens Johannes monuit amicos ſuos qui 'ei aſſidebant, ut una ſecum abirent: nam non velle 'Deum amplius ferre blaſphemias tam impudenter. 'Illico vero cum egreſſus eſſet, collapſa domus Ce'rinthum cum ſua cohorte extinxit. Ex quo licet 'videre horrendum exemplum divinæ ultionis & 'vindictæ in eos, qui manifeſta impietate nomen 'Dei & ejus ſanam doctrinam blaſphemant, non ve'rentes ſectas perditionis introducere: & quam ira

'divina

(20) Thomas Reineſius, Epiſt. 57. ad Rupertum, pag. 520, 521.

(21) There is a place in this Dictionary [end of the Remark [*A*], of the Article VIRGILIUS, Biſhop of *Saltzburg*] where I have ſaid, that the Noveliſts, having ſeen ſome Letters, which ſay, the Army of their Party is preparing to lay Siege before a Town, affirm that the Siege is quite formed.

(22) It is not true, that St *Polycarp* relates that *Irenæus* ſays only, that he was heard to ſay ſo. Thus we have already an Addition.

(23) F. Bernardus Lutzenburgus in catalogo Hæreticorum, voce *Cherintiani*.

with things, which they had not seen; and it is affirmed, that *Cerinthus*, having had some Correspondence with the Jews, Pagans, and Magicians in *Alexandria*, invented an Hypothesis, composed of Judaism, Paganism, and Magic, and spread it chiefly in *Phrygia* and *Pisidia*, and even that he performed Prodigies by the Invocation of Angels (g). He rejected the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the Epistles of St *Paul*, and admitted only the Gospel of St *Matthew* (b). Neither did he admit of that altogether, if we may believe *Epiphanius* (i).

(g) Garnier ibid. apud eumd. ibid.

(b) Philastr. cap. XXXVI. apud eumdem Ittigium, ibid.

(i) Epiphan. Hæres. 28, cap. 5.

(24) Prateolus, in Elencho Alphabet. Hæreticor. pag. m. 128.

'divina illos non patiatur tandem inultos (24). —— 'That he was cotemporary with St John the Evangelist, St Irenæus testifies, in his third Book against 'Heresies, Chap. 3. when, speaking of St Polycarp, 'he says, that St John once came to a Bath, and 'there found Cerinthus, the Heretic, sitting with 'his Companions, among whom Cerinthus was warmly disputing, and impudently blasphemous denied 'that CHRIST was GOD. And St John rising up 'exhorted his Friends, who sat near him, to depart 'with him: for that GOD would no longer bear such 'impudent Blasphemies. But when he was retired, 'the House fell, and destroyed Cerinthus and his 'Company. Where we may see an horrible Example of 'Divine Vengeance on those, who with manifest Impiety blaspheme the Name of GOD, and his sound 'Doctrine, not fearing to introduce Sects of Perdition; and how GOD's Anger suffers them not at 'length to go unpunished.' Add to this these Words of Mr *de Tillemont* (25); 'Eusardentius quotes out 'of St *Jerom*, against the *Luciferians*, that the 'Bath fell in effect, and crushed *Cerinthus* to death. I have read this whole Treatise on purpose, without finding any such thing in it. I have a Catalogue of Heretics, composed in the Form of a Catechism, by a *German* Minister (26): and here is the Answer which I find in it to this Question: 'Quomodo periit (Cerinthus)? Ruina balnei oppressus: Cum enim Johannes Evangelista, cum discipulis suis, Ephesi, lavandi causa, in balneum 'veniisset, ac vidisset intus esse Cerinthum, resiluit 'inde statim, ac dixit: Discedamus cito, ne ruina 'balnei opprimamur, cum intus sit Cerinthus, hostis veritatis. Id quod etiam, discedente eo, factum est. Ut exprimitur in versibus Strigelii:

Impia Cerinthus sancto convitia Christo
Dum facit, & stulta garrulitate furit:
Concidit & rapido blasphemum contudit ictu.
Collapsæ subito facta ruina domus.

'—— *How did* Cerinthus *perish? He was crushed* 'by the Fall of a Bath. For St John the Evangelist, coming into a Bath, at Ephesus, with his 'Disciples, and seeing Cerinthus within, immediately started back, and said, Let us depart quickly, 'lest we be crushed by the Fall of the Bath, since 'Cerinthus, That Enemy of the Truth, is within. 'Which happened after his Departure, as is expressed 'in the Verses of Strigelius,

Whilst uttering Scoffs against the Son *of* God,
Cerinthus *died by Heav'n's avenging Rod.*
With sudden Ruin on his impious Head,
The falling Bath crush'd the Blasphemer dead.

(25) Tillemont, Memoire of Eccles. Hist. Tom. I, pag. 1058.

(26) Johannes Pontanus, Ecclesiæ Regiomontanæ in Neomarchia Pastor, & Vicinarum Inspector, in catal. Hæreticorum fol. E 3. verso. *This Book was printed in* 1615, *in* 12mo.

(27) Ephesi, *Irenæo teste lib.* 3, *cap.* 3. & balneo ejusdem (*Joannes*) Cerinthum Hæresiarcham videlicet rediens ruina obruit. *Micræl. Synag. Hist. Eccles. pag. m.* 223.

(28) Ittigius, de Hæresiarch. 1 & 2. sæculi, pag. 58. *Edit.* 1690.

Micrælius was not more exact in consulting Originals, though he cites them; See the Margin (27). Mr *Ittigius* seems to believe, that *Prateolus* is the first, who added what concerns the Fall of the House, where *Cerinthus* was bathing, to the Narrative of *Irenæus* (28). It is certain, that This Flourish is more ancient, than *Prateolus*.

CERISANTES, a Gentleman of much Wit and Courage, in the XVIIth Century. You will find his Article in the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary; but suffer not yourself to be seduced by the Falsities, which may have crept into it, and mind the Observations which I set down. They are taken from a Manuscript Apology, which Mr *de Ste. Helene* (a) sent me from *London*, two or three Months before his Death. He composed it for his Brother, Mr *de Cerisantes*, some time after the Duke of *Guise*'s Memoirs were published. Mr *de Cerisantes* is much abused in those Memoirs; but the Author of the Apology maintains, that they are Slanders destitute of Truth. He does not believe, that the Duke of *Guise* is the Author of That Work, and suspects Mr *de Saintlion* (b) *to have forged it*, or *to have set it off with what is fabulous in it, either through an extream Zeal for his Master*, or —— *to make the Piece more pleasing* (c), and more deserving to be well paid for by the Bookseller. First he confutes some Expressions of Contempt, which are used in it, and the Reproach of meanness of Birth [*A*]. He owns the Quarrel

(a) He left *France* in the time of the last Persecutions, and fled into *England*. He died in *London*, the 24th of *January*, 1697.

(b) That Duke's Secretary, and he who published these Memoirs.

(c) Manuscript Apology, pag. 3.

[*A*] *He is very much abused in the Memoirs of the Duke of* Guise. *His Brother, who composed an Apology —— refutes certain Expressions of Contempt* (1), *and the Reproach of Meanness of Birth.*] He says, those Expressions will appear most ridiculous, when it shall be known that 'Cardinal *de Richelieu* had 'such a good Opinion of *Cerisantes*, as to send him 'to *Constantinople*, in the Year 1641, to treat about 'some important Business there, and that, in 1644, 'the Chancellor *Oxenstern*, and the other Regents 'of *Sweden*, during the Minority of Queen *Christina*, judged him worthy to be admitted into the 'Number of the Counsellors of State of that Kingdom, and to be afterwards sent Resident to the 'Court of *France*. —— This appears by the Instructions of the Sieur *de Cerisantes*, by a Letter which 'the said Chancellor wrote to him at *Paris*, and by 'another which the Sieur *Chanut*, at that time 'Resident of *France* in *Sweden*, wrote to the Sieur 'Gueffier at *Rome*, which Pieces are in the Hands 'of the Sieur *de Sainte Helene*, as also the rest 'which shall be spoken of hereafter (2).' Note, that the Queen of *Sweden* had first given *Cerisantes* a Regiment in the Army of *Germany*, 'but, 'being already gone two Days Journey from *Stockholm*, to take Possession of it, a Courier, who 'was sent after him, obliged him to return back 'again; the Regents of the Crown of *Sweden* having thought it more proper to send him Resident to *France* (3).' Note also, that 'he had been Lieutenant of the first Company of the Regiment of '*Navarre* —— and he performed such fine Actions 'in the several Posts he had in that Regiment, and 'shewed so much Vigour, Capacity, and Courage, in 'several Battles, that the Prince, then Duke of *Enguien*, and the Marshals *de Chatillon*, *de la Meilleraye*, and *de Gassion*, praised him so much publickly, and in the Presence of all the Officers, that 'it might have inspired Vanity into the most modest Persons (4).' The Author of the Memoirs of the Duke of *Guise* is told, 'that, in allowing 'Mr *de Cerisantes* but little Merit and Experience, 'he is fallen into a Contradiction, acknowledging 'in the same One hundred and seventy seventh 'Page, that he had Wit and Eloquence; in the 'following Page, that he was a Man of Courage, 'and that but few Persons in this Age equalled 'him in *Latin* Poetry: in the One hundred and 'ninety fifth Page, that he made a Lodyment 'within ten Paces of a Post, where the Enemy 'had Five hundred Men, wherein he behaved himself as bravely as he had done in the Attack; 'and

(1) They are in the 116th Page of the Duke of *Guise*'s Memoirs, Edit. of *Paris*, in 4to.

(2) Manuscript Apology, p. 4, 5.

(3) Ibid. pag. 15. *we are referred to Mr* Chanut's *Letter.*

(4) Ibid. pag. 16.

rel of *Cerisantes* with the Duke of *Candale*; but he maintains, that the Circumstances and Consequences of it are falsely related [*B*]. He does not deny, but that his Brother was a little too haughty, and that *perhaps he carried his Ambition somewhat too far* (*d*); *but*, adds he, *if such a Fault may be excused in any body, it might be tolerated in him — who was a handsome Man, witty, learned, extreamly brave, of great Capacity for War, and who, in short, possessed, in a Degree much above the common, the Talents, which may recommend a Man in the World, either in Peace or War.* It is denied, that he was dismissed by the Queen of *Sweden*, and his leaving the Court

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 12.

' and that he put it into so good a posture of Defence, ' that it was always preserved afterwards. In the Two ' hundred and fifty fourth Page, that the Duke of ' *Guise*, having engaged in a Battle only to draw *Jacomo Rousse* out of a great Danger, and seeing ' him safe, aimed only at his Retreat, the care ' whereof he gave to the Sieur *de Cerisantes*, who ' came to him (says the Author of the Memoirs) ' very fortunately; which he performed, and rejoined the Duke of *Guise*, after a light Skirmish, ' without the Loss of any of his Men. To all this ' it is added, that the Command of a Body of Four ' thousand *Calabrians*, which the Duke gave him, ' was yet an uncontroulable Proof of the good Opinion he had of his Experience in Feats of Arms. ' The Three hundred seventy fifth Page testifies ' this, as also the Count *de Modene*'s Memoirs, ' Tom, iii. pag. 51, and the Commission which ' the Duke *de Guise* gave the Sieur *de Cerisantes* ' for that Employ.' The Conclusion is, that the Reasons, alledged by the Author of the Memoirs, ' for the Refusal, which he says the Duke of ' *Guise* gave the Sieur *de Cerisantes*, of the Office ' of Colonel-General, are weak, since he granted ' him another afterwards, much more considerable ' as to the Functions, though not as to the Dignity (5).'

(5) Ibid. p. 6, 7.

As to the Meanness of his Birth, it is observed, that the Author of the Memoirs says falsly, that Mr *de Cerisantes*'s Father was a Minister (6); and the Consequence, which he draws from it, is confuted: ' It is maintained against him, that this would ' not prove, that *Cerisantes* was an ignoble Person; ' and then the Apologist goes on thus: ' His Father, ' whose Name was *Mark Duncan*, was a famous ' and celebrated Doctor of Physic, a *Scotchman* by ' Nation, and a Gentleman by Birth.' Being gone ' to travel into *France* in his Youth, he settled at ' *Saumur* in *Anjou*, where he married a Gentlewoman of a good Family. He had not lived there ' long, before he acquired so great a Reputation in ' his Art, that King *James I.* of *Great Britain*, ' desired him to serve near his Person, in the Quality of his Physician in Ordinary; and, for that ' purpose, he sent him a Patent for it, that ' he might be sure of the Place, which was proposed to him, before he crossed the Sea: but, his ' Wife being very unwilling to leave her Country, ' Relations, and Acquaintance, he suffered himself ' to be conquered by the Tears of a Woman, whom ' he loved passionately; he would not accept an ' Employ so honourable, and so profitable to his ' Family, and continued all the Remainder of his ' Life in the City of *Saumur*, where he died in ' the Year 1640, lamented by every body, as well ' Catholics as Protestants, of what Quality soever ' they were. He was admirably well versed in ' Philosophy, Divinity, and the Mathematics, besides Physic, which he exercised with much Honour. What is more to be esteemed is, that he ' was a Man of great Probity, and of an exemplary Life (7).' Add to this what I shall say in the last Remark

(6) Memoirs of the Duke of *Guise*, pag. 178.

(7) Apology, pag. 9. See the following Remark.

[*B*] *He acknowledges the Quarrel - - - - with the Duke of* Candale, *but he maintains, that the Consequences of it are falsly reported*] See here the Words of the Apology; they clear up a Matter which many Readers will think curious. ' The ' Sieur *de Cerisantes* had a Quarrel with the Duke ' of *Candale*, and challenged him; but the Duke ' of *Guise*, if he was the Author of the Memoirs, ' would have less reason, than any body whatever, ' to reproach him with it, since it was to maintain the Interests of the fair Mademoiselle *de Pons*, ' his Mistress, who was then one of the Queen-' Regent's Maids of Honour, whom the Duke of ' *Candale* had affronted in a full Ring, as she sate ' at the Boot of a Coach with the Sieur *de Cerisantes*. Moreover, I confess ingenuously, that, ' being at that time Resident of the Crown of ' *Sweden*, the strictest Rules of Prudence did not ' permit him to carry his Resentment so far: but ' where are those generous Men, who can follow ' such an austere Virtue, when they are attacked in ' their Honour? Without doubt, the ill Usage, ' which That fair Lady had publickly received, ' reflected in such a manner on the Person, who ' had then her Conversation, that he could hardly ' dispense with himself from undertaking the Reparation of it. His Brother, the Sieur *de Ste Helene*, having freely told him some Months after, ' on that Subject, that, in his Opinion, he had ' offended against his Character by such a Proceeding, and in some manner renounced the Privileges, which the Law of Nations gave him, as ' a public Person: You are in the right, Brother, ' said he to him; but you must know, that the ' Ladies of the Court have ever been the Dispensers of Reputation. Had I suffered a Lady to ' have received an Affront in my Company, I had ' lost my Honour for ever with the Fair Sex, before whom I had no more dared to appear. But ' I absolutely deny, that That Quarrel preceded his ' Residence, and obliged him to leave *Paris*. Many Persons of the Court, at that time, may remember very well, that, when he sent a Challenge to the Duke of *Candale*, he had already ' exercised his Ministry above a Year, and that he ' continued in it nine or ten Months after, notwithstanding the Sollicitations, which his Royal Highness, the late Duke of *Orleans*, the Duke of *Espernon*, and Mr *de Metz*, at that time Abbot of *St Germain des Prés*, and at present Duke of *Vernuil*, employed with her *Swedish* Majesty, to have him re-called. For that purpose, they ' set all Engines at work, and attacked him on ' account of his Birth (either out of meer Malice, ' or by the same Argument, which the Author of ' the Memoirs makes use of, that, being the Son ' of a Man of Letters, it was probable he was no ' Gentleman); but it was in vain; for the Sieur *de Cerisantes*, having had notice from Mr *de Lyonne* ' of all that was contriving against him, sent with ' all speed a Copy of the Proofs of his Nobility ' into *Sweden*, which were collated by a Secretary of State, wherewith the Queen his Mistress ' seemed to be wholly satisfied, insomuch that she ' made a Jest of all the Letters, which were sent ' to her, to the Prejudice of her Resident, whom ' she not only continued in his Function at the ' Court of *France*, as I have said already, but whose ' Proceedings with the Duke of *Candale* she likewise approved (8).'

(8) Apology, pag. 12.

[*C*] *It is denied that he was dismissed by the Queen of* Sweden.] ' It is another Falsity, to say, ' that the Queen of *Sweden* dismissed the Sieur ' *Cerisantes*; since it may be made appear, by a ' Letter, which he wrote from *Stockholm* to his ' Brother, the Sieur *de Ste Helene*, dated the Twenty eighth of *April* 1646, and which he has by ' him, that he dismissed himself, and that he left ' the Court of *France* without the Knowledge of ' the Queen his Mistress. I do not pretend to defend, or excuse, his departing without Order, ' being most certain, that he might justly have been ' tried for it. The Sieur *de Cerisantes* was not ignorant of the dangerous Consequence of it; ' but, being very well informed, that some powerful Friends of the Sieur *Grotius* designed to undermine his Fortune, out of hatred, because the ' Sieur *de Cerisantes*, as they thought, had supplanted him, he ventured all, and undertook his

journey,

Court of *France* is disapproved. It is insinuated (e) that he left the Service of *Sweden*; to execute his Resolution of changing his Religion: he accordingly forsook the Protestant Religion, and turned a *Roman* Catholic. He was sent to *Naples* to be the King's Agent there, and to observe the Proceedings of the Duke of *Guise*, who was suspected at the Court of *France* (f). It is denied, that he assumed the Quality of Ambassador there [D], and that the Reasons and the Circumstances of his Detention have been faithfully related [E]. Complaints are made of some Misrepresentations of the Truth concerning his Death [F]; and That which concerns his last Will is rejected [G].

(e) Ibid. pag. 17.

(f) See Remark [D].

'Journey, to encourage his Party by his Presence, 'and to defend a Post, which his Enemies attacked 'with so much Fury, or to bury himself in the 'Ruins of it. It is also very evident by the Dis'charge, which the Sieur *de Cerisantes* obtained 'of the said Queen his Mistress, that she was very 'well satisfied with his Care and Negotiations, and 'that she desired to retain him in her Service; 'for it is said, in express terms, in the Discharge, 'that he desired it himself, to try his Fortune 'another way; and that all the while he had had 'the Management of the Interests of her Crown, 'he had acquitted himself of it with all Diligence, 'Faithfulness, and Industry. The Sieur *Chanut*'s 'Letter, already twice mentioned, proves the same 'thing, saying, that the Queen had assured him 'with her own Mouth, that, to keep the said 'Sieur *de Cerisantes* in her Service, she had of'fered him a Regiment, or a good Pension, which 'he pleased (9).'

(9) Ibid. pag. 25, &c.

[D] *It is denied, that he took the Quality of Ambassador at* Naples.] 'All the *Frenchmen*, who 'were at that time at *Naples*, can testify, that 'he only made himself known in Quality of the 'King's Agent; which the very Memoirs in ques'tion grant him in the One hundred and fixteenth 'Page, as also those of the Count *de Modene*, in 'the second Tome, pag. 237. ----- As such, 'then, he had a Right to cause the Council to be 'assembled, and to make such Proposals, as he 'should think proper, having particular Orders 'for it, and general Orders to observe the Duke 'of *Guise*'s Actions, and to give Advice of his De'portments, seeing, even when he was at *Rome*, 'his Intentions began to be much suspected by 'the Ministers of *France* (10).' The Author of the Memoirs says, That *Cerisantes* would place himself on the Duke of *Guise*'s Left-hand at Mass, and at public Ceremonies, and that the Duke would not suffer it, and abused him. The Apologist answers (11), that he never heard any thing about That Dispute, and that *Cerisantes* was so brave, and so nice on the Point of Honour, that, since he did not shew his Resentment by some desperate Action, or by leaving *Naples*, it ought to be believed, that the Duke of *Guise* did not give him That abusive Language, which is spoken of in the Memoirs. 'The whole Two hundred and 'fifth Page, *adds he* (12), is full of injurious and 'outrageous Words, which deserve no Answer, 'because one may easily know, that Passion only 'dictated them, and that the Sieur *de Cerisantes*'s 'original Sin is, his having been altogether in the 'Interests of the Marquis *de Fontenai Mareuil*, at 'that time Ambassador of *France* at *Rome*, and too 'clear-sighted to suffer himself to be surprised by 'the Duke's Artifices. Nevertheless, I shall not 'forbear to say, that the Calumnies of a very 'passionate Prince cannot be put in the Scale with 'the Approbation of the Cardinals *Richelieu*, *Mazarin*, and St *Cecil*, and of Chancellor *Oxenstern*, and the other Regents of *Sweden*, and the 'Bishop of *Angers*, the Marquis *de Fontenai*, the 'Sieurs *de Lyonne* and *Chanut*, and of many other 'Persons of Quality and Merit, who honoured the 'Sieur *de Cerisantes* with their Esteem, so far were 'they from taking him for a whimsical and ex'travagant Fool.'

(10) Ibid. p. 5.

(11) Ibid. pag. 29, &c.

(12) Ibid. pag. 22.

(13) *The Author of the Apology says*, pag. 19, that he made a Journey to *Paris*, on purpose to be informed by the *Valet de Chambre* of the deceased, newly returned from *Naples*, of all that happened to the Sieur *de Cerisantes* his Master, since his Departure from *Sweden*, as well at the Courts of the King of *Poland*, of the Great Duke of *Moscovy*, and of the Emperor, as particularly at *Rome* and at *Naples*. *He adds*, pag. 26, *that the same* Valet de Chambre was a very good Man, and known to be so brave by the Duke of *Guise* himself, that he made him a Cornet, after the Death of *Cerisantes*.

[E] ---- *and that the Reason and the Circumstances of his Detention are faithfully related.*] Here is the History, as I have it from his Valet de Chambre (13). 'The Duke, suspecting that 'the Sieur *de Cerisantes* did him some ill Offices 'at the Court of *France*, and with the Marquis 'de *Fontenai* at *Rome*, went one day, very well 'accompanied, to his Lodgings, and being come 'into his Chamber, would oblige him, partly by 'fair Words, and partly by Threatnings, to give 'him his Cyphers, to clear his Suspicions of some 'Letters that he had intercepted; which the Sieur 'de *Cerisantes* plainly refused him, saying, that he 'was not to give him an Account of his Actions, 'and protesting that he would never part with 'them but by force. Upon this they came to 'high Words on both sides; and the Duke, heat'ing himself beyond Measure, caused his Guards 'to arrest him, with Orders to watch and observe 'him in such a manner, that he should have no 'Communication with any body. A few Days after, 'the Duke's Passion being over, he withdrew his 'Guards; and, after having made his Excuses to 'the Sieur *de Cerisantes* for his rigorous Proceed'ings, and having imputed the Cause of it to 'some malicious and ill-minded Persons, who had 'imbittered him against him, he flattered him in 'such a manner (being a great Master of the Art 'of gaining the Good-will of People, and of cap'tivating them, when he designed it) that they 'lived afterwards in good understanding, or at 'least seemed to do so (14).'

(13) To wit, at the 374th, and 375th Pages.

(14) Manuscript Apology, pag. 23.

[F] *Complaint is made of some Misrepresentations — of the Death of* Cerisantes.] 'The Duke con'ceals the Truth very much here (15), as well as 'in divers other places of the Memoirs; for I have 'it from good Hands, that the Sieur *de Cerisantes*, having already caused his Baggage to be 'packed up, in order to repass to *Rome*, whither 'he was called to be Chamberlain to Pope *Innocent* 'X (16), the Duke earnestly desired him to defer his 'Departure till after the general Attack, which 'he designed to make on all the Enemies Posts at 'the same time; which the Sieur *de Cerisantes* 'willingly granted, being glad to meet with such 'a favourable Occasion to acquire Honour. In 'effect, he signalized his Valour extreamly in the 'Attack on the side of the Gate of *Chiaia*, by the 'Report of divers Persons, who were Eye-wit'nesses of it; which may also be confirmed by a '*Paris* Gazette of the Twenty second of *April* '1648, the Extract whereof is contained in a 'Letter, which the Sieur *Rauffin*, Secretary of the 'Sieur *de Cerisantes*, wrote, to *Saumur*, to the 'Sieur *de Ste Helene*, the eighteenth of *May* 1648, 'from *Paris*, where the said Sieur *de Cerisantes* 'had left him on some Affairs, which was after'wards confirmed to him by the *Valet de Chambre* 'of whom I have spoken before. ----- Although 'Historians are answerable for the Truth of what 'they write, and though their Mistakes admit of 'no Excuses, I do not pretend to take much Ad'vantage of the Falsity, which is to be found in 'the Memoirs, concerning the time of the Sieur 'de *Cerisantes*'s Death, because it bears no great 'Stress, and may pass for a very innocent Error. 'I shall only say, that the Posts were attacked the 'twelfth of *February* 1648, as the Memoirs say; 'and, that he died three days after, which is evi'dently false, since his Will is of the Twenty se'venth of the same Month; and he died the next 'day, or the day after, that is to say, the Twen'ty eighth or the Twenty ninth, with which the 'Gazette, which I have mentioned, does also a'gree. Those, who have heard of the Funeral 'Honours, which were done to the Body of the 'deceased, of the great Number of People who 'accompanied it, and of the Grief of all the Offi'cers and Soldiers of the *Calabrian* Troops, of 'the *French* Gentlemen, and of the People, will 'draw an infallible Consequence from it of This 'Gentleman's Merit (17).' This last Fact seems to be alledged as a Reproach of a Sin of Omission: it is true, that the Complaints are not made precisely as in the Words of the Thirty first Page. *viz.* 'The Memoirs of the Duke of *Guise* do not 'say

(15) To wit, at the 374th, and 375th Pages.

(16) The Apologist complains, p. 31, that no mention is made of this in the Memoirs of the Duke of *Guise*: he reproaches that Silence as a Sin of Omission.

(17) Manuscript Apology, pag. 25, 26.

as fabulous [G]. Of all the Slanders, which have been publiſhed againſt him, this is, perhaps, the moſt proper to expoſe him to the Laughter of all Readers; but at the ſame time, there is none which can be better refuted: for all thoſe, who relate this Story, may be convicted of Falſity by an Act of a Notary, that is by producing *Ceriſantes*'s Will. The Apologiſt does not fail to give us notice (g), that this is ſufficient to diſcredit all the other Slanders; for, whoſoever ventures to publiſh Falſities, diſproved by the Acts of a Notary, deſerves no Credit. Nevertheleſs, the Narrations concerning *Ceriſantes*, in the Memoirs of the Duke of *Guiſe*, have made great Impreſſion on the Readers. They have paſſed into other Books. *Du Maurier* has adopted them: The Continuator of *Moreri* has copied *du Maurier*, and it appears by the Book intituled *Menagiana*, that they ſerved the Wits, who met at Mr *Menage*'s Houſe, for Converſation [H]. Thus we ſee how Fortune exerciſes her capricious Tyranny on the Memory and Reputation of Men: and how dangerous is it to fall into the Hands of an Hiſtorian who has a Mind to divert his Reader, and who knows how to pleaſe him? I ſhall communicate to the Public the Particulars, which a Friend of the Apologiſt of *Ceriſantes* was pleaſed to impart to me [I].

(g) Ibid. pag. 28.

ſay, that the Sieur *de Ceriſantes* was ſo much beloved by the People of *Naples*, that they gave him a fine Country Houſe ſome Miles from the City, where his Servants lived ſome time after his Death.'

[G] *What concerns his laſt Will is rejected as fabulous.*] 'The Author of the Memoirs, to crown the Work, finiſhes his Calumnies with the moſt egregious Falſity, that ever any Man uttered, ſaying, that the *Sieur de Ceriſantes*, to carry his Vanity as far as he could, made choice of the Duke for the Executor of his Will; to which he adds, that he left above five and twenty thouſand Crowns in Foundations, Donations, or pious Legacies, though he was not worth twenty Sous (they are the expreſs Words of the Memoirs). This may eaſily be proved to be falſe by a Copy of the Will itſelf, delivered by the Notary, who drew it up, which is in the Poſſeſſion of the Sieur *de Ste. Helene*. That Will ſhews, that Signior *Carlo Carola* is named Executor of it, and that the Legacies, Donations, and Foundations, amount only to the Sum of five hundred and fifty Ducats. He ordered beſides, that the Price of eighty Pipes of Wine, which belonged to the ſaid Deceaſed, ſhould be employed by the ſaid Executor in adorning St *Anne*'s Chapel in the Church of the Carmelites of *Naples*, where he would have his Body buried, and in having an Epitaph made for him; which falls very ſhort of twenty five thouſand Crowns (18).

(18) Ibid. pag. 27, 28.

[H] *It appears by the Book, intituled* Menagiana, *that the* preceding *Narrations ſerved the Wits at Mr* Menage's *Houſe for Converſation.*] The Apologiſt informs us (19), that he would not have taken his *Manuſcript from the bottom of the Cheſt, where he had confined it*, if no One, but the Writer of the Memoirs of the Duke of *Guiſe*, had ſlandered *Ceriſantes*. His firſt Deſign was to publiſh the Apology; but he altered it, upon his Friends repreſenting to him, I. That thoſe Memoirs, *being looked upon as a Romance though very well written, and very diverting, yet were much diſcredited as to moſt of the Adventures, which are contained in them.* II. That his Brother's Reputation was too well eſtabliſhed to need any Defence. But, when he found that other Authors adopted the Facts, mentioned in thoſe Memoirs, and added other things to them, he thought he ought to be no longer ſilent. Here is another piece of his Manuſcript. 'In the Book intituled *Menagiana*, they make *Menage* ſay (20), that Mr *de Ceriſantes*, being turned out of the Employ of Reſident of *Sweden* in *France*, reſolved to become a Turk, in hopes to be made Grand Vizier in leſs than two Years, and thereby to find means to revenge himſelf of the *Swedes*. All this is falſe and ridiculous. The Sieur *de Ceriſantes* was ſent to *Conſtantinople*, in 1641, by Cardinal *Richelieu*, and he was not Reſident of *Sweden* till the Year 1644, as I have ſaid before in the fifth Page of this Manuſcript. He ſays afterwards, that the Sieur *de Ceriſantes* died in the Service of the Duke of *Guiſe*: this is falſe again. He was the King of *France*'s Agent, and not in the Duke's Service. He adds, that, by his Will, he left his Lands and his Jewels to his eldeſt Brother, and his Money and Moveables to another Relation, and two hundred thouſand Livres in pious Legacies; and, that he had the Impudence to make the Duke of *Guiſe* the Executor of his Will. It appears by the Sieur *de Ceriſantes*'s Will, that he left but five hundred and fifty Ducats in pious Legacies, and that he ordered that the Value of eighty Pipes of Wine, which the City of *Naples* had preſented him with, ſhould be applied to the Ornaments of a Chapel in the Church of the *Carmelites*, where he would be buried, and to provide an Epitaph for him. When the Sieur *de Ceriſantes* died, he had but one younger Brother, whoſe Name was *Sainte Helene*. The Duke was not the Executor of his Will, but one whoſe Name was *Carlo Carola* (21).'

(19) Ibid. pag. 36.

(20) Menagiana, Pag. 401, 402. Impreſſion of Holl.

(21) Manuſcript Apology, p. 72.

[I] *I ſhall communicate — the Particulars, which a Friend of the Apologiſt of* Ceriſantes *was pleaſed to impart to me.*] Here is an Extract of his Letter: 'Duncan ſettled at *Saumur*, where he practiſed Phyſic with great Reputation. He was at firſt Profeſſor in Philoſophy, and publiſhed an Abridgment of Logic (22). He left that Employ, and was made Principal of the College. He had three Sons, *Ceriſantes*, *Sainte Helene*, and *Montfort*, and three Daughters. He wrote a Book concerning the pretended Poſſeſſion of the Nuns of *Loudun* (23); for which *Laubardement* would have brought him into great Trouble, had it not been for the Credit of the Marſhal *de Brezé*'s Lady, whoſe Phyſician he was, and who had a great Affection for him. He had a Servant, whoſe Son, aged twelve or thirteen Years, ſpit his Tongue out in coughing, and carried it to his Father ſaying, Here is my Tongue, that I have juſt now ſpit out. The Boy ſpoke as well after that Accident (which proceeded, without doubt, from the Small Pox, which had eat the Root of his Tongue) as he did before, except that he could not well pronounce the Letter *r*. He was carried up and down all over *Europe*, and lived a long time. A Surgeon of *Saumur* having compoſed a Treatiſe upon it, whereof Mr *Duncan* gave him the Title, *viz. Agloſſoſtomographia*, another Phyſician of *Saumur* (24), who did not love Mr *Duncan*, cauſed a Diſſertation to be printed, to prove that it ought to be ſaid *Agloſſoſtomatographia*, and prefixed to it theſe Verſes:

(22) *Burgerſdicius* praiſes him much in the Preface of his *Inſtitutiones Logicæ*, which he made on that Model.

(23) See Remark [B], of the Article GRANDIER, in the beginning.

(24) His Name was *Benoiſt*. It is he who gave a Latin Tranſlation of *Lucian*.

Lecteur tu t'eſmerveilleras
Qu'un garçon qui n'a point de langue
Prononce bien une harangue;
Mais bien plus tu t'eſtonneras
Qu'un barbier qui ne ſçait pas lire
Le Grec, ſe meſle d'en eſcrire.
Que ſi ce plaiſant épigramme,
Doux fruit d'un penſer de mon ame,
Te ſemble n'aller pas tant mal,
C'eſt que je l'ai fait à cheval.

No doubt, Reader, but you will wonder,
That a young Boy, without a Tongue,
Can ſo well pronounce a Harangue;
But you will be yet more ſurprized,

That

That a Barber, who cannot read
Greek, *will yet pretend to write it.*
And if this pleasant Epigram,
The sweet Production of my Mind,
Seems to you to run pretty well,
'Tis because I made it on Horse-back.

'Some malicious Persons altered the last Verse in 'all the Copies they could find, and put it *C'est* 'que je l'ai fait en cheval: —— *'Tis because I made* 'it like a Horse. There is yet another thing, which 'I think somewhat singular, namely, that Mr *Duncan*, his three Sons, and Mr *de Sainte Helene*'s 'only Son, the five Persons, who made the whole 'Male Line of That Branch, are all dead, and buried in five different Kingdoms; Mr *Duncan* in 'France, Cerisantes at Naples, Montford at Stock-'holm, Sainte Helene in London, and his Son in 'Ireland.'

I am very glad to find an Occasion here to speak of Mr *Duncan*, who practises Physic at *Bern* with much Glory, and for whom I have always had a great Love and Esteem, since we studied Philosophy together in the Year 1668. He is descended from a famous Professor of Philosophy (25), who was of the same Family with the Physician of *Saumur*. He was born at *Montauban*, where he practised Physic with great Reputation, when the desire of living according to the Dictates of his Conscience obliged him to retire to *Berne*, sometime after the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*. The Books, which he has published, are excellent, and have done him great Honour. He is Author of the *New and Mechanical Explication of animal Actions*, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1678: *The Natural Chymistry, or a Chymical and Mechanical Explication of the Nourishment of an Animal*, in three Parts, printed at *Paris*, the first in the Year 1681, and the other two in the Year 1687: *The History of the Animal, or the Knowledge of the animated Body by Mechanics and Chymistry*, printed at *Paris* in 1687. The Journalists have spoken of them with praise (26) [* §].

(25) In the Academy of *Montauban*.

(26) *See the* Apparatus ad historiam literariam *of Mr* Van Beughem, *pag.* 128, *of the first Part, and p.* 107 *of the second.*

[(* §.) *Mr Duncan*, has published several other Works; among others, *Salutary Advice to the whole World, against the ill Use of hot things, particularly Coffee, Tea, and Chocolate*, in 8vo *Rotterdam*, 1705, translated into *English*. And *Chymiae Naturam sis Specimen*, in 8vo *Amst.* 1710. He resides now (1734) at *London*. Rem. Crit.]

CESALPINUS, or CÆSALPINUS (Andrew), was a very learned Man both in Philosophy and Physic. He was of *Arezzo*, and a Professor a long time at *Pisa*; after which he became chief Physician to Pope *Clement* VIII. He died at *Rome* the Twenty third of *February* 1603 (*a*), at the Age of Eighty four Years (*b*). He departed from the common Road of the Peripatetics in several things [*A*]; and, to speak right, he was a very bad Christian with respect to Opinions. It is said, he believed, that the first Men were formed in the same manner, as several Philosophers imagine, that Frogs are engendered [*B*]. We shall examine

(a) Ex Thuano, lib. 129, pag. m. 1003.

(b) Witte, Diar. Biograph.

[*A*] *He left the common Road of the Peripatetics in several things.*] Do not imagine, that he invented different Principles from those of *Aristotle*; for, on the contrary, he ought to pass for an Innovator, only because he addicted himself to *Aristotle*'s true Opinions. He penetrated into the bottom of the Peripatetic System, and maintained it according to the true sense of the Founder, and not as the Schoolmen did, who, under the profession of *Aristotle*'s Disciple, taught nothing less than his Tenets. The worst is, that *Cæsalpinus* applied himself chiefly to clear the Obscurity of That System in the Articles most opposite to Religion. After the manner, in which he unfolds his Master's Doctrine concerning the first Mover, he not only overthrows Providence, but also the true Distinction between the Creator and the Creature: and yet his Book (1) has not been censured by the Inquisition. He had the Address to declare, at the end of his Preface, that, if *Aristotle* does not agree with the Scripture in some things, he leaves him, and acknowledges, that there are some Paralogisms in his Arguments, but that he leaves it to be examined by those, who profess a higher Theology (2). The Maxim of the Civilians, *Protestatio facto contraria non valet*, might be alledged against him. Dr *Samuel Parker* has very well unfolded *Cæsalpinus*'s Opinions and Artifices; he says, that he is the first, and almost the last, of the Moderns, who comprehended *Aristotle*'s Opinion, *Quem quid velit recentiorum hic primus & pene postremus copisse visus est* (3). What we shall say in the Remark [*B*] will confirm what I have mentioned elsewhere (4) concerning *Spinoza*'s Conformity with *Aristotle*.

(1) *I mean his* Quæstiones Peripateticæ.

(2) Sicubi ab iis quæ in sacris diviniori modo revelata nobis sunt, discedat, minime cum illo sentio, fateorque in rationibus deceptionem esse: non tamen in præsentia meum est hæc aperire, sed iis qui altiorem theologiam profitentur.

(3) Parkerus, Disputat. de Deo Sect. 24, pag. 64.

(4) In the Article ARISTOTLE, Citat. (d).

[*B*] *He believed, that the first Men were formed in the same manner —— as Frogs.*] Read these words of *Saldenus*: 'Referendus huc —— *Andreas* 'Cæsalpinus, Medicus Romanus; qui primos & ve-'tustissimos homines, instar murium & ranarum, ex 'putri materiâ factos esse, pronunciavit: adoptato 'proculdubio eo errore ex *Democriti Abderitæ* hy-'pothesibus, cui ex aquâ limoque primum visum est 'homines procreatos esse. Non multum abludente 'etiam *Epicuro*, qui credidit, limo calefacto uteros 'nescio quos radicibus terræ increvisse, & infantibus 'ex se editis ingenuum lactis humorem, naturâ mi-'nistrante, præbuisse, hosque, ita educatos & adul-'tos, hominum genus procreasse (5). —— *Hither* 'we must refer —— Andreas Cæsalpinus, a Physi-'cian of Rome, who pronounced, that the first and 'most antient race of Men were formed out of putrid 'Matter, like Mice and Frogs; adopting this error, 'no doubt, from the Opinions of Democritus the Ab-'derite, who thought that Men were originally pro-'duced from Water and Mud; not very different, in 'this, from the Opinion of Epicurus, who believed, 'that, Mud growing warm, certain Wombs grew 'from the Roots of the Earth, and afforded, by the 'Ministration of Nature, the pure Moisture of Milk to 'the Infants produced from them: and that these In-'fants, thus brought up, and becoming Men, be-'got the rest of Mankind.' *Anaxagoras* and *Archelaus* (6), two other great Philosophers, might have been joined with *Democritus* and *Epicurus*: It would have served to make a shew of greater Reading, but not have discovered greater Exactness. Good *Saldenus* had not well consulted the Originals; and, in all apperance, he saw what concerns *Cæsalpinus* at a great distance from the Original. I have searched in That Philosopher's Writings, for what might have given occasion to impute this Opinion to him; and I have discovered a great Mistake: I have found, that, by reasoning on *Aristotle*'s Principles, he lays down, that whatever is made out of Seed, may be produced without Seed, *quæcunque ex semine fiunt, eadem fieri posse sine semine*. It is the Title of the first Question of the fifth Book. But, at first, he declares, that he does not believe, that the Soul of Man, nor That of Beasts, can have corrupt Matter for their Principle. A little after, he makes a Distinction between the first Production of Animals, and of other Beings, and their Succession. He supposes, that the first Production proceeded from the first Cause, at the Beginning, and that, afterwards, the several Kinds preserved themselves by successive Generations, and that the Production of the Individuals, whether it comes from Seed or from corrupt Matter, belongs to That successive Preservation of the Species, and not to their first Formation; so that, if he has sometimes said, that perfect Animals were engendered by a Worm at the Beginning, it must not be understood, of a first Production, properly so called; it is but the renewing of the Individuals, it being possible, in the course of an infinite time, that all the Individuals of one Species may die; in which case no new ones can proceed from an univocal Generation, and therefore a new Beginning must be sought for in some corrupted Matter. This seems to me to be the true sense of the *Latin* Words, which I am going to set down. 'Præterea cum alia fit prima omnium animalium & 'cæterorum entium creatio, quæ à primo ente in 'principio effluxit: alia eorundem successio: dici-'mus ortum ex putredine similem esse ei, qui fit ex 'semine, ad successionem scilicet institutum, non ad 'primam specierum dependentiam atque productio-

(5) See Remarque [*B*], of the Article ARCHELAUS the Philosopher.

(6) See Remarque [*B*], of the Article ARCHELAUS the Philosopher.

(c) Saldenus in otiis Theolog. pag. 64.

examine whether That Opinion ought to have been imputed to him. His Principles differed but little from those of *Spinoza* [C]. Below, you may see the Titles of his Works [D]. A modern Author reckons him among the greatest Genius's that ever were seen (c).

(c) Bibliotheca Curiosa apud Teissier, Eloge. Tom. II, pag. 330.

We should deprive *Cesalpinus* of a very valuable Honour, if we did not say, That he knew the Circulation of the Blood [E]: The Proofs of it are so plain, that they cannot be eluded by any Cavils.

' nem: Nisi enim hæc præcessisset, nequicquam neque ex semine neque ex putredine ortum esset. ' Quod si aliquando meminerim primam perfectorum animalium generationem ex verme fieri, sic ' intelligimus primam, quia in tempore infinito, ' quod supponitur à Peripateticis, deficientibus in aliquo tempore omnibus singularibus alicujus speciei, ' primum aliquod ex putredine oriri potest, ex cujus ' semine propagetur species, ut quibusdam contingit ' ex putredine tantum propagari (7). Observe, that *Cesalpinus*, not supposing, that ever all Mankind perished, cannot be charged with pretending, that the first Men were engendered out of corrupt Matter. He will have it, that, according to *Aristotle*'s Hypothesis, all Species are eternal (8), and that their Eternity is a sufficient Cause to restore the Individuals, if there happen an Interruption in the common Generations: I say if This Interruption should happen by the Death of all the Individuals. ' Non est timendum ' ne aliqua species unquam deficiat, quamvis omnia ' singularia contingat aliquando corrupta esse: remanet enim in agente æterno virtus æterna omnium ' specierum (9). —— *It is not to be feared, that any Species will ever fail, though it should happen, that all the Individuals should some time or other be destroyed; for the Eternal Virtue of all Species remains in the Eternal Agent.* I own, he gives us to understand, that this Interruption might be possible in human kind (10); but it is not what *Saldenus* imputes to him. I shall observe, that it was the current Opinion of Antiquity, that all the Species of Animals might be renewed without the Assistance of Male and Female. *Ovid*, who only mentions the common Tradition of the *Greeks*, supposes, that, after the Deluge, Stones were the Matter, out of which new Men were formed, and that the Heat and Moisture of the Earth produced the other Animals, and even formed new Species unknown to the first World (11).

(7) Casalpin. Quæst. Peripatet. lib. 5, cap. 1, fol. 104, verso, Edit. 1593.

(8) Species æternæ sunt, generantur autem & corrumpuntur ipsa singularia. *Id. ibid. fol.* 105.

(9) Id. ibid. fol. 109.

(10) Ibid. fol. 108.

(11) Ovid. Metam. lib. 1, ver. 400.

Cætera diversis tellus animalia formis
Sponte sua peperit; postquam vetus humor ab igne
Percaluit solis, cœnumque udæque paludes
Intumuere æstu, fœcundaque semina rerum
Vivaci nutrita solo, ceu matris in alvo,
Creverunt, faciemque aliquam cepere morando (12).
. . . . . .
Ergo ubi diluvio tellus lutulenta recenti
Solibus æthereis altoque recanduit æstu;
Edidit innumeras species, partimque figuras
Reddidit antiquas, partim nova monstra creavit (13).

(12) Id. ibid. ver. 416.

(13) Ibid. ver. 434.

The rest of Animals, from teeming Earth
Produced, in various Forms receiv'd their Birth.
The Native Moisture, in it's close Retreat,
Digested by the Sun's ætherial Heat,
As in a kindly Womb, began to breed:
Then swell'd, and quicken'd by the vital Seed.
And some in less, and some in longer Space,
Were ripen'd into Form, and took a several Face.
. . . . . .
From hence the Surface of the Ground, with Mud
And Slime besmear'd (the Faeces of the Flood)
Receiv'd the Rays of Heav'n, and sucking in
The Seeds of Heat, new Creatures did begin:
Some were of several Sorts produc'd before,
But of new Monsters Earth created more.

DRYDEN.

A Commentator says, upon this, that *Avicenna* believed, that human Seeds, re-animated by the Sun in the Carcasses of those, who perished in the time of the Flood, produced new Men. ' Sed quis ferat Avicennam? qui, lib. de Diluviis, afferit ex reliquo cadaverum humanorum seminio, à sole animato, homines post immensas terrarum inundationes ' natos (14) '

(14) Farnab. in Ovidium, ibid. ver. 416.

I must observe another thing, for the better understanding of the Doctrine of *Cæsalpinus*, grounded on *Aristotle*'s Principles, as he pretends. He will have it, that this Maxim *Man and the Sun engender Man* (15), doth not signify, that the Concurrence of the Sun is necessary for the Production of Man, but that the Sun, without the Assistance of Man; is a sufficient Cause of the Production of Man. He pretends, that the Matter of all sublunary Beings, is but a passive Power, which acquires all it's Actuality by the Motion of the Heavens (16). He ascribes the first Formation of Beings to the intelligent Motive Faculty of the Heavens, as to the Principal Cause, and to the Heavens as to the Instrumental Cause (17). All this would easily agree with the Doctrine, which the Sect of the *Literati* has embraced in *China*, that ' there is no other first ' Principle but the material Heaven, or it's most ' subtile Parts, which are it's efficient Virtue. See what Father *Alteneſſa* (18) represented to the Pope

(15) Casalp. ubi supra, fol. 105.

(16) Ibid.

(17) Ibid. fol. 109, verso.

(18) He is a Franciscan. See the *Historical Mercury*, of the Month of *August* 1699, at the beginning.

[C] *His Principles differed but little from those of* Spinoza.] He admitted, with *Aristotle*, some Intelligent Motive Beings in the celestial Spheres; but he reduced them all to one Substance: he admitted also Angels, or Demons; but he said, they were only Particles of God, united to a very subtile Matter: nay, he pretended, that the Souls of Men, and of Beasts, were part of the Substance of God: So that, if he acknowledged many Demons, and many Souls, it was only in relation to Matter; for, exclusive of Matter, he did not admit the Plural Number. So that, according to his Principles, there is but one Soul, but one human Intelligence, which multiplies proportionably as Men multiply (19). The Unity, which the *Scotists* acknowledge in the *Genus*; and in the *Species*, is, in the main, the same Chimera with That of *Cæsalpinus* (20), and there wanted but a little Method to form *Spinoza*'s System out of it. For the rest, if *Cæsalpinus* had been a downright *Spinozist*, and had nevertheless admitted of such Demons, as are commonly admitted, I should not wonder at it. It seems to me, that there is no System, built only on the Light of Reason, which can less dispense itself from acknowledging what is said of good and bad Angels, among the People, than the System of *Spinoza*. I shall, perhaps, write a Dissertation, some time or other, upon it, wherein I shall shew, that, by arguing consequentially, the *Spinozists* ought to be more inclined to acknowledge Punishments and Rewards after this Life, than to deny them.

(19) See Vossius de origine & progr. Idololat. lib. 2, cap. 40, pag. 531, Edit. Francof. 1675.

(20) See Remark [C], of the Article ABELARD.

[D] *Below, you may see the Titles of his Works.*] Κατοπτρον, *sive Speculum artis Medicæ Hippocratium. De Plantis Libri XVI. de Metallicis Libri III. Quæstionum Medicarum Libri II. De Medicamentorum facultatibus Libri II. Praxis Universæ Medicinæ. Dæmonum Investigatio Peripatetica. Quæstionum Peripateticarum Libri V. Nicolas Taurel*, a Physician of *Montbelliard*, wrote against this last Work (21), and intituled his Book, *Alpes cæsæ, hoc est Andreæ Cæsalpini monstrosa dogmata discussa & excussa* (22).

(21) It was printed at *Venice*, by the *Juntæ*, in 4to, in the Year 1571, and since in the Year 1593. The Epistle Dedicatory is dated from *Pisa*, *June* 1, 1569.

(22) Teissier, Eloge. Tom. II, pag. 330.

[E] *He knew the Circulation of the Blood.*] See here what he says in one of his Works: ' Idcirco ' pulmo per venam arteriis similem ex dextro cordis ' ventriculo fervidum hauriens sanguinem, eumque ' per anastomosim arteriæ venali reddens, quæ in ' sinistrum cordis ventriculum tendit, transmisso interim aëre frigido per asperæ arteriæ canales, qui ' juxta arteriam venalem protenduntur, non tamen ' osculis communicantes, ut putavit Galenus, solo ' tactu temperat. Huic sanguinis circulationi ex ' dextro cordis ventriculo per pulmones in sinistrum

' ejuſdem ventriculum optime reſpondent ea quæ ex ' diſſectione apparent. Nam duo ſunt vaſa in dex- ' trum ventriculum deſinentia, duo etiam in ſini- ' ſtrum: Duorum autem unum intromittit tantum, ' alterum educit, membranis eo ingenio conſtitutis ' (23). —— *The Lungs therefore drawing the warm* ' *Blood from the right Ventricle of the Heart, thro'* ' *a Vein, like an Artery, and returning it, by* Anaſto- ' moſis, *to the venal Artery, which tends towards* ' *the left Ventricle of the Heart, cool Air being in* ' *the mean time tranſmitted through the Channels of* ' *the* Aſpera Arteria, *which are extended near the* ' *venal Artery, yet not communicating with the Aper-* ' *tures, as* Galen *thought, tempers with a touch only.* ' *With this Circulation of the Blood, from the right* ' *Ventricle of the Heart through the Lungs into the* ' *left Ventricle of the ſame, exactly agrees what* ' *appears from Diſſection. For there are two Recep-* ' *tacles ending in the right Ventricle, and two in the* ' *left. But of the two one only intromits, the other* ' *lets out; the Membranes being conſtituted ac-* ' *cordingly.*' What he ſays elſewhere (24), and which I content myſelf to point at, is not leſs expreſs.

(23) Cæſalp. Quæſt. Peripatetic. lib. 5, cap. 4, fol. 125, verſo.

(24) Id. Quæſt. Medicarum, l. b. ii. cap xvii, fol. 234. Edit. 1593.

CESAR, or CÆSAR, (CAIUS JULIUS) the firſt Emperor of *Rome*, had all the Qualities neceſſary for a great Conqueror; and it would be wrong to believe, that there was more good Luck, than Conduct, in his Fortune. He did not gain Battles, only to employ the Couriers, who carried the News of them; but he knew how to improve his Victories; which diſtinguiſhes him from ſo many warlike Princes, who know how to conquer, but not to make uſe of their Victory [*A*]. I believe he found ſome Diſpoſitions in *Rome*, which facilitated the Execution of his

[*A*] *His Conduct —— diſtinguiſhed him from Princes, who know how to conquer, but not how to make uſe of their Victory.*] They may comfort themſelves for This Defect, ſince one of the greateſt Captains in the World (1) was ſubject to it, and much to his Coſt. They may find alſo Matter of Conſolation in their great Number: for few Victories, as to the Conſequences, are like That, which *Guſtavus* obtained near *Leipſic*. We meet with ſome of them, from time to time, and at diſtant Intervals, in reading the Hiſtory of all Ages, and Nations. We muſt alſo except the Wars of the firſt Succeſſors of *Mahomet*, Thoſe of a *Tamerlane*, a *Gingis-Can*, and ſuch other Founders of great Empires, who appear three or four times in the Space of a thouſand Years, more or leſs. Except Thoſe, All Battles are almoſt incapable, by their Conſequences, of deciding the Diſputes of Gazetteers. Each Party attributes, either the whole Victory, or the Reality of it, to itſelf. When they cannot deny the Loſs of the Field of Battle, they maintain, that they loſt but few Men, and that the Number of the Enemies killed and wounded cannot be expreſſed. The Party, which put the Enemy to Flight, are not ſatisfied with the Advantage they are allowed to boaſt of: They ſing *Te Deum*; they make a great Noiſe of their Victory; they make Bonfires; but, notwithſtanding, the Enemy pretends, that there is nothing in it but a vain Shew, and that the ſo much cryed up Victory has no real and ſolid Advantage; they are poſitive, that the Victorious have more reaſon to ſing *De Profundis* than *Te Deum*, and that, if they ſhould obtain ſuch another Victory, at the ſame Price, they would be undone. This does not pleaſe thoſe, who remain Maſters of the Field of Battle; they pretend, that they have the Advantage in all reſpects. The right way to end theſe Diſputes of the News-Writers, would be to act like Conquerors, after the Battle. If thoſe, who, diſclaiming the Name, attribute the thing to themſelves, did ſpeedily carry Fire and Sword into the Enemy's Country, the Cauſe would ſoon be decided in their Favour: but it would be decided to their Shame, if thoſe, who pretend to the Name and the Thing, ſhould overflow the Enemy's Country like a Torrent, and take ſtrong Places therein. In a Word: One muſt ſay, on this Occaſion, what an Apoſtle (2) ſaid on another Subject, *Faith without Works is dead*. You think you have obtained the Victory; but to what purpoſe is This Faith without Works? Shew your Faith by your Works. It is remarkable, that neither Party can ſay to the other, *You have Faith, and I have Works: Shew me your Faith without your Works, and I will ſhew you my Faith by my Works.*" It muſt not be ſaid, in Vindication of a General, who has all the Honours of the Day, the Field of Battle, the Artillery, a great number of Priſoners and Colours, without drawing any other conſiderable Advantage from it, that he acts with a wonderful Diſintereſtedneſs; that he is ſatisfied with the Honour, and does not care for the Profit; that he does not make War, like a Merchant, to get an Eſtate, but like an Hero, to acquire Glory, *præter laudem nullius avari* (3). I ſay, this would be a pitiful Apology; for, in theſe ſort of Things, the Uſeful Part is not ſeparated from the Glorious. Nothing contributes more to the Glory of a great Commander, than the Activity, Diligence, and Ability, he ſhews, in improving to his own Advantage the Enemy's Defeat, and following the Buſineſs cloſe, while they are yet confounded by their firſt Misfortune. At *Rome*, where they were good Judges of the Merit of Warriours, They made a great Difference between Thoſe, who only gained Battles, and thoſe who finiſhed a War (4). They were much more praiſed, who made triumphant Entries, with the Effigies of ſeveral Provinces, or of many conquered Towns, than Thoſe who could only boaſt of having killed many Men. This was good Policy in the *Romans*, though it was attended likewiſe with ſome Inconveniencies. They did not commonly continue the Generals of their Armies two or three Years, ſucceſſively, in their Offices; for, almoſt every Year, the new Conſul went to relieve the Conſul of the foregoing Year: for which reaſon every one did his Endeavour to finiſh the War, and not to leave the Honour of crowning the Work to another (5). Every one aſpired to the Glory of the *Debellare*. But, when a General is ſure of the Command till the end of the War, he is not always in an Humour to make too much haſte: he is glad to delay the Peace; and, if he follows, in his Victories, the Maxim, *That a Golden Bridge muſt be made for the vanquiſhed Enemy*, it is not becauſe he is diſintereſted, and does not ſeek for Profit, but, on the contrary, it is his particular Intereſt, which inclines him to give the flying Enemy leave to recover again, and to prolong the War (6). A King, who commands his Troops in Perſon, and does not make uſe of his Advantages, has not the ſame Motive: He does, without doubt, (generally ſpeaking) his utmoſt Endeavour to improve his Victories: but a *Cæſar*, an *Alexander*, a Prince, in a word, that can make the beſt uſe of his Victories, is a great Rarity. A General, who only gains Victories for the Profit of thoſe, who deal in Mourning Cloaths, may be found every where.

The great Captain, of whom I ſpoke in the beginning of this Remark, is *Hannibal*. Read here what *Adherbal* ſaid to him: ' Dubium deinde non ' erat quin ultimum illum diem habiturus fuerit ' Roma, quintumque intra diem epulari Annibal in ' Capitolio potuerit, ſi (quod Pœnum illum dixiſſe ' Adherbalem Bomilcaris ferunt) Annibal quemad- ' modum ſciret vincere, ſic uti victoria ſciſſet (7). ' —— Rome *muſt have been conquered, and* Hanni- ' bal *might have feaſted in the Capitol within five* ' *Days, if (as the* Carthaginian Adherbal, *the Son* ' *of* Bomilcar, *is reported to have ſaid) he had* ' *known as well how to improve, as to gain, a Vi-* ' *ctory.*' In *Livy* it is *Maherbal*; who, ſeeing that, after the Battle of *Cannæ*, *Hannibal* rejected the Counſel he gave him, to go directly to *Rome*, tho' he aſſured him, that in five Days they ſhould ſup in the Capitol, ſaid to him; ' Non omnia nimirum ei- ' dem Dii dederunt; vincere ſcis Annibal, victoria ' uti neſcis (8). —— *The Gods have not given every* ' *Qualification to the ſame Man; you, Hannibal,* ' *know*

(1) Hannibal. *See the End of this Remark.*

(2) St James ii, 20.

(3) Horat. de Arte Poëtica, ver. 324.

(4) That is to ſay, between *vincere* and *debellare*.

(5) Finis habet laudem, meta coronat opus.

(6) It is the moſt common Cauſe of the Uſeleſneſs of Battles: The Commander of the Victorious Army ſeeks Peace, and will not reduce the Vanquiſhed to the Neceſſity of aſking for it.

(7) Florus, lib. 2, cap. 6.

(8) Livius, lib. 23, cap. 51.

his ambitious Deſigns; but with the Qualities he was Maſter of, he was a Man fit to procure to himſelf favourable Opportunities [*B*]: I mean, to convert into theſe kind of Opportunities what would have been, of itſelf, very unfit to ſerve him, or to concur with the Enterprizes of another. Readineſs, Vigilance, and a certain Ardour, which does not allow any Remiſſneſs, whilſt ſomething remains to be done, were fit Qualities in him to make him what he attained to. The Victory of *Pharſalia*, which was a deciſive Blow, and, as one may ſay, a Decree pronounced from Heaven on the Civil-Wars of *Rome*, did not dazzle him ſo much, but that he remembered that *Pompey*, the Head of the oppoſite Party, was ſtill living; and that therefore there would never be an end of it, if he ſhould give him Time to

'*know how to conquer, but not to improve a Victory.*' *Antigonus* found the ſame Fault in *Pyrrhus* (9).

(9) Plutarch. in Pyrrho, pag. 400, *A. I quote his Words lower, Citat.* (14).

[*B*] *He knew how to procure to himſelf favourable Opportunities.*] It is a great Illuſion, to believe, that *Alexander* owed his Conqueſts to the Circumſtances of the Times, and Places where he was, and that many others would have done no leſs than he in the like Situation (10). See what *Pâquier*'s Thoughts are upon this. 'I believe, ſays he (11), that the 'Sirname of *Moſt Great* belonged to Pope *Nicolas* I; 'not that he exceeded *Leo*, and *Gregory* I, in Senſe '(12); but he had as much both natural and acquired Abilities as they, in things he undertook. 'And beſides, he found a proper and favourable 'time to put his Deſigns in Execution: which is 'what makes us ſeem greater among Men. For it 'muſt not be ſuppoſed, that *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal* 'had leſs Courage or Conduct, than *Alexander* of '*Macedonia*, or *Julius Cæſar*: but, when the two 'firſt miſcarred in their Deſigns againſt *Rome*, there 'were a great many Reaſons for it, which did not 'hold in the Time of *Julius Cæſar*, and *Alexander*. 'Neither do I queſtion, but that, if *Leo* or *Gregory* 'had lived in the Age of *Nicolas*, when the Affairs 'of our Church were in diſorder, they would have 'done what *Nicolas* did, and he in their Times what 'they did, and no more.' If *Pâquier* had only kept to the general Theſis, he might have advanced an Opinion as certain as an Aphoriſm in Mechanics. Suppoſe, on one ſide, that two Men have the ſame Talents; and, on the other, that the ſame Opportunities, which concur with the one, concur alſo with the other, it is plain, that what ſhall be performed by the one, may be performed by the other. By the ſame Talents, and the ſame Opportunities, I do not mean the ſame things in number, but things, which (all Compenſations being made) may be equivalent. On this Suppoſition, *Pyrrhus* would as neceſſarily have ſubdued *Rome*, as *Cæſar*, as it is neceſſary, that two Weights ſhould be *in Equilibrio*, when the one, three times leſs than the other, is three times more diſtant from the Point of Support. The general Theſis is therefore certain; but the Hypotheſis, or the Application of This Poſition to *Pyrrhus* and *Cæſar*, to Pope *Leo* and Pope *Nicolas*, has nothing of Certainty in it; becauſe we do not exactly know the reciprocal Proportions of their perſonal Talents, and of the Opportunities they had. The Knowledge, which Hiſtory gives us, is more proper to refute, than to juſtify *Pâquier*. Every one knows the Compliment, which was made to *Hannibal*, that the Gods, in granting him the Gift of obtaining Victories, had refuſed him That of making good uſe of them (13). It is well known, that, when he was told ſo, he had juſt before rejected the moſt favourable Opportunity, that could be offered, to take *Rome*. It is well known, that *Pyrrhus*, in the Judgment of a great Captain, was like Thoſe Gameſters, to whom Chance gives a fair Game, but who know not how to make uſe of it (14). So that here are two great Captains, who neither equal *Alexander*, nor *Cæſar*. The latter have wonderfully improved the Opportunities, which fell into their Hands. The Event ſpeaks for them: And there are only Conjectures for the other; beſides, thoſe Conjectures are very much weakened by the Faults, which they committed. Let us not believe then, that *Pâquier* argued right

(10) See Remark [*B*], of the Article MACEDONIA.

(11) Pâquier Recherches de la France, lib. 3, cap. 11, pag. 198.

(12) Theſe two Popes had the Sirname of *Great*.

(13) Above, Citat. (7).

(14) Ὅθεν ἀπεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντίγονος συνιέναι μὲν πολλὰ βαλλόντι καὶ παίειν, κρᾶσθαι δὲ οὐ δεξιῶς τῇ νίκῃ. Unde comparatum Antigonus aleatori qui multa & ſecunda jecit, ſed uti neſcit ſucceſſu. *Plut. in Pyrrho, pag.* 400.

(15) Quantum intereſt in quas tempora cujuſque virtus incideris; — *Of what conſequence it is, in what Times the Virtue of particular Perſons appears*; ſaid *Metellus* of *Scipio Africanus*.

I believe there are unknown Perſons, who, in a chief Miniſter's Place, would perform greater Things than he does. And I believe, that a chief Miniſter, who does not ſucceed in a certain Time, might perform wonders in another Age (15); but I am alſo fully perſuaded, that, if *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal* had dared to ſay, 'that *Alexander* could not have done in *Italy* what he did in *Aſia*, they ought to have been anſwered, that they could not have done in *Aſia* what he did. An Inhabitant of *Seriphus* ſaid one Day to *Themiſtocles*: 'You are not become 'famous by yourſelf, but by the Glory of your 'Country. You ſay right, *anſwered* Themiſtocles, 'I had not been a famous Man, if I had been 'born at *Seriphus*; but you would not have been 'ſo, although you had been born at *Athens* (16). 'This is a Model of an Anſwer to thoſe, who 'make no other difference between *Cæſar* or *Alexander*, and the other Princes, whom they pitch upon in Hiſtory, but in that the Opportunities of conquering a great Empire fell into the Hands of That other Prince: It ought to be ſaid to theſe Men; 'Without thoſe Opportunies, they would not have 'conquered ſuch a great Empire; but your Prince 'would not have conquered it with the ſame Opportunities.' See ſome of *Cæſar*'s Warlike Qualities in the following Remark.

(16) Plutarch. in Themiſt. pag. 121.

[*C*] *Activity, Vigilance, and a certain Ardour, —— were in him Qualities —— fit to make him what he attained to.*] Theſe admirable Qualities gave occaſion for the great Praiſes, which are in one of *Cicero*'s Speeches. Though they are ſomewhat hyperbolical, they are not groundleſs. See here what That illuſtrious Orator ſaid to This great Warrior; 'Soleo ſæpe ante oculos ponere, idque libenter crebris uſurpare ſermonibus, omnes noſtrorum Imperatorum, omnes exterarum gentium, potentiſſimorumque populorum, omnes clariſſimorum regum res geſtas cum tuis nec contentionum magnitudine, nec numero præliorum, nec varietate regionum, nec celeritate conficiendi, nec diſſimilitudine bellorum poſſe conferri: nec vero diſjunctiſſimas terras citius cujuſquam paſſibus potuiſſe peragrari, quam tuis non dicam curſibus ſed victoriis illuſtratæ ſunt (17). —— *I am wont to ſet before Mens Eyes, and with great Willingneſs frequently to declare in Speech, that all the Actions of our Generals, all thoſe of foreign Nations, of the moſt powerful People, and moſt renowned Kings, are not to be compared with yours, for the Greatneſs of Conteſts, the Number of Battles, the Variety of Regions, the Expedition in performing, and the Diverſity of the Wars engaged in: and that others would be longer in travelling through the moſt diſtant Countries, than you, I will not ſay in paſſing through, but, in conquering them.*' No Man ever better apprehended how much it concerned a General of an Army to be diligent (18). How many times has his Victory been owing to his ſpeedy Marches? He did not give the Enemy time to recover, and take care of themſelves; he ran like Lightening, and prevented Fame; his Enemies did not know, that his Troops were marching, till he fell upon them. 'Acie triplici inſtructa, & celeriter octo millium itinere confecto, prius ad hoſtium caſtra pervenit, quam quid ageretur Germani ſentire poſſent. Qui omnibus rebus ſubito perterriti, & celeritate adventus noſtri, & diſceſſu ſuorum, neque conſilii habendi, neve arma capiendi ſpatio dato, perturbabantur, copiaſne adverſus hoſtem ducere, an caſtra defendere, an fuga ſalutem petere præſtaret (19). —— *Drawing up his Army in three Columns, and marching eight Miles with great Expedition, he arrived at the Enemy's Camp, before the* Germans *knew any thing of the Matter; who, being on a ſudden aſtoniſhed at the Quickneſs of our Arrival, and the Deſertion of their own Men, and wanting time either to call a Council of War, or to take Arms, were at a loſs whether to face the Enemy,*

(17) Cicero Orat. pro Marcello cap. 2.

(18) Ut celeritate reliquas res conficeret quæ pleraque erat conſecutus. *Cæſar. de Bello Gall lib.* 7, *cap.* 15. Unum communis ſalutis auxilium in celeritate ponebat. Venit magnis itineribus in Nerviorum fines. *Id. ibid. lib.* 4.

(19) Id. ibid.

to gather the broken Remains of his Army. Wherefore his firſt Care was to purſue the flying Enemy; which was the Cauſe of *Pompey*'s tragical End; for it is very likely, that they would not have put him to death, if they had not been aſſured, that *Cæſar* purſued him. When we conſider, in general, the Wars, which he gloriouſly ended, we cannot but admire him; but when we reflect upon the prodigious

'my, or betake themſelves to Flight.' Nothing could ſtop him; the Mountains, covered with Snow, deceived thoſe, who looked upon them as a ſafe Rampart againſt his Marches. 'Et ſi mons Gebenna, 'qui Arvernos ab Helviis diſcludit, duriſſimo tem-'pore anni, altiſſima nive iter impediebat; tamen 'diſcuſſa nive ſex in altitudinem pedum, atque ita 'viis patefactis, ſummo militum labore ad fines Ar-'vernorum pervenit: quibus oppreſſis inopinanti-'bus, quod ſe ſic Gebenna ut muro munitos exiſti-'mabant, ac ne ſingulari quidem unquam homini eo 'tempore anni ſemitæ patuerant, equitibus imperat, (20) Id. ibid. lib. 7, cap. 8. '&c (20). —— *Though Mount* Gebenna, *which* 'separates the Arverni *from the* Helvii, *ſtopped his* 'March by a very deep Snow, it being the moſt rigo-'rous Seaſon of the Year; yet, digging through the 'Snow to the Depth of ſix Feet, and thus, with 'great labour of his Soldiers, opening a Paſſage, 'he arrived at the Borders of the* Arverni: *whom* 'falling upon unexpectedly, as thinking themſelves ſe-'cured by Mount Gebenna *as by a Wall, and no* 'ſingle Perſon having ever paſſed it at that Seaſon of 'the Year, he commands the Horſe, &c.' Being ar-rived with This Speed on the Frontiers of *Auvergne*, he ſtopped there but two Days; he went with the ſame Diligence to another Place, to prevent the Deſigns of *Vercingentorix*. 'His conſtitutis rebus, 'omnibus ſuis inopinantibus, quam maximis poteſt 'itineribus Viennam pervenit; ibi nactus recentem 'equitatum, quem multis ante diebus eo præmiſerat, 'neque diurno neque nocturno itinere intermiſſo, per 'fines Heduorum in Lingones contendit, ubi duæ 'legiones hyemabant, ut ſi quid etiam de ſua ſalute 'ab Heduis iniretur conſilii, celeritate præcurreret. 'Eo cum perveniſſet, ad reliquas legiones mittit, 'priuſque in unum locum omnes cogit quam de ejus (21) Id. ibid. 'adventu Arvernis nunciari poſſet (21). —— *Having* 'ſettled theſe Things, he arrived, unexpectedly 'to every one, by long Marches, at* Vienne; *there* 'taking with him the new Cavalry, which he had 'ſent thither many Days before, and marching 'Night and Day, he arrived, through the Country 'of the* Hedui, *at the* Lingones, *where two Le-'gions wintered, that he might prevent, by his 'Expedition, any deſigns of the* Hedui *againſt his 'Safety. At his Arrival, he ſends to the reſt of 'the Legions, and aſſembles them all together, 'before the* Arverni *had notice of his Arrival.' *Plutarch* relates a very ſingular Thing of the De-feat of That General of the *Gauls*. The Inha-bitants of *Alexia*, beſieged by *Julius Cæſar*, im-patiently expected *Vercingentorix* to come and raiſe the Siege with Three hundred thouſand Men: They knew not, that *Cæſar* was marched to fight That great Army, nor did they know it, till they ſaw him, from the Top of their Walls, return victo-rious to the Siege. Their Cries and Complaints gave the *Roman* Soldiers, who kept the Lines of Countervallation, the firſt News of *Cæſar*'s Victory (22). This is yet more ſingular, as *Plutarch* ob-ſerves. He was reaſon to ſay, that *Vercingentorix*'s great Army vaniſhed like a Dream, and like an Ap-parition. —— Οὕτως ὀξέως ἡ τοσαύτη δύναμις ἄπρακτος εἰδώλου ἢ ὄνειρος ἠφάνισε καὶ διεσκέδασε. *Tam brevi momento adeo immenſa manus ſicut ſpectrum vel ſomnium evanuit & diſſipata eſt* (23). Thus he deſcribes admirably the Speed, where-with *Julius Cæſar* executed great Deſigns. He could march an hundred Miles a day, in caſe of neceſſity: he ſwam over Rivers, or was carried over them, upon ſwelled Hides; and ſo he arrived before the News of his March. 'Longiſſimas vias 'incredibili celeritate confecit expeditas, meritoria 'reda centena paſſuum millia in ſingulos dies: ſi 'flumina morarentur, nando trajiciens, vel inmixus 'inflatis utribus, ut perſæpe nunties de ſe præ-'venerit (24).' If I have compared him to Light-ning, it is after *Florus*: 'Hunc (*Pharnacem*) Cæſar 'aggreſſus, *ſays he* (25), uno, & ut ſic dixerim non 'toto prælio, obtrivit, More Fulminis, quod 'uno eodemque momento venit, percuſſit, abſceſ-'ſit. Nec vana de ſe prædicatio eſt Cæſaris, ante 'victum hoſtem eſſe quam viſum. —— Cæſar, *at-'tacking* Pharnaces, *conquered him in one, and that 'not a compleat, Battle, if I may ſo ſay; after the 'manner of Lightning, which, at one and the ſame 'Inſtant, comes, ſtrikes, and is gone: nor did* Cæſar 'boaſt in vain, *that the Enemy was conquered, be-'fore ſeen.' See here how *Suetonius* ſpeaks con-cerning the Speed, wherewith *Pharnaces* was con-quered. 'Pontico triumpho inter pompæ fercula 'trium verborum prætulit titulum Veni, vidi, vici, non acta belli ſignificantem ſicut cæteri, 'ſed celeriter confecti notam (26). —— *In his* (26) Sueton. ubi ſupra, cap. 37. 'Pontic *Triumph, among other Ornaments, he had car-'ried before him an Inſcription containing theſe three 'Words,* I came, saw, and conquered, *not ſig-'nifying the Actions of the War, as other Generals 'did, but expreſſing the Expedition with which it 'was concluded.' *Plutarch* ſays, that *Cæſar* writ theſe three Words, *Veni, vidi, vici*, to a Friend, to ſignify the Shortneſs of this War (27). *Cicero*, (27) Plut. in Cæſ. pag. 731, E. even at the time that he ſpoke of *Cæſar*, as of an Enemy, looked upon him as a Prodigy of Speed and Vigilance; *ſed hoc τέρας horribili vigilantia, celeritate, diligentia eſt* (28). Give me leave to (28) Cicero, Epiſt. 9, ad Attic. lib 8. inſert here the fine Elogy, which he made upon him, in his Speech againſt *Piſo*. He conſidered *Cæſar*'s great Actions as a Thing, which rendered, for the future, the Ramparts, Nature had given *Italy*, uſeleſs and ſuperfluous. I wiſh he had had the ſame Thought alſo concerning *Cæſar*'s Valour and Diligence: 'Dicam ex animo, Patres Con-'ſcripti, quod ſentio, & quod vobis audientibus 'ſæpe jam dixi, ſi mihi nunquam amicus C. Cæſar 'fuiſſet, ſemper iratus, ſi aſperaretur amicitiam 'meam, ſeſeque mihi implacabilem inexpiabilemque 'præberet, tamen ei, cum tantas res geſſiſſet, ge-'reretque quotidie, non amicus eſſe non poſſem: 'cujus ego imperio non Alpium vallum contra 'adſcenſum, tranſgreſſionemque Gallorum, non 'Rheni foſſam gurgitibus illis redundantem Ger-'manorum immaniſſimis gentibus objicio, & op-'pono: perfecit ille, ut ſi montes reſediſſent, amnes 'exaruiſſent, non naturæ præſidio, ſed victoria ſua, 'rebuſque geſtis, Italiam munitam haberemus (29). (29) Cicero in Piſon. fol. 225. G. '- - - - - - *I will freely declare, Fathers Conſcript, 'what I think, and what I have ſaid in your 'hearing; if* Caius Cæſar *had never been my 'Friend, if he had ever born me a Grudge, if he 'had deſpiſed my Friendſhip, and had been inexo-'rably bent againſt me, yet, when I conſider the 'great Actions he has performed, and thoſe he is 'daily performing, I cannot but be his Friend: un-'der whoſe Conduct, I oppoſe not the* Alps *againſt 'the Aſcent and Paſſage of the* Gauls, *nor the over-'flowing* Rhine *againſt the moſt barbarous Nations 'of the* Germans: *were the Hills to ſubſide, and 'the Rivers to dry up,* Italy, *deſtitute of the De-'fence of Nature, would yet be guarded and ſecu-'red by his Victory and Exploits.'

(20) Plut. in Cæſare; pag. 722.

(23) Id. ibid.

(24) Sueton. in Cæſ. cap. 57.

(25) Florus lib. 4, cap. 2, n. 63.

This Activity was not a Fire, that ſoon exhauſted his Strength; it was attended with a conſtant Ap-plication. *Cæſar* looked upon what he had done as nothing, if any thing remained to be done: He was for finiſhing altogether the Wars, wherein he was engaged: He was not willing, that Fortune ſhould have any Opportunity to undo all that he had not finiſhed. This is very nobly expreſſed in theſe *Latin* Verſes.

At nunquam patiens pacis, longæque quietis
Armorum, ne quid fatis mutare liceret,
Aſſequitur, generique premit veſtigia Cæſar.
Sufficerent alii primo tot mœnia curſu
Rapta, tot oppreſſæ dejectis hoſtibus arces:
Ipſa caput mundi, bellorum maxima merces,

Roma

prodigious Number of Men, whose Death, Poverty, or Slavery, he occasioned, we can hardly forbear abhorring him [D]. The greatest Crime of all is, That, to revenge private Quarrels, which he had drawn upon himself by his too ambitious Conduct, he made use of the same Arms, for the Oppression of his Country, which his

Roma capi facilis; sed Cæsar in omnia præceps,
Nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agendum (30).

(30) Lucanus, Pharf. lib. 2, ver. 650.

But Cæsar, never patient long in Peace,
Nor trusting in his Fortune's present Face,
Closely pursues his flying Son behind,
While yet his Fate continu'd to be kind.
Such Towns, such Fortresses, such hostile Force,
Swept in the Torrent of one rapid Course;
Such Trains of long Success attending still,
And Rome herself abandoned to his Will;
Rome, the contending Party's noblest Prize,
To ev'ry Wish, but Cæsar's, might suffice.
But He, with Empire fir'd, and vast Desires,
To All, and nothing left then All, aspires:
He reckons not the past, while ought remain'd
Great to be done, or Mighty to be gain'd.

Rowe.

He pressed the Enemy chiefly, during the precious Moments in which Fortune smiled upon him: *Dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror* (31). From hence it happened, that he never gained a Battle without making himself Master of his Enemy's Camp immediately; *Nullum unquam hostem fudit quin castris quoque exueret: ita nullum spatium perterritis dabat* (32). He did not act like *Pompey*, who, to spare Blood-shed, lost the Opportunity of putting an end to the War (33). But nothing stopped him; a Resistance half conquered animated him no less than a Resistance yet entire. We shall see his Picture and Character in these Verses of the *Pharsalia*.

(31) Id. lib. 7, ver. 34.

(32) Sueton. in Cæs. cap. 60.

(33) Dolet heu semperque dolebit: Quod scelerum Cæsar prodesse tibi summa tuorum Cum genero potuit pugnasse pio. *Lucan. lib. 6, ver. 303.*

----- sed non in Cæsare tantum
Nomen erat, nec fama ducis: sed nescia virtus
Stare loco: solusque pudor non vincere bello.
Acer, & indomitus: quo spes, quoque ira vocasset,
Ferre manum, & nunquam temerando parcere ferro:
Successus urgere suos: instare favori
Numinis: impellens quicquid sibi summa petenti
Obstaret: gnarusque viam fecisse ruina (34).

(34) Id. lib. 1, ver. 143.

But Cæsar's Greatness, and his Strength, was such,
Then past Renown, and antiquated Proof,
'Twas not the Fame of what he once had been,
Or Tales in old Records and Annals seen.
But 'twas a Valour, restless, unconfin'd,
Which no Success to'd fate, nor Limits bind;
'Twas Shame, a Soldier's Shame, untaught to yield,
That blush'd for nothing but an ill-fought Field:
Fierce in his Hopes he was, nor knew to stay,
Where Vengeance, or Ambition, led the way;
Still prodigal of War, where'er withstood,
Nor spar'd to stain the guilty Sword with Blood;
Urging Advantage, he improv'd all odds,
And made the most of Fortune and the Gods:
Pleas'd to o'erturn whate'er withheld his Prize,
And saw the Ruin with rejoicing Eyes.

Rowe.

[D] *When we reflect upon the prodigious number of Men, whose Death he occasioned, we can scarce forbear abhorring him.*] He fought, in *Gaul*, against Three Millions of Men, whereof only a third Part escaped; for he killed a Million, and took a Million Prisoners. This is *Plutarch*'s Account (35). That of *Appian* is the same as to the Slain and Prisoners, but not as to the number of the Enemies; for he says, they were Four Millions (36): He adds, that *Cæsar* took above Eight hundred Towns in *Gaul*. *Plutarch* says it also. But *Cæsar*, in the Speech, which *Julian* the Apostate ascribes to him (37), speaks but of Three hundred Towns taken, and of Two Millions of Men conquered. *Velleius Paterculus*, who intended rather to heighten, than to lessen, This Conqueror's Glory, says, the number of the Slain amounted only to Four hundred Thousand (38). It is true, he had said, in the foregoing Chapter, that the number of the Dead, and of the Prisoners, was innumerable. 'Cum deinde immanes res vix multis voluminibus explicandas C. Cæsar in Gallia 'ageret, nec contentus plurimis ac felicissimis victoriis, innumerabilibusque cæsis & captis hostium millibus (39).' ----- *When afterwards* Cæsar *performed wonderful Exploits, scarce to be described in many Volumes, nor contented with many the most successful Victories, and innumerable Thousands of Enemies slain and made Prisoners.' Pliny* goes farther than all the rest; he makes the number of the dead amount to One Million One hundred and ninety two thousand; but he takes in all the Wars of *Cæsar*, except the Civil-War. Let us see his Words: we find in them, that *Cæsar* fought fifty Battles. 'Signis collatis quinquagies dimicavit: solus M. Marcellum transgressus qui undequadragies dimicavit. Nam præter civiles victorias undecies centena & XCII. M. hominum occisa prœliis ab eo non equidem in gloria posuerim, tantam etiam coactam humani generis injuriam, quod ita esse confessus est ipse, bellorum civilium stragem non prodendo (40). ----- *He came to an Engagement with the Enemy fifty times: in this exceeding* M. Marcellus *only, who had fought Thirty nine Battles. For, besides his Victories gained in the Civil Wars, the Slaughter of One Million one hundred ninety two Thousand Men, occasioned by him, is not to his Honour, even though he could not have avoided it, as he himself confesses, by not declaring the Slaughter attending the Civil-Wars.* Salmasius pretends, that these Words are inexplicable, and that they must be corrected in this manner, 'tanta etiam coacta in humani generis injuria (41). The Thought he attributes to *Pliny* comes to this: I am so far from thinking it a Glory to *Julius Cæsar*, to have destroyed so great a multitude of Men, that I believe it had been very prejudicial to Mankind, if such a number of People had been gathered from divers Places. Father *Hardouin* would not so much as mention this Criticism; he only observes, that there is no difficulty in those Words. *Pliny*, says he, meant, That he did not look upon a Slaughter, so prejudicial to Human kind, as a glorious Thing, tho' it may seem, perhaps, that *Cæsar* was forced to make That great Slaughter, by reason of the Injury which he had received. 'Quærit Salmasius pag. 49. qui hæc verba sibi explanet. Non opus est vate in re planissima. Ait Plinius minime se in hunc aliquo posituram occisa tot hominum millia ob tantam humani generis cladem: licet ad hanc inferendam coactus videri fortassis aliena injuria quæat (42).' It is plain, that the Explication of This Jesuit is incomparably better, than That of *Salmasius*. Nevertheless I cannot believe, that *Pliny* would insinuate the Excuse, mentioned by Father *Hardouin*, in Favour of *Julius Cæsar*. Indeed *Cæsar* could only colour his War with *Pompey*, and the other Civil Wars, which proceeded from thence, with that Excuse. Now *Pliny* says expressly, that the One Million one hundred ninety two Thousand Men, whom *Cæsar* killed in his Battles, differ from those he killed in the Civil-Wars; so that there is no likelihood, that *Pliny*'s Aim was what Father *Hardouin* supposes. I had rather say, that the Sense of That Author is this. 'The Slaughter of a Million one hundred and 'ninety two Thousand Men is such a considerable 'detriment to Human kind, that I should not think 'it glorious; although it had been made by Constraint, as in defensive Wars: and, since *Cæsar* 'suppressed the Slaughter of the Civil Wars, he 'must have acknowledged the Truth of my Principle.'

(35) Plut. in Cæsare, pag. 724.

(36) Appian. in Celticis.

(37) Julian. in Cæsaribus. *See Mr.* Spanheim's *Edition in 4to. pag.* 172.

(38) Per hunc insequentisque & quæ prædiximus tempora amplum quadringenta millia hostium a C. Cæsare cæsa sunt, plura capta. *Vellej. Paterculus. lib. 2, cap. 47. Lipsius* reads *Octingenta* instead of *Quadringenta*. Father *Hardouin*, in *Plin. lib. 7, cap. 25*, pretends, that *Paterculus* says only forty Thousand, *amplius XL millium hominum à C. Cæsare cæsa esse.*

(39) Paterc. lib. 2, cap. 46.

(40) Plinius, lib. 7, cap. 25, pag. 44.

(41) Salmas. in Solinum. pag. 49.

(42) Hardouinus in Plin. lib. 7, cap. 25.

his Sovereigns had put into his Hands to ſubdue their Enemies. It is a pity, that a Man, guilty of ſuch an enormous Attempt, ſhould have had ſo many noble Qualities. He was no leſs qualified for Intrigues, than Battles [*E*], and had no leſs Wit, than Courage [*F*]. He was learned, and ſo eloquent, that the Deſire alone of poſſeſſing the chief Poſt of the Government hindered him from contending for the firſt Place with the moſt famous Orators (*b*). We have two of his Works [*G*], the

(*b*) Plutarch. in Cæſare, pag. 708. Sueton. in Cæſare, cap. 55.

'ciple.' This does an Honour to *Pliny*; and I could name ſome great Captains, who have extreamly dreaded the Sovereign Judge of the World, on their Death-bed, remembring the Blood, which they had ſhed in religious Wars, which they thought moſt juſt, and which they had managed (43). The Neceſſity, to which a Man is reduced, of doing certain Things, would ſometimes incline one to look upon a Prince rather as an unhappy Man, than as one covered with Glory.

(43) See, in the Article of the Duke of *Weimar*, what ſhall be ſaid of *William*, the Firſt of that Name, Prince of *Orange*.

[*E*] *He was no leſs qualified for Intrigues, than for Battles.*] No Man could diſſemble or flatter better, than He, when there was occaſion for it (44). He managed his Intrigues ſo well, when he ſued to be *Great Pontif*, that he carried That Office from two Illuſtrious Competitors (45), who were much older, and much more deſerving on account of the Services done to the Republic, than he was. His great Courage, and natural Pride, became ſo pliant, that he condeſcended to the meaneſt Flatteries towards thoſe, who could be favourable to him (46); and, to obtain his Aim the better, he borrowed very great Sums of Money, to buy Votes. By this means he gained over the Poor and the Rich to his Intereſts; the firſt, becauſe they thought themſelves obliged to favour a Man, who had given them ſo much Money, and the laſt, becauſe they feared they ſhould never be re-paid, if *Cæſar* failed of his Deſigns (47). And, indeed, if he had not been elected *Pontifex Maximus*, he muſt have left the City, and become Bankrupt. For this reaſon he told his Mother, when he was going to the Place where the Election was to be made, *This Day you will either ſee me* Pontifex Maximus *or a Fugitive* (48). Could any one deviſe a more cunning way, than he made uſe of, to ſupport his own Intereſt in his Abſence? He chained, if one may ſo ſay, all thoſe, who were promoted to any Offices; for he laboured, by his Intrigues, and his Credit, to exclude from them all ſuch as would not promiſe to ſupport him whilſt he ſhould be abſent: ſo that the only way to attain to Offices, by his Recommendation, was to engage oneſelf in his Intereſts, and to promiſe him in a manner a blind Obedience. Neither was he always ſatisfied with verbal Promiſes, but exacted an Oath, and a Promiſe in Writing, from ſome. Was it difficult to foretel, that a Republic, where ſuch Diſorders reigned, would not continue long? 'Ad ſo-'curitatem ergo poſteri temporis in magno nego-'tio habuit obligare ſemper annuos magiſtratus, & 'è petitoribus non alios adjuvare aut ad honorem 'pati pervenire, quam qui ſibi recepiſſent propug-'naturos abſentium ſuam, cujus pacti non dubita-'vit à quibuſdam jusjurandum atque etiam ſyn-'grapham exigere (49).' *Sylla* had a good Foreſight, when, yielding to the repeated Deſires of divers Perſons of Quality, he told them, They would repent one day for having hindered him from making away with That young Man, who had many *Marius*'s in his Boſom. 'Satis conſtat Syllam 'cum deprecantibus amiciſſimis & ornatiſſimis virio 'aliquamdiu denegaſſet, atque illi pertinaciter con-'tenderent, expugnatum tandem proclamaſſe (ſive 'divinitus, ſive aliqua conjectura) vincerent, ac 'ſibi haberent; dummodo ſcirent, eum, quem in-'columem tanto opere cuperent, quandoque opti-'matium partibus, quas ſecum ſimul defendiſſent, 'exitio futurum: nam Cæſari multos Marios in-'eſſe (50).'

(44) Appian, lib. ii. Bell. Civil. pag. m. 227.

(45) Q. Lutatius Catulus, & P. Servilius Iſauricus.

(46) Dion, lib. 37.

(47) Appian. lib. 2. Bell. Civil.

(48) Plutarch. in Cæſare, pag. 710. D. Sueton. *in ejus Vita, cap.* 13, *ſpeaks thus*, Pontificatum maximum petiit non ſine proſuſiſſima largitione, in qua reputans magnitudinem æris alieni cum mane ad comitia deſcenderet, prædixiſſe matri oſculanti ſertur, dominum ſe niſi Pontificem non reverſurum.

(49) Sueton. in Cæſ. cap. 23.

(50) Id. ibidem cap. 1.

[*F*] *He had no leſs Wit than Courage.*] I ſhall make uſe of *Pliny*'s Words, to repreſent the vaſt Extent and Activity of This Wit. 'Animi vigore 'præſtantiſſimum arbitror genitum Cæſarem dicta-'torem. Nec virtutem conſtantiamque nunc com-'memoro, nec ſublimitatem omnium capacem, quæ 'cœlo continentur: ſed proprium vigorem celeri-'tatemque quodam igne volucrem. Scribere aut 'legere, ſimul dictare & audire ſolitum accepimus. 'Epiſtolas vero tantarum rerum quaternas pariter 'librariis dictare: aut ſi nihil aliud ageret, ſepte-'nas (51). - - - - - *No Man, I think, ever equalled* 'Cæſar, *the Dictator, in Strength of Mind. I ſay, nothing at preſent of his Courage and Conſtancy, or of That ſublime Genius, which could graſp every thing contained in Heaven; but only of that peculiar Strength of Mind, and ſurpriſing Quickneſs of Thought. We are told, that he could write or read, and at the ſame time dictate, or attend to another's Diſcourſe, and that he could dictate four Epiſtles, or, if he had nothing elſe to do, ſeven at once, to his Amanuenſes.*' Cæſar could read, write, and dictate to ſeveral Perſons, at one time. As for his Undauntedneſs and Courage, ſee *Suetonius* (52).

(51) Plinius. lib. 7. cap. 25.

[*G*] *We have two of his Works.*] *Viz.* Seven Books of the Wars of *Gaul*; and three Books of Civil-Wars. They are properly Memoirs. There is a great neatneſs of Stile in them, and all the careleſs Beauties, which ſuch a happy Genius as That of *Julius Cæſar* could diffuſe in a Work of That Nature, which he compoſed in haſte (53), and without Art. What *Hirtius* ſaid of them might well be taken for a flattering Elogy, if there were not a like Elogy in a Work, wherein *Cicero* did not ſet up for a Panegyriſt, as he did in ſome Orations (54). *Hirtius*'s Words are theſe: 'Conſtat inter omnes nihil tam operoſe ab aliis 'eſſe perfectum quod non horum elegantia com-'mentariorum ſuperetur: qui ſunt editi ne ſcientia 'tantarum rerum geſtarum ſcriptoribus deſit, adeoque 'probantur omnium judicio, ut præripta non præ-'bita facultas ſcriptoribus videatur (55). - - - *It is agreed on all Hands, that the moſt laborious Works of others are ſurpaſſed by the Elegance of theſe Commentaries; which are publiſhed, that Writers might not be unacquainted with ſuch great Actions; and which are ſo univerſally approved, as to foreſtall, rather than afford Materials, to other Writers.*' And theſe are *Cicero*'s Words: 'Com-'mentarios quoſdam ſcripſit rerum ſuarum, valde '- - - - probandos: nudi enim ſunt, recti, & ve-'nuſti, omni ornatu orationis tanquam veſte de-'tracta: ſed dum voluit alios habere parata unde 'ſumerent qui vellent ſcribere hiſtoriam, ineptis 'gratum fortaſſe fecit qui volunt illa calamiſtris inu-'rere, ſanos quidem homines à ſcribendo deter-'ruit: nihil enim eſt in hiſtoria pura & illuſtri 'brevitate dulcius (56). - - - - - *He wrote Commentaries of his own Actions, highly worthy of Commendation: for they are unadorned, juſt, and beauti-ful, all Ornament of Language, as a Garment, being thrown off: but, whilſt he intended to prepare Materials for thoſe, who would write Hiſtory, perhaps he obliged thoſe, who love to garniſh ſuch things with Words, but diſcouraged Men of Senſe from writing: for nothing is more pleaſing, in Hiſtory than neat and perſpicuous Brevity.*' Every one did not judge of them as *Cicero* and *Hirtius*; for we read, in *Suetonius*, that *Aſinius Pollio* found too much Negligence, and many Lies, in Theſe Commentaries: whether it be, that *Cæſar* believed ſome falſe Reports, or that, as to the Things performed by him, Self-love, or want of Memory, made him write ſeveral Falſities. 'Pol-'lio Aſinius parum diligenter parumque integra ve-'ritate compoſitos putat, cum Cæſar pleraque & 'quæ per alios erant geſta temere crediderit, & quæ 'per ſe vel conſulto, vel etiam memoria lapſus per-'peram ediderit, exiſtimatque reſcripturum, & cor-'recturum fuiſſe (57).' A modern Critic (58) has greatly cenſured this Judgment of *Pollio*; but the Author of *News from the Republic of Letters* declared againſt That Critic. 'It would be difficult, 'ſaid he (59), to convict *Aſinius Pollio* of having falſly accuſed *Cæſar*'s Commentaries of Falſhood; 'for why ſhould we not believe, that a cotem-'porary Author, who was in all reſpects of the 'ſame

(52) Sueton. in Cæſ. cap. 60, & ſeq. *See alſo* Valerius Maximus, lib. 3, cap. 3, n. 19.

(53) Cæteri quam bene atque emendatè, nos etiam quam facile atque celeriter eos confecerit ſcimus. — *Others know how well and correctly, I have readily and expeditiouſly he compoſed them.* Hirtius, Præf. lib. 8, de Bello Gall.

(54) *In the Orationi* pro Marcello, pro Ligario, pro Rege Dejotaro.

(55) In Præf. lib. viii, de Bello Gall.

(56) Cicero in Bruto, pag. 379.

(57) Sueton. in Cæſ. cap. 56.

(58) Morhofius, de Patavinitate Liviana, pag. 455.

(59) *Memb of* June, 1685, pag. 629.

(c) See the Titles of them in *Suetonius, ibid. cap.* 55, 56.

(d) See *Suetan. ibid. cap.* 45, *& seq.*

the reſt, to a pretty large Number, are loſt (*c*). If he was an *Epicurean*, it was only in Practice; for he gave himſelf up to Voluptuouſneſs (*d*); but he performed Acts of Religion; and it would be wrong to take him for a ſpeculative *Epicurean*, with reſpect to Providence [*H*], on Pretence of a Paſſage of *Salluſt*, and one of *Lucan*.

ſame Trade with *Cæſar*, a Captain, an Hiſtorian, and an Orator as well as he, informed himſelf of a thouſand Things, which ſhewed, that *Cæſar* had publiſhed many Fables? For the reſt, it is moſt certain, that the Memoirs of That Conqueror are written too carelefsly; and, if the Prince of *Condé* does ever think of writing the Relation of his Campaigns in ſuch a manner, he may be ſure, that his Book will not be admired by good Judges; but, without doubt, they would prove quite another thing.' I am ſure, there are few Partizans of Antiquity ſo prepoſſeſſed, as to maintain, That the Memoirs of the Duke *de la Rochefoucaut* are better than Thoſe of *Cæſar*. Conſult *Voſſius* (60), who ſhews two Things with the utmoſt Clearneſs. I. That *Cæſar* is the true Author of the Commentaries, which go under his Name. II. That he has often diſguiſed the Truth (61). See below the Remark [*S*].

(60) Voſſ. de Hiſtor. Latinis, pag. 62, 63.

(61) See Remark [*D*], of the Article METELLUS (Lucius).

[*H*] *It would be wrong to take him for a ſpeculative* Epicurean, *with reſpect to Providence.*] Three Things may be objected to me on this Point. The firſt is this Paſſage of *Salluſt*; 'De pœna, poſſum equidem dicere id quod rés habet, in luctu atque miſeriis mortem ærumnarum requiem non cruciatum eſſe, eam cuncta mortalium mala diſſolvere, ultra neque curæ neque gaudio locum eſſe (62). —— *As for the Punishment, I for my part can ſpeak the Truth; that, under Affliction and Calamities, Death is a Repoſe from Miſery, not a Torment, that it puts an end to all the Ills of Mortals, and that beyond it there is no room either for Anxiety or Joy.*' *Cæſar* ſpeaks thus in the Senate, in giving his Vote concerning the Puniſhment, which was to be inflicted on the Accomplices of *Catiline*. He decides plainly, and without the leaſt Exception, that Death puts an end to all our Happineſs and Miſery: This is flatly to deny the Immortality of the Soul. One may very well wonder, that a Senator durſt ſpeak in this manner before the whole Senate. *Cato* did not let this Doctrine paſs without notice taken of it; but he cenſured it only indirectly, and with Moderation. 'Bene & compoſte Caius Cæſar paulo ante in hoc ordine de vita & morte diſſeruit, credo falſa exiſtimans *ea quæ de Inferis memorantur, diverſo itinere malos a bonis loca tetra, inculta, fœda, atque formidoloſa habere* (63). —— Caius Cæſar *diſcourſed but a little while ago, in this very Aſſembly, in an apt manner, on Life and Death, not believing, I ſuppoſe*, what is ſaid of another World, that the wicked are ſeparated from the Good, and allotted to diſmal and horrible Manſions.' The ſecond Objection is taken from *Lucan*. That Poet ſays, that *Cæſar*, having beſieged *Marſeilles*, ordered a Wood to be cut down, which was conſecrated to a Deity, ſo much the more reſpected by the Inhabitants, becauſe they did not know that Deity (64). The Soldiers durſt not obey; they feared their Axes would turn againſt themſelves. *Cæſar* was obliged to ſet his hand to the Work firſt of all, and to encourage them, not only by the ſucceſs of the Blows with a Hatchet, which he gave to one of thoſe conſecrated Trees, but alſo by declaring, that he charged himſelf with all the Fault and Impiety they might commit. He was obeyed, not ſo much becauſe they were no more afraid, but becauſe, all things well conſidered, they choſe rather to expoſe themſelves to the Wrath of Heaven, than to his

(62) Salluſt. de Bello Catilin. cap. 51.

(63) Id. ibid. cap. 52.

(64) Non vulgatis ſacrata figuris
Numina ſic metuunt: tantum terroribus addit
Quos timeant, non noſſe Deos.
Lucan Pharſ. lib. 3, *ver.* 415.

Sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verenda
Majeſtate loci, ſi robora ſacra ferirent,
In ſua credebant redituras membra ſecures.
Implicitas magno Cæſar terrore cohortes
Ut vidit, primus raptam librare bipennem
Auſus, & ærïem ferro proſcindere quercum,
Effatur merſo violata in robora ferro:
Jam ne quis veſtrum dubitet ſubvertere ſilvam,
Credite nec ſceliſ noſtra. Date pariter omnis

Imperiis non ſublato ſecura pavore
Turba, ſed expenſa Superorum, & Cæſaris ira (65).

(65) Id. ibid. ver. 429.

But lo! The bolder Hands, that ſhou'd have ſtruck,
With ſome unuſual Horror trembling ſhook;
With ſilent Dread and Reverence, they ſurvey'd
The Gloom majeſtic of the ſacred Shade:
None dares with impious Steel the Bark to rend,
Leſt on himſelf the deſtin'd Stroke deſcend.
Cæſar perceiv'd the ſpreading Fear to grow,
Then eager caught an Ax, and aim'd a Blow.
Deep ſunk within a violated Oak
The wounding Edge, and thus the Warrior ſpoke;
Now let no doubting Hand the Task decline;
Cut you the Wood, and let the Guilt be mine.
The trembling Bands unwillingly obey'd;
Two various Ills were in the Balance laid,
And Cæſar's Wrath againſt the Gods was weigh'd.
ROWE.

If all that I want of *Lucan*'s Narrative did not end here, I would add, that he remarks, that the Inhabitants of *Marſeilles* were ſo far from being grieved for the loſs of their ſacred Wood, that they rejoiced extremely at it, thinking ſo great an Impiety would not remain unpuniſhed; but, ſays *Lucan*, they experimented, that the Gods are only angry with the Unfortunate (66). This is to ſpeak too profanely: It is to impute That Fault to Providence, of which the Judges of the Earth are accuſed, when it is ſaid, that Gibbets are only made for the Unfortunate. The third Objection is furniſhed by *Suetonius*, who ſays, that Religion, that is to ſay, the ill Preſages of Victims, or ſuch other divine Warnings, could never deter *Cæſar* from beginning or purſuing his Undertakings. 'Ne religione quidem ulla à quoquam incepto abſterritus unquam vel retardatus eſt. Cum immolanti anſugiſſet hoſtia profectionem adverſus Scipionem & Jubam non diſtulit (67). He gave a remarkable Example of it, the Day of his Death: ſince he went to the Senate, although the Victims, which he cauſed to be offered, preſaged no good to him (68). Theſe are three Arguments, which I am going to anſwer.

(66) Multa ſed claufa juventus
Exultat: quis enim infeſos impune putaret
Eſſe deos? ſervat multos fortuna nocentes,
Et tantum miſeris iraſci numina poſſunt.
Ibid. ver. 446.

(67) Sueton. in Cæſ. cap. 59.

(68) Deſin plerisque hoſtiis cæſis cum litare non poſſet, introïit curiam ſpretis religione. *Ibid. cap.* 81.

I ſay againſt the firſt, That it proves too much; for, if the Paſſage of *Salluſt* be a Proof, that *Cæſar* did not believe the Providence of the Gods, it muſt be ſaid, that *Cicero* did not believe it neither; for, in a full Audience, he affirmed, as plainly as *Cæſar*, that Death puts an end to all our Miſeries; and called all that was ſaid concerning the Torments of Hell, Fables and Dreams. 'Huic mortem maturabat inimicus, quod illi unum in malis perfugium erat calamitatis? qui ſi quid animi, ac virtutis habuiſſet (ut multi ſæpe fortes viri in ejuſmodi dolore) mortem ſibi ipſe conſciſſet: huic quamobrem id vellet inimicus offerre, quod ipſe ſibi optare deberet? Nam nunc quidem quid tandem illi mali mors attulit? Niſi fortè ineptiis, ac fabulis ducimur, ut exiſtimemus, illum apud inferos impiorum ſupplicia perferre, ac plures illic offendiſſe inimicos, quam hic reliquiſſe: à ſocrus, ab uxorum, à fratris, à liberûm pœnis actum eſſe præcipitem in ſceleratorum ſedem, atque regionem. Quæ ſi falſa ſunt, id quod omnes intelligunt, quid ei tandem aliud mors eripuit, præter ſenſum doloris (69)? —— *Did an Enemy haſten his Death, which to him was the only Refuge from Calamity? who, if he had been a Man of any Reſolution and Courage (like many brave Men under the ſame Misfortunes) would have died by his own hand: wherefore would an Enemy offer him That, which he himſelf ought to have wiſhed for? For what Evil did Death bring him? unleſs we are led by filly Stories to believe, that he ſuffers below the Puniſhments of the wicked, and that he has met with more Enemies there, than he has left behind him: and that the Puniſhments of his Father-in-law, his Wives, his Brother, and his*

(69) *Cicero, pro Cluentio, fol* 119, *cap.* 61. Note, that *Cicero* ſpeaks after quite another manner, in the Oration *pro C. Rabirio.*

Children,

Lucan. He was not the first, who leaped out of his Ship on the *Britannic* Shore. He was made to say so in a Speech (*e*); but he said quite the contrary in his Writings. In all likelihood, he might have enjoyed the Usurpation of the Empire longer, if he had not been fond of the Name and Grandeur of a Sovereign. His Friends, who should have supported him in such a slippery Station, ruined him, by too hastily endeavouring to procure him the Royal Ornaments. He and his Friends should have considered, that free Nations easily accustom themselves to Servitude, provided it be not called so; and that having lost the reality of their Privileges, without appearing to be concerned for it, they make a great Clamour, and vehemently oppose a Title, and an Ornament for the Head. If any thing made the Conspirators resolve to hasten the Execution of their Design, it was the Fear

(*e*) Julianus in Cæsaribus, pag. m. 170.

* *Children, have plunged him headlong into the Seat* * *and Region of the wicked. If these things are* * *false, as all understand them to be, what more has* * *Death deprived him of, than a sense of Pain.*' It would be very wrong to conclude from this Passage, that *Cicero* neither believed another Life, nor the Providence of the Gods; his Writings testify the contrary too plainly. Moreover, every One does not agree, that there is a necessary Connexion between the Immortality of the Soul, and the Providence of GOD. The *Sadducees* denied the first of these two Doctrines, and admitted the last. I make use of a like Answer to the second Objection. *Sylla*, of all Men in the World, was farthest from Atheism. He would have the greatest regard be paid to the Orders, which GOD gives by way of Dreams; he ascribed his Victories to the favour of Fortune, much more than to his own Prudence (70); he believed Presages (71); he vowed part of his Estate to the Gods, and punctually observed the Ceremonies, which the Priests enjoined him (72): yet, when he wanted Wood and Money at the Siege of *Athens*, he made no scruple to cause consecrated Trees to be cut down, and to take the Treasures out of the Temples, and even out of That of *Delphi* (73). He made a jest of the Scruples of his Messenger. We may therefore say, that *Cæsar*'s Boldness, against the consecrated Wood of *Marseilles*, does not prove, that he denied a Providence; it proves only, either that he laughed in particular at the Superstition of the Inhabitants of *Marseilles*, or that he trangressed the Rules of Religion, when he expected to reap a great Benefit from it. Christian Princes, who, in cases of Necessity, seize the Treasures of the Church, know very well, that they do an ill thing; but they choose rather to commit That Crime, than to be conquered by their Enemies: just as they choose rather to trangress the Laws of Chastity, against their Conscience, than to mortify their Desires. The third Objection is not stronger, than the foregoing: it shews only, that we must say of *Cæsar*, what we say of those Christians, who have Faith and no Charity; who believe the Gospel, without observing the Precepts of it; in a Word, who have Faith without Works. *Cæsar* believed the Religion of the Augurs, and consulted it; but he did not conform himself to it, when his Prudence or his Passions advised him to the contrary. Christians do the like with the Directors of Consciences; they consult them, but do not obey them: But, as the care they take to consult them is a sign that they are persuaded of the Doctrines of Religion; it must be likewise said, that the care *Cæsar* took to consult the Entrails of the Victims (74), and the other Oracles of the Augural Discipline, shewed, that he did not want Faith on that Head. The Day, when he was killed, he was in suspence, whether he should go abroad or not, although he knew That Day was appointed for the discussing of several Affairs of the greatest Importance in the Senate. The cause of his Irresolution proceeded only from a bad Dream his Wife had. He was staggered by That Dream, but not so far as to resolve to remain at home. To make him take this Resolution, word must be brought to him, that the Victims, which he had caused to be sacrificed, promised nothing that was favourable. He was therefore resolved not to go to the Senate (75), neither would he have gone, if one of the Conspirators had not had the art of attacking him in his weak side. Among other things, he told him; *What will your Enemies say, if they hear, that you defer coming to regulate the most important Concerns of the Republic, till your Wife dreams fine Dreams?* Εἰ δὲ φράζοι τίς αὐτοῖς καθιζομένοις, τῶν μὲν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, παρεῖναι δὲ αὖθις ὅταν ἐνίδωσι βελτίονα ὄνειρα. Καλπυρνία, τίνας ἴσασθαι λόγους παρὰ τῶν φθονερῶν; *Quibus si quis confidentibus dicat, in præsentia ut desistant, reddantque ubi nulla fuerit Calpurnia lætiora somnia; quales futuri sint apud invidos sermones* (76)? He therefore believed Presages: We know moreover, that he composed divers Books concerning the Auspices (77) and that he was encouraged by a Prodigy to pass the *Rubicon*: *Eatur*, said he (78), *quo Deorum ostenta & inimicorum iniquitas vocat: jacta alea est.* —— *Let us go where the Omens of the Gods, and the Iniquity of our Enemies, call: The Die is cast.* We know, that he prayed to the Gods, when he was about to fight a decisive Battle with *Pompey*. Πανηχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ εὐξάμενος τοῖς θεοῖς παρέταττε τὴν φάλαγγα. *Ibi lætus & Deos precatus aciem ornat* (79). We know, that he had an extraordinary Confidence in his Fortune, as it appeared, when he encouraged his Pilot; *Quid times? Cæsarem vehis* (80). —— *Fear not, thou carriest* Cæsar. His Words are more expressive in *Plutarch* (81). We know that he acknowledged Fortune concerned herself with every thing, but that she presides more visibly in War, than in any other thing. 'Multum cum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari fortuna potest (82). Fortuna quæ plurimum potest 'tum in reliquis rebus, tum præcipue in bello, parvis momentis magnas rerum commutationes efficit, 'ut tum accidit (83). I need not observe, that nothing is more opposite to the System of *Epicurus*, than the Hypothesis of Presages and Fortune. Tho' you speak never so ill of Fortune, though you make her blind, unjust, fickle, capricious, &c. you necessarily admit a Principle distinct from Atoms, endowed with Direction and Will, and which concerns itself with our Affairs (84).

I forgot an Act of Religion, which is very curious. The *Arverni* boasted to have *Julius Cæsar*'s Sword, and shewed it still in *Plutarch*'s time, hung up in one of their Temples. *Cæsar* saw it, and laughed, but would not suffer his Men to take it away. He considered it as consecrated Thing (85).

I do not alledge the Respect he had for a Monument, as a Scruple of Conscience: He durst not destroy the Trophy, which *Mithridates* had set up after the Defeat of *Triarius* (86); I say, he durst not demolish it, forasmuch as it was a Monument consecrated to the Gods of War (87); but he set up another Trophy over-against it, when he had overcome *Pharnaces*. He was satisfied with opposing one Monument to another, but in such a manner, that His Monument obscured, and in some Measure destroyed the other. Καθελεῖν μὲν γὰρ τὸ τῦ βαρβάρου ἐκτόλμησεν, ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐμπολεμίοις θεοῖς ἱερεύσειν τῇ δὲ δὴ τῦ ἰδίου παρασκευῇ καὶ ἐπιθέτῳ συνεσκίασε, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καὶ κατέχρυψε: *Evertere quidem trophæum barbari non ausi, utpote belli Deis consecratum, sed sui ipsius trophæum constituendo illud aliud obscuravit, quodamque modo dejecit* (88). He might indeed be afraid of offending the Gods of War; but perhaps he inwardly derided That point of Religion; Let us not therefore insist on This Proof; let us suffer it to be believed, that, without having any true respect for *Mars*, or *Bellona*, or *Minerva*, &c. he abstained, like a good Politician, from offending the Belief of the People. But here is a Fact, which does not permit us to doubt, that he was a superstitious Man. He had a Form of Prayer, which he repeated three times as soon as he had taken his Place in his Coach: and

(70) Plut. in ejus vita, p. 454.

(71) Ibid.

(72) Ibid. pag. 474.

(73) Ibid pag. 459.

(74) Dein pluribus hostiis cæsis cum litare non posset. *Sueton. in Cæs. cap.* 81.

(75) Ὡς δὲ καὶ πολλὰ καταβοῶντες εἰ μάντεις ἔφασαν αὐτῷ δυσαρεστῆσειν ἥγνω πέμψας Ἀντώνιον, ἀφεῖναι τὴν σύγκλητον. Ut vero multis jam cæsis hostilis renuntiaverunt ei auspices litari non posse, statuit misso Antonio senatum dimittere. *Plut. in ejus Vita, pag.* 738. *E.*

(76) Id. ibid. *C.*

(77) Macrob. Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 16. pag. m. 267, *cites the fifteenth.*

(78) Suet. in Cæs. cap. 32.

(79) Plut. in Cæs. pag. 728. *E.*

(80) Florus lib. 4, cap. 2, n. 37.

(81) Πιστεύε τῇ τύχῃ γυνὴ ὅτε Καίσαρα κομίζεις. Fide fortunæ scienti te Cæsarem vehere. *Trust Fortune, knowing that you carry* Cæsar. Plut. in Apoph. pag 206. *C.*

(82) Cæsar, *de* Bello Gall. lib. 6, pag. 139. *See also* pag. 142.

(83) Id. de Bello Civili, lib. 3, pag. 347.

(84) See the Article TIMOLEON, Remark [*F*] and [*K*].

(85) Plut. in Apoph. p. 720. *E.*

(86) Dion, lib. 42, pag. m. 234.

(87) See, above, the Article AURELIAN, Remark [*D*].

(88) Dio, lib. 42, pag. m. 234.

Fear that *Cæsar* would openly assume the Name of King. This Fear was not ill-grounded [*I*]. Observe, that, tho' he was naturally bold, and tho' Fortune was very favourable to him, yet he became at last very circumspect; as if he had apprehended, that she would take him for an insatiable, importunate, Man, who deserved to be a little mortified (*f*). The last Victory, he obtained (*g*), was That, which cost him most [*K*]. He had like to have lost it, and was already thinking of killing himself, that he might not fall into the Enemies hands. He gained it during the *Bacchanalia* (*h*). That Circumstance puts me in mind of four Verses, which will be seen in the Remark [*K*].

Perhaps no one has better succeeded, than *Salust*, in representing *Cæsar*'s Character, which he compared with that of *Cato* of *Utica*. He says, among other things, that *Cæsar* sought great Dignities, noble Enterprises, and the Command of Armies, to shew the Brightness of his Merit; but that *Cato* was contented to signalize himself by his Modesty and eminent Virtue, desiring rather to *be* an honest Man, than *seem* so [*L*], and attaining to Glory more surely by the Indifferency

(*f*) Nec mi tempore extremo ad dimicandum cunctantior fuisse est. Quo semper vicissim, hoc minus experiendos casus opinans: nihilque se tantum acquisituram victoria, quantum auferre calamitas posset. *Sueton. in Cæsare, cap.* 60. *See* Florus's *Words in the Remark* [*K*], *Citation* (96).

(*g*) It was that of *Munda* in *Spain* against the Sons of *Pompey*.

(*h*) Plut. in Cæs. pag. 754. *A.*

and this he did to procure himself a good Journey; nor did he begin to make use of this Devotion, till his Coach had like to have been over-set. 'Cæsarem Dictatorem, post unum ancipitem vehiculi casum, ferunt semper, ut primum consedisset, id quod pleroque nunc facere scimus, carmine ter repetito securitatem itinerum aucupari solitum (89). I infer from all this, that, at most, he could but be a practical Epicurean (90).

[*I*] *The Fear that he would openly assume the name of King —— was not ill grounded.*] *Cæsar*'s Favourites were proportionably more covetous and insatiable than himself: they designed to procure him the Title of King, only because they hoped to enjoy a greater Power under That new Form of Government. The first thing they did, was to set the Machine of Religion to Work: to feel the Pulse of the People, they spread among them, that the Verses of the Sibyl declared expressly, that, if the *Romans* sent an Army against the *Parthians*, commanded by a King, they should subdue them, but that otherwise they would find them always invincible. Afterwards the Favourites tried whether the *Romans* were sufficiently prepared; for, one Day, when *Cæsar* returned into the City, they gave him the Name of King. The People murmured at it; then *Cæsar*, like a wise Man, rejected This Title (91); but he retired, much vexed to see that the People had not contradicted him, when he rejected the Salutation of his Flatterers. The latter were not discouraged: for, during the *Lupercalia*, *Marc Antony*, who was Consul, came near *Cæsar*, and would have put the Diadem upon his Head. Some few suborned Persons gave a Shout, but the People were silent. *Cæsar* thrust *Marc Antony* away; then the Applauses of the People made the Place resound. This Attempt of *Marc Antony* was repeated a little while after, with no better Success. What could not be done on the Original, was done on the Copies. Diadems were put on the Heads of *Cæsar*'s Statues: Two Tribunes of the People caused these Diadems to be taken off, informed against those, who had first given *Cæsar* the Title of King, and carried them to Prison: The People blessed them for it, and followed them with great Applauses: But *Cæsar* deposed them from their Offices (92): Therefore all those, who had any drop of *Roman* Blood in their Veins (93), thought, that no time was to be lost, and desired *Brutus* to remember, that he bore the Name of him, who expelled *Tarquin*. See, in *Suetonius*, to what *Cæsar* had reduced the Liberty of the Common-Wealth (94). It is certain, as we are told *Cæsar* himself said, that it was a meer Name: It was a dead Body, or a Skeleton. 'Nec minoris impotentiæ voces propalam edebat, ut T. Ampius scribit, nihil esse Rempublicam, appellationem modo sine corpore ac specie. Syllam nescisse literas, qui Dictaturam deposuerit: debere homines consideratius jam loqui secum ac pro legibus habere quæ dicat (95) —— *Nor with less impotency of Words did he publicly declare, as* T. Ampius *informs us, that the Common-Wealth was nothing, a Name without a reality: that it was extreme weakness in* Sylla *to lay down the Dictatorship; and that Men ought to speak now with more caution before him, and receive his Words as Laws.*'

[*K*] *The last Victory —— was That which cost him most.*] Fortune shewed herself irresolute in her Conduct: One would have thought, that she examined, whether she should except *Cæsar* from the general Rule, she is wont to follow; which is, to forsake her Friends, when she has raised them, and to make them pay in one Day for all the Good she did them in many Years. Let us hear *Florus*: 'Omnium postrema certaminum Munda. Hic non pro cetera felicitate, sed anceps, & diu triste prælium: ut plane videretur nescio quid deliberare fortuna Sane & ipse ante aciem mœstior non ex more Cæsar, sive respectu fragilitatis humanæ, sive nimiam prosperorum suspectam habens continuationem: vel eadem timens, postquam idem esse cœperat, quod Pompeius (96) —— Munda *was the last of all his Battles. Here, contrary to his former Success, The Fight was long doubtful: insomuch that Fortune seemed to be in suspence how she should act. And indeed* Cæsar *himself, at the Head of his Troops, seemed unusually melancholy; whether he considered the uncertainty of human Events, or suspected the continuance of his good Fortune; or that, beginning to be, what* Pompey *had been, he feared the same Catastrophe.* He relates afterwards how *Cæsar*'s Troops began to give way. 'Novissime illud insuetum Cæsaris oculis (nefas) post quatuordecim annos, probata veteranorum manus gradum retro dedit Quod etsi nondum fugerat, apparebat tamen, pudore magis, quam virtute, resistere. Itaque ablegato equo, similis furenti, primam in aciem procurrit. Ibi prensare fugientes, confirmare; per totum denique agmen oculis, manibus, clamore, volitare. Dicitur in illa perturbatione & de extremis agitasse secum, & ita manifesto vultu fuisse, quasi occupare manu mortem vellet (97). —— *At last, the approved Band of Veterans began to give Ground; a fight, which* Cæsar*'s Eyes had been unacquainted with for fourteen Years; and though they did not fly, it was plain they resisted more through shame, than Courage. Quitting his Horse therefore, he ran like a Madman into the foremost ranks; laid hold of, and encouraged, the Flying; and flew through the whole Body with his Eyes, Hands, and Voice. He is said, in the midst of That Confusion to have discovered in his Looks a settled Resolution of killing himself.* The four Verses, which I am to cite here, were made by Mr *Pellisson*. I take them out of his Dialogue with *Pegasus*.

(96) Florus, lib. 4, cap. 2, n. 78.

(97) Ibid. n. 81.

Mais ce fameux Cesar, qui presque sans combatre,
Venoit, voioit, vainquoit, ne le suivois-tu pas?
Jamais il n'eus quitté la belle Cleopatre,
Pour aller prendre Dole un jour de Mardi gras.

Did not you follow the famed Cæsar, *who, almost without fighting, came, saw and conquered? He would never have left the beautiful* Cleopatra, *to go and take Dole on a Shrove Tuesday.*

Why would he not have left her on such a Day, to take a Town, since, on such a Day, he gave a Battle, which was an hundred times more dangerous than the Siege of a Town would been?

[*L*] Salust *compared the Character of* Cæsar *with That of* Cato —— *who desired rather to be an honest Man, than seem so.*] I am going to copy That Historian's Words. 'His (Cæsari & Catoni) genus, ætas, eloquentia prope æqualia fuere: magnitudo animi

(89) Plin. lib. vii, cap. 2, pag. m. 361.

(90) Except out of it the pleasure of good cheer. See *Suetonius in ejus vita, cap.* 53, where he mentions what *Cato* said, *Unum ex omnibus Cæsarem ad evertendam rempublicam sobrium accessisse.* —— That *Cæsar* alone set soberly about ruining the Commonwealth. *See also* Paterculus, *lib.* 2, *cap.* 41.

(91) Compare this with what is reported of *Cromwell*, in the *History of the Wars of the Usurped*, Jan 1609, pag. 7, in the Extract of *Ludlow*'s Memoirs.

(92) Plut. in Cæs pag. 736.

(93) We may suppose they said to one another, *Hinc furent, si rectitudo vera illa paterni Viri erat in nobis.* Persius, Sat. 3, ver. 103.

(94) Sueton. in Cæsare, cap. 76.

(95) Id. cap. 77.

rency he shewed towards attaining to it, I ought not to forget and Observation, which I find in an ancient Historian. It concerns the extraordinary Care that *Cæsar* took to accumulate Riches; and to raise Money under any Pretence whatsoever [*M*]. The Senate decreed him such excessive Honours (*i*), that it cannot be sufficiently wondered at, when one considers the Spirit of Servitude, which appears at first sight in such a Conduct: but it must be remembered, that there was much republican Cunning in it; for when the Senators perceived, that he was pleased with the honourable and glorious Distinctions they conferred upon him, they invented new ones without any measure or bounds, to make him more odious, and to prepare his Ruin with more Speed (*k*). It was the Aim of most of the Senators: Some others were truly animated with a Spirit of Flattery; and some of them designed only to make a Jest of him. Some were of opinion, that they should make a Decree, that he might enjoy as many Women as he pleased, forasmuch as, tho' he was above fifty Years of Age, yet he made use of many Women (*l*). He did not discover the Snare, but suffered himself to be dazzled by the Splendor of those Decrees of the Senate; he forgot himself a little too much; nay once he did not vouchsafe to rise, when the Senate brought him the Decree, which they had just then made, to increase his Honours. This Incivility was one of the chief Causes of his Ruin [*N*]. Every one knows, that he was murdered in the Senate, the

(*i*) *See* Dion. Cassius, lib. 44, circa init.

(*k*) *Id. ibid. pag.* 276. See the Remark [*N*], Citat. (110). and *Plut. in Cæs. pag.* 754, who observes, that *Cæsar*'s Enemies contributed as much as his Flatterers to Those Decrees of the Senate. Οἷς οὐδὲν ἧττον οἱονται συναγωνεσασθαι τὸ κολακευόντων Καίσαρα τοὺς μισοῦντας. In quibus non minus in re ea Cæsar a quam adulatores putant adjutos esse.

(*l*) Plutarch in Cæs. pag. 754.

animi par, item gloria, sed alia alii. Cæsar beneficiis, ac munificentia magnus habebatur: integritate vitæ Cato. Ille mansuetudine, & misericordia clarus factus: huic severitas dignitatem addiderat. Cæsar, dando, sublevando, ignoscendo, Cato, nihil largiendo, gloriam adeptus est. In altero miseris perfugium; in altero malis pernicies. Illius facilitas, hujus constantia laudabatur. Postremo Cæsar in animum induxerat, laborare, vigilare; negotiis amicorum intentus, sua negligere; nihil denegare, quod dono dignum esset; sibi magnum imperium, exercitum, bellum novum exoptabat, ubi virtus enitescere posset. At Catoni studium modestiæ, decoris, sed maxume severitatis erat. Non divitiis cum divite, neque factione cum factioso; sed cum strenuo virtute, cum modesto pudore, cum innocente abstinentia certabat; esse, quam videri, bonus malebat; ita, quo minus gloriam petebat, eo magis adsequebatur (98). —— *Cæsar and Cato were nearly upon an equality, as to Family, Years, and Eloquence: they had an equal greatness of Mind, and equally pursued Glory, but different ways. Cæsar gained esteem through Bounty and Munificence; Cato, through Integrity of Life. The one grew famous through Mildness and Clemency; the other was revered for his Austerity. Cæsar, by giving, assisting, and pardoning, acquired Glory; Cato did no less by bestowing nothing. Cæsar was the Refuge of the Unhappy, Cato the Bane of the Wicked. The one was praised for his easy Disposition, the other for his Constancy. Cæsar had inured himself to fatigue, and watching; intent on serving his Friends, he neglected his own Interest; he could deny nothing, which deserved the Name of a Gift; he wished himself an extensive Command, an Army, and a new War, in which to display his Courage. But Cato was studious of Modesty, Decency, but chiefly of Severity. He contended not with the Rich in Riches, with the Factious in Faction; but with the Modest in Modesty, with the Innocent in Innocence; he chose rather to be, than seem, good; thus, the less he aimed at Glory, the more he acquired it.* Any one, who should rather choose *Cæsar*'s Share in the Distribution of these Praises, than That of *Cato*, would discover his want of Judgment. After all, there is no good Judge, but would prefer, before many other fine Qualities, That which *Cato* had of being more touched with the Possession of Virtue, than the Reputation of being virtuous (99). This was also the Lot of *Aristides*; it was the Praise, which an excellent Poet gave to the Diviner *Amphiaraus*. I have reasoned upon this, in another place of this Dictionary (100), where I have examined a Maxim attributed to *Socrates*, which agrees very well with these words of a *Latin* Poet:

Tu recte vivis, si curas esse quod audis (101).

He rightly lives, who is, what he appears.

Postel has made a very solid Remark on This Verse,

(98) Sallust. de Bello Catilin. cap. 54.

(99) *Consult* Lucan Pharsal. lib. 2. ver 380, & *seq. I have read, in the* Mercure Volant, *printed in* 1705, *pag.* 93, *that it was said of* Cato; Nunquam recte fecit, ut facere videretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat. *He never acted right, that he might seem to do so, but because he could not do otherwise.*

(100) In Rem. [*H*], of the Article AMPHIARAUS.

(101) Horat. Epist. 16, lib. 1. ver. 17.

in an Epistle Dedicatory (102), which is otherwise stuffed with nonsense.

[*M*] *He took extraordinary Care to accumulate Riches, and to raise Money under any pretence whatsoever.*] Sometimes he exacted several Sums of Money, under pretence, that they had been promised to *Pompey*. He took the Treasure out of the Temple of *Hercules* at *Tyre*, under pretence, that the *Tyrians* had received *Pompey*'s Wife and Sons in their City. He made Kings and Princes present him with Crowns of Gold, as a Conqueror (103). In a word, when one Reason failed, he knew how to invent another. This Conduct, and These Exactions, did not proceed from a bad Disposition, if *Dio* may be believed (104), but from the excessive Expences he was at. He applied himself to heap up Money, only because he was persuaded, that, to acquire Dominion, to keep it, and to aggrandize one's self in it, two things were necessary, which support each other, *viz.* Money and Troops. He kept his Troops, by supplying them with Necessaries, and by their means he found the proper Funds for their Subsistance; if one of these two things had failed him, the other would have failed him likewise. If *Dio* thought this was a good Excuse, he argued more like a Warriour and a good Politician, than like a good Citizen. These are his Words: Τὰ, τε σώματα ἀνεῖτο χρημάτοποιὸς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, δύο τε εἶναι λέγων τὰ τὰς δυνατείας παρασκευάζοντα καὶ φυλάσσοντα καὶ ἐπαυξάνοντα, στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα· καὶ ταῦτα δι' ἀλλήλων συνεστάναι. Τῇ τε γὰρ τροφῇ τὰ στρατεύματα συνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐκείνην ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων συλλέγεσθαι· κἂν θάτερον ὑποστρέφῃ ἀνίσως ἢ, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον συμπαλαιοῦσθαι. Utque summatim dicam, pecuniarum coactor erat Cæsar, duas esse res dicens quibus & pararentur, & conservarentur & augerentur imperia, nempe milites & pecuniam. Earum alterum per alterum consistere, nam & annona contineri exercitus & eam armis parari, atque alterutro deficiente, reliquum simul concidere (105). This Historian observes, that *Cæsar*, being returned into *Italy*, after the Defeat of *Pharnaces*, continued his Exactions, sometimes under the Name of a Gift, and sometimes under That of a Loan. He borrowed of private Men and Cities, but without any Design to repay, and compelled them to give him Money, as if he had exacted the Payment of a Debt (106).

[*N*] *Once —— he did not vouchsafe to rise to the Senate: —— This Incivility was one of the chief Causes of his Ruin.*] Two Passages, one of *Suetonius*, and the other of *Dion Cassius*, shall prove this. ‘ Præcipuam & inexpiabilem sibi invidiam ‘ hinc maxime movit: adeuntes se cum plurimis ‘ honorificentissimisque decretis, universos patres con- ‘ scriptos sedens pro æde Venetis Genitricis excepit. Quidam putant retentum a Cornelio Balbo, cum conaretur assurgere; alii ne conatum quidem omnino, sed etiam admonentem Caium Trebatium, ut assurgeret, minus familiari vultu respexisse (107). *The greatest Offence he gave was,*

(102) That of his Oriental Histories, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1574, and dedicated to the Duke of *Mercœur*, Brother to *Henry* III.

(103) *See* Dion Cassius, lib. 42, pag. 234.

(104) Τὰ δὲ ἐξ ὑπὸ κακίας ἔπραξε. Quæ omnia non improbitate faciebat. *Id. ibid.*

(105) Id. ibid.

(106) Id. ibid. pag. 235.

(107) Sueton. in Jolio, cap. 78.

the fifteenth Day of *March* 710 [O]. I have observed elsewhere (m), that, tho'

(m) See, above, Remark [F], of the Article BRUTUS (Marcus Junius).

'twas, in receiving the whole Senate, who came to 'present him with several Decrees very much to his 'Honour, sitting before the Temple of his Mother 'Venus. *Some think*, he was kept from rising up 'by Cornelius Balbus; *others*, that he made no at-'tempt to rise, *and even frowned on* Caius Trebatius, 'who put him in mind of getting up. *Dion Cassius* relates the Matter with all it's Circumstances. One Day, says he (108), as they were deliberating in the Senate about great Honours, which they designed to decree to *Julius Cæsar*, all the Senators Voices, except That of *Cassius*, and some others, concurred to That Decree; after which, the Company rose up, to carry the News of it to That Emperor, who was sitting in the Porch of the Temple of *Venus*. He stayed there, that no one should say, his Presence had deprived the Senators of the Liberty of giving their Votes. He did not arise, upon seeing the Senate come to him, but heard what they had to say to him sitting. This made, not only the Senators, but the other *Romans*, so angry, that it was one of the chief Pretences of those, who formed the Conspiracy against his Person. The Historian does not know whether this Incivility was a fatal stroke of Providence, or the Effect of *Cæsar*'s great Joy: Κα-θήμενος ὁρᾶς εἴτ' ὂν θεοκλασίᾳ τινὶ εἴτε καὶ περιχαρείᾳ μεγαλόφρων; *Sedens Senatum excepit, sive fatali quadam errore, sive nimio gaudio correptus* (109); but he observes, that no Credit was given to those, who endeavoured to justify it, by saying, that *Cæsar* had then a Looseness upon him, which made him fear to disturb the retentive Faculty by rising up. This Excuse was not admitted; for it was known, that, a little while after, he walked home on foot. So that the Posture, which he had kept, was attributed to his Pride. The Honours, that had been conferred upon him, had made him proud; and, when he was become proud, he was hated. I shall set down the Passage of *Dio* in *Latin* only. 'Quod enim nonnulli pur-'gandi Cæsaris causa postea attulerunt, profluvio 'eum ventris laborasse, veritumque, ne inter assur-'gendum alvum dejiceret, consedisse; id propterea 'creditum non est, quod paulo post pedibus ipse do-'mum rediverit: sed statu elatum hoc seciss suspi-'cabantur, eumque superbiæ nomine odio proseque-'bantur, quem immodicos honores deferendo ipsi 'superbum reddiderant (110).' The Historian discovers, in these last words, the same desire of criticising the Senate, that he had already shewn. He had said, that, among the things, which exposed *Cæsar* to the mortal Hatred and Envy that ruined him, the Fault of the Senators was greater, than That of *Cæsar* himself (111). They decreed new exorbitant Honours for him, and then censured him for accepting of them, and growing more proud upon that account. Doubtless he was to blame in not refusing part of them, and in believing, that they were really persuaded, he deserved them (112); but the Senate was yet more to blame; they, who, by conferring those Honours upon him, opened a Precipice for him: for, if he had refused them, he would have passed for a disdainful Man, and he exposed himself to Vanity by accepting of them; since the modestest Persons suffer themselves to be corrupted by That Poison, and fancy they are what they are said to be (113). Τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τε τιμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων χαυνοῦσι τοὺς καὶ τὸ πάνυ σώφρονας, ὥστε κἀκ τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀληθῶς ἀξίους δοκεῖν, ποιεῖ. *Nam immoderati honores laudesque lenitatem animi etiam modestissimo cuique afferunt, ut si jam talis esse, quales prædicantur, existiment* (114).

Let us examine the reason, why they would not believe, that *Cæsar* kept sitting, for fear his Looseness should play him an ill Trick. It seems to me to be groundless; for, though he returned home a little while after on foot, it does not follow, but that he might feel some violent Gripings, at the very moment the Senate came to him. A Looseness is not always equally troublesome. But if this Excuse were well grounded, we should have great reason to admire the oddness of human Events: we might say, that the most considerable, and the most fatal, depend upon Trifles, and are put in motion by the vilest Springs. *Cæsar* would have hastened his Ruin, because he could not put himself in a civil Posture, by reason of a little Disorder in his Bowels, which, on another occasion, would have been of no consequence, but at that time was of great Importance. The Accident he feared, if he had risen, would have been attended with bad Consequences: he would have been a laughing-stock to all the People of *Rome*; and the ill-affected would have put a strange Construction upon it. What a Contempt of Religion, and of the Senate! What! in the very Temple of *Venus*, and in the Presence of the most august Body in the World! The thing might have been rendered so odious in several respects, that it might have caused even a Man, who had well considered all the Consequences of his sitting still, to resolve not to stir out of his Place. Did not *Constantin Copronymus* draws a most odious and despicable Epithet upon himself, which stains his Memory to this very Day? Did he not become the Object of a hundred Invectives, and injurious Reflexions, for having fouled the Baptismal Font without knowing what he did. *Impio patri scelestissima successit proles Constantinus cognomento Copronymi, quod infans baptismi lavacro admotus, medius sacris alimonia excrementa aquam polluerat* (115). It would have been much worse, if such a thing had happened to him in a Church, whilst he made War against the Protectors of Images. Such a thing has been at all times looked upon as a great piece of Contempt, or a Subject of Raillery (116). However it be, *Cæsar*'s Apologists might have been better confuted, than by the Reason mentioned by *Dion Cassius*. They might have been told, that, if that bodily Infirmity had been the Reason, why *Cæsar* did not rise, he should have alledged That Excuse to the Senators. The not having done it, is a sign that he cared but little whether they should think he was wanting in civility towards That august Body, or not; which makes him fall again into the first Inconveniency. We may imagine, that the Senators would have been satisfied with That Reason. *Laban*, though he was very angry, was satisfied with almost such a like Excuse, when his Daughter received him without rising (117). See here another way of excusing one's self (118). 'One time Cardinal *du Perron* found himself much perplexed, speaking for the Clergy to 'the late Queen-Mother; for, being in a Chair, 'where the Gout forced him to remain before a 'Princess so full of Majesty, he had a mind to pass 'a Compliment on her about it, which he had not 'prepared. *Madam*, said he to her, *I am upon my 'Knees in my Heart, though you see me sit.* — 'At that Word, perceiving that it was not re-'spectful to name the Part on which he sate, he 'for a good while sought for some more honou-'rable Expression, and finding none added *as my 'Legs* (119).

I have just now read a thing, which may make us doubt of *Dio*'s Discernment. The thing it this. *Plutarch* observes, that *Cæsar* was very much concerned for the Incivility he had shewed the Senate, and which displeased the People so much (120). Nevertheless it is said, *adds* Plutarch, that, to excuse that Fault, he alledged his Distemper, because the Senses of those, who are subject to the Falling-sickness, when they speak standing before a Company, do not always remain sound, but are easily troubled, and suddenly taken with a dazzling: but this was false (121). We must believe, for *Dio*'s Honour, that he had read *Plutarch*. How comes it then to pass, that he says nothing of this Excuse, and alledges another much more unlikely, and somewhat ridiculous?

[O] *He was murdered in the Senate, the fifteenth Day of* March, 710.] Authors do not agree, concerning this Point of Chronology, as to the Year: Some, as *Sigonius*, *Calvisius*, &c. say, that *Cæsar* was killed in the Year 709. I have followed their Hypothesis in the Article of *Brutus* (122), and perhaps also in some other places; but I find *Petavius*'s Opinion more reasonable, that *Cæsar* was killed in 710. It is now the current Opinion. He was Fifty six Years of Age, more or less. They gave him twenty three Blows (123); each of the Conspirators strove to wound him, and in that haste some of them wounded each other (124). They by

(108) Dio, lib. 44, pag. 255.

(109) Id. ibid.

(110) Ibid. pag. 277.

(111) Id. ibid. pag. 274.

(112) Id. ibid.

(113) *See the* News from the Republic of Letters, June, 1686, Art. 2, pag. 631, *where you will find the's Words of the fourth Satire of* Juvenal. Nihil est quod credere de se Non possit cum laudatur Dis æqua potestas. *See also in the* 26th *Epistle of the first Book of* Horace, *the* Sed vereor ne cui de te plusquam tibi credas, &c.

(114) Dio, lib. 44, pag. 274.

(115) Jo. Bapt. Egnatius in Roman. Princip.

(116) Καὶ βέλομαι ἀντάποκρίνασθαι πρὸς τὰς βροντάς. Voluque oppedere vestris tonitribus. *Aristoph. in Nubib. Act* 1, *Sc.* 4. Vin' tu curt à jucdis oppedere ? *Horat. Sat.* 9, *lib.* 1, *ver.* 69. See the *Catholicon d'Espagne*, at the place where the ruling of the Deputies of the States is mentioned, pag. 370 Edit. 1699.

(117) And *Rachel* said to her Father, Let it not displease my Lord, that I cannot rise up before thee, for the custom of Women is upon me, *Genesis* xxxi, 35.

(118) *Cæsar* might have said, *I stand in my Heart, though I am sitting*, &c.

(119) *Costar*, Continuat. of the Defence of *Voiture*, pag. 189.

(120) Plut. in Cæs. pag. 736.

(121) Id. ibid.

(122) See above, in the Article BRUTUS (Marcus Junius), in the Text, where I place the Battle of *Philippi* in the Year 711.

(123) Suet. in Cæs. cap. 82.

(124) Plut. in Cæs. pag. 739.

it ſhould be granted, that there was ſome Juſtice in this Act, it cannot be denied but that it was performed at a very improper Time. *Seneca*, who, becauſe he ſaw the two greateſt Ornaments of the Sect of the Stoics (*n*) among *Cæſar*'s Enemies, muſt have been very much inclined to condemn This Uſurper, yet blames thoſe, who killed him, and condemns the Blindneſs, which hindered them from ſeeing, that, in the ſtate wherein things were (*o*), they could not hope for the Reſtoration of Liberty. Ambition and Luxury had ſo long made *Rome* a Stage of Diſorders and violent Confuſions (*p*), that a Monarchical Government was become a neceſſary Evil. The wiſeſt Men had foreſeen, that ſuch a Corruption of Laws and Manners would end in a Criſis, which would be a Revolution of State. The ſame *Seneca* obſerves, that *Cæſar* had united and incorporated himſelf in ſuch a manner with the Republic, that no Separation could be made, without ſpoiling and ruining all [*P*]. It is very certain, that he alone could repair the Evils which the *Roman* People had ſuffered; and, if it be pretended, that *Cicero* did not conſider what he ſaid, when he affirmed it; it muſt alſo be acknowledged, that he ought to have conſidered of what he ſaid on this Occaſion [*Q*]. Something muſt be ſaid of

(*n*) *Cato of Utica*, and *Brutus*, the firſt of whom died before *Cæſar*, and the laſt was one of *Cæſar*'s Murderers, and died afterwards in maintaining the Cauſe.

(*o*) See Citation (14), of the Article BRUTUS (MARCUS JUNIUS.)

(*p*) See the Deſcription of them, in *Lucan*, Book 1 of the *Pharſalia*, *ver.* 160, & ſeq. Compare with this Citat. (35) of the Article CATULLUS.

thought their Action would have been approved by the People; but they had reaſon to queſtion it the very next Day; for the People kept a very profound Silence, when they heard what had been done. The Senate removed their Fears, ſince, by conferring on the one hand divine Honours upon *Cæſar*, they granted on the other many Advantages to the Conſpirators: but *Cæſar*'s Funeral Pomp ſpoiled all. *Marc Antony* made a Speech, which exaſperated thoſe, who were preſent, to ſuch a degree, that they went to burn the Conſpirators Houſes, and ſought after them all over the Town, to cut them in pieces. That, which affected them moſt was, that he ſhewed them *Cæſar*'s Tunick full of Holes, and bloody (125). *Plutarch*, and his Copier *Appian*, affirm it: but other Hiſtorians do not mention That Circumſtance. *Cicero*, reproaching *Marc Antony* for That Day's Proceedings, ſays nothing of That Particular. 'Etſi tum cum 'optimum te putabant, me quidem diſſentiente, 'funeri tyranni illius ſceleratiſſime præfuiſti. Tua 'illa pulchra laudatio, tua miſeratio, tua cohortatio, 'tu illas faces incendiſti, & eas quibus ſemiuſtula-'tus ille eſt, & eas quibus incenſa L. Bellieni do-'mus deflagravit. Tu illos impetus perditorum 'hominum, & ex maxima parte ſervorum, quos 'nos vi manuque repulimus, in noſtras domos im-'miſiſti (126). —— *Though even then, when I had the beſt Opinion of you, you had the Baſeneſs, againſt my Conſent, to appear at the Head of the Tyrant's Funeral. It was you, who ſpoke his Funeral Oration, who pitied his Fate, who excited the Populace to revenge his Death, who blew up That Fire, by which he was half conſumed, and which deſtroyed the Houſe of* L. Bellienus. *It was you, who ſpirited up the Mob, conſiſting of the moſt profligate Perſons, and chiefly of Slaves, whom we forcibly repelled, to pull down our Houſes.*' And note, that *Suetonius* is ſo far from mentioning it, that he gives us to underſtand, that *Marc Antony* made no Funeral Oration. 'Laudationis loco conſul Antonius per præconem pro-'nuntiavit S. C. quo omnia ei divina ſimul atque 'humana decreverat: item jusjurandum, quo ſe 'cuncti pro ſalute unius adſtrinxerant: quibus per-'pauca à ſe verba addidit (127). —— *Inſtead of a Funeral Oration, the Conſul* Antony *pronounced, by a public Cryer, the Edict of the Senate, decreeing him all human and divine Honours: as alſo the Oath, by which they had all bound themſelves, for the ſafety of one: to which he added a very few words of himſelf.*' Is it not ſtrange, that he could doubt of a thing, which *Cicero* had affirmed in full Senate, whilſt the thing was yet freſh? Many Obſervations might be made on the Differences, which are found among Hiſtorians. I am much ſurprized, that *Caſaubon* (128) pretends to confirm *Suetonius*'s Narrative by the Teſtimony of *Appian*; for it is plain, *Appian* ſays, that *Marc Antony* made a very long Speech (129).

[*P*] Seneca *remarks, that* Cæſar *had ſo united and incorporated himſelf with the Republic, that he could not be ſeparated from it, without —— ruining all.*] Theſe are his Words: *Olim ita ſe induxit Reip. Cæſar ut ſeduci alterum non poſſit, ſine utriuſque pernicie, nam ut illi virtus opus, ita & huic copiæ* (130). This is the Concluſion of ſeveral fine Maxims, which he had juſt before laid down about the Obedience of Subjects. They were mentioned in a Book, which a *French* Royaliſt publiſhed againſt the *Leaguers* in the Year 1593. 'Nec ſolum propter 'iram, id eſt metu pœnæ, illis obediendum eſt, ſed 'propter conſcientiam, quia nimirum omnes ſcire 'oportet, id ex divina voluntate & conſtitutione 'fieri debere. Quod etiam Ethnici agnoverunt, 'inter quos illo ſæculo quo D. Paulus ſcripſit, 'hæc ſapiens Philoſophus dicebat. *Principes 'Regeſque & quicunque alio nomine ſunt, tutores ſtatus publici, amandos etiam ultra privatas 'neceſſitudines. Et olim*, inquit, *ita ſe induit Reip. 'Cæſar*, &c (131). —— *Illo enim eſt vinculum per 'quod Reſpubl. coheret: ille ſpiritus vitalis, quem 'hæc tot millia trahunt, nihil ipſa per ſe futura, 'niſi onus & præda, ſi mens illa imperii ſubtra-'hatur.* —— *Nor are we to obey for Wrath only, that is through fear of Puniſhment, but for Conſcience ſake; ſince every one ought to know, that the Will and Inſtitution of* GOD *has made it our Duty. This the very Heathens acknowledged, among whom a learned Philoſopher, at the time when St* Paul *wrote, ſaid, that* Princes and Kings, 'and Governors of all Denominations, as being 'Guardians of the Public Weal, are intituled to 'our Affection, even beyond the private Ties of 'Friendſhip. And formerly, *ſaid he*, *Cæſar* ſo in-'corporated himſelf with the Republic, *&c.* —— 'For this it what connects and keeps together the 'ſeveral Parts of a Common-Wealth; This is the 'vital Spirit, which ſo many thouſands breathe, 'who would of themſelves be nothing but a bur-'then and a Prey to each other, were this Soul 'of Government withdrawn.' Theſe Words are found in the Seventy fifth Page of a Book, intituled, *Vindiciæ ſecundum libertatem Eccleſiæ Gallicanæ, & Regii ſtatus Galloſrancorum, ſub Henrico IV. Rege Francorum & Navarræ. L. S. A. R.* It is thought, that theſe four Letters ſignify, *Ludovicus Servinus Advocatus Regius.*

[*Q*] *He alone could repair the Misfortunes of the* Roman *People* ----- Cicero, *who affirms this, ought to have conſidered what he ſaid on this Occaſion.*] I ſhall ſet down ſome Paſſages of his Oration for *Marcellus*. 'Quis eſt omnium tam ignarus rerum, 'tam rudis in republica, tam nihil unquam nec de ſua 'nec de communi ſalute cogitans, qui non intelligat 'tua ſalute contineri ſuam, & ex unius tua vitam 'pendere omnium? ---- ſi ad humanos caſus in-'certoſque eventus valetudinis, ſceleris etiam acce-'dat inſidiarumque conſenſus: quem deum, etiamſi 'cupiat, opitulari poſſe reip. credamus? Omnia 'ſunt excitanda tibi, C. Cæſar, uni, quæ jacere 'ſentis, belli ipſius impetu, quod neceſſe fuit, per-'culſa, atque proſtrata? conſtituenda judicia, revo-'canda fides, comprimendæ libidines, propaganda 'ſoboles: omnia, quæ dilapſa jam defluxerunt, ſe-'veris legibus vincienda ſunt. Non fuit recuſan-'dum in tanto civili bello, tantoque animorum ar-'dore, & armorum, quin quaſſata reſp. quicunque 'belli eventus fuiſſet, multa perderet & ornamenta 'dignitatis, & præſidia ſtabilitatis ſuæ, multaque uter-'que dux faceret armatus, quæ idem togatus fieri 'prohibuiſſet. Quæ quidem nunc tibi omnia belli 'vulnera ſananda ſunt; quibus PRAETER TE NE-

'DERI

(125) Taken out of *Plutarch. ibid. pag.* 740.

(126) Cicero, Philip. 2, cap. 36, pag. 710.

(127) Suet in Cæſ. cap. 84.

(128) Caſaub. ad Sueton. in Cæſ. cap. 84.

(129) Appian. de bellis civil. lib. 2, pag. m. 285.

(130) Seneca de clementia, lib. 1, cap. 4.

(131) Note that, in *Seneca*, this preceeds what concerns *Cæſar*.

of Cæsar's Family, and against those, who are not well acquainted with the Reason why he bore that Name [R]. The Reader will find here a Supplement concerning

DEBI NEMO POTEST. —— *For who is so totally ignorant, so little versed in public Affairs, and so regardless of his own, and the common Safety, as not to be sensible, that his own Security is contained in yours, and that the Lives of all depend on yours alone? —— Should Villany and Treachery conspire with the Uncertainty of human Events, and of Health, what* GOD *can we think powerful enough, though he should be willing, to save the State? You alone, C. Cæsar, must raise us from the fallen Condition, to which the Violence of War has necessarily reduced us, must settle our Courts of Justice, restore public Credit, suppress Vice, increase the number of our People, and restrain the dissoluteness of our Manners by wholesome Laws. In so great a Civil-War, and during such violent Commotions, the shattered Common-Wealth must necessarily, be the Event what it will, lose many Ornaments of her Dignity, and Supports of her Security; and both Generals must necessarily do, when in Arms, what they would both prohibit when in Peace. All which Wounds of War are now to be healed by you; for* YOU ALONE CAN HEAL THEM.'

In all likelihood, if *Cæsar* had lived ten Years longer, he would have done the finest Things in the World for the Glory and Prosperity of the *Roman* People. He was killed in the midst of the greatest Projects, that a sublime Genius, and an heroic Courage could undertake (132).

[R] *Something must be said of* Cæsar's *Family, and against those who are not well acquainted with the Reason why he bore That Name* (133).] He was of the Family *Julia*, which pretended to be descended from *Venus*, by *Æneas* the Son of *Anchises* and of That Goddess. We shall see, elsewhere (134), the Care that was taken to keep up the Tradition of This Original of *Julius Cæsar*. The Posterity of *Ascanius*, the Son of *Æneas* and *Creüsa*, and surnamed *Julus*, subsisted at *Alba*, 'till that Town was ruined by *Tullus Hostilius*, King of *Rome*. That Prince transported it to *Rome*, where it prospered. It does not appear, that it formed above two chief Branches there: the first bore the Surname of *Tullus*, the other That of *Cæsar*. The Persons of the first Branch, who begin to appear in History, are *Caius Julius Tullus*, and *Vopiscus Julius Tullus*. The first was Consul in the Year of *Rome* 265, and *Decemvir* in the Year 300. The last was Consul in the Year 272. The most ancient *Cæsars*, that are to be found, had some Dignities in the eleventh Year of the first *Punic* War, that is to say, in the Year of *Rome* 546. From that time *Cæsars* appear very frequently in the Offices of the Republic, till *Caius Julius Cæsar*, the Emperor's Father. He was the Son of another *Caius Julius Cæsar*, whose History is unknown; it appears only, that he was married to *Martia*, who descended from the Family of King *Ancus Martius* (135). He had three Children, two Sons and one Daughter, who was the Wife of *Marius*: The two Sons, *Caius Julius Cæsar*, and *Lucius Julius Cæsar* did not rise above the Pretorship, dying in the Flower of their Age, and in a singular manner: for both of them died as they were putting on their Stockings in the Morning, *Caius* at *Pisa*, and *Lucius* at *Rome*, where he exercised the Dignity of Pretor. 'Nullis 'evidentibus causis obiere, dum calciantur matutino, duo Cæsares, Prætor, & prætura perfunctus 'Dictatoris Cæsaris pater, hic Pisis exanimatus, 'ille Romæ (136).' *Caius* married *Aurelia*, and had one Son and some Daughters by her. The Son is He, who makes the Subject of this Article. He was born at *Rome*, the twelfth of the Month *Quintilis* (137) 653, and lost his Father in the Year 669. I have taken this from a Book, which contains a large Account of the Family *Julia* (138). You will not find the Passage of *Suetonius* there, which shews from what Nobility this Family pretended to be descended, and with what Eloquence *Cæsar* knew how to express it. Here is the Passage: 'Quæstor Julium amitam, uxoremque Cor'neliam, defunctas laudavit è more pro Rostris: sed 'in amitæ quidem laudatione, de ejus ac patris 'sui utriusque origine sic refert: Amitæ meæ Julia 'maternum genus ab regibus ortum, paternum 'cum diis immortalibus conjunctum est. Nam ab 'Anco Marcio sunt Marcii Reges, quo nomine 'fuit mater: à Venere Julii, cujus gentis familia 'est nostra. Est ergo in genere & sanctitas regum, qui plurimum inter homines pollent: & 'cæremonia deorum, quorum ipsi in potestate 'sunt reges (139). —— *During his Quæstorship, according to custom, he pronounced the Funeral Orations of his Aunt* Julia, *and his Wife* Cornelia: *but, in the Elogy of his Aunt, he gives this Account of his own and his Father's Origin on both sides. The maternal Race of my Aunt sprung from Kings, the paternal from the Immortal Gods. For the* Marcii, *being Kings, descended from* Ancus Marcius, *which Name my Mother bore: The* Julii *from* Venus, *of whose Race is our Family. There are therefore in our Race both the Sanctity of Kings, who have the greatest Power among Men, and the Ceremonies of the Gods, to whose Power Kings themselves are subject.*' *Suetonius* speaks here of the Death of *Cornelia*, *Cæsar*'s Wife. On this Occasion, let us say something of This Emperor's Marriages. He had been betrothed to a very rich Maid, whose Name was *Cossutia*, while he yet wore the *Toga Virilis*; but he soon repudiated her. Afterwards he married *Cornelia*, the Daughter of *Lucius Cornelius Cinna*, and would never put her away, tho' it was dangerous for him not to yield to the pressing Sollicitations of *Sylla*, who desired it (140); He had a Daughter by her, who was *Pompey*'s Wife. His third Wife's Name was *Pompeia* (141); and She placed him in the same Category, where in he had put so many other Husbands. She was beloved by *Clodius*, and loved him reciprocally; but, *Cæsar*, and his Mother *Aurelia*, a Lady of great Virtue, watched her Conduct so narrowly, that *Clodius* was obliged to seek an Opportunity to come to her, whilst the Mysteries of the *Bona-Dea* were celebrating in *Cæsar*'s House: He disguised himself in Women's Cloaths, and got in with the Crowd; but, he was discovered. This Business made a great Noise; *Cæsar* divorced his Wife, under Pretence, as he said (142), that he would not have his House so much as suspected: but, at the bottom, he did not question, but that his Wife had plaid the Trick (143). Ὅτι δὲ ἡ Πομπηΐας τῆς Καίσαρος γυναικὸς, τὰ αὐτὰ ἀκούσας. Καλὸ φυλάκια τὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδ' ἀκριβεῖς ἦσαν, ἢ τὰ μήτηρ τῆ Καίσαρος, Αὐρηλία, γυνὴ σώφρων, ἀκριβοῦσα τὸν νόμον εἶδ', χαλεπὴν καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένην αὐτοῖς ἔσοιν τὴν ἁλῶσιν. *Hic* (Clodius) *uxorem Cæsaris Pompeiam amabat neque invitam. Verum mulierem Cæsar acri sepserat custodia, ejusque mater Aurelia, femina honesta, perpetuo lateri adhærens Pompeiæ, arduam & periculosam ejus congressum efficiebat* (144). After this he married *Calphurnia*, the Daughter of *Piso*, and died before her.

Servius is much mistaken, in commenting on these Words of *Virgil* (145):

Nascetur pulchra Trojanus origine Cæsar,
Julius, à magno demissum nomen Ilo (146).

He thought the Surname of *Cæsar* was given to our *Caius Julius*, the Dictator, either because he was taken out of his Mother's Womb, by a chirurgical Operation, or because his Grand-father had killed an Elephant. 'Vel quod avus ejus in Africa manu 'propria occidit Elephantem, qui Cæsar dicitur 'Pœnorum lingua (147). —— *Or because his Grand-'father, being in* Africa, *with his own hand had 'killed an Elephant, which, in the* Punic *Language, 'is called* Cæsar.' Neither of these Reasons are of any force, since there were some *Cæsars* in *Rome* among the Ancestors of our *Cæsar*, from the time of the first *Punic* War. Note, that *Cedrenus*, the Author of the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, *Malala*, *Suidas*, *Glycas*, and *Constantin Manasses*, affirm, that they were forced to make an Incision, in order to take *Cæsar* out of his Mother's Belly. *Zonaras* refutes this

(132) *See* Suetonius, in Cæsare, cap. 44, *and* Plutarch, in Cæsare, pag. 735.

(133) *These Words of* Pliny, *lib.* 7, *cap.* 9, *have deceived them.* Antipatrus cæsa parentis cognomen tulit: sicut Scipio Africani prioris natus, primusque Cæsarum à cæso matris utero dictus. ... *They are more likely born the death of the Parents: as* Scipio Africanus *the Elder, and the first* Cæsar, *so called from being cut out of his Mother's Womb. They have applied it to* Cæsar *the Dictator, what* Pliny *had only said of the first who was surnamed* Cæsar. *Note, that* Solinus *did not well understand this: He believed, that* Pliny *had said, that* Scipio Africanus *was the first, who was called* Cæsar.

(134) *In one of the Remarks of the Article* TROY.

(135) *See, below, in* Cæsar *n.* (139), *the Passage of* Suetonius.

(136) Plinius, lib. vii, cap. liii. pag. 88

(137) *What was afterwards called* Julius (*July*) *in Honour of* Julius Cæsar.

(138) *Compiled by* Joannes Glandorpius, *and intitled* Familiæ Gentis Juliæ ... concinnatæ. *It was printed at* Basil, *in* 1570, *in* 8vo, *by the Care of* Ambrose Glandorpius, *the Author's Son, and inserted afterwards, in* 1589, *in the* Quo nasticon Historiæ Romanæ *of the same Author.*

(139) Suetonius in Cæsar. cap. vi.

(140) Id. ibid. cap. [illegible]

(141) *Daughter of* Quintus Pompeius Rufus.

(142) Plut. in Cæsare, p. 712.

(143) Suetonius in Cæs. cap. vi.

(144) Plut. in Cæs. p. 711, D. *and also in* Cicerone, pag. 874.

(145) Virgil. Æn. lib. i. ver. 286.

(146) *That is to say,* Ascanius, *the Son of* Æneas; *for* Virgil, ibid. ver 267, *had said* At puer Ascanius cui nunc cognomen Iulo Additur.

(147) Servius in Æn. lib. i. vers. 286.

ing his Commentaries [S]. I have observed, in another Place (y), some Circumstances of his Deification.

(y) See Remark [D]. of the Article DOLABELLA, and the *Divers Thoughts on Comets*, n. 82, 83.

this Falsity (148). How could any one be ignorant that That Lady was yet living, when her Son was married to *Pompeia*? Had they not read what he said to her on the Day of the Election of the *Pontifex Maximus* (149). Were they ignorant, that she had taken very great care of his Education (150)? for she was a learned and eloquent Woman (151). She died, whilst her Son made War against the *Gauls* (152). I have observed the Cause of This Mistake (153).

(148) *See* Dr Bentley's Notes on the Chronicle of *Marmor Arundel.* See also Graevius's Suetonius, *Edit.* 2, *in* 4to.

(149) See Remark [E], Citat. (48).

(150) Tacitus, de Orat. cap. 20.

(151) Glandorp. Onomast. p. 426

(152) Sueton. in Cæs. cap. 26.

(153) In the Marginal Note (133

[S] *A Supplement concerning his Commentaries.*] I was contented to observe, in the first Edition (154), that *Vossius* has shewed, that *Julius Cæsar* is the true Author of the Commentaries, which are attributed to him; but, at present, I intend to inlarge on this Subject. *Francis Floridus Sabinus* maintained, that the three Books *of the Civil War* were not written by *Julius Cæsar* (155). Another maintained the same thing, concerning the seven Books of the War against the *Gauls* (156). *Vossius* observes, that *Lewis Caducæus* (157) ascribed them to *Suetonius*. But these are groundless Opinions, which we can solidly refute by the Authority of ancient Authors, without insisting on the Answer that might be given, *viz.* that Those Books of *Cæsar* are lost since the ancient Writers have cited them. They, who think, that besides the Commentaries, that are still extant, *Cæsar* had composed *Ephemerides*, which are lost, are much more in the right: It was a Journal of his Life. *Servius* has extracted from it a very singular Event. 'Caius Cæsar, *says he* (158), cum dimicaret in Gallia, & ab hoste raptus equo ejus portaretur armatus, occurrit quidam ex hostibus, qui eum nosset, & insultans ait, Cecos Cæsar: quod Gallorum lingua, Dimitte, significat: & ita factum est, ut dimitteretur. Hoc autem ipse Cæsar in 'Ephemeride sua dicit, ubi propriam commemorat 'felicitatem. —— Cæsar, *during the War in* Gaul, 'being taken by the Enemy, as they were carrying 'him away, armed, on Horseback, one of the Ene'my, who knew him, came up, and, insulting, said, 'Cecos Cæsar; *which, in the Language of the Gauls,* 'signifies Let go; *and by this means he was let go.* 'Cæsar himself mentions this in his Ephemerides 'wherein he gives an Account of his good Fortune.' It is very likely, that, when *Plutarch* quoted *Cæsar's Ephemeris* (159), he did not mean the Commentaries, but the same Work, to which *Servius* refers us. I know what he alledges in that Place, is to be found in the fourth Book of *Cæsar's* Commentaries; but it was impossible for That Warrior not to mention very often the same Things both in his Journal, and in his Commentaries. We may therefore affirm, that *Plutarch* had at that time the *Ephemeris* in View, and that, if he intended to have alledged the Commentaries, he would have made use of the Word ὑπομνήματα, as *Strabo* had done (160). We may likewise affirm, that *Appian* cited the same *Ephemeris* in these Words: Καίσαρ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀναγραφαῖς τῶν ἐμφυλίων ἔργων φησί (161). It is besides very likely, that *Polyænus* had perused them; for he mentions divers Stratagems of *Cæsar*, which are not contained in the Commentaries. The same may said of *Frontinus*. See the Remarks of *Dionysius Vossius* (162), printed in 1697, with *Cæsar's* Commentaries, and with a Book, entituled, *Julius Celsus de vita & rebus gestis C. Julii Cæsaris* (α §), and which was printed in the Year 1473. It was so scarce, that the Author of the Notes on *Cæsar's* Commentaries *in usum Delphini*, could find no Copy of it in *Paris*. Mr *Graevius* thinks that the Author of that Book lived in the XIIth or XIIIth Century (163). *Note*, that some believe that *Orosius* ascribes *Cæsar's* Commentaries to *Suetonius*, in these Words: 'Hanc historiam (*de 'Cæsaris bello Gallico*) Suetonius Tranquillus plenissime explicuit, cujus nos competentes portiunculas decerpsimus (164). —— *This History* (of 'Cæsar's War in *Gaul*) *has been fully explained by* 'Suetonius Tranquillus, *from which I have bor*'*rowed large Passages.*' It is *Savaro's* Opinion, as appears by his manner of commenting on the *Quis opera Suetonii et Sidonius Apollinaris*, 'Id est, *says* 'he (165), vitam Julii Cæsaris, & libros de bello 'Gallico quos Suetonio afferit Orosius lib. 6. cap. '7. & ex eo Hist. Miscell. lib. 6. ita visum est 'Lodoico Caduceo mihi propter eruditionem & 'humanitatem amicissimo, in cujus commilitio multum me profeciisse libere fateor. —— *The Life of* 'Julius Cæsar, *and the Books* de Bello Gallico, 'which Orosius *ascribes to* Suetonius; *as also does* 'Lewis Caduceus, *whom I greatly esteem for his* 'Learning *and* Humanity, *and in whose Company* 'I *freely confess to have greatly improved.*' Perhaps it were better to say, that *Suetonius* had written a particular Book concerning the War against the *Gauls*, and that it is from thence that *Orosius* took what he had collected. The Abbot *de Marolles* has not reported right what he had read in *Vossius*, from whom, nevertheless, he very faithfully copies the Fault, which I have observed (166). *Lewis Caducæus* —— *holds*, that the seven Books of the Wars of *Gaul*, are the Work of *Suetonius*, *which he proves by these Words, in the seventh Chapter of his sixth Book. Suetonius*, says he, has fully explained This in his History of the Wars of *Cæsar* in *Gaul*. This is what the Abbot *de Marolles* says (167). Do not his Words signify, that his pretended *Lewis Caducæus* published a Work which contains at least six Books? Is it not to put the Bibliographers upon a fruitless Enquiry?

(154) I was contented to observe, in the first Edition, that *Vossius* has shewed, that *Julius Cæsar* is the true Author of the Commentaries, which are attributed to him; but, at present, I intend to inlarge on this Subject.

(155) Fr. Floridus Sabinus Subsilvan. Lect. lib. 2, cap. 3, & lib. 2, cap. 2, apud Vossium de Hist. Lat. p. 62.

(156) Ludov. Carrio apud Vossium, ibid.

(157) He should have said *Caducæus*. See below, Citat. (165).

(158) Servius in Æn. lib. 12, ver. 743.

(159) Plut. in Cæs. p. 718. D.

(160) Strabo, lib. 4, init.

(161) Appian. in Excerpt. Legat. pag. 359.

I know but three *French* Translations of *Cæsar's* Commentaries: That of *Stephen de l'Aigue*, That of *Blaise de Vigenere*, and That of *Mr d'Ablancourt*. The first was printed in the Year 1531 (168). The second appeared in 1576, and was accompanied with a pretty learned Commentary. It was re printed in the Year 1609, with some marginal Notes of *Antony de Bandole*, who also added his *Parallel of* Cæsar *and* Henry IV to it. Mr *d'Ablancourt's* Translation was printed the first time about the Year 1651, if I am not mistaken.

(162) At the third Page.

(α §) See this *Menagiana*, with the Notes of Mr *de la Monoye*, Tom. III, pag. 257, & seq. Edit. *Paris*, 1715. REM. CRIT.

(163) See his Preface to the Edition of *Cæsar*, 1697.

(164) Orosius, lib. 6, cap. 7, fol. 246, verso.

(165) Savaro, in Epist. 14. lib. 9. Sidon. Apoll. p. 606.

(166) Above, Citat. (157).

(167) In the Life of *Julius Cæsar*, which he inserted in the second Tome of his Augmentation of the *Roman* History, p. 289, & seq.

(168) *See* Remark [B], of the Article AQUÆUS.

CETHEGUS, a *Roman* Family, and a Branch of the Family *Cornelia*, produced several Persons, whose Memory has been preserved. I shall speak of some of them. *Cornelius* CETHEGUS, created Consul with *Quintus Flaminius*, distributed mixed Wine to the People after his Election was over (*a*). These two Consuls were obliged to lay down their Offices, because there was some Irregularity in their Creation. This happened in the Year of *Rome* 421 (*b*). *Marcus Cornelius* CETHEGUS was raised to the Office of Censor in the Year 544, before he was Consul: which was against the common Practice [*A*]. He obtained the

(*a*) Invenio multum meratum populo datum à Cornelio Cethego in Consulatu collega Quinto Flaminio: cognitu peradæ. *Plinius, lib.* 29, *cap.* 8, *pag.* 612.

(*b*) See Father *Hardouin* upon this Passage of *Pliny*.

[*A*] M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS *was* —— Censor —— *before he had been Consul: which was against the common Practice.*] This may be infered from these Words of *Pliny*: 'Censores 'hic annus (1) habuit L. Veturium Philonem, & 'P. Licinium Crassum, pontificem maximum Cras'sus Licinius nec Consul, nec Prætor ante fuerat 'quam Censor est factus: ex ædilitate gradum ad 'censuram fecit (2). —— *This Year*, L. Veturius Philo, *and* P. Licinius Crassus, Pontifex Maximus, 'were Censors. Licinius Crassus *had neither been* 'Consul, *nor Prætor, when he was elected Censor*; 'he rose *from the Edileship to the Censorship*.' It seems to me, that *Livy* would not have made this Observation, if it had not been an extraordinary thing for a Man to obtain the Censorship, before he had been Consul. The following Year, they were obliged to proceed to the Creation of other Censors; for, one of these being dead, his Colleague laid down his Office (3). They, who were chosen, had

(1) The Year 543.

(2) Titus Livius, lib. 27, cap. 6.

(3) Id ibid.

the Conſulſhip five Years after. He was a great Orator [*B*]. *Caius Cornelius* CETHEGUS, who, before he was Ædile, was Pro-Conſul in *Spain*, obtained a ſignal Victory there (*c*). Soon after, he was made Ædile, during his Abſence, in the Year 555 (*d*). *Sigonius* confounds him with *Cneius Cornelius* CETHEGUS (*e*), who was Conſul in 556, and triumphed over the *Inſubres* (*f*). He ſuppoſes falſly, that *Cicero* and *Livy* give That Conſul the *Prænomen* of *Caius*; for they give him That of *Cneius*. I come now to *Publius Cornelius* CETHEGUS, who zealouſly followed *Marius*'s Party againſt *Sylla* (*g*), and who was declared Enemy of the *Roman* People upon That Account (*b*), when That Party was deſtroyed. He fled into *Africa* to *Marius* (*i*), and afterwards implored *Sylla*'s Mercy, and offered to ſerve him in every thing (*k*). He was received into Favour; and perhaps he is not to be diſtinguiſhed from That CETHEGUS, who had ſo great a Credit in *Rome*, that nothing could be obtained without him: Now, as he had a Miſtreſs, to whom he could refuſe nothing, it happened that an unchaſte Woman had the whole Town at her Diſpoſal. *Lucullus* was obliged to make his Court to this Woman [*C*], to obtain the Commiſſion of making War againſt *Mithridates*; for, without

(c) Titus Livius, lib. 31, ſub. fin. pag. 588.

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Sigonius in Faſtis, ad Ann. 556.

(f) See Livy, lib. 32, cap. 27, and lib. 33, cap. 23.

(g) Appian de Bellis Civilib. lib. 1, pag. mo 204.

(b) Id. ibid. pag. 296.

(i) Id. ibid. pag. 297.

(k) Id. ibid. pag. 304.

had not yet been Conſuls; *Livy* ſays ſo in expreſs Words. 'Creati cenſores ambo qui nondum conſules fuerant, M. Cornelius Cethegus, P. Sempronius Tuditanus (4). —— M. Cornelius Cethegus, *and* P. Sempronius Tuditanus, *were choſen Cenſors, neither of whom had been Conſul.*'

(4) Id. ibid. cap. 23.

[*B*] *He was a great Orator.*] Conſidering the Time he lived in; for, if he had been compared with the Orators of the following Ages, he would have appeared an unpolite and barbarous Orator. See here what *Cicero* ſaid of him: 'Quem vero extet & de quo ſit memoriæ proditum eloquentem fuiſſe & ita eſſe habitum, primus eſt M. Cornelius Cethegus; cujus eloquentiæ eſt auctor, & idoneus quidem mea ſententia, Q. Ennius, præſertim cum & ipſe eum audiverit, & ſcribat de mortuo: ex quo nulla ſuſpicio eſt, amicitiæ cauſa eſſe mentitum: Eſt igitur ſic apud illum in nono, ut opinor, annali (5). - - - - - - M. Cornelius Cethegus *is the firſt, whom we certainly know to have been an Orator; of whoſe Eloquence* Q. Ennius *is a proper Evidence, having been his Hearer, and writing concerning him when dead: whence we cannot ſuſpect him to have falſified through Friendſhip. Thus therefore he writes, in the ninth Annal, if I remember right.*' The Verſes of *Ennius*, quoted by *Cicero*, and which I diſintangle from what he inſerts between them, are theſe:

(5) Cicero in Bruto, cap. 15.

Additur orator Cornelius ſuaviloquenti
Ore Cethegus Marcu' Tuditano Collega,
Marci filius, is dictus popularibus olli
Qui tum vivebant homines, atque ævum agitabant,
Flos delibatus populi, ſuadæque medulla.

—*Add to theſe the Orator* M. Cornelius Cethegus, *Son of* Marcus, *and Colleague of* Tuditanus, *called, by the Men of thoſe Times, The Flower of the People, and Marrow of Perſuaſion.*

He obſerves in another Place, that This Orator, when grown old, continued to employ his Talent with an extraordinary Application (6).

(6) Id. de Senectute, cap. 14, pag. m. 435.

[*C*] *One of the* Cethegi - - - - - *had a Miſtreſs, to whom he could refuſe nothing* - - - - - Lucullus *was obliged to make his Court to That Woman.*] To know the Character of This *Cethegus*, we need only read theſe Words of *Plutarch* (7): 'Lucullus - - - thought, that, if *Cæſar* (8) returned to *Rome* - - - he could eaſily do, and obtain, what he would; eſpecially conſidering, that *Cethegus*, who had at that Time all the Credit and Vogue in the Management of Affairs in *Rome*, becauſe he humoured the Common People in every thing, had a Peek againſt him, who hated his Behaviour, and way of living, as being a Man abandoned to all manner of Vice and Diſſoluteneſs (9): for which reaſon he was a profeſſed Enemy to This *Cethegus*.' *Plutarch* adds, that the Government of *Cilicia* being vacant, divers Perſons made Intereſt for it, *and courted* Cethegus *as the Man, who could, better than any Oneelſe, procure it to whom he pleaſed. Lucullus*, hoping, that, if he obtained it, he ſhould alſo have the Commiſſion of making War againſt *Mithridates*, 'reſolved to uſe all his Power, and to try every thing, to prevent any other from obtaining it beſides himſelf: and, after having tried all other Expedients, he was at laſt forced, againſt his Nature, to have recourſe to a Method, which was neither fair nor honeſt, but indeed the moſt proper, he could have found, to attain the end he deſired. At that Time, there was a Woman in *Rome*, whoſe Name was *Præcia*, very famous, as well for her Beauty, as for her genteel and pleaſant way of Talking, but otherwiſe as little chaſte, as thoſe, who made a public Trade of their Body: but, foraſmuch as ſhe made uſe of the Credit and Favour of thoſe, who kept her Company, and diſcourſed with her, to promote the Affairs, and the Party of thoſe, whom ſhe loved, ſhe was commonly reported (beſides the other Charms and commendable Qualities ſhe had) to be a courtly Woman, and fit, by her ſecret Practices, to bring a Deſign to a happy Concluſion; which gave her a great Reputation. But, when ſhe had gained *Cethegus*, who had at that time all the Vogue, and managed all the Affairs of the Public at his Pleaſure, and who grew ſo much in love with This Woman, that he could not live without her; then all the Power and Authority of the City of *Rome* was in her Hands; becauſe nothing was done by the People but what *Cethegus* deſired, and *Cethegus* deſired nothing, but what *Præcia* commanded him. Wherefore *Lucullus* reſolved to gain her, and to inſinuate himſelf into her Favour by Preſents, and all ſorts of Careſſes he could deviſe; beſides that it was already a great Advantage to an ambitious and haughty Woman, as ſhe was, to ſee herſelf courted by ſuch a Perſon as *Lucullus*, who by that means came to have *Cethegus* immediately at his Command; for he made it his Buſineſs afterwards to praiſe him in all the Aſſemblies of the People, and to procure him the Government of *Cilicia*, which being once granted him, he ſtood no more in need of *Præcia*'s Aſſiſtance, nor of That of *Cethegus*; for all the People, of their own accord, unanimouſly conferred upon him the Office of making War againſt *Mithridates*, as one, who could diſcharge it better than any other Captain.'

(7) Plutarch. in Lucull. pag. 494.

(8) He commanded at that time in *Spain*.

(9) *Here is* Plutarch's Greek: Κίθηγος ἡγεμὼν ἦν πρὸς χάριν Λεύκολλον ἔχων, βδελυττόμενον αὐτὸν βίον, αἰσχρῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ ὕβρεως καὶ παρανομίας μᾶλλον ὄντα. Cethego ſimultas intercedebat cum Lucullo, qui illius deteſtabatur vitam infamibus amoribus luſtriſque atque omni improbitate delibutam. *Id. ibid.*

Is it not a melancholy conſideration, that ſo illuſtrious a Man, and ſo worthy to command the *Roman* Army againſt *Mithridates*, and who acquitted himſelf of it with ſo much Glory, could not obtain That Employment, without ſtooping to court a Lady of Pleaſure? If there had been a *Juvenal* at that Time, would he not have found it a ſufficient Reaſon to exerciſe his ſatirical Wit? Would he not have ſaid:

Difficile eſt Satiram non ſcribere, nam quis iniquæ
Tam patiens urbis, tam ferreus, ut teneat ſe (10)?

(10) Juven. Sat. 1, ver. 30.

'Tis difficult from Satire to refrain,
When ſuch vile Practices Rome's *Glory ſtain.*

The worſt of all is, that ſuch Diſorders have been revived a thouſand times in all Parts of the World. This way to Preferment has always been practiſed: It has raiſed to a great Fortune thoſe, who were unworthy of it, and even thoſe, who deſerved it.

out it, he could not have obtained That noble Employ. Several other great Men did a thousand mean Things, to get Preferments by the Recommendation of this *Cethegus*; for doubtleſs it is He, whom *Cicero* ſpeaks of in one of his Paradoxes [*D*]. He mentions one *Cethegus* an Orator, who, probably, does not differ from This Woman's Gallant [*E*]. CAIUS CORNELIUS CETHEGUS was convicted of

Many have carried an unjuſt Cauſe by this means; and ſome, who had a juſt Cauſe, would have loſt it without ſuch a Support. People ſometimes wonder to ſee ſome Men riſe faſt to eminent Dignities: They do not aſcend by Degrees, but fly from the loweſt to the middle, and from that to the higheſt. For what reaſon? will People ſay; What has he done? Though he be a deſerving Man, he neither equals, nor excels, ſuch and ſuch, who remain a long time in the ſame Stations? The Solution of all this is, that ſome powerful Woman proteſts him, by the Credit ſhe has gained, and which ſhe preſerves at the Expence of her Virtue. The ſame Complaints will be made a thouſand Years hence, if the World continues ſo long; and, as a private Man is not able to reform this Confuſion, it will be found (11), that Prudence may permit him to make uſe of it, as *Lucullus* did; and, if an Embaſſador ſcruples to take Advantage of it, he will be blamed. Mr *Leti*, ſpeaking of the Caprices, which may hinder an Embaſſador from ſerving his Prince well, relates two Examples of it. A *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, at the Court of *Rome*, under *Urban* VIII, having received Orders to diſcover the Intrigues of Cardinal *Antonio*, learned from a *Roman* Abbot, that there was but one way to lead him to it. He would not take it, becauſe he muſt have flattered a Miſtreſs of That Cardinal; and he gained but little light into the Secret. I ſhall ſet down Mr *Leti*'s own Words. ' Ad ogni ' modo ſtimava difficile di penetrar quelle del Cardi- ' nale Antonio, e perche era ben ſervito da' ſuoi Do- ' meſtici, e perche non mancava di precautioni; ma ' come queſto Cardinale era idolatra delle Femine, ' che credeva poteſſe aſſai ſervire il mezo della Ca- ' dora gran Favorita allora del Cardinale, & accio ' meglio facilitaſſe l'Abbate all' Ambaſciatore il cami- ' no, gli moſtrò i mezi per ottener da queſta Corte- ' giana quanto ſi voleva. Turboſſi non poco di queſta ' propoſta l'Ambaſciatore, riſpondendo *che queſta* ' *non era propoſitione à farſi da un' Abbate Romano,* ' *ad un' Ambaſciatore Spagnolo; che vi andava della* ' *ſua conſcienza, e della grandezza della Monarchia,* ' *l'incenſar le Puttane, e ch' era per abbracciare ogni* ' *altro mezzo fuori che queſto*, e coſi il Cardinale ſeppe ' il fatto ſuo con la Francia, nè mai all' Ambaſciatore ' venne in cognitione che la ſcorza de' trattati (12). ' —— *Particularly, he conceived it difficult to pene-* ' *trate the Intrigues of Cardinal* Antonio, *both be-* ' *cauſe he was faithfully ſerved by his Domeſtics, and* ' *uſed Precaution: but, as this Cardinal idolized* ' *Woman; the Abbot thought, that by the help of* ' Cadora, *at that time in great Favour with the Car-* ' *dinal, he might facilitate the Embaſſador's Affair,* ' *and he put him in a way of obtaining what he* ' *pleaſed from that Miſtreſs. The Embaſſador was* ' *not a little ſhocked at this Propoſals anſwering,* ' *that* this was not a Propoſition to be made from a ' *Roman* Abbot to a *Spaniſh* Embaſſador; that it ' was inconſiſtent with his Conſcience, and the ' Grandeur of the Monarchy, thus ſervilely to court ' the favour of an Harlot; *and thus the Cardinal* ' *did his buſineſs with* France, *without the Embaſſa-* ' *dor's being able to come at the Secret.*' The other Example is of a freſher Date; it is That of a *Spaniſh* Embaſſador in *England* in the Reign of *Charles* II. You will find, in the following Words, what Advice was given him, and his Anſwer to it: ' Par- ' lando queſto con un Milord ſuo grande Amico, e ' d'antico tempo divoto à quella Corona, ſopra i ' mezi che ſoſſero più propri à ſtrare il Rè d'Ing- ' hilterra ad abbracciare all' aperta con pronti ſoccorſi ' la protettion della Fiandra, il Milord ſi laſciò dire, ' *che tutti i rimedi erau buoni, mà che ſtimava quel-* ' *lo della Porchemouth Favorita del Rè il migliore:* ' l'Ambaſciatore con certe Radomontate Spagnole ' che tal volta gli ſaltano adoſſo quaſi ſdegnato gli ' riſpoſe; *Milord amarei meglio che il mio Rè perdeſſe* ' *la metà del corpo della ſua Monarchia, che di con-* ' *ſervarne un membro col favore d'una Cortegiana.* ' Il medeſimo Milord me lo riferì à me, anzi mi ' diſſe, che gli aggiunſe, *e per me hò riſoluto più to-* ' *ſto di non far niente, che molto con queſto mezo.* E ' veramente niente egli hà fatto: mà però il Barillon ' Ambaſciator Franceſe non ha laſciato di far tutto, ' e con qual mezo non voglio ſaperlo, ſo bene ch' ' egli è ſavio, e prudente (13). —— *This Perſon,* ' *talking with an* Engliſh *Lord, his great Friend,* ' *who had formerly been devoted to That Crown, a-* ' *bout the moſt proper means of drawing the King of* ' England *openly to eſpouſe the Protection of* Flan- ' ders, *by an immediate Aſſiſtance; the Lord anſwer-* ' *ed*, that all Methods were good, but that he look- ' ed upon that of the Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth*, the ' King's Miſtreſs, to be the beſt. *The Embaſſador,* ' *with a ſort of* Spaniſh *Rhodomontade, anſwered in* ' *diſdain*; My Lord, I had rather my King ſhould ' looſe half his Dominions, than preſerve any part ' of them by the favour of a Courtezan. *And in-* ' *deed he did nothing. However* Barillon *the* French ' *Embaſſador ſucceeded in every thing. What means* ' *he employed, I do not concern my ſelf about: I* ' *know him to be a wiſe and prudent Man.*'

(11) Note, that I do not ſay, it would be right to do ſo.

(12) Leti, Ceremoniale Politico, Parte I, lib. 2, pag. 76, 77.

(13) Id. ibid. pag. 78, 79.

We ſhall ſee hereafter (14) in a fine Paſſage of *Cicero*, how the Unhappineſs of thoſe Times is to be lamented, wherein Juſtice is obliged to be ſupported by the Credit of a Courtezan.

(14) In the Article CHELIDONIS, Rem. [*A*].

[*D*] Cicero *ſpeaks of him in one of his Paradoxes.*] It is in that, wherein he ſhews that none but wiſe Men live free from Servitude (15): He obſerves, that the ambitious did many Things, which were true Slavery. They made Preſents to *Cethegus*; they went to him by Night, and made Supplications to him. ' Illa cupiditas (quæ videtur eſſe li- ' beralior) honoris, imperii, provinciarum, quam ' dura eſt domina! quam imperioſa! quam vehe- ' mens! Cethego homini non probatiſſimo ſervire ' coëgit eos, qui ſibi eſſe amiciſſimi videbantur; ' munera mittere, noctu venire domum ad eum, ' precari, denique ſupplicare; quæ ſervitus eſt, ſi ' hæc libertas exiſtimari poteſt (16)? —— *That Thirſt* ' *(which ſeems the more generous) of Honour, and* ' *Power, how hard, how imperious, how vehement a* ' *Miſtreſs is it! It compelled thoſe, who thought* ' *themſelves of the nobleſt, to cringe to* Cethegus, ' *to ſend him Preſents, to wait on him by Night, to* ' *petition, and even ſupplicate him: if this can be* ' *thought Liberty, what is Servitude?* This whole ' Paſſage is ſo fine, that it could not be abridged without Prejudice to the Reader.

(15) Solum ſapientem liberum eſſe.

(16) Cicero, In Paradoxo 5, pag. m. 573.

[*E*] —— *and of one* Cethegus *an Orator, who, probably, does not differ from This Woman's Gallant.*] See here how *Cicero* ſpeaks of him. ' Ejus (17) æ- ' qualis P. Cethegus, cui de republica ſatis ſuppedi- ' taret Oratio: totam enim tenebat eam, penituſque ' cognorat; itaque in ſenatu conſularium authorita- ' tem aſſequebatur, ſed in cauſis publicis nihil, pri- ' vatis ſatis, veteretur videbatur (18). —— *At the* ' *ſame time with him,* (*the Orator* Julius Cæſar) ' *lived* P. Cethegus, *who ſpoke well on Public Af-* ' *fairs; for he thoroughly underſtood them: in the* ' *Senate therefore he had the Influence of Conſular* ' *Perſons; but, in public Cauſes, he was thought no* ' *crafty Advocate; in private Cauſes, enough ſo.* If I am not miſtaken, it is the ſame *Cethegus*, whom he mentions, in his Plea for *Cluentius* (19), as having endeavoured to remove one *Stalenus* from Public Affairs, of who for other Reaſons had given him ill Advice. *Aſconius Pedianus* confirms what *Cicero* obſerves concerning This Man's Credit; for he pretends, that *Marc Antony*, (he, who obtained ſo general an Authority over all the Sea-Coaſts) was promoted by the Conſul *Cotta*, and by the Faction of *Cethegus*. ' Hic eſt M. Antonius, *ſays he* (20), ' qui gratia Cottæ Conſulis & Cethegi factione in ' ſenatu curationem infinitam nactus totius oræ ma- ' ritimæ, *&c.* I do not think that this whole Paſſage is true; for, according to *Paterculus* (21), That Commiſſion was conferred, two Years before *Pompey* obtained one like it. Now *Pompey* obtained it in the Year of *Rome* 686, and no *Cotta* is to be found in the Conſulſhip,

(17) That is to ſay, of the Orator *Julius Cæſar.*

(18) Cicero in Bruto, cap. 43.

(19) Id. in Orat. pro Cluentio, cap. 31.

(20) Aſcon. Pedian. in Verrin. pag. m. 123.

(21) Vell. Paterculus, lib. 2, cap. 31.

of having conſpired againſt his Country, with *Catiline*; and, as ſuch, he was ſtrangled in the Priſon (*l*). He was the moſt furious of all his Accomplices [*F*], and always adviſed the making all imaginable Haſte. CETHEGUS, a *Roman* Senator, was beheaded for the Crime of Adultery, in the Reign of *Valentinian*, in the Year 368 (*m*). Note, Thoſe of this Family affected a particular manner of Dreſs [*G*].

(*l*) Salluſt. in Bello Catilin. cap. 55, fin.

(*m*) Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 28, cap. 1, pag. 511.

ſulſhip, till you go back to the Year 679. Beſides, according to *Paterculus*. That great Authority was given to *Marc Antony* the Pretor, who died in his Pretorſhip, according to the Abridgment of *Livy* (22), after having ſucceeded very ill in the War againſt the Inhabitants of the Iſland of *Crete*, about the Year 682. So that either the Chronology of *Paterculus*, or That of the Summaries of *Livy*, deceive us.

(22) Epitome Liviana 97.

[*F*] *CAIUS CORNELIUS CETHEGUS was convicted of having conſpired with* Catiline. —— *He was the moſt furious of all his Accomplices.*] It was He, who was deſigned for the Murther of *Cicero*. ‘ Cethegus Ciceronis januam obſideret, eumque vi ‘ aggrederetur —— Inter hæc parata atque decreta, ‘ Cethegus ſemper querebatur de ignavia ſociorum: ‘ illos, dubitando, & dies prolatando, magnas opportunitates corrumpere; facto, non conſulto, in ‘ tali periculo opus eſſe; ſeque, ſi pauci adjuvarent, ‘ languentibus aliis, impetum in curiam facturum. ‘ Natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat: maximum bonum in celeritate putabat (23). ——— ‘ Cethegus *was to watch* Cicero’s *coming out of his* ‘ *Houſe, and to aſſaſſinate him.* — *During theſe Preparations, and Reſolves,* Cethegus *was ever complaining of the Slowneſs of his Accomplices; he ſaid, they loſt the moſt favourable Opportunities by their heſitations and delays; that, in ſo dangerous an Enterpriſe, Action, not Deliberation, was neceſſary; and that he himſelf, if but a few would aſſiſt him, would attack the Senate, while the reſt continued irreſolute. He was by Nature fierce, vehement, and ready to execute any thing: he thought the greateſt Advantage was in expedition.*’ He had reaſon to believe, that no Time was to be loſt; for if, in moſt Matters of Importance, Loſs of Time in deliberating muſt be avoided, it is chiefly neceſſary in a Conſpiracy. If the Execution be never ſo little delayed, ſome falſe Brother diſcovers it, to obtain his Pardon, and a good Reward. It is true alſo, that ſuch a Deſign may be ſpoiled by too much Precipitation. The Accomplices, whom *Catiline* left in *Rome*, were Men of very different Characters. Some were not ſlow enough, and others were too ſlow. *Cethegus* was one of the firſt: and for that reaſon *Cicero* did not fear him. He ſays, ‘ Quem quidem ego cum ex ‘ urbe pellebam, hoc providebam animo, Quirites, ‘ remoto Catilina, nec mihi eſſe P. Lentuli ſomnum, ‘ nec L. Caſſii adipem, nec C. Cethegi furioſam ‘ temeritatem pertimeſcendam (24). —— *In expelling* Catiline *from* Rome, *I conſidered, that I need be under no apprehenſions of the ſleepy* P. Lentulus, *the bulky* L. Caſſius, *or the furiouſly raſh* C. Cethegus. Some believe, that This *Cethegus* is the ſame, who had recourſe to *Sylla*’s Clemency (25); but I believe they are miſtaken; for, if he had had a Share in the enormous Troubles, and Murthers, which the Faction of *Marius* committed in *Rome*, *Cicero* would not have paſſed it over in Silence, when he was ſpeaking of his Journey into *Spain*, and of *Metellus Pius*’s Wound. ‘ Quis de C. Cethego, atque ejus in Hiſpaniam profectione, ac de ‘ vulnere Q. Metelli Pii cogitat, cui non ad illius ‘ pœnam carcer ædificatus eſſe videatur (26)? ——— ‘ *Who is there, that reflects on* C. Cethegus, *and his* ‘ *Journey into* Spain, *and the Wound of* Q. Metellus ‘ Pius, *who does not think he ſees a Priſon built for* ‘ *his Puniſhment?* If I am not miſtaken, *Cato* pointed at That journey, when he ſaid, that *Cethegus*, in conſpiring with *Catiline*, made War againſt his Country a ſecond time (27). Whoever has read this, will, without doubt, underſtand this Paſſage of *Juvenal*:

(23) Salluſtius de Bello Catilin. cap. 43. *See alſo* Cicero Orat. 3, in Catilinam & Orat. pro Sylla.

(24) Cicero, Orat. 3, in Catilinam, cap. 3.

(25) *See the Commentary* Variorum *on* Salluſt. pag. 41, 163. Edit. Lugd. Batav. 1654.

(26) Cicero, Orat. pro Sylla, cap. 25.

(27) Ignoſcite Cethegi adoleſcentiæ niſi iterum jam patriæ bellum infert *Salluſt. de Bello Catilin cap.* 52.

Quis cœlum terris non miſceat, & mare cœlo,
Si fur diſpliceat Verri, homicida Miloni,
Clodius accuſet mœchos, Catilina Cethegum [28]? (28) Juven. Sat. 2, ver. 25.

Twou’d. make you ſwear the Planets from their Spheres,
Shou’d Verres *teach Thieves,* Milo *Murderers,*
Clodius *tax Bawds,* Cethegus Catiline.

TATE.

[*G*] *Thoſe of this Family affected a particular manner of Dreſs.*] You will find this explained in Mr *Dacier*’s Note on this Verſe of *Horace*;

Fingere cinctutis non exudita Cethegis (29). (29) Horat. de Arte Poëtica, ver. 50.

‘ He repreſents the *Cethegi* here as ſtout and laborious Men, who had retained the ancient Manner ‘ of their Fathers in their Cloaths, who, ſlighting the Tunic, as too troubleſome, wore only a kind ‘ of an Apron, which ſerved them for Drawers from the Girdle downward; and wore their *Toga* over it; ſo that the Lappet, which they threw over the left Shoulder, and which reached behind the Back, ſerved them for a Girdle, and left the right Arm quite naked; and this is what was properly ‘ called *Cinctus Gabinus*, which was common to the Conſuls and the Pretors, when they performed their Functions (30).’ We learn from *Silius Italicus*, that it was a thing peculiar to That Family. (30) Dacier, *on* Horace’s Art of Poetry, pag. 129, 121. *Edit. of* Holland.

Parebat legio audaci permiſſa Cethego
- - - - - - - - - - - -
Ipſe humero exertus, GENTILI MORE paratum,
Difficili gaudebat equo, roburque juventæ
Flexu cornipedis duro exercebat in ore (31). (31) Silius Italicus, lib. 8, pag. 374.

The bold Cethegus *led his Legion on.*
- - - - - - - - - - - -
With right Arm bare (for ſo his Fathers wont)
The Rein he govern’d, and, elate in Youth,
Manag’d his fiery Courſer, as he rode.

The Note of *Dauſquetius* will not be uſeleſs to us. *Cethegis*, ſays he (32), *amicum ex papillata brachio depugnare, notum illud Lucani,* (32) Dauſquetius, in Silium Italicum, pag. 376.

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CHABOT (PETER GUALTHERUS) a learned Humaniſt, born at *Sainloup* in *Poictou*, in 1516 [*A*], was the Son of an Oil-man. He ſtudied *Latin* at *Sainloup*; and, at Twenty four Years of Age, he went to *Poitiers* to ſtudy *Greek* there. He was ſoon re-called to inſtruct the Youth in his Country. He taught ſix Years there; after which he went to *Paris* (*a*), to perform his Courſe of Philoſophy in the College of *Prêle* under *Omer Talon*. Having ſpent three Years and a half in that Study, he took his Degree of *Maſter of Arts*, and began to teach. He had many young Men of good Families for his Scholars, and acquired ſuch a Reputation of a good Tutor, that the Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital* reſolved to have him at his Country-Houſe, to entruſt him with the Education of his Grandſons (*b*). The Thing was propoſed to him by *Peter Ramus*, and *John Mercerus*, Royal Profeſſors. *Chabot* accepted That Place, and held it Twelve Years; Five Years in That Chancellor's Life-time, and Seven after his Death (*c*). His chief Employment was the Explication of *Horace* [*B*]. He beſtowed all the Fruits of his Studies on That Poet. He was a good moral Man, and bore patiently the plundering of his Goods three times during the Civil-Wars. He always dearly loved a very ſolitary Life [*C*], and lived above eighty Years (*d*). He died about the Year 1597. I have read in a good Author (*e*), that he had been Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Paris*; but *Boiſſard*'s Silence makes me queſtion it.

(*a*) He went thither in the Month of *October*, 1546.

(*b*) They were fix: their Father, called Mr *de Belebat*, was of the Family of *Hurault*, and had married that Chancellor's Daughter.

(*c*) He died in the Year 1573.

(*d*) *Taken from* John James Boiſſard, in Iconibus Virorum Illuſtrium.

(*e*) In the Preface to the *Greek* Method of *Dom Lancelot*, p. 22.

[*A*] *He was born in* 1516.] *Boiſſard*, who held a very intimate Correſpondence with him, could not, however, inform us of the Day or Month, wherein he was born. He enquired ſo exactly about it, that he had a mind to know the very Hour, to inſert it in his Elogy, as the *Germans* uſe to do (1). But he could only diſcover, that *Chabot*'s Relations and Neighbours had been heard to ſay, that he was born in the Year 1516. *Fando tantum à propinquis multiſque vicinis eſt receptum, ipſius ortum ſub* 1516 *cecidiſſe* (2). Note that ſome call him *Gualtherus*, as if it was his true Name, and not *Chabotius* (3). But he is more known by the laſt Name, which was that of his Mother, than by the other, which was That of his Father.

(1) Roand Des Marets, Epiſt. Philol. 25, lib. 2, *blames them for it. He ſays, that ſuch things are only to be ſaid of Kings or eminent Perſons.*

(2) Boiſſard in Iconibus.

(3) Draudius Bibliogth. Claſſ. pag. 1088, 1209, *Edit.* 1625, *and the Epitome of* Geſner's Bibliotheca.

[*B*] *His chief Employment was the Explication of* Horace.] The Method of his Commentary is not very common. It contains the Analyſis of the Text, as well according to the Rules of Grammar, as according to Thoſe of Rhetoric and Logic. I ſhall repeat here, what I have ſaid in my *Projects*, on occaſion of a Paſſage, which may be ſeen above (4), and is ſomewhat confuſed. The like Confuſion is often to be found in This Commentary of *Petrus Gualtherus Chabotius* on *Horace*, of the Edition of 1615, in Folio. They muſt not be imputed to the Author, who was a very learned Man, and who not only wrote on That Poet, with a long and a ſtrong Application, but alſo in a very ſingular and uſeful Method. The Miſchief proceeds from this: Having lived nine or ten Years after he had publiſhed his Commentary at *Baſil* in 1587, he was continually collecting Notes for a ſecond Edition, without being able to effect his Deſign. After his Death, *James Graſſerus*, having thoſe Collections, inſerted them in their Place, as well as he could, in the Edition of the Year 1615. But, not having always diſtinguiſhed, as the Author himſelf would have done, the Citations from the Remarks, which *Chabot* added to them, he has often given us *Chabot*'s Thought, as the Citation of an ancient Author. In other places the Reader eaſily perceives, that the Author's Reflexions are only firſt Thoughts, which Men write down in their Collections, that they may not eſcape their Memory, and which they intend to digeſt before they be publiſhed. But when another Man lights on ſuch things, he does not always perceive what is wanting in them: therefore it is no wonder, if the poſthumous Works of an Author, enlarged by means of his undigeſted Memoirs, are faulty. The Errors of the Preſs are too frequent in This Commentary, and the *French* Expreſſions, which the Author has inſerted in it, to make his Countrymen underſtand thoſe of *Horace* the better, are generally diſfigured. I wonder, that *Draudius* knew nothing, either of the Analytic Expoſition of *Horace*, publiſhed by *Chabot*, at *Paris*, in 1582, in 8vo, as an Extract of his great Commentary, or of the two Editions of That Commentary. He has only mentioned a Letter, which *Chabot* wrote concerning his preſent Circumſtances, and the Life he had led (5). It is alſo ſomewhat ſtrange, that the *Theatrum* of *Paul Freherus*, wherein we find an Abridgment of *Chabot*'s Life, mentions only the ſmall Analyſis of *Horace*. It is a great Abſurdity, to ſay, that *Chabot* copied almoſt the whole Commentary of *Torrentius* on *Horace* (6): for *Chabot* was dead, when That Commentary was printed, in 1607 (7).

(4) Rem. [*G*], of the Article CASSIUS SEVERUS (TITUS), Citation (31).

(5) Draudius, Bibliotheca Claſſica, pag. 1088, 1289. Edit. 1625.

(6) Yet this is ſaid in the *Decas Decadum* of *Albert Fabri*, p. 99, printed at *Leipſic*, 1689.

[*C*] *He always dearly loved a very ſolitary Life.*] He was ſo ſober, that it is literally true, that he eat only to preſerve Life; which was the Reaſon, that, even when he was young, he would never be at any great Feaſts. 'Tale porro temperantiæ ſtudium extitit illi 'cauſa, cur ſemper vel juvenis intereſſe ſodalitatibus 'epuliſque ampliſſimis pertinaciter recuſarit (8). He was ſcarce ever ſeen in public Places or Walks, where ſo many People meet to tell or hear News (9). In a word, he lived at a great diſtance from the Pleaſures of the World, without a Wife, without Society, without walking and feaſting. This did not proceed from a miſanthropic Humour, but from four bodily Infirmities, which were, 'Crebra mei-'endi orexis, audiendi gravitas, mandendi imbecilli-'tas, frequens alternatio deambulandi & conquieſcendi 'propter ramices inguinum (10); —— *A frequent* 'Inclination to make Water, a difficulty of hearing, 'bad Teeth, and alternate walking and ſitting on ac-'count of a Rupture:' Which did not hinder him from living above eighty Years.

(7) Valerius Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 610.

(8) Boiſſardus, in Iconib.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Id. ibid.

CHALVET (MATTHEW DE) in *Latin Calventius*, Preſident of the Inqueſts in the Parliament of *Toulouſe*. His Article, taken from the Elogies of *Sammarthanus* (*a*), is to be met with in *Moreri*'s Dictionary: however I will give it entire, becauſe I can ſupply it with a greater detail of Circumſtances. I ſay then, that *Matthew de Chalvet, deſcended from the Family of the Chalvets, of Roche-Montez in the Upper Auvergne, was born in the Year* 1528, *in the Month of May*. He was brought to *Paris* in the Year 1539, by Mr *Lizet*, his Uncle, who was at that time Advocate-General in the Parliament of *Paris* (*b*), and who made him ſtudy polite Literature for ſix Years under *Orontius Finæus*, under *Tuſan*, under *Buchanan*, and ſome other learned Perſons. He went to *Toulouſe* in the Year 1546, there to learn Civil-Law; and he lodged with *Turnebus*, *Mercerus*, and *Govea* (*c*). He took a Journey into *Italy* in the Year 1550, there to continue his Studies, and became a Diſciple of *Alciatus* of *Pavia*, and of *Socinus* at *Boulogne*. Being returned into *France*, he went and *finiſhed his Courſe of Law at Toulouſe, and aſſociated with the*

(*a*) Lib. 5, pag. 230, & ſeq.

(*b*) He was afterwards firſt Preſident of the ſame Parliament. See the Article LIZET.

(*c*) And not *Goudan*, as it is in the Writing, whence I borrow this Article

Sieurs Roaldus and Bodin, reading Law-Lectures together in the public Schools with Reputation. Having taken his Doctor's Degree in That Univerſity, he reſolved to go to *Paris*, there to make his Fortune; but, tho' he was induced to this Reſolution by the Letters of Mr *Lizet*, he did not execute it: he thought it better to fix at *Toulouſe*, where he married, in 1552, *Jeanne de Bernuy, Daughter of the Lord de Palficat, Baron of Villeneuſve.* He was admitted Counſellor in the Parliament of the ſame Town, in the Year 1553, *afterwards created Judge of the French Poetry, and Maintainer of the Floral Games.* He was made Preſident of the Inqueſts by Nomination of the Parliament in 1573. *As he was of a calm and innocent Mind*, he retired to his Houſe in *Auvergne, during the firſt and laſt Ragings of the Civil-Wars, that he might not be witneſs of the Diſorders, which he foreſaw would happen in Toulouſe.* It was in this Retreat, *that he ſet about reading and tranſlating Seneca* [*A*], *to comfort himſelf under the Public Misfortunes, and to employ his leiſure to good purpoſe.* Without reckoning his bodily Qualifications, he had, beſides other Talents, a great Fidelity towards his Prince [*B*]. This is what gained him the particular Eſteem of King *Henry* IV, who, in 1603, *made him his State and Privy Counſellor.* The following Year, *he reſigned his Dignity of Preſident to* Francis Chalvet, Lord de Fenouillet, *one of his Sons, and retired home, to give himſelf up to Prayer, and gently to paſs the Remainder of his Days amidſt Repoſe and Books. He lived two Years after this happy Retreat, with ſo much Satisfaction, that he often ſaid to his Relations, that, during the whole of his paſt Life, he had by no means lived* [*C*] ——*He died like a true Chriſtian*, at *Toulouſe*, the 20th of *June*, 1607, aged Seventy nine years (*d*). Several Authors have beſtowed Elogies on him [*D*].

(*d*) Taken from the Summary of his Life, prefixed to his Tranſlation of *Seneca*.

[*A*] *He ſet about reading and tranſlating* Seneca.] He dedicated this Tranſlation to *Henry* IV, in 1603. It was reprinted in Folio, at *Paris*, for *William Loyſon*, in 1624, and for *John Richer*, in 1634. '*Sammarthanus* ſays, that he diſcovered his 'Induſtry, Fidelity, and Application, in the Tranſlation of *Seneca* †. *Huetius* nevertheleſs teſtifies, 'that he was not very ſollicitous to ſubject himſelf 'to his Author, and to render him word for word; 'and that, whereas nothing can be more dry and 'conciſe than *Seneca*, we meet with nothing more 'prolix and ample than this Verſion ‡. It is Mr *Baillet*, who expreſſes himſelf thus (1).

† Sammarth. Elog. lib. 5, pag. 250.

‡ Huetius, de claris Interpret. lib. 2, pag. 185.

(1) Baillet, Jugem. des Sçavans, Tom. IV, pag. 535, 536.

[*B*] *Without reckoning his bodily Talents, he had, among other good Qualities, a great Fidelity to his Prince.*] 'During the Studies of his Youth, he 'often unbent his Mind by the moſt decent bodily 'Exerciſes, which he had learned in *Italy*: being 'a very good Horſeman, a fine Dancer, and the 'beſt Tennis-Player of his Time. He likewiſe 'tempered the Auſterity of the Study of the Law 'by the Sweets of *Latin* and *French* Poetry, in 'which he had no bad Succeſs, as will appear by 'his Verſes, if his Heirs think fit to publiſh them '(2). —— He had many Friends: he likewiſe knew 'how to cultivate them; but, above all, there was 'a ſingular and perfect Friendſhip between Mr *de 'Faur de St Jory*, firſt Preſident of *Toulouſe*, and 'him, as well on account of Learning, as of their 'near Affinity. He was tall, and well-ſet, had a 'laughing Eye, white Hair, a ſweet and venerable 'Countenance, a grave Deportment, modeſt, and 'full of Majeſty; and the moſt entertaining Com'panion in the World (3). Scarce any one ap'proached him, without remaining charmed; for 'he was of a Diſpoſition affable, courteous, be'neficent, and open, without Hypocriſy, with'out Ambition, without Avarice, employing him'ſelf more readily in ſerving others, than himſelf, 'fearing GOD, abhorring and condemning all Vices, 'particularly violent Practices and Innovations, even 'Thoſe of Religion. He loved Order, Regularity, 'and Peace. —— Amidſt the Confuſions of *France*, 'he conſtantly perſevered in Obedience to his 'Prince, whoſe Party, as eſteeming it the only juſt 'and lawful one, he ever faithfully followed. There'fore, when the Parliament was removed from *Tou'louſe* to *Chaſteljarraſs*, he was pitched upon to go 'and compliment the King in their Name, at *Lyons*, 'in the Year 1594, which gave the King the ut'moſt Satisfaction, as he ſhewed by the gracious 'Reception he gave him, and a Preſent, which he 'made him: and as for him, he thought himſelf 'very happy in being the firſt Officer of the Parlia'ment of *Toulouſe*, whom the King had ſeen ſince 'his Acceſſion to the Crown, and ſince the begin'ning of the Reduction of *Languedoc* to his Service. 'Again, in 1603, he was deputed by the ſame Par'liament to wait on his Majeſty on ſeveral important 'Affairs: upon which Journey, the King, of his 'own meer Motion, as an honourable Recompence 'of his long Services, made him his State and Privy 'Counſellor, for which he took the Oath before 'the Chancellor *de Bellievre*, to whom he was 'ſome way related (4).'

(2) Summary of the Life of *Matthieu de Chalvet*, prefixed to his *Seneca*.

(3) See, on all this, the *Latin* Verſes of *Cotin*, Royal Profeſſor, before his Tranſlation of *Seneca*.

(4) Summary of the Life of *Matthieu de Chalvet*.

[*C*] *He found ſo much Satisfaction from the time of his Retreat, that he often ſaid, that, during the whole of his paſt Life, he had by no means lived.*] He might therefore compare himſelf to an illuſtrious Perſon, who was *Præfectus Prætorii* under the Emperor *Adrian*. I ſpeak of *Similis*, who was promoted to that Office againſt his Inclination, and who voluntarily quitted it; after which he retired into the Country, and died at the end of ſeven Years. He ordered this to be written on his Tomb; *Here lies* Similis, *whoſe Age was very long, but who lived only ſeven Years* (5). See ſeveral Collections concerning ſuch things in the Hiſtorical Meditations of *Camerarius*, in the fifth Chapter of the third Book of the firſt Volume.

(5) Xiphilin in Hadriano, pag. m. 266.

[*D*] *Several Authors have beſtowed Elogies on him.*] For a Proof, I ſhall only give the four firſt Verſes of a *Latin* Epigram, which *Peter le Loyer* addreſſed to him.

Cum ſua quiſque tibi culto munuſcula verſu
Offerat, & genio dedicet illa tuo,
Haud ego poſtremos inter numerabor amicos,
Et levis, at ſaltem munera grata dabo.

Whilſt each hand ſtrives in poliſh'd Verſe to raiſe
A Monument, O Chalvet, to thy Praiſe,
Not laſt, amidſt thy Friends, thy Worth to ſing,
A ſmall, but grateful, Offering will I bring.

This Epigram follows the *French* Verſes, by which The Author dedicates his Comedy of *The Dumb Man* to this Preſident of the Inqueſts. Thus he praiſes him. *Though I had as much Gold* —— down to *Muſe*, incluſively: and again, *My dear* Chalvet —— down to *receive them*, excluſively; in the *Works* and *Poetical Miſcellanies of* Peter le Loyer, fol. 122. verſo, Edition of *Paris* 1579.

CHAM, the youngeſt of *Noah*'s three Sons [*A*]. We know nothing of him, but that he told his Brothers, that he had ſeen *Noah* ſtark naked in his Tent (a). A great many ridiculous Stories have been invented upon this ſingle Fact. A little Leaven, on this occaſion, has leavened a great Lump. Some believe, that, ſince *Cham* ſhewed ſo much Indiſcretion towards his Father, he was a curſed Soul, guilty of all ſorts of Abominations. They make him the Inventor of Magic [*B*]; and many things are reported about it: It is alſo ſaid, that he gave an Example of Incontinency but little edifying [*C*]; I mean, that he got his Wife with Child in the very Ark. Some ſay, that the Fault he committed againſt his Father was infinitely more heinous, than it is repreſented to be in Holy Scripture. Some will have it, that he gelt him [*D*]; others, that he made him impotent by the Virtue of

(a) Gen. ix, 22.

[*A*] *The youngeſt of* Noah's *three Sons.*] This is plain and inconteſtable, ſince the Scripture ſays expreſsly, after having mentioned *Cham*'s Action, that *Noah awoke from his Wine, and knew what his* younger Son *had done unto him* (1). Nevertheleſs, many Commentators maintain, that *Cham* was *Noah*'s ſecond Son: they prefer the words, where the three Brothers are placed in this manner, *Sem, Cham,* and *Japhet* (2), before ſuch a plain Declaration: and there are ſome, who, to elude the Twenty fourth Verſe, which I quote, pretend, that the Scripture does not ſpeak of *Cham* there, but of *Chanaan, Noah*'s Grandſon: Others pretend, that *Cham* was only called the younger, becauſe he behaved himſelf leſs prudently than his other Brothers (3). Is not this to open a Door to ſuch Gloſſes, as would obſcure the cleareſt Expreſſions of the Scripture?

(1) Gen. ix, 24.

(2) Ibid. ver. 18, & paſſim alibi.

(3) Heidegger, Hiſtor. Patriarchar. Exercitat. 20, n. 4, *names ſome Authors of theſe various Opinions.*

[*B*] *They make him the Inventor of Magic.*] In this Senſe, that he alone preſerved and tranſmitted it to the new World: ſo I call *Noah*'s Deſcendants. For otherwiſe it was not *Cham*, who invented That black Science: The Angels, who fell in love with the fair Sex, taught it Men (4); but, becauſe *Cham* durſt not carry the Books relating to this matter into the Ark, he engraved the chief Doctrines of it on ſome very hard Bodies, which were able to reſiſt the Waters of the Deluge: he hid This Treaſure carefully: and, when they came out of the Ark, he took it from the Place, where he had put it. We read theſe ſilly things in *Caſſian*. 'Quantum, *ſays* 'he (5), antiquæ traditiones ferunt, Cham filius 'Noë, qui ſuperſtitionibus iſtis, & ſacrilegiis fuit artibus & prophanis infectus, ſciens nullum ſe poſſe 'ſuper his memorialem librum in arcam prorſus inferre, in quam erat una cum patre juſto, & ſanctis 'fratribus ingreſſurus, ſceleſtas artes, & prophana 'commenta diverſorum metallorum laminis, quæ 'ſcilicet aquarum non corrumperentur injuria, & 'duriſſimis lapidibus inſculpſit. 'Quæ diluvio peracto, eadem qua illa celaverat curioſitate perquirens, 'ſacrilegiorum ac perpetuæ nequitiæ ſeminarium 'tranſmiſit ad poſteros.' It is pretended, that *Miſraim*, the Son of *Cham*, learned all theſe abominable Secrets of his Father; and that therefore the Sectators of This Science looked upon *Cham* as their firſt Founder, and called him *Zoroaſter*, that is to ſay, the living Star, and honoured him as a God. 'Chamum eundem eſſe volunt cum Zoroaſtre Mago. 'Hujus ſententiæ primus author quod quidem ſciam 'eſt Pſeudoclemens, qui lib. 4. Recognitionum Magiam ſcribit hominibus ante diluvium à mulieroſis illis 'Angelis traditam: Ægyptiorum conditorem Meſraimum didiciſſe à Chamo patre, & Chamum à 'poſteris hujus artis admiratoribus Zoroaſtrem, ſeu 'vivum aſtrum, propterea fuiſſe dictum & pro Deo 'habitum (6).' See, below, the Remark [*E*].

(4) *See* Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 4, cap. 1.

(5) Collat. 8, cap. 21.

(6) Bochart. Geograph. Sacra, lib. 4, cap. 1.

[*C*] *It is pretended, that he gave an Example of Incontinency, but little edifying.*] St *Ambroſe* thinks, that the Expreſſions of *Moſes* ſeem to intimate, that the matrimonial Functions were ſuperſeded and ſuſpended in the Ark. At that time, ſays ſome Interpreters, it was requiſite to think of the Maxim, which *Solomon* publiſhed a long time after; *To every thing there is a Seaſon, and a time to every purpoſe under Heaven; —— a time to embrace, and a time to refrain from embracing* (7). The terrible Judgment, which GOD exerciſed on Mankind, ought not to have inſpired any other Thoughts in *Noah*, and his Family, than thoſe of Faſting and Penitence. 'Qui (Ambroſius) etiam notavit tam in ingreſſu, 'quam in egreſſu arcæ, ſeorſim viros omnes ab uxoribus nominari; ut ex ipſa deſcriptione inſinuaretur 'perſeverans conjugum continentia ab ingreſſu ad egreſſum uſque: idque admodum veriſimiliter. Nam, 'ut ait Salomon, *Tempus amplexandi, & tempus longè 'fieri ab amplexibus.* —— Et verò lachrymarum potius, & orationum id tempus fuit ad placandam divinam iram, horribilem in modum ſævientem (8)'. Nevertheleſs it is believed, that *Cham* did not contain himſelf, and that his Wife became the Mother of *Chanaan* in the very Ark. It is alſo ſaid, that *Chanaan* proved a wicked Man, becauſe he was the Fruit of an Incontinency exerciſed out of Seaſon. He firſt ſaw *Noah*'s Nakedneſs, as is pretended, and told his Father of it in a jeering way. *If ſo*, one might better apprehend, why *Noah*'s Curſe fell upon *Chanaan*, and not upon *Cham*. When ſome Doctors are asked, how That Patriarch came to know, that *Cham* had diſcovered his Nakedneſs? they anſwer, that he inferred it from the Impudence *Cham* had to prophane the Ark by approaching his Wife. 'Conjecturam Hebræi comminiſcuntur ejuſmodi. 'Nempe Noachum in ipſa adhuc arca Chami libidi'noſum animum arcam intempeſtiva Venere polluen'tis notaſſe. Hinc expergefactum ſtatim culpam lu'dibrii hujus in eundem conjeciſſe (9).' Let us mention, on this occaſion, the Anſwer, which others give: they ſay, that, as ſoon as *Cham* had ſatisfied his Sight with ſuch an Object, he felt ſome extraordinary Alterations in his Body. His Eyes became red; his Hair and Beard were burnt; his Lips were diſtorted; he knew ſo little what he did, that he ſtriped himſelf ſtark naked, and walked in that poſture. *Noah*, ſeeing all this, concluded from it, that *Cham* had diſhonoured him: but ſome ſay, that he knew it only by the Light of Prophecy. St *Chryſoſtom* is very reaſonable, when he believes, that *Noah*, finding himſelf covered with a Mantle, which was none of his, asked the Reaſon of it, and underſtood by his two good Sons how the thing happened (10).

(7) Eccleſ. iii, 1, 5.

(8) Sallianus, Tom. 1, pag. 290, n. 7. *He quotes* St Ambroſe de Noë & Arca, cap. 21.

(9) Heidegger ubi ſupra, pag. 627. *He quotes* Rabbi Solomon Ephraim, *who ſaid it was the Tradition of ſome Maſters.*

(10) *See* Heidegger. ibid.

[*D*] *Some pretend, that he gelt his own Father.*] Some Jewiſh Doctors tell us (11), that he committed this violent Action, to hinder *Noah* from begetting him other Brothers. Did he fear, that his Portion in the ſharing of the whole World would be too little? Some grave Authors have taken the Pains to refute this very ſeriouſly by theſe words of the Scripture; *Noah awoke from his Wine, and knew what his younger Son had done unto him.* If ſuch a painful Operation had been performed on him, ſay they, as This in queſtion, he would ſoon have awaked, before he had ſlept out his Wine, by reaſon of the Pain he would have felt; and he would have ſurprized the Malefactor in the very Act, and there had been no neceſſity from him to ask who it was. 'Id 'Scriptura ſatis reſellit, quæ ait Noë cum ex vino 'evigilaſſet didiciſſe quæ fecerat ei filius ſuus. At 'non evigilaſſet à vino, conſumptis ſcilicet vaporibus, ſed ingenti dolore ſomnus excuſſus fuiſſet, nec 'opus fuiſſet diſcere quid feciſſet Cham, ſed eum in 'ipſo facinore deprehendiſſe (12). Here the Hebraicians triumph, who pretend, that it cannot be denied, that all the Gods of the Pagans were taken from the Jewiſh Tradition. Do not you ſee, ſay they, that *Noah* is the *Saturn* of the Heathens, and that the Story, which the Poets feign, that *Jupiter* caſtrated his Father *Saturn*, is taken from The Adventure of *Cham*? The Count *de Gabalis* muſt divert us here with a Fragment of his Comedy. He ſuppoſes, that, after the Deluge, *Noah* yielded his Wife *Veſta* to the Salamander *Oromaſis*, Prince of the Fiery Subſtances, and perſuaded his three Sons to yield their Wives alſo to the Princes of the three other Elements (13). He adds, that *Cham* proved rebellious

(11) Referente R. Levi in cap. 9. Geneſ. apud Sallianum, Tom. 1, p. 297.

(12) Sallianus, ibid.

(13) Entretiens ſur les Sciences Secrettes, pag. 204.

of some Magical Charms [E]; others, that he committed Incest with *Noah*'s Wife [F]. It is somewhat strange, that the Scripture does not take any notice, that this Patriarch did any thing to *Cham*; he did not so much as reprove him for it, and only cursed *Chanaan* the Son of *Cham*: but this Curse was only a Prophecy of the Victories, which the Descendants of *Sem* should obtain over the Descendants of *Chanaan* under *Joshua*, that is to say, seven or eight Ages after *Cham*'s Fault. This was all the Punishment of This wicked Son: for, what is commonly said, that he became black, and communicated his Blackness to his Posterity, which continues to this day in the Nations of *Africa*, is a chimerical Story. It is very probable that he settled in *Egypt* (b), and that he was worshipped there after his Death under the Name of *Jupiter Hammon*. Pleasant things have been answered to the Question, How *Noah* knew, that *Cham* had dealt so ill by him (c). *Moreri* should not have said, either that *Cham* mocked his Father, when he saw him naked, or that *Chanaan* was the first, who perceived *Noah*'s Nakedness, and that he told his Father what he had seen; for neither the Scripture, nor any Author, who could know it, have said any such thing. If *Moreri* had mentioned these two things as the Conjecture of some Commentators, he could not be reproved for it; but he gives them as part of *Cham*'s History taken out of the Scripture. There lies the Fault.

(b) *See* Bochart Geograph. Sacra, lib. 4, cap. 1.

(c) See Remark [C].

rebellious to *Noah*'s Counsel, and *could not resist his Wife's Charms*; but his want of Complaisance *marked all his Posterity black: the horrible Complexion* of the People, who inhabit the Torrid Zone, is the *Punishment of the prophane Lust of their Father.*—

(14) Ibid. pag. 200.

'As for example, *continues he* (14), you believe, 'that the Injury, which *Cham* did to his Father, 'is 'such as it literally seems to be: truly it is quite another thing. *Noah*, being come out of the Ark, 'and seeing his Wife *Vesta* grow more beautiful 'every Day by the Commerce she had with her 'Lover *Oromasis*, grew passionately in love with her 'again. *Cham*, fearing his Father was going to 'People the World again with as black Children as 'the *Ethiopians* were, took his Opportunity, one 'Day, when the good old Man was drunk, and 'unmercifully castrated him.'

[E] —— *others, that he made him impotent by the Virtue of some magical Charms.*] The supposititious *Berosus* of *Annius Viterbiensis* relates this foolish Story. He says, that *Noah*, not being able to suffer the irregular Life of his Son *Cham*, who had acquired the Sirname of *Zoroast*, by addicting himself to Magic, became odious to This Son, and so much the more, because he had a great Tenderness for his other Sons, younger than *Cham*. The latter, having found an opportunity to revenge himself, made use of it. Finding his Father sleeping out his Wine, he took hold of his privy Parts, and muttered some words, which made him impotent the remaining part of his Life. 'Nactus opportunitatem 'cum Noa pater madidus jaceret, illius virilia com-'prehendens taciteque submurmurans, carmine ma-'gico patri illusit, simul & sterilem perinde atque 'castratum effecit, neque deinceps Noa fœmellam 'aliquam fœcundare potuit (15). Yet this did not incline *Noah* to drive This Son from him; but it was for his other Vices. This wicked Man taught, that Men ought to live as they did before the Flood, by committing all sorts of Incests, and something worse; and he practised those abominable Lessons. 'At vero Chem cum publice corrumperet mortale 'genus, asserens & re ipsa exequens congrediendum 'esse, ut ante inundationem, cum matribus, sororibus, filiabus, masculis, brutis, & quovis alio genere, ob hoc ejectus à Jano piissimo & castimonia atque pudicitia refertissimo (16).' Let not this prejudice us against *Cham*; the Author whom I quote contains nothing but Fictions and Chimeras. The Rabbins are not more to be credited, when they vent their idle Fancies concerning *Cham*'s Behaviour. Consider these words of *Gabriel Naudæus* (17); According to Rabbi *Samuel**, he committed 'such 'a filthy and abominable Action against his Father, 'that I will say nothing of it, for fear of offending 'chaste Ears, but what was formerly said by *Laurentius Valla* about a word of the like filthy Signification; *Malo ignorari, quam me docente cognosci.*'

(15) Berosus, lib. 3, p. m. 80.

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) Apology for great Men, lib. 1, cap. 8, pag. m. 155.

* In Fortalitio Fidei, lib. 3, p. 204.

[F] —— *others, that he committed Incest with* Noah's *Wife.*] It is the Opinion of Mr *Von der Hardt*, Professor of the Oriental Languages in the University of *Helmstadt*. He believes, that the Injury, which That Patriarch received from *Cham*, consisted in the infamous Temerity of This brutal Son in lying either with his own Mother, or at least with his Step-mother. He proves this Explication by several places of Scripture, where the Phrase of *discovering the Nakedness of a Woman* signifies to lie with her. It is said, in the same places of Scripture, that the Nakedness, or the Shame, of a Woman is the Nakedness, or the Shame, of her Husband; consequently, according to This Style, to have seen *Noah*'s Nakedness is a covert Expression, which signifies to have lain with *Noah*'s Wife. This Author supposes, I. That *Cham* took his Opportunity to do this Business, when *Noah* was sleeping out his Wine. II. That some body, having seen the Action, went and told *Noah*'s two other Sons of it. III. That the latter, being angry at the outrageous Affront offered to That Patriarch, went with all speed to the Place; and, having surprized their Brother in the Fact, they threw their Cloaks over him and his Accomplice. IV. That they reported to their Father what they had seen. V. That *Noah*, being very angry, ordered, by his Will, that *Chanaan*, who was to be born of That incestuous Commerce, should be totally deprived of the Inheritance (18). These Hypotheses are learned and ingenious; but, if it be once allowed to suppose, that *Moses*'s Narratives are so much disguised, it is to be feared, that This Method will be carried as far as the History of the Temptation and the Fall of *Adam*, as some have ventured do.

(18) *See the Book intituled*, Ephemeridum Philologicarum Domus, *in the Journal of* Leipsic, *Month of* October 1693, pag. 466.

CHAMIER (DANIEL) one of the greatest Divines of the Protestant Party, was born in *Dauphiné*. He was a long time Minister at *Montellimart* (a); from whence he went, in the Year 1612, to be Professor of Divinity at *Montauban*. He was killed there by a Cannon-Ball, during the Siege in the Year 1621 (b) [A]. It

(a) History of the Edict of *Nantes*, Tom. II, pag. 86. *See* Remark [D].

(b) The 16th of October.

[A] *He was killed by a Cannon-Ball during the Siege of* Montauban, in 1621.] Some Historians say, he was killed being in Arms; that is to say, with a Pike in his Hand, and in his Armour, and that, at the end of the Sermon, he had preached that Day, he had three times repeated, They shall not enter. 'Chamierus - - - - - quanquam propugnaculo regebatur, tormentaria pila in frusta discerpitur, vix agnito unde globus, & qua immissus; 'in utrumque paratus homo audax, thorace ferreo, hastaque ad manum venerat in locum, additurus militi animos, postquam eademmet die 'conctone in templo pathetice habita, de regiis 'loquens, finierat in hæc ipsa verba, quæ distincta 'ter voce repetierat, non ingredientur (1).' The Relation of the Siege of *Montauban* does not inform us,

(1) Barthol. Gramondus, Histor. Gallicæ, lib. 10, pag. mo 502.

It is ſtrange, that no body has written his Life. None but the *French* are capable of ſuch a Negligence. If *Chamier* had been of another Nation, his Hiſtory (large enough to be bound) would appear in all Libraries, eſpecially conſidering, that he left Sons, who were of his Profeſſion, and whoſe Poſterity is in the Miniſtry to this day (*c*). He was no leſs a Miniſter of State in his Party, than a Miniſter of the Church. Never was any Man more ſtiff, more inflexible [*B*], and more untractable, with reſpect to the Artifices, which the Court made uſe of to weaken the Proteſtants, than he. It is ſaid, that it was he who drew up the Edict of *Nantes* [*C*]. He was honoured with ſeveral Deputations [*D*], and preſided in ſome Synods (*d*). The Time he ſpent in the Political Affairs of the Party, did not hinder him from acquiring great Learning. He gave Proofs of it in his Diſpute againſt Father

(*c*) I write this in 1694.

(*d*) Among others, in the National Synod of *Gap*, in the Year 1603.

us, that he had taken up Arms, but only that ' he was killed by a Cannon-ſhot at the Entry of ' the Baſtion *du Paillas*, and that, in his Sermon ' of the foregoing Day, on the Thirty fourth Verſe ' of the Thirty ſeventh Chapter of *Iſaiah*, he applied to *Montauban* the Promiſe of a Deliverance, ' which the Prophet made from GOD to *Jeruſalem*, ' beſieged by *Rabſhakeh*, General of *Sennacherib*'s ' Army; repeating, with great Vehemency, theſe ' Words, No, no, they ſhall not enter into it, they ' ſhall return the ſame way they came.' The Relation adds, that ' ſome of his Friends had heard ' him ſay, that he believed he ſhould die in that ' Siege by a Cannon-ſhot - - - - and, upon that ' Sunday in the Morning, he propheſied accidentally what happened to him in the Evening. His ' Colleague *Joſion* asked him, if he was not to ' preach that Afternoon? Not at all, ſaid he: Do ' not you know, that this Day is the Day of my ' Reſt (2)?' The Catholic Writers have ſeverely reflected upon the Death of this famous Miniſter, and taken an Occaſion from it to cry him down as a *Bouteſeu*, who was not contented to preach up Rebellion, but took up Arms himſelf; without conſidering, ſay they, that, as the Laity are not permitted to encroach on the Authority of the Church, ſo the Miniſters of the Goſpel ought not to be permitted to take up the Sword. They are anſwered, as in the caſe of *Zwinglius*, that they may expoſe themſelves in War, to recommend the Cauſe to GOD, and to comfort and ſtrengthen thoſe, who ſtand in need of that Aſſiſtance. - - - - - - - -

(2) Siege of *Montauban*, pag. m. 255.

[*B*] *Never was any Man more ſtiff, and more inflexible.*] The Hiſtorian of the Edict of *Nantes* is very happy in the Character he gives us of *Chamier*. ' He waited in vain at Court, *ſays he* (3), ' whither the Synod of *Rochel* had deputed him. ' - - - - - After he had been there ſix Months, he ' could not obtain the Honour to ſpeak with the ' King. His Perſon was not acceptable, becauſe ' he was one of thoſe Fools of the Synod (4), whom ' the King did not love, one of thoſe untractable ' Men, who cannot be prevailed with, and one of ' thoſe ſtiff Perſons, who are proof againſt Fear ' and Hope, the ſtrongeſt Engines of the Court.' He had ſaid in another place (5), ſpeaking of the Deputies on the Affair of the Edict of *Nantes*, that *Chamier was one of the ſtiffeſt, and therefore ſuſpicious to the Court, as he was beloved by the Churches.* We ſhall ſay, in the Remark [*B*] of the Article FERRIER, that, in 1611, in the Aſſembly of *Saumur*, he was at the head of thoſe, who would have the Affair concerning the Edict of *Nantes* vigorouſly contended for. But, if you would know the Humour of *Chamier*, and of thoſe like him, read what *d'Aubigné* ſaid of him in a jocoſe Stile. ' Now there appeared more Saucineſs in theſe ' People, *ſays he* (6), at the laſt Treaty of Peace, and ' in the Aſſemblies, which laſted four Years, where- ' in theſe ſtiff-necked Men not only impudently re- ' ſiſted the honeſteſt Deputies the King could chooſe ' in his Council of State, but alſo the greateſt ' Lords of their Party, when, conſidering the Af- ' fairs of the Kingdom, they would have had them ' ſhew ſome Civility. One of them ſtarted up with ' a brazen Face, and anſwered freely, Theſe Pro- ' poſals do not anſwer the good Opinion, which ' thoſe, who ſent us, have of us. He was deſired ' to explain this: *Le Valiere* advanced, and, ex- ' plaining it, ſaid, Gentlemen, this is to betray ' the Churches of GOD. I heard, within theſe few ' Days, M. *de Villeroy* relate, how he, with Meſ- ' ſieurs *de Roſny* and *de Thou*, and others, being at ' a Conference with four of theſe ill-bred Men, ' whilſt *Caligneu*, in the King's Name, endeavoured ' to mollify theſe Men by his Eloquence, huge ' *Chamier*, having put his Cloak under his Back- ' ſide, leaned with his left Elbow on the middle ' of the Table, and, with his other Hand, cut his ' Nails with a Pair of Scizars; and the Clippings ' flew into the Orator's Beard and Mouth: one of ' them flew into *Roſny*'s Eye; and this Poſture ' reproved all that could be ſaid of him.'

(3) Tom I, pag. 446, 447, ad Ann. 1607.

(4) The Author had ſaid, p. 443, that there were ſome Perſons in the Synod, *whom the Court called the Fools of the Synod, becauſe they found them too ſtiff, and too careful of their Security.*

(5) Pag. 253.

(6) Catholic Confeſſion of *Sancy*, lib. 2, cap. 2, pag. m. 422, 423.

[*C*] *It is ſaid, that it was he, who drew up the Edict of* Nantes.] I have read this in an Epiſtle Dedicatory of *Varillas*. ' As the Heretics, *ſays* ' *he* (7), are not likely ever to find any Security, ' which may ſeem ſufficient to them, the Calviniſts ' had obtained by their Importunities, that what- ' ever was advantageous for their Party, in the E- ' dicts of *Pacification*, might be included in That ' of *Nantes*. *Daniel Chamier*, the ableſt of their ' Miniſters, had the Commiſſion to draw it up. He ' ſpent three whole Months in it, and boaſted to ' have forgot nothing, that might ſerve for the E- ' ſtabliſhment of the Quiet of his Sect.'

(7) *Varill.* Epiſtle Dedicatory of the firſt Volume of the Hiſtory of Hereſy.

[*D*] *He was honoured with ſeveral Deputations.*] What *Varillas* has juſt ſaid may be falſe; but it is certain, that *Chamier* was one of the chief Men of the Proteſtant Aſſemblies, wherein the laſt Pacification with *Henry* IV was diſcuſſed and concluded. *La Trimouille*, *du Pleſſis*, *d'Aubigné*, and he were choſen, ' To debate about the Matters, which could ' not, without Confuſion, be digeſted by the Body ' of the Aſſembly, which conſiſted then of ſeventy, ' and ſometimes of eighty Heads (8).' He appeared no leſs in the Aſſembly of *Saumur*, in the Year 1611. ' He had the firſt Voice in it, as being ' Aſſiſtant to the Preſident; and, becauſe he un- ' derſtood Buſineſs, the Concluſion depended very ' much on the turn which he gave to things in ' young (9).' The Author, from whom I borrow theſe Words, tells us a thing, which deſerves to be mentioned here: ' They bethought themſelves, ' *ſays he* (10), of bringing ſome perſonal Trouble ' upon him, in order to make him weary of the ' Aſſemblies, wherein he had too much Authority. ' The Conſiſtory of *Montelimar*, where he was Mi- ' niſter, took the Opportunity of his Abſence and ' Deputation to give his Place to another. This ' was done without conſulting or hearing him, by ' I know not what Intrigues, wherein it is likely ' *Leſdiguieres* had a Hand; ſince it was done in his ' Province, in his Sight, and in a Town, where ' he could do what he pleaſed. But, to make the ' Injury yet more odious, the Conſiſtory ſent to ' ſearch his Library, with ſome violence, under ' pretence of looking for Papers which belonged ' to the Church. The Proceedings of the Conſiſto- ' ry had ſomething ſo offenſive in them, and ſhewed ' ſo much Contempt of *Chamier*, that he was very ' much offended at it, and ſo much the more, be- ' cauſe both his Intereſt and his Honour were con- ' cerned in it. - - - - He made his Complaints to ' the Aſſembly about it, as being an Affront to ' them, as well as to him; and he ſeemed ready ' to leave *Saumur*, to go and ſettle his Affairs at ' home.' This was juſt what the Court would have deſired, to deprive the Party (whoſe Reſiſtance it feared) of a good Head - - - - but *Chamier* was ſtopped by having Juſtice done him. The Aſſembly maintained him in the Miniſtry at *Montelimar*'. I find, that he had quitted That Church in 1606, to profeſs Divinity in the Academy of *Die* (11). I do not know the Reaſon, which obliged him to return to his firſt Poſt.

(8) D'Aubigné Univerſ. Hiſt. Tom. III, lib. 5, cap. 1, pag. m. 623.

(9) Hiſtory of the Edict of *Nantes*, Tom. II, pag. 55.

(10) Ibid. pag. 56.

(11) *Simon Goulart* wrote ſo to *Scaliger*. See the *French* Epiſtles written to *Scaliger*, Book 3, pag. 447.

Father *Coton* [E], and in his Books [F]. The Thought of those, who make him the Head of a Party, the Head of the Metaphorists [G], does not deserve to be confuted. It is more absurd, than the Boldness of those, who have given us the Sect of the pretended *Bezanites*.

[E] *He gave Proofs of his Learning, in his Disputes against Father* Coton.] Here is what a modern Author, and a good Protestant, says of it. In the Year 1600, *Chamier* had a Conference at *Nimes* with That Jesuit; 'in which each Party boasted 'to have the Advantage, according to the usual Custom. The Truth is, that the Jesuit dazzled the 'Hearers by some eloquent Digressions, which put 'the Subject of the Dispute every Moment out of 'sight; and that *Chamier*, being more solid, and 'more scholastic, had obliged the Jesuit, by his 'Arguments, to get off by this Artifice. They, 'who have written That Jesuit's Life, do sufficient-'ly discover, that *Chamier*'s Dryness would have confounded their Hero, if he had not warded the 'Blow by eloquent Discourses, which were beside 'the Business, and which cost him nothing (12).'

(12) History of the Edict of *Nantes*, Tom. I, pag. 447.

[F] - - - - *and in his Books.*] His Treatise *de Oecumenico Pontifice*, and his Jesuitical Letters, deserved *Scaliger*'s Esteem (13). Sharp Complaints were made, that he had published some Jesuits Letters, with his Glosses and Remarks. 'If the 'Ministers are mildly treated, it is to invite them 'to do worse, and to give them an Opportunity 'of turning Sugar into Poison. It has appeared so, 'within these few Years, by the Ministers of *Dauphiné*, and chiefly by *Chamier*, to whom Father *Coton*, and Father *Ignatius Armand* had privately written concerning some Points of Faith, by way 'of Conference, with Letters full of Humanity: 'but how did he make use of them? He caused 'them to be printed without their Knowledge, and against their Intention; and, putting his Glosses 'upon them, publickly exposed what they had 'communicated to him alone, which is a perfi-'dious Affront: for several things are written in 'private, which one would not so willingly pub-'lish (14).' But *Chamier*'s fair Side, in the Quality of a Writer, is his *Catholica Panstratia*, or, *The Wars of the Lord* (15), wherein he learnedly treats of the Controversies of the Protestants and *Roman* Catholics, and sets himself particularly to refute *Bellarmin*. This Work contains four Volumes in *folio*, and is not compleat. The Controversy concerning the Church is wanting in it, which is a wide Subject; and would have made the fifth Volume. The Author's Death hindered him from finishing it. See here what was written from *Geneva* (16), concerning This *Panstratia*, in the Year 1606. 'Monsieur *Chamier* is very intent 'upon Controversies. If he goes on as he has be-'gun, and finds ready Printers, he will give us 'as many Volumes, as *Baronius* in his Ecclesiastic 'Legends, which he surnames *Annals*.' This Body of Controversies was printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1626 (17). *Hadrian Chamier*, Minister of *Montelimart*, and the Author's Son, dedicated it to the National Synod of the Reformed Churches of *France*, as a Work due to them, not only because it was composed at their Desire, but also because they had bestowed several Gratifications upon *Daniel Chamier*, to encourage him to set about That Work, and because, after his Death, they had given to his Family several Marks of their Liberality, and had contributed to the Charges of the Impression. *Benedict Turretin*, Professor of Divinity at *Geneva*, took care of the printing of the *Panstratia*, and added a short and good Preface to it. An Abridgment of the *Panstratia* appeared at *Geneva*, in the Year 1643, under the Title of *Chamierus Contractus*. *Frederic Spanheim* is the Author of That Abridgment, in one Volume in *folio*. They who know, that the *Panstratia* comprehends four great Volumes, will scarce believe, that the Author of the *Bibliotheque* of *Dauphiné* knows what it is, since he calls That Work *a Panstratia, or Discourse on the controverted Points of the two Religions*. A Pocket-book might be called so; as for Example, That which our *Chamier* published against Father *Tolosain*, Abbot-General of *St Antony* (18), or the Considerations, which he published, in 1600, against the Advertisements of *Persan*.

(13) Chamierus de Oecumenico Pontifice & Epistolas Jesuiticas edidit, bonas quidem! O quæ Chamier écrit bien en Grec, & mieux que Coton. — *How well* Chamier *writes in* Greek, *and better than* Coton. Scaligerana, pag. 43.

(14) *Richesme*, A Letter to a Gentleman of *Provence*, before his *Categorical Examination of the Antitheses*.

(15) This is the Title Mr *Sorin* uses, citing Mr *Chamier*'s Book in his *Examen de la Theologie de Mr Jurieu*, *Tom.* II, *pag.* 578.

(16) *By* Simon Goulart, *to* Joseph Scaliger. *See the* French *Letter written to* Scaliger, *lib.* 3, *pag.* 445.

(17) In the Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library, it is 1606, which is a Fault to be corrected.

His *Corpus Theologicum* was printed at *Geneva* in 1653. It is a small *folio*, which contains also his *Epistolæ Jesuiticæ*.

(18) See Father *Gaultier*'s Chronographical Table, pag. 822.

[G] *Some make him* - - - - *Head of the Metaphorists.*] A Jesuit, whose Name is *James Gaultier*, who, of all Men, made the least Scruple to multiply the Sects of the Protestants, found seven of them in the first Years of the XVIIth Century. The first is That of the *Metaphorists*, whose Errors he attributes only to *Daniel Chamier*. He says, that the chief Error of the *Metaphorists*, and That, which gave them That Name, consists in saying, that Jesus Christ is not *properly* the Word and Image of God the Father, but *metaphorically*. He adds, that *Daniel Chamier* uttered this Blasphemy several times, in the Conference, which he had with him in the beginning of *January* 1601. 'Hoc 'speciatim ineunte Januario anni 1601. notatum fuit 'in Daniele Chamerio Montilienſi Ministro, quum 'illi mecum Alani esset disceptatio, in qua ille non 'semel sed multoties in pleno confessu hanc ipsam 'blasphemiam enuntiavit, dictavit, suaque manu 'subscripsit (19).' We have here an Example of what strong Prejudices can do: for, in the first Place, there never was any Sect of *Metaphorists* among the Protestants of *France*: their Synods never had any thing to discuss on that Subject, nor with any such Persons. In the second place, where did this Jesuit learn, that it is an Heresy and Blasphemy to say, that the Terms *Word* and *Image* are not taken in the proper but in the figurative Sense, when they are spoken of Jesus Christ in relation to God the Father? In the proper Sense, the first of these two Words signifies only the Action of a Man, who speaks; the second only signifies a Figure, that represents a Body. It is most certain that, in this Sense, nothing can either be the Word or the Image of God the Father. But does it follow from thence, that Jesus Christ is only the Word and Image of his Father figuratively? Not at all. A Man, blinded by his Prejudices, fancies there is nothing real in Metaphors (20), and will no longer hearken to Reason. Did not he, who said, that the *Scipio's* were two Thunderbolts of War (21), attribute to them all that was most real, most active, and most solid in Military Virtue? Nevertheless it is very true, that he made use of a Metaphor; and a Man must be senseless, if he says, that the *Scipio's* were only Thunderbolts in a metaphorical and figurative Sense. An Author, mentioned in the foregoing Remark, tells us very gravely, that *Chamier was one of the chief Satraps of the Faction of the Metaphorists* (22). How many Persons will repeat this Fallhood, without informing themselves of the thing, without suspecting that This Faction of the *Metaphorists* is a Chimera of *James Gaultier*, and without knowing, that Themselves, and That Jesuit, and All the most rigid Orthodox in general, are *Metaphorists* in the sense that *Chamier* was one? I have said something elsewhere (23) against the ridiculous Illusion of those, who have so much enlarged the List of Sects.

(19) Gualter. Tab. Chronolog. pag. m 822.

(20) Do but read *Vaugelas*, Father *Bouhours*, *Menage*, &c. in their Remarks on the *French* Tongue; and you will see by the Difference of the proper and figurative Sense, that the latter does not signify less real Objects than the former.

(21) Geminos duo fulmina belli Scipiadas, duplicem Libyæ. *Virg. Æn.* 6, *ver.* 843. *Amm. Marcellin. lib.* XXV. *cap.* VI, *pag. m.* 409, *said*, Longe formantur ætates Sophanem, & Arminium, & Calimachum & Cynegirum Medicorum in Græcis fulmina illa bellorum. *Lucretius*, *lib.* 3, *ver.* 1047, *furnished* Virgil *with* Ideas *Thought*. *See Mr* Drelincourt, *in* Indice Achilleo, pag. 44, n. 119, *and* pag. 46, n. 124.

(22) Allard, Bibliotheque de Dauphine, page 62.

(23) In the Article BEZANITES.

CHANGY (Peter de) *Esq*; lived in the XVIth Century. He translated into *French* the *Latin* Book of *Ludovicus Vives*, *Of the Institution of a Christian Woman*, *as well in her Infancy*, *as married*, *and a Widow*. *Likewise the Office of a Husband* (a). The Edition I have of it is neither the first, nor the second: it is of *Paris*, for *James Kerver*, 1542, in 8°, and was unknown both to *La Croix du Maine*, and *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* (b). To it was *newly* added, *a very short and fruitful Institution of the Virtue of Humility*: *with an Epistle of St* Bernard, *touching the Business and Management*

(a) See at the end of Remark [M], of the Article St ALDEGONDE, the Judgment of *Plessis* on this Version.

(b) *La Croix du Maine* knew of none of the Editions. *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* mentions only That of *Poitiers*, in 1544, in 16; and that of *Paris*, 1579, in 16.

Management of a Family. The Author had been ſome time dead. He had dedicated the Work to his Daughter *Margaret*. He was above Sixty Years of Age, when he ſet about this Verſion, and was ſeverely afflicted with the Gout (*c*). He had born Arms in his Youth, and had tranſlated ſix Books of *Pliny* into *French* [*A*], amidſt the Fatigues and Interruptions of War. He had Sons, who were learned Men, as I obſerve in the Remark.

(*c*) See, before the Book, the *Latin* Verſes *Simonis Romyglæi Andegavenſis.*

[*A*] *He had* ------ *tranſlated into* French *ſix Books of* Pliny.] See how they introduce him ſpeaking, in ſome Verſes (1), prefixed to his Tranſlation of the Work of *Ludovicus Vives*.

(1) Simonis Romyglæi Andegavenſis.

Me miſerum (aiebat) qui bella ferocia geſſi
Pro Patria, corpus dum juvenile foret.
Qui Plinî bis tres in Gallica verba libellos,
Mars, verti in caſtris, ſanguinolente, tuis.

—— *Unhappy me! who, in my Youth, waged cruel War, for my Country's Sake; who tranſlated ſix Books of* Pliny *into* French, *fighting, O bloody* Mars, *under thy Banners!*

Neither *La Croix du Main*, nor *Du Verdier Vauprivas*, ſay any thing of the Tranſlation of the ſix Books of *Pliny*; but they obſerve, that his Sommary of the ſixteen firſt Books of *Pliny* was printed at *Lyons*, for *John de Tournes*, in the Year 1551, in 16mo. It was Blaise de Chany, one of his Sons, who publiſhed it (2). He was *Curate of Deſpoyſſe*, as I learn from a Stanza of ten Verſes, prefixed to his Tranſlation of *Ludovicus Vives*. *Peter Peſſelier*, a Native of *Auxerre*, is the Author of it. James de Chany, another of our Author's Sons, was an Advocate: the Land of *Chany* is, I believe, in *Burgundy*: for thus the Epiſtle Dedicatory of this Tranſlator begins:

(2) La Croix du Maine, Bib. Franc. pag. 385.

To my Daughter Margaret.

YOUR Brother James, *Doctor of Laws, has brought me, to* Chany, *from the Library of the Sieur St* Anthot, *Counſellor in our Sovereign Court of* Dijon, *a Book in* Latin, *compoſed by an eloquent Man, containing the virtuous Education of a Chriſtian Woman.*

Du Verdier aſcribes to *James de Chany*, Doctor of Laws, and Advocate at *Dijon*, a *French* Tranſlation of the Book of *Johannes Ludovicus Vives, Of the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Woman*, &c (3). He ſays, that it was printed at *Lyons*, in 16mo, for *Sulpicius Sabon*, and that *Lewis Turquet* (4) *had likewiſe made a newer Tranſlation* of the ſame Book. It is plain, that he gives to the Son, in Page 597, what he aſcribes to the Father, in Page 1000. Why does he not mark the Year of the Edition of *Lyons*?

(3) Du Verdier, Bibl. Franc. pag. 597.

(4) It ſhould be *Turquet*, as in pag. 821.

CHARLES V, Emperor and King of *Spain*, born at *Ghent* the Twenty fourth of *February*, on St *Matthias*'s Day, 1500, was the greateſt Man that the Auguſt Houſe of *Auſtria* produced. He was qualified for the Field and the Cabinet; ſo that, finding himſelf Maſter of ſo many Kingdoms and Provinces, he might have ſubdued all *Europe*, if the Valour of *Francis* I. had not been an Obſtacle in his way [*A*]. There was a continual Rivalſhip between theſe two Princes, wherein Fortune declared moſt times againſt *France*; which was partly to be attributed to the Superiority of the Forces on one ſide of *Charles* V, and partly to the ill Conduct of the Council of *France*, in which more Faults were committed, than the Valour of the *French* Troops was able to repair. All this did not hinder *Charles* from receiving ſeveral Checks in his Expeditions againſt *France*. It is ſaid, that he was one of thoſe dull-witted Men, who promiſe nothing leſs in their Youth, than what they ſhall one day prove. It is even ſaid, that this was of great Uſe to him in gaining him the Preference to *Francis* I, with reſpect to the Imperial Crown [*B*]. Altho' he had an excellent Preceptor (*a*), yet he learned but little *Latin*

(*a*) He was afterwards Pope under the Name of *Adrian* VI.

[*A*] *He might have ſubdued all* Europe, *if the Valour of* Francis I *had not been an Obſtacle to it.*] He was almoſt the only Prince, who oppoſed the Torrent; and, if Hiſtory be well examined, we ſhall find, that the Emperor had commonly more Allies, than *Francis* I; and *England* was ſo far from thinking of keeping the Ballance even between theſe two Princes, that it often joined with the Emperor. Is it not known, that, in 1544, *Charles* V and *Henry* VIII had already divided *France* between them, and that their Treaty imported, that they ſhould join their Armies, before *Paris*, to plunder That great City (1)? They ſet about the Execution of This Project at the ſame time; ſince, whilſt the Emperor made an Irruption into *Champagne*, the *Engliſh* made a Deſcent into *Picardy*. Thus was the King of *France* paid for all his Cabals, to favour the Love of *Henry* VIII for *Anne Boleyn*. Thus *Charles* V was pliant enough to forget the Affronts offered to his divorced Aunt, and the Promiſes he had made to the Court of *Rome* (2). It is pretended, that it was one of the Things his Conſcience checked him for afterwards, and for which he forſook the World. ' Eſſe non pauca quæ Caroli vellicarent ' animum pietatis omnino non ſurdum. Iciſſe fœdus ' cum Henrico Angliæ Rege, à fidelium ſocietate, ' diris Pontificius, in Caroli gratiam, expuncto. In ' quo ille & injuriam, quam ab Henrico acceperat, ' repudiatâ Catharina uxore, Cæſaris materterâ, & ' conſtantiam promiſſi, nunquam ſe cum hæretico ' Rege, niſi is Pontificiæ dignitati ſatisfaceret, in ' gratiam rediturum, nimis quàm impotenter poſthabuerat atroci inexpiabilique in Gallum indignationi (3). —— *Many things conſpired to diſturb the mind of* Charles, *not altogether deaf to the ſuggeſtions of Piety: That he had made a League with* Henry, *King of* England, *who, to oblige* Charles, *had been excommunicated by the Pope; in which his fierce and implacable indignation againſt the* French *King got the better of the injury he had received from* Henry, *in the Divorce of his Wife* Catharine, *the Emperor's Aunt, and the Promiſe he had made, never to be reconciled to an Heretical King, till he ſhould make ſatisfaction to the Papal Dignity.*' What I am going to ſay is a more remarkable thing than it is thought to be. *Charles* V had more Forces than *Francis* I, and yet, by his Addreſs, or becauſe his Superiority was not ſo much feared as That of the *French*, he commonly formed more numerous Confederacies in his Favour, than Thoſe of his Enemies. I ſhall obſerve, by the way, that *Brantome* ſpoke with too much Diſdain of the other Princes, who oppoſed the Ambition of *Charles* V. ' That ' Emperor (ſays he (4) would eaſily have compaſſed ' his Deſign, if it had not been for our great King ' *Francis*, or his Shadow only. And he would have ' beat down all petty Princes and Potentates like ' Nine-pins; and their Power would have ſignified ' no more than That of Thoſe little Devils of *Rabelais*, who can only hail on Cabbages and Parſley ' in a Garden: The Pope could not have reſiſted ' him, ſeeing he was taken in his Fortreſs of ' *St Angelo*, which was pretended to be impregnable.'

(1) Mezerai, Chronol Abregé Tom. 4, pag. m. 628.

(2) The Emperor made no Scruple of being allied to a Prince, ſtruck with the Thunders of the Church, a mortal Enemy of the Holy See, and who had treated his Aunt moſt rigorouſly. *Mezerai, ibid. pag.* 620.

(3) Famianus Strada de Bello Belg. Dec. 1, lib. 1, pag. m. 29.

(4) Brantome Capit Etrangers, Tom. 1, pag. 244.

[*B*] *It is pretended, that he was one of thoſe dull-witted Perſons, &c. and that this was of great uſe to him in obtaining the Preference to* Francis I, *with reſpect to the Imperial Crown.*] It is certain, that, after the

Latin (b); he succeeded much better in the living Languages. He had the *French* so perfectly, that he made use of it to compose his own Annals [C]. Nevertheless it is pretended, that he esteemed the *Spanish* most [D]. He made Speeches on several Occasions; but he forgot himself most terribly in the Speech which he made in *Spanish* before the Pope, in the Year 1536 [E]. They had no reason, in

(b) See Remark [F], of the Article ADRIAN VI.

the Death of the Emperor *Maximilian*, which happened the 22d Day of *January* 1519, *Francis* I openly canvassed for the Empire, and bought some Voices, who, having received the Payment, turned on his Competitor's side. The Glory, which already surrounded That Monarch, was one of the Causes of his Exclusion. 'The greater Merit he seemed 'to have, the more it was feared he would reduce 'the Princes of *Germany* by Degrees, as his Predecessors had reduced those of *France*; and, if Oppression was to be feared on either side, it did not 'seem so near on *Charles*'s side, who was five Years 'younger than he, and, in Appearance, of a very 'mean Genius. In fine, by all these Considerations, 'and with 300000 Crowns, which were brought 'into *Germany* the foregoing Year, and very properly distributed, *Charles* carried it, and was elected at *Francfort* the twentieth of *June*, being at 'that time in *Spain*, where he had been near two 'Years (5).' This confirms what I have said already more than once (6), that, on some Occasions, the Superiority of Forces, or Merit, serves rather to frustrate a Design, than to make it succeed.

(c) Mezeral. Abregé Chronol. Tom. IV, pag. 493.

(6) In Remark [A], of the Article ANTONY (Marc) *Cretan*, and Remark [X], of the Article BELLARMIN.

[C] *He had the* French *Language so perfectly, that he made use of it to compose his Annals.*] I have read only in *Jerom Ruscelli*, that *Charles* V composed the Memoirs of his Reign in *French*; and he is also the only Author, whom *Valerius Andreas* alledges (7), where he speaks of That Work of *Charles* V. I wonder Those Memoirs have never appeared, since there were Copies of them, and *William Marindo* had translated them into *Latin*, with a Design to publish them immediately. *Ruscelli* affirms it. 'Egli 'stesso il predetto Imperator Carlo Quinto era 'uuito scrivendo in lingua Franceſe gran parte delle 'cose sue principali, come già di molte delle sue 'proprie fece il primo Cesare, & che s'aspetta di 'hora in hora d'haverle in luce fatte Latine da 'Guglielmo Marindo (8).' *Brantome* had reason to say, that they would have sold well; but he ought not to have doubted, as he did, of *Marindo*'s Version, under Pretence that it remained in Obscurity. He believed, that the Author, whom he quotes, spoke of That Translation as of a Work already public: This he ought not to have believed. Let us see now what he says: 'I have seen a printed Letter (9), among Those of *Bellesorest*, that he translated out of *Italian* into *French*; which certifies, 'that Charles V *wrote a Book like That of* Cæsar; 'and which had been translated into *Latin* at *Venice* 'by *William Marindre*; which I cannot well believe; for every one would have bought it, like 'Bread in a Market in time of Famine; and certainly the Desire of having such a fine and rare Book 'would have set it at another Price than it has been 'set at, and every body would have had one (10).' *Ghilini* has placed This Prince among Authors, and pretended, that the Work, which I have mentioned, had been printed. 'Opere sue, *says he* (11), che 'publicate, accrescono non poca fama al suo per 'altro celebratissimo nome, e sono, *Istoria delle cose 'da lui fatte*, la qual scrisse in lingua Franceſe ad 'imitazione di C. Giulio Cesare. —— *He acquired 'no small reputation by the* History of his own 'Actions, *which are published, and written in* 'French, *in imitation of* Julius Cæsar.' Afterwards he gives the Titles of some of This Emperor's Letters and Manifesto's; Which is a new Fault; for Those Writings were drawn up by his Secretaries. I imagine, that, if Father *Boubours* had thought of what *Ruscelli* relates, he would have mentioned it in That Place of his Conversations, wherein he says, that 'Charles V had a great Idea of our Language: He 'thought it fit for great Affairs, and called it a Language of State, according to the Testimony of Cardinal *du Perron* †. It was perhaps for this 'reason, that he did it the Honour to make use of 'it in the most famous Actions of his Life. The History of the Wars of *Flanders* ‡ informs us, that 'he spoke *French* to the States of *Brussels*, in resigning all his Kingdoms to *Philip* II (12).' To which these Words of *Brantome* may be added: Among 'all Languages, he thought the *French* to be more 'Majestic than the rest - - - - - and he loved to 'speak it, though he understood some others very 'well (13).

(7) Ruscelli's Letter to *Philip* II, among the Letters of Princes, Tom. III, fol. 249.

(8) It is That of *Ruscelli*, which I have quoted.

(9) Brantome, Capit. Etranger. Tom. I. pag. 42.

(10) Ghilini, Teatro, Parte 2, pag. 51.

† Perroniana *at the Word* Langue.

‡ Strada de Bello Belg. lib. 1.

[D] *It is pretended however, that he esteemed the* Spanish *most.*] Let us cite Father *Boubours* again. 'If *Charles* V were to return into the World, he 'would not be pleased, that you should prefer the '*French* Language to the *Castilian*; for he used to 'say, that, if he was to speak to Ladies, he would 'speak *Italian*; that, if he was to speak to Men, he 'would speak *French*; that, if he was to speak to his 'Horse, he would speak *High Dutch*; but that, if he 'was to speak to God, he would speak in *Spanish*. He 'ought to have said, without any more ado, replied '*Eugenius*, that the *Castilian* was the natural Language of God, as a learned Cavalier of that Country said one Day, who maintained, in a good 'Company, that, in the Terrestrial Paradise, the 'Serpent spoke *English*, the Woman *Italian*, the 'Man *French*, but that God spoke *Spanish* (14).' This differs much from what was said by a *Spaniard* to a *German*: The *Germans*, said he, do not speak, but thunder, and I believe, that God made use of their Language, when he thundered the Sentence of Condemnation on *Adam*. He was answered, That the Serpent had made use of the Affectations of the *Castilian* Language to deceive Eve. 'Petrus Roy'zius Mauræus Hispanus, Poeta illo seculo celeber'rimus, consiliarius regius, & ob eruditionem Lango '(15, acceptissimus; etiam in quotidiano convictu; 'sed qui velut ἀνεπαφῶς Germanicam linguam 'ridere soleret. Itaque famulos Langi Oratoris, 'mensæ aliquando adstantes, atque dura pronunciatione & accentu affectate voces Germanicas exsperantes, isto scommate jocove illusit: *Germani*, inquit, *non loquuntur, sed fulminant. Et credo ego*, 'ait Langæ Orator, *Deum ex indignatione hoc sermo'nis fulmina usum, cum primos parentes extruderet 'Paradiso*. Cui Langus, *Ego vursus*, inquit, *verisimile censeo, serpentem suavi & blando vocis Hi'spanicæ suæ usum, cum impulsuit Evæ*. Hoc argutulo responso *Regnum* & convivæ & adstantibus propinavit deridendum: quod & ipsum regem hoc audientem mirè delectavit (16).' I have lengthened this Citation, to shew, that the King of *Poland* himself was entertained with these Jests. But here is another Division, which does not altogether agree with That of *Charles* V, and which pleases a *Spanish* Doctor very much. The *German* Language, says he, is for Soldiers, the *French* for Women, the *Italian* for Princes, and the *Spanish* for God. 'De 'præstantia —— illarum (*linguarum*) quæ Europæis 'frequentiores sunt, sic *Tympius* † distinguendum 'putat, ut si quispiam cum Deo locuturus esset, Hispanicè deberet loqui, ob linguæ Majestatem; si 'cum aliquo Principe, Italicè propter hujus elegantiam; si cum fœminis, Gallicè ob suavitatem; si 'cum militibus, Germanicè quòd sit omnium robustissima; ac sic omnes suo encomio evexit, sed Hispanicam cæteris superiorem merito extulit (17).' There is yet another Division, according to which the *Spanish* Language is fit to command, the *Italian* to persuade, and the *French* to excuse one's self. From whence it comes, said a *Spaniard*, that God made use of the *Castilian* to forbid the first Man to eat of a certain Fruit; that the Serpent made use of the *Italian* to deceive *Eve*, and that *Adam* spoke *French* to justify his Fault (18).

(12) Boubours, Entret. 2. d'Aristе & d'Eugene, pag. m. 82.

(13) Brantome, ubi supra, p. 19.

(14) Boubours, ibidi pag 81.

(15) *It was* John Langus, Ferdinand's *Embassador in Poland.*

(16) Melch. Adam. in vit. Jurisconsl. pag. 81.

† In Mensa Theophilos. p. 20

(17) Gaspar à Reies, Elysio jucundi. Quæst. Campo. Quæst. 55. sub fin. p. mi 695.

(18) See la Mothe le Vayer's Sceptic Problems, *ch. xx.* p. 259. *Tom. XIII.*

[E] *He forgot himself most terribly, in a Speech which he made — before the Pope in* 1536.] It was a considerable Cause, which he would plead himself before the Pope, the Cardinals, the Embassadors of Princes, many Prelates, and great Lords. He dexterously mentioned all that he thought most fit to justify his own Conduct, and to condemn That of *Francis* I. He declared the Conditions, on which he was ready to conclude a Treaty of Peace with

France,

in *France*, to be satisfied with the *French* Embassadors, who were present at that Act [*F*]. Many Persons have accused him of having committed a great Fault, when he trusted to the Honesty of *Francis* I [*G*]. One must be very satirical to call this a Fault [*H*]. The *Flemish* Historians were either very simple, or very dishonest, in relating what passed on that Occasion [*I*]. The raising of the Siege of

France. He said also, that, if this did not please *Francis* I, he offered him other Terms, upon which he expected an Answer in twenty Days; which were, that, to avoid the Effusion of human Blood, 'they 'should end their Quarrels between themselves in 'their own Persons —— by fighting in an Island, 'or on a Bridge, or in a Boat on some River; and 'that, as to the Weapons, they might easily agree 'to have them equal, and that, for his Part, he 'would like any of them, were it either to fight 'with a Sword, or a Dagger, in his Shirt (19).' If this Proposal did not please, he offered another, which was War. He declared, that, if it came to that, he would take up Arms 'in such a manner, 'that nothing in the World should divert him from 'it, till one of the two should be the poorest Gentleman in his Country. Which Misfortune he 'hoped, and was sure, would fall on the King, and 'that God would assist him, as he had done hitherto (20).' See the Margin (21). He added, That his assurance of conquering was grounded on three Reasons. I. On his Right. II. On the Junctures of the Times, being as favourable to him as could be imagined. III. 'On his finding his Subjects, Captains, and Soldiers, so well disposed, bearing such 'a Love and Affection towards him, and so well 'experienced in the Art of War, that he might entirely rely on them. A thing which he certainly 'knew to be quite otherwise with the King of 'France; whose Subjects, Captains, and Soldiers 'were such, that, if his were like them, he would 'tie his Hands, put a Rope about his Neck, and go 'in that Condition to the King of *France*, and beg 'his Mercy (22).' Here one may ask the Question, which *Ulysses* put to *Agamemnon*;

'Ατρεΐδη, ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων (23);

What Word, Atrides, has escap'd thy Lips!

Here one may justly wonder, that a Discourse, more becoming a Braggadocio on a Stage, or a *Spanish* Knight, than an Emperor of *Germany*, should come from the Mouth of This wise Prince, before such an august Assembly. 'Sane mirati sumus vehementissime cum hanc orationem legimus apud Bellaium '& alios, potuisse ejusmodi verba & alia quam plurima non minus ferocia, quæ iidem auctores recitant, excidere in tali conventu adeo sapienti ac 'prudenti ab omnibus habito Principi, quæ magis 'Pyrgopolinici Militi glorioso Plautino convenire videntur (24).' But, as a Modern Historian observes, Good Fortune, and the Panegyrists, and Prophets, had concurred to fill This Emperor's Mind with vast Designs. 'Ever since he had seen himself at the Head 'of two great Armies, and made *Solyman* retreat, 'and *Barbarossa* fly, his Mind ran altogether upon 'War. The Flatterers, who spoil the wisest 'Princes by their excessive Praises, promised him 'nothing less than the Empire of all *Europe*: The 'Poets and Panegyrists impudently assured him of it, 'and the Diviners and Astrologers, who are as bold 'Liars, had spread the Belief of it in such a manner 'by their Predictions, that they made an Impression on weak Minds (25).' It was at this same time, that the Emperor, being swelled up with the Victories he had obtained, and with those he held already for certain, said to *Paul Jovius*, *Make good Provision of Paper and Ink, for I have cut out Work enough for you* (26). But never was the Providence of God more visibly seen to mortify the Presumption of Man. *Charles* V, at the Head of Ten thousand Horse, and above Forty thousand Foot, supported by a good Fleet, commanded by the famous *Andrew Doria*, fell upon *Provence*, and caused at the same time an Army of Thirty thousand Men to fall into *Picardy* (27). But it proved like the Mountain's bringing forth; *Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus* (28). The Army of *Provence* miscarried before *Marseilles*, and was reduced to a pitiful Condition, without giving Battle; and That of *Picardy* miscarried before *Peronne* (29).

(19) *Memoirs of* William du Bellai, lib. 5, pag. 506.

(20) Ibid. pag. 507.

(21) Zenocarus in Caroli vita etiam magnificentius scribit Carolum ad duellum Gallum provocasse septem obtatis optionibus, ut mari vel terra, vel flumine, equo vel pedibus, colle vel planitie inter se decertarent. —— Zenocarus, *in his Life of* Charles, *gives even a more pompous account of his challenging the* French *King to single Combat, offering him the choice of seven ways, either to fight by Sea, by Land, on a River, on Horse back, or on Foot, on a Hill, or in a Plain.* Spondanus, ad Ann. 1536, n. 7.

(22) Du Bellai, ibid. pag 508.

(23) Iliad. lib. 4, ver. 350.

(24) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1536, n. 7.

(25) Mezerai, ubi supra, pag. 591.

(26) See *Brantome's* Discourse about *Catherine de Medicis*, at the beginning.

(27) Mezerai, ibid. pag. 595.

(28) Horat de Arte Poet. ver. 139.

(29) Mezerai, ubi supra, pag. 595, 596.

[*F*] *They had no reason, in* France, *to be satisfied with the* French *Embassadors, who were present at This Solemnity.*] The Bishop of *Mâcon*, who was at that time at *Rome* in the Quality of Embassador of *Francis* I, and the Sieur *de Velli*, who performed the same Function at the Court of his Imperial Majesty, were present at the Speech. The first could answer but little, because he did not understand *Spanish*; and neither of them had time to say much. The worst is, that they did not give their Master a faithful Account of all that *Charles* V had proposed. They suppressed the Offer of a Duel, as also the Praises, which he gave his Soldiers, and the Contempt he shewed for those of *France*. They suprassed all this, at the Pope's Request, and that they might not retard the Treaty of Peace, by exasperating their Master (30). *Brantome* is very diverting, when he describes the Postures, which an Embassador, who was a Sword-man, made, during That Speech, and Those, which the Sieur *de Velli*, a Gown-man, made (31).

(30) Du Bellai's Memoirs, pag. 579, 580. Brantome's Illustrious Men, Tom. I, pag. m. 246.

(31) Ibid.

[*G*] *Many accuse him of having committed a great Fault, when he trusted to the Honesty of* Francis I.] The City of *Ghent* revolted in the Year 1539, and offered to deliver themselves up to *France*. The King not only refused such Offers, but also gave the Emperor notice of it, who, finding no better Remedy for an Evil, the Consequences of which were to be feared, than running to it in Person, desired a Passage through *France*, any other way seeming long and dangerous to him. He obtained what he desired, and received extraordinary Honours all over the Kingdom, and chiefly at the Court. The Conduct of *Francis* I *was* doubtless very fine and generous; but it is a great Illusion to praise him for not attempting against the Emperor's Liberty. Is a Man to be praised for not committing a notorious Perfidy?

[*H*] —— *one must be very satirical, to call this a Fault.*] Most of those, who blamed *Charles* V for the Trust he put in the Generosity of *Francis* I, did not design to reflect upon that Emperor, but to give a frightful Idea of That King: For, if it was an offence against the Rules of Prudence, to rely on the Word of *Francis* I, it is a Sign, that it was very probable he would commit a base and treacherous Action as soon as he could. I own that some Authors ground themselves on the continual Tricks, which they impute to *Charles* V, in relation to the King of *France*; and they argue thus: That Emperor should have feared, that *Francis* I might find many specious Pretences, after having suffered so many Injuries, to violate the Laws of Hospitality; Prudence therefore did not allow him to trust That Monarch. They may say what they please; their Thoughts will certainly tend more to the disreputation of *Francis* I, than *Charles* V; and it cannot be said, without blasting That King's Honour, that he deliberated in his Council, whether he should make *Charles* V a Prisoner, or not. *Camerarius*, a *German* Author, finds no likelihood in it (32).

(32) Meteran. Historiques, Vol. III, cap. 3. *I quote the* French *Translation, published by* Simon Goulart.

[*I*] *The Flemish Historians were either very simple, or very dishonest, in relating what passed on that occasion.*] The *Belgic* and *Germanic*, &c. Candor of Historians, generally speaking, is but a Chimera; perhaps there are no Nations that afford more equitable Pens, or more passionate Writers than These. Their Slanders are as keen and biting as Those beyond the *Alps*; and besides, they are sometimes built on very gross Fables. I do not mention all those, which they have published concerning *Charles* the Vth's Passage through *France*; I shall content myself to quote these Words of a *French* Annalist (33). 'Nec ullo modo audiendus insipidus quidam Belgicus Chronologus * dum scribit, Cæsarem pasquillis quibusdam totam per urbem Lutetiam dissemi-'natis præsentissimum sui periculum cum vitasset, 'perniciissimo

(33) Spondanus, ad Ann. 1545, n. 15.

* Locri, hoc an.

of *Metz* was one of the greateſt Mortifications that he met with in all his Life-time, and they make him ſay a witty thing on the Aſcendant that the Star of *Henry* II had over him [*K*]. Notwithſtanding his great Succeſſes in his Undertakings, it is certain, that his Hiſtory is but a Mixture of good and bad Fortune [*L*]. His Abdication is a thing very ſingular: It was a noble Subject for the Makers of Reflexions. They ſaid very different Things about his Motives [*M*], and the Occupations of his Solitude [*N*]; and ſome pretended, that he ſoon repented of

' perniciſſimo curſu primum Cameracum, hinc Gandavum conceſſiſſe. Inſulſiora namque ſunt iſta quam ab homine mente ſobrio proferantur. At ſic lubet plerique Belgis, cum de Francis agitur, fatuari & ineptire, qualia per multa apud Maiſerum, Maſſæum, & alios ejus generis homines, reperire licebat. —— *Nor are we to give any Credit to an inſipid* Belgic *Chronologer, when he writes, that the Emperor, having been lampooned all over Paris, and having eſcaped the moſt imminent Danger, fled as faſt as he could, firſt to* Cambray, *and from thence to* Ghent. *For ſuch Stories are too ridiculous for a Man in his Wits to relate. Yet moſt of the* Germans *take a pleaſure in venting ſuch idle Tales, when they are ſpeaking of the* French *Affairs; of which kind we meet with great numbers, in* Maierus, Maſſæus, *and ſuch like Authors.*' The long Wars of *France*, with the Houſe of *Burgundy*, had ſo much incenſed the *Flemings*, that thoſe, who could not commit Hoſtilities with Sword in Hand, exerciſed them with their Pen, or with their Tongues. Now in theſe ſeveral kinds of War, many Perſons make uſe of the Maxim, *Dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirat?* An Hiſtorian, who dares ſay, that *Charles* V ran away Poſt, and who does not know, or pretends not to know, that That Prince was accompanied by two Sons of *France* to the very Frontiers, and received in all the Towns as the King himſelf, what kind of Man muſt he be? [*K*] *They make him ſay a witty thing on the Aſcendant that the Star of* Henry II *had over him.*] I perceive very well, ſaid he, that Fortune is like Women; ſhe prefers Young Perſons to the Old. *Strada* mentions this Thought of *Charles* V in general (34): *Scioppius* is in the wrong to cenſure him for it (35), and it is by a Spirit of Contradiction that he queſtions whether the Emperor ſaid it. He acts the Part of a Divine unſeaſonably, and is miſtaken in believing, that this Saying of *Charles* V aſcribes all Things to meer Chance. Is it blind Chance that makes Women love a young Husband better than an old one? There is nothing more oppoſite to Fortune than an Affectation, whatever it be, of favouring one thing more than another. If the Maxim of *Charles* V was true, it would much better prove the Doctrine of Providence, generally ſpeaking, than it would prove the oppoſite Opinion. *Scioppius* is more in the right, when he ſays, that This Maxim is to be found in *Machiavel*; for we find the following Words in the Twenty fifth Chapter of the *Prince* of That *Florentine* Author. ' Jo giudico ' ben queſto, che ſia meglio eſſere impetuoſo che riſpettivo, perche la Fortuna è donna: & è neceſſario volendola tener ſotto, batterla & urtarla. Et ſi vede che la ſi laſcia piu vincere da queſti, che da quelli che freddamente procedano. Et pero ſempre (come donna) è amica de' giovani, perche ſon meno riſpettivi, piu feroci è con piu audacia la commandano. —— *It is better, in my Opinion, to be impetuous, than reſpectful; becauſe Fortune is a Woman; and, if you would get the better of her, you muſt uſe her ill; and it is plain, that ſhe oftner ſubmits to ſuch Perſons, than to thoſe, who go coolly to work: for this reaſon, like a Woman, ſhe favours the young, becauſe they are leſs reſpectful, more fierce, and command her with more boldneſs.*'

(34) Quin & vulgo credebatur, Cæſaris fortunam ſubſidio ac ſuffragio ſuo ſecutæ jam captam retrocedere incepiſſe: feliciſque Imperatoris hactenus invicti genium in Henricum Galliæ Regem Immigraſſe. Ipſo Cæſare non diſſimulante, quem auditum ferebant, quum diceret, *Nempe* FORTUNAM *eſſe Juventutis Amicam.* Strada, de bello Belg. lib. 1, dec 1, pag. m 17. *He quotes a Letter of* Hippolitus Chigius, *which is in the third Book of the Letters of Princes, fol. m.* 212, verſo: *I ſay, he quotes it for the firſt Part of this Paſſage.*

(35) Infam. Fam. Strad. pag. m. 36.

[*L*] *His Hiſtory is but a Mixture of good and bad Fortune.*] He confeſſes himſelf, in the Speech he made, when he reſigned all his Dominions, *That the greateſt Proſperities, he ever had in the World, were mixed with ſo many Adverſities, that he could ſay he never had any Contentment* (36). It is pretended, that, after his Abdication, he was uſed to ſay, that one Day of his Solitude made him reliſh more Pleaſure, than all his Triumphs had given him (37).

(36) *Memoirs of* Beauvais Nangis, pag. 120.

(37) Camerarius, Hiſt. Meditat. Vol. 1, Book 3, chap. 5.

[*M*] *Very different Things are ſaid about the Motives of his Abdication.*] *Strada* obſerves, that the Abdication of This Emperor became a Subject of Declamation in the Schools. *Non ignoro eam rem vario tunc hominum ſermone fuiſſe diſceptatam: hodieque declamatorum in Scholis* (38), *politicorum in auribus, argumentum eſſe,* Cæſarem abdicantem (39). Some have ſaid, that, finding himſelf no longer able, by reaſon of his Infirmities, to ſupport the Weight of his Glory, he wiſely prevented the Shame of a greater Decay of his Reputation. It has been alſo ſaid, that Spite at ſeeing his Fortune inferior to That of ſo young a Prince, as *Henry* II, though ſhe had ſo often triumphed over That of *Francis* I, obliged him to forſake the World. I ſhall ſay, in the following Remarks, that the Spite at not being able to become a Pope, and the Deſire he had to ſerve GOD according to the Rites of the Proteſtants, have paſſed for the Cauſes of his Retreat. But every one has not looked upon this great Action with a critical Mind. Some have ſaid, that a ſincere Deſire to meditate on the Nothingneſs of this World, and on the ſolid Treaſures of Heaven, inclined him to ſeek a Solitude, that, by the Exerciſe of Penance, he might expiate the Evils, which he had occaſioned in Chriſtendom, and prepare himſelf early and uſefully for Death, by an intire Application to Things relating to his Salvation. See moſt of all theſe Things, and ſeveral others, nobly repreſented in *Strada* (40).

(38) *This puts me in mind of* Juvenal's *Words*, Sat. 1, ver. 13. *which ſhew, that the Scholars of his Time declaimed on the Abdication of* Sylla. Et nos ergo manum ferulæ ſubduximus, & nos Conſilium dedimus Sullæ privatus ut altum Dormiret.

(39) Strada, ubi ſupra, pag. 16.

(40) Strada, ibid.

[*N*] —— *and the Occupations of his Solitude.*] He made choice of it in the Monaſtery of St *Juſtus*, ſituated near *Placentia*, on the Frontiers of *Caſtile* and *Portugal*. The Monks of That Monaſtery call themſelves *Hieronymites*. He cauſed a little Houſe to be built next to That Convent, made up of ſix or ſeven Rooms, and ſhut himſelf up in it in the Month of *February*, 1557. He kept only twelve Servants, and a Horſe. He did not employ himſelf ſo much in the Exerciſes of Devotion, but that he amuſed himſelf with many other Things, as in taking the Air on Horſe-back, in cultivating his Garden, in making Clocks, and Mechanical Experiments with a famous Engineer (41). Some Days before his Death, he cauſed his Funeral to be celebrated, and aſſiſted perſonally at it (42). Some have ſaid, that he endeavoured to make ſeveral Clocks agree together, with ſo much exactneſs, that they ſhould all ſtrike at the ſame Moment; and that this Deſign was not ſo difficult to execute, as the Agreement of Religions, which he had in his Head in the Time of the *Interim*. He had not ſo abſolutely renounced the World, but that he enquired how the War went, and gave his Opinion about it, as appears from what he ſaid and did, after he had heard this his Son, who was victorious at *St Quintin*, know not how to make uſe of his Advantage. The Thing is related thus: ' Though he ' was a Monk, and half a Saint, yet he could not ' forbear (as it was ſaid at that time, when the common Report of it ran every where) having heard, ' that the King his Son had gained the Battle of *St* ' *Quintin*, to aſk the Courrier, who brought him ' the News of it, If he had purſued his Victory as ' far as the Gates of *Paris*? And, being told that ' he had not, he ſaid, that, at his Age, and in that ' Fortune, he would not have ſtopped in ſo fair a ' way, and would have run much better; and he ' was ſo vexed at it, that he would not ſee the Diſ' patches the Courrier brought him (43).' We muſt not forget what a young Monk ſaid to him. ' The ' Emperor going one Morning, in his turn, to awake ' the other Monks, he found this, who was but a ' Novice, ſo faſt aſleep, that he could hardly awake ' him: The Novice getting up at laſt, againſt his ' Will, and being yet half aſleep, could not forbear ' ſaying, that he ought to be ſatisfied with having ' diſturbed the Quiet of the World, as long as he ' was in it, without coming to diſturb the Quiet of ' thoſe, who had left it (44).' I have read a thing, that ſeems to me worthy to be mentioned. It is an Extract of a Piece, which *Balzac* had received from *Rome*, about the Retirement of *Charles* V.

(41) Strada Id. lib. pag. 83, 14, calls him, *Fanaellus Turrianus*, and tells very ſingular Things of him.

(42) Ex Strada, ibid.

(43) Brantome, Memoires des Capitaines Etrangers, Tom. 1, pag. 12.

(44) *St Real's* Hiſtory of *Don Carlos*, pag. m. 21, 22.

of having reſigned his Dominions, and eſpecially to a Son, who ſhewed ſo little Acknowledgement for it [O]. It is ſaid, he did not forget to diſcipline himſelf [P]. And, in general, ſome Authors ſpeak very advantageouſly of his Piety [Q]. Others pretend, that he had more Ambition than Religion [R], and that

(45) Converſat. 2, pag. m. 10.

Balzat (45) relates the beginning of it thus: 'When '*Charles*, weary of the World, reſolved to die under the Empire of his Brother, and under the 'Reign of his Son.' The Author of This Piece, after ſeveral moral Reflexions, tells this Story. 'Nevertheleſs, as there is nothing ſo clean, but 'ſlander may ſoil it, and nothing ſo good but that 'it may be miſconſtrued; ſome ſay, that This 'Prince repented of his Retirement, and was ſo 'much vexed at it, that it had even a little diſtract-'ed him. For proof whereof, they tell this fabu-'lous Story: They ſay, that he had Five hundred 'Crowns in a black Velvet Purſe, which he would 'never part with, but carried it every Night to Bed 'with him: If we will believe them, he kiſſed, 'he careſſed, he idolized, This Purſe. And, after 'having deſpiſed the Riches of the World, the 'Pearls and the Diamonds of ſo many Crowns, that 'he had worn, he became covetous of Five hun-'dred Crowns. One of the King of *Spain*'s natu-'ral Subjects formerly told me this Story; but I 'laughed at it, and put it among the apochryphal 'Tales. It is much more likely, that, if the Em-'peror repented of any thing in his Solitude, it 'was of having retired no ſooner from the World: 'or, as an *Italian* Author ſpeaks of it, of not hav-'ing ſooner cut ſhort the Game of Fortune. For 'thereby, ſays he, he over-reached Fortune, tho' 'ſhe is ſo ſtrong, and knows ſo well how to bubble

(46) Ibid. pag. 12, 13.

'Men (46).

[O] *Some pretend, that he ſoon repented of having reſigned his Dominions to a Son, who ſhewed ſo little acknowledgment for it.*] We are told of an Anſwer, which *Philip* II made to Cardinal *de Granvelle*; from which one might infer, that *Charles* V did not defer his Repentance till the next Day, and that his Deſire to renounce Authority and Government, did not exceed the Twenty four Hours. 'It is this 'Day a Year, *ſaid Cardinal* de Granvelle *to King* 'Philip, that the Emperor diveſted himſelf of all 'his Dominions. It is alſo this Day a Year, *an-'ſwered the King*, that he repented of it.' They, who are not ſo malicious, pretend, that he did not begin to be ſorry for the Loſs of his Crowns, till, going through ſeveral Provinces of *Spain*, in his way to *Burgos*, he ſaw ſo few of the Nobility come to meet him. Beſides, being come into That Town, he was obliged to wait no little time for the Sum, which he had reſerved for himſelf. He had occaſion for part of it, to reward his Domeſtics, whom he was to diſcharge; and he was put off from Day to Day for the Payment of it; which diſpleaſed him much. I ſhall ſet down a long Paſſage of *Strada* (47), where we meet with theſe Particulars, and wherein we ſhall ſee, that he affirms nothing about the Repentance in queſtion (48). 'Quum in Can-'tabriam appulſus, ac profectus inde Burgos, raros 'admodum ſibi obvios vidit Hiſpanos Proceres, '(quos nempe ſolus incomitatuſque tituli ſui Caro-'lus non aliexerat) ſenſit tum primum nuditatem 'ſuam. Acceſſitque & illud, quod ex centum num-'mûm aureorum millibus, (quem ſibi reditum ex im-'menſis opibus tantummodo ſeſeſuerat, quum eorum 'parte opus tunc eſſet, qua famulos aliquot donaret, 'dimitteretque; expectandum ei pluſculum, nec 'ſine ſtomacho Burgis fuit, dum ea videlicet ſumma 'aliquando redderetur. Quam ille offenſionem ſicut 'diſſimulanter haud tulit, ita occaſionem nonnullis 'forte præbuit affirmandi, Regnis vix ejuratis, cœ-'piſſe Carolum initi conſilii pœnitere. Quamquam 'alii ipſo ejurationis die mutaſſe illum ſententiam ex 'eo narrant, quod aliquot poſt annis, quum Cardi-'nalis Granvellanus ex occaſione Philippo Regi re-'vocaſſet in mentem, Anniverſarium illum eſſe diem, 'quo Carolus pater Imperio Regniſque ceſſerat; reſ-'ponderit illico Rex, & hunc quoque diem Anni-'verſarium eſſe quo illum ceſſiſſe pœnitûit. Quod 'incerto rumore prolatum facile percrebuit apud ho-'mines, non ſibi in tam inaudito facinore conſtan-'tiam vel unius diei perſuadentes. Niſi forte Phi-'lippus non putavit in parente laudandum, quod 'imitandum ſibi non ſtatueret.' It has been pretended, that King *Philip* did much worſe than not being punctual in the Payment of the Penſion; for it is ſaid, he leſſened it by two thirds. Let us hear *Brantome*. 'I have read a ſtrange thing in a little 'Book wrote in *Flanders*, intituled, *The Apology of* 'the Prince of Orange, which I neither will nor 'can believe, being publiſhed by the King of *Spain*'s 'Enemies; though it may poſſibly be true: I affirm 'nothing but what I have ſeen and do certainly 'know, that out of a Hundred thouſand Crowns, 'which he had reſerved to himſelf, or other Reve-'nues, the King his Son cut off two Thirds, ſo 'that moſt times he had not wherewith to maintain 'himſelf and his Servants, nor to give Alms, and 'exerciſe Charity towards his old Servants, and faith-'ful Soldiers, which was a great Heart breaking to 'him, and which haſtened his Death (49)' It may be ſaid in general, that Ingratitude chiefly appears in the Behaviour of Children towards their Fathers.

(47) Strada, Dec. 2, lib. 1, pag. 20, 21.

(48) After the Words, which I quote, he rejects this Repentance as a very ill-grounded Report

(49) Brantome, Capit. Etrang. Tom. I. pag. 39.

[P] *It is ſaid, he did not forget to diſcipline himſelf.*] *Strada* affirms it poſitively. 'Quin etiam 'plexo e funiculis tormento —— exigere a ſeſe an-'teactæ vitæ pœnas perſevere cœpit. Quos inde fu-'niculos a Philippo Rege reverenter habitos, ab eo-'que morti proximo afferri ad ſe juſſos, &, ut erant 'cruore Caroli patris aſperſi, filio Philippo Tertio 'traditos, inter Auſtriacæ monumenta Pietatis aſſer-'vari fama eſt (50). —— *Beſides which, making a* 'Scourge of ſmall Cords —— *he began very ſeverely* 'to puniſh himſelf for his paſt Life. *Which Scourge,* 'being had in great Reverence by Philip II, *and be-'ing ordered to be brought to him on his Death-bed,* 'and delivered, ſtained, as it was, *with his Father* 'Charles's *Blood, to his Son,* Philip III, *is ſaid to* 'be kept among the Monuments of the Auſtrian *Piety.*' He is not the only Author, who ſays, that The Scourge, which *Charles* V made uſe of, and which is ſtained with his Blood, is kept as a kind of Relic. What he ſays, that King *Philip* II cauſed his Father's Scourge to be brought to him, and gave it to his Son, is confirmed by other Hiſtorians. You will find it in the Memoirs of *Chiverni* (a) (51), and in Thoſe of *Brantome*: I ſhall only quote the laſt. 'He cauſed alſo a diſciplining Whip to be taken out 'of a little Cheſt, which was bloody at the ends; 'and, holding it up, he ſaid: This Blood is of my 'Blood, yet not properly mine, but That of my 'Father, whom GOD abſolve, who made uſe of 'this Whip: This I am willing to declare (52).' *Scioppius* boaſts to have handled This Whip in the Monaſtery of the *Eſcurial*. *Quod ego in Monaſterio Laurentiano manibus tractavi & Car. V. ſanguine, ut aiebant, adhuc oblitum vidi.* He rallies *Strada*, for having obſerved, that the ſame Whip is yet ſtained with *Charles*'s Blood: for it is a Proof, ſays he, that the Deſcendants of That Emperor have let his Whip hang on a Hook, without laſhing their Shoulders with it; which *Scioppius* would not have thought amiſs. What he ſays there againſt *Flagellation*, is curious enough. 'Verear ne Auſtriaci Principes pie-'tatem ſuam frigide laudatam putent, cum flagellum 'illud adhuc Caroli ſanguine notatum prædicetur: 'quod argumento eſt, id ipſos jam octoginta annos 'ferreatum de parietibus clavo pependiſſe, nec vel 'filii ejus vel nepotis ac pronepotum dorſo moleſtiæ 'multum creaſſe (53).'

(50) Strada, Dec. 2, lib. 2, p. 14.

(a) [All theſe Facts are taken from a little Book in 8vo, printed in 1600, at *Mets*, for *Zachary Durant*, under the Title of *The laſt Will and Teſtament of* Philip II. REMARK.]

(51) Page 294. Edit. of *Paris*, 1636, in 4to.

(52) Brantome, Capit. Etrang. Tom. II. pag. 105.

[Q] *Some Authors ſpeak very advantageouſly of his Piety.*] *William Zenocarus* affirms, that *Charles* V compoſed Prayers for each Expedition he undertook, that he wrote them with his own Hand, that they were as long as the ſeven Penitential Pſalms, and that, having cauſed them to be approved by his Confeſſors, he repeated them every Day in the midſt of his Armies. Sometimes, when he felt devout Emotions and Compunctions, he ſtepped aſide, under pretence of ſome natural Neceſſity, that he might be longer in the Fervour of Prayer. He gave *Adrian Sylvanus* theſe Prayers to keep, with order to tear them to Pieces, and throw them into the Air, if any Misfortune ſhould happen to him. Many, having

(53) Scioppius Infam. Fam. Stradæ, pag. 19.

that he died almost a *Lutheran* [S]. The first of these two things is more probable

ing observed the Time, which This Emperor employed in his Prayers, said, that he spoke oftner to GOD than to Men (54).

[R] —— *others pretend, that he had more Ambition than Religion.*] They maintain, that the desire he had to aggrandize himself, to the Prejudice of *Francis* I, was the Cause that he suffered *Solyman* to take *Belgrade* and *Rhodes*, and that he did not make use of the favourable Occasions, which GOD put into his Hands, against the *Turks*, either in *Hungary*, or *Africa*. He would rather ravage *France*, than make use of the Advantages he had gained over the Infidels. He is accused of having encouraged Lutheranism, which he might easily have extirpated. He found his Advantage in the Divisions, which That Sect caused, and made use of them sometimes against the Pope, sometimes against *France*, and sometimes against *Germany* itself. It is said, he rejected the Offers, which the Protestants made him, to serve him against the *Turks*, if they might have Liberty of Conscience; but he granted it to them, when they promised him to renounce their Alliance with *France* (55). If it be so, it cannot be denied, that This is an Example of what I have said in other Places (56) concerning THE RELIGION OF SOVEREIGNS. As Men, they are zealous for their Religion; they pray to GODS: they go devoutly to Church; but as soon as they consider themselves invested with the Quality of Sovereigns, they think only of conquering their Enemies, and vigorously attack, not those, who are most opposite to their Belief, but those, whom they hate most, out of Fear or Jealousy, though they were the greatest Support of their Religion. For the rest, a great Falshood has been published in the Life of *Charles* V (57). It is This: 'Being obliged to 'avoid Duke *Maurice* (for he was only attended with 'six Horsemen); the Princes of *Germany* proposed 'to him, that, if he would but command, that 'their Opinions should be examined, they would 'supply him with a Hundred thousand Men, to oppose the *Turks*, who invaded *Hungary*, and that 'they would maintain them, till he had made himself Master of *Constantinople*. He answered, that 'he would purchase no Kingdoms at so dear a rate, 'nor *Europe* itself on such a Condition; but that he 'only desired JESUS CHRIST crucified (58).' It is certain, that, after the Flight of *Charles* V before *Maurice*, the Protestants obtained almost every thing they asked for. See *Maimbourg*'s History of Lutheranism (59). I refer you thither, because it is a Book an hundred times more common than *Sleidan*, *Thuanus*, and *Chytreus*, quoted by *Maimbourg*.

[S] —— *and that he died almost a* Lutheran.] *Brantome* shall be the first, that I quote: 'This 'Book (60) even says, that it was once decreed 'by the Inquisition of *Spain*, the King his Son 'being present, and consenting to it, to take up his 'Body, and cause him to be burnt as an Heretic, (What Cruelty!) for having in his Life-time 'spoken slightly of Religion; for which reason he 'was unworthy of Burial in holy Ground, and deserved to be burnt like a Faggot; and also, that 'he had too much adhered to the Opinions of the 'Archbishop of *Toledo*, who was held a Heretic, 'and was for that Reason kept a long time Prisoner 'in the Inquisition, and rendered incapable, and deprived of his Bishopric, which was worth a hundred or sixscore thousand Ducats: This was indeed the ready way to make it believed, that he 'was an Heretic, and to have his Estate and his 'Spoils (61).' The other Author, whom I shall quote, gives a more curious detail of all this. 'The 'strangest of all the Reports, *says he* (62), spread 'abroad about the Emperor's Retreat, was, that 'the continual Correspondence, which he had with 'the Protestants of *Germany*, had given him some 'Inclination for their Opinions, and that he had 'hid himself in Solitude, to have the Liberty of 'ending his Days in the Exercises of Piety, agreeable to his secret Dispositions. He made choice 'of Persons, all suspected of Heresy, for his spiritual Guides, as, Dr *Cazalla* his Preacher, the 'Archbishop of *Toledo*, and chiefly *Constantine Pontius*, Bishop of *Dresse*, and his Director. It 'was known afterwards, that the Cell, in which 'he died at *St Justus*, was filled on all sides with 'Writings of his own hand about Justification and 'Grace, which favoured of the Doctrine of the 'Innovators (63). But nothing confirmed this Opinion so much as his Will. There were almost no 'pious Legacies in it, or Foundations for Prayers; 'and it was made in such a different manner from 'Those of the zealous Catholics, that the Inquisition of *Spain* thought they might very well be 'offended at it. Nevertheless, they durst not break 'out before the King's Arrival: but that Prince 'having signalized his Arrival in That Country 'by the Punishment of all the Partizans of the new 'Opinion, the Inquisition, being grown bolder by 'his Example, attacked first of all the Archbishop 'of *Toledo*, then the Emperor's Preacher, and, 'lastly, *Constantine Pontius*. The King suffering 'them to be imprisoned, the People looked upon 'his Patience as a Masterpiece of his Zeal for the 'true Religion; but the rest of *Europe* saw, with 'Horror, the Confessor of the Emperor *Charles*, 'in whose Arms That Prince died, and who had 'as it were received That great Soul into his Bosom, delivered up to the most cruel and shameful Punishment by the Hands of his own Son. 'In effect, in the Sequel of the Process, the Inquisition, bethinking themselves of accusing these 'three Persons of having had a Hand in the Emperor's Will, they were so audacious, as to condemn them to be burnt with the Will. The 'King awaked at this Sentence, as at a Clap of 'Thunder. At first, the Jealousy of his Father's 'Glory made him take some Pleasure in seeing his 'Memory exposed to That Affront; but afterwards, having considered the Consequences of That wicked Attempt, he hindered the Effect of it by the 'mildest and most secret means he could pitch upon, to save the Honour of the Holy Office, and 'to make no breach in the Authority of That Tribunal. —— In the mean time, Dr *Cazalla* 'was burnt alive, with a Phantom representing *Constantine Pontius*, who died some Days before in 'the Prison. The King was constrained to permit This Execution, to oblige the Holy Officers to 'consent, that the Archbishop of *Toledo* might appeal to *Rome*, and to speak no more of the Emperor's last Will.' If these things be true, the Emperor must have been the greatest Hypocrite that ever was, or the Historians, who speak of his Devotions (64), and Hatred of Heretics (65), have greatly imposed upon us. It is pretended, that he reckoned it one of his Crimes, that he had not caused *Luther* to be burnt, notwithstanding the safe Conduct he had granted him (66).

Turn to the Remarks of the Article of *Carranza*, where you will find several things concerning this Matter. What follows may pass for a Supplement, and will point out some Faults of the Author of *Don Carlos*'s History. I. The *Spanish* Historians do not agree, that *Constantine Pontius* (67) was *Charles*'s Director, or Confessor; they allow, that he had been his Preacher. II. He was not Bishop of *Dresse*. I find no Bishopric in *Spain*, or any where else, of that Name. It is true, *Thuanus* speaks of an *Episcopus Dressensis* (68) (it is doubtless what deceived the Author of *Don Carlos*'s History), but he does not say, that That Bishop was *Constantine Pontius*; he was a Preacher of *Seville*, whose Name was *Geles*, who held the same Opinions, and underwent the same Fate, with *Constantine Pontius*; for they both died before the *Auto de Fé* was held, and were both burnt in Effigy (69). This *Giles* was nominated by the Emperor to the Bishopric of *Tortosa* (70). III. It is not true, that the Inquisition did not begin to attack Dr *Cazalla*, and *Constantine Pontius*, till *Philip* came into *Spain*; he did not arrive there till the beginning of *September* 1559; and those two Persons were in the Prisons of the Inquisition before the Death of *Charles* V, which happened, as every one knows, the Twenty first of *September* 1558. The Count *de la Roca* relates what was said by the said Emperor on occasion of the Sentence against *Cazalla* (71) and the Imprisonment of *Constantine* (72). Another Historian (73) says,

(54) Guill. Zenocerus, lib. 5, de Vita Caroli V, apud Matthiam Castritium de virtutibus Principum Germaniæ lib. 2, cap. 34.

(55) *See* La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. II, pag. 213, 214, 215, Edit. in 12mo, 1681. *See also* Maimbourg's *History of* Lutheranism, Tom. I, pag. 247, 248, *and* Tom. II, pag. 159.

(56) In Remark [H], of the Article *AGESILAUS* II, and Remark [C], of the Article *ARISTIDES*.

(57) Composed by *John Antony de Vera* and *Figueroa*, Count *de la Roca*.

(58) The Count *de la R-c-'s* History of *Charles* V, pag. 335, Edit. of *Brussels*, 1663, in 12mo.

(59) Tom. II, pag. 158, ad Ann. 1552.

(60) That is to say, the Prince of *Orange*'s Apology. I have not found this in my Edition, which is that of 1581, nor what is cited above in the Remark [O], Citat. (49). See the Rem. [T].

(61) Brant. Capit. Etrang. Tom. I, pag. 39.

(62) The Abbot of St *Real*, in his History of *Don Carlos*. *He cites* Thuanus, d'Aubigné, &c.

(63) *Apply here a thing true or false, which is to be read in* Melanchthon, *in cap.* 25. Matthæi *pag. m.* 558. Carolus V justit amoveri monachos à conjugo moritura, & justit præceptorem filii sui proponere conjugi consolationes de Christo. —— Charles V *ordered the Monks to be removed from his Wife, when dying, and commended his Son's Tutor to propose to her the Comforts of the Gospel.*

(64) *See* Strada, Decad. 1. lib. 2. pag. 14, 15.

(65) *See the Count* de la Roca, pag. 334.

(66) *See* la Mothe le Vayer, Tom. II, p. 299. Edit. in 12mo.

(67) His Name was not *Pontius*. I have a ready observed it above, in Citation (70), of the Article *CARRANZA*. See also the beginning of the Article *PONTIUS*.

(68) Thuan. lib. 23. pag. 470. ad Ann. 1559.

(69) Id. ibid.

(70) He should therefore have been called *Episcopus Tortosensis*, or *Dertusensis*, or rather *Dertusensis*.

(71) History of *Charles* V. pag. 334.

(72) Ibid. pag. 335.

(73) Herrera, Historia General. l. 6. cap. 26, pag. m. 4.0.

probable than the laſt. The Apology of the Prince of *Orange* is improperly alledged upon this Occaſion [*T*]. *Charles* V was not free from human Infirmities

ſays, that *Caçalla*, in whoſe Houſe the Aſſemblies of the Proteſtants were held at *Valladolid*, was executed the Twenty firſt of *March* 1559, whilſt *Philip* was ſtill in the *Netherlands*. IV. *Conſtantine Pontius*, having been impriſoned by the Inquiſition, in *Charles*'s Life-time, did That Monarch no Service on his Death-bed; ſo far was he from *receiving That Great Soul into his Boſom*. *Thuanus* deceived the Author of *Don Carlos*'s Hiſtory: which ought to be a Warning to all Authors not to truſt blindly to any body. 'Conſtantinus qui à ſacris conſeſſionibus diu Cæſari eique in ſolitudine ſua poſt imperii ac regnorum abdicationem, ac poſtremo animam agenti ſemper præſto fuerat, ad idem mox tribunal raptus, *&c* (74). —— Conſtantine, *who was long Confeſſor to the Emperor, both before, and after, his Abdication, and at the time of his Death, was ſoon after called to the ſame Tribunal.*' If one goes aſtray in following *Thuanus*, what may not one fear in following mean Hiſtorians? V. Any Reflexion againſt *Philip*, by virtue of a pretended Permiſſion granted by him to impriſon *Caçalla* and *Conſtantine*, after his Return into *Spain*, is chimerical; for thoſe two Perſons were in Priſon before the Emperor's Death. VI. Some Hiſtorians (75) ſay, that *Caçalla* repented, and endeavoured in vain to convert one of his Accomplices, whoſe Obſtinacy was ſo great, that he ſuffered himſelf to be burnt alive: This is to ſay plainly enough, that *Caçalla* was not burnt till after his Death. VII. However, he was not *burnt alive with a Phantom repreſenting* Conſtantine Pontius; for the Execution of *Caçalla* was performed in the *Auto de Fé* of the Twenty firſt of *March* 1559, at *Valladolid*, and That of *Conſtantine Pontius* in another *Auto de Fé* at *Seville* (76). VIII. The King did not oblige *the Holy Office to conſent, that the Archbiſhop of* Toledo *ſhould appeal to* Rome; for, in the firſt place, That Archbiſhop's Cauſe was not brought to the Court of *Rome* by an Appeal; but the Pope ordered it to be brought before him; and the ſame Pope, who would have had the Inquiſition of *Spain* ſend him That Priſoner at firſt, and who found himſelf obliged to conſent to the Proceedings of That Tribunal, always reſerved the definitive Sentence to himſelf (77). In the ſecond place, King *Philip* was ſo far from deſiring, that *Carranza* ſhould appeal to *Rome*, that he oppoſed a long time the Inſtances, which the Pope made, to refer That Archbiſhop's Caſe to him. The Fathers of the Council of *Trent* complained ſeveral times to the Legates of what the Inquiſition of *Spain* practiſed toward *Carranza*; the Legates wrote to the Pope about it; the Pope charged his Nuncios to act vigorouſly: and you will ſee, in *Palavicini* (78), that They, who believe, that his Holineſs did not ſhew all the neceſſary Vigour in it, muſt be ſuch, as do not conſider the neceſſity, he was in, to yield to *Philip*'s Oppoſition, through a Principle of Prudence.

You will find none of theſe Remarks in the *Thoughts of a Man of Wit on the Novel intituled Dom Carlos* (79); and yet That witty Writer does his beſt to criticize That Novel in every thing. This ſurpriſes me; for, ſhould a Man ſet up for a public Cenſor of a Book, without knowing whether it offends againſt Hiſtory?

[*T*] *The Apology of the Prince of* Orange *is improperly alledged.*] *Brantome* boaſts to have read in it, that King *Philip* II conſented, that the Body of *Charles* ſhould be taken up, and burnt *as a Heretic*. He is miſtaken; and perhaps I have diſcovered the cauſe of his Error. I conjecture, that he had read That Apology, bound with ſome other ſmall Pieces, publiſhed againſt *Philip* II, in favour of Prince *William*. He either thought, that all thoſe Pieces belonged to the Apology; or he did not remember, in which of thoſe Pieces he found what he relates: and, as the Idea of the Apology had more ſtrongly affected him, he perſwaded himſelf, that he had read This ſtrange Fact in the Apology. The Truth is, This Reproach is not to be found there (80), but we meet with it in an anonymous Piece, publiſhed in the Year 1582, under this Title, *A Diſcourſe on the Wound of his Highneſs the Prince of* Orange. Wherein we read theſe Words: 'Can there be a more wretched Creature than ſuch an ungrateful Son, and ſo unnatural towards ſuch a Father as the Emperor *Charles* was; an Emperor of ſuch great Renown and Authority, who had in his Life-time given ſuch great Riches to a wretched Son, and had reſerved but Two hundred thouſand Ducats of Income on *Spain*, and who nevertheleſs received nothing of it after he deprived himſelf of his Kingdoms. A Son, I ſay, who let ſuch a Father paſs the reſt of his Days with Monks, and ſuffered him to live on the Remainder of his Jewels, and upon his Goods, which he was forced to ſell and pawn for his Subſiſtence? An ungrateful Son, who ſuffered the Inquiſitors to deliberate, whether they ought to dig up his Father's Bones and burn them as of an Heretic, for having confeſt, at his Death, on the Remonſtrance of the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, that he depended on the ſole Merits of JESUS CHRIST, and had no hopes in any other. An unnatural Son, who deprived That good Archbiſhop of his whole Eſtate, for having aſſiſted the Emperor till his Death, and for having inſtructed him in the way to Salvation; and who kept him Priſoner, till he was forced to let him go to *Rome*; where, after That good Archbiſhop had gained his Cauſe, he was poiſoned by This King's Miniſters, for fear he ſhould enjoy again the yearly Income of Two hundred thouſand Ducats, which the Archbiſhopric of *Toledo* is worth.' If this were found in the Apology of the Prince of *Orange*, there would be ſome reaſon for inſerting it in a Hiſtory; for the Name of ſo great a Prince, and the Authority wherewith his Manifeſto was cloathed, are good Securities: but as for thoſe many Pamphlets, which were publiſhed in thoſe times, without the Authors or Printers Names, they deſerve no more to be quoted, than thoſe, which have overflowed *Europe* within theſe thirty or forty Years, printed by *Peter Marteau*. Not but that there are ſome Truths in this kind of Writings, whether they were diſperſed abroad in the time of the Duke of *Alba*, and during the Remainder of the XVIth Century, or whether they did not appear till our times; but, after all, whilſt it is not known from whence they come, Prudence will not permit us to depend on them; and much leſs can a grave Author adopt what he finds in them. Commonly theſe Pamphlets are the Drainings of the Newſmongers; thoſe that forge them, being ſure they ſhall never be accountable for them, raſhly advance any thing upon Hear-ſay. We ſee a plain Falſity here concerning the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*. He did not gain his Cauſe, but was obliged to abjure; he was ſuſpended for five Years (81), and he was Seventy three Years of Age: could it be imagined, that he could live above five Years after ſuch a long Impriſonment? However, they would not have made away with him, till the five Years were near expiring. One may even maintain, that all that is given out in the Apology of the Prince of *Orange* is not true. *Grotius* affirms, that both He who drew it up, and He who drew up the Decree of Proſcription of this Prince, mixed Truth and Falſehood in their Digreſſions (82). 'Adverſus novi moris Edictum Arauſionenſis apud Ordines Belgicos & Chriſtianos Principes libello ſe defendit, adjuvante Petro Villerio (83), homine Gallo, qui ſubactum rebus ſoreoſibus ingenium, ad religionem docendam, & hinc ad intima Arauſionenſis conſilia tranſtulerat. Extat Scriptum utrumque pari acerbitate, qua poſt crimina ad cauſam pertinentia, hinc animum ingratum & perduellem, inde ſævam ac perfidam Dominationem, VERIS FALSISQUE NARRATIONIBUS PERMIXTIS, porro ad alia, rixantium more, prolabebantur. —— *Againſt this Edict of a new kind, the Prince of* Orange *defended himſelf before the States of* Holland, *and the Chriſtian Powers, in a Book, written with the Aſſiſtance of* Peter Villiers, *a* Frenchman, *who had turned the Bent of his Mind from following the Law to teach Religion, and from thence had gained the Confidence of the Prince of* Orange. *Both Pieces are extant, written with equal Bitterneſs; in which, after Accuſations, which were to the Purpoſe,*

(74) Thuan. ubi ſupra.

(75) Herrera, Hiſtoria General. ubi ſupra.

(76) Herrera, Ibid.

(77) Palavic. Hiſtor. Concilii Trident. lib. 21. cap. 7. n. 7.

(78) Ibid.

(79) The Edition, I have, is of *Amſterdam* 1674.

(80) Note, that the Prince's Silence is a Sign, that he found no ground for It: for he does not ſpare *Philip* II any where, but reproaches him with ſhocking crimes: he would have as freely reproached him with this, if he had thought it true.

OBSERVATION concerning the Books printed by *Peter Marteau*.

(81) See *Voriſſon*'s Preface to the fifth Tome of the Hiſtory of Hereſy.

(82) Grotius, Annal. Belgic. lib. 3. ſub. fin. pag. 99, 100.

(83) We ſhall ſay, in Remark [*E*], of the Article LANGUET, that this *Apology of the Prince of* Orange was drawn up by *Languet*.

ties as to Women; and he was much more sober, than chaste [U]. He died the Twenty first of *September* 1558, in the Monastery of the *Hieronymites*, which he had pitched upon for his Retreat. His Body was left deposited there, till the Arrival of King *Philip* II in *Spain*. A magnificent Funeral was made for him some time after. That, which was made for him at *Brussels*, in the Church of *St Gudule*, was very sumptuous: none of his Exploits were forgotten in the Inscriptions, which adorned the Church (*c*); and I do not believe, that so many Titles were ever given to any Prince in the World, as were given him at that time. If the Subject was great, the Imagination and Rhetoric of the *Spaniards* were so likewise; and certainly the Historians of This Prince would have done more Honour to his Memory, if they had not been so excessive in their Praises. One Page of *Thuanus* (*d*) is to be preferred before a Volume of *Sandoval*; because *Thuanus*, a good Frenchman, is not suspected of Flattery. They have not failed to observe, that divers Presages distinguished This Emperor's Death (*e*). It is also reported, that his dead Body was preserved from Putrefaction [X]. His Life was published in *Italian* in the Year 1559, by a *Spaniard*, whose Name was *Alphonsus Ulloa*; and since that time many other Pens have been exercised on this noble Subject [Y]. I have forgot to observe, that, it has been said, that, in

(*c*) *See* Brantome, Memoires des Capitains Etrangers, Tom. I. pag. 44.

(*d*) It is the 430th in the 21st Book, of the Edition of *Frankfort*, 1625.

(*e*) *See, upon this, the* Pensées diverses sur les Cometes, pag. 265; *likewise* pag. 279, 294.

' *pose, such as Ingratitude and a treacherous Disposition on one side, and a tyrannical and perfidious use of Power on the other,* WITH A MIXTURE OF TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD, *like Persons that quarrel, they were insensibly led to other matters.*'

[U] *He was much more sober than chaste.*] ' It is reported - - - - that he always drank three times ' at his Dinner and Supper; and he was very sober ' in his eating and drinking. When he lay with a ' fair Lady (for he loved Women, and indeed too ' much considering his *Gout*) he never left her, till ' he had enjoyed her three times (84).' Here is a great Inequality in the same number; three Draughts of Wine at Table, and three Draughts of Love in Bed, do not deserve the same Qualification; the first is an Act of Moderation, the last of Excess. It was the way not to expose himself to this Reproach:

Inachia langues minus ac me.
Inachiam ter nocte potes: mihi semper ad unum
Mollis opus (85).

Inachias *thrice you may enjoy.*
Once does my feeble Passion cloy.

(84) Brantome, ubi supra, pag. 28, 29.

(85) Horat. lib. Epod. Od. 12.

That my Readers may have wherewith to exercise themselves, by examining whether *Brantome* is more to be credited than others, I shall say, that *William Zenocarus* not only praises *Charles*'s Frugality, but also his Chastity. This Emperor, *says he* (86), often shut his Windows, when he saw fine Women coming, or when he knew they were to pass by. The Author, who relates this (87), says, that this Prince did so in the Empress's Life-time. Others have observed, that he was true to his Empress (88), and that he concealed his amorous Intrigues (89), as much as he could; *Si non castè, saltem cautè.*

(86) Zenocarus, in vita Caroli V. lib. 3. apud Castritium, de Virtutibus Princ. Germaniæ, pag. 224.

(87) Id. lib. v. apud eumdem.

(88) Ea (*conjuge*) vivante servatâ Carolum perquam sanctè cunjugalem fidem fama est. *Strada Dec. I. lib. x. pag. m.* 612.

(89) Thuanus, lib. xxi, p. 431.

Commonly they give him but two natural Children, *Margaret*, Duchess of *Parma*, and *Don John* of *Austria*; but Mr *Imhof* says, that *Bernard Justiniani*, in his History of *Spain*, gives him two more, to wit, *Priamus Conrad* of *Austria*, and another *John* of *Austria*, who died in the Year 1530, at seven Years of Age (90). I believe, that this *Priamus Conrad*, is the same with a certain *Priamus Conrad*, whom I have mentioned in another place (91), who passed for an uterine Brother of *Don John* of *Austria*. Note, that a Report was spread, that *Charles* V had the Pox. ' Imperator, ' ut nonnulli confirmant, ex morbo Gallico laborat. ' Accedit ad morbum hujus belli *(Turcici)* impendentis metus. Hanc ego in malis voluptatem capio, quod eum qui in nos tam crudelis fuit, non ' solum corpore ægrotare, verum etiam animo angi ' videre mihi videor (92).' This is what we find in a Letter of *Bunel*, dated from *Venice* in the Month of *June* 1532. And here is the Remark, which Mr *Graverol* made on That Passage: ' An ' illud *(ex morbo Gallico)* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, an in sensu ' mystico intelligendum sit, disquirunt multi: sane ' quæ sequuntur, Imperatorem ex morbo venereo ' laborâsse confirmant: utatur quisque hac in re judicio suo. Hoc unum scio, non omnes qui gravioris sunt supercilii, rigidæ virtutis esse sequaces: amavit Franciscus I. amavit & Carolus V, ' & ne quid tam strenuo rivali in ludo amatorio exprobraret, morbo etiam Gallico laboravit. Felix! ' & nimium felix, si graviori non laborasset, sed norunt Hispani quid sit *el remedio de Carlos quinto.*'

(90) Jacob. Wilhelmus Imhofius, Notitia Germaniæ Procerum, pag. 11. *Edit. Tubing.* 1693.

(91) *In Rem.* [C] *of the Article* AUSTRIA (DON JOHN OF).

(92) Bunelius, Epist. xxviii, pag. 111, 112, *Edit. Tolos.* 1687.

[X] *It was given out - - - - - that his dead Body was preserved from Putrefaction.*] Some *Spanish* Authors maintain, that it is preserved whole (93); and, because it was not embalmed, they attribute this Exemption from Corruption to his Sanctity and the admirable Candor, which they say were eminent in This Prince's Conduct. ' Cum nullis balsamis ' aut medicamentis pollinctum fuerit regale cadaver, ' quæ à corruptione præservare potuissent, ipso Imperatore sic ante obitum jubente; quid aliud dicere possumus, nisi eximium illius animi candorem ' & virtutis splendorem, cujus ingens semper dedit ' specimen, posteris Deum ostendere voluisse? cujus adhuc multo antea certissima indicia præstolatus fuerat: nam eum anno 14. ab illius obitu, in cœnobio S. Justi corpus exhumaretur, non solum integrum & incorruptum inventum est, sed thymi quoque ramusculi, quibus monachorum more respersum fuerat, virides & optimum odorem adhuc spirantes apparuerunt (94). —— *Since the Royal Corps had not been embalmed, to preserve it from Putrefaction, according to the Emperor's dying Command, what can we say, but that* GOD *intended to let Posterity see the remarkable Candor, and exemplary Virtue, which always shone forth in This Prince? Of this we have a remarkable Instance: for, when his Body was interred in the Monastery of* St Justus, *fourteen Years after his Death, it was not only found entire and uncorrrupted, but even the Sprigs of Thyme, with which, after the Monkish Manner, it was strewed, appeared still green, and of a most excellent Scent.* - - - - - Anno 1656, cum potentissimi Regis nostri PHILIPPI jussu antecessorum suorum regia cadavera ad insigne illud Pantheonis monumentum traducerentur, invictissimi Imperatoris Caroli V cadaver adhuc incorruptum repertum est, labe nulla, nulla temporis edacitate, aut putredinis carie infectum; spectaculum sane mirificum, & plane admirandum, post annos 96 incorruptum permansisse, ut tradit P. F. Franciscus de los Sanctos, in *Descriptione Fabricæ D. Laurentii & Pantheonis* (95). —— *In the Year* 1656, *when, by Command of our most potent King* PHILIP, *the Royal Bodies of his Ancestors were translated to the famous Monument of the* Pantheon, *the Body of the most invincible Emperor* Charles V *was found uncorrupted, and uninjured by Time, or Putrefaction; a surprizing thing, that it should continue uncorrupt after Ninety six Years, as we read in* Franciscus de los Sanctos, *in his* Description of the Fabric of *St Lawrence*, and the *Pantheon*.'

(93) *See Citat.* (92).

(94) Gaspar à Reies, in Elysio Jucundar. Quæst. Campo, Quæst. 34, n. 26, pag. m. 413.

(95) Id. ibid.

[Y] *His Life was published* —— *in* 1559 *by* Alphonsus Ulloa; *and, since that, many other Pens have been exercised on this Subject.*] *Lewis Dolce* wrote This Emperor's History. *William Zenocarus* of *Schawenburg* wrote it also (96). *La vida del Emperador Carlos V. por Don Antonio Figueroa* was printed at *Brussels*, in 4to, in the Year 1656. *La vida y Hechos*

(96) In Latin, printed at *Antwerp*, 1526, Fol.

in order to taſte of all ſorts of Government, he aſpired to be Pope [Z]. If he had been treated, in that Station, as he treated *Clement* VII, he would have been very ſorry his Wiſhes had been heard. It is pretended, that the Ravages of *Alaric* and *Totila*, and, in general, all that the moſt barbarous People ever did in *Rome*, does not come near the Exceſſes, which the Army of *Charles* V committed there. There was a remarkable Circumſtance attending it: This Prince put himſelf in Mourning for That Victory: he forbad the Ringing of Bells (*f*), and ordered Proceſſions, and public Prayers, to be made in all the Churches, for the Pope's Deliverance, who was his Priſoner (*g*), and yet he did not puniſh any of thoſe, who treated the Pope and the City of *Rome* ſo baſely (*h*). Theſe Arts of deep Policy have not been leſs taken notice of, than Thoſe, which he made uſe of in the Rebellion of *Naples* [AA]. They, who prefer him *to the greateſt Men of* Europe *ſince the* Romans (*i*), flatter him; for what did he finiſh? Did not the War, which he made in the Empire for his Religion, end to the Advantage of the Proteſtants? And he was ſo far from having conquered any thing from *France*, that he had not Strength enough to recover what That Crown had conquered. If his Succeſſor recovered the chief part of it, it was by a Treaty of Peace, in which *France* ſuffered her ſelf to be bubbled, and ſhamefully betrayed.

(*f*) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. II, pag. 178.

(*g*) Maimbourg's Hiſtory of Lutheraniſm, Tom. I, pag. 163.

(*h*) La Mothe le Vayer, ubi ſupra.

(*i*) *Buxtorf* did it. See in St *Evremond*'s Works, Vol. II, pag. 182, *Lond.* Edit. 1728, the Diſſertation on the Word *Vaſt*.

The Hiſtorians of *Charles* V have too much imitated the Poets: They often heap together many Prodigies, by which they pretend his Victories were preceded. This they did chiefly as to the Battle of *Mulberg*, which he gained the Twenty fourth of *April* 1547. They ſay, that the Sun ſtopt it's Courſe [BB], and that God wrought the ſame Miracle in favour of his Catholic Majeſty, as he had done for *Joſhua*. A Prophecy was ſpread abroad, which promiſed This Emperor the Defeat

(97) *They had been printed already, one after another, at* Valladolid: *the firſt in* 1604, *the ſecond in* 1606.

(98) *See* Michael Hertzius, *in* Bibliotheca Germanica, *printed at* Erfurt, *in the Year* 1679, n. 811, & ſeq.

(99) Capit. Etrang. Tome I, pag. 36.

(100) Memoirs, pag. 293.

(101) In the 20th Letter of the 7th Book, pag. 1020. It was written to *Agrippa*, by a Friend, and is dated from *Ratiſbon*, the 17th of *July*, 1532.

y Hecos del Emperador Carles V. por Prudencio de Sandoval, came out at *Pampelona*, in the Year 1614, in two Volumes in Folio (97). I omit the reſt: and, if one were to reckon up all thoſe, who have written ſome parts of this Hiſtory, it would be endleſs (98). I ſhall only ſpeak of *William Godelevæus*, who wrote the Hiſtory of the Abdication. But let us not forget *James Maſenius*, a *German* Jeſuit, who publiſhed, at *Cologn*, in the Year 1672, in 4to, *Anima bifloriæ hujus temporis in juncto Carli V. & Ferdinandi I. fratrum imperio repræſentatæ*. This Work deſerved to be mentioned by the Jeſuit, who continued *Alegambe*.

[Z] *It has been ſaid, that —— he aſpired to be Pope.*] *Brantome*, whom I have already quoted ſeveral times, is the only Author, in whom I have read this Particular. 'If he had been able, *ſays he* (99), 'to have accompliſhed the Deſign he had to be 'Pope, he would have enlightened the World better, as being a divine Man; but he could not be 'elected by the Votes of the Cardinals, as *Amedæus* 'Duke of *Savoy* was, who retired afterwards to his 'Monaſtery of *Ripaille*, as the Emperor retired alſo 'to his. Nevertheleſs I have heard ſay, that, if he 'had had as much ſtrength of Body as of Mind, he 'would have gone to *Rome* with a powerful Army, 'to get himſelf elected, for Love, or by Force; but 'he attempted it too late, not being ſo brisk as formerly. Neither did God ſuffer it; for he would 'have made the Papacy hereditary (a thing never 'heard of) in the Houſe of *Auſtria*. What Ambition! Failing of this Deſign, he turned Monk; 'this was great condeſcenſion. If he had taſted of 'the Papacy, as the above-mentioned Duke did, it 'would have been better for him; and, when he 'was dying, he might have ſaid, that he had gone 'through all the Orders of good Fortune, and 'taken all the Degrees of Grandeur.' The Chancellor *de Chiverni* obſerves (100), that it was believed, King *Philip* II would reſign his Dominions, and take a Cardinal's Hat, that he might be elected Pope on the firſt occaſion.

[AA] *He made uſe of Policy, in the Rebellion of* Naples.] He rewarded the Chiefs of the Rebels, and gave nothing to thoſe, who had ſerved him faithfully. *Omnes qui Cæſarem adjuvarunt, qui bona, qui vitam pro eo depoſuerunt, irremunerati remanſerunt; qui adverſæ factionis hoſtes illius nati ſunt, qui arma contra illum tulerunt, omnes fuerunt optime & ſecundum vota ſua expediti.* This is what we find in *Agrippa*'s Letters (101). This Conduct ſeems at firſt imprudent; for it may diſguſt good Subjects, and embolden the Factious. But Experience muſt have taught the contrary; for the greateſt Princes have, and do ſtill make uſe of this Method. They neglect thoſe, whom they think themſelves ſure of, and labour chiefly to gain thoſe, whom they diſtruſt. Complaints, like thoſe of the Prodigal Son's Brother, are frequent among loyal Subjects, when Troubles are pacified. In the time of *Henry the Great*, the Leaguers obtained more Preferments (a§), than the old Servants (102). It is a Policy, which ſerves for a preſent Remedy, which Princes ſtand in need of: they expoſe themſelves thereby to a future Danger; but they hope God will prevent it; and, after all, it is not a certain Evil.

[(a §)] Let us here produce what *John Nerizan* * has ſaid on the ſame Subject. 'Quandoque, *ſays* 'this factious Writer, Princeps, ut inimicum vincat 'obſequio —— eum plus extollit ſervitore ſuo; adeo 'quod quandoque boni ſervitores indignati dicant; 'Si quiſpiam a Principe noſtro velit quicquam obtinere, oportet quod in eum aliquam committat 'proditionem. —— *Sometimes a Prince, that he* 'may conquer his Enemy by Obſequiouſneſs, extols him 'more than his own Servant; inſomuch, that his 'faithful Servants may ſometimes, through indignation, ſay: whoever would obtain any thing of our 'Prince, muſt betray him. —— *The Diſcourſe of* 'La Ruſſia † ſeems to have theſe Words in view.' Rem. Crit.]

(102) See that Prince's Apology, attributed to the Ducheſs of *Rohan*. It is printed with the Journal of *Henry* III, in the Edition of 1693. I ſpeak of it in the Article PARTHENAI (Catherine), Remark [F]. See alſo Remark [P], of the Article HENRY IV.

* Lib. 4, n. 1ca, *of the* Sylva Nuptialis.

† Lib. 1, chap. 5, of the *Conſeſſion* of Sancy.

[BB] *His Hiſtorians —— have heaped together many Prodigies —— they ſay, that the Sun ſtopped it's Courſe.*] I have not *Lewis d'Avila*'s Relation in *Spaniſh*; but here is a Paſſage out of it, according to the *Latin* Tranſlation (103). The Author ſpeaks as an Eye-witneſs: 'Fæderico etiam futura clades e- 'videnti prodigio denuntiata eſt. Sol enim velut 'ſanguinolentus apparuit, &c, quod mirabilius eſt, 'perinde ac ſi curſum tardaſſet, ſpatiumque diei addidiſſet, quum intentius intueremur, altior, quàm 'pro horarum ratione, ferri viſus eſt. Conſtans 'omnium hac de re opinio eſt, nec ego certè re- 'fellere auſim (104). — *A manifeſt Prodigy foretold the* 'impending Defeat of Fæderic. *For the Sun appeared as it were bloody, and, what is more wonderful,* 'as if it had retarded it's Courſe, and lengthened 'the Day, when we looked more intently on it, it 'was ſeen higher, than it ſhould have been. This 'Event is univerſally believed, nor dare I contradict 'it.' *Florimond de Remond* mentions the ſame Paſſage (105), according to the *French* Tranſlation, of this *Spaniſh* Work. He ſets down alſo the *Italian* words of *Baptiſta Gribaldi*, who was preſent at the Action, and the *Spaniſh* Terms of *Gonçalo de Illeſcas*, taken from the ſecond part of his Pontifical Hiſtory, and the *Latin* Verſes of an anonymous Author, and endeavours to prove, that the Fact is true. He has taken advantage, among other things, of *Sleidan*'s not refuting *Lewis d'Avila on this Step of the*

(103) *Done by* William Maimnæus.

(104) Ludov. ab Avila & Zunniga, Commentar. de Bello Germanico, lib. 2. fol. 126, *Edit.* Antverp. 1550.

(105) Flor. de Remond's Hiſtory of Hereſy; Book 3, ch. 16, pag. m. 362.

Defeat of the *French*, That of the *Turks*, the Conqueſt of *Paleſtine*, &c [*CC*]. We ſhall ſpeak a word concerning a Lilly, that he had planted in the Garden of his Solitude [*DD*]. I cannot tell whether any Reflexion was ever made on a remarkable

the Sun, though he appears to be very angry with him. But Father *Maimbourg* laughed at this *Spaniſh* Viſion, and at ſome others relating to the ſame Battle, and confuted them by ſome Arguments (106). He has not forgot to ſay, that 'the Duke of *Alba*, 'a very ſolid Man, who paid no regard to Trifles, 'made it appear, that he did believe any thing of 'what was ſaid of this pretended Miracle, when, 'being come into *France*, to marry the Princeſs '*Elizabeth* Daughter of *Henry* II, in King *Philip*'s 'Name, he pleaſantly anſwered That Prince, who 'asked him ſome Queſtions about it, *That he was 'ſo buſy that Day about what paſſed on Earth, that 'he took no notice of what was done in Heaven.*' Florimond de Remond *mentions this Anſwer of the 'Duke of* Alba, *and tells his Readers, that he had it 'from* a Gentleman of *Biſcay*, Governour of *Acqs*, 'who ſpoke and lived after the old manner, in thoſe 'times, being very familiar with the King, and 'his Favourite (107).' Obſerve this well: This Hiſtorian had not met with this Particular in any Book; he had it from a Gentleman, who was then at the Court of *Henry* II. Perhaps he is the firſt Author, who publiſhed it, and from whom all the reſt have taken it: and perhaps, if he had not mentioned it, we ſhould not find it in the Hiſtory of the Duke of *Alba* (108), lately publiſhed in *French*, as a Tranſlation of a *Latin* Book, printed at *Salamanca* in the Year 1669, under the Title of *Vita Ferdinandi Toletani Ducis Albani.* The Author of the Tranſlation proteſts *he has made it with all poſſible exactneſs, and that he has added nothing of his own, nor curtailed it.*

(106) Maimb. *Hiſtory of* Lutheraniſm, Tom. II, pag. 5c, & ſeq. *Edit.* Holl. *See the* Thoughts on Comets, p. 274, 275.

(107) Flor. de Remond, ubi ſupra.

(108) In Book 3. chap. 12. pag. 218. *Edit. of* Paris, *by* John Guignard, 1699.

[*CC*] *A Prophecy was ſpread abroad which promiſed This Emperor the Defeat of the* French, *That of the* Turks, *The Conqueſt of* Paleſtine, *&c.*] *Antony Pontus*, who bore Arms in the Expedition of *Tunis* under *Charles* V, wrote an Account of it, which was not publiſhed till a Year ago (109). He ſays, in his Preamble, that he will relate two things, to raiſe the Soldier's Courage; the one is an old Prophecy; the other is the Diſcourſe of an Apparition, at the time of the Expedition of *Odet de Foix* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. 'Let us omit what 'concerns this Apparition, and content our ſelves with 'what relates to the Prophecy. 'Duo hæc ante 'prælibentur, non quod hiſtoriæ inſerviunt, ſed ut 'animi noſtrorum militum alacres nunc his auditis 'ad arma fiant alacriores. Quorum illud unum imprimis ſubvenit, & ut vulgatiſſimum ita quoque antiquiſſimum vatis illius, quæ prophetia dicitur, vertibum divinum, quod quidem tale circumfertur, Carolum Philippi filium ex natione Lilii, ut ejus verba præſtringam, poſt Gallos Hiſpanoſque domitos Romam quoque & Florentiam congregato magno exercitu Regem Græcorum vocari, indeque poſt victos Turcas, Chaldæos, Palæſtinoſque, ſanctam Hieruſalem recuperaturum, atque inibi à Dei nuncio coronatum in ſummi Principis ſinu vitam expiraturum, facietque prius edictum, ut qui ſanctæ Crucis ſignum non adoraverit morte puniatur (110). ------ *Take theſe two Particulars by way of Speciſmen: not that the Hiſtory requires them, but to enflame the Courage of our Soldiers by theſe Relations. The firſt that occurs, is, That well known and antient Prophecy, which foretold, that* Charles, *the Son of* Philip, *of the Nation of the Lilly, to uſe the Prophet's expreſſion, after having conquered the* French *and* Spaniards, *as alſo* Rome *and* Florence, *with a mighty Army, would be called The King of the* Greeks; *and that, having ſubdued the* Turks, Chaldees, *and the Inhabitants of* Paleſtine, *he would recover the holy City Jeruſalem, and, being there crowned by the Meſſenger of* GOD, *would give up his Soul in the boſom of the Supreme Prince, having firſt decreed, that whoever ſhall not adore the ſign of the holy Croſs ſhould be puniſhed with Death.*' Compare this with a Prophecy, which *David Pareus* inſerted in his Commentary on the *Revelations* in the Year 1598, and you will find a Specimen of the Frauds, which are committed in ſuch caſes. The Sieur *Comiers* relates (111) that, being at *Orange* in the Year 1660, they lent him this Work of *Pareus*, printed at *Heidelberg*, and that he read a Prophecy, in the 930th Page, which the Authors had found in *ædibus Præpoſiti Salezieni*, and which contained theſe words: 'Surget Rex ex Natione illuſtriſſimi Lilii, habens frontem longam, ſupercilia 'alta, oculos longos, naſumque aquilinum: Is congregabit Exercitum magnum, & omnes Tyrannos 'Regni ſui deſtruet, & morte percutiet omnes fugientes in montibus, & cavernis ſeſe abſcondentes 'à facie ejus. Nam ut Sponſus Sponſæ, ita erit juſtitia ei aſſociata; cum illis uſque ad quadrageſimum annum deducet bellum, ſubjugando Inſulanos, Hiſpanos, & Italos. Romam & Florentiam 'deſtruet & comburet, poteritque ſal ſeminari ſuper 'terram illam. Clericos qui Sedem Petri invaſerunt 'morte percutiet: eodémque anno duplicem Coronam obtinebit. Poſtremum, more tranſiens cum 'exercitu magno, intrabit Græciam, & Rex Græcorum vocabitur. Turcas & Barbaros ſubjugabit, 'faciendo Edictum: *Quicumque Crucifixum non adoraverit, morte morietur.* Et non erit qui reſiſtere 'poterit ei, quia brachium ſanctum à Domino ſemper cum eo erit, & dominium Terræ poſſidebit. 'His factis Sanctorum requies Chriſtianorum vocabitur, *&c.* ------ *A King ſhall ariſe, of the moſt illuſtrious Nation of the Lilly, having a long forehead, lofty Eye-brows, large Eyes, and an aquiline Noſe. This King ſhall gather together a great Army, and deſtroy all the Tyrants of his Kingdom, and ſhall ſmite with Death every one flying to the Mountains, and hiding themſelves in Caverns from his Face. For as a Bridegroom to a Bride, ſo ſhall Juſtice be united to him: with them he ſhall continue to wage War to the Fortieth Year, ſubduing the* Iſlanders, *the* Spaniards, *and* Italians. *He ſhall deſtroy, and burn,* Rome, *and* Florence, *and it ſhall be that Salt may be ſowed on that Land. He will put to Death the Clergy who have uſurped the Seat of St* Peter, *and the ſame Year he will obtain a double Crown. Afterwards, paſſing the Sea, with a great Army, he ſhall enter* Greece, *and ſhall be called The King of the* Greeks. *He ſhall ſubdue the* Turks *and* Barbarians, *making an Edict, that whoever will not adore* JESUS CHRIST *crucified, ſhall die. And no one ſhall be able to reſiſt him, becauſe the holy Arm of the* LORD *ſhall be always with him, and he ſhall poſſeſs the Dominion of the Earth. When theſe things are done, it ſhall be called the Reſt of the holy Chriſtians, &c.*' *Comiers* gives a *French* Tranſlation of this in Proſe and Verſe, and adds (112), 'That he found the 'ſame Prophecy, but in different terms, in the 'ninth Volume of St *Auguſtin*'s Works, in the mid'dle of the Treatiſe concerning Anti-Chriſt (113); 'pag. 454. of the Impreſſion of *Lyons*, in the Year '1586.' And note, that he applies both theſe Prophecies to *Lewis* XIV. 'As the Conqueſt of the 'World, *ſays he* (114), is not the Work of one 'Day, we ought at leaſt to hope, that, in the next 'Year 1666, our Great Monarch will lay the firſt 'Foundations of That Univerſal Empire.' But take more particular notice of the Fraud of *Charles* Vth's Flatterers; they took hold of the firſt of theſe two Predictions, and, to make it ſquare with that Emperor, they curtailed it on the one ſide, and enlarged it on the other; they inſerted his Father's and his own Name in it, as alſo the Conqueſt of *France*, and left out the aquiline Noſe, and ſome other Features of the Face. I have ſeen ſome good People, infatuated with Prophecies, who, during the laſt War (115), applied all this pretended Oracle, as well as they could, to his Britannic Majeſty King *William*. Obſerve, in the laſt place, the Confeſſion of *Pontus*, that he publiſhed the Prophecy, to give more Courage to *Charles* V's Soldiers, and be perſuaded, that moſt of Theſe Inventors, or Promoters, of Predictions, propoſe nothing to themſelves, but to amuſe the Mob, and to inſpire them with ſuch Paſſions, as they wiſh them to be filled with; and, to ſucceed the better in it, they make uſe both of *Subreption* and *Obreption*.

(109) *At* Leyden, 1698, *in the Volume in* 12 *Annales of Mr* Mathæus.

(110) Anton. Pontus Conſentinus in Herodemo Barbaroſſa, pag. 2.

(111) *Claud. Comiers*, a Prieſt, Provoſt of the Collegiate Church of *Tirnan*, and Canon of the Cathedral of *Ambrun*, *Of the Nature and Preſages of Comets*, *pag.* 460, *Edit. of* Lyons, 1665.

(112) Id. ibid. pag. 478.

(113) See, concerning this Treatiſe, *Mr Aubigier*, of the Origin of the *French*, and their Empire, Tom. II, pag. 465, & ſeq.

(114) Comiers, ibid, pag. 480.

(115) I write this in 1699.

[*DD*] *We ſhall ſpeak a word concerning a Lilly, which he had planted in the Garden of his Solitude.*] He planted it the latter end of *Auguſt* 1558; and he died the twenty firſt of *September* following. 'At

markable Circumstance of the Siege of *Metz*. He formed no Enterprise more just than That, and of which the Success proved more unfortunate [*EE*]. I must not pass over in silence what he said to *Francis* I; *You and I reign over Men so hot, so fierce, so boisterous, that, if we do not make War with each other by intervals, to amuse them, and to cool their Martial Impetuosity, our own Subjects will fight against us, which will be much worse* (*k*). He left an Instruction to his Son, wherein, among other Advices, he gave him this; 'to strike sail when the Storm is too great, 'not to oppose the violence of angry Fate; dexterously to ward off the Blows, 'which one cannot bear; to let them pass; to lye by, and observe the opportu- 'nity of some favourable Revolution, and a better time (*l*).' He practised this Advice *at the Peace of* Passaw, *which would have been disgraceful to the Empire, if Necessity, rather than the Emperor's Inclination, had not made it. He practised it also at the Peace of* Soissons, *where a Scarcity of Money interrupted the Success of his Arms; and he was compelled to offer himself as an Hostage to the* Germans, *who otherwise formed a design to seize him* (*m*). Both he and his Son thought themselves capable of making good use of Opportunities; for it was one of their Sayings, *Yo y el tiempos para dos otros*, I, and Opportunity, against two Others (*n*). The Author, whom I quote (*o*), relates a thing, which equally shews This Emperour's Curiosity for Astronomy, and his Intrepidity. The Magnificence, with which the *Fuggers* received him in their House at *Ausburg*, ought not to be forgotten [*FF*].

(*k*) Matthieu's History of the Peace, Book 1. Narrat. 2. pag. m. 66, 67.

(*l*) Sihon. Ministre d'Etat. Tom. I. lib. 3. cap. 6. p. m. 361.

(*m*) Id. ibid.

(*n*) Ibid.

(*o*) *See* Melchior Adam, *in the Life of* Philippus Apianus, *at the 349th Page of the* Vitæ Germanorum Philosophorum.

'the moment of his Death the Root of this Lilly 'shot forth a Stalk two Cubits high, with a marvel- 'lous Flower, as full blown and as odoriferous as 'those kind of Flowers are used to be in *Spain* in 'their usual Season.' I make use of the Terms, which the Superior of the Fathers of the Oratory of *Paris* employed in haranguing the Queen of *Spain*, in the Year 1679 (116). I omit the ridiculous Preface, which he found in this Vegetation (117); but I must observe, that the Count *de la Roca* does not relate the Fact with the same Circumstances. Let us see his words; 'An impartial Author writes, 'that there was a Root of Lilly in a little Garden, 'into which a Window of the Emperor's Apart- 'ment looked, which, in the beginning of the 'Spring, put forth two Stalks, one of which broke 'it's Tunic, opened it's Flower, gave a pleasant O- 'dour, and at last died, and the other, though of 'the same standing, which was not so forward, 'kept inclosed in it's Button; which made several 'People wonder, because it wanted neither Water 'nor Sun; and, the same Night that the Empe- 'ror's Soul left the Prison of his Body, That 'fine Flower opened, and was cut with Respect and 'Admiration, and placed on the great Altar (118).' All that is wonderful in the Speech of the Superior of the Fathers of the Oratory of *Paris*, vanishes almost as soon as the Narrative of the *Spanish* Historian is attentively examined. I do not know the *impartial Author*, who is cited; but I fancy, that either he, or the Count *de la Roca*, have been transcribed by *Famianus Strada*. You will easily believe it, if you compare that Count's words with this *Latin* Passage: 'Nec illud admiratione caruit. 'In Caroli, quem dicebam, hortulo, binos eodem 'tempore stylos emiserat candens lilium. Alter 'Maio mense, uti assolet, calyce dehiscente floruit: 'alter quamvis eadem culturâ provocatus tumorem 'tamen ac partus signa vere toto atque æstate susti- 'nuit: eademque demùm nocte, quâ Caroli animus 'integumento sese corporis evolvit, ille explicato 'repentè folliculo, intempestivâ nempe atque inspe- 'ratâ germinatione promisit florem. Id verò & ob- 'servatum ab omnibus, & lilio super Aræ templi 'maximâ ad spectandum proposito, fausti candidique 'ominis loco acceptum est (119). —— *Nor did This 'pass without Admiration. In* Charles's *Garden, a 'white Lilly shot forth two Stalks at once. The One, 'in the Month of* May, *was, as usual, in Blow: 'The Other, though raised by the same culture, was 'seen to swell, and give signs of production, during 'the whole Spring and Summer: at last, on the same 'Night, in which the Soul of* Charles *threw off the 'covering of the Body, This Stalk, on a sudden un- 'folding itself, and untimely and unexpectedly shoot- 'ing forth, promised a Flower. This was observed 'by all, and The Lilly, being placed on the great 'Altar of the Church, was received as a propitious 'Omen.' I remember an Observation, which I have read in a Work of Mrs *Schurman*. She relates (126), that, when *du Lignon*, one of the Disciples of *Labadie*, was endeavouring to establish his Sect at *Herford*, there happened three Prodigies. The first was, that the Trunk of a Tree, which had been dry four Years, shot forth on a sudden some Sprigs, four or five foot long, full of Leaves: This was in Autumn, and in a close place near the Church, which was afterwards assigned to the *Labadists*. The second Prodigy was, that all the Trees in the Princess's Garden bloomed during the Autumn, when she promised to protect their small Congregation. The third was, that a Swarm of Bees settled in the same Garden, and no body knew from whence they came. 'According to the Hypothesis of Presages, all these things promised a glorious and lasting Set- 'tlement; and yet That Sect was soon compelled to leave *Herford*.

(116) His whole Speech is in the second Part of the *Mercure Gulant*, of the Month of *October*, 1679. See the *Thoughts on Comets*, pag. 294.

(117) See the *Thoughts on Comets*, ibid.

(118) The Count *de la Roca*, History of *Charles* V. p. 349, 350.

(119) Famian. Strada de Bello Belg. Decad. 1, lib. 1, pag. m. 26.

(120) Anna Maria à Schurman, in cap. 2, part 2. Euclerias.

[*EE*] *He formed no Enterprise more just than The Siege of Metz, and of which the Success proved more unfortunate.*] *Henry* II, being confederated with some Princes of *Germany*, had been declared Protector of the Liberties of *Germany* (121), and boasted to act only according to that Quality (122). Nevertheless, he made himself Master of *Metz*, an Imperial City, and deprived it of it's Liberty, by a most egregious Cheat. The pretended Stratagem, which was made use of to subdue That little Republic, which looked upon This Monarch only as a Guardian, cannot be read without Horror. One might have said, upon that Occasion,

(121) Mezeral, Chron. Abridg. Tom. 4. p. 670. ad Ann. 1552.

(122) *See* Sleidan, lib. 24. fol. m. 695.

(123) Juven. Sat. 6. ver 345.

—— *Sed quis custodiet ipsos*
Custodes —— (123)?

Charles V had therefore all the Reasons in the World to re-unite That City to the Body of the Empire, which had been divided from it in such a manner. He employed his greatest Forces in it, and miscarried shamefully (124); and at last, at the Peace of *Munster*, the Empire renounced That City, and left it to *France*. This Emperor had succeeded admirably well in some Enterprizes altogether unjust.

(124) There were at that time a thousand Pieces dispersed in Verse and Prose, as glorious for *France* as injurious to the Emperor; and Slanderers took occasion from thence to change the *plus ultra* of his Motto into *plus citra*. *History of the Duke of* Alba. lib. 3. cap. 24. pag. 284.

[*FF*] *The Magnificence, with which The Fuggers received him —— ought not to be forgotten.*] We shall speak below (125) of their Riches: we have here a remarkable Token of it. 'Mr *Felibien* (126) 'relates a very curious Particular concerning the 'Fouckers, those famous *German* Merchants, who, 'to shew their Acknowledgment to *Charles* V, 'who, on his Return from *Tunis*, had done them 'the Honour to lodge with them, as he passed thro' 'Ausburg, one Day, among the Magnificences, 'with which they regaled him, caused a Faggot of 'Cinnamon to be laid on the Hearth, which was 'a Merchandize of great Price, and set fire to it 'with a Promissory Note they had of the Emperor's 'own Hand for a considerable Sum (127).

(125) In the Article FUGGER, Remark [*A*].

(126) Journal des Sçavans, *of the 8th of* June 1685, *pag.* 112, *in the Extract of the 4th Part of the* Dialogues on the Lives and Works of the Painters.

(127) See the Article *ADRIAN* (Emperor), Citation (22).

(a) His Christian Name was *Hercules*.

CHARNACÉ (a) (The Baron *de*) acquitted himself happily of several Embassies under the Reign of *Lewis* XIII [*A*]. He was no less a brave Soldier, than a skillful Negotiator; and, in *Holland*, he had the Character of an Embassador, and the Employment of a Colonel, at the same time. He was killed in performing the Functions of the latter, at the Siege of *Breda*, in the Year 1637 [*B*]. It is not true, that the Loss of his Wife produced in him the fatal Effect, which is spoken of in the *Mercure Galant* [*C*].

[*A*] *He acquitted himself happily of several Embassies in the Reign of* Lewis XIII.] 'He was 'chosen by Cardinal *Richelieu*; which must at first 'give a very advantageous Idea of the Embassador. 'But He, of whom I speak, had no need of such 'a Prepossession. The Negotiations he carried on 'with *Gustavus Adolphus*, King of *Sweden*, which 'produced the Treaty of *Berwald*, the Twenty 'third of *January* 1631, and so good an Effect in '*Germany*, are very convincing Proofs of it, tho' 'there should be no other. It was he, who induced the *Swedes* to pass into the Empire, and who 'laid the first Foundations of the Alliance, which 'has been so useful and so glorious to the two 'Crowns, and which is yet so to That of *Sweden*. 'He continued to negotiate with the same King, and 'with the Chancellor *Oxenstern*, till after the Battle 'of *Lutzen*, which made him retire into *France*. 'He had also negotiated with the Elector of *Bavaria* at *Munich*; but with little Success, because of the ill Humour of *Sainte Etienne* (1), a Relation of Father *Joseph*'s; who, being jealous at seeing a more able Man than himself at That Court, thwarted all his Negotiations, to the great Prejudice of the King their Master. It was *Charnacé* who signed the Treaty of the *Hague*, the Twenty fifth of *April* 1634, after which it was judged proper to make That of the eighth of *January*, of the Year following, in which he had a Hand, as one of the King's Commissioners. By the Treaty of 1634, the King promised to raise and maintain a Regiment of Foot, and a Troop of Horse, for the Service of the States, the Command whereof was given to *Charnacé*, who, joining the Profession of a Colonel with the Function of an Embassador, resolved to be at the Seige of *Breda*, where 'he was killed in the Trenches (2).' We see not the Occasion of This Embassy into *Holland*, in these Words of *Wicquefort*; and therefore another Book must supply us with it. Read the Life of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, and you will find there, that *Charnacé* went into *Holland*, to hinder the States from listening to the Proposals of a Truce, which the *Spaniards* made to them. 'He managed the Inclinations of the Directors and Deputies of the States 'so dexterously, and represented the Artifices and 'ill Designs of the *Spaniards* so well —— that they 'resolved at last —— as much through Necessity, as 'Reason, to prefer the Continuation of the War before the Truce. To which the Order contributed 'not a little, which was given to *Charnacé*, not 'only to sollicite the Prince of *Orange*, who was 'known to be inclined to the Continuation of the 'War out of Interest, but also to offer the States a 'Succour of Ten or Twelve thousand *Swedes*, a 'warlike Nation, and confederated with *France*, 'which had made a good use of them for three 'Years, or thereabouts, when *Gustavus Adolphus*, 'King of *Sweden*, made a Descent into *Germany*, 'and filled That great Empire with Terror (3).'

(1) Wicquefort, pag. 780, *of the first Tome of his* Traité de l'Ambassadeur, *says this* Charnacé *and* Sainte Etienne, being at the Court of *Bavaria*, on the part of *France* in the Year 1632, came to such great Extremities, that they would fight a Duel; so that their Division rendered them useless at the Elector's Court.

(2) Wicquefort, Traité de l'Ambassadeur, Tom. II, pag. 442.

(3) Auberi's History of Cardinal *Richelieu*, Book 4. chap. 42. pag. m. 390, 391.

[*B*] *He was killed in performing the Functions of a Colonel, at the Siege of* Breda.] We have seen, in the foregoing Remark, what Mr *de Wicquefort* said of him; let us add to it these Words of another Author (4). 'Mr *de Charnacé* did his Endeavours 'to persuade the Prince of *Orange* to besiege another 'Place, which was of more importance to the common Good of the Allies, than That. Wherein 'This Embassador was more concerned than he 'thought, since That Seige was fatal to him, having been killed at it with a Musket-shot in the 'Head, which he received in the Attack of a Horn-work. He was much lamented at Court for his 'good Qualities, and the great Services he did to 'the State, and also because he was related to the 'Marshal *de Brezé*, by his Wife *Joan de Brezé*. 'His Heart was carried into *France*, and is buried 'in the Church of the *Carmelites* at *Angers*, with 'an Epitaph, wherein he is said to have died the 'first of *September*.'

(4) Auberi, ibid. lib. 5. cap 52. pag. 596, 597.

[*C*] *It is not true, that the Loss of his Wife produced in him the fatal Effect, spoken of in the* Mercure Galant.] The Abbot *Desfandes*, Great Archdeacon and Canon of *Treguier*, caused a Letter to be inserted in the *Mercure Galant* (5), wherein he says, that *Charnassé, being in* Germany *with* Gustavus, was so touched with the News he heard of the Death of his Wife, of the Family of *Brezé*, that he lost his Speech for ever after. Every body sees that this is a meer Story: *Gustavus* was killed at the Battle of *Lutzen*, in the Year 1632, and, in the Year 1634, *Charnacé* was displaying his Rhetoric in *Holland*, to hinder the *Dutch* from concluding a Truce with the *Spaniards*. Was That the Business of a dumb Man? This false Story cannot be rectified, by altering the Time and Place, where *Charnacé* heard of the Death of his Wife; for we have seen, that he endeavoured to persuade the *Dutch* not to besiege *Breda*, but another Place, whose Loss would be more pernicious to *Spain*. His Counsels proved ineffectual; *Breda* was besieged, and he lost his Life there. Where shall we then find the Time, when he lost his Speech? We shall see in another Place (6), that the Abbot *Desfandes* has related a Story concerning *Fernel*, which is no less apocryphal than this.

(5) In the Month of *November*, 1693.

(6) In Remark [*G*], of the Article *FERNEL*.

(a) Thuan. lib. 53, pag. m. 1032. col. 2.

(b) Id. ibid.

CHARPENTIER (Peter) in Latin *Carpentarius*, a Native of *Toulouse* (*a*); in the XVIth Century, made Profession of the Reformed Religion; but he published a Piece, which made him be considered as a furious Enemy of the Reformed [*A*]. He taught the Civil-Law for some time at *Geneva* (*b*), and left that Town much discontented, and without taking leave of his Creditors. This appears by a Letter, which

[*A*] *He published a Piece, which made him be considered as a furious Enemy of the Reformed.*] This Piece was almost lost; but a *Benedictine* Monk (1), having inserted it in his *Dialogues concerning the Prince of* Orange's *Enterprize upon* England, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1689, it has been much spoken of since. Mr *Jurieu*, to discredit this Piece, thought himself obliged to publish what *Thuanus* said of it; and, because it was looked upon as a very proper thing, I shall set down the Narrative (2) of That Historian. 'One *Peter Charpentier*, a Native of '*Toulouse*, who had publickly taught the Civil-Law at *Geneva*, being very familiarly acquainted with '*Bellievre*, fled to his House, with some other 'Persons of less Note, during the Massacre; for it 'would have been too dangerous for a Courtier to 'give Retreat to Persons of Note upon such an 'Occasion. To comply with the Times, and thro' 'an Effect of his Humour, which made him defend the Party, with which his Interest obliged 'him to side, he began to inveigh most bitterly, 'not against the Authors of the Massacre, nor against the horrible Slaughter they had made, but 'against what he called the Cause, that is to say, 'against the Faction of the Protestants, for which 'he expressed a great Horror, and which, he said, 'God had justly punished for all their Irregularities, 'because they had made use of Religion, as a Pretence to cover their Spirit of Sedition, and Revolt; and because those pretended devout Men 'had taken up Arms against their Countrymen, 'instead of making use of Tears, Prayers, and

(1) *Called Father* Denys de Sainte Marthe.

(2) Thuanus Hist. Book 53. pag. m. 1098, 1093 ad Ann. 1572. *Mr Jurieu has quoted that Passage in his Book intituled,* The Religion of the Jesuits, *printed at the* Hague 1689, pag. 289, & seq.

which *Beza* wrote to him, the First of *April*, 1570 (*c*). The same Letter testifies, that he had a Wife and Children. He published some other Books [*B*]; he was yet living in the Year 1584, and the King's Advocate in the Great Council (*d*). *Rivetus*, who was so well versed in all kind of Authors, had but little Knowledge of this [*C*].

(*c*) It is the 52d Letter of *Beza*.

(*d*) La Croix du Maine Biblioth. Franc. pag. 389.

'Fasts, for their Weapons; that they had seized 'divers Cities of the Kingdom; that they had 'put a great number of People to death, and car-'ried their Insolence so far, as to make open War 'against their Sovereign. He said, that their Assem-'blies, where formerly they only prayed to GOD, 'were become Conventicles, and seditious Confe-'rences, wherein they neither spoke of Piety, nor 'of the Mysteries of Religion, nor of the Correction 'of Manners, but of heaping up Money, of assem-'bling of Troops *privately* in the Provinces, and of 'holding Correspondence with foreign Princes. 'He added, that they entertained seditious Persons 'in all the Cities of the Kingdom, to endeavour 'to disturb the Peace, which the King had grant-'ed to the Protestants, by his Goodness, and that 'nothing but the Sword of GOD, which Princes 'bear, could repress their Audaciousness; *that he 'acknowledges, that* it was GOD, who *had inspired* 'the Design of repressing it by the most severe ways, 'which a King, naturally very mild, was obliged 'to make use of. At first *Charpentier* was con-'tented to speak thus in the private and familiar 'Conversations, which he had with *Bellievre*; but, 'because afterwards he said the same Things in pub-'lic, he was judged to be a very fit Man for the De-'sign the King and Queen had to justify the Massa-'cre as well as they could. He accepted That Com-'mission very willingly, and, having received a 'Sum of Money, which was given him, and great 'Promises that were made him to raise him to 'great Offices, which Promises were afterwards 'religiously kept, how unworthy soever he was of 'them, he departed from *Paris* with *Bellievre*, 'whom he left in *Switzerland*, and went to *Stras-'burg*, where he had also formerly taught, that he 'might the better spread the Reports he was to dis-'perse in *Germany*. Being come thither, he wrote 'a Letter to *Francis Portus* (3), a *Candiot*, who 'was very learned in the *Greek* Language, and 'who had formerly been educated in *Italy*, in the 'House of *Renata*, Princess of *Ferrara*. In that 'Letter, which was dated the fifteenth of *September*, 'he said, that there were two Parties among the 'Protestants; one that was peaceable, and acted 'honestly out of a Principle of Religion, and who 'followed those Maxims they professed: the other 'consisted of those, who supported the Cause, a 'factious People, and Enemies of Peace: That 'Those two Parties had their Pastors; that the 'first had for them *d'Espina*, *Sorel* (in *Charpentier's* 'Letter, published by *Sainte Marthe*, it is *des Re-'fiers* (4) instead of *Sorel*), *Albrat*, *Capel*, *la Haye*, 'and *Mercure*; but that the other Ministers could 'not suffer the Moderation of these, and chiefly 'Beza, whom he calls the Trumpet of *Seba*, [§ (*a*)], 'and against whom he chiefly exclaims in his Book. 'He not only excuses the Massacre, but proves it 'lengthy, and with much cunning, that it was law-'ful and necessary, in order to suppress an impious 'Faction, who made it their Business to overthrow 'the Royal Authority; to dissuade the Cities of the 'Kingdom from the Obedience due to their Sove-'reign, to disturb the public Tranquillity, and which 'seemed to have been formed for the very Ruin of 'the Protestant Religion, by turbulent Persons, 'and Enemies to their Country. An Answer was 'published to this Letter, under the Name of *Por-'tus*, dated the first of *March* of the following 'Year, which was full of very sharp Expressions. 'Thuanus adds, that the Duke of *Anjou* earnestly sol-'licited *Francis Baudouin*, a Civilian, who, hav-'ing formerly embraced the Protestant Religion in 'Germany, suffered himself to be gained by the 'moderate Advices of *Cassander*, and returned to 'the Catholic Religion, and who taught them at 'Angers, to set about the same Design as *Charpen-'tier*, (*that is to say, to justify the Massacre*) 'but that this Civilian excused himself modestly 'upon the Account of the Contest he had had 'with the *Genevois*, who, as he said, would dis-'credit what he should say on that Subject; but 'that, in truth, he would not justify the Massa-'cre, because he detested it, and, having read 'Charpentier's Letter, he observed in it great Faults 'of Memory, and great Mistakes in what he al-'ledged out of ancient History.'

(3) It should be *Portus*. Mr *Jurieu*, at the 81st Page, was much mistaken, having spoken of a Letter of one *Charpentier*, *directed to* Candiola, *against the Protestants*.

(4) My Article *ROSIER* will inform you, that *Sainte Marthe* and *Thuanus* say the same thing; and therefore, that this Parenthesis is useless, or that it ought to contain something else.

The *Benedictine* Monk published the Continuation of his Discourses, wherein he eludes this Testimony of *Thuanus* as much as he can (5).

You will find the Substance of the same Letter of *Charpentier* in the third Volume (6) of *Mezerai's* Great History. That Historian pretends, that This Letter served for a Reply to *Wolfangus Prisbrachius* [(*c* §)] a *Polander*, who had answered very sharply *Bellievre's* Speech (7). *D'Aubigné* (8) will have it, on the contrary, that *Wolfgang Prisbrach, and* Portus *of* Crete, *whom* Charpentier *took to witness* (9), wrote against *Bellievre* and *Charpentier*. He expresses himself ill; for he ought to have said, that *Portus* wrote against the latter, and *Prisbrach* against the former. It does not appear, that *Charpentier* had in view *Prisbrach's* Work. So that I believe *Mezerai* is mistaken.

(5) *See the* Journal des Sçavans, Nov. 12, 1691. pag. 651, *Edit. of* Holl.

(6) At pag. 264.

(7) Made before the Assembly of the *Swiss Cantons*, at *Baden*, to justify the *Paris* Massacre.

(8) D'Aubigné, Hist. Univers. Tom. II. Book 3. chap. 7. pag. 365. ad Ann. 1572.

(9) He ought to have said, that *Charpentier* addressed That Letter to him.

This Letter of *Charpentier* to *Portus* serves a *Roman* Catholic (10) by way of Epistle, for his Preface to a Book of Controversy, published in the Year 1585 (11). He inserts it almost entire, and advertises his Readers of it in another Book (12). I must add, that it is found in the first Tome of the Memoirs of the State of *France* under *Charles* IX (13), together with a *French* Translation of a *Latin* Answer, which *Francis Portus* made to him. This Answer contains many Particulars of the Life of *Charpentier*, little honourable, not to say shameful to him.

(10) Cornelius Schultingius.

(11) See the Preface of the 4th Tome of his *Confessio Hieronymiana*.

(12) See pag. 246 of the 4th Tome of his *Biblioth. Catholica*.

(13) Pag. m. 600, &c.

[(*a* §) An ALLUSION of *Seba*, the Anagram of *Beza*, to *Seba*, the Name of That seditious Person, of whom it is said, in the second Book of *Samuel* *, that he *founded a Trumpet*, to raise the People against *David*. For the rest, the Letter of *Charpentier* is dated the fifteenth of *September* 1572: the Answer of *Francis Portus*, and the Extract of the Remarks of *Francis Baudouin* on the Letter of *Charpentier*, are found in the Memoirs of the State of *France* under *Charles* IX †. REM. CRIT.]

* Chap. 20.

† From fol 322. of Tom. I. to 368. of Edit. 1579.

[(*c* §). We read it *Prisbach*, in the Memoirs of the State of *France* ‡. REM. CRIT.]

‡ Tom II. fol. 20. verso, where this Piece is inserted.

[*B*] *He published some other Books.*] According to *la Croix du Maine* * he has wrote several Books 'both in *Latin* and *French*, which have been most 'of them printed: but I do not know, whether he 'would own all those, that came out under his 'Name; for several Pieces have been ascribed to 'him, of which he was not the Author —— I have 'seen a *Latin* Treatise of his concerning the bearing 'of Arms; but I cannot tell whether the *French* 'Translation was made by him. It is printed at 'Paris in both Languages (14)' The Title of That Work of *Charpentier* is, *Pium & Christianum de armis consilium*, and was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1575. I have spoken elsewhere (15) of an Answer, which was made to it.

(14) La Croix du Maine, pag. 389.

(15) At the end of this Dictionary, in the Dissertation on *Junius Brutus*, n. 28.

[*C*] Rivetus *had but little Knowledge of* Charpentier.] The *Romish* Controversists reproach the Protestants continually with the Civil Wars of *France*, as if it was a thing approved of by the Ministers. They make use sometimes of *Charpentier's* Testimony (16). The Jesuit *Petra Sancta* had the Confidence to set forth, in a Piece, which he published against *du Moulin*, that Measures were taken at *Geneva* to destroy *Francis* II, *Catherine de Medicis*, his Mother, *Mary Stuart*, his Wife, his Brothers, *&c.* all at one time (17). He cites *Surius lib.* 4 *ad. ann.* 1561. *Petrus Carpentarius, Genebrardus in Chronol. Rivetus*, refuting the Book of That Jesuit, says, among other Things, that Those three Witnesses were not to be credited; that *Surius* was convicted of Calumny by *Baronius*, for having defamed *Victorinus*, Bishop of *Poitiers* (18); and that *Charpentier* and *Genebrard*, two obstinate *Leaguers*, incurred the King's Hatred. 'Carpentarius & Genebrardus qui inter regis per-'duelles vixerunt, & justam ejus indignationem in-'currerunt, inter eos qui ultimi steterunt in adver-

(16) *See* Brerlefius, Apolog. Protestantium pro Romana Ecclesia, pag. 642.

(17) Sylvester Petrasancta notis in Epistolam Pet. Molinæi ad Balzacum, pag. 102.

(18) Bran. Tom. III Ann. 1246. n. 226. apud Rivet. Oper. Tom. III. pag. 538.

sa

‘ fis partibus, an digni ſunt quorum teſtimonio con-
‘ tra tales habeatur fides (19)? ’ If *Rivetus* had known, that they alledged againſt him the ſame *Peter Charpentier*, who had written an Apology for the *Paris* Maſſacre, and whom *Thuanus* had, as it were, branded with a red hot Iron, would he have been ſilent about ſuch Things? I fancy he found himſelf at a loſs, by reaſon of the looſe Quotation of That Author, and, not daring to take him for That Advocate, who was broken on the Wheel, for his Intelligences with *Spain*, about the Year 1596 (20), and who was the Son of *Jacobus Carpentarius*, a great Adverſary of *Ramus*, he explained himſelf weakly.

(19) Rivetus, in Jeſuitâ vapulante cap. 13, n. 12. pag. 538. Tom. III. Oper.

(20) See the great Hiſtory of *Mezerai*, Tom. III. pag. 1189.

CHARRON (PETER) Author of a Book which made a great Noiſe, intituled, *Of Wiſdom*, was born at *Paris* in the Year 1541, where he made a great Progreſs in Claſſical Learning, and went thro' a Courſe of Philoſophy. He ſtudied afterwards the Civil and Canon Law at *Orleans* and *Bourges*, and took his Doctor's Degree in That Faculty, in the laſt of Thoſe Two Univerſities. Then he returned to *Paris*, and, having been admitted Advocate in the Parliament, he frequented the Bar five or ſix Years with great Aſſiduity; but, foreſeeing, that it would be difficult to raiſe himſelf that way, becauſe he found himſelf uncapable of ſtooping to make his court to Attornies and Sollicitors, he applied himſelf in earneſt to the Study of Divinity, and became ſo great a Preacher, that ſeveral Biſhops ſtrove to have him in their Dioceſes. *Arnaud de Pontac*, Biſhop of *Bazas*, having heard him preach in St *Paul*'s Church in the Year 1571, conceived a great Affection for him, *and carried him with him to* Xaintes, *and to* Bourdeaux, *and into his Biſhopric, and ſome other Places of* Gaſcogne *and* Languedoc (*a*). *Charron* acquired ſuch a Reputation by his Eloquence, *that every body was deſirous to have him, and the Biſhops of ſeveral Dioceſes, where he had preached, offered him the Theological Canonſhips of their Churches, and other Dignities and Benefices, and made him ſeveral - - - - - - Preſents.* He was *ſucceſſively Theologal of* Bazas, Acqs, Lethoure, Agen, Cahors, *and* Condom, *Canon and Schoolmaſter in the Church of* Bourdeaux, *and Chanter in the Church of* Condom. *Queen* Margaret *made him her Preacher in Ordinary - - - - - - He was alſo in the Retinue of Cardinal* d'Armagnac, *Legate of* Avignon. He did not affect to take the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity, nor That of Licentiate, or Doctor, or Profeſſor, in That Science, but was contented with the *Character of Prieſthood*. He was 17 or 18 Years abſent from *Paris*; and, being returned thither in the Year 1588, he had a deſire to end his Days there among the *Carthuſians*. He had made a Vow to embrace their Order, and he opened his Mind about it to the Prior of the *Charter-houſe* (*b*). They had ſome Reaſons to refuſe him [*A*]: He addreſſed himſelf to the Prior of the *Celeſtins*, and found the ſame Obſtacles; after which ſome Caſuiſts declared him free from his Vow (*c*). Whereupon he reſolved to end his Days under the Character of a Secular Prieſt. He preached the Lent-Sermons, at *Angers* in the Year 1589, and afterwards went to *Bourdeaux*, where he contracted a very ſtrict Friendſhip with *Michel de Montagne* [*B*]. He publiſhed there his Book of the *Three Truths* in the Year 1594 [*C*], for which he had the Dignity of Great Vicar of the Biſhop of *Cahors* beſtowed upon him, together with a Theologal Canonſhip. He was deputed to the General Aſſembly of the Clergy in the Year 1595 (*d*); and That Aſſembly made him their Firſt Secretary. Being returned to *Cahors*, he ſtaid there till the Year 1600, where, among other Works, he compoſed the Three

(*a*) I ſet down the very Words of the Elogy, which I ſhall cite hereafter, Citation (1).

(*b*) His Name was *John Michel*; he was Prior-General of the Great Charter-houſe in *Dauphiné*.

(*c*) See the Remark [*A*].

(*d*) It was held at *Paris*.

[*A*] *They had ſome Reaſons to refuſe admitting him a Carthuſian.*] Leaſt it ſhould be thought, that Thoſe Reaſons were grounded on ſome Irregularity of *Peter Charron*, or that he renounced his Vow too raſhly, I muſt comment the Text of this Remark with theſe Words: ‘ He made his Application to ‘ the Prior of the Charter-houſe of *Paris*. - - - But ‘ could not be admitted into it, how earneſtly ſoever ‘ he deſired it, only becauſe he was too far advan- ‘ ced in Years, being at that time Forty ſeven or ‘ Forty eight Years of Age; and their Excuſe was, ‘ That one muſt be uſed, from his Youth, to bear ‘ the Auſterity of That Religious Order. Being re- ‘ fuſed there, he addreſſed himſelf to the Provincial ‘ of the *Celeſtins* of That City, to be likewiſe re- ‘ ceived into their Order, and met with the ſame ‘ Obſtacles. So that, having done all that lay in ‘ his Power to perform his Vow, he was aſſured ‘ by Meſſieurs *Faber*, Dean of the *Sorbonne*, Ty- ‘ rius, a *Scotiſh* Jeſuit, and *Feuardent*, a Franciſcan, ‘ all very learned Divines, that, in Conſcience, he ‘ was free from ſuch a Vow, and might freely con- ‘ tinue as a Secular in the World, and that he was ‘ not obliged to enter into any other Religious Or- ‘ der (1).’

(1) Peter Charron's *Elogy, by* G. M. D. R. (*that is to ſay,* George Michael de Rochemaillet) *prefixed to the Books of* Wiſdom, *Paris Edit.* 1607.

[*B*] *He contracted a very ſtrict Friendſhip with* Michael de Montagne.] *Charron* had a wonderful Eſteem for That Author's Eſſays, and adopted ſeveral of his Maxims. It may be ſaid, without Raſhneſs, That he, of theſe two Friends, who ſhould have inſtructed the other, was his Scholar, and that the Divine learned more from the Gentleman, than the Gentleman from the Divine. There are 2 great many Thoughts in the Books of *Wiſdom*, which had appeared in *Montagne*'s Eſſays. No doubt but This Docility of *Charron* contributed much to the intimate Affection, which *Montagne* had for him, and that it was the reaſon, why he *permitted him*, by his laſt Will, *to bear the full Arms of his Noble Family, becauſe he left no Male Iſſue behind him* (2). *Charron* ſhewed a very ſolid Gratitude by his Will; for he left Five hundred Crowns to the Lady *Leonora de Montagne*, ‘ the Wife of the Sieur *Camien*, ‘ Counſellor in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, the ‘ good Siſter of the late Sieur *de Montagne*, Knight ‘ of the King's Order, and his Goſſip. And he ‘ made the ſaid Sieur *de Camien* his ſole and uni- ‘ verſal Heir, provided he ſhould pay the Lega- ‘ cies contained in his Will, amounting to near the ‘ Sum of Fifteen thouſand Livres (3).’

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

[*C*] *He publiſhed, at* Bourdeaux, *his Book of the* Three Truths *in the Year* 1594.] He did not put his Name to it. See here what theſe Three Truths are: I. That there is a GOD, and a True Religion. II. That, of all Religions, the Chriſtian is the only True One. III. That, of all the Chriſtian Communions, the *Roman* Catholic is the only True Church. By the firſt he oppoſes the *Atheiſts*; by the ſecond the *Pagans*, *Jews*, and *Mahometans*; and by the third, the *Heretics* and *Schiſmatics*. This Work is very methodical. In the laſt Part, he attacks the Treatiſe of the Church, which Mr *du*

Three Books *of Wisdom*. He caused his *Christian Discourses* to be printed at *Bourdeaux* in the Year 1600 [*D*]. He had left *Cahors*: He was already settled at *Condom*, where he had accepted the Theological Canonship, and the Dignity of Chanter, which the Bishop had offered him. He published his Treatise *of Wisdom* at *Bourdeaux*, in the Year 1601. Two Years after, he took a Journey to *Paris*, to thank a Bishop, who had offered him the Theological Canonship of his Church [*E*], and to publish a new Edition of That Treatise. He did not live long enough to see above three or four Sheets re-printed: He died suddenly in the Street, the sixteenth of *November* 1603. The impression of that Work was finished, notwithstanding the many Obstacles, which were to be surmounted (*e*) [*F*]; for the Author having said many Things according to the Light of Philosophy, he could not write against popular and superstitious Opinions, without advancing some Maxims, which seemed to contradict the Doctrines of Religion. For which reason, many Persons exclaimed against this Book, and cried it down as an impious Work. But some Persons of great Understanding opposed This Persecution, knowing how to distinguish Things. It fell out very luckily for *Charron*'s Memory, and for his Book, that some Statesmen, as Illustrious by the Force of their Genius, as by their Authority, concerned themselves with this Affair: Had it not been for that, he would have been ignominously branded, and his Book had been entirely suppressed.

(*e*) Taken from the Elogy of *Peter Charron*, before the Book of *Wisdom*.

Plessis Mornay had published sixteen Years before. A Writer of the Protestant Religion published soon after, at *Rochel*, an Answer (4), in vindication of That Treatise of *du Plessis*. The Work of the *Three Truths* was applauded by the Catholics; it was printed two or three times at *Paris* from the *Bourdeaux* Edition; and afterwards it was published in *Flanders*, under the Name of *Benedict Vaillant*, Advocate *de Sainte Foy* (5). The Publication of This Work brought *Charron* acquainted with Messire *Antony d'Ebrard de St Sulpice*, Bishop and Count of *Cahors*, who, without having seen the said Sieur *Charron*, from the sole Relish of his Book, sent for him, made him his Vicar-General, and gave him the Theological Canonship of his Church; which he accepted; and, being there, he caused his Book to be printed, the second time, at *Bourdeaux*, in the Year 1595, putting his Name to it, and added to it a Reply to the Answer, which has been printed at *Rochel* against his Third Truth (6). *Francis du Jon*, or *Junius*, Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, wrote an Answer (7) to This second Edition of the *Three Truths*, and published it in *French*, in the Year 1599: he inserted therein the Work of his Adversary intire. Note, That *Charron* had *revised, and very much enlarged, This Work, since the Edition of the Year* 1595, and that he had made *another Reply to the second Answer made to the Third Truth* (8). All this, being ready for the Press, was found in his Study, after his Death. The Universal Heir gave hopes that this Manuscript should be published, and dedicated to the Cardinal *de Joyeuse* (9).

(4) Which was reprinted at *Geneva*, by *Gabriel Cartier*, in the Year 1595, in 8vo.

(5) Charron's Elogy.

(6) Ibid.

(7) It is a large Quarto.

(8) Charron's Elogy.

(9) Ibid.

[*D*] *He caused his* Christian Discourses *to be printed in the Year* 1600.] They are sixteen in number: The eight first treat of the Eucharist; the rest concern the Knowledge and Providence of God, the Redemption of the World, and the Communion of Saints (10).

(10) Ibid.

[*E*] *He took a Journey to* Paris, *to thank a Bishop, who had offered him the Theological Canonship in his Church.*] *Claudius Dormy*, Bishop of *Boulogne*, and Prior of *St Martin's in the Fields* at *Paris*, was the Person he was to thank: He had received very obliging Letters from him, which shewed, that his Books pleased That Prelate, and that he would take it kindly, if he would accept of the Theological Canonship of his Cathedral (11). Note, That the Approbation of That Bishop concerned the three Books of *Wisdom*, as well as the sixteen Discourses. He did not accept these Offers, and he told 'one 'of his intimate Friends, That he would willingly enough have accepted That Canonship for 'some Years; but that a cold Climate, near the 'Sea, was not only unpleasant and melancholy, but 'also unwholsome; and that he loved the Sun, 'that the Sun was his sensible God, as God was 'his insensible Sun, and that therefore he feared 'he could not live healthfully and pleasantly at *Boulogne* (12).' He is not the only Man of Letters, to whom cold and moist Climates are inconvenient, and to whom the Sun *is a sensible God*.

(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.

[*F*] *The* Books of Wisdom *were printed, notwithstanding the many Obstacles which were to be surmounted.*] Let us set down the Narrative, which is found in his Elogy. He had affectionately recommended This Work, and the *Christian Discourses*, to one of his most intimate Friends, an Advocate of the Parliament (13). This Friend took so much care of them, that they were published, 'notwithstanding the Opposition of some malicious 'or superstitious Men, who had mean and weak 'Souls, and were *perquam similes Noctuis quarum 'oculi tantum splendorem ferre non poterant, & ad 'ipsius Solis lumen caligobant*, not being able to 'bear the Brightness of That rare, sublime, and 'divine Wit. For they undertook to prevent the 'Impression of his Books of *Wisdom*, and, for that 'end, they had recourse to the Authority of the 'Rector of the University, and of some Doctors 'of the *Sorbonne*, and even of the King's Council, 'both in the Parliament, and in the *Chatelet*; besides, they caused *Simon Millanges*, a Printer of 'Bordeaux, to interpose in it, for his particular 'Interest. Complaints were made about it at the 'Chatelet, in the Court of the Green-Cloth, in 'the Court of Parliament, and in the Privy-Council; and they came also to the King's Ear: The 'Sheets, which were already printed, and the Author's Copy, were seized three times. But, as 'This faithful Friend had two or three Copies of 'That Work, and desired to make it appear by 'good Proofs, that the Love he had for the deceased Sieur *Charron* did not end with his Death, 'he got, at last, with much ado, all the Books 'printed; and, before they could be sold, there 'was a Suit in Law about it. Finally, The Chancellor, and the King's Attorney-General, shewed 'them to two Doctors of the *Sorbonne*, who wrote 'down what they had to say against Those Books, 'which speak only of human Wisdom, treated Morally and Philosophically. And all was put into 'the Hands of the President *Jeannin*, Counsellor 'of State, one of the most judicious and experienced Men of That Time; who, having seen and 'examined them, plainly said, that Those Books 'were not written for common Readers; that none 'but solid and sublime Wits could make a Judgment of them; and that they were truly Books 'of State; and, having made his Report to the 'Privy-Council, the Sale of them was permitted to 'the Bookseller, who had printed them, and he had 'a full Replety of all the Seizures, which had been 'made; after it had been remonstrated and proved, 'that Those Books had been corrected and enlarged 'by the Author, since the first Impression made at 'Bourdeaux, in the Year 1601, and that by those 'Additions and Corrections, he had cleared, and 'confirmed, and in some Places softned, his Discourses, without making any Alteration in the 'Sense: Which he had done, to stop the Mouths 'of malicious People, and to satisfy the Ignorant; 'that he had shewed them to some of his best 'Friends, clear-sighted Persons, and no ways pe-

(13) *Call'd* George Michael de Rochemaillet.

suppressed. Indeed, he always wished to have Persons of that Character for his Judges [G]; for he did not expect the same Equity from those, whose Profession engages them to be passionate, and who have contracted a Habit of condemning, with Precipitation, whatever does not agree with their prejudicated Opinions. Some believe, that it is a glorious thing for *France* to have permitted the Publication of this Book, notwithstanding the Oppositions and Murmurs of many People. This made it appear, that wise Men did not approve, that a tyrannical Yoke should be put upon the Mind, and that they approved the Liberty of Philosophising, when it is confined within due Bounds. The most violent Declaimer, that appeared against the Book *of Wisdom*, was *Garasse*, a Jesuit. He has placed *Charron* in the Catalogue of the most dangerous and wicked Atheists [H]. He was too narrow spirited (f), to know, that a great difference is to be made between what a Man believes by the Efficacy of Faith, and what he ingenuously owns that Reason suggests to him about the Doctrines of Religion. One of the things, which this Jesuit most haughtily and maliciously censured, is at the bottom very reasonable; and, if it be read with Attention, it will appear so, and the Reader will be full of Indignation against the Ignorance or Dishonesty of That Caviller. It relates to a certain degree of Strength, which *Peter Charron* attributed to those, who fully shake off the Belief of a Deity [I]. His Censurers did not regard

(f) *My Friend* Garasse, quæ supra eos nihil ad nos; Charron's *Books are a little too much above the reach of such mean and popular Souls as yours.* Ogier Jugement & Censure de la Doctrine Curieuse, pag. 455.

'dantic, who were well edified and pleased with 'them; and that, above all, he submitted him-'self and his Books to the Censure and Judgment 'of the Catholic, Apostolic, and *Roman* Church.'

You may easily perceive, by this Narrative, that the Edition of *Paris*, 1604, is not the same in all respects with the Edition of *Bourdeaux* 1601. The latter contained some things, which were suppressed, or softened, and rectified in the former; which was the Reason why the *Bourdeaux* Edition was more esteemed by the Curious; and therefore the Booksellers caused the Book to be re-printed *in several Places, according* to That Edition (14); which made a Bookseller of *Paris* publish an Edition, wherein his added, at the end of the Book, all the Passages of the first, which had been castrated, or corrected, and all those, which the *President* Jeannin, *appointed by the Chancellor for the Censure and Examination of That Book, had judged ought to be altered* (15). This Edition, which is of *Paris* 1607, has been followed in the re printing of This Work, at *Rouen*, 1622, and elsewhere: It is, doubtless, to be preferred before the first: for the Book appears there such as it had been corrected and enlarged by the Author for a second Edition, and, besides, we find in it, apart, what was peculiar to That of *Bourdeaux*. By this means all the Proceedings became needless.

(14) See the Advertisement to the Readers, in the Edition of *Paris*, 1607.

(15) Ibid.

[G] *He always wished to have Persons of great Genius for his Judges.*] 'He was sensible, in his 'Life-time, that his Book of *Wisdom* would not be 'acceptable to weak and superstitious People, and 'that it would be censured by presumptuous, proud, 'positive, and opinionated Men, who fancy they 'know every thing, and that they are the wisest Men 'in the World; whereas, for the most part, they 'are most impertinent and ignorant, and some of 'them are infected with an almost incurable Distemper.' For which reason he drew up a small Treatise of *Wisdom*, a few Months before his Death, containing a Summary of his Book, together with an 'Apology, and an Answer to the Complaints and 'Objections, which were made against him; which 'was printed by itself in the Year 1606, with some 'Christian Discourses, by *David le Clerc*; and he 'desired it should be dedicated to Monsieur *de Harlay*, First President of the Parliament of *Paris*, 'knowing very well, that none were able to judge 'impartially of his Book, but such Men as That 'Lord, that is, such as have a bold, generous, 'sublime, and no ways superstitious or mean Soul; 'which was done according to his Desire and Intention (16).'

(16) Elogy of *Peter Charron*.

[H] Garasse *placed* Charron *in the Catalogue of the most dangerous and wicked Atheists.*] Never was such a furious Writer seen: It would fill a Book, to copy all the abusive Language he gave *Charron*, in his *Somme Theologique*, and in his *Doctrine Curieuse*, &c. Let us be contented with this Passage: 'I 'have defined, *says he* (17), the brutish, drowsy, 'or melancholy Atheism, to be a certain fantastical 'Humour, which has introduced *Diogenism* into the 'Christian Religion; by which Humour a Man, 'besotted with his languishing and lazy Melancholy, laughs at every thing, through a dull, ridiculous, and pedantic Gravity. They, who have 'read the *Wisdom* and the *Three Truths*, will understand very well what I mean by these words; for 'here is That Writer's Humour naturally represented —— In our time the Devil, who is the Author of Atheism, and the Ape of the Works of 'God, has raised two profane Men, Christians in 'appearance, and Atheists in reality, to imitate *Salomon* in writing *A WISDOM*, the one a *Milanese* (18), who wrote in *Latin*, the other a *Parisian*, who wrote in his Mother Tongue, both 'equally pernicious, and great Enemies of Jesus 'Christ, and of good Manners, as we shall see 'in the Relation and Examination of their wicked 'Propositions. In a word, These two Prevaricators have endeavoured to shew, that true Wisdom 'consists in despising Religion and good Manners. —— *Tertullian* has a good Saying, in the Fourteenth Chapter of his Apology, which may here be my Authority: Speaking of *Marcus Varro*, who was accounted the *Wisdom of Rome*, he shews, that, in his Writings, which, by good Fortune and by God's Favour, are lost, he was more an Atheist and Cynic, than *Menippus* and *Diogenes*, forasmuch as he had published several Atheistical Notions with a kind of Modesty and Probability; whereas others, having written some impious things, have made them suspected by their way of writing. I say the same of those melancholy and languishing Writers, who under the Title of Wisdom, Truths, and Catholic Discourses, have stifled all sense of Religion.' The Abbot *de St Cyran* would not suffer this violent Critic to blast *Charron*'s Reputation; he took his part, when he censured the Faults of *Garasse*'s *Somme Theologique* (19). I remember, among other things, that he complains of This Censurer's Injustice, who, taking advantage of an Error of the Press, had carried on his Invectives in a strange manner. The Series of *Charron*'s Discourse shews, that he meant, that God acts *temporally*; but the Printers, instead of putting *temporellement*, put *temerairement*. See what I shall cite below out of the Prior *Ogier*.

(17) *Garasse, Somme Theologique*, pag. 66, 67. In his Apology against the Prior *Ogier*, par. 261, 262, he says *Charron* is more dangerous to Youth, and to others, who have but little Learning, than the Books of *Theophile*, and *Lucilio Vanini*, for as much as he has published more impious things than they, and with some Modesty; that is to say, he is so much the more dangerous, because he stands on his Guard, and because his *Wisdom* is read as a pious Book.

(18) That is to say, *Cardan*.

(19) *See the 2d Volume of the Book intituled*, Somme des fautes & fausfetes capitales contenues en la Somme Theologique du Pere Garasse, p. 346, & seq.

[I] —— *This relates to a certain degree of Force, which* Peter Charron *ascribes to those, who entirely shake off the belief of a Deity.*] To judge well of his Doctrine on this point, all his words must be weighed, and nothing must be left out that he says. Here is the whole Passage: 'This first, habitual, and universal kind of Atheism (20), cannot lodge but in 'a very strong and bold Soul;

Illi robur & æs triplex
Circa pectus erat †.

Sure he —— —— ——
In harden'd Oak his Heart did hide,
And Ribs of Iron arm'd his Side.

Dryden.

(20) *That is to say, of those who* absolutely deny the Deity, and pretend to prove that there is no God.

† Horat. lib. 1. Od. 3. ver. 9, 10.

'It

regard the Advices he had given, which were sufficient to prevent their rash Judgments

'It must be furious and maniac. Surely there must 'be as much (and perhaps more) strength and stiffness of Soul, to reject and resolutely lay aside the Belief of a GOD, as constantly to adhere to him, which are the two opposite Extreams, and very rare and difficult: but the first more. A Medium between them proceeds from an ordinary Strength and Virtue, and consists in not being able to cast GOD off, and yet faintly and remissly adhering to him: which is the case of most Men, more or less, in an infinite number of degrees. —— To adhere resolutely and inviolably to GOD, requires very great strength and application of the Soul, which must be always intent and attentive; a special divine Favour and Grace, and a continual Assistance of the Holy Ghost. On the contrary, to get loose from, and cast off the Sense and Fear of a Deity, a thing interwoven in our Nature, requires a monstrous and furious Strength of the Soul, and such as is hardly to be found; although those great and notorious Atheists, who, thro' an extreme and furious Insolence, had a mind to withdraw their Allegiance to the Deity, and to shake off a superiour Being, did what they could to acquire it. But the most ingenious of those, who have attempted it, could never compass their Design: For although, being undisturbed, and at liberty to speak their mind, they seemed to have gained this point, by laughing at the Notion of a GOD and Religion; yet, when they were followed close, they Child-like yielded. Whenever an unexpected and remarkable Prodigy and Token of GOD's Wrath happened, they were more frightned, and looked paler than others, hiding themselves at a Clap of Thunder, or at the Noise of a Storm. Thus, unwilling to acknowledge a GOD, lest they should stand in fear of him, the fear of the least thing forced them to acknowledge him (21).' Now let us see the words of the Censurer (22). 'He lays down for a Maxim, That the first 'kind of Atheism cannot be harboured but by a 'very strong and bold Soul, *and that it requires more 'Strength and Stiffness of Soul to reject and lay aside the Belief of a GOD than constantly to adhere to him.* And though he endeavours to mollify this 'Proposition by a deceitful Expression, I maintain 'that it is wicked and dangerous, because it encou'rages many young People of a loose Life, whose 'Minds are floating, and who are not yet come to 'That pitch of Madness, as wholly to cast off the 'Belief and Fear of a Deity. For every one being 'naturally desirous to be thought a Man of great 'Parts, and of a sound and strong Judgment; if any 'young, heedless, and wavering Persons happen to 'read this Proposition, as it happens but too often, 'they become downright Atheists. All *Charron's* 'Discourse inclines the Mind of his Readers to That 'furious Rage of shaking off the Belief of a GOD, 'which is nevertheless base Cowardice, as it ap'pears by all Atheists, who die either mad or Cow'ards: We have some Instances of it in *Fontenier* and *Vanini*, who, after having uttered insolent Bravadoes against the Deity, were not tired 'with making feigned and sacrilegious Confessions, 'whilst in Prison, in order to appear good Men.' Note, that *Garasse*, in his *Somme Theologique*, which came out after the Apology, which I have just now quoted, bestows a whole Section (23) upon the Confutation of This Opinion of *Charron*. He alledges the Example of some Fathers of the Church, who shewed an unshaken Courage: He maintains, that Atheism proceeds only from Cowardice; I say he maintains it, considering things another way, and according to a different view, in which he does not directly oppose *Charron's* Notions: and he mentions again the timorous dissembling of the two Atheists, who were punished with Death some time before. This Refutation is not solid, since *Charron* had plainly and precisely owned, I. That a very great strength of Soul is required to be firm in the true Faith of GOD. II. That the greatest and most notorious Atheists, *when they are followed close, do yield child-like.* So that it may be said, that *Garasse* fought with his own Shadow: he proved what his Adversary did not deny, and what he formally acknowledged. I shall therefore leave That Chapter of the *Somme Theologique*, and the last part of the Passage, which I have related, and shall only consider the other half of That Passage.

I find several Faults in it: for, I. This Jesuit suppresses every thing, which shews *Charron's* Orthodoxy, and which may serve to discover the true sense of his Words, and to remove the bad Impressions, which his Maxim, proposed in general, and without any Explanation, might produce in the Reader. II. He calls all this a *deceitful Expression*: Now this is such base and foul dealing, that it ought to be referred to the cognizance of criminal Judges: nay, severe Tribunals should be set up against Authors, who, by such perfidious Tricks, blast the Honour, Reputation, and Memory of a Writer. You suppress a thing, and yet you say it is *deceitful*. You should have produced it at length, and then you might have denominated it: but you thought it would be better for you to deceive the Readers, by interposing your Judgment about a thing, which you do not shew them, and which you are sure most of them will not look for. I say, III. That *Garasse* builds on a wrong Foundation; for he builds on this Principle: *Though Atheism should be the effect of a great strength of Soul, yet this should not be acknowledged; such a Truth ought either to be suppressed, or the contrary Opinion be boldly asserted, lest it should make presumptuous Men desirous to fall into a condition, that is the Criterion of a strong Mind.* It plainly appears from this Jesuit's Objection, that he reasons after this manner (24). Now let any equitable Person judge, whether this be fair dealing? and whether it will not introduce meer human Policy, and the grand Secret of the Military Art, into Religion? In short, whether this is not to decide, that, provided Orthodoxy triumphs, it is no matter by what means, or how. Ought not a Man to be contented with behaving himself in such a manner? Must he also require from every Author, that he tread in the same Steps? Shall not *Peter Charron* be permitted to prefer Sincerity before Utility? I go farther, and say, that he followed the Ideas of what is honest, without bringing the Useful Part into any hazard. Did he not assert, that Atheism requires a strong, but a *furious* and *maniac* Soul, and that That Force was *monstrous* and *furious*, and a very *great and furious Insolence?* Is there any thing in this, that can tempt an ambitious Person? And, if it could allure any One, must it not be the worst of Men, and a Soul depraved to the highest degree? Do such profligate Wretches, so spoiled and so incorrigible, deserve, that, in their favour, things should not be delivered according to the Ideas, which are thought the most just? When *Cicero* owned, that *Marc Antony* had great Strength of Body (25), when *Tacitus* acknowledged the same quality in one of *Augustus's* Grandsons (26), had they any reason to fear, that their Readers would wish to acquire such a Strength? Was it not so characterized, as to create a Disgust? Now I ask, whether *Charron* did not make use of a Corrective, yet more proper to inspire, I will not say Disgust, but Horror? Observe here St *Augustin's* Maxim, that great Piety, and great Impiety, are equally uncommon. *Insania ista paucorum est: sicut enim magna pietas paucorum est, ita & magna impietas nihilo minus paucorum est* (27). This comes very near to one of *Peter Charron's* Propositions.

Perhaps, some will think, that he has contradicted himself, having acknowledged both a great strength of Soul, and a childish Weakness, in Atheists; but certainly he did it without falling into Contradiction, since he considered them under different Circumstances. He believes them strong in Prosperity, and weak in Adversity: So that the contrary Qualities, which he attributes to them, are two things, that succeed each other. It is not therefore a Contradiction to admit of them in one and the same Subject: A Contradiction supposes, that both the Terms should subsist together at the same time: It requires also, that they should be affirmed of the same Subject, according to the same Notion: thence it comes, that, without departing from the Rules of contradictory Propositions, it may be affirmed, that the 'same

(21) Charron, chap. 3, *of the* Three Truths, pag. m. 13, 14.

(22) Garasse Apolog cap. 21. pag. m. 263. & seq.

(23) It is the third Section of the second Part of the first Book, pag. 48, & seq.

(24) *Compare with this the Addition to the* Pensées diverses sur les Cometes, pag. 83, 84. Edit. 1694. *See also* pag. 74, 75.

(25) Tu istis fucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate. —— *You, with those Forces, those Sides, and that gladiatorial Strength of the whole Body* Cicero Philipp. 2. pag. m. 758.

(26) Rudem sane bonarum artium, & robora corporis stolide ferocem. —— *Ignorant of polite Arts, but in strength of Body foolishly fierce.* Tacit. An. lib. 1. cap. 3.

(27) Augustin. Sermone 10, de verbis Domini.

NOTABLE Diversities of the Strength of the Soul, and Observations upon it.

ments [K]. However it be, *Charron* was a Man of an unblameable Life; and, I think,

same Persons are fearful and bold at the same time; fearful with respect to certain Objects, and bold with respect to others. We have daily Instances of it. Some Men of extraordinary Intrepidity would not lie, upon any account, in a Chamber, if they were told, that it is haunted with Spirits: others would boldly lie there alone, though their Cowardice is so great, that a drawn Sword makes them tremble. The Uneasiness that troubles the former, about a Trifle, which they have taken for an ill Omen, I say, That Uneasiness, which no Reason can remove, will not hinder them from fighting like Lyons. The latter, laughing at all sorts of Presages, will run away like a Hare, if they are attacked by an equal number. Such a one, who has not the Courage to see a Man let blood, or to kill a Pullet, endures the sharpest Pains with all imaginable Constancy, and expects Death in his Bed with an heroic Firmness. Another, who is unconcerned in the most frightful Dangers of War, trembles for fear, when a Physician tells him he must die. It has been said, that a steddy Mind is neither moved with the Threatnings of a Tyrant, nor with the Danger of Shipwreck, nor with Thunder or Lightening; and that the Ruins of the World would fall upon him without making him afraid:

Justum, & tenacem propositi virum,
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida: neque Auster,
Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ,
Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus:
Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum ferient ruinæ (28).

(28) Horat. Od. 3. lib. 3. ver. 1, &c.

Nor Civil Rage, nor Tyrants Frowns, controul
The steady Purpose of the Just Man's Soul.
Tho' Storms and Ruin are around him hurl'd,
Fearless he meets the Shock, nor dreads a falling World.

But such a Steddiness is scarce any where to be found in it's full extent: we seldom see more than some Parts of it. There are some noble Souls, which no Promises, nor any Flattery, can divert from the Paths of Virtue; but they are not Proof against the Threats of a Dungeon, or such other ill Treatment. Some form the most noble and magnanimous Resolutions for the Good of their Country. Their Notions are great, and shew a generous and steddy Soul; but they could not put them in Execution: they would perform their Duty very ill in a besieged Town, if they were placed in the Breach: an involuntary Fear would seize them, and make them run away, even before they should distinctly perceive it. The Body of these Men does not second the Soul: a certain Disposition of the Organs, which mechanically produces Fear, dejects the superior Part, and puts it out of countenance (29). There is, without doubt, a Courage, or Intrepidity of Mind, which is sometimes attended with great bodily Fear. Mr *Hobbes*'s Courage and Steddiness related only to the Objects of the Mind. There was scarce any Proposition, or Paradox, which astonished him, or troubled his Conscience; but the least danger of his Body frighted him. *Montagne*, who seems to be so much above Prejudices, and so well furnished with the pretended force of Incredulity, had a Softness of Soul, which would not permit him to see a Pullet's Throat cut without uneasiness, nor could he patiently hear a Hare groan under the Teeth of his Dogs (30). This Difference proceeds from the Difference of Mens Tempers: we must not therefore wonder, that a Man, who has the boldness to shake off the most general, and the most sacred Opinions, should be so weak as to tremble at the sight of an Executioner, and to dissemble his Belief, in order to avoid the Pains of the Torture. The Strength of his Soul does not respect the Objects of the Body, but those of the Mind. A mean Soul, capable of all sorts of Villainy and Infamy, a Slave of *Cappadocia* (31), the greatest Coward and the greatest Rogue in the World, has sometimes surprising Strength to bear the most violent Torments; the Rack, ordinary and extraordinary, the most terrible, will not make him confess any thing; but how many Men of great Virtue, and of admirable Probity, would rather accuse themselves falsly, than expose themselves to the Torture? How many Persons, who were true Lovers of their Religion, have had recourse to all manner of Shifts and Equivocations, and left no Stone unturned, to save their Lives, whilst they were in the Prisons of the Inquisition (32)? The fear of capital Punishment disordered their Souls, and suspended all the Strength of their Piety. Thus the Laws of the Union of the Soul and the Body produce a great Diversity in Men.

(29) We may say of it, as of *Debauchery*, Quin corpus onustum Hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat una, Atque affigit humi divinæ particulam auræ. *Horat. Sat. 2. lib. 2. ver. 77.*

(30) Montagne, Essays, lib 2. cap. 11. pag. m. 271.

(31) See above, the Article *CAPPADOCIA*.

(32) I understand by this Word, all the Tribunals which have condemned any one to Death on account of Religion.

I observe all these things, to reconcile *Peter Charron* with Mr *de la Bruyere*. 'Do your Men 'of strong Minds (*Esprits forts*), says this latter (33), 'know, that they are called so ironically? What 'greater Weakness, than to be uncertain what is 'the Principle of one's Being, Life, Senses, and 'Knowledge, and what will be the end of them? 'What greater Discouragement, than to doubt whether one's Soul be not material, as Stones and 'Reptiles, and whether it is not corruptible like 'those vile Creatures? Is it not a nobler thing, 'and which requires greater Strength, to have the 'Idea of a Being Superior to all other Beings, '&c.' They are both in the right; and their Difference lies only in the different Relations of the Word *Strength*; and I do not think, that Mr *de la Bruyere* would have denied to *Charron*, that the Athiests have Strength, in the same Sense as the Demoniac, who broke all the Chains, wherewith he was loaded, and whom no one could master (34). For the rest, the Precaution, which *Garasse* would have us use, would be of no great Advantage; for it is no easy thing to correct the Ideas, by which we judge, since the fear of over-turning a Salt-seller is a Weakness, it requires some Strength to overcome That Fear, and so gradually with other things. It would be no easy thing to correct these Notions, tho' all Authors should carefully abstain from giving the Name of *Strength* to That Turn of the Mind. The Impious would appeal to their Patriarch *Lucretius*:

(33) La Bruyere, Caracteres de ce Siecle, pag. 664. Paris *Edition*, 1694. *See also the* Pensées diverses sur les Cometes, pag. 412.

(34) Mark v. 4.

Humana ante oculos fœde cum vita jaceret
In terris oppressa gravi sub religione.
- - - - - - - - - - - -
Primum Graius homo mortales tollere contra
Est oculos ausus, primusque obsistere contra:
Quem nec fama Deûm, nec fulmina, nec minitanti
Murmure compressit Cœlum, sed eo magis acrem
Virtutem irritat animi, confringere ut arcta
Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret.
- - - - - - - - - - - -
Quare religio pedibus subjecta vicissim
Obteritur, nos exæquat victoria cœlo (35).

(35) Lucret. lib. 1, ver. 63.

Long time Man lay, oppress'd with slavish Fear;
Religion's Tyranny did domineer.
- - - - - - - - - - - -
At length a mighty one of Greece *began*
T' assert the natural Liberty of Man,
By senseless Terrors, and vain fancies, led
To Slavery; first, the conquer'd Phantoms fled.
Not the fam'd Stories of the Deity,
Not all the Thunder of the threat'ning Sky,
Cou'd stop his rising Soul: thro' all he past,
The strongest Bounds, that pow'rful Nature cast.
- - - - - - - - - - - -
Wherefore by his Success our Right we gain;
Religion is our Subject, and we reign.

CREECH.

[K] *His Censors did not regard the Advices he had given, which were sufficient to prevent their rash Judgments.*] *Charron* being not the only Man, who has occasion to make the Critics know, what they ought to distinguish, if they will be equitable,

I shall

I think, it may be eaſily proved, both by his Writings and Actions, that he did not doubt of the Truth of Chriſtianity [*L*]. But it falls out unluckily, that, of a Hundred thouſand

I ſhall ſet down the Advice he gave them. 'I am willing to advertiſe the Reader, who ſhall undertake to judge of this Work, that he muſt have a care he does not fall into any of theſe ſeven Miſtakes, as ſome have done as to the firſt Edition; which are, to take for a Duty what is only a Matter of Fact; for a thing to be done what is only a Judgment; for a Reſolution and Determination what is only propoſed, diſcuſſed, and problematically diſputed; for my own Opinions, what others believe; for an outward State, Profeſſion, and Condition, what belongs to the Mind, and is internal; for Religion and divine Belief, what is but an human Opinion; for a ſupernatural Grace and Operation, what is only a natural and moral Action. A Reader, free from Prejudices, will find, in theſe ſeven Points, well underſtood, wherewith to reſolve his Doubts, to anſwer all the Objections, which himſelf and others may raiſe, and inform himſelf of the Deſign of this Work. But if, after all, he is not ſatisfied, and does not approve of it, let him attack it boldly and briskly, (for meer ſlandering, biting, and reviling, is an eaſy thing, though ſhameful and pedantic); and then either I ſhall yield, and ingenuouſly confeſs that I was miſtaken; (for this Book makes it's boaſt to ſhew the Sincerity and Ingenuity of it's Author); or I ſhall examine his Impertinency and Folly (36).' What he had ſaid, juſt before, is too fine not to be inſerted in this Remark: A great many Readers will learn their Duty from it: They will ſee there, with what Diſpoſition of Mind they ought to judge of a Book, which is not written according to the Humour or Prejudice of the Multitude, that is to ſay, where the Author lays down his Thoughts as they ariſe in his Mind, without dogmatizing, or deſigning to form a Sect. 'Some find, *ſays* Charron (37), that this Book doth too boldly and too freely ſhock the common Opinions, and are offended at it. To whom I anſwer theſe four or five words; Firſt, that Wiſdom, which is not common and popular, has the Liberty and Authority, *Jure ſuo ſingulari*, to judge of every Thing; (it is the Privilege of a ſpiritual wiſe Man, *Spiritualis omnia dijudicat, & à nemine judicatur*) and to cenſure and condemn the common and popular Opinions, as being moſt of them erroneous. Who ſhall do it then? Now, in doing this, it muſt needs incur the Diſpleaſure and Envy of the World. Moreover, I complain of them; I tax them with a popular Weakneſs, and an effeminate Softneſs; which makes them altogether unfit to underſtand any good and wiſe Thing: The ſtrongeſt and boldeſt Propoſitions are moſt becoming a ſtrong and elevated Mind; and nothing is ſtrange to him, who knows what the World is: It is a Weakneſs, to wonder at any thing; we muſt ſtiffen our Courage, ſtrengthen our Soul, harden and ſteel it, to enjoy, know, underſtand, and judge of all Things, though they ſeem to be never ſo ſtrange. There is nothing above the Reach of the Mind, if it be not wanting to itſelf: but it ought not to do, or conſent to, any thing, but what is good and honeſt, though all the World ſhould talk of it. A wiſe Man does equally ſhew his Courage in theſe two Things: Thoſe nice Perſons are neither capable of the one, nor of the other; they are weak in both. Thirdly, I do not pretend to impoſe my own Opinion upon any body: I only offer my Thoughts to the Reader's Conſideration. I ſhall not be angry if I am not believed; none but Pedants will be out of Humour upon ſuch an account. Paſſion and Reaſon do not go hand in hand; and they, who are governed by the one, are not by the other. But why are they angry? Is it becauſe I am not of their Opinion in every thing? I am not angry with them, becauſe they differ from me. Is it becauſe I ſay ſeveral Things, which do not agree with their or the ordinary Palates? That is the very reaſon why I publiſh them. I ſay nothing without giving ſome Reaſons for it: If they have any thing to ſay to the contrary, which is grounded upon better Reaſons, I ſhall willingly hear it, and make my acknowledgment to them.' I exhort all my Readers to conſider ſeriouſly theſe two Paſſages.

(36) *Charron's* Preface to his *Wiſdom*, Edit. 2. See alſo the Preface prefixed to his ſmall Treatiſe of *Wiſdom*, where you will find the ſame Words. The Prior *Ogier*, in his Cenſure of *Garaſſe's Doctrine Curieuſe*, *pag.* 152, 153, alledges them in juſtification of *Charron*.

(37) Id. ibid. fol. B. verſo.

[*L*] *It is eaſy to prove, both by his Writings and Actions, that he did not doubt of the Truth of Chriſtianity.*] 'His Innocence, his Candor, and his Probity, have at laſt overcome the Slanders and Calumnies of his Adverſaries.' Thus ſpeaks the Author of *Charron's* Elogy (38). And then he goes on: 'As to his Morals, Converſation, and Actions, as well in private as in public, I ſhall only ſay, that he conformed himſelf altogether to the Rules and Duties contained in the twelve Chapters of his ſecond Book of *Wiſdom*, and practiſed them very exactly. And as for his Religion and Belief, they may be ſeen in his Books of the *Three Truths* —— and in his *Chriſtian Diſcourſes*, printed after his Death, which make a moderate Volume —— His good Conſcience appeared alſo in the manner, in which he poſſeſſed, or left, his Benefices. His Piety diſcovers itſelf in the Will, which he wrote with his own Hand, the thirtieth of *January* 1602; —— wherein, after having returned Thanks to GOD, for the Benefits he had received from him in his Life-time, and having moſt ardently ſupplicated him, through his infinite and incomprehenſible Goodneſs, and through the Mercy of his well-beloved Son our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, and through all his Merits, multiplied and ſpread over all his Members, the holy Elect, to grant him the Pardon and Remiſſion of his Sins, to take and hold him for his, to aſſiſt and direct him with his Holy Spirit, ſo long as he ſhould be in this World, to preſerve, and make him perſevere with a ſound Mind in his Love and Service, and, at the Point of Death, to receive his Soul among the reſt of his beloved Children, and to inſpire all his holy Elect with a deſire of praying and interceeding for him; he left, among other things, a Legacy of Two hundred Livres to the Church of *Condom*, if he ſhould be buried there, upon Condition, that, on the Day of his Deceaſe, a high Maſs ſhould be ſaid for him, every Year, and an Abſolution on his Grave; Moreover, he gives Two thouſand Four hundred Crowns to poor Scholars, and Maids, who are to be married, the Revenue of which ſhall be yearly and perpetually diſtributed, one half to three or four Scholars, and the other half to three, four, or five, poor Maids.' Add to this, I. The fervent Deſire he had to confine himſelf to a Monaſtery, according to the Vow he had made. II. The care he took to conſult three Caſuiſts, before he held himſelf free from That Vow (39). Is it not an amazing thing, that ſuch a Perſon ſhould be defamed as an Enemy to Chriſtianity, and an Atheiſt? Is it not a manifeſt and deplorable Effect, either of the Malignity, or of the Weakneſs of Mens Minds? Here are ſome Verſes of the Prior *Ogier*, againſt Father *Garaſſe*, in Favour of *Charron*:

(38) *Charron's* Elogy. See alſo the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the ſmall Treatiſe of *Wiſdom*.

(39) See Remark [*A*].

Damnatur ſic Charro PIUS doctuſque, Garaſſo
Execratore, atque puer cunabula fandi
Vix habet, & primæ lallat documenta Minervæ,
Quamvis ſancta ejus tot adhuc Eccleſia verbis
Perſonet eloquii, Verique in triplice libro
Fortiter hæreticæ frangat mendacia ſectæ (40).

Thus pious Charron, *if* Garaſſe *ſays true,*
Scarce the firſt Elements of Learning knew;
The' ſtill the Church his Eloquence reſounds,
Which lying Hereſy ſo ſtrongly wounds.

(40) See the Cenſure of the *Doctrine Curieuſe*, printed at *Paris*, 1623, pag. 169.

This Writer's Proſe is yet more glorious to *Peter Charron*. Read the eleventh Chapter of his Judgment of the *Doctrine curieuſe*, where you will find the Confutation of *Garaſſe's* pretended Proofs of *Charron's* Atheiſm. Read alſo *Garaſſe's* Reply (41); it will ſerve, as much as any thing, to ſhew his Temerity; for all that he quotes out of *Charron* is either true, or unfaithfully related, or may bear a good Senſe.

(41) That is, his Apology againſt the Author of the Cenſure of the *Doctrine Curieuſe*, chap. 21, 22. pag. 259, & ſeq.

thousand Readers, there are hardly Three to be found in any Age, who are well qualified to judge of a Book, wherein the Ideas of an exact and metaphysical Reasoning are set in Opposition to the most common Opinions. I wonder that *Moreri* has taken *Charron*'s Part [*M*]; for he might have found himself involved in the Censure, which the Print, prefixed to the Book *of Wisdom*, exposes to the Eyes of the Public. It is a Figure, which seems to favour the *Sceptics* [*N*]. I must say something of what *Sorel* observes concerning our Author [*O*]. This will give me

'But, it will be said, did not *Charron* say, that all Men boast wrongfully to have a Religion, which comes from GOD? These are his Words: 'Religions must be brought in, and given by an extraordinary and heavenly Revelation; they must be received by divine Inspiration, and as coming from Heaven: and, indeed, all say, that they receive them, and believe them. All use this Jargon, that they have them not from Men, nor any Creature, but from GOD. To speak the Truth, without any Flattery or Disguise, there is no such thing; they have received them by human Hands and Means (42).' I answer, that in the second Edition he excepted the true Religion. He goes on thus: 'Which is true in all respects as to false Religions; they are meer human, or diabolical, Inventions; but the true ones, as they are of another resort, so they come, and are received from another Hand: Nevertheless, we must make a Distinction. As to the Reception, The first and general Publication of them was, *Domino co-operante, sermonum confirmante sequentibus signis*, divine and miraculous. 'Had he not said a little before, That Unbelievers and irreligious Men are such, because they consult and rely too much upon their own Judgment, being willing to examine and judge of Matters of Religion according to their Capacity, and handle it with their own and natural Tools. A Man must be simple, obedient, and meek, to be well qualified for Religion; he must believe, and submit his Judgment out of Respect and Obedience to the Laws, and suffer himself to be directed and governed by public Authority: *Captivantes intellectum ad obsequium fidei* (43). These Words may serve him for a Shield against all the Darts of his Enemies; for, if you object against him, that he makes some Remarks, which strike at Religion, and shew, that he was more persuaded of the Force of his Remarks, than of the Truths, at which those Remarks are levelled, he may answer you: 'I should be such a one, as you say, if I were directed by the weak Light of my Reason; but I do not trust such a Guide; I submit myself to GOD's Authority, I captivate my Understanding to the Obedience of Faith.'

(41) *Charron* of Wisdom, Book 2. chap. 5. pag. m. 386.

(43) Id. ibid. pag. 385.

[*M*] *I wonder, that Mr* Moreri *has taken* Charron's *Part.*] He has done it with great Warmth: so far as to say, that *du Plaix is brutishly passionate* (44), *according his Custom.* This Expression seems to me too harsh. *Du Plaix*, speaking of the *Regards*, says (45), *That they believed there would be no Sin in following Nature,* 'and that, in his Youth, 'he had familiarly known Peter Charron, *Theologal of* Condom, *who was possessed with such Errors, and preached them in his Sermons; and that he held many other dangerous Opinions, some of which he had inserted among the Follies of his* WISDOM.' *Here is a great Affront put upon* Charron *by this Author. There had been perhaps a Quarrel between them, which made him speak with so much Animosity.* These are *Sorel*'s Words (46): He is also too angry, not considering, that *du Plaix*'s Design was rather to advance an *Antithesis*, and a Quibble, than to use very offensive Words. Note, that *Moreri* gives a very wrong Account of what concerns *Charron*'s Desire to become a *Carthusian*. He does not explain, why the Age of Forty seven Years was an Obstacle to it, and he supposes, that *Charron* did not dedicate himself to the Ecclesiastical State, till after his useless monastic Vow: which is very false.

(44) This Word was left out with great Reason in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, printed in *Holland*.

(45) *Sorel Bibliothèque Franc* pag. 94, quoting *Du Plaix*'s History of *France*, under *Charles the Fair*.

(46) *Moreri* took from him the greatest part of *Charron*'s Article.

[*N*] *A Figure, prefixed to his* Wisdom, *seems to favour the Sceptics.*] *Charron* caused *Wisdom* to be represented, in the Title-Page of his Book, 'by a 'Woman stark naked —— with a healthful, manly, and smiling Face —— standing, with her Feet 'joyned on a Cube: having on her Head a Crown of 'Laurel and Olive, representing Victory and Peace; 'and an empty Space about her, signifying Liberty. On her right Side, these Words, *I know not*, which is her Motto; and on her left Side, these 'other Words, *Peace and little*, which is the Author's Motto. —— Beneath are four little, ill favoured, vile, and wrinkled Women chained; and 'their Chains are fastened to the Cube, which is 'under *Wisdom*'s Feet, who despises, condemns, 'and trampies upon them, two of which are on the 'right Side of the Title of the Book, to wit, *Passion* and *Opinion*. *Passion* is lean, and has a disordered Face; *Opinion* appears with wild Looks, 'fickle, heedless, supported by many Persons, 'which are the Mob. The other two are on the 'other Side of the Title, to wit, *Superstition*, with 'a chilled Face, joining both Hands, like a Servant 'trembling for Fear. And false *Science*, an artificial, acquired, and pedantic, Virtue, a Slave to 'Laws and Customs, with a Face puffed up, proud, 'and arrogant, with lofty Eye-brows, reading in a 'Book, wherein are these Words, *Yes, No.* (47).'

(47) Taken from the Explication of that Figure at the end of the Preface to *Charron's Wisdom*.

[*O*] *We must say something of what* Sorel *observes concerning this Author.*] He says, among other things, that some Persons affirm, *That* Charron *is more dangerous than* Montagne, *who was a Cavalier, because, being a Divine and a Preacher, his Book is read as a Piece that may serve for Christian Instruction, and yet he has very bad Notions of Religion* (48). *Sorel* mentions two of them; but, because he abridges the Words of the Original too much, I will set them down at large at the end of this Remark. *To this some answer*, continues he, *that* Charron *was a Man, who professed to speak freely, according to his Thoughts, and that if, notwithstanding his good Intention, every thing he says is misinterpreted, it is not his Fault.* I shall observe, by the way, that a Layman, who is an Author, and has no Character, ought to enjoy a greater Liberty of speaking what he thinks, than a Doctor of Divinity, a Preacher, or a Professor; for it is presumed, that such Persons say nothing but what they design for Instruction, and what they desire others should believe. Therefore it is supposed, that they have well examined their Doctrines, and their Character will easily persuade the Hearers to yield to their Authority. But when a Layman, without a Title, speaks, he makes no great Impression; his particular Opinions are looked upon as Things spoken at random, and consequently his Pyrrhonism is of no dangerous Consequence. It is therefore certain, that the Venom, which might be in *Montagne*'s Writings, would be a great deal less dangerous, than That, which should be found in *Charron*'s Books. I have mentioned, somewhere else, an Observation of *Sorel*, which is, that a Physician, whose Name was *Chanet*, maintained, against *Charron*, that Beasts do not reason. He adds, that 'Some body said (49), that *Charron* was only *Montagne*'s and *du Vair*'s Secretary. In effect, *Charron* has taken many Philosophical Sentences, 'Word for Word, out of *Montagne*'s Essays; and 'his Description of the Passions is wholly Mr *du Vair*'s.' He observes, that 'many Persons of Honour and Probity have taken *Charron*'s Part (50). 'The learned *Naudé* said, in his *Bibliographia*, That 'he esteemed him so much, that he preferred him 'before *Socrates*: that *Socrates* spoke to his Scholars 'confusedly, and according as there was occasion for 'it; whereas *Charron* had reduced Wisdom into an 'Art, which was a divine Work, and that, if he 'spoke like *Seneca* and *Plutarch* in some Places, he 'carried them always further, than they intended 'to go. In short, it must not be thought, that a 'Man of an unblameable Life, and of an exemplary Moderation, as *Charron* was, had any ill 'Design in his Writings.' This Conclusion is a great deal better than the Translation of *Gabriel Naudé*'s Latin Words. 'Petrus Charondas vel hoc ipso

(48) Sorel, Bibloth. Franc. pag. 92.

(49) It is *Balzac*, if we may believe *Moreri*, in the Article of CHARRON (PETER).

(50) Sorel, ibid. pag. 95, 96.

me occasion to set down the two Passages, which raised the greatest Clamours against our Divine; the one concerns the Immortality of the Soul; the other relates only to Religion. I believe I may very well say, that the Candour of this learned Man, in representing the Objections of the Libertines, contributed greatly to make People doubt of his Christianity. It is certain, that he did not enervate the Objections. I shall give an Instance of it, which related to the Divisions of the Christians [*P*] and their mutual Hatred. It is remarkable, that, in the Year 1607 (*g*), there remained no Male Issue of *Thibaut Charron* (*h*), the Father of him, who

(*g*) *Charron*'s Eulogy, at the beginning.

(*h*) He was a Bookseller at *Paris*.

'ipso Socrate sapientior æstimandus venit, quod 'sapientiæ ipsius præcepta primus, quod sciam, ad-'mirabili prorsus methodo, doctrina, judicio, in ar-'tem redoxerit. Sane ejus liber & Aristotelem 'nobis exhibet & Senecam, & Plutarchum, ac 'divinius etiam aliquid præ se fert, quam antiqui-'oribus cunctis & recentioribus fuerit concessum '(51).' It is manifest, that *Sorel* has misrepresented *Naudé*'s Thought.

(51) Naudæus, Bibliographia Politica, pag. m. 13.

Let us set down the two Passages, which I have promised. 'It happens sometimes, that Things, 'which are not good, and even those, which are 'bad, ought to be authorized; as if, to be honest, 'one ought to have a Tincture of Dishonesty. 'This is to be seen, not only in the Administra-'tion of Policy, and of Justice, but also in Reli-'gion; which plainly shews, that the whole Con-'duct of Men is a crazy Structure, and very 'weakly built.' This is the first Passage; you will find it in the fourth Chapter of the first Book of *Wisdom*, pag. 25, of the *Bourdeaux* Edition, 1601. The Author struck out the last Lines in the *Paris* Edition, 1604. He stopped, after having said (52), *And this is to be seen every where, in Policy, Justice, Truth, and Religion.* But note, that he did not curtail what he had said for the Proof of his Thesis. *After all*, said he, *is there any thing, which discovers human Weakness better than Religion?* He had proved it by the Scripture, and by evident Notions. This whole Passage was preserved in the Edition he corrected, and which was examined after his Death. From whence we may infer, that, upon several Occasions, a Man appears to be an Heretic, only by his manner of expressing himself. Take away certain Words, which seem too harsh, and make use of others, which signify the same thing, but are not so blunt, and, whereas you was accounted an Heretic, you will be looked upon as Orthodox; the printing of your Work shall be no more forbidden, and the Sale of it will be permitted. At the bottom, *Charron*'s Assertion, proved and explained as it is in his Book, is most true. Here is the second Passage: 'The Immortality of the Soul is a thing 'most universally, religiously, and plausibly received all over the World (I mean an outward and 'public Profession, and not an inward, serious, and 'true Belief, which shall be spoken of hereafter *) 'the most usefully believed, and the most weakly 'proved, and grounded upon human Reasons.' These Words are to be read in the fifteenth Chapter of the first Book of *Wisdom*, of the *Bourdeaux* Edition: They were rectified in this manner. 'The Immortality of the Soul is a thing 'the most universally, religiously (it is the chief 'Foundation of all Religion) and plausibly enter-'tained by all the World: I mean, with an outward 'and public Profession, but not so much with a se-'rious, inward, and true one; as it appears from 'so many Epicureans, Libertines, and Scoffers. 'Nevertheless, the Sadducees, who were the most 'considerable Men among the Jews, did not scruple 'to deny it. It is most usefully believed, though 'not sufficiently proved by Natural and Human 'Reasons; but it is properly, and better, grounded 'upon Religion, than upon any other thing (53).' After this Correction, there remained no Pretence to censure him; for it would be very unjust to find Fault with a Man, who should declare, that the strongest Arguments, which convince him of the Immortality of the Soul, are those, which are taken out of the Word of God. I treat amply of this in the Article POMPONATIUS. Before this Correction, there was only reason to complain of the Prejudice, which such an Acknowledgment might occasion, not with respect to the Simple, whose Faith, as to This Doctrine, is only founded on Revelation (54), but in relation to the Libertines, who might take Advantage of the Authority of so famous an Ecclesiastic. After all, This Prejudice, I think, was not to be feared; for the learned Libertines care but little, whether or no a Divine owns, that the Philosophical Proofs of the Immortality of the Soul are not strong. They are not ignorant, that such a Confession is of no Advantage to them, so long as the Proofs, taken from the Scripture, are so demonstrative, as they are. They know very well, that *Aristotle*'s Hypotheses (55) concerning the Mortality and Materiality of the Souls of Beasts, and concerning a real Distinction between Matter and Extension (56), enervate all Arguments, taken from Reason, for the Spirituality of our Souls. Whether this be owned or not, they suppose the Thing is not the less clear for it. To this very Day, they persist in their Prepossessions, because they see, that the strong Proofs, which the new Philosophy affords, for the Immortality of the Soul, are liable to these two Inconveniencies, either that the Souls of Beasts are immortal, or that Beasts are meer Machines.

(52) Chap. 38, of the first Book, pag. m. 188.

* Book 2, chap. 5.

(53) *Charron* of Wisdom, Book 1, chap. 7. *Edit. of Paris*, 1604. It is pag. 63, of the Edit. of *Rouen*. 1623.

[*P*] *He did not enervate the Difficulties of the Libertines. I shall give an Instance of it, which relates to the Divisions of Christians.*] 'In truth it is 'a strange thing, that the Christian Religion, 'which, being the only true one, as coming from 'God, ought to be indivisible, since there is but 'one God, and one Truth, should nevertheless 'be torn into so many Parts, and divided into so 'many contrary Opinions and Sects; insomuch that 'there is not any one Article of Faith, or Point 'of Doctrine, but what has been differently debated 'and contradicted by Sects and Heresies. And 'That, which makes it to appear more strange, 'is, that such Divisions or Partialities are not to be 'found in the false Religions of the Heathens, 'Jews, and Mahometans. For their Divisions are 'either few and inconsiderable, as in the Jewish 'and Mahometan Religions; or, if they have been 'many, as in the Pagan Religion, and among the 'Philosophers, they have not produced very great 'Disturbances in the World; whereas there have 'been great and pernicious Divisions from the be-'ginning of Christianity; and they have continued 'ever since. For it is a terrible thing to consider 'the Effects, which the Divisions of Christians have 'produced. In the first place, as to the Political 'State of the World, many Alterations and Sub-'versions of Republics, Kingdoms, and Kingly 'Races, and Divisions of Empires, have happened, 'so far as to disturb the whole World with cruel, 'furious, and more than bloody Exploits, to the 'great Scandal, Shame, and Reproach of Christen-'dom: in which, under the Name of Zeal and 'Affection to Religion, each Party hates the other 'mortally, and thinks it lawful to commit all man-'ner of Hostilities. A thing, which is not to be 'seen in other Religions. The Christians alone are 'permitted to be Murderers, Perfidious, and Trai-'tors, and to exercise all sorts of Cruelties against 'one another, against the Living, and the Dead, 'against the Honour, Life, Memory, and Minds, 'Graves, and Ashes of Men, with Fire and Sword, 'with sharp Libels, Cursings, Banishments, both 'from Heaven and Earth, taking dead Bodies out 'of their Graves, burning of Bones, and removing 'of Altars, without any Composition, with such a 'Rage, that all consideration of Kindred, Friend-'ship, Merit, and Obligation, is thrown off. He 'that was yesterday extolled to the Skies, and cal-'led a great, learned, virtuous, and wise Man, if 'he happens to change sides this day, is preached 'and wrote against, and proclaimed an ignorant, 'and

(54) The common people are ignorant of the Philosophical Arguments for the Immortality of the Soul.

(55) As they were explained in *Charron*'s time, in the Protestant and Catholic Universities, they acknowledged *Aristotle*'s Categories; they believed therefore that Quantity is distinct from Matter, as Accidents are distinct from Substance.

(56) The Peripatetic Protestants have indeed maintained, that actual Quantity is inseparable from Matter, but not that it is the Essence of it.

(y) She was Peter Charron's Mother.

who makes the Subject of this Article, although he had had twenty five Children; four by his first Wife, and twenty one by the (i) second (k).

(i) Peter Charron's Elogy, p.

and a wretched Man. In this they shew their Zeal for Religion; but, in all other things, relating to the Practice of religious Duties, they appear very indifferent. Moderate and discreet Men are noted and suspected as being lukewarm, and wanting Zeal. It is an abominable Fault, to be kind and civil to those of the contrary Party. Some are scandalized at these things, as if the Christian Religion taught Men to hate and persecute others, and was designed to indulge our Passions of Ambition, Avarice, Revenge, Hatred, Spight, Cruelty, Rebellion, and Sedition: which are elsewhere more quiet, and less violent, when they are not set on by Religion (57).' This great Scandal might at this day be represented in more elegant Terms; but I defy our best Writers to express it with greater Force, and to paint the Shamefulness of it in more lively Colours. *Charron* employs all his Skill to remove this Scandal (58); and whoever should call him a Prevaricator in this respect, would be as unjust as *Garasse* was, who called him so upon another Account. Let us set down the Words of this Jesuit; they are most unjust. 'There likewise (59) he openly declares, tho', according to his usual way, with treacherous and smooth train of Words, *That Religion is a wise Invention of Men, to keep People to their Duty*: and, although he seems to expose this as an Atheistical Tenet, yet, like *Lucilio Vanini*, he betrays his Cause; for he mentions their Arguments, explains and comments upon them, and then leaves them unanswered: A Prevarication common to these two Writers (60).' It is false, that *Charron* does this; for, after having faithfully proposed the Objections of the Atheists, he refutes them with great Application and Solidity. But this displeases vulgar Authors, and even great Authors, who have more Wit and Learning than Sincerity. They would always have the Enemies of the good Cause represented in a languishing and ridiculous Equipage, or at least their strong Objections confuted by stronger Answers. Sincerity does not allow of the first, and sometimes the nature of the Subject makes the other impossible. I have been a long time surprised to see, that Those are looked upon as Prevaricators, who propose great Difficulties to themselves, and refute them weakly. What! would you have the Answers of a Divine about Mysteries, which are above Reason, to be as clear as the Objections of a Philosopher? From this very thing, that a Doctrine is mysterious and incomprehensible to the weakness of human Mind, it results necessarily, that our Reason will oppose it with very strong Arguments, and that it can find no other good Solution but God's Authority. However it be, *Charron* did not flatter his Party. He had a penetrating Wit; he discovered at a great Distance all that could be said by two Disputants. He took his Measures accordingly, explained himself ingenuously, and made use of no Cunning to obtain the Victory. But he found himself the worse for it: for the World dislikes such Candour.

I shall give elsewhere (61) another Example of his Candour in setting forth Difficulties.

(57) *Charron*, in the first chapter of the third Book of his *Three Truths*.

(58) Id. Ibid.

(59) That is, in the first Book of the *Three Truths*.

(60) Garasse, Apologie contre la Censure de la Doctrine Curieuse, pag. 266.

(61) In Remo [G], of the Article *SIMONIDES*.

CHASTEL (John) Son of a Woollen-Draper of *Paris*, made a wicked attempt upon the Life of *Henry* IV, the Twenty seventh of *December* 1594. That Prince, having taken a Journey towards the Frontiers of the Country of *Artois*, was, that day, returned to *Paris*; and, *being in the Apartment of his Mistress* (a), *who was lodged at the* Hotel du Bouchage, *as he was coming forward to embrace* Montigny, *he received a Blow with a Knife on his Under-Lip, which broke one of his Teeth* (b). *John Chastel*, who gave the Blow, and who had designed to have carried it to his Throat (c), was but 18 or 19 Years of Age. *Having missed it, he let fall his Knife, and retired amidst the Croud - - - - Every one was astonished, and - - - uncertain on whom to lay the blame; and this unhappy young Wolf had like to have escaped - - - - Some one of the Company cast his eyes on him, and he was seized at a venture* (d). 'His Wild Looks discovered that he had given the Blow (e).' *The King commanded the Captain of the Guards, who had secured him - - - - to let him go, saying, that he pardoned him. Afterwards, understanding that he was a Disciple of the Jesuits, he said,* Must the Jesuits, then, be convicted by my mouth (f)? *This Parricide, being carried to the Prison of* For l'Evêque (g), was interrogated by the Provost *de l'Hostel*, and declared the Reasons, which had induced him to this Attempt [A]. He was conveyed the next day to the *Conciergerie du Palais*, and repeated what he had said at

(a) Gabrielle d'Estrée.

(b) Mezerai, Abreg. Chronol. Edit. Amst. *fur* Wolfgang. *in* 1676, Tom. VI, pag. 127.

(c) Cayet, Chron. Noven. ad Ann. 1594, fol. 42. verso.

(d) Pasquier, Catechisme des Jesuites, liv. 3, ch. 8. pag. 375.

(e) Mezerai, ubi supra.

(f) Cayet, ubi supra.

(g) Ibid.

[A] *He made an Attempt on the Life of* Henry IVth —— *and declared his Reasons for it.*] I cannot alledge an Author, less to be suspected, than the Historian, whose words I am going to cite. 'This Parricide (says he) (1) carried to the Prison of *For-l'Evêque*, —— there confessed, that he had a long time resolved within himself upon this Blow, and that, notwithstanding he had failed in the Attempt, he would yet perform it, if he should have it in his Power, believing it to be for the Service of Religion. That, eight Days before, he had taken this enterprise again into consideration, and, at about eleven o'Clock in the Morning, when he had determined to do what he had done, having seized on a Knife, which he had found on the Dresser, in his Father's House, he carried it into his Study, and returned from thence to dine with his Father and some other Persons. Being examined as to his Quality, and where he had studied, he said, that it was principally among the Jesuits, with whom he had been three Years, and the last time under Father *John Gueret* the Jesuit: That he had seen the said Father *Gueret* the *Friday* or *Saturday* before the Blow, having been carried to him by *Peter Chastel*, his Father, on a case of Conscience; which was, that he despaired of the Mercy of God on account of the great Sins he had committed: That he had been inclined to commit many enormous Sins against Nature, of which he had several times made Confession: That, to expiate these Sins, he was persuaded, that he ought to perform some signal Action: That he had often had an inclination to kill the King, and had discovered his disposition to his Father; on which his said Father had declared, that it would be a wrong Action.' This was his Answer, when he was examined before the Provost *de l'Hostel*: what he replied, the next Day, to the Officers of the Parliament is as follows. 'Being asked, what the signal Action was, which he said he had thought himself obliged to perform, to expiate the great Crimes, with which he felt his Conscience burthened, he said —— That, believing himself forgotten of God, and being convinced that he should be damned as much as Antichrist, he was willing of two Evils to avoid the worst, and, being damned, he had rather it should be *at quatuor*, than *at octo*. Being asked, whether, falling into this Despair, he expected to be damned, or to save his Soul by this wicked Act, he said, That he believed the performance of this Act would serve to lessen his Punishment, being convinced, that he should be more

(1) Cayet, Chron. Noven. ad Ann. 1594, fol. 432. verso.

at the former Examination (*b*). He was condemned to Death, by an Arrêt of Parliament, the Twenty ninth of *December* 1594 [*B*], which Sentence was put in execution the same day by Torch-light. The same Arrêt banished all the Jesuits from *France* (*i*). The Father of *John Chastel*, and the Jesuit *Gueret*, under whom the Assassin had performed his Course of Philosophy, were tried the tenth of *January* following (*k*). We will mention, below, the Sentence passed on them [*C*], and give a short Analysis of a Work, which was printed some time after, and intituled, *An Apology for* John Chastel [*D*]. The Author of this Book relates, that a Lay-man, disguised as a Priest, was sent to confess *John Chastel*, in order by this

(*b*) Ibid. fol. 433. verso.

(*i*) See the last Remark of the Article GUIGNARD.

(*k*) Thuanus, lib. 122, pag. 653.

' more punished, if he died without having attempted to kill the King, and less so, if he should make ' an effort to take away his Life: insomuch that he ' thought the least degree of Punishment was a kind ' of Salvation in comparison of the most grievous. ' Being asked, where he had learned this new Divinity, he said, That he had acquired it through ' Philosophy. Being interrogated, whether he had ' studied Philosophy in the Jesuits College, he said, ' yes, and That under Father *Gueret*, with whom ' he had been two Years and a half. Being asked, ' whether he had not been in the Chamber of Meditations, into which the Jesuits carry the greatest Sinners, who there see the Figures of several ' Devils, in diverse frightful Shapes, under pretence ' of bringing them back to a better Life, to deter ' them, and to excite them by such admonitions to ' the Performance of some great Action, he said, ' that he had been often in that Chamber of Meditations. Being asked, by whom he had been persuaded to kill the King, he said, he had heard in ' several Places, that it ought to be held as a true ' Maxim, that it was lawful to kill the King, and ' that They, who said so, called him a Tyrant. Being asked, whether the Discourse about killing the ' King was not common among the Jesuits, he said, ' he had heard them say, that it was lawful to kill ' the King, and that he was out of the Church, and ' that he was not to be obeyed, or held as King, ' till he should be approved of by the Pope. Being ' again examined in the great Chamber, The Presidents and Counsellors thereof, and of the *Tournelle*, ' being assembled, he gave the same Answers, and ' laid down and maintained This Maxim: *That it ' was lawful to kill Kings, even the reigning King, ' who was not within the Church, because*, as he said, ' *he was not approved of by the Pope* (2).

(2) Cayet, Chron. Noven. fol. 433 verso, &c.

[*B*] *He was condemned to Death, by an Arrêt of Parliament, the Twenty ninth of* December 1594.] To know the Particulars of the Punishment, to which he was condemned, you must read what follows. ' The Court —— has condemned, and does ' condemn the said *John Chastel* to make the *amende ' honorable* before the principal Gate of the Church ' of *Paris*, naked in his Shirt, holding a lighted ' Wax Candle of two Pound weight, and there, on ' his knees, to say and declare, that wickedly and ' traiterously he had attempted the said most ' inhuman and abominable Parricide, and wounded ' the King in the Face with a Knife; and that, ' through false and damnable Instructions, he had ' said, during the said Process, that it was lawful to ' kill Kings, and that King *Henry* IVth, now reigning, is not within the Church, till he procures ' the Approbation of the Pope: of which he ' repents, and asks Pardon of GOD, of the King, and ' of Justice. This done, to be led and conducted ' in a Sledge to the Grevé: There the Flesh of his ' Arms and Thighs to be torn off with Pincers, and ' his right Hand, holding the Knife, with which ' he attempted to perpetrate the said Parricide, to be ' cut off; afterwards his Body to be torn and dismembered by four Horses, his Body and Limbs ' thrown into the Fire, and burned to Ashes, and ' the Ashes to be cast into the Air. It has declared ' and does declare all his Goods confiscated to the ' King. Before which Execution, the said *John ' Chastel* shall be put to the Torture both ordinary ' and extraordinary, to discover the Truth of his Accomplices, and of any Circumstances resulting from ' the said Process (3).'

(3) Cayet, ibid. pag. 434, verso.

Let us observe, that this Arrêt of the Parliament of *Paris* was put, at *Rome*, in the Index of the prohibited Books. The Author of the *Anticoton* does not forget this Circumstance; but This Answer was made to him. ' As to what he adds, that The Arrêt of *Chastel* was censured at *Rome*, it is replied, ' that it is false, speaking thus absolutely; for Answer was sent from *Rome* to the late King, that ' the Censure related only *to the Matter of Right, ' not the Matter of Fact:* assuring him, that they ' detested the Attempt of *Chastel*, as much as *France* ' itself; but that there was, in the Arrêt, a Clause ' definitive of Heresy, which they looked upon as ' belonging to the cognizance and determination of ' the Church: and this was the subject of the Censure (4).' One of the Authors, who wrote against the Mystery of Iniquity (5), had recourse to the same Distinction. *Rivetus*, who replied, agreed with him as to the Fact; but he maintained, that the Censure deserved nevertheless to be condemned (6). Let us observe likewise, that the Jesuits *published in* Flanders, *as well at* Douay *as in other Towns, an Advertisement to the Catholics, on the Arrêt given against them.* This Advertisement, *both in* Latin *and* French, *was spread over several Kingdoms of* Christendom (7). It was answered. You will find, in *Victor Cayet* (8), the principal points of these two Pieces.

(4) Apologetical Reply to the Anti coton, pag. 45, *of the second Edit. of* 1611. *See also* Richeome, pag. 170, *of the* Examen Categor. *of the* Anticoton.

(5) It is a Book of Mr *du Plessis Mornai.*

(6) Rivet's Defence of two Epistles, *and the Preface of the* Mystery of Iniquity, against the Cavils and Calumnies of *Pelletier* and *du Bray*, pag. 23, 24.

[*C*] *The Father of* John Chastel, *and the Jesuit* Gueret —— *were tried —— we will relate, below, to what Punishment they were condemned.*] ' The ' Court has banished and does banish the said *Gueret* ' and *Peter Chastel* from the Kingdom of *France*; ' to wit, the said *Gueret* for ever, and the said *Chastel* for the term and space of nine Years, and for ever from the City and Suburbs of *Paris*; has enjoined them to observe their Exile on pain of being ' hanged and strangled without other form or manner of Process. It has declared and does declare ' all and every the Goods of the said *Gueret* confiscated to the King, and has condemned and does ' condemn the said *Peter Chastel* to a Fine of two ' thousand Crowns to the King, to be applied to ' purchase Bread for the Prisoners of the Conciergerie, to be imprisoned till the full payment of ' the said Sum, and the time of Banishment not to ' commence till the Day when the said Sum shall be ' paid. The said Court orders, that the House, in ' which the said *Peter Chastel* lived, shall be pulled ' down, demolished, and razed, and the Place applied to the Public, never to be again built on: in ' which place, to perpetuate the Memory of the ' wicked and detestable Parricide, attempted on the ' Person of the King, shall be erected an high Pillar ' of Free-Stone, with an Inscription, containing the ' causes of the said demolition, and erection of the ' said Pillar, which shall be raised with the Money ' arising from the demolition of the said House (9).' The Historian, whom I copy, immediately adds: ' This Arrêt was accordingly executed, and the ' House pulled down, in the room of which was ' set up a Pillar, on the four Faces of which were ' engraved on Tables of black Marble, in Letters of ' Gold, *viz.* on one the Sentence of *John Chastel*, ' and the Jesuits; and on the three other Faces, ' Verses and other Inscriptions. This Pillar has ' been since pulled down, and to the Place, where ' it stood, they have brought a Spring, as I shall ' observe in the continuation of my History of the ' Peace (10).'

(7) Cayet, Chron. Noven. ad Ann. 1504, fol. 437, verso.

(8) Ibid. fol. 438, &c.

(9) Ibid. fol. 437.

(10) Ibid.

This Writer has forgot one Circumstance, which ought not to have been omitted; to wit, that *Gueret* was put to the Torture, and confessed nothing.

[*D*] *We shall give a short Analysis of a Work —— intituled* An Apology for John Chastel.] The whole Title is as follows: *An Apology for* John Chastel *of* Paris, *put to Death, and for the Fathers and Scholars of the Society of* JESUS, *banished the Kingdom of* France,

this means to discover the whole Secret of the Affair; but that this pretended Confessor

France, against the Arrêt of Parliament, given against them at Paris, the Twenty ninth of December, *Anno* 1594. *Divided into five Parts. By* Francis de Verone Constantin.

The First Part contains seven Chapters, which tend to undeceive those, who judge of things only by the exterior conformity which one often sees between Good and Bad. If you consider the bare action of *John Chastel*, and the appearance of the Person, you will find him to have committed a most abominable Parricide: for you will believe, that a private Person attempted to cut the throat of his lawful Prince: 'But whoever shall see likewise (adds (11) Apology for *John Chastel*. Part I, chap. 7, pag. 21. 'the Author (11) not what is said, but what actually is, and with the Judgment, not of prejudiced 'Judges, but of the Church and the State, and 'of all Laws, Divine as well as Human, and the 'fundamental ones of the Kingdom, received, published, revered, practised, and held, time out of 'Mind, in *France*, to wit, an Excommunicated, Heretical, and Relapsed Prince, a Profaner of Things 'sacred, a declared public Enemy, an Oppressor of 'Religion, and as such excluded from all Right of 'coming to the Crown: and therefore a Tyrant 'instead of a King, an Usurper instead of a natural 'Lord, a Criminal instead of a lawful Prince: will take care (if he has not lost all sense and apprehension of Humanity, and Love towards GOD, the Church, and his Country) to affirm no otherwise, 'than that an Attempt to rid the World of him is 'a generous, virtuous, and heroic Act, comparable 'to the greatest and most praise-worthy to be met 'with in ancient History, both sacred and profane: 'There being but one thing to be said against it, 'that it was not accomplished, to send the wicked *to his own place*, like *Judas*, whose Followers, which are the *Calvinists*, he supports. And, whereas the Blow failed, the former will say, that it *was a manifest favour of Heaven, and that whoever doubts it is an Atheist* (as some prating Fellow has written): the latter will likewise say, and with too much Judgment, that it is a Demonstration, not of Favour, but of Wrath; not of Compassion, but of the Indignation of GOD against his People, over whom he would not yet cause the Rod of *Assur* to cease, (whom he hath otherwise cursed) nor *break the Yoke of his burthen, nor the staff of his Shoulder, nor the Rod of his Oppressor, as in the Day of Midian*. And, as for the Tyrant himself, it is not so much Preservation, as deferring to a properer Season and Hour, which GOD has chosen, to punish him more severely in another World, when the measure of his Guilt shall be full, and the People chastised.' Note, that, at Ch. xii. Part v. p. 249, he gives hopes, that another Assassin will succeed better: 'if, what lately happened, *says he*, The first Blow, given to the 'Prince of the Beggars, (*he speaks of* William *Prince of* Orange) aimed only at the Jaw, the second has not failed afterwards. Of which the first was the Presage, as the same will happen to the Person 'that has been smitten on the same place.' My Reader will hereby perceive, that this Writer builds his Apology only on the Supposition, that *Henry* IV was not a King, but a Tyrant and Usurper.

He endeavours to prove, in the second Part, that *the Action* of Chastel *is a just one*. He grants, that (12) Ib. Part II, chap. 2. *the Persons of Kings are sacred* (12); but he maintains, that 'the Intention of *Chastel* was not to offend or kill a King, tho' in his own Account such, and in whom is the Semblance of a King, no further than the Gravity and Merit of the Person, at least his being reputed as sprung from the Blood of the Kings of *France*, and being served as King. Although otherwise he is by no means one, as being an Inheritor, neither of the Faith, nor the Virtue, nor the Merit of the Kings of *France*. And that, being on that account, that is to say on account of his Impiety and Heresy, most justly excluded by the Church and the States, he cannot be so at all, except in Fact and not in Right; which is called Tyranny, and (13) Ibid. chap. 3. pag. 37. 'Tyranny in the highest Sense (13).' He says, that the pretended Conversion of *Henry* IV cannot (14) Ib. chap. 4. confer on him the Title of King (14), in Prejudice of the *Excommunication as well of Right as Fact, which holds him ever bound, and which always works it's Effect, in order to deprive him of the Royalty* (15). He even affirms (16), that the Absolution of the Pope would not be sufficient to re-instate a Person, who has been *condemned not only by the Church, but likewise by the States; for the Pope can remit Ecclesiastical Condemnation*, but not *Civil* (17). He goes farther; he disputes his Right of Succession (18): he cites various Examples, which prove, that, even in *France*, the immediate Heirs of the Crown have been excluded, to make way for the Election of the most distant. 'And, as to 'the special Regulation of the Succession, *adds he* (19), when we consider, that, by the Confession of Doctors, all Right of Consanguinity ceases 'at the tenth Degree, we may judge how weak, 'yea, how null is his Right, who claims but from 'the Twenty second Degree.' He reckons differently from Mr *de Perefixe*, who places but ten or eleven Degrees of Distance between *Henry* III, and *Henry* IV (20), as I have said elsewhere. (21) He says, in Chap. 11, that superior Commands set aside inferior, and that, *according to this Rule*, if it be forbidden in general to kill, yet that *it is lawful to do it, as to certain Persons, and particularly Heretics and Tyrants* (22). He cites hereupon some Passages of Scripture, and Canon-Law: and he maintains, in Chap. 12, that Heretics ought to be *executed by private Persons, if it cannot be otherwise done*. He alledges (23) an Arrêt of Parliament of the Year 1560, pronounced 'by the late 'President *le Maître*, against the Huguenots, by 'which any one is permitted to kill them. And 'This not without thoroughly considering, that 'there is no Beast more dangerous, than That which devours Souls; no Thief more pernicious than 'He, who robs Men of their Faith and Religion; 'no Aspic more venemous than That, which, in 'fawning, goes directly to the Heart; nor a more 'dangerous Poisoner than he, who corrupts the 'Waters of *Jacob*'s Well * (which is the Word of 'GOD, or the Scripture), as did formerly the *Pharisees*.' In the thirteenth Chapter he collects together what has been said by various Authors on the Lawfulness of killing Tyrants. He says, that *Lyranus* †, *Cajetan*, *Soto*, *Sylvester*, *Fumus*, and others after St *Thomas*, - - - - *Fernandus*, *Vasquius*, *Covarruvias* ‡, *and others, agree in the same Decision*, and, even without taking Religion into the Question, 'that, with regard to Tyrants, who usurp, 'by Arms, or other unjust ways, an unjust Dominion, and to which they have no Right, and 'where there is no recourse to any Superior, to 'obtain Justice on them, nor any means to remove 'Tyranny, it is lawful for any one of the People 'to kill them; *Even*, adds *Cajetan*, *by Poison, and treacherously. And St* Thomas, *in this respect, justifies an Expression of* Cicero, *alledged above in his Book of Offices: Adding as a reason*; that, in as much as the Tyrant wages an unjust War against the People, both in general and in particular, and the People, on the contrary, have a just cause of War against him, they may do, against his Person, whatever the Right of War permits to be done against a real Enemy. And that, if he is thus killed, it is by Authority, not private, but public (24). The Heretics themselves, *continues he* (25), though they change their Discourse according to the S[illegible] of their Affairs, and according as they have a Prince, contrary or favourable to them, have filled their Books with it. Witness the Author of the Questions, under the Name of *Junius Brutus*: *George Buchanan*, in his Book *de Jure Regni*, &c. where he ranks Tyrants among savage Beasts, and who ought to be treated as such: *Bodin* likewise, in his *Repub.* who condemns a Tyrant, using Violence, to undergo the Law *Valeria*, which orders such Persons to be executed without Form, or Manner of Process: And, in consequence, the Executions, which, on that Account, they have done on great part of the Nobles, in *France*, *Scotland*, *England*, and *Germany*, by the Advice of Ministers, on pretence of their being Tyrants,

(15) Ibid. chap. 5. pag. 38.
(16) Ib. chap. 8.
(17) Ibid. p. 55.
(18) Ib. chap. 9.
(19) Ibid. p. 71.
(20) We find no more between *Robert* of *France*, the Stem of the *Bourbon* Family, sixth Son of St *Lewis*, (the common Stem of *Henry* III, and *Henry* IV) and *Henry* IV. This *Robert* was born in the Year 1256, and *Henry* IV, in 1553. But the Difference between Mr *de Perefixe*, and the Author of the *Apology* of Chastel, arises from the different manner of reckoning these degrees in the Civil and Canon Law.
(21) In Remark [E], of the Article HENRY IV.
(22) Apology, Part 2. chap. 11. pag. 75.
(23) Ibid. chap. 12. pag. 81.
* Gen. xxvi.
† Lyr. in 31. Num.
‡ Covarruv. Disp. de Matrim. n. 6. Fumus in Armill. Cajet. 22. q. 64. Art. 3 Th. 2. Sent. Dist. ult. q. 2. Art 2. ad ult.
(24) Apology, Part II, pag. 84, 85.
(25) Ibid. pag. 85, 86.

Confessor knew not how to act his Part [*E*]. We have room to wonder, that the Accounts

'because they were Catholics: And even on the 'Persons of Kings, as *Charles* IX: And, particularly, the Elogium of *Beza*, which canonizes *Poltrot*, and makes a Saint of him, for the Murther 'committed by him on the Person of the Great 'Francis of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Guise*, whom above 'all they stile Tyrant: There being, in this respect, no difference between them and us, except as to the particular Determination of a Tyrant, to know who is, and who is not one.' He ends this second Part with a long Detail of the particular Advantages of this Enterprize of *John Chastel*; and thereupon he throws out the most satirical and extravagant Reflexions on *Henry* IV.

He maintains, in the third Part, that *the Action of* Chastel *is Heroic*. He raises him above *Ehud*, and *Phineas*, and *Matathias* (26); and he forgets not to compare his Courage with That of the two Assassins of the Prince of *Orange* (27), and That of *James Clement*. Nor does he forget *the Pious Poet, Cornelius Musius* (28), martyred in *Holland, whose Executioner*, adds he, *de Lumey, was afterwards paid as he deserved, being torn to pieces, and eaten by his own Dogs*. Our Apologist describes particularly the Constancy of *Chastel*, in his Confession, his Examination, the Torture, the *Amends Honorable*, and his Death. *He was prest to declare*, at the time of the *Amende Honorable, that he repented, and asked Pardon of* God; but, *all maimed as he was by the Torture he had endured*, he said, that 'he 'cried to God for Mercy for all the Sins he had 'committed in the whole course of his Life, and 'particularly that he had not accomplished his Design of delivering the World from the worst Enemy the Church has at present upon Earth (29).' A deplorable Thing! that Assassins of this sort should discover as much Constancy, as the most illustrious Martyrs of the Primitive Church.

In the fourth Part, he criticises the Arrêt of the Parliament of *Paris* against *John Chastel*, and he pretends to discover in it some notorious Falsehoods, and a manifest Heresy, and Impertinencies in the Censure of the Fact, and the Condemnation to the *Amende Honorable*, and *the Prohibition to speak of the Designs of* John Chastel. He insists, that they are neither scandalous, nor seditious, nor contrary to the Word of God.

The fifth Part is taken up in shewing the *Vices and Impertinencies*, which he pretends to find in the Arrêt against the Jesuits. Here he breaks out into brutal Rage against *Achilles de Harlai*, First President, and *Servin*, Advocate-General of the Parliament of *Paris*. He maintains, that there are Calumnies and Impostures in this Arrêt, he launches out in praise of the Jesuits, he replies to the Plea of *Antony Arnauld*, he takes pains to vindicate the two Jesuits, one of whom was put to the Torture (30), and the other hanged (31). He makes a Martyr of the latter. He concludes his Book with a forcible Exhortation to exterminate the Enemy of God and his Church.

This Apology of *John Chastel* was printed in the Year 1595. Some body reprinted it in the Year 1610, after the tragical Death of *Henry the Great*, and added to it four other small Pieces. I. The first was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1589, for *Nicolas Nivelle*, in *St James's Street*, at the two Pillars, and *Robin Thierry*, in the *English* Street, near the Place *Maubert*, Bookseller and Printer of the Holy Union, and is intituled, *The terrible Effects of the Excommunication of* Henry de Valois, *and of* Henry de Navarre, *in which is contained an authentic Account of the Death of* Henry de Valois, *and that* Henry de Navarre *is disqualified for the Crown of* France. II. The second is, *A Letter of the most illustrious Cardinal* Montalto, *written by Order of our Holy Father the Pope, to the General Council of the Holy Union*. It had been printed at *Paris*, with Privilege, in the Year 1589, for the same Booksellers as the other. III. The third is intituled, *A Discourse, wherein is shewed; that it is not lawful for a Subject to speak evil of his King, much less to attempt on his Person*. IV. The fourth is intituled, *The Groans of* France *on the Death of King* Henry IV, *and the Fidelity of the* French. The Collection of all these Pieces comprehends Three hundred and twenty three Pages in 8vo, of which the Two hundred and fifty six first are for the Apology of *John Chastel*. This second Edition has not prevented this Book from becoming very scarce; for which Reason I believed my Readers would be pleased to find here an Analysis of it.

The Publisher, in 1610, confesses, that what principally induced him thereto, was, *among other things, that the World might clearly see, that it is from the School of the Jesuits, that Assassins*, such as *Ravillac, proceed*. He says, that This Parricide was *confirmed in the Design of assassinating his King, following, among others, the damnable Doctrine of this Apology of* John Chastel, *in which it is impudently denied, that* Henry IV, even though he were absolved, could be King; *and besides it is taught in express Terms*, that Heretics and their Abettors, doomed to death by Divine and Human Laws, and principally Relapsed Heretics, may be executed by private Persons, if it can no otherwise be done; *as may be seen in Chapter* viii, *and following, of the second Part* (32). Note, he observes, that 'the Jesuits had found out an Expedient to 'cover and suppress the said Apology, not thro' 'Shame or Repentance, which they might have, 'on account of such abominable Crimes and Parricides, but only least the Horror, which Kings 'and Princes might thence conceive against them, 'should hinder them from entering into their 'Courts and Councils, to execute there the Will 'of the Pope (33).' The Author of the *Anti Coton* affirms, that the Apology of *John Chastel* came from the Jesuits Forge (34); but the latter maintain, that it was an Imposture, and that *no Jesuit had a hand in it* (35). 'Every one knows, 'they are the Words of Richeome (36), that the 'Jesuits are by no means the Authors of a Book, '*De Justa Henrici Tertii Abdicatione*, nor of *Veron Constantine's* Apology for *John Chastel*; and the late King (37), being fully satisfied as to our Innocence, would not listen to any of the Calumniators, who accused us before his Majesty.'

It is highly probable, that those two Books were composed by *John Boucher*, who, as has been seen in his Article (38), was the most seditious and furious Preacher, that ever breathed a Spirit of Revolt against the lawful Powers.

[*E*] —— *the Author of this Book relates, that a Layman, disguised as a Priest, was sent to confess* John Chastel —— *but that this pretended Confessor knew not how to play his Part*] The following are the very words of the Author of the Apology: 'And, to mention Artifices, the good Lieutenant 'Largely, who played his Part therein so well, can 'give a good account of it: As also Those, who 'shared with him in the Sacrilege committed by 'him, disguising himself in the Habit of a Priest, 'and pretending to be a Confessor, in order to 'draw from, or to be able to say he had drawn 'from, the Penitent, by way of Sacramental Confession, something, which might be made use of, 'both against him, and Those, who partook with 'him in the Martyrdom (39). —— Could so 'infamous a Cheat impose upon the Penitent? 'This Line is too weak to pull up so large a Fish. 'It is Childrens Play, and too gross an Artifice: so 'strong a Fly is not to be taken in such a Spider's 'Web: such Hares are not caught with such a 'Drum; nor such Birds in sight of the Nets. To 'play the Farce, they should have better understood 'mimickry: And the poor Animal, who understood not the Trade of confessing, like him, 'who frequents this Sacrament *but once in a Year* '(as the Englishman answered, after the Treason 'of *Paris*), and therefore not being cunning in 'this Matter, as he is in the Courts of Justice, 'and at deceiving Women and young Girls, how 'grave soever he then looked, and how dark soever 'it was, did not fail of being immediately discovered, by one, who understood it better, and 'had been more conversant in it, than himself. 'To have this Reverend Father in God, newly 'printed, mistake in saying the Prayer, and the 'ordinary

(26) Ibid. Part III. chap. 1. pag. 217.

(27) The one was *John de Jauregny*, by Birth a *Biscaian*, aged 18 Years, who hit him on the Jaw with a Pistol, in the Town of *Antwerp*, the 18th of *March*, 1582: and the other *Balthasar Gerard*, a Gentleman of *Burgundy*, aged 34 Years, who with another Pistol, charged with three Balls, shot him dead in the Town of *Delft*, in *Holland*, the 10th of *July*, 1584. *Apology for* John Chastel, *pag.* 119.

(28) Ibid. pag. 220.

(29) Ibid. pag. 243.

(30) *John Guret.*

(31) JOHN GUIGNARD. See his Article.

(32) *Apology for* John Chastel, *fol. A 3, verso.*

(33) Ibid. *fol. A 2, verso.*

(34) *Anti coton*, pag. 18.

(35) Apologetical Reply to the *Anti coton*, pag. 45.

(36) Exam. Categor. of the Anti-coton, pag. 185.

(37) *Henry* IV.

(38) See Remark [*B*], of the Article *HOUCHER*.

(39) Apology, Part III. chap. 3. pag. 127, 128.

Accounts of this horrible Assassination vary so much [F]; nor is this the most scandalous

ordinary Blessing, which the Confessor says to the Penitent before Confession. Whence, being discovered by *Chastel*, not to be a Priest, as a Rat by his Noise, and an Ass by his braying, and as fit for this Trade, as a Child to be an *Hercules*, or a Fool a Philosopher, and standing in need of a Precedent Book, like a young Conveyancer, the Mine being discovered, before it could take Fire, the Invention came to nothing, and the Wretch in as great Confusion, as his impious Ignorance, and ignorant Impiety required. Saving however his Redress, in impudently spreading the vile Reports as above, against him, from whom he had heard no other Discourse, than a severe Reprimand, and Detestation of his Sacrilege (40).' The Apologist declames with all his Might against this Abuse of the Sacrament of Penitence, and calls it Impiety and Sacrilege, and pretends, that no preceding Examples can excuse it. 'Though the like Action, *says he*, had been before done by two others of the same Faction, the one an open Enemy and an Heretic, the other a Traitor and a Hypocrite. The first of whom was *Sautour* of *Champagne*, in the Person of the Doctor and Preacher *Maulert*, whom he took on the Road from *Troys*, where he had been preaching the *Lent*-Sermons, as he was returning to *Paris*, in the Year 1589: on whom he played this Trick, after giving him all the Fears of Death, and upon his desiring to have a Confessor. The other was *Marini* of *Gascogne*, Nephew of the Sieur *de Belin*, one of the Ministers of the Treason of *Paris*, and fit for this purpose in the Town, in quality of a Surgeon, Domestic of the Sieur *le Bailleur*, in the Year 1594, a little before the Treason, on account of a fray Ring, at the House of a poor Woman too well known, and whom, as well as others, and even her nearest Relations, he imposed upon, and on a Suspicion he had, that the Surgeon, who came there to dress him, had taken it. After having on this occasion squeezed his Thumbs, and abused him several other ways, he led him by Night, with his Eyes bound, to the River in order to throw him in, and, upon the poor Wretch's demanding Confession, imposed upon him in the same manner as the other, pretending himself to be a Priest. And the next Day the Ring was brought back to the Woman, by one of her other Lovers, who had taken it by way of Pass-time (41). —— But, if this be worthy of a Rover, a Robber, and a Heretic, (as it is an Invention of the Stews, and of a Heretic, to impose on Women, and to make a jest of the Church), why is it of a Man of the Law, of a Lieutenant of the Provost of the Hostel, and the long Robe, and of one, who, with his Cassock and Beads, counterfeits the Jesuit? If Heresy joined to Arms, and the Rashness and Fury of *Mars* to the Brothel of *Venus*, have given the Rein to this Sacrilege, how is it, that the Discretion and Wisdom of those, who are called Gods, and call themselves Catholics, carries them to the same Crime, and to so great an Impiety? What Agreement, between War, which hears not the Laws, and the State Gravity of those, who discourse of the Laws? Between the Barbarity and Licentiousness of Arms, and the Majesty of Justice? To counterfeit a sacred Character, &c (42).' He refutes likewise those, who may say, that it was following 'the Example of the Heads of this Parliament, who, at the extraordinary Sessions of *Poitiers*, named the Priests, who were to confess, forbidding to apply to others, and requiring them, on pain of Death, to reveal the Confessions: which they have since continued, and seem willing at present to continue, at *Paris*, after the same manner, to name the Confessors, whom they still make use of: under pretence, that it is for a good end, that they may not err in distributing Justice, nor the Guilty escape, and the Innocent suffer, and thus pass it gently into a Custom, maintaining, that is right so to do: O ridiculous Hypocrisy, and damnable Impiety (43)!' He maintains, that Priests ought never to reveal Confession, *on any account, or in obedience to the Command of any one whatever*, and that they are *bound* rather to suffer Death, which *will be a true Martyrdom* (44). And thereupon he extols the *Jacobin Antony Antonius Temermans*, Native of *Dunkirk*, who was strangled at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1582, for refusing to reveal the Confession of *Faure-gay* (45).

(40) Ibid. chap. 6. p. 137, 138.

(41) Ibid. Part III. chap. 3. pag. 188, 189.

(42) Ibid. chap. 3. pag. 130.

(43) Ib. p. 131.

(44) Ibid. pag. 233.

(45) The Assassin of the Prince of *Orange*.

The Relation, which I shall speak of in the following Remark, does not report the Fact in the manner we have seen above. It supposes, that, *John Chastel* being taken, some of the principal Courtiers tried all imaginable means to make him confess, who set him on; and that they threw him on the Ground, and held a Dagger to his Breast, threatening immediately to stab him to the Heart, if he did not discover the Truth; that he replied, that no one had urged him to this Act, and that he demanded a Priest, to whom he might confess; that this favour was granted him; but that they suborned a Layman, who, disguising himself as a Priest, came near him, to hear his Confession; that *Chastel* represented to this counterfeit Priest the Confusion of Mind, which hindered him from recollecting his Sins, and begged that he might have a Paper, in which he had written his general Confession, a few Days before; that the Paper was found in the House of his Father, and not the least Hint concerning any other Person found in it. See the Margin; you will there find a Narration, very different from this, as to the Paper, in which the Assassin had written his general Confession (46).

(46) *Thuan. lib.* 112, *pag.* 642, says, that they, who were sent to the House of *John Chastel*'s Father, found, in examining every corner of the House, the Paper, in which this Wretch had written his general Confession: he did not deny this Writing. In it he acknowledged himself guilty of Sodomy, and of attempting to commit Incest with his Sister.

I cannot believe, on the Testimony of the Apologist, that they endeavoured to discover the Secret by a pretended Confessor: but I know not whether it be right absolutely to deny it; for, if, in a common Process, and of no great Consequence, Judges think it allowable to employ a thousand Falsehoods, to extort the Truth, either from the Accused, or the Witnesses, why should we think, that, when the Life of *Henry* IV, on which at that time depended the public Safety, was in question, the Judges should scruple to make use of the means of a Confessional? They know, that the Weakness of Mind, which exposes a Man to suffer himself to be induced to such an Assassination, renders him susceptible of the greatest Courage. They, who, by the Motive of the Church's Good, suggest to him the design of killing a Prince, suggest to him likewise, by the Expectation of the Glory of Martyrdom, a firm Resolution to suffer all kind of Torments, and persuade him, that he will lose all the Merit of his Action, if he reveals his Accomplices; but that, if he can keep the Secret, his Constancy will procure him a thousand and a thousand Benedictions in this World, and an high Degree of Glory in Paradice. They ought therefore to believe, that *John Chastel* would hold out against the Torture, and that the only means of discovering whence proceeded those fatal and pernicious Counsels, which exposed the Life of the King to so many black Attempts, was to suborn a pretended Confessor. If the Paper, which was found in his Father's House, had contained what they wanted, they would, no doubt, have taken it for one of those convincing Proofs, on which a Sentence of Condemnation may justly be founded. The Judges of the Lady *de Brinvilliers* acted in this manner (47), without any regard to the Reasons of her Advocate. See the Factum or Case of Mr *Nivelle* for this Lady (48).

(47) But observe, that they had many other Proofs, besides those which were found in a Paper, in which she had written her Sins, in order to confession.

(48) Printed at *Paris*, in 1676.

[F] *There is room to wonder, that the Accounts of this horrible Assassination are so different.*] We have seen, in the preceding Remark, an account, which I have taken from a *Latin* Relation, printed at *Strasburg* in the Year 1595, an Extract of which *James Gretser* gave at the end of his *Latin* Translation (49) of the Answer of *Francis des Montagnes* (50) to the Plea of *Antony Arnauld*. This Extract, with regard to the pretended Confessor, differs remarkably from the Narrative of the Apologist of *John Chastel*, and agrees in nothing with what we find in *Thuanus* concerning the general Confession of this Assassin, found in a Paper. Here is another Difference. The Author of this Extract forgot nothing, which serves to clear the Jesuits, but supposes every thing which may throw the Guilt upon

(49) Printed at *Ingolstadt*, in 1596, 8vo.

(50) It is a Mask, under which the Jesuit *Richeome* concealed himself. See *Alegambe*, *pag.* 308.

scandalous Circumstance of that Accident. *Du Pleix* was in the wrong to say, that *John Chastel* replied to his Judges, that the Devil had pushed him on to this wicked Attempt (*l*).

(*l*) Du Pleix, Hist d'Henri IV. pag. m. 163.

on them. He perpetually insists on *Chastel*'s naming no Person, who suggested to him the Resolution of killing *Henry* IV; and he says not a word of what I relate in the Remark [*A*], and which was thought sufficient to render the Jesuits suspected. Sincerity does not allow of these sort of Suppressions; there is in them a very scandalous Artifice. *Richeome* could not avoid discussing the Answers, which *John Chastel* made to the Judges (51): it was a very unlucky Step for him; though, as to the rest, he has very artfully taken advantage of the Circumstances, favourable to his Order, which are found in the Process (52). Let us not forget, that he undertakes to prove the falsehood of the Interrogatory (53), which I have taken from *Cayet* (54), and which *Thuanus*, and an hundred other Writers, alledge. And note, that this Plea of Falsehood is in a Book, in which a Writer is refuted, who had made use of these Words. 'These are the express Terms of the Interrogatory 'of *Chastel*, the Original of which your Majesty 'may see, which shall be attested by more than 'thirty Presidents, or Counsellors, more credible a 'thousand Times, than all that the Parties can say 'in their own Cause. *Being asked, where he had 'learnt this new Divinity, he said, it was by Philosophy, &c.*'

(51) See the *Apologetical Complaint*, n. 41. pag. m. 157, &c.

(52) See the same Book, n. 38, &c. and his Answer, under the name of *René de la Fon*, to the Plea of the Sieur *Marion*, chap. 14.

(53) Richeome, Apolog. Reply to the *Anti-cotton*, n. 48. pag. 149.

(54) In Remark [*A*].

(*a*) Eques Gandensis. *Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg.* pag. 262.

CHASTELAIN (GEORGE) in Latin *Castellanus*, a Flemish Gentleman (*a*), understood the French Language very well, and composed some Treatises [*A*], which have not been so long esteemed, as *Olivier de la Marche* said they would [*B*]. He died in the Year 1475 (*b*). He had been educated in the Family of the Dukes of *Burgundy* (*c*).

(*b*) Obiit eo ipso tempore, quo Carolus audax Novesium obsidebat *Id. ibid.* pag. 263.

(*c*) La Croix du Maine, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 118.

(1) La Croix du Maine, pag. 118.

(2) Valer. Andreas Bibl. Belg. pag. 263.

(3) La Croix du Maine, pag. 118.

(4) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franc. pag. 447.

(5) Valer. Andreas, Ibid. pag. 262.

(6) Pontus Heuterus, Rerum Burgund. lib. 4. pag. m. 151.

[*A*] *He composed some Treatises.*] He wrote (1), in *French* Verse, a Collection of the wonderful 'things, which happened in his time, printed with 'the Works of *John Moulinet*, his Disciple (2). 'The Temple of the Ruin of some unhappy Noble-'men both of *France*, and of foreign Nations, in 'imitation of *Boccace*, printed at *Paris* by *Galiot du 'Pré*, in the Year 1517. The Instruction of a 'young Prince, containing eight Chapters, print-'ed with the other Works (3). The Epitaphs of *Hector* and *Achilles*, with the Judgment of *Alexander the Great*, printed at *Paris*, 1525. in 8vo (4).' The History of *James de Lalain*, Knight of 'the Golden Fleece, printed at *Brussels*, in 4to, 'in the Year 1634,' and many other Pieces, which are to be found in Manuscripts in the Abbey of *St Vast*, at *Arras* (5). He wrote the Life of *Philip the Good*, Duke of *Burgundy*, in *French*. I do not believe, that it was printed. *Pontus Heuterus* had read it, and has borrowed something from it (6).

[*B*] —— *which have not been so long esteemed, as* Olivier de la Marche *said they would.*] These are his Words: 'I am sorry —— I cannot have the Stile 'and subtil way of speaking of *Messire George Cha-'stelain*, deceased, a Knight of my Acquaintance, 'who, though a *Fleming* born, wrote in the *French* 'Language, and did so many fine things in my 'time, that his Works, and the Subtilty of his 'Speech, will make him a more glorious and con-'siderable Man, an hundred Years hence, than at 'this present time (7).' This Prediction proved false: The Memory of this Writer was lost by degrees, and few People knew him by his Writings, fifty Years after his Death. *Olivier de la Marche* calls him, *The Pearl and Star of all the Historiographers, that, in his time, or long before, have made use of Pen, Ink, and Paper* (8). *John le Feure*, Lord of *St Remi*, was, without doubt, in great hopes, that the Writings of this Author would be immortal. He declares, 'That, having written some short Me-'moirs, *he had sent them* to the noble Orator *George 'Chastelain*, to make use of them, at his Discretion, 'in the noble Histories and Chronicles, made by 'him, although they are but of little value, if com-'pared with his Work. —— I shall speak of the 'great and noble Actions of the Dukes and Knights 'of his Order, but not an hundredth part so much 'at large, as the notable Orator *George le Chastelain* 'has described them (9).'

(7) Olivier de la Marche, *in the Preface to his* Memoirs, pag. m. 3.

(8) Id. in the Preface to the first Book, pag. 74.

(9) John le Feure, *Lord of* St Remi, *in the Prologue of the History of* Charles VI, published by *Mr le Laboureur*, at the end of that of the Monk of St *Denis*.

CHASTELUX (CLAUDIUS, *Sire de*) *Viscount d'Avalon, Baron de Quarré*, Counsellor of State, and Chamberlain to the Duke of *Burgundy*, was created Maréchal of *France*, the second of *June*, 1418. He was sent into *Guienne* in the Year 1419, and deprived of his Office of Maréchal, the Twenty second of *January*, 1421. He sustained the Siege of *Crevant* against the Constable of *Scotland*, in the Year 1423, and acquired by it a very particular Privilege in *Auxerre* [*A*]. He assisted, in 1431, on the part of the Duke of *Burgundy*, at the Assembly, which was held in the same Town, to treat of Peace with the Embassadors of the Kings of *France* and *England*, and died in the Year 1453 (*a*). He was of a very ancient Nobility: his Posterity remains to this Day [*B*].

(*a*) *Taken from Father* Anselm's History of the Great Officers, pag. 140, 141.

[*A*] *He sustained the Seige of* Crevant —— *and acquired by it a very particular Privilege in* Auxerre.] Let us recite the words of Mr *de Vizé*. 'You know without 'doubt, *says he* (1), the Privilege of the Eldest Son 'of this Family in the Cathedral Church of *Auxer-'re*. It was acquired them, about the end of the 'XIVth Century (2), by *Claudius Sire de Chastelux*, '—— for having defended at his own expence the 'Town of *Crevant*, belonging to the Chapter, a-'gainst the *Scotch*, whom he drove off and defeated, 'having, with his own Hand, taken Prisoner the 'Sieur *Count de Doukan*, Constable of *Scotland*, who 'commanded them. As he liberally restored the 'Possessions of the Church of *Auxerre*, the Chap-'ter, by a juridical Act, granted him —— for him-'self, and Posterity Male, possessing the Estate of '*Chastelux*,' the Privilege in question. That is, *to have the Precedency in the Choir, and to sit in it in a warlike Habit, a Surplice over it, a Belt, and an Ames on his Arm, a Hawk on his Fist, a seat and deliberative Voice in the Chapter, and a Right of distribution as a Canon.*

(1) Mercure Galant, Sept. 1701, pag. 364, &c.

(2) Or rather after the beginning of the XVth.

[*B*] *He was of a very ancient Nobility: his Posterity remains to this Day.*] Father *Anselme* goes back no farther than the Father of our *Claudius de Chastelux* (3); but Mr *de Vizé* assures him, that this Family is 'one of the most ancient of the Kingdom, *that it* 'has no other Name, or Origin, than That of *Cha-'stelux, and that* from the end of the XIth Century, 'where we begin to know the Successors in a direct 'Line, to the present time, Mr *le Comte de Chaste-'lux*, who died in the Month of *September*, 1701, 'is the 20th in a direct Line from Father to Son, *and 'that* his Ancestors have possessed all the military Em-'ployments of the State. You will find them among 'the Maréchals of *France*, among the Admirals, Go-'vernors of Provinces, Lieutenants-General, Gentle-'men in ordinary of the King's Bed-Chamber, Cham-'berlains of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, Pages of Ho-'nour to the Kings, Captains of the hundred Men 'at Arms of the Ordonnances, at the time when 'those Companies were so considerable (4).'

Let us add, what the same Author relates concerning the present State of this Family. He says (5), that

(3) Anselme's History of Great Officers, p. 241.

(4) Mercure Galant, Sept. 1701, pag. 369.

(5) Ibid. p. 358.

that PHILIBERT PAUL, Count *de* CHASTELUX, who was killed at the Attack of *Chiari*, in *Italy*, the first of *September*, 1701, at the Age of thirty three, ' had three Brothers, and three Sisters: ' his younger Brother served in *Germany*, where he ' died. ANDREW DE CHASTELUX, ' who is at present the eldest, is Ensign of one of ' the King's Ships. The Third is WILLIAM ' ANTONY, an Abbé. The eldest Sister is ' BONA DE CHASTELUX, married to ' *Francis*, Count de St *Chamans*, *Marquis de Mercy*. ' The second is JUDITH DE CHASTELUX, ' Lady and Canoness of *Poussanges* in *Champagne*. ' The third is ANNE DE CHASTELUX, ' married to *Charles de Vienne*, Count *de Commercin* ' in *Burgundy*, Head of the Illustrious Family of ' *Vienne* (6).' The Father of these seven Children was CÆSAR PHILIP DE CHASTELUX, Captain-Lieutenant of the *Gens d'Armes* of the Prince of *Condé* (7). His Widow, who is yet alive (8), is called *Judith de Barillon*, and is Daughter of *John James de Barillon*, President in the Parliament of *Paris*. This *Cæsar Philip*, nineteenth Baron or Count *de Chastelux*, had three Brothers, who died in the King's Service. ' The eldest was killed at ' the Battle of *Nortlingen*, as he was executing the ' Office of Maréchal of the Battle. The second had ' been killed a little before, in *Roussillon*, by a Cannon-Ball, being commanded to hinder the descent ' of the *Spaniards*. The third, who was a Knight ' of *Malta*, died likewise in the King's Service (9).' Note, that the other Branches of this Family were extinct in the Person of *Philip de Chastelux*, Baron *de Coulanges*, Major-General, who was killed at the Battle of *Zintzheim* in *Germany*, in the Year 1624 (10).

(6) Ibid. p. 362.

(7) Ibid. p. 359, &c.

(8) That is, in Sept. 1701.

(9) Mercure Galant, Sept. 1701, pag. 361.

(10) Ibid.

CHATEAU-BRIAND (*The Countess of*) Wife of the Count of that Name, Daughter of *Phœbus de Foix*, and Sister of *Lautrec*, and of the Marshal *de Foix*, was Mistress of *Francis* I, as some Authors say [*A*]. *Varillas* has reported the History of this amorous Intrigue the most at large, and has not forgotten to say, that the Count caused his Wife to be put to Death. Others pretend, that This History is a meer Romance, and have published a Piece about it against *Varillas*. See the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* (a).

(a) In *January*, 1686, *Art.* 2.

[*A*] *She was Mistress of* Francis I, *as some Authors say.*] *Brantome* relates very particular Circumstances of these Amours. ' I have been ' told, *says he* (1), and have it from good hands, ' that, when King *Francis* I had left his much ' favoured Mistress Madam *de Chateau Briand*, to ' to take Madam *d'Estampes* — as one Nail drives ' out another, Madam *d'Estampes* defired the King ' to take all the finest Jewels from the same Lady *de* ' *Chateau-Briand*, that he had given her, not by ' Reason of their great value, for at that time ' Jewels were not so much in vogue, as they have ' been since, but because of the fine Devices, which ' were ingraved upon them, which his Sister, the ' Queen of *Navarre*, had made and composed; for ' she was a very good Lady.' *Brantome* adds, that, when the Gentleman, who was sent by the King, asked for those Jewels of Madam *de Chateau-Briand*, *she pretended to be sick for that time, and put him off for three Days*; that, in the mean time, she caused those Jewels to be melted, out of spite, and gave them to the Gentleman in Ingots, when he came for them again, and that she sent the King word, that she could not suffer any body else to enjoy those Devices; that the King sent her those Ingots back again, (for he wanted those Jewels only *for the Devices*) and said, *that she had shewed more Courage and Generosity in it, than he could have expected from a Woman.* *Brantome* adds his Reflexion to That of the King: *The Heart of a generous Woman*, says he, *provoked and slighted, can do great things.* He tells us, in another place of his Memoirs (2), that *Mr* de Chateau-Briand *gave his fine House of* Chateau-Briant *to the Constable* de Montmorenci *to get the Order.* See here what *Mr le Laboureur* (3) observed upon this: *It was to have the Government of* Bretagne, *and also to secure himself from the Proceedings, which were carried on against him for the Death of his Wife, of which he was accused.*

(1) Brant. Memoires des Dames galantes, Tom. II, pag. 394.

(2) In the Discourse concerning the Constable *de Montmorenci.*

(3) Additions to *Castelnau's* Memoirs, Tom. I, pag. 346.

The Author of the *Gallantries of the Kings of* France, lately printed (4) in several Places, relates the Amours of *Francis* I with the Countess *de Chateau-Briand* in the same manner as *Varillas*; and concludes thus (5): ' Some Critics have pretended, ' that Monsieur *de Varillas*, from whom I have taken ' these Memoirs, had been mis-informed; that the ' Countess *de Chateau-Briand* was reconciled to her ' Husband, and that she did not die till ten Years ' after the King's Return; but he has so well replied to it, that I believe the Countess's tragical ' End ought not to be questioned; and I made no ' Difficulty to follow That famous Historian word ' for word.' Take this for an Imposition. I desired one of my Friends to inform himself of this Answer of *Varillas*'s, and here is word for word, what he wrote to me, in a Letter, dated from *Paris*, the tenth of *June* 1695. ' Whatever the ' Author of the *Gallantries of the Kings of* France ' may say, we have not seen any Writing here of ' Mr *Varillas*, in answer to what the late Mr *Hevin*, ' Advocate in the Parliament of *Rennes*, wrote a- ' gainst him, concerning the Countess *de Chateau-* ' *Briand*: and Mr *d'Hozier* told me, upon this, that ' Mr *de Caumartin*, one of our six Intendants of the ' *Finances*, has, in his Library, the *Case*, which ' the Constable *Anne de Montmorenci* caused to be ' drawn up against the Heirs of Mr *de Chateau-* ' *Briant*, to maintain the Grant he had made him ' of That Seat, and that That Piece begins with ' these words: *The Misfortunes, which have accom-* ' *panied the Life of Mr* de Chateau-Briant, *are so* ' *well known in* France, *that it is needless to mention* ' *them.*'

(4) In the Year 1694.

(5) Tom. I, pag. m. 192.

CHATEL (PETER *du*) Great Almoner of *France* under *Henry* II. Look for CASTELLAN.

CHATEL (TANNEGUI *du*) a Gentleman of *Bretagne*, was one of the brave Men of the XVth Century. He commanded, in *Italy*, the Troops of *Lewis* of *Anjou*, King of *Sicily*, and defeated the Army of *Ladislaus*, King of *Naples*, in the Year 1409. He was afterwards Provost of *Paris*; and, in 1419, and 1420, he took upon him the Quality of Marshal of the Wars of the Dauphin, Regent of the Kingdom (*a*). He did That Prince great Services (*b*) [*A*], and rid him of his most dangerous Enemy, who was *John* Duke of *Burgundy* [*B*]. But there was a signal Perfidiousness

(a) Anselme's History of Great Officers, p. 142.

(b) It was King *Charles* VII.

[*A*] *He did the Dauphin great Services.*] The *Burgundian* Faction having possessed themselves of *Paris*, the Night of the Twenty eighth of *May*, 1418, would have seized on the Dauphin, if *Tannegui du Chatel* (1) ' had not run, and taken him ' out of his Bed, and, wrapping him in his Night- ' gown, carried him into the Bastile, and from ' thence brought him to *Melun* (2). We shall see, in the following Remark, with what Zeal he acted against That Prince's Enemy on the Bridge of *Montereau faut-Yonne*,

(1) He was at that time Provost of *Paris*.

(2) Mezerai, Abregé Chronol. Tom. III, pag. 601.

[*B*] - - - - - *and rid him of his most dangerous Enemy* - - - - - - John *Duke of* Burgundy.] If the *French* Monarchy found itself on the Brink of Ruin, in the Reign of *Charles* VI, and in That of *Charles* VII, it was the Fault of the Princes of

ousneſs in that Action. 'Tis to be wondered at, that Father *Anſelme* has ſaid nothing of it (*c*): his Silence occaſioned That of *Moreri*. The Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy* was not the only one, that *Tannegui du Chatel* committed: he alſo killed the Dauphin of *Auvergne* [*C*] in the Year 1424, in the King's Preſence, and in full Council. That Action occaſioned many Perſons of the greateſt Quality to leave the Service of *Charles* VII; and *Du Chatel* was obliged to retire from the Court, whither, according to ſome Authors, he never returned any more. Others pretend, that

(*c*) Anſelme, ubi ſupra, pag. 142.

of the Blood, and an effect of the immoderate Ambition of the Branch of *Burgundy*, which from that time expreſſed as little Tenderneſs for the Blood, from whence it ſprung, as for the *Ottoman* Family. It has been always confederated with the greateſt Enemies of the *French* Name, till it ended in the Perſon of *Mary*, who tranſmitted all That Hatred to her Deſcendants. *John* Duke of *Burgundy* was not contented to cauſe the Duke of *Orleans*, Brother of *Charles* VI, to be murdered (3); he added alſo ſeveral other wicked Attempts to That; but, at laſt, he himſelf periſhed in the Year 1419. The Servants of the Duke of *Orleans*, and particularly our *Tannegui du Chatel*, and the Preſident *Louvet*, negotiated Interviews between the Duke of *Burgundy* and the Dauphin, with a deſign to murder the firſt: and they executed it on the Bridge of *Montereau-faut-Yonne*, where theſe two Princes had agreed to have a Conference. *As Duke* John *comes to the Interview* (I make uſe of *Paſquier*'s Words (4), Tannegui du Chatel *begins to pick a Quarrel with him, ſaying, that he did not honour the Dauphin as he ought, and gave him ſuch a Blow with his Battle-axe on his Head, that he died of it.*'

(3) In 1407.

(4) Paſquier, Recherch. de la France, liv. 6, cap. 3, pag. 452.

[*C*] *He killed alſo the Dauphin of* Auvergne.] I ſhall again make uſe of *Paſquier*'s Words (5); 'The two chief Miniſters of *Charles* the VIIth's 'Actions, and perhaps of his Ruin, were *Tannegui* 'du *Chatel*, and *Louvet*, Preſident of *Provence*; 'for they were the cauſe of Duke *John*'s Death. 'They enjoyed the King's Favour more than the 'reſt of his People for a long time, particularly 'Tannegui du Chatel, with great Arrogance, who, 'abuſing his Maſter's Indulgence, killed the Count 'Dauphin of *Auvergne*, in the Year 1424, in his 'Preſence, and in the Preſence of his Council; 'at which the Princes and Lords being angry, the 'Queen of *Sicily*, the King's Mother-in-law, the 'Conſtable of *Richmont*, and other Lords of note, 'forſook him. Which was the reaſon, why *Tan*'negui was obliged to leave his place, *Louvet* re'maining alone in his ſtead. But *Louvet*, ſeeing 'himſelf expoſed to the ſame Hatred, and not be'ing able to reſiſt the great Lords, retired to *A*'vignon; and afterwards neither of them was ſeen 'any more.' *Mezerai* ſays, that *Charles* VII promiſed to diſmiſs all thoſe from his Preſence, who had a hand in the Murther of the Duke of *Burgundy*; I ſay, he promiſed it, when, in 1424, he gave the Sword of Conſtable to the Earl of *Richmont*, who had quitted the King of *England*'s Party; and that, thereupon, Tannegui, *generouſly ſacrificing his Fortune to ſerve his King, deſired his Diſmiſſion as a Reward* (6). *Varillas* pretends, that *Charles* VII was forced, by the Treaty of *Arras*, to forſake *du Chatel*, who fled into his Country, and did not return to the Court, till he heard, that no body took care to ſee That Prince buried (7). According to this Account, he did not leave the Court till 1435. What I am going to ſay, ſeems to be the moſt probable Account: I take it from an Hiſtorian (8), who, having confined himſelf to the Enquiries relating to *Bretagne*, is more to be credited in what he ſays of *Tannegui du Chatel*, an illuſtrious *Breton*, than thoſe, who only ſpeak of him in general Hiſtories. I except what is apologetic; for the particular Hiſtorians of a Province are leſs to be relied upon in ſuch a caſe than others: and therefore I pay but little regard to what *Bertrand d'Argentré* (9) tells us concerning *Tannegui du Chatel*'s Innocency with reſpect to the Murder of the Duke of *Burgundy*. Let us ſee what he ſays about other matters of Fact.

(5) Ibid. chap. 4, pag. 453.

(6) Mezerai, Abregé Chron. Tom. 3, p. 236.

(7) Varillas, Hiſtoire de Charles IX, liv. 2, p. 4.

(8) Bertrand d'Argentré, Hiſtoire de Bretagne, liv. 10, chap 30.

(9) Ibid. pag. m. 531.

He ſays, that the Earl of *Richmont*, having received the Conſtable's Sword, the ſeventh of *March* 1425, was ſent to raiſe Soldiers in *Bretagne*. At the ſame time, *du Chatel* was ſent thither as Ambaſſador of *Charles* VII, to aſk Leave of the Duke of *Bretagne* to raiſe Men in his Dominions. This was the Condition of the Kings of *France* at that time: They were ſurrounded with many petty Sovereigns, who played them a thouſand Tricks. So that it is a great Miſtake, to ſay, that the *Engliſh* have formerly almoſt conquered *France*. It ſhould be ſaid, that, with the Aſſiſtance of the greateſt and moſt conſiderable Provinces of *France*, they were near conquering all the reſt. But this is not the matter in hand. *Du Chatel* brought no other Anſwer, but that Aſſiſtance ſhould be given, after the King had put all thoſe Perſons from him, whom he was deſired to remove. He was himſelf one of them, and reſolved to retire, though the King was deſirous to keep him. 'Sir, *ſaid he*, I 'am a Gentleman, and have done you Service; 'but you muſt not loſe the Service of great Per'ſons, who may ſerve you ſo much againſt your 'Enemies, for ſuch mean Perſons as we are; tho' 'the Opinion they entertain of us is very ground'leſs: however it be, you muſt not ſuffer for it. 'And ſince it is ſo, Sir, be pleaſed to provide for 'the old Age, which I have attained to in your 'Service, and give me ſome means to live the 'reſt of my days: I deſire, by no means, that you 'ſhould loſe, upon my Account, your Relations 'and Servants, whom you ſtand in need of, at 'this time. The King was obliged to conſent to 'this, much againſt his Will, and ſaid to him, My 'good Father and Friend, I ſhall always look up'on you as my Father. I know that I am indebted 'to you, and ſhall remember, as long as I live, 'the Services you have done to me and to my 'Kingdom. It is much againſt my Will and Heart, 'that you muſt leave me: but, ſince things are 'brought to this paſs, that I muſt receive Laws 'from others, I deſire you to bear this Misfortune 'patiently till this Storm be over, and I may ſee, 'whether thoſe, who will leave me on your Ac'count, will do ſomething to make amends for 'what they take from me. I have thought on 'this matter: go in the mean time to *Beaucaire*; 'I make you Senéchal of that Place: You ſhall 'keep the Office of Provoſt of *Paris*, of which 'you ſhall not be wronged: You ſhall have ſuch 'Penſions aſſigned you, that you need not fear 'Poverty: You ſhall have fifteen Archers for the 'Security of your Perſon; and I will give Orders 'for their Payment. If any thing ſhould happen to 'you, let me know it, and I will look to it; and 'will alſo lay hold of the firſt Opportunity, that 'ſhall offer itſelf, to ſee you again. With this 'Meſſire *Tannegui* retired to *Beaucaire*; but he 'came ſeveral times into *France* afterwards (10).'

(10) Argentré, ibid. pag. 537. ad Ann. 1425.

I think it may be inferred from this Paſſage, that all thoſe, who do not place the Retreat of *Tannegui du Chatel* in the Year 1425, or who ſay, that he never returned, or that he was ſent Ambaſſidor to the Pope, or that he was made Great Maſter of the Horſe, or Marêchal of *France*, or that he had the Generoſity to bury *Charles* VII, are miſtaken: They do not diſtinguiſh the Uncle from the Nephew: both of them had the Name of *Tannegui du Chatel*. But, if it were true, that the Uncle had been an Embaſſador beyond the *Alps* in the Year 1446, and in the Year 1448, as Father *Anſelme* is going to tell us, the Negligence of *Argentré* could not be excuſed; for he ſays nothing of it here; and, when he ſpeaks (11) of the Embaſſy of *Rome*, he does not tell us, whether *Tannegui du Chatel*, who was one of the Ambaſſadors, was the ſame, who retired from the Court in the Year 1425.

(11) Liv. 12, chap. 4. pag. m. 564. ad Ann. 1448.

We read, in the Hiſtory of *Marſeilles* (12), that, in the Year 1531, this Man was one of thoſe, who negociated a Truce between Thoſe of *Marſeilles* and the *Catalans*. He was at that time Captain General of the Militia of *Provence*.

(12) Ruffi. Hiſt. de la ville de Marſeille, liv. 6, chap. 9.

[*D*] *He*

that he returned thither [D], and that he suffered another Disgrace, which did not hinder him from taking care of the Funeral of *Charles* VII [E], neglected by the Courtiers. He had a Nephew, whose Name was *Tannegui du Chatel* [F], who made a great Figure at the Court of *France* in the Reign of *Lewis* XI. Some, by an egregious Mistake, have confounded him with him, who killed the Duke of *Burgundy* [G]. An Italian Author has committed some great Mistakes here [H], as will appear in the last Remark.

[D] *He was obliged to retire from Court, whither, according to some Authors, he never returned. Others pretend, that he returned thither.*] Father *Anselme*, having said, that *Tannegui retired from the Court for the good of the Affairs of King* Charles VII. *in the Year* 1425 (13), goes on thus: 'Afterwards 'he was made Seneschal of *Provence*, and dispatched 'to *Genoa*, in 1446, to endeavour the Reduction 'of That City to the Obedience of the King, whom 'they would have to be their Lord; and, in the 'Year 1448, he was sent, in Embassy, to *Rome*, 'with the Archbishop of *Rheims*, the Bishop of 'Alath, and others, to Pope *Nicolas* V, to pay 'him a filial Obedience, according to *Berri Heraut* (14). He died soon after, without leaving 'Children by his Wife *Isabella le Vayer*.' *Morery* has not transcribed all this, because he believed, that *Tannegui du Chatel* took care of the Obsequies of *Charles* VII. If Father *Anselme* had also believed it, he would not have said, that *Tannegui du Chatel* died, soon after his Embassy of the Year 1448: which cannot agree with what is observed by so many other Historians, that he was at the Expence of the King's Funeral, who died in the Year 1461. They are mistaken.

(13) History of Great Officers, p. 148.

(14) The Chronicles of *France*, by *Belleforest*, taken from *Monstrelet*, *Nicole Gilles*, &c. say so likewise.

[E] *It is pretended that he took care of the Funeral of* Charles VII.] Some Authors say, that *Tannegui* was in Disgrace, when *Charles* VII died; others say, that he was actually Great Master of the Horse. 'Funus suis sumptibus curavit 'Taneguius Castellus, summus Regorum Equorum 'Magister, (nam cæteri Caroli Domestici metu Ludovici filii se diversi subduxerant) (15). - - - - - 'Tannegui du Chatel, *the King's Great Master of* 'the Horse, buried him at his own Expence: the 'rest of Charles's Domestics being fled different 'ways, for fear of his Son Lewis.' In the first case, his Action would be more commendable; nevertheless, it deserves to be praised in the second case. His persisting in his Duty, when every one else neglected it, and laying out his Money for his King's Funeral, will always be esteemed a good Action. It is said, that *Lewis* XI let many Years pass, before he re-imbursed the Sums, which *Tannegui* advanced (16). The latter would have been very old, at the Death of the King his Master, if he had been General of an Army in *Italy* in the Year 1469. If we believe *Thuanus*, those Sums amounted to thirty thousand Crowns (17). He does not agree with *Beaucaire*, as to *Tannegui*'s Office. He makes him Great Chamberlain, and is one of those, who say he was out of favour. "Castellus is perillustri in Armorica prognatus gente cubicularioruni nobilium Princeps sub Carolo VII fuerat: & quamvis optime de rege ac regno meritus cum domum relegatus esset, mortuo hero statim in aulam accurrit, & in funus regium ab omnibus neglectum de sua pecunia 30 millia aureorum egregio grati animi exemplo dependit (18). '—— *This* Chatel, *born of a very illustrious Family in* Bretagne, *was Great Chamberlain under* Charles VII: *and, though banished in his own Country, notwithstanding his great Merits towards his King and Country, yet, upon the Death of his Master, he immediately repaired to Court, and gave a remarkable Instance of Gratitude, in expending Thirty thousand Crowns on the King's Funeral, neglected by all.*' We shall consult *d'Argentré*, in the Sequel of these Remarks, for the better understanding of all these Circumstances. See the end of the Remark [G].

(15) Balcarius, lib. 1, n. 2.

(16) Quum quidem pecuniam non statim repræsentavit Ludovicus, sed multis post annis Castillonii, Psalmæique fundi atque aliorum aliquot venditione dissolvit. *Ibid.* In the 29th Book, n. 30, he says, *The Payment was made soon after*, non multo post.

(17) Mezeral, Hist. de François II. pag. 44. *of the third Vol. in Folio, says, three hundred thousand Livres.* Varillas, Hist. de Charles IX, pag. 4, *says an hundred and sixty eight thousand Livres.* Argentré Hist. de Bretagne, liv. 12, cap. 22, *says, above fifty thousand Livres.*

(18) Thuan. lib. 52, pag. 534.

[F] *He had a Nephew, whose Name was* TANNEGUI DU CHATEL.] This Nephew had been educated with his Uncle at the Court of *France*, and was a Man of Parts. He attached himself to the Service of the Duke of *Bretagne*, and became High-Steward of his Household. He gave him very good Advice in the Year 1464, in a very nice Conjuncture; for it concerned the avoiding of the Snares, laid by King *Lewis* XI (19). For the rest, he was a Man of Probity, who in no wise flattered his Master in his Amours. The Duke of *Bretagne*, being about thirty Years of Age, neglected his Wife, Daughter of the King of *Scotland*, and carried a Mistress every where with him, with whom he was passionately in Love. Her Name was *Antoinette de Maillezais*, and she was the Wife of the Lord *Villequier*. *Tannegui* often and freely represented to That Duke the Punishments, which the divine Justice inflicts on unchaste and adulterous Princes; but he only made himself odious by it. Perceiving his Master's Anger, and being unwilling to be any longer exposed to it, he retired to his House. The Lady *Villequier* sent him word, that she would reconcile him with the Duke, if he would take off striking Remonstrances to him. He rejected these Proposals; and, though the Lady was more inclined to make use of her Credit, in order to advance Men of Merit, than to revenge herself, yet he dreaded her (20). *Lewis* XI, being informed of the Disposition *du Chatel* was in, offered him some noble Employments. These Offers were accepted; and thus our *Tannegui* came into the Service of the Court of *France* (21). He had the Government of *Roussillon* and *Cerdagne* given him. We shall see, presently, that a Civilian, who did not want Learning, took the Country of *Cerdagne* for the Island of *Sardinia*. *Tannegui du Chatel* was employed, in 1475, about the nine Years Truce (22). He was killed at the Siege of *Boulogne* in the Year 1478 (23). If we believe *Peter Matthieu* (24), he, who buried *Charles* VII, was the same *Tannegui*, who so christianly exhorted the Duke of *Bretagne* to Chastity. He was the Nephew of *Tannegui*, who killed the Duke of *Burgundy*. Being vexed because he was not re-imbursed the Charges he had been at for the King's Funeral, he went over to the Duke of *Bretagne*. This deserves to be examined.

(19) *See* Beaucaire, *Book* I, n. 15, & Varillas Histoire de Louis XI, liv. 3, pag. 188.

(20) This does not well agree with what I shall say in the following Remark, quoting *Argentré*.

(21) Beaucaire, lib. 2, n. 17. Varillas, ubi supra. lib. 4. pag. 289.

(22) Matthieu, Hist. de Louis XI. liv. 2. pag. m. 747.

(23) Mezeral, Hist. de France, Tom. II, pag. 737.

(24) Matth. lib. liv. 2, pag. 87.

[G] *Some have confounded him with him, who killed the Duke of* Burgundy.] I found this Error in *Forcatulus*, with some Facts, that concern *Tannegui du Chatel*, the Nephew, and which deserve to be related here. *Forcatulus* says (25), that *Tannegui* was one of the Thirty six Knights of the Order of St *Michael*, who were first instituted by *Lewis* XI (26). He deserved it very well, continues *Forcatulus*; since, in the Reign of *Charles* VI, he had exercised the Government of *Paris* with so much good Fortune and Prudence. Here lies the Mistake. *Tannegui du Chatel*, Knight of the Order of St *Michael*, and Governor of *Roussillon* in the Year 1469, negotiated a Truce in the Year 1475. He is not therefore the same with him, who was Provost of *Paris* under *Charles* VI; for the latter commanded an Army in *Italy* in the Year 1409, which shews that he was then at least thirty Years of Age. So that he must have been born about the Year 1380. Had he been a Plenipotentiary at the Age of Ninety five Years, would not some Historians have taken notice of a Wit of so long standing, a much rarer thing than a Man of an hundred Years of Age? We have seen above (27), that, in 1425, *Tannegui*, the Provost of *Paris*, looked upon himself as an old Man; he was therefore above thirty Years of Age, and at least forty or forty five, when he commanded in *Italy*. *Forcatulus* observes, that *Tannegui* was one of Cardinal *Balue*'s Judges, and that the King gave him That Cardinal's Goods, and fine Hangings. He makes an advantageous Description of the good Order, which *Tannegui* established in the Province of *Roussillon* (28). He does not forget his Journey to the Monastery of *Roncevaux*, nor his fine Exhortations to the Monks, nor the Question he put to them, after he had seen their Library, Whether they had not any piece of *Orpheus*'s Lyre, or Head. If any one should ask, why This Civilian speaks at large of

(25) Forcatul. de Gallor. Imperio & Philosophia, lib. 7. pag. m. 1111. & seq.

(26) In the Year 1469.

(27) In Remark [C], Citat. (16).

(28) *He was somewhat unwilling to accept of that Government*; Dubitans ne non Hispanica gens imperium suum ferre posset, aut ipse mores ejus & licentiam. —— *Doubting whether the Spaniards could bear his Government, or he their Manners and Licentiousness.* Forcatul ubi supra, pag. 1112. Argentré, ubi supra, *agrees in many things with* Forcatulus.

Tannegui du Chatel's Journey? I would answer, He did it, because his Great-Grand-father had a great share in the favour of This Governor of *Rouſſillon*; but not ſo much as a Gentleman, whoſe Name was *Polerme*, deſcended from the Family of *Grammont*, who was *Tannegui*'s Lieutenant in *Cerdagne*. To which purpoſe, *Forcatulus* gives us ſome Verſes of *Claudian* and *Martial*, relating to the bad Air of *Sardinia*, and tells us, that *Polerme*, being well informed of the Diſorders of That Iſland, accepted the Government of it much againſt his Will (29). This is what I had promiſed at the end of the foregoing Remark.

(29) Audierat vero Polermus Inſulam crebra dominorum mutatione impacatam & turbis deditam.——Polermus *had heard that the Iſland, through the frequent Change of it's Maſters, was reſtleſs and given to Tumults.* Id. ibid. pag. 1120.

THE Uncertainty we are left in by the Hiſtorians.

The Variations, we have juſt now read, may make my Readers ſenſible of the Negligence of Hiſtorians in relating the Circumſtances of Things. Their Diſagreement makes us uncertain of the Time when *Tannegui du Chatel* retired from the Court of *Charles* VII; whether he returned thither before That Prince's Death; whether he was Great Maſter of the Horſe, or Great Chamberlain; what Sum he laid out for his Maſter's Funeral; whether he, who killed the Duke of *Burgundy*, is the ſame, who cauſed *Charles* VII to be buried; and whether he, who cenſured the Amours of the Duke of *Bretagne*, retired from the Court of *France*, becauſe they did not pay him the Money he had laid out for That King's Funeral. We find abundance of ſuch Variations about the Lives of all Great Men; which is a ſurpriſing thing, ſince it would be very eaſy ſo to characterize the Facts, mentioned in a Hiſtory, that an indifferent Reader might avoid confounding the one with the other.

Here is another Paſſage of *Argentré* (30), which will give us a little more light into this matter. 'The 'ficers, ſeeing the End of the ſaid King *Charles* 'draw near, and knowing, that they ſhould fall 'into a very ſuſpicious Prince's Hands, they all 'left King *Charles*, one after another, before he 'was dead; ſo that there was ſcarce any, who re'mained to attend him, beſides one faithful, loyal, 'and ſtedfaſt Servant, who was Meſſire *Tannegui* 'du *Chatel*, Great Maſter of the Horſe, who would 'not forſake him, whatever Danger he might be 'expoſed to by it, but ſtaid with him till he died; 'and there was not a Man in *France*, who would 'defray the Charges of, or ſtir a Foot for, the 'King's Burial. *Du Chatel* undertook to do it, mak'ing all the Preparations, uſual upon ſuch an Oc'caſion, and was at the Charge of the Funeral, 'things being in ſuch a Condition, that there 'was no hopes of recovering any thing of it. He 'laid out above Fifty thouſand Livres of his own, 'for which he was not re-imburſed 'till ten Years 'after, when, by good luck, they aſſigned for his 'Payment the Caſtles and Lordſhips of *Chantillon* 'on *Andely*, *Pacy*, *Oyſy*, and *Nonancourt* in *Nor*'*mandy*, which have been ſince redeemed of his 'Heirs, becauſe they made Part of the King's De'meſns. And, finding no place in the ſucceeding 'King's Houſe, after his Maſter's Death, he retired 'into *Bretagne*, where he was very kindly received 'by the Duke, who made him his Great Steward, 'and Captain of *Nantes*, and married him to the 'ſecond Daughter of the Family of *Maletroit*, the 'Marêchal *de Rieux* having marriêd the eldeſt; but 'this Favour did not continue long, though he 'had very well deſerved it, as we ſhall ſay here'after.' Theſe laſt Words relate to the Hiſtory of *Tannegui*'s Diſgrace. The Author ſpeaks of it in the 603d and 608th Page, and ſeems to contradict himſelf. He ſays, pag. 603, that *Tannegui*, during the Duke of *Bretagne*'s Journey, which he made into *Normandy* againſt his Advice, obtained leave to go and ſee his Wife; and that the ſame Duke, having found, that the Diſtruſts, which *Tannegui* had endeavoured to inſpire him with, were but too well grounded, thought he had a hand in the Plot; ſo that he *would never ſee him*. But, pag. 608, he informs us, that *Tannegui* could not endure the Life, that the Duke led with the Lady *Villequier*; which *was the Reaſon, why ſhe began to hate him mortally*, and that he *went in great haſte into* France *to ſecure his Perſon*. He was very welcome to *Lewis* XI, who advanced him to great Honours, and particularly to the Government of *Rouſſillon* (31). Note, that the Lady *Villequier* was debauched by the Duke after his Journey into *Normandy* in the Year 1465 (32). *Tannegui* muſt therefore have appeared at Court after that Journey; for, if he had been quite out of Favour, what could he have done with the Duke againſt the Lady *Villequier*?

(30) Hiſtoire de Bretagne, liv. 12, chap. 3. pag. 592.

(31) Ibid. pag. 612.

(32) Ibid. pag. 608.

However it be, we may be ſure, thanks to *Bertrand d'Argentré* for it, I. That *Tannegui du Chatel*, who buried *Charles* VII, is not the ſame, who killed the Duke of *Burgundy*. II. That he is the ſame, who retired from *Bretagne* into *France*, in the Reign of *Lewis* XI, and who was Governor of *Rouſſillon*. III. That he did not return from his Houſe, to take care of the Funeral, but that he was actually in Poſſeſſion of the Office of Great Maſter of the Horſe, and that he enjoyed the Affection of *Charles* VII, when That Prince did.

There are but few Articles in this Dictionary, which, for their Length, are made up of ſo many different Pieces as this: however, it will make my Readers eaſily know how the two *TANNEGUI's DU CHATEL* muſt be diſtinguiſhed.

[*H*] *An* Italian *Author has committed ſome great Miſtakes here.*] See a Book, printed at *Rome* in the Year 1646, intituled, *Ritratti & Elogii di Capitani illuſtri*, and you will find there (33), that *Tannegui du Chatel*, Provoſt of *Paris*, and afterwards Lieutenant to the Dauphin, was magnificently adorned with military Rewards by *Lewis* XI, and by *Charles* VIII, and one of the firſt Knights of the Order of St *Michael*; and, that he died in the Year 1468. The firſt Fault is, that he confounds the Uncle with the Nephew; for, the Dauphin's Lieutenant, and the Provoſt of *Paris*, is not he, who was the Knight of St *Michael*. II. He, who was Knight of St *Michael*, did not die in the Year 1468; ſince, in 1475, he was employed to negotiate a Truce of nine Years (34), and he was at a Siege in 1478 (35). III. If he had died in the Year 1468, he could not have received any Office, nor any Reward from *Charles* VIII; for That Prince did not begin his Reign till 1483.

(33) Pag. 144, 145.

(34) Matthieu, Hiſtoire de Louis XI, liv. 11. pag. m. 747.

(35) That of *Neucbatel*, where he was killed.

CHEDERLES is, among the Turks, what St *George* is among the Chriſtians. The *Derviſes* told *Buſbequius*, when we went to *Amaſia* in *Cappadocia*, that *Chederles* was a great Hero, who, having killed a furious Dragon, ſaved a Maid, who had been expoſed to That hideous Beaſt. They added, that, after having wandered a long time in unknown Countries, he came at laſt to the Banks of a River, whoſe Water made thoſe immortal, who drank of it; that this River is always covered with a dark Night, and that, ſince *Chederles*, it was never ſeen by any Body. This Hero, who is immortal, and mounted on a fine Horſe, to which the Waters of that River procured the ſame Advantage, runs up and down the World, loves Battles, aſſiſts the Warriours, who have the beſt Cauſe, or who invoke him, of what Religion ſoever they be. They ſay he was one of *Alexander*'s Captains [*A*]; and yet they will not have him to differ from the St *George* of the Chriſtians,

[*A*] *He was —— one of* Alexander's *Captains.*] This is not granted, in the Supplement to *d'Herbelot*'s *Bibliotheque Orientale*; for it is affirmed there, that, according to the Traditions of the Eaſtern Nations, Khedher *was the Companion or Counſellor, and General of the Army, of* Dhoulcarnein, *who is not* Alexander *the* Macedonian, *but a more ancient Monarch than he, who firſt bore the Name of* Iſkender Dhoulcarnein, Alexander the Great *having had that Name only in Imitation of him, and by reaſon*

Christians, so great is their Ignorance of Chronology. They have a Marble Fountain in their Mosque, the Water whereof is very clear; and they say it owes it's beginning to the Urine of *Chederles*'s Horse. The *Hippocrene*, mentioned by the Poets, was not so foolish an Imagination. Very near that place, they shew the Tombs of his Groom, and of his Nephew (*a*), where, they say, Miracles are continually wrought in favour of those, who invoke them (*b*). They say also, that, if any one swallows an Infusion of the Scrapings of the Stones of the Earth, where *Chederles* stopt, when he staid for the Dragon, it cures the Fever, Head-ach, and sore Eyes. The *Turks* cannot forbear laughing, when they see the Image of St *George*, their pretended *Chederles*, in the Christian Churches; for the *Greeks* paint him with a little Child riding behind him, who fills him Wine (*c*). This is a piece of Parallel for any one, who has a mind to enlarge the Books, which have already been published, about the Conformities of Religions.

(*a*) His Sister's Son.

(*b*) Ubi multa quotidie opem illorum invocantibus divinitus beneficia conferri persuadere nobis conabantur. *Busbeq. Ep.* 1. *pag.* m. 93, &c.

(*c*) Ex Busbequii Epist. 1. pag. m. 93. & seq.

The Passage which I shall set down, of *Postel Cosmopolite, twice returned from thence, and truly informed* (*d*), will serve as a Supplement to what I have just now said [*B*].

(*d*) So he calls himself in the Title of his Books.

(1) Biblioth. Orientale, p. 592, 593.

reason of his great Conquests (1). Many Musulmen confound *Kheder* with the Prophet *Elias*; but *the Author of the* Tarikh Montekheb *distinguishes them very well, and adds, that* Khedher *lived in the time of* Caikobad, *an ancient King of* Persia; *and that, having found the Fountain of Life, and drank of it's Water, he is not to die till the Sound of the Trumpet*; *that is, till the Day of the last Judgment* (2).

(2) Ibid. pag. 593. col. 1.

[*B*] *A Passage —— of* Postel *will serve for a Supplement to what I have been saying.*] This Author relates, that there are numberless Saints in *Turkey*, who work Miracles, and have each of them a particular Office. 'One comforts afflicted 'Persons —— another assists the Travellers, who 'invoke him. Another, near *Suria*, not very far 'from *Adena*, whose Name is *Sedi Cadi*, Sir, or 'Lord Judge; where they say all Wishes are accomplished, and where the Soldiers recommend themselves to him, being persuaded, that whoever has 'been to see him shall not die in War. Others discover things that are lost (3): and there is a great 'one in *Natolia*, near *Cariasar*, who is called 'Guzel Mirsin, or Gotuel Mirsi, the good Bringer 'back, who finds all lost Cattel. Another, who 'calls himself *Bassa Effic*, the God of Love, or 'the Prince, to whom they apply for success 'in Marriage, for Children, and to be reconciled. There is yet another, who is the Captain-General of them all; for he discharges the 'Offices of all the others; and they say, that he 'relieves all who ask any thing of him: he has 'no dedicated Place, but walks on a Grey Mare, 'throughout the Country of *Natolia* only, and appears every where to all those, who invoke him: 'They call him *Chederelles*, and think him to be 'St *George*; for they call St *George*, *Chederelles*, 'and a great many Persons say, they belong to him, 'and know also at what time the Christians observe his Festival Day; and they come, before, 'or on that Day, to beg Alms for his Sake: for, 'when they ask any thing of these Saints, they 'promise them, according to their Ability, to eat 'a hot Loaf for their Sake, or a Capon, or a Sheep, 'or an Ox, with the Poor, and the Pilgrims; 'which they perform carefully. They eat with 'the Poor for the Love of their Saints (4).

(3) Postel. Histoires Orientales, Part 2. pag. 231.

(4) *Compare with this the* Penseés diverses sur les Comètes, n. 31.

CHELIDONIS, a Woman of an ill Life, whom I only mention, to have an opportunity of relating what I promised above (*a*), and which is to be found in *Cicero*. This Women loved *Verres*, and had a very great power over him. All those, who were at Law, had Recourse to her, when he was Prætor; and, there being no other way to succeed, some Persons of Honour, and whose Causes were good, were forced to go and sollicite him, at the House of *Chelidonis*. This Baseness is eloquently described by *Cicero* [*A*]. He observes, that a young Man of

(*a*) In Remark [*C*] of the Article CRITHEUS, at the end.

[*A*] *This Baseness is eloquently described by* Cicero.] The Father in-law, the Uncle, and one of the Tutors of a Pupil, seeing him threatened with a great Law-Suit, applied themselves to *Marcus Marcellus*, another of the Youth's Tutors. *Marcellus* went to desire *Verres* to protect the Pupil's Innocency, but did not obtain any Promise. It was then, that, all other Means failing, they had recourse to *Chelidonis*. 'Quum sibi omnes ad istum 'allegationes difficiles, omnes aditus arduos ac potius intercluses viderent, apud quem non jus, non 'æquitas, non misericordia, non propinqui oratio, 'non amici voluntas, non cujusquam autoritas pro 'precio, non gratia valeret, statuunt, id sibi optimum esse factu, quod cuivis venisset in mentem, 'petere auxilium a Chelidone: quæ isto prætore, 'non modo in jure civili, privatorumque omnium 'controversiis populo Romano præfuit, verum etiam 'in his sartis tectis dominata est. Venit ad Chelidonem C. Mustius eques Romanus publicanus, 'homo cum primis honestus: venit M. Junius patruus pueri, frugalissimus homo, & castissimus: 'venit homo summo honore, pudore, & summo 'officio spectatissimus ordinis sui P. Potitius tutor. 'O multis acerbam, ô miseram, atque indignam 'præturam tuam, ut mittam cætera, quo tandem 'pudore tales viros, quo dolore, meretricis domum 'venisse arbitramini? qui nulla conditione istam 'turpitudinem subissent, nisi officii necessitudinisque 'ratio coëgisset (1). —— *Finding it difficult to lay 'before him any Proofs, and that all Access to him 'was denied them, since neither Right, nor Equity, 'nor Pity, nor the Request of a Neighbour, or Desire 'of a Friend, could prevail on him, they determined 'to apply to* Chelidonis, *as the properest means they 'could think of; who, during his Prætorship, decided all the Law Suits of the People of* Rome. 'Caius Mustius, *a* Roman *Knight, and Farmer of 'the Revenues, a Man of distinguished Honour, comes 'to* Chelidonis, *together with* M. Junius, *the young 'Man's Uncle, a most frugal and chaste Man, and* P. Potitius *his Tutor, a Man of the greatest Honour, 'and Modesty, and the most distinguished of his Rank. 'How ungrateful to many, how wretched, how unworthy a Prætorship was your's, I'll say no more; 'with what Confusion, think you, must such Men 'apply to an Harlot; Men, who would, upon no 'terms, have complied with such Meanness, had 'not Duty and Necessity obliged them to it?* They found her surrounded with Persons, who were at Law, and, before they could be heard, they were obliged to wait till she had dispatched them. At last it came to their Turn; the Business was proposed to her; her good Offices were desired, and Money was offered her. She answered them, like a Courtesan, I will serve you with all my Heart, and will speak earnestly to him about it; but, the next Day, she declared, that she could not prevail with him, and that he expected a good Sum of Money. 'Veniunt, ut dico, ad Chelidonem. Domus erat 'plena, nova jura, nova decreta, nova judicia petebantur. Mihi det possessionem, mihi ne adimat,

(1) Cicero Orat. in Verrem. lib. 2. cap. 51. &c.

of Quality could not name this Creature without great Reluctancy [*B*]. She made her laſt Will in favour of *Verres* (*b*).

(*b*) Cicero, in Verrem II. cap. 47.

' in me judicium ne det, mihi bona addicat. Alii ' nummos numerabant, alii tabulas obſignabant. ' Domus erat non meretricio conventu, ſed præ- ' toria turba referta. Simul ac poteſtas primum da- ' ta eſt, adeunt hi quos dixi, loquitur Muſtius, ' rem demonſtrat, petit auxilium, pecuniam polli- ' cetur. Reſpondit illa, ut meretrix, non inhumane, ' libenter ait ſe eſſe facturam, & ſe cum iſto diligen- ' ter ſermocinaturam, reverti jubet, tum diſcedunt: ' poſtridie revertuntur. Negat illa poſſe hominem ' exorari, permagnam eum dicere ex illa re pecu- ' niam confici poſſe (*a*).' The Chamber Counſellors had nothing to do; no one went any more to them; but all applied to *Chelidonis*: ſhe regulated the Judgments; the Pretor revoked his Sentences, and gave quite contrary ones, according as ſhe ſuggeſted to him. *Cicero* deſcribes this excellently well. ' Quæſo redite in memoriam, judices, ' quæ libido iſtius in jure dicendo fuerit: quæ va- ' rietas decretorum, quæ nundinatio, quàm ioanes ' domus eorum omnium, qui de jure civili con- ' ſuli ſolent, quàm plena atque referta Chelidonis: ' à qua muliere quum erat ad eum ventum, & in ' aurem ejus inſuſurratum, aliàs revocabat eos inter ' quos jam decreverat, decretumque mutabat; alias ' inter alios contrarium ſine ulla religione decerne- ' bat, ac proximis paulò ante decreverat (*g*).

(*a*) Id. ibid.

(*g*) Id. ibid. cap. 46. *See alſo* Ornat v. in Verrem, cap. 33.

[*B*] *A young Man of Quality could not name this Creature without great Reluctancy.*] *Cicero* did not fail to cry out, What a Shame is it, that a Pretor ſhould perform the Functions of his Office, as it pleaſed a Woman, whom *Domitius* thought he could not name without offending Modeſty? ' L. ' Domitius — de Chelidone reticuit, quoad potuit, ' aliò reſponſionem ſuam derivavit. Tantus in ' adoleſcente clariſſimo ac principe juventutis pudor ' fuit, ut aliquandiu, quum à me premeretur, om- ' nia potius reſponderet, quàm Chelidonem nomi- ' naret. Primo neceſſarios iſtius ad eum allegatos ' eſſe dicebat, deinde aliquando coactus Chelido- ' nem nominavit. Non te pudet, Verres, ejus mu- ' lieris arbitratu geſſiſſe præturam, quam L. Domi- ' tius ab ſe nominari vix ſibi honeſtum eſſe arbitra- ' batur (4)?'

(4) Id. ibid. cap. 53.

CHELONIS, Daughter of *Leonidas* King of *Lacedemon*, and Wife of *Cleombrotus*, alſo King of *Lacedemon*, found her ſelf in a nice and difficult Juncture, from which ſhe freed herſelf, not like an able Woman, but like the Heroine of a Romance. So formidable a Faction aroſe in *Lacedemon* againſt *Leonidas*, in favour of *Cleombrotus*, that the former was obliged to retire to a place of Refuge, and the latter was placed on the Throne. *Chelonis* was ſo far from ſharing in her Huſband's Fortune, that ſhe retired into the ſame Temple, where her Father was, and where ſhe appeared, like him, under the ſad and melancholy Figure of thoſe, who fled to thoſe places of Refuge. They cannot be better compared, than to Penitents, cloathed with Sackcloth, and covered with Aſhes. Some time after, *Leonidas* was permitted to retire to *Tegea*. *Chelonis* went with him, as the inſeparable Companion of his Misfortunes: *Cleombrotus* ſtood in need of a privileged place, in his turn; for *Leonidas* was recalled, and ſet on his Throne again. Then *Chelonis* left her Father, and went to her Huſband. It was a Spectacle, very worthy of Admiration, to ſee her intercede with her Father for her Huſband, being fully reſolved to ſhare in his Diſgrace, though ſhe had not been Partaker of his good Fortune, and not to partake of her Father's Proſperity, though ſhe had ſhared in his Misfortunes. *Leonidas* came with armed Men to the place of Refuge, where his Son in-law was, and very ſeverely upbraided him with the Injuries he had received from him, with the Loſs of the Throne, with his Exile, and the Conſequences of it. *Cleombrotus* had nothing to anſwer. His Wife ſpoke for him, and did it with ſo much force, and ſo pathetically, even proteſting that ſhe would die before her Huſband, if her Tears and Prayers could not prevail, that ſhe ſaved his Life, and obtained for him the Liberty to retire where he pleaſed. Among other things, ſhe repreſented to her Father, that he made his Son-in-law's Apology, and that by her Conduct ſhe had made a Manifeſto againſt her Huſband [*A*]. After *Leonidas* had granted her *Cleombrotus*'s Life and Liberty, he earneſtly deſired her to live with him, *Leonidas*; but ſhe excuſed her ſelf from it; and, giving her Huſband one of her Children to hold, whilſt ſhe held the other, ſhe went to ſay her Prayers near the Altar: after which, ſhe ſet out with her Huſband for the place of their Exile (*a*). The Paſſage, in which *Montagne* praiſes her, deſerves to be conſulted (*b*).

(*a*) Taken from *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Agis* and *Cleomnes*.

(*b*) Montagne's *Eſſays*, Book iii. chap. 13. pag. mihi 578.

[*A*] *She repreſented to her Father, that he made his Son-in-law's Apology, and that ſhe had made a Manifeſto againſt her Husband.*] If my Husband, ſaid ſhe (1), had any ſpecious Reaſons to take your Crown from you, I refuted them, I was a Witneſs againſt him, by leaving him, to follow you; but, if you put him to death, will you not ſhew, that he was excuſable, and make the World believe, that a Kingdom is a Thing ſo great, and ſo worthy of our Deſires, that one ought to ſpill the Blood of a Son-in-law, and not value the Life of one's own Children, in order to ſecure it to one's ſelf?

(1) Plut. in vita Agid. & Cleomen. pag. 802.

CHESNE (Joseph *du*) in *Latin Quercetanus*, *Sieur de la Violette*, Counſellor and Phyſician of the King, was of *Armagnac* in *Gaſcogne*, and died at *Paris* in the Year 1609. Some give him the Title of *Baron* (*a*). He became famous for his Skill in Chemiſtry [*A*], and he publiſhed Books, which were well received, and often

(*a*) See Remark [*B*].

[*A*] *He became famous for his Skill in Chemiſtry.*] The Paſſage of *Gaffarel*, which may ſerve me as a Proof, contains a remarkable Particular, which hinders me from reducing it to the bare words, which relate to the Capacity of our *du Cheſne*: The whole will be read with Pleaſure. ' Mr *du Cheſne*, Sieur ' *de la Violette*, one of the beſt Chemiſts our Age ' has produced, relates, that he had ſeen a very ' skillful *Poliſh* Phyſician of *Cracow*, who kept in ' Phials the Aſhes of almoſt all the Plants we ' have

often reprinted [*B*]. I believe he was a Proteſtant, as is affirmed in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (*b*). He married *Margaret de Irie* (*c*), whoſe Mother was Daughter of the learned *William Budeus*. He had by her one Daughter, of whom I ſhall ſpeak in another place (*d*). *Patin* has greatly abuſed him [*C*], and no wonder, if we conſider the Hatred he bore to Chemiſts, and Antimony. The *Sieur de la Violette* did not preſcribe Antimony; but he became in ſome manner it's Patron (*e*). This, and ſome other branches of his Practice, raiſed Enemies againſt him. He was obliged to anſwer ſome Books of *Riolan*, where he was abuſed. He might comfort himſelf under theſe light Perſecutions; for he found himſelf honoured with the Favour of the Great. Mr *de Setteri*, who had been Chancellor of *France*, was one of his Patrons. He carried him with him into *Switzerland*, when he was ſent thither as Embaſſador, to renew the Alliance of 1601; and, it being much talked of at that time, that there was a young Woman, who had lived a long time without eating, he ſent him to *Berne* to examine into the Matter. He reported, that the Story was true (*f*). I ſhall obſerve a ſmall miſtake, which has crept into the Catalogue of the *Bodleian Library* [*D*].

(*b*) At pag. 680, of the Edition of *Geneva*, 1667.

(*c*) See Remark [*C*], of the Article *SPANHEIM*.

(*d*) In the ſame Remark.

(*e*) *See his* Diætetican, fol. m. 458, *& ſeq.*

(*f*) Taken from the *Diætetican*, of *Du Cheſne*, *fol.* 31.

' have any Knowledge of; ſo that, when any one ' out of Curioſity would ſee, for example, a Roſe ' in theſe Phials, he took that, in which the Aſhes ' of a Roſe-Buſh were kept, and putting it over a ' lighted Chandle, after it had a little felt the Heat, ' you might ſee the Aſhes begin to move; afterwards, mounting up, and being diſperſed about ' the Phial, you might obſerve a ſmall dark Cloud, ' which, dividing itſelf into ſeveral Parts, came at ' laſt to repreſent a Roſe, ſo beautiful, ſo freſh, ' and ſo perfect, that you would have thought it ' palpable, and odoriferous, as That which comes ' from a Roſe-Buſh. This learned Man ſays, that ' he had often endeavoured to do the ſame, and ' not effecting it by Induſtry, Chance at length ' preſented him with this Prodigy; for, as he was ' amuſing himſelf with Mr *de Luynes de Formentiers*, Counſellor of Parliament, with the Sight of ' ſome curious Experiments, having extracted the ' Salt from ſome burnt Nettles, and ſet out the Lie ' after Sun ſet, in Winter, in the Morning he ' found it frozen, but with this ſurprizing Circumſtance, that the ſeveral kinds of Nettles, their ' Shape and Figure, were ſo perfectly repreſented ' on the Ice, that the live ones were not more ſo. ' Being thereupon in a ſort of Rapture, he called ' the Counſellor, to be witneſs of this Secret, the ' Excellence of which made him conclude in theſe ' Terms:

This Secret ſhews us, tho' the Body dies,
The Form entire within it's Aſhes lies.

' At preſent this Secret is not ſo uncommon; for ' Mr *de Cleves*, an excellent Chemiſt of our Time, ' ſhews the Experiment every Day (1).

(1) Gaffarel, Curioſit. Inouyes, chap. 5. n. 9. pag. m. 100.

[*B*] *He publiſhed ſome Books, which were well received, and often re-printed.*] We need only ſee the Number of Editions, mentioned in *Lindenius renovatus* (2). I refer my Readers thither, both for this, and for the Titles of his Books. I will only ſay, I. That, as far as I can diſcover, The firſt Book he publiſhed is *Apologia pro Chimicis*. Thus *du Verdier* entitles it (3): he mentions particularly the Edition of 1575, at *Lyons*, in 8vo. It is doubtleſs the ſame Book with the *ad Jacobi Auberti, Vindonis, de ortu & cauſis Metallorum contra Gebmicos Explicationem, brevis Reſponſio. Et de Exquiſita Mineralium, Animalium, & Vegetabilium Medicamentorum ſpagyrica præparatione & uſu perſpicua Tractatio*: at *Lyons*, 1575, in 8vo. *Du Verdier* aſcribes to him *A Treatiſe of St* Auguſtin *of the Chriſtian Life, with the Treatiſes of Charity, and of the Vanity of this Age, and inferior World of Obedience and Humility. And the Ladder of Paradiſe, at* Paris 1542. But I cannot conceive this Work to be his, if the Year 1542 be rightly marked. I am of Opinion, that his Cut, prefixed to his *Diætetican*, printed in 1606, was made this Year. Now it informs us, that he was ſixty Years of Age. In this caſe, he would be born after the Impreſſion of This Treatiſe of St *Auguſtin*. II. I will ſay, in the ſecond Place, that, in the *Bibliotheque* of *du Verdier*, it is only Sieur *de la Violette, Counſellor and Phyſician in Ordinary to Monſieur the King's only Brother*; but that, in That of *la Croix du Maine*, he is ſimply *Baron and Lord of* Morencé *and* Lyſerable. It is certain, that theſe two Writers ſpeak of the ſame Perſon: for they aſcribe to their *Joſeph du Cheſne, A Treatiſe of the general and particular Cure of Gun ſhot Wounds*, printed at *Lyons* in 1576. It was printed there in *Latin* and *French* the ſame Year. Mr *Baillet* mentions *a Baron* de Morencé, *called* Joſeph du Cheſne (4). He ſpeaks of him only as a Poet, and he is certain, that this Phyſician wrote Verſes. *Du Verdier* aſcribes to him *The Microcoſm, or of the Folly, Vanity, and Inconſtancy, of the World, in a hundred Octonaries, with two* Doric *Odes on Cœleſtial Love, and the Sovereign Good*, at Lyons, in 4to. I believe this Edition is not the firſt; for the Author, citing this Work in his *Diætetican* (5), printed in 1606, obſerves, that it was Twenty ſix Years ſince he publiſhed it.

(2) At Pages 710, 711.

(3) Du Verdier, Bibl. Franc pag. 773.

(4) Baillet, Jugem. ſur les Poetes, Tom. III. n. 1332. p. 363.

(5) Fol. 17.

[*C*] *Patin has greatly abuſed him.*] ' This ſame ' Year, 1609, died here a raſcally Quack, who killed ' many People, during his Life, and after his Death ' by the wretched Writings he has left us under his ' Name, which he got compoſed here and there ' by chymical Phyſicians; I mean *Joſephus Quercetanus*, known at *Paris* by the Name of the ' Sieur *de la Violette*. He was a great Drunkard, ' and a meer Ignoramus, who knew nothing of ' *Latin*, and who, having been originally but a ' Chirurgeon's Man of the Country of *Armagnac*, a ' mean and wretched Country, paſſed at *Paris*, and ' particularly at Court, for a great Phyſician, be' cauſe he had learnt ſomething of Chemiſtry in *Ger*' *many*. The beſt Chemiſt, that is to ſay the leaſt ' bad, never did any good in the World; and ' This Man has done a great deal of Harm (6).' There is much ſpleen in theſe Words of *Patin*.

(6) Patin. Lett. 31, pag. 142, of Tom. I. Edit. Genev. 1691.

[*D*] *I ſhall obſerve a ſmall Miſtake — in the Catalogue of the* Bodleian *Library*.] Mention is made in it (7) of *John du Cheſne*, to whom it aſcribes the *Treatiſe of the Cure of Gun-ſhot Wounds*, printed at *Lyons*, 1576, in 8vo, and the *Great Mirrour of the World*, printed in the ſame Town, in 1587, in 4to. Theſe two Works certainly belong to our *Joſeph du Cheſne*. Mr *Mercklinus* ſays nothing of the latter (8); but the Author himſelf cites it, at Fol. 398. of his *Diætetican Polyhiſtoricon*.

(7) At pag. 158. Part I.

(8) In Lindenio renovato.

I obſerve farther, that the *Bodleian* Catalogue, in giving a long Liſt of the *Latin* Works of *Joſephus Quercetanus* (9), takes no notice, that he had already been mentioned under the Word CHESNE.

(9) At Pag. 88, Part II.

CHEVREAU (URBAN) Native of *Loudon*, and Author of ſeveral Books, and among others of an Univerſal Hiſtory (*a*), of which there have been many Editions, died in the place of his Birth, the fifteenth of *February* 1701, at the age of Eighty ſeven Years, and ſome Months. See his Elogy in the Journal *de Trevoux* (*b*): the Author has not mentioned all his Works; for he has ſaid nothing of his Romance of *Hermiogenes* printed at *Paris*, in 1648, in 8vo; nor of a Volume of Letters, which he publiſhed in the ſame Town, in 1642, in 8vo.

(*a*) See the Article *BAHYLAS*, Remark [*F*].

(*b*) Months of *March* and *April* 1701, pag. 241. Edit. *Amſt.*

CHIGI,

CHIGI (*a*), a noble Family of *Siena*, which had made a Figure a long time in that Country, when it began to raiſe itſelf at the Court of *Rome* in the Pontificate of *Julius* II (*b*). Indeed, it was not promoted to the Prelacy, but had conſiderable Employments in the Apoſtolic Chamber. *Julius* II. gave the Intendance of the Finances to AUGUSTIN CHIGI, and was very well pleaſed with his choice. No one is ignorant of that Pope's martial and reſtleſs Temper, nor of the Expences, which ſuch a Humour neceſſarily occaſions. *Auguſtin Chigi* was forced to diſplay his utmoſt ſkill, to find out ſufficient Funds for ſo many Expences, and ſhewed as much Activity, Contrivance, and Fidelity, as were neceſſary for ſuch a Deſign [*A*]: ſo that *Julius* II, being very well pleaſed with his Financier, honoured

(*a*) *Chigi* is the true Name.

(*b*) See, below, Remark [*F*].

[*A*] *AUGUSTIN CHIGI, Intendant of the Finances of* Julius II —— *had* —— *the requiſite Fidelity.*] I have exactly followed my Original, which ſays, That there was never any Occaſion to ſuſpect the Integrity of This *Financier*. *Non bebbe mai Giulio che ombrarſi dell' integrita di che l'eſſercitava* (1). I am not ignorant, that very ſtrange Things have been publiſhed concerning *Auguſtin Chigi*'s Luxury. One Day, he treated the Pope, and all the Sacred College, with ſo much Magnificence, that one would have thought he had a Deſign to exceed the extravagance of *Vitellius*. The Plenty, Exquiſiteneſs, and choice of the Diſhes, would have been ſufficient to cauſe That Feaſt to be admired; but That was not the Thing by which he deſired to diſtinguiſh himſelf: All that was taken from the Table, at every Courſe, was thrown into the *Tiber*. though every thing was ſerved in Silver Plate; and, in the laſt Place, a great number of Parrot's Tongues were ſerved up, dreſſed ſeveral ways. A *Financier*, who acts thus, may well be ſuſpected of having enriched himſelf unlawfully. I wiſh that the Author, who informs me of this, had had the goodneſs and equity to have told us in what Author he had read it. It is not my Fault, if he ſhall be believed on his Word. However, here is what he ſays; 'Privatum hominem ad prodigioſi luxus enormem licitationem non macelli unius, ſed peregrini quoque orbis conturbatricem aſpiraſſe quis non merito maximo demiretur? Is fuit Auguſtinus quidam Chieſius, Romanus Trapezites, qui Leoni X. Pontifici Maximo totique purpurei Senatus cœtui, exterorumque Regum Legatis, ob filium ab illo baptiſmi lavacro tinctum, ſplendiſſima, ut ita dicam, repotia conſtituit, in quibus non ſatis fuit eduliorum omnis generis miſſuumque exquiſitiſſimorum apparatui modum omnem ademiſſe, niſi etiam lances, pinaces, cæteraque cùm eſcaria vaſa, tùm potus inſtrumenta ex argento affabrè facta omnia, in Tiberis præterlabentis alveum inani luxus oſtento præcipitarentur, idque non una modò, ſed pluribus quoque vicibus, quotieſcunque ſcenicum illud ferculorum & menſarum choragium mutandum foret. Atque iſta parvo conſtitiſſe æſtimandum erat, niſi & alieno ex orbe petitarum immani pretio avium (quas Pſittacos nominamus) ſolæ linguæ variis in patinis conditæ, ultimo ſerculo omnem luxus oſtentationem longè ſuperaſſent (2). —— *Who does not, with the greateſt reaſon, wonder, that a private Man ſhould aſpire to ſuch a prodigious Luxury, as ranſacked, not a ſingle Market, but the foreign World? Such was one* Auguſtin Chigi, Financier *of* Rome, *who entertained, in the moſt ſplendid manner, Pope* Leo X, *the whole College of Cardinals, and the Embaſſadors of foreign Kings, at the Chriſtening of a Son; in which, not ſatisfied with exceeding all bounds in preparing the moſt exquiſite Delicacies, he even ordered all the Diſhes, and Plates, which were curiouſly wrought of Silver, to be thrown into the* Tiber, *through an empty oſtentation of Luxury; and That not once, but many times, as often as the Courſes were changed. And, as if the Expence would have been otherwiſe too ſmall, Parrots Tongues, fetched from abroad, at an immenſe Price, were ſerved up, as the laſt Courſe.*' This Author makes uſe of the Word *Trapezites*, a Banker, in deſcribing the Qualities of our *Chigi*. It is as good as *Mezerai*'s Expreſſion (3).

(1) Relazione della Corte Romana, fatta dal Signor Angelo Corraro, pag. 9. *The Journal de Trevoux informs us, (Month of* July, 1702, *pag.* 45, French *Edition*) *that Mr* du Tot, *Counſellor of the Parliament of* Rouen, *is Author of this Relation of the Court of* Rome. *See alſo* Il Sindicato di Aleſſandro VII. pag. 29. Edit. 1668.

A PRODIGIOUS Sumptuoſity in a Feaſt.

(2) Hadrianus Junius Animadverſ. lib. 4. c. 8.

(3) Auguſtin Chiſi, *Former of the Pope's* (ultus II.) *Soft-pits, having complained of it to his Holineſs.* Mezerai, Abregé Chronol. Tom. IV, p. m. 45, ad Ann. 1510.

They, who underſtand *Latin*, may read here a Story, which I met with in *Paul Jovius*, and which confirms what we have juſt now ſeen concerning the Luxury of our *Chigi*. They will ſee likewiſe, that he had a Miſtreſs, to whom he made a Preſent of the Head of a Fiſh, which Cardinal *San Severino*, his Debtor, had ſent him. A famous Paraſite of thoſe Times followed This Head to That Whore's Houſe, and ſatisfied his Gluttony, after having tired himſelf by running after That good Bit. This narrative is very graceful in the Original. I ſhall ſet it down at length (4). 'Eam (*Umbram*) hodie Romani Umbrinam vocant. Capita Umbrarum, ſicuti & Siluorum, Triumviris rei Romanæ conſervatoribus dono dantur, qui piſcatores inveterata quadam conſuetudine eorum capitum tributi nomine vectigales fecerunt. —— Extat adhuc in ore quorundam facetorum ridenda fabula de T. Tamiſio, qui Romanis auliciſque ſalibus erat inſignis, ſed gulæ adeò profitutæ, ut infamis haberetur. Is quum per ſervum, qui in foro piſcario in eam curam intentus eſſe ſolebat, ingentis Umbræ caput Triumviris delatum eſſe cognoviſſet, in Capitolium protinus aſcendit, ut ſimulato apud magiſtratum negotio, ſermoneque de induſtria protracto, prandium caperet. Verum illud Triumviri jam Riario Cardinali donandum decreverant: ita Tamiſius, quum limine curiæ efferri ingenti coronataque patina caput illud nobile conſpexiſſet, primo deceptus conſilio, illud ſubſecutus eſt præmiſſo ſervo, qui veſtigiis deferentium miniſtrorum inſiſteret. Nec multò poſt quum Riarianis ædibus inferretur, bene habet, ſalva res eſt, inquit Tamiſius, opiparè excipiemur: erat enim in primis menſæ Riarianæ, quæ longè omnium ſemper lautiſſima fuit, familiaris. At Riarius, ut erat natura munificus, maximum, inquit, hoc Triumvirale caput maximo debetur Cardinali, flatimque Federico Sanſeverino proceritatis admirandæ Cardinali tranſmittitur. Colligit extemplo togam Tamiſius, Riarium intempeſtivæ munificentiæ incuſans, in mulamque reſilit, & munus ad Sanſeverinam domum conſequitur. Idem pari liberalitate facit Federicus, caputque ipſum ſplendidis exornatum verbis (5), auratâque illatum patina Ghiſio publicano ditiſſimo deferri jubet, quòd ei multo ære alieno, gravibuſque uſuris obſtrictus erat. Vocat tertia jam ſpe avidam fruſtratus gulam æſtuans Tamiſius, feſtinabunduſque incalefcente jam die in Tranſtyberinos hortos, quos ipſe Ghiſius magnificentiſſimos exſtrubat, contendit: ibique ſeſſus admodum & multo ſudore madidus, quòd gravis ſit abdominis, quarto à Fortuna decipitur: quippe qui Ghiſium caput illud recentibus floribus redimitum adamato ſcorto, cui ab forma eruditiſque illecebris Imperiæ cognomen fuit, ut extemplo deferretur, curantem reperit. Flectit itaque indignabundus habenas retro, nec tamen ſubiratus gulæ, quæ Herculeos labores attulerat, & ad Imperiam jam multo ſole Sixtini pontis ſemitam exurente adequitat. Ad extremum anhelantis gulæ ea vis atque libido fuit, ut qui per totam urbem fuerat raptatus, idem & togatus & ſenex, cum ſcorto admirante novi hominis adventum, nullo pudore diſcubuerit. —— *The* Romans *call That* (Umbra) *at preſent* Umbrina. *The Heads of the* Umbræ, *as alſo of the* Siluri, *are given, by way of Preſent, to the Triumviri, Conſervators of* Rome, *who, thro' cuſtom immemorial, have obliged the Fiſhermen to pay theſe Heads by way of Tribute.* —— *The Jeſters ſtill relate a diverting Story of one* T. Tamiſius, *a Man famous for Wit, but gluttonous even to infamy. This Man, being informed by his Servant, who uſed to wait in the Fiſh Market for that purpoſe, that the Head of a large* Umbra *was carried to the Triumvirs, poſts away to the Capitol, that, by pretending buſineſs with the Magiſtrate, and induſtriouſly protracting his Diſcourſe, he might get a Dinner. But the Triumvirs had deſigned the Head as a Preſent to Cardinal* Riarius: *Thus Tamiſius*

(4) Paulus Jovius, de Piſcibus Romanis, cap. 5, pag. 40, & ſeq. Edit. Frobenianæ 1531.

(5) It is ſo in the Edition of *Baſil*, which I cite; and in that of *Baſil*, 1561, in 8vo, *apud Henricum Petri*; and in that of *Baſil*, 1577, in Folio, *apud Petrum Perenam*, but it is doubtleſs an Error of the Preſs for *terbit*.

[* The Original Edition, printed at *Rome*, in 1524, in Folio, has alſo *verbis*; and without having recourſe to Mr *Bayle*'s Criticiſm, we may, I think, underſtand by *Splendidis exornatum verbis*, attended with a handſome Compliment. REM. CRIT.]

honoured him with a kind of Adoption: he would have *Auguſtin Chigi*, and his Poſterity, reputed to belong to the Family of *Roveri*. Under the Pontificate of *Paul* III, the Family of the *Chigi* declined, and was forced to leave *Rome*, and return to *Siena*. They had a very fine Garden on the *Tiber*, near the Palace *Farneze*: That Neighbourhood proved fatal to them: the Imbelliſhments of That Palace required, that This fine part of the Inheritance of the *Chigi* ſhould be added to it. From That Reign, till That of *Urban* VIII, their Family kept retired at *Siena*; but, at that time, *Fabio Chigi* went to ſeek his Fortune at *Rome*, and ſucceeded ſo well, that, in 1655, he was raiſed to the Papacy, under the Name of *Alexander* VII. I ſpeak of him in the following Article. That Pope took great care to enrich and aggrandize his Family. *Mario Chigi*, his eldeſt Brother, Governour of *Rome*, concerned himſelf but little with Politics or Matters of State; but, on the other ſide, he was extraordinarily addicted to heap up Money (*c*), and found effectual Contrivances for it, which made the People complain much. *Donna Berenice*, his Wife (*d*), who was come to *Rome* very ignorant of the ways of the Court, ſoon became ſuch a Proficient, that ſhe was able to inſtruct others. She went very rarely to the Pope's Audience: They took care at firſt, that ſhe ſhould concern her ſelf with no other Buſineſs than her own: They made a good uſe of the Complaints, which ſtill continued againſt *Donna Olympia*, Siſter-in law to *Innocent* X. *Flavio Chigi*, the Son of *Don Mario*, was made Cardinal Patron. He loved his Pleaſures too well [*B*], and was as yet too young to gain eſteem by State Intrigues [*C*]. He did not trouble himſelf about heaping up Money, either becauſe

(*c*) Ne di altro ſi compiace che di trovar modi di accumular denari. *Angelo Corraro. Relazione di Roma, pag.* 15.

(*d*) She was a *Sienoſe*, of the Family *della Ciata*.

miſius, *being diſappointed in his firſt Deſign, and ſeeing the noble Head carried out in a large garniſhed Diſh, followed it, ordering his Servant to follow thoſe who bore it. When it entered the Cardinal's Houſe, All's well, we are ſafe, cries* Tamiſius; *I ſhall be ſplendidly entertained: for he was a very frequent Gueſt at* Riarius's *Table, which was always the beſt. But* Riarius, *who was naturally generous, ſaid, This greateſt Triumviral Head deſerves to be ſent to the greateſt Cardinal: immediately it is diſpatched away to* Federic Sanſeverin, *a Cardinal of ſurprizing Talineſs.* Tamiſius *immediately tucks up his Gown, and, accuſing* Riarius *of an unſeaſonable munificence, mounts his Mule, and follows it to the Houſe of* Sanſeverin. Federic, *by a like liberality, does the ſame thing, and orders the Head, attended with an handſome Compliment, and laid in a Golden Diſh, to be carried to the rich Banker* Chigi, *to whom he was greatly in Debt. Away flies* Tamiſius, *his greedy Appetite a third time diſappointed, all in a ſweat, and haſtens in the Heat of the Day to* Chigi's *magnificent Gardens, croſs the* Tyber; *where tired, and in a great ſweat (for he had a great Paunch), he is a fourth time deceived by Fortune; for he finds* Chigi *giving orders to carry the Head, adorned with freſh Flowers, to his Miſtreſs, whom, for her Beauty and attractive Charms, he ſirnamed* Imperia. *With indignation, therefore, he turns the Reins, not yet angry at his gluttonous Appetite, which had occaſioned him* Herculean *Labour, and rides to* Imperia, *the Noon-day Sun now ſcorching the Path of* Sixtus's *Bridge. At laſt, ſuch was the force and eagerneſs of his inſatiable Appetite, that, after hurrying all over the Town, he was not aſhamed to ſit down, notwithſtanding his Age and Character, with an Harlot, who wondered at the arrival of a Stranger.'*

[*B*] Flavio Chigi - - *loved his Pleaſures too well.*] One may eaſily underſtand what *Angelo Corraro* meant, when he ſaid, that That Cardinal kept his Bed more than his Youth ſeemed to require; and that he deſired his Phyſicians not to tell the Pope the Reaſon of it, for fear his Holineſs ſhould imagine, that he loved good Chear, and the Fair Sex, too well. 'Goderebbe aſſai migliore ſanita ſe foſſe più temperato nel mangiare, nel che eccede ogni precetto di viver ſano, con largo e ſuccoſo paſto. Vogliono anco che non ſia ſobrio quanto doverebbe ne' piaceri del ſenſo, onde e che più ſpeſſo di quello che doverebbe aſpettarſi dalla ſua gioventù, viene obligato al letto. I medici però non riportano al Papa le vere ragioni della ſua decumbenza, coſi avertiti dal Cardinale, accio ſua Santita non concepiſca ſiniſtra opinione di lui, como di crapulone e incontinente (6). —— *He might have enjoyed better health, had he been more temperate in eating, in which he exceeded every Precept for the preſervation of health by extreme Gluttony: ſome ſay likewiſe, that he was not ſo moderate, as he ought to have been, in ſenſual Pleaſures; whence it happened, that he was often confined to his Bed, than one would have expected from a Perſon of his Age. The Phyſicians however did not acquaint the Pope with the true Reaſons of his Confinement, being ſo inſtructed by the Cardinal, that his Holineſs might not conceive an ill Opinion of him, as of one given to Drinking and Incontinence.'* It has been ſaid, That the Inſult offered (7) to the Duke of *Crequi*, Embaſſador at *Rome*, proceeded originally from a Paſſion of Gallantry, that the Cardinal Patron had in his Head. The Count *de Buſſi-Rabutin* built on that Foundation (8), as appears by his Satires. However it be, Cardinal *Chigi* was much cried down for his Venereal Pleaſures, when he was in *France* in the Year 1664 (9); and a great many Ballads were ſung about him, all over the Kingdom. The long Diſeaſes he had in the laſt Years of his Life, and which have been ſo much ſpoken of in the Gazettes, are but ambiguous Proofs of a debauched Youth. See the Remark [*C*] of the following Article.

(6) Ang Corraro, Relat. della Corte Romana, p. 16.

(7) In 1662.

(8) Suppoſing he is the Author of the *Amours du Palais Royal*, which he did not own. See, at the end of this Dictionary, the *Diſſertation on defamatory Libels*, Remark [*D*].

(9) He went thither with the Character of Legate *à Latere*, to make Satisfaction for the Inſults which the Duke of *Crequi* had received.

(10) Pag. 27.

[*C*] *He was yet too young, to gain eſteem by State Intrigues.*] *Angelo Corraro* ſpeaks contemptibly of him on that Account. Nothing but Compliments and empty Promiſes could be had from him; which was the reaſon why *Corraro* applied himſelf no more to him, but directly to the Pope. 'Di quel che vaglia, *ſays he* (10), nel negotio non mi dà l'animo d'affermare coſa certa, perche s'egli non ſa fare più di quello che ſà, biſogna dire che vaglia poco, gia che da eſſo non riportano ſe non complimenti, gentilezze di concetti, e ſperanze di voler far aſſai, che in fine ſi reſolvono in nulla: terminando le riſpoſte in repugnanze trovate in S. S. e in qualche motivo delle cauſe, ò della negativa, ò della proſatione. Onde iò hò ritrovato meglio he' negozi importanti, andarmene di primo tratto al Papa medeſimo, che valermi dell' interpoſitione del Cardinale.' He takes notice of two or three Faults, that hindered him from being a Man of Buſineſs. I. His too great Attachment to Pleaſures. II. His Forgetfulneſs of the fitteſt Circumſtances to procure what is deſired. III. His readineſs to ſlacken, as ſoon as he perceived that a Thing troubled the Pope's Mind (11). It is certain, that theſe are three capital Obſtacles to the Succeſs of a Negotiation, which one is intruſted with. This Cardinal muſt needs have mended as he grew older; for he maintained his Credit in the Concluves, a the Head of his Uncle's Creatures. Few great Affairs have been ſeen at the Court of *Rome*, in which he has not appeared with Authority. 'Tis becauſe he had well provided himſelf in his Uncle's Life-time: Now, when a Man has his Hands well filled, he may intrude any where; he may ſpeak high, and Clients are never wanting. See here what has been ſaid of this Cardinal in a Book, printed at *Amſterdam* (12):

(11) E bene ſpeſſo divertito da ſuoi paſſatempi, à ſi ſcorda delle circoſtanze eſſentiali dell' affare, che poſſ no facilitare l'intento, ò cagiia al e prime perpleſſiva che ſcuopre nel Papa. *Ibid.*

(12) Réfle du Conclave preſent (1676), pag. 74.

Many

cauſe he was an expenſive Man, or becauſe he thought it of but little importance to get an Eſtate for another Branch; for he had no Brother. We ſpeak more amply of him in the Remarks. AUGUSTUS CHIGI, the Brother of *Don Mario*, had left two Sons, of whom Pope *Alexander* VII took great care. The Eldeſt, AUGUSTIN CHIGI, deſigned to be the Head of the Family, married (*e*) one of the greateſt Fortunes of *Rome*, (*viz.*) the Niece of Prince *Marc Antony Borgheſe*. She had an Eſtate of 180 thouſand Crowns. She was handſome, and had been educated by a Lady of excellent Virtue (*f*). Perhaps this Marriage would not have been effected, if the Uncle had lived; I ſay the Uncle, who, hearkening very civilly to the firſt Propoſal, enquired nevertheleſs what Eſtate and Dignities *Don Auguſtin* might expect. This was to waver, and to think, that the Pope's Alliance was not ſingly worth the Lady: which did not pleaſe his Holineſs. On the other ſide, the Son of the Conſtable *Colonna* made his Addreſſes to the fair Lady, and pleaſed her better than *Don Auguſtin*. But Prince *Marc Antony Borgheſe* happening to die, the matter was concluded with an extraordinary haſte, by the good Offices of the Princeſs of *Roſſano* [*D*], the Lady's Mother. Such an advantageous Marriage in ſo many reſpects did not ſettle *Don Auguſtin*'s Love [*E*]. The Pope bought him the Principality of *Farneſe*, which is a Fief of the Empire in the Province of the *Patrimony*, and which coſt him 170 thouſand Crowns. SIGISMUND CHIGI, *Don Auguſtin*'s Brother, was gratified with many great Penſions by Pope *Alexander* VII (g), and promoted to the Cardinalſhip by Pope *Clement* IX, in 1667 (*b*).

(*e*) In the Year 1658.

(*f*) By her Grandmother.

(*g*) Taken from the Relation of the Court of *Rome*, of the Cavalier *Angelo Correro*, Ambaſſador of *Venice*, printed at *Leyden*, in 1663. See alſo *Il Nepotiſmo*, Part. I. lib. 3.

(*b*) L'Idée du Conclave preſent. *Amſterdam*, 1676.

The

' Many Cardinals, capable of being made Popes, ' are in *Chigi*'s Faction, of whom the Chief, *Fla-* ' *vius Chigi*, is powerful, and has known ſo well ' how to manage himſelf, ſince the Death of *Alex-* ' *ander* VII, his Uncle, that he has already had one ' Pope at his Devotion; becauſe he did not obſti- ' nately deſire to have one of his Creatures in the ' two laſt Conclaves, but thought it enough to join ' with other Factions, as much as his Intereſt ſuffe- ' red him. And, becauſe *Barberini* did not do ſo, ' he never had a Pope, who was obliged to him for ' his Exaltation.' The Conclave of *Clement* IX informs us, that, although Cardinal *Chigi* did not deſire, that Cardinal *Roſpigliosi* ſhould be created Pope, yet it was impoſſible to give the Papacy to the latter, before the other had ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to concur with it. The Conclave of *Clement* X (13) ſhews, that Cardinal *Chigi* had almoſt as much Credit under *Clement* IX, as under *Alexander* VII. That Cardinal was ſo ſtrong in the Conclave, where *Clement* X, was elected, that Cardinal *d'Eſte* ſaid one Day to him, *Well, Cardinal* Chigi, *what do we here? Why do not you give us a Pope* (14)? And, indeed, the Election of *Altieri* would never have ſucceeded without the Influence of *Chigi*. Let us ſay, by the way, that, in the Conclave of *Clement* IX, Cardinal *d'Aracb*, the Head of the *Spaniſh* Faction, told Cardinal *Chigi*, *That he was not very much experienced in the preſent Affairs; that, ſince it was the firſt Conclave he had been in, he could not have all the poſſible Experience in it, and that, before one undertakes a matter of that importance, one ought to make one's ſelf capable of it* (15).

(13) By *Amelot de la Houſſaye*, pag. 14.

(14) Memoirs des Intrigues de la Cour de Rome, *printed at* Paris, 1677, pag. 19.

(15) Conclave de Clement IX, *printed at* Paris, 1669, pag. 59.

[*D*] *The Princeſs of* Roſſano.] Her Name was *Donna Olympia Aldobrandina*. She was grand Niece of *Clement* VIII; and her firſt Husband was Prince *Borgheſe*. This Lady's Ambition had been known a long time: being a Widow in her Youth, and having Beauty, Birth, Wit, and a great Eſtate, ſhe was courted by ſeveral Princes: but ſhe preferred *Don Camillo Pamfilio*, Nephew of *Innocent* X, to all the Matches that were offered her, in order to have a ſhare in the Government. The ſame Reaſon made her prefer a Pope's Nephew to the Conſtable *Colonna*'s Son, for her Daughter (16): ſhe did it only *per guadagnar l'affetto della caſa pontificia, e per bover parte al Vaticano, che' e tutto quello che ſempre ha cercato queſta Signora.* —— *To gain the affection of the Pope's Family, and to have an Intereſt in the Vatican, which That Lady had ever deſired.* She found herſelf much deceived under *Innocent* X; for, inſtead of coming into Favour by her Marriage with *Don Camillo*, ſhe was forced to follow him in his Exile. The Inſtruction of the *French* Embaſſadors at *Rome*, attributed to the *Bailli de Valençai*, gives an ill Character of That Princeſs. ' As GOD reſiſts proud and haughty Perſons, the ' Princeſs *Roſſano* ſees herſelf abaſed, humbled, mor- ' tified, and fallen from that ſupream Grandeur, ' and high degree of Glory and Honour, of which ' ſhe had made a vain glorious Shew, and ſo great ' an Oſtentation on the Stage of this auguſt and glo- ' rious City of *Rome*; and at preſent ſhe is ſo much ' the farther diſtant and removed from the Scene, ' indulging and pleaſing herſelf only with ſome me- ' lancholy and Romantic Fancies, which are never ' ſatisfied with preſent things, but indiſcreetly ſpe- ' culate and look on things paſt and gone a long ' time ago, and on thoſe that may happen hereafter. ' As for me —— I cannot imagine that this can ' bring any trouble, of never ſo little importance ' —— although that Lady ſhould confine her Am- ' bition within the narrow Limits of Doors and ' Chambers, rather than to make it vifibly appear ' and break out by ridiculous and ſuperfluous Oſten- ' tations in the Corners of the Streets, public ' Places, Paſſages and Walks of the City (17).' The Author of the Travels of the Queen of *Poland*, (18) having ſpoken of *Aldobrandini's famous Garden*, *moſt juſtly called* Belvedere, which is at *Frescati*, goes on thus (19): ' Prince *Pamphilio*, the Pope's ' Nephew, heretofore a Cardinal, is at preſent Poſ- ' ſeſſor of That Place, as alſo of the Princeſs ' Horreſa of the Family of the *Aldobrandini*, whoſe ' firſt Husband, Prince of *Roſſano*, preſumptive ' Heir, and the only hopes of That of the *Borgheſi*, ' died ſome Days before our Arrival (20), in that ' ſame place, being under Twenty two Years of ' Age, like her, and had left her two Sons and ' two Daughters. It is That Cardinal's Happineſs ' to have ſo ſoon found ſuch an advantageous Match, ' both for Riches and Beauty; for ſhe is the fineſt ' Princeſs in all the Country, and, beſides, one of ' the moſt witty.'

(17) *See the* Recueil de diverſes Relations des Cours de l'Europe, *printed at* Cologne, 1687, pag. 338.

(18) Le Laboureur, Voiage de la Reine de Pologne, Part III, pag. 222.

(19) Ibid. pag. 225.

(20) Their Arrival falls on the 28th of *July*, 1646. The Author publiſhed his Relation the next Year.

[*E*] *Marriage* —— *did not ſettle Don* Auguſtin's *Love.*] His Wife had brought him vaſt Riches; ſhe was handſome, well-educated, and fruitful, and yet he loved other Women. What a Diſorder! ' Eſ- ' ſendo la ſpoſa di non ordinarie bellezze, e alle- ' vata ſotto la diſciplina dell' Ava, Signora di ſan- ' tiſſimi coſtumi, non reſtava che deſiderar più in ' queſto genere di contentezze, & gia s'è comin- ' ciato à goderne i frutti, havendo la Principeſſa ' già data ſegno di fecondità, con' porto di una ' figlivola. Non reſta però che il Sig. D. Ago- ' ſtino non vada vagando in altri amori, come lo ' luſinga la ſua natura proclive al guſto del ſenſo, ' e la facilità di paſcerla quando gliene poſſa mai ' venir voglia (21).' He had no great Tenderneſs for his Wife, ſince, after his Wedding, he could not forbear ſaying, that he rejoiced more for the Victory he had obtained over his Rival, than for the Enjoyment of the Princeſs, whom he poſſeſſed. The Conſtable *Colonna*, hearing this, anſwered, that his Son had courted the Princeſs, becauſe he had Merit enough to demand her; but that Don *Auguſtin* had obtained her by the Credit and Authority

(21) Corraro, ubi ſupra, p. 82.

The Relation of *Angelo Corraro*, which I have cited, imports, that this Family began to advance itſelf at the Court of *Rome* under the Pontificate of *Julius* II: but we muſt correct this; for it appeared with diſtinction under *Alexander* VI [*F*].

thority of his Uncle the Pope. Some Years after, the Conſtable's Son married a Niece of Cardinal *Mazarin* (22). The Match, as to Riches, was much better; but they lived badly together. The Public has has ſeen the Hiſtory of it.

(22) Taken from a Book intituled, *Il Nepotiſmo*, Part. I. lib. 3. pag. 194.

[*F*] *This Family appeared with Diſtinction at the Court of* Rome *under* Alexander VI.] *Tomaſo Tomaſi*, in the Life of the Duke *de Valentinois*, remarks, that *LAURENCE CHIGI*, a Gentleman of *Siena*, was cruſhed to death, when a Storm overthrew a Chimney in one of the Chambers of the *Vatican*, on St *Peter's* Days (23). This Accident had like to have been fatal to Pope *Alexander* VI. This Author adds (24), that, when the Duke *de Valentinois* prepared himſelf for the Expedition of *Romania*, in the Year 1500, Auguſtin Chigi, *Brother of* Laurence, *one of the rich and magnificent Gentlemen, who were then at the Court* (25), *lent him not only many thouſand Crowns, but even went ſo far, as to cauſe all his Silver Plate, which was conſiderable, to be coined into Money.*

(23) Tomaſi's Life of the Duke *de Valentinois*, pag. 302.

(24) Ibid. 313.

(25) See Remark [*A*].

CHIGI (Fabio) born at *Siena*, the ſixteenth of *February* 1599 (*a*), was Pope under the Name of *Alexander* VII. His Family, ſeeing him a hopeful Young-man, ſent him early to *Rome*, where he contracted a very uſeful Friendſhip with the Marquis *Pallavicini* (*b*); for that Marquis recommended him in ſuch a manner to Pope *Urban* VIII, that, in a little time, he procured him the Place of Inquiſitor at *Malta*. *Chigi*, having ſhewed, in that Employment, that he was capable of greater things, was ſent to *Ferrara* in the Quality of Vice-Legate, and afterwards Nuncio into *Germany* (*c*). He had the moſt favourable Opportunity, that a Man of That Character could deſire, to ſhew his intriguing Genius; for he was Mediator at *Munſter*, during the long Conferences that were held there for the Peace of *Europe*. He acted his Part very well there [*A*]. Before he went to *Munſter*; he had the Nunciature of *Cologne*, and exerciſed it ſome Years after the Concluſion of the Peace. He exerciſed it in 1651, when Cardinal *Mazarin* fled to the Elector of *Cologne*; and he was ordered to complain, in the Name of Pope *Innocent* X, a great Enemy of That Cardinal, that That Elector permitted that Eminence to raiſe Troops (*d*). Cardinal *Mazarin* bore ſome Reſentment for it againſt *Fabio Chigi*, who was ſoon after promoted to the Cardinalſhip, and to the Office of Secretary of State, by *Innocent* X; but That Reſentment was ſacrificed to Politic Intereſts, at the Election of a Pope in 1655. Cardinal *Sacchetti*, a good Friend of Cardinal *Mazarin*, ſeeing no likelihood to obtain the Papacy, by reaſon of the great Obſtacles of the Spaniſh Faction, adviſed That Eminence to conſent to the Exaltation of *Fabio Chigi*. His requeſt was granted. When the Diſpoſitions of *France* were known in the Conclave, all the Partizans of That Crown united their Voices in favour of *Chigi*. The flying Squadron, who looked upon him as their Maſter-piece, reſolved to be favourable to him. The Faction of the *Medicis* and *Spaniards* had their particular Reaſons to chooſe him; inſomuch that he was created Pope (*e*) by the Voices of all the Sixty four Cardinals that were in the Conclave (*f*). There are but few Examples of ſuch an Unanimity in the Election of Popes. Cardinal *Chigi* deſerved, that Day and the following Years, the Elogy that the Duke of *Guiſe* gave to *Innocent* X [*B*]. It being known, the day before the Election, what Choice the Holy Ghoſt had reſolved to inſpire the next day, the Cardinals went to congratulate That Eminence, who anſwered them at firſt only with Sighs and Tears in his eyes (*g*), deſiring them to make a better Choice (*h*): but afterwards he took Courage, and thanked them for their Good-will. After the Election, he was carried, according to cuſtom, to St *Peter's* Church, to receive the Adoration of the Cardinals on the great Altar. He would not be placed in the middle of that Altar, but on one of the Corners of it; becauſe, as he ſaid, he did not think himſelf worthy of the Place that his Predeceſſor had. During all the Ceremony of the Adoration, he continued proſtrate on the Ground

(*a*) Angelo Corraro, Relation de la Cour de *Rome*.

(*b*) He was ſince a Jeſuit and a Cardinal.

(*c*) Angelo Corraro, ubi ſupra.

(*d*) Conclave d'Aleſſandro VII. *See alſo* The Hiſtory of the Peace of the *Pyrenees*, by *Gualdo Priorato*.

(*e*) The eighth of *April*, 1655.

(*f*) *See the Conclave of* Alexander VII, *in* Latin, *by* John Echwarzkopfius, apud Heidegger. Hiſtor. Papatus, pag. 404, & ſeq.

(*g*) Egli da principio pianſe tenendo egli' occhi la mano, e doppo ſtimoſi animo ringratiava tutti del loro buon affetto. *Conclave de Aleſſandro* VII.

(*h*) Gratulationes excepit Chiſius profuſis lacrymis, ſubinde orans ut dignioremalium eligerent. *Heidegger. pag.* 406.

[*A*] *He was Mediator at* Munſter —— *He acted his Part very well there.*] A modern Author obſerves, that the Mediation of *Denmark*, which was at firſt accepted, for the Peace of *Munſter*, having been afterwards rejected by *Sweden*, 'the whole 'Mediation remained to the Pope, and in ſome 'manner to the Republic of *Venice*, who made 'uſe of the Talents of *Fabio Chiſi*, and *Alonſio* 'Contarini, to perfect ſuch a glorious Work. The 'firſt had, among many other great Qualities, 'That of perfectly diſſembling his bad ones; and 'he did it ſo artificially, that the whole College 'of Cardinals could not diſcover it, till they had 'made him Pope. The other was a Man of 'Honour, and had diſcharged, with great Reputation, ſo many Embaſſies, that he had acquired That of one of the beſt Negotiators of his 'Time (1).' The Cavalier *Angelo Corraro* obſerves, that, though *Fabio Chigi* could not well ſupport the Catholic Intereſt, becauſe the Influence of the Proteſtants was ſuperior to That of the Catholics in the Aſſembly of *Weſtphalia*; yet he did not fail to do his Duty (2); ſo far, that he had the Ability to preſerve the Eſteem of the Spaniards and Imperialiſts, though he reproved them very ſharply for having conſented to a Peace ſo prejudicial to the Catholic Church.

(1) Wicquefort, Traité de l'Ambaſſad. Tom. II, pag. 308, 309.

(2) Fece almeno, le parti ſue egregiamente. *Corraro*, pag. 11.

[*B*] *He deſerved —— the Elogy that the Duke of* Guiſe *gave to* Innocent X.] 'The Diſcourſe, which 'Cardinal *Grimaldi* had with him, and the man'ner of negotiating of Monſieur *de Fontenay*, and 'of the Abbot *de Saint Nicolas*, affected him very 'ſenſibly, and were inſupportable to him, publiſh'ing, as he ſaid, every where, that he was a Cheat, 'and that no one ought, or could, truſt to his 'Word; which he was ſo vexed at, that the Tears 'ſtood in his Eyes for Anger; which nevertheleſs 'did not much affect me, as knowing very well, 'that he ſhed them, when he pleaſed, and that he 'was a very great Diſſembler (3).'

(3) *Memoires du Duc de Guiſe*, pag. 6. of the *Paris* Edition, 1681 in 12mo.

[*C*] *He*

Ground with great Humility, with a Crucifix in his Arms. Being come to his Apartment at the *Vatican*, before thinking of any thing else, he ordered his Coffin to be made, wherein his Body was to be laid after his Death, and to be placed under his Bed, to excite him the more to Holiness by a continual Idea of Death. When they cloathed him with his Pontifical Habits, they found a Hair cloth under his Shirt. He continued to fast twice a Week, as he had done when he was Cardinal. The Day after his Election, he repulsed *Signora Olympia* rudely, who was come to wish him joy, saying to her, that it was not decent for a Woman to set her foot in the Palace of the Head of the Church. He forbad his Relations to come to *Rome* without his leave (*i*). His subsequent Behaviour shewed, that this was only Dissimulation and Cunning; and many *Roman* Catholics made no scruple to complain of his Artifices. Afterwards he became civil and obliging to his Nephews [*C*], and heaped many Favours upon them; which was a sad Disappointment to the famous Antagonist of Father *Paul* [*D*]. What *Moreri* says, that *Alexander* VII *promoted, with a true fatherly care, the Conclusion of the Peace between* France *and* Spain, *by the Marriage*

(*i*) Ex Conclavi Alexandri VII. apud Heidegger. ubi supra.

[*C*] *He became civil and obliging to his Nephews.*] No Pope better deserved the Pasquil, *& homo factus est*, nor took more advantage of the Privileges of *Nepotism*, than He. It is said (I know nothing of it) that he had sworn never to receive his Relations in *Rome*, and that, being perplexed with the Sacredness of his Oath, he knew not how to satisfy the Affection he had for his Family; that Father *Pallavicini* removed those Scruples, by advising him to go and meet his Relations, some Leagues from *Rome*, and made him understand, that his Holiness's Oath did not forbid him to receive his Relations on the Road from *Siena* to *Rome*, but only to receive them at *Rome*; that the Pope, grounded on such an ingenious Distinction, went to meet his Family, and received it upon the Road, in the very high way. Afterwards he poured Dignities and Benefices on his Relations. His Brother, Don *Mario*, was made Governor of the Ecclesiastical State. *Flavio Chigi*, the Son of Don *Mario*, was made Cardinal Patron. *Sigismund Chigi*, the orphan Son of another of the Pope's Brothers, was gratified with several good Pensions, till he came to be of Age to be made a Cardinal with some Decency (4). *Augustin Chigi* (5), designed to be the Pillar of the Family, was married to a very rich Niece of Prince *Borghese*. 'Augustinum futurum Chisianæ familiæ 'columen, cui Principis Borghesii neptim opulentissimam conjugem, dote centum millium ducatorum & viginti insuper millibus duplionum loco 'margaritarum expensis, denique sexaginta millibus 'duplionum in manus ipsius sponsi refignatis, impetravit (6). —— Augustin, *the future Support of the Family of* Chigi, *for whom he obtained the Neice of Prince* Borghese, *a very great Match, with a Fortune of an Hundred thousand Ducats, and Twenty thousand Doublons over and above, instead of Jewels, and lastly, Sixty thousand Doubloons delivered up into the Hands of the Husband.*' One of the Pope's Sister's Sons (7) was made a Cardinal; the other, who was a Knight of *Malta*, was made General of the Gallies. Dona *Berenice*, the Wife of Don *Mario*, and her Daughters, had also rich Presents (8). *Flavio Chigi*, who was Cardinal Patron, and who was sent Legate *à latere* into *France*, to make Satisfaction concerning the Business of the *Corses*, made himself much spoken of. He died (9) loaded with Riches and Titles, Vice Dean of the Sacred College, Bishop of *Porto*, Arch-Priest of St *John* of *Lateran*, Prefect of the Signature of Justice, *&c.* He made his Nephew Don *Livio Chigi* his chief Heir, and left ten thousand Crowns, and the Enjoyment of the Estate, which he had at *Siena*, to his Brother-in-law the Marquis *Zondedari*, whom he charged to take the Name and the Arms of the House of *Chigi* (10). See the Remark [*B*] of the foregoing Article.

(4) *Heidegger*, pag. 432, affirms, that he was made a Cardinal, by *Alexander* VII, at 27 Years of Age; but I find that he was only promoted in the Year 1656, by *Clement* IX, Successor to *Alexander* VII.

(5) Sigismund's *Brother.*

(6) Heidegger. Hist. Pap. pag. 432.

(7) She had been married at *Siena*, to *Mr Bichi.*

(8) Heidegger. Ibid.

(9) The 19th of *Septemb.* 1693, at 63 Years of Age.

(10) Mercure Historique, Octob 1693. pag. 364.

[*D*] *This was a sad Disappointment to the famous Antagonist of Father* Paul.] I mean Father *Sforza Pallavicini*, Author of an History of the Council of *Trent*, designed for the Refutation of Father *Paul*, and which was rewarded with a Cardinal's Hat. He prefixed a pompous Elogy of *Alexander* VII to his Book, wherein he had very much praised the Design, which the holy Father had permitted in, not to suffer his Relations to come to *Rome*. Every body sees, that many fine things may be said on that Subject, and that it affords noble matter for an excellent Panegyric in the Hands of a good Orator. But it fell out unluckily for Father *Pallavicini*, that the Pope altered his Resolution, and desired to aggrandize his Relations, according to the Practice of Nepotism: nay, it is said, that That Father was obliged to remove the Scruples of his Conscience. After all, it was more advantageous to please the Pope and his Family, than to be fond of a Prologue already printed, though the Panegyric, which it contained, was never so fine. Nevertheless, this was not agreeable to an Author's but there was no help for it; he was forced to suppress what was already come out of the Press, and to adjust things as well as he could. If what I have just now said be not true, it must not be laid to my Charge; but those, from whom the Author, quoted by me, has it, ought to be blamed for it. Thus he speaks: 'Jamque Cardinalis Pallavicinus in ejus 'laudes effusissimus Historiæ Concilii Tridentini 'galeatum prologum præfixerat, quo Alexandri 'ceu Angeli ἀπροσωπολήπτου heroicum isthoc neglecti Nepotismi facinus tertium usque in Cœlum 'tulit: quem tamen, cum res alium longè eventum 'sortita esset, non sine pudore & impensarum jactura 'plurima enim folia jam impressa, laudes has fictitias ebuccinantis, supprimi debuerant) ceu abortivum fœtum tollere, & cum nescio quo Epilogo operis (qui ipse tamen post mortem Alexandri, saltem in Latina editione Baptistæ Giattini, omissus etiam fuit) commutare necesse habuit (11). —— 'And now Cardinal Pallavicini, *who is extravagant in his Praise, had prefixed a pompous Elogy to his History of the Council of* Trent, *in which he extolled to the third Heaven the heroic Conduct of* Alexander, *in declining the Practice of Nepotism; which however, when Affairs took another turn, he was obliged, not without Shame and Loss, (for he was forced to suppress many Sheets, stuffed with those fictitious Praises, already printed off) to destroy as an abortive Production, and to change it for I know not what Epilogue of a Work, which likewise, after the Death of* Alexander, *was left out, at least in the Edition of* Baptista Giattini.' The Author pretends, that Cardinal *Pallavicini* was Confessor of *Alexander* VII, and that he was a Cardinal before That Pope's Relations came to *Rome*; but it is certain, that he was not promoted till after the Edition of his History; from whence it results, by the very Narrative of That Author, that the Cardinalship of the Historian followed the Pope's Reception of his Family. I do not believe, that ever any Cardinal was the Pope's ordinary Confessor, nor that Father *Pallavicini* was ever so to *Alexander* VII (12). Yet the Author of the *Nepotism* affirms it (13), and perhaps he did so only to set off the Story he had a mind to tell of That Jesuit's Book. He does not say, that a Panegyric was prefixed to the History, but only that some Praises had been inserted in several places about the Pope's not permitting the Family of the *Chigi* to come to *Rome*. Above twenty Sheets, which contained something on that Subject, were reprinted. This, however, would seem to me more likely, than the other Story.

(11) Heidegger. Hist. Papatus, pag. 431.

(12) To be better informed of it, I have consulted a Person, who might well know it; and he told me, that Father *Pallavicini* never was Confessor to *Alexander* VII.

(13) Nepotisme, Part. I. lib. 3. pag. m 191, 176. *See also* Il Sindicato d'Alessandro VII. pag. 83, & seq.

Marriage of Lewis XIV with the *Infanta*, stands in need of a Correction [E]. He was in the wrong to praise him on occasion of the Pyramid, that was raised at *Rome* after the Affront, which the *Corses* offered to the Duke of *Crequi*. This Pope deserves no Praise for the Satisfaction he made to *France* in that Business; for he did it much against his Will, and to avoid a War, which would have obliged him to leave *Rome* in a little time. *France* was never well perswaded, that he was free from Partiality against her. The *Spaniards* were not always satisfied with his Conduct [F]. For the Curiosity of the Thing, I shall observe, that there are some printed Books, wherein it is asserted, That he had a mind to abjure his Religion, and to turn *Huguenot* [G]. The *Dutch* Gazettes praised him much [H], and informed the Public, that

[E] *What Mr Moreri says, stands in need of a Correction.*] There was nothing in the Pyrenean Peace, so much attended to by the Public, as it's being concluded without the Pope's Intervention. Some Cardinals would not have given their Votes for *Fabio Chigi*, had it not been for the Hopes, 'that he would apply himself to pacify the two 'Crowns, and that he would succeed better in 'it than any body else: And yet the thing suc- (14) Priorato, Histoire de la Paix, pag. 119, *Edit.* Cologne, 1667. 'ceeded in such a contrary manner, *says* Galeaz- 'zo Gualdo Priorato (14), that several People 'have published, that That Peace was shameful 'for the Holy See, and that many have spoken 'ill of it in *Rome* itself. And indeed it was on- 'ly looked upon as the effect of the Care and 'Diligence of the two chief Ministers alone, who 'concluded it when his Holiness was no more 'concerned about it, and, it may be, thought no 'more of it.' I do not deny, but that *Priorato* adds, (15), that *Alexander*, at his first coming to (15) Id. ibid. pag. 120. the Pontificate, performed very earnestly the Office of a common Father, to bring the two Crowns to a Peace, and even to obtain, that the Conferences might be held at *Rome* in his Presence: but he says also, that, during *the Offices, which the Cardinal caused to be done with the Pope, for the Peace, by Father* Donelli *the Jesuit*, the Pope shewed *such Jealousies, and such a Coldness, as were a sufficient Excuse for* France *to exclude him from the Treaty of Peace* (16). He was not nam- (16) Ibid. pag. 125. ed in the Preambles of the Articles of the Treaty, which vexed him: *nay it has been known, that Cardinal* Mazarin *was disposed not to make any mention at all of the Pope.* The bad Intelligence, that had been between them, increased, because the Peace was concluded without the Mediation of the Court of *Rome*; and That was the Reason why the Pope was vexed at That Peace. 'And indeed the Cardinal would say sometimes, 'in common Conversation, that the Pleasure, 'which the general Peace afforded him, was 'mixed with some Bitterness, because it did not 'appear, that his Holiness rejoiced at it; and the 'Pope, on his Part, might have said the *Spanish* 'Proverb, *Provided the Miracle be done, I care* (17) Ibid. pag. 124. *'but little whether God or the Devil does it* (17). Let us conclude from all this, that *Moreri* did not exactly consider the things he has mentioned. If he had read the Relation of *Angelo Correro*, he would not have so much praised the Assistance, given to the *Venetians*, by the Pope, for the War of *Candia*; for two things are complained of in that Relation: I. That the Pope obstinately refused all the Favours, that might be useful in the War against the *Turks*: II That he had no Zeal for the Peace of the two Crowns 'Chi have- 'rebbe mai pensato che un Cardinale, che prima 'anche d'essere Cardinale, spirava tutto zelo, è mon- 'strava di languire su la considerationc dello stato 'miserabile, in che si andava riducendo il mondo 'Christiano, con una guerra così ostinata tra le mag- 'giori corone di esso, non dovesse assunto al pon- (18) Correro, pag. 13. 'tificato infervorarsi per la pace universale (18)? '—— *Who would ever have thought, that a Car- 'dinal, who, before being so, breathed nothing but 'Zeal, and seemed to languish under the Consider- 'ation of the miserable State, to which the Christian 'World was like to be reduced, by so obstinate a 'War among it's chief Princes, should not, when 'elected Pope, have interested himself in favour of 'an universal Peace?'

[F] *The* Spaniards *were not always satisfied with his Conduct.*] Mr *Wicquefort* supplies me with the Proof of it in this manner. 'Don *Pedro* of *Ar-* 'ragon, the *Spanish* Embassador at *Rome*, in the 'Year 1665, having let fall some Words of Re- 'sentment against the Court, which favoured the 'Affairs of the King of *Portugal*, in what con- 'cerned the Churches of That Kingdom; Pope '*Alexander* VII, being informed of it, told him, 'That he was a wicked Man, and a Minister un- 'fit to serve the King his Master. The Embassa- 'dor replied, That the Pope had reason to accuse 'him of Negligence and Incapacity, since he had 'not been willing to perform the King's Order, 'when there was a Treaty carried on, to his Pre- 'judice, with the King of *Portugal*: That the Pope, 'by making such a Reproach, reproached him also 'with his Goodness; but that he was in the wrong 'to say, that he was a wicked Man; and that he 'could more justly tell him, That *Fabio Chigi* 'was a wicked Man, since he forced him to exe- 'cute the King his Master's Orders, and to desire 'the College of Cardinals to consider, whether the 'See of *Rome* was more concerned to do some- 'thing for four Bishoprics of *Portugal*, than to ha- 'zard an hundred and thirty Bishoprics and sixty 'Abbies in *Spain*. The Pope told him also, That 'the Meetings, which he held at his House, were 'very dangerous, and might give an Opportunity 'to plunder the City. The Embassador answered, 'That, if That was his Intention, he had nothing 'to do but to retire with all the Subjects of the 'King his Master, because those that should re- 'main, being not able to subsist, would commit 'the Disorder, which could not be feared from 'him (19).'

[G] *There are printed Books, wherein it is asserted, that he had a mind —— to turn Huguenot.*] The Book, which informs me of this, is a Journey into *Switzerland*, printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1686, though the Title says at the *Hague*, by *Peter du Glaffin*. The Author of That Journey is a *French* Minister, and a Refugee in *Holland*, called Mr *Labrune*. I shall recite what he says concerning the Religion of *Alexander* VII. The Thing cannot but belong to this Dictionary. If it be true, it takes it as being an Historical Dictionary: If it be false, it seizes on it as being a Critical one. 'Fabio Chigi —— was sent Inquisitor to *Malta*, 'Vice-Legat to *Ferrara*, and afterwards the Pope's 'Nuncio to *Cologne*, when the Peace of *Munster* 'was made. The Affairs of the Princes of *Europe* 'were ended happily enough, after two Years Ne- 'gotiation at *Munster* and *Osnabrug*. *Chigi*, who 'was sent thither as the Pope's Nuncio, and who 'was obliged to converse daily with Protestant 'Princes, or with their Ministers (20), gained an 'Idea of their Religion, and, though he had almost 'at the same time published That *Judgment of a 'Divine*, under the supposititious Name of *Ernestus 'Eusebius*, wherein the Protestants are so much 'abused, yet he remained convinced, that there 'was nothing heretical in their Doctrine. But he 'went no farther. Count *Pompey*, one of his near 'Relations of *Italy*, at last opened his Eyes. That 'Count lived on an Estate in *Germany*, which 'was fallen to him by his Mother's side. —— 'Chigi —— would not return to *Rome*, without 'seeing That Relation —— he went to him, with 'two of his Nephews, who had accompanied him 'to *Cologne*, and staid all that Winter with him. '—— They discoursed of Religion, and, after many 'Conversations, they resolved to read the Bible 'with *Deodati*'s Notes. The Count had already 'read those learned Notes, and knew also the strong- 'est Observations therein. They both examined 'the matter, and were surprized to find themselves 'convinced

(19) De l'Ambassadeur, Tom. II, pag. 168.

(20) *Wicquefort* in the first Volume of his *Embassador*, pag. 64, says, that That Nuncio declare, he would have no Communication with the Heretics, and that he pretended to be a Mediator only for the Catholic Princes. *Wicquefort* calls this *A strange Fantasticalness in* Fabio Ghigi, *and in 1000 wise employed him*; which he opposes to the Conduct of *Bevilaqua*, who was Nuncio at the Conference of *Nimegen*, and who was so far from abhorring the Company of the Ministers of the Protestant Princes and States, that he offered to prevent them with his civilities, if they would promise to return them. *Angelo Correro* says also, that *Chigi* had no Communication with the Protestant Embassadors: *con i quali rispetto egli offerse Ministro di che era, non poteva havere communicatione.* But the Author of the Syndicate of *Alexand.* VII, pag. 35, affirms the contrary.

that he did not approve of the Violences, which were committed againſt the *Vaudois* in *Piedmont*. What he ſaid to ſome Proteſtant Gentlemen, who came to kiſs his Feet, has been much talked of [*I*]. It has been ſaid, in other Books, (not without

convinced every Moment. They knew not what Party to take: but, at laſt, after having well conſidered it —— they agreed, that the Proteſtant Religion was the True one, and, from that Time, *Chigi* engaged himſelf with his Kinſman to forſake his Errors, as ſoon as he ſhould have given an Account of his Nunciature, and to come to him again at his Country Seat, conjuring him to make forthwith an Abjuration of the *Romiſh* Religion, ſince GOD had given him Grace to know the Truth, and to be free. *Chigi* departed with his Nephews, being fully reſolved to forſake the Court of *Rome*, and never wrote to the Count without exhorting him to execute his Deſign. His Journey was longer than he thought. The Sickneſs of one of his Nephews, which ended with his Death, was the Cauſe of it. In the mean time, Count *Pompey* diſpoſed himſelf to do what he had reſolved. —— He went to *Orange*, where he made a public Profeſſion of our Religion. He was alſo ſome time at *Nîmes*, and made himſelf known there. This Converſion made a Noiſe. It was ſpoken of all over *Europe*, and even too much; for, as he retired to *Germany*, he was poiſoned at *Lyons*, where he died. This News ſunk *Chigi* down. The Death of That Count —— broke all his Meaſures. He imagined, that he might have the ſame Fate: He found himſelf deprived of a Place of Refuge; but, while he was wavering, he was made a Cardinal, and Firſt Secretary of the Apoſtolic Chamber. There needed no more, to ſtifle thoſe Seeds of Truth in *Chigi*'s Heart, which were not yet deeply rooted: the Splendor of the Purple dazzled him. —— He was made a Pope by the Tricks that every body knows. As ſoon as he was a Cardinal, he affected to be always ſick. He cauſed his Apartment to be hung with Mourning, and adorned his Chamber with a Coffin, and a dead Man's Head (21). —— He was a Calviniſt in his Heart. He endeavoured, in vain, to hide himſelf, in the Affair of the Janſeniſts; for he was diſcovered. In the time of his Pontificate, ſome Books were printed in *Flanders*, wherein he was accuſed of being a Heretic. They are Books which every body has ſeen. One Day Mr *Amyraut* had a Converſation with the Duke of *Longueville*, in his Houſe of *Pleſſis Belleau* (22), which agrees very well with what we have ſaid. Mr *Amyraut* was a ſincere Man. He related, that That Prince, whom he had the Honor to ſee very often, told him, That, when he was Plenipotentiary at *Munſter* for his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, he knew That Pope to the bottom, who held at that time the Pontificate; that he had very much inclined to a Reformation, and that, if the Huguenots would make any Conceſſions, there never was a better Opportunity to be re-united, ſince they might be aſſured, that the Head of the Church would not be againſt them.'

I am perſuaded, that the Author of this Narrative will not take it ill, if I impart to my Readers what Mr *Amyraut*, the Son, has communicated to me. He has aſſured me, that he knows nothing of his Father's having had any Converſation with the Duke of *Longueville* about the Nuncio *Chigi*, nor about Pope *Alexander* VII. That it is very true, that the Duke of *Longueville* had a Seat three Leagues from *Saumur*, but that it is not true, that it was called *le Pleſſis Belleau*; for it was called *Monſtreuil-Bellai* (23). When he went thither, he did not fail to ſend and enquire of Mr *Amyraut*'s Health, who, on his part, was very punctual to go and pay his Reſpects to him, and that he was always very kindly received by him; ſo that his Highneſs ought to be added to thoſe Great Lords, who expreſſed their Eſteem for that Miniſter (24). Now, ſince Mr *Amyraut*, the Son, never heard any thing of thoſe Converſations of Monſieur *de Longueville*, concerning *Alexander* VII, it muſt be concluded, without Heſitation, that Mr *Amyraut*, the Father, never learned any ſuch thing in his Converſations with Monſieur *de Longueville*. And here we have an Inſtance, which ſhews us how diſtruſtful we ought to be of Stories, which are only grounded on *Hear ſays*. I believe the Author of this Journey into *Switzerland* is now fully perſuaded, that one ought to ſtand upon his Guard againſt thoſe kind of Traditions.

[*H*] *The* Dutch *Gazzettes praiſed him much.*] This is what I find in a Letter, which *Curcellæus*, Profeſſor of the *Arminians* at *Amſterdam*, wrote to *Sorbiere*, the Twenty fourth of *December*, 1655 (25): 'I am willing to believe, *ſays he*, that *Alexander* VII deſerves a good part of the Praiſes that the Public gives him. The *Amſterdam* Courants, that are not uſed to celebrate the Praiſes of the Popes, as the *Paris* Gazzettes often do, have ſpoken ſo well of him, that there muſt be ſomething in it. They have alſo teſtified, that he diſapproved the Cruelties, which were lately exerciſed on the poor *Vaudois* of the Vallies of *Piedmont*, ſaying, One ought not to proceed in that mannner, to bring into the Boſom of the Church thoſe, who are gone aſtray.' If it be true, that this Pope diſapproved the Duke of *Savoy*'s Conduct, the *Vaudois* might glory in it with much more reaſon, than the Reformed of *France* could boaſt of the Judgment, which, it is ſaid, *Innocent* XI made of *Dragooning*: for That Pope's ill Humour againſt the Court of *France* was ſufficient to make him ſay, That he did not approve of ſuch a way of converting People.

[*I*] *What he ſaid to ſome Proteſtant Gentlemen, who came to kiſs his Feet, has been much talked of.*] *Sorbiere* (26), being to anſwer a Letter, wherein ſome body had wrote to him, That his Journey to *Rome* would make him return again to the Reformed Church, declared, That he had ſeen nothing at *Rome*, but what edified him, 'and that the *Roman* Court, notwithſtanding it's Pomp, had a great deal of Affability and Modeſty. 'For my part, *he goes on*, I can aſſure you, Sir, that I could not obſerve ſo much Haughtineſs in any of the Cardinals, whom I had the Honour to approach, as there is in ſome Miniſters of our Acquaintance: and, in all the Audiences that I have had of our Holy Father, I ſpoke to him with the ſame Liberty as I converſe with you; his Goodneſs requiring it ſo from all thoſe, who approach him. I ſhall tell you a remarkable Particular on this Occaſion, that you will not be diſpleaſed to know. A little before my Departure, ſome *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who had a mind to be Witneſſes of what I tell you of his Holineſs, got in among thoſe, who went to pay their Reſpects to him on their Knees. He aſked them what Countrymen they were, and, afterwards, if they were not Proteſtants, which they owned. Whereupon his Holineſs replied, with a ſmiling Countenance, *Riſe therefore, I will not have you to commit an Idolatry, according to your Opinion. I ſhall not give you my Bleſſing, ſince you do not believe me to be what I am; but I pray* GOD *to make you fit to receive it.*'

A famous Proteſtant Controverſiſt relates this Story wrong. Theſe are his Words, which I take from the One hundred fifty eighth Page of his Anſwer to a Book of Mr *Bruys* (27): 'I muſt refer Mr *Bruys* to a Convert like himſelf, which is *Sorbiere*; who ſays ſomewhere, That ſome *Engliſhmen*, being at *Rome*, had a mind to ſee Pope *Alexander* VII, to ſalute him, and to kiſs his Toe. That Pope, having heard, that they were *Engliſhmen*, asked, what Religion they were of. They were afraid, and made ſome Difficulty to confeſs, that they were Proteſtants. *Alexander* VII having encouraged them, they confeſſed: and thereupon he told them, That their Religion would not permit their Conſcience to do him the Homage of kiſſing his Feet. I do not receive it as a Temporal Prince of *Rome*, ſaid he, which is all you acknowledge in me; but as the Vicar of JESUS CHRIST, a Quality that you do not acknowledge in me. I will pray to GOD to convert you, and I give you my Bleſſing: but, till

(21) Mr *Heidegger*, *Hiſt. Pap.* pag. 411, mentions the Coffin only as to the Time that followed the Pope's Election. But as to the Time preceding it, he only ſays that *Chigi* lay on the Ground, and faſted twice a Week.

(22) Compare with this what has been ſaid in the Article *AMYRAUT*, Rem. [*D*], and ſee whether there be not a Mixture of different Facts in theſe Narratives.

(23) He ſold it to the Marſhal *de la Meilleraye*.

(24) See above, the Article *AMYRAUT*, in the Text.

(25) It was at firſt printed by itſelf in 8vo. You will find it in the *Præſtantium ac eruditorum virorum Epiſtolæ Eccleſiaſticæ*, pag. 876, of the Edition in Folio, 1684.

(26) His Letter is printed with That of *Curcellæus*, in 8vo.

(27) *Intituled*, Suite du preſervatif contre le changement de Religion. *At the* Hague, 1683.

out finding some Mystery in it) that he was related to the Grand Signior *Mahomet* IV [*K*]. This is a greater Singularity, than that which I am going to speak of. *Alexander* VII was an Author [*L*]; we have a Volume of his Poems. He loved Literature, and to discourse of Poetry, History, and Politics, with learned Persons. He loved stately Buildings; and it was not his Fault, that the whole City of *Rome* did not become equally magnificent and regular as to the Streets, Squares, and Houses. The Mischief was, that Those Expences exhausted the Apostolic Chamber, and that, by ordering the demolishing of many Houses, which were not according to the Rules of Symmetry, he ruined the Proprietors (*k*). There is something great in the Design of the College *della Sapienza*, the Building whereof he finished, and which he adorned with a very fine Library. The Consistorial Advocates raised him a pompous Inscription on that Subject (*l*). He died the Twenty second of *May* 1667, much more lamented by the Jesuits, than by the Jansenists.

(k) Angelo Corraro, ubi supra.

(l) *It is to be found in* Spizelius in Dissertat. Præliminar. Specimin. Bibliothec. Univers. *See the* Museum Italicum *of* F. Mabillon, Tom. I, pag. 150.

' till you receive the Illumination which is to ' come from above, I do not exact any thing from ' you, by way of Complaisance, against your Re- ' ligion and Inclination. I cannot tell whether ' *Sorbiere* contrived this Story to honour Pope *Alex- ' ander* VII, or not. However it be, they are the ' Sentiments of an honest Man, and our Conduct ' ought to be regulated by That Maxim in point ' of Religion.' By comparing these two Relations together, it appears plainly, that our Controversist had never read *Sorbiere's* Writing, or at least that he had it not before him, when he answered Mr *Bruys*. He heard the thing in general, and took the flourishing of it upon himself. Prudence will not permit this; One ought to distrust his Memory. When a Man falsifies a Narrative in these two Points; the one, That the *English* Gentlemen were afraid; and the other, That the Pope gave them his Blessing; he may falsify it in many others; and it is a great Chance if he does not alter some essential Part of it. I could make many Reflexions on the Fate of Controversists; but they would be unseasonable. The Author of the *Preservative* did not foresee, when he praised the Maxims of *Alexander* VII, that he should write a Book about the Rights of an erroneous Conscience, that he should confute himself, and lay down Principles, according to which That Pope would have been much in the wrong to oppose the Kneeling of the *Englishmen*.

[*K*] *It is pretended, that he was related to the Grand Signior.*] I have not the Book, wherein this is proved; so that I can only serve my Reader with these Words of *Haidegger*: ' Mahometem ' eo ipso tempore Imperatorem Turcicum quinto ' gradu consanguinitatis, ex Alano Moruglio, com- ' muni stirpe & atavo utriusque parentis Pontificii ' & Turcici, pessimo utique omine contigit, ut ' quidem Pastorius in Henninge redivivo pag. 157 ' demonstravit (29). —— *He was a-kin to* Mahomet, ' *at that time Emperor of the* Turks, *in the fifth ' Degree, by* Alane Moruglius, *the common Stem ' and Ancestor of the Fathers, both of the Pope ' and the Grand* Turk, *as* Pastorius, *in* Henninge redivivo, *has demonstrated.*' I have since met with a Book, which sets forth in a Table the Parentage of *Alexander* VII, and the *Great Turk*. It is pretended, that *Margaret Marfili*, Daughter of *Nani Marfili*, a Noble *Sienese*, was the Wife of *Solyman*, and the Mother of *Selim* II, whose Son *Amurath* III was the Father of *Mahomet* III. The latter was the Father of *Achmet* I, who was the Father of *Amurath* IV, whose Son *Ibrahim* was the Father of *Mahomet* IV. On the other side, *Leonard Marfili*, Brother of *Margaret*, had a Son, whose Name was *Cæsar Marfili*, who was the Father of *Alexander Marfili*, and of *Laura Marfili*, the Mother of *Fabio Chigi*, who was Pope by the Name of *Alexander* VII. The Author, whom I cite (30), alledges the Account, which *Francis Niger* gives of the taking of a Castle, in the Territory of *Siena*. The *Turkish* Pirates, who plundered That Castle about the Year 1525, found *Margaret Marfili* there, and, because she was very handsome, they kept her for *Solyman*.

(29) Haidegg. Hist. Pap. pag. 415.

(30) Joh. Vlricus Walchius, in Tractatu de Religione Turcica, Mahometis Vita, & Orientalis cum Occidentali Antichristo comparatione, pag. 329, & seq.

[*L*] Alexander VII *was an Author.*] The finest Edition of his *Latin* Poems is That of the *Louvre*, in Folio, in the Year 1656. It consists of Heroic, Elegiac, and Lyric Verses: the last exceed the other in number. There is also a Tragedy, intituled *Pompey*. The Author made it in the Country, in the Year 1621. *Seneca* was his Model, both for the Disposition of the Piece, and the Measure of the Verses. A Letter, prefixed before this Collection, informs us, that he unwillingly consented to the printing of his Poems, and that he would not suffer his Name to be put to them, nor any other Title, than That which discovers, that they are only the Fruits of his younger Years (31). But there are many Pieces in it, that he composed when a Man, and in great Offices. Read Pages 65 and 66 of Mr *Kortholt's* Treatise *de Poëtis Episcopis*, printed at *Keil*, in 1699. *Borrichius* finds, that Pope *Urban* VIII was better qualified, both by Nature and Art, for Poetry, than Pope *Alexander* VII, but that the latter laboured his Poems more than the other (33). He finds some Harshness in the Heroic Verses, wherein *Alexander* described his Travels from *Rome* to *Ferrara*, from *Ferrara* to *Cologne*, from *Malta* to *Rome*. That is but Part of his Travels; he described moreover Those from *Cologne* to *Munster*, from *Munster* to *Aix la Chappelle*, from *Aix la Chappelle* to *Triers*, &c. If all the Praises, which the Authors of the *Poetical Acclamations* (34) have bestowed upon This Pope's Verses, were true, one could not forbear to say, That he was the most accomplished of all the Poets. But, because Those Authors made Part of the *Pleias*, that flourished at *Rome* under This Pontif, their Elogies are not much to be relied upon (35). I dare not affirm, That a Piece, which came out in the Year 1646, under the Title of *Judicium Theologicum super quæstione an pax qualem desiderant Protestantes sit secundum se illicita ----- opera ac studio Ernesti de Eustovii civis Romani*, was written by the Nuncio *Fabio Chigi*; I only believe, that it was printed under his Auspices and by his Order. The Author of it endeavoured to persuade, that the Peace, desired by the Protestants, was too disadvantageous to the Catholic Church, to be granted in Conscience by the Emperor. But all those Remonstrances were useless; they were forced to grant the Protestants many Things, that vexed the Court of *Rome*, and against which the Nuncio *Chigi* protested in a most violent manner, shaking the Dust from his Feet. The Pope thundered a Bull of the same Stile against the Treaty of *Munster*. All which was Time and Paper lost. Here I must observe, that there are many Manuscripts in Cardinal *Chigi's* Library, adorned with Notes written with *Alexander* VII's own Hand, and a great Collection of Authentic Acts and Pieces, drawn up and compiled by That Pope, and which shew his Application to Study (36). In the Book, which informs me of this, I have read one thing (37), which shews his Inclination for Learning; he got three Booksellers from *Holland* to *Rome*, who deceived him basely about the *Polyglot* Bible of *Paris*; for they made him believe, that it was an Edition, which they undertook under his Auspices, and to his Honour; they caused a new Title to be printed to it, with an Epistle Dedicatory, as flattering as if some good Papists had been the Authors of it; but they could not hide their Fraud long. ' Ab ultimis Belgarum, Urbem Do- ' minam, sedem vestram Romam divinarum litera- ' rum farcina instructi magis quam onusti, multiplice ' Sanctitatis vestræ *Illitio*, ceu potentiore quodam ' magnete fortiter suaviterque *Protracti*, anhelis non ' tam fatigatione quam exultatione animis passibusque ' subintramus desideratissime terræ & nobis Pontifex ' Maxime.

(31) *The Title is* Philomathi Musæ juveniles.

(32) Sebastian.

(33) Borrich. de Poët. Latin. pag. 108.

(34) They are printed at the end of the Edition of the *Philomathi Musæ Juveniles*.

(35) *See* Mr Baillet, Jugem. sur les Poët. Tom. V. n. 1506, 1527.

(36) *See Father* Mabillon's Museum Italic. Tom. I, p. 94.

(37) Mabillon, ibid. pag. 99.

(38) Id. ibid.

' maxime (38). ——*From the farthest* Belgæ, (*Holy*
' *Father! Delight of the Earth, and Us!*) *we enter*
' *the Powerful City, Seat of your Residence,* Rome,
' *furnished, rather than loaden, with the burthen of*
' *the sacred Writings, strongly and sweetly drawn by*
' *the Influence of your Holiness, as some more power-*
' *ful Magnet, and we come with panting Hearts and*
' *Steps, not through fatigue, but joy.*' The new Title was BIBLIA ALEXANDRINA HEPTAGLOTTA *auspiciis S. D. Alexandri VII. anno sessionis ejus XII. feliciter incœpta.*

CHOCQUET (LEWIS) a famous *French* Poet, about the middle of the XVIth Century, and Author of a very rare and uncommon Work, some Extracts of which we shall give below [*A*]. He was unknown to *La Croix du Maine*, but not

[*A*] *He is Author of a very uncommon Work, of which we shall give Extracts.*] The Copy, which was lent me (1), consists of Three Parts; the first of which is intituled, *Le premier volume des Catholiques œuvres & Actes des Apostres redigez en escript par saint Luc Evangeliste & historiographe, depute par le sainct Esperit. Icelluy sainct Luc escripuant a Theophile, Avecques plusieurs hystoires en icelluy inserez des gestes des Cæsars. Et les demonstrances des figures de Lapocalypse veues par sainct Jehan Zebedee en l'Isle de Pathmos soubz Domician cesar, avecques les cruautez tant de Neron que dicelluy Domician. Le tout veu & corrige bien & deuement selon la vraye verite, & jouz par personnages a Paris en l'hostel de Flandres l'an mil cinq cens XLI. Avec privilege du Roy. On les vend en la grand Salle du Palais par Arnoul & Charles les Angeliers freres tenans leurs bouticques au prémier & deuxiesme pilliers devant la Chappelle de Messeigneurs les Presidens.*——' The First Volume of the Catholic Works, and *Acts of the Apostles*, reduced to writing by St *Luke* Evangelist, and Historiographer, deputed by the HOLY GHOST. This St *Luke* writing to *Theophilus*, ' With many Stories of the *Cæsars* inserted in it. ' And the demonstrations of the Figures of the *Apocalypse*, seen by St *John* the Son of *Zebedee*, in the ' Isle of *Patmos*, under *Cæsar Domitian*, with the ' cruelties, as well of *Nero*, as of the said *Domitian*. ' The whole seen and thoroughly corrected according to the true Truth, and acted by Personages at ' *Paris* in the *Hôtel de Flandres*, in the Year one ' thousand, five hundred, XLI. With the King's ' Privilege. Sold in the great Hall of the Palace, ' by *Arnoul* and *Charles Angelier*, Brothers, keeping their Shops at the first and second Pillars of ' the Chapel of Messieurs the Presidents.' This first Volume contains, in Two hundred and ten Leaves, five Books of the *Acts of the Apostles*. Let us see the Title of the Second Part. *Le second volume du Magnifique Mystere des Actes des Apostres continuant la narration de leurs faicts & gestes selon l'escripture saincte, avecques plusieurs hystoires en icelluy inserées des gestes des Cæsars. Veu & corrigé bien & deuement selon la vraye verité, & ainsi que le mystere est joué à Paris ceste presente annee mil cinq cens quarante & ung. Avec Privilege.* ——' The second ' Volume of the Magnificent Mystery of the *Acts of the Apostles*, continuing the Narration of their Actions, according to the Holy Scripture, with ' many Stories inserted in it of the Actions of the ' *Cæsars*. Seen and thoroughly corrected according ' to the true Truth, and as the Mystery is acted at ' *Paris*, this present Year One thousand, five hundred, and forty One. With Privilege.' This second Volume contains One hundred and sixty five Leaves, and ends at the ninth Book of the *Acts of the Apostles*. The Third Part is, *L'Apocalypse Sainct Jehan Zebedée, ou sont comprinses les visions & revelations que icelluy Saint Jehan eut en l'Isle de Pathmos, le tout ordonné par figures convenables selon le texte de la saincte escripture. Ensemble les cruaultez de Domicien Cesar. Avec Privilege M. D. xli.* —— ' The *Apocalypse* of St *John* the Son of *Zebedee*, in ' which are comprised the Visions and Revelations, ' which the said St *John* had in the Island of *Patmos*, the whole disposed with Figures, suitable to ' the Text of the sacred Writings. Together with ' the Cruelties of *Cæsar Domitian*. With Privilege. ' M. D. xli.' It contains Forty six Leaves, and was printed off the Twenty seventh of *May* 1541. The Work is in Folio.

(1) Sir *Hans Sloane*, a celebrated Physician of *London*, who has many curious Books in his large Library, did me the Favour to lend it me, and Dr *Silvestre* took the trouble of conveying it to me.

Lewis Chocquet has prefixed his Name only to the Third Part. He has prefixed it two ways, first by a *Latin* Epigram on the back side of the first Leaf (2), and afterwards on the Top of the second Leaf; ' Here follows the Mystery of the *Revelations* of ' St *John*, with the Cruelties of *Domitian*, Emperor of *Rome*, composed by Master *Lewis Chocquet*.' We find no mention of him in the Licentes for Printing. It was *William Alabat*, *a Marchant residing at* Bourges, who obtained the Privilege of *Francis* I, at *Lyons*, the Twenty fourth of *July* 1536. He obtained it for six Years. He sets forth, that, ' to the Honour and Praise of GOD, of our ' Holy Mother Church, and the Holy Catholic ' Faith, and for the Consolation of good and true ' Christians, he would willingly publish the Book of ' the *Acts of the Apostles*, in five or several Volumes ' which he had by him, and which had been composed in *French* Rime, and corrected at great ' charge and expence.' He and his Booksellers (3) had a suit before the Parliament of *Paris*, in the Year 1540, against *Master* Francis Hamelin, Francis Potrain, John Louvet, *and* Leonard Chollet, *Masters and Undertakers of the* Acts of the Apostles, at *Paris*, this Year. The Court forbid these four Undertakers to cause to be printed *the Mystery of the said* Acts of the Apostles *by others, than those, who had the Privilege to print them, whatever addition they should make to them.* We see, in a Ballad at the beginning of the Second Volume, the Names of these four Undertakers, and their Profession in these Terms.

(3) Arnoul *and* Charles Langelier.

Au Plasmateur rendent grace les quatre
De bon vouloir entre Parisiens
Les quels ont faict apparoir le Theatre
Bien ensuyvant les Rommains anciens
\- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
\- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
\- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Françoys de nom les deux, nen faut debatre
Lung Hamelin, l'autre Poutrain, scients
Lung en practique, & l'autre pour sembatre
Tixtre tapis soubs rethoriciens
Sçait assez bien, puis pour l'exploict parfaire
Leonard Chovelet boucher voulut bien faire
Et Jehan Louvet operateur aux fleurs
Bien cognoissant des bons grains les meilleurs.
A iceulx quatre honneur royal desire
Donner faveur abollir les erreurs
Qui font humains a vertu contredire.

The Four return thanks to the Creator, and wishing well to the People of Paris, they have opened the Theatre, exactly following the ancient Romans. *Two of them are* Francis Hamelin, *and* Francis Poutrain, *The former a Practitioner in Laws; the other a Tapestry Maker; the third is* Leonard Chovelet, *a Butcher, and the fourth* John Louvet, *a Gardener and Florist. The Royal Honour favours these four, that they may abolish the Errors, which make Men contradict Virtue.*

I report all these minute Particulars, because they may serve to illustrate some Circumstances of the *Comedy* of That Age. Some of these Circumstances are not in *Moreri* (4): for instance, we do not find in him, that the *Hôtel de Flandres* was the Place, where they exhibited, at *Paris*, Drammatical Representations of the Stories of sacred Scripture. But, the better to shew what the *French* Stage was at that time, I will cite some Fragments of our *Chocquet*'s Pieces. They will suffice to inform us, that, at the same time that the People were forbidden to see the sacred Stories in the Book, which contains them faithfully and in purity, they were allowed to see them on the Stage, sullied with a thousand gross inventions, most part of which were expressed after a low

(4) In the Edition of *Paris*, 1690, at the Word *Comedy*. Remark, by the way, that a very gross Mistake in the preceding Editions is corrected in this, but not without letting an Error of the Press creep in. There was in the foregoing Editions, *sur quoi l'on peut voir Boccalini & Ragguaglie*; and, in the Edition of 1690, they have put it *sur quoy on peut voir Boccalini dans son Pagualio di Parnasso*. It should be *dans ses Ragguagli di Parnaso*.

(2) Ludovici Chocquet, ad magistrum Antonium le Coq, Doctorem Medicum perdoctum Epigramma. *This Epigram consists of* 16 *Hexameter and Pentameter Verses.*

(a) Pag. 796.

not to *Du Verdier*, who has mentioned him in his *Bibliotheque* (*a*) as Author of a Folio,

a low manner, and in the Style of a Farce-Player.

The first Story, described in this Volume, is the Election of an Apostle in the room of *Judas*. The Author meanly supposes, that the Apostles caused Lots to be drawn; for so I may call the Expedient, which he relates (5):

(5) First Book of the Acts of the Apostles, fol. 3.

Baillez les festus preparez
Ainsi que l'avons assigne.
Lung en y a qui a ung signe
Comme il appert, signe lavons
Pour lamour de nos compaignons.
Le second de signe na point,
Dont pour acheuer nostre poinct
Pierre, tenez les en uos mains,
Et eulx deux, qui sont incertains
Ou le signe est, n'en quelle espece,
Viendront tirer chascun sa piece,
Et celluy auquel escherra
Le signe, subrogue sera
Au lieu qui est ja devise.

Deliver the prepared Straws, as we have marked them: One of them, as it appears, is marked; we have marked it for the sake of our Companions; the other has no Mark; now, to accomplish our Design, you, Peter, hold them in your Hands; and let those two, who do not know where the Mark is, or of what kind, come and draw each his Piece; and he, to whom the marked Piece shall fall, shall be chosen into the Place.

After drawing the two Straws, the Apostles examined *who had the sign*, and all together cryed out,

C'est Mathias:

It is Mathias:

upon which St *Peter* expresses himself thus:

Loue soit dieu,
Ce Mathias, entre nous autres
Faictes nombre des douze Apostres,
Joyeulx en suis, proficiat,
Conferme soyes en l'estat (6).

(6) Ibid.

Blessed be GOD; Mathias makes up, among us, the number of the Twelve Apostles: I rejoice at it; Success attend him; may he be confirmed in that Place.

Our Author very often brings Devils upon the Stage; and it is upon those Occasions the Poet exerts himself the most and chiefly uses his skill; but he ill supports the Characters, and, instead of inspiring Horror, he is more fit to excite Laughter. He gives himself up to Burlesque; so bad a Taste reigned at that time. He introduces Lucifer, who summons all the Devils; and he makes him say:

Dyables meschans destinez en terre estre,
Clos a jamais dans le centre terrestre,
Viendrez vous point a mes cris & aboys,
Sortez au feu de' nostre infernal être
Par mes haulx cris vous pouez bien congnoistre
Que c'est a droict que complaindre me doibs:
Haro, haro, nul de vous je ne veoys,
Si ne venez desesperer m'en voys.
Dyables mauldicts, Dyablesses, Dyabletons,
Courez en lair, trauersez champs & boys
Fouldre geetez, accordante a ma voix
Approchez tost dyabolicques luytons: &c (7).

(7) Ibid. fol. 3. verso.

Ye wicked Devils, doomed to inhabit the Earth, shut up for ever in it's Center, will not you come at my Call; quit the infernal Fire: By my loud cries you may be assured I have reason to complain. Haro, Haro, I yet see none of you: If you do not come I shall go mad. Ye Devils, Male and Female, great and small, fly in the Air, traverse the Fields and Woods, with Thunder and Lightening, obedient to my Voice. Approach immediately, ye Hobgoblins.

Satan answers:

Prince denfer tes cris as faict estendre
Si trefavant qu'ils sont venus descendre
Jusques au fons des noires regions.
Nos vils manoirs tu as presque faict fendre
Que te fault-il? Es tu prest de te pendre
Dyables sont hors par grandes legions (8).

(8) Ibid. fol. 4.

Prince of Hell, your Cries have penetrated to the very bottom of our gloomy Regions: You have almost split asunder our vile Mansions. What's the matter? Are you ready to hang yourself? The Devils are abroad by whole Legions.

Another Speech of Lucifer:

Haro, haro, approche toy grant Dyable,
Approche toy notayre mal fiable.
Fier Belyal procureur des enfers
Si tu ne fais ung faulx traict desuoyable
Nous perdons tout le genre humain saluable
Et demeurons seuls enchaynez en fers.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Sur terre auons des ennemis pervers
Encontre nous machinans perscherie
Ce sont villains yssus de pescherie.
Voulans noncer de dieu la paix cherie.
Mais si vostre art a mort ne les ruyne
Ravis serez tous a la boucherie
Si gay n'aura de qui la bouche rit.
S'il le convient laisser metre en ruyne.

Haro, Haro, *approach thou great Devil, approach thou Notary not to be trusted. Fierce* Belial, *Attorney of Hell: If you do not frame treacherous inticing thing, we lose all the favorable part of human Kind, and remain alone chained in Irons. - - - - On Earth we have perverse Enemies, who have contrived Preaching against us; they are the villanous issue of Fishery, pretending to hear tidings of GOD's dear Peace. But if your art destroys them not, you will be all carried by force to the Butchery.*

Another Answer of Satan:

Prince dampne de tenebre & bruyne
Loup ravissant, ton hurlement ne fine
Que te fault-il, as tu la rage au cueur?
Prens plomb fondu, chaulx, soufre, & poix resine
Metail bouillant qui seront drogue fine
Pour destouper ta mauldicte rancueur.

Damned Prince of Darkness and Ruin, ravenous Wolf, your Outcry has no end: What is the matter? Have you rage in your Heart? Take melted Lead, Chalk, Brimstone, and Pitch, a boiling Metal, which will be a fine Drug, to uncork your cursed Rancour.

Another Speech of Lucifer:

Apres que Christ fut au tombeau rendu
Trois jours apres de mort ressuscita
Et qui plus est tout vif se presenta
A ses amys qui ne sont pas des nostres,
Douze coquins qui se nomment Apostres,
Grans seducteurs de la loy Judaïque
Auſquels il dit le texte Evangelicque
Soit soustenu & preschè de par vous

Apres

Folio, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1541. He is ſatisfied with obſerving, that it

Apres ce cieulx il monta devant tous
En les laiſſant tous douze ſur la terre,
Leſquels preſent nous meinent dure guerre
En la cite Hieruſalem nommee
Et tout autour du pays de Judee
Qui eſt pour nous grande perplexite.
Dyables obſcurs chaſcun ſoit incite
Pour ces maraulx a la mort faire rendre:
Si deſſus nous les laiſſez entreprendre
Dieu pis yra pour nous deſſus les rens
Pour ce Sathan vers eulx le chemin prens
Penſe ſouldain de leur liurer bataille
Pour mettre a fin la maudicte canaille
Tranſporte toy aux preſtres de la loy
Leſquels tousjours ayent lor & aloy
En recordant leur mauldicte auarice
De ces coquins donne bien la notice, &c (9).

(9) First Book of the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, fol. 5.

Three Days after that CHRIST *was laid in the Tomb, he roſe from the Dead, and, what is more, preſented himſelf alive to his Friends, who are not ours, Twelve Knaves, who call themſelves Apoſtles, great Seducers from the Jewiſh Law, to whom he ſaid, The Goſpel muſt be maintained and preached by you: Afterwards he mounted up to Heaven before them all, leaving them all twelve on Earth; who, at preſent, wage hard War againſt us, in the City called* Jeruſalem, *and all about the Country of* Judea; *which greatly perplexes us. Ye obſcure Devils, be each incited to get theſe Varlets put to Death. If you ſuffer them to go on, it will be much worſe for us. For this purpoſe, you Satan, go towards them, and give them Battle: To put an end to this curſed Rabble, tranſport yourſelf to the Prieſts of the Law, who are always wealthy, and, ſtirring up their curſed Avarice, give them notice of theſe Raſcals.*

Satan replies:

De tous les droicts aſſez entends l'affaire
Pour exploicter ſans long temps pretendu
Au fonds d'enfer je puiſſe eſtre pendu
Si en brief temps je ne fais des merveilles
Puis qu'il convient que je ſouffle es oreilles
Bien toſt mourront les coquins de Jeſus.

I underſtand the buſineſs perfectly well, ſo as to finiſh it in a very ſhort time, and may I be hanged up at the bottom of Hell, if I do not ſpeedily perform Wonders, and, ſince I muſt prompt them, the Knaves of JESUS *will preſently die.*

Lucifer having divided among the Devils his Commiſſions, Satan ſpeaks to him thus:

Voy Lucifer tous Dyables ſont enclins
Par tours ſouldains mouvemens & declins
Deſſus les champs leur deuoir tres bien faire,
Mais au depart pour mieulx nous ſatisfaire
Ta patte eſtends ſur nos groings dyabolicques
Pour confermer nos eſprits drachonicques
Que recevons pour benediction (10).

(10) Ibid. fol. 5, verſo.

See, Lucifer, all the Devils are ready, with Tricks and ſudden Motions, to diſcharge well their Duty. But, before we depart, for our further Satisfaction, ſtretch out your Paw over our Diabolical Snouts, and, to confirm us in our Dragon-like diſpoſitions, let us receive your Benediction.

Lucifer replies:

Dyables damnez en malediction
Deſſus vous tous par puiſſance interdicte
Ma patte eſtends qui eſt de Dieu mauldicte
Pour de tous maulx & malfaicts vous abſouldre
Couverts ſoyez de fulminante fouldre.

Ye damned and accurſed Devils, I ſtretch out my Paw, accurſt of GOD, *over you, by a forbidden Power, to abſolve you from all miſchief and evil Actions; and may you be covered from the force of Thunder.*

Is not this to turn into ridicule, and indirectly to burleſque the Holy and Apoſtolical Ceremony of laying on of Hands?

After theſe Dialogues of Devils, we meet with others which are worſe in their kind; for the diſcourſes, which the Author ſuppoſes to be holden between GOD and JESUS CHRIST, are utterly unworthy of the Majeſty of the Subject. The Conſtables, who impriſon the two Apoſtles, that healed a lame Man, ſpeak in ſuch burleſque terms, that it is a perfect Farce.

AGRIPPART.

Prens moy ce gallard par le poing
Et le me lye d'une corde.

GRIFFON.

Si je luy fais miſericorde
Beau Sire je veuil qu'on me tonde.

AGRIPPART.

Eſt il lye?

GRIFFON.

Le mieux du monde,
Allons les cacher pour la pluye
Vous ſerez enfans de la pye
Gallans, car vous ſerez en cage (11).

(11) Ibid. fol. 6.

AGRIPPART.

Take this Spark by the fiſt, and tie him with a Rope.

GRIFFON.

If I ſhew any mercy to him, good Sir, may I be truſs'd up.

AGRIPPART.

Is he bound?

GRIFFON.

The beſt in the World. Come on, let us hide them from the Rain. You ſhall be a Mag-pye's young One, Sparks, for you ſhall be caged.

Slow-pace, Meſſenger of the high Prieſt *Annas*, exceeds in Burleſque, as follows:

C'eſt rage comme je chopine
De chanter ne me puis tenir,
Toutes les fois que je chemine
Il n'eſt choſe qui ne ſe mine
J'ay huy ſi bien tire laureille
Puis le matin a ma bouteille
Que tout eſt pieca mis en vente
Je n'ay garde quelle ſefuente,
Car plus ny a raiſin ne mouſt (12).

(12) Ibid. fol. 7.

I am mad, whilſt I tipple; I cannot forbear ſinging; whenever I walk, every Thing waſts away; I have ſo well ſipped to Day, that there is nothing left in my Bottle; I am not afraid it ſhould take vent; for there is neither Grape, nor Muſt, left.

Let us produce ſome Fragments of the Dialogue between *Annas* and *Caiphas*.

ANNE.

Je les ai veus tres bonnes gens (13)
Loyaulx & de bonne faſſon

(13) He ſpeaks of the two Apoſtles, *Peter* and *John*, in Priſon.

it is a Volume, in which the Acts of the Apostles, and the Revelation of *St John* are *put into* French *Rime*, &c. (§ *a*). He has neglected to give Extracts of it, tho' it be not usual with him to omit doing so, when a Book contains things a little uncommon. He has even frequently recited long Passages, which have nothing curious. We have reason therefore to wonder, that he has cited nothing of the Poetry of *Lewis Chocquet*; for we find in it very strange and surprizing Scenes. We will supply this defect, and make this Work a little better known, than it is in *Du Verdier*.

[§ *a*) The *Acts of the Apostles*, of which Mr *Bayle* gives here some extracts, were not written by *Lewis Chocquet*, but by *Arnoul* and *Simon Greban*, Brothers; as *la Croix du Maine* informs us in his *Bibliotheque*, p. 24, 456, and 391. Mr *Bayle* was deceived by *du Verdier*, who, in his *Bibliotheque*, p. 796, ascribes to *Chocquet* both the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Apocalypse of St John*, tho' he is only the Author of the *Apocalypse*. See in the *Letters of* Mr Bayle, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1729, the Remarks on the CCXLVth Letter, Tom III. p. 921, & seq. Concerning these pious Comedies, see Mr *Rymer's Short View of Tragedy*, Chap. V. p. 53. & seq. REM. CRIT.]

Et mont apporte du poiſſon
Cent fois a vendre en mon hoſtel

CAYPHAS.

Eſt il vray?

ANNE.

Par Dieu il eſt tel
Mes gens en ont bien ſouvenance:
Mais pour mieulx vivre a leur plaiſance
Ils ont delaiſſe leur meſtier
Dont ils n'auoient pas meſtier,
Car tres bien ils en pouoient viure
Et depuis ont voulu enſuyure
Jeſus le mauvais Sciſmaticque
Qui leur a apprins la magicque
Et nygromance on le ſcait bien,
Car il eſtoit magicien
Le plus grand qui fuſt juſqua Romme (14).

(14) First Book of the *Acts of the Apostles*, fol. 8, verso.

ANNAS.

I have seen them; they are very honest Fellows, faithful, and of good Behaviour. They have brought Fish, an hundred times, to sell at my House.

CAIPHAS.

Say you so?

ANNAS.

By God, it's true: My People remember them very well. But, to live more at their ease, they left off their Trade, and from that time would needs follow JESUS the wicked Schismatic, who taught them Magic: and they understand Necromancy: for he was a Magician, and the greatest that was, even as far as Rome.

The Questions, which the high Priest puts to the lame Man, deserve to be recited.

ANNE.

- - - - - mais je te vueil demander
S'il eſt vray ce qu'on a compte,
On nous a icy recite
Que pour trouuer moyen de viure
Toy qui eſtoys fort & deliure
Faignoys d'eſtre tout contrefaict.
Dy hardiment ſi tu las faict
Je le te feray pardonner
Avecques ce te feray donner
De l'argent pour toy bien pourueoir
Plus qu'ils nont: On peut bien ſcavoir
Qu'ils ten ont donne & promis
Affin que dies qu'ils tont mis
En bon eſtat & en ſante
Pour avoir bruyt par la cite
De faire miracles patens (15).

(15) Ibid. fol. 8, verso.

ANNAS.

But I'll ask you, if what is related be true: we are told here, that, in order to get a livelihood, you, who wer't strong and well limbed, pretended to be quite the contrary. Tell me freely, if you did so; I will procure you a Pardon: and besides, I will get for you some Money, to provide well for yourself, more than They have: We are sure they bribed you with Money, to say, that They restored you to Strength and Health, that they might be talked off over the City as workers of undeniable Miracles.

By these Specimens of the first Book, you may judge of the whole Volume; but it must be remembered, that they are not so grotesque as a multitude of other Passages.

Observe, that the Author carefully follows the popular Traditions. He foists in (16) a long *Episode* concerning *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, and his Ordination to the Episcopacy. He foists in (17) another much longer concerning the Death, Resurrection, and Assumption of the Holy Virgin. These Theatrical Performances were applauded in the former times; but at present they are looked on as wretched things. Here I must cite the following Verses of *Boileau*.

(16) In the fifth Book.

(17) Ibid.

Chez nos devots Ayeux le Théatre abhorré
Fut long-tems dans la France un plaiſir ignoré.
De Pelerins, dit-on, une troupe groſſiere
En public à Paris y monta la prémiere,
Et ſotement vêtûe en ſa ſimplicité
Joüa les Saints, la Vierge, & Dieu, par piété.
Le Savoir à la fin diſſipant l'Ignorance
Fit voir de ce projet la dévote imprudence.
On chaſſa ces Docteurs prêchant ſans miſſion,
On vit renaitre Hector, Andromaque, Ilion (18).

(18) Boileau's Art of Poetry, Cant. 3, ver. 873 &c.

In pious Days of Yore, a barbarous Stage,
In France, gave Pleasure to an ignorant Age.
Pilgrims for Players won'd, at first, go down,
Their monstrous Farces follow'd by the Town.
The Company, religiously severe,
Made Saints and Martyrs in the Scene appear;
The Holy Virgin, and ev'n GOD was there.
Knowledge at length put Ignorance to flight;
A Zeal so indiscrete exposed to light;
Drove th' unmonastick'd Doctors from the Stage:
Andromache reviv'd in Tragic Rage,
And Troy and Hector charm'd once more the Age.

If you would have a Comment on this, read these words (19). "It is certain, that *Pilgrimages* introduced these devout Representations. Those, who returned from *Jerusalem* and the Holy Land, from St *James* of *Compostella*, St *Baume* of *Provence*, St *Reine*, Mount St *Michael*, *Notre Dame du Puy*, and other places of Piety, composed Songs on their Travels, mixing with them a Recital of the Life and Death of the Son of GOD, or of the last Judgment,

ORIGIN of this kind of theatrical Pieces.

(19) Taken from *Menestrier's* Ancient and Modern Musical Representations, pag. 153, 154.

' Judgment, after a groſs manner, but which the ' ſinging and Simplicity of the Times ſeem to ren- ' der pathetic; they ſung the Miracles of Saints, ' their Martyrdom, and certain Fables, to which ' the Credulity of the People gave the Name of ' Viſions and Apparitions. Theſe Pilgrims, who ' went in Companies, and who took their Stands ' in Streets, and public Places, where they ſung ' with their Staves in their Hands, and their Hats ' and Mantles covered with Shells, and painted ' Images of divers Colours, formed a kind of Spe- ' ctacle, which pleaſed, and which excited the ' Piety of ſome Citizens of *Paris*, to raiſe a Fund ' for purchaſing a proper place to erect a Theatre, ' on which to repreſent theſe Myſteries on Holy- ' Days, as well for the Inſtruction of the People, as ' their Diverſion. *Italy* had public Theatres for ' the Repreſentation of theſe Myſteries; one of ' them I ſaw at *Veletri*, in the Road from *Rome* ' to *Naples*, in a public Place, where it is not ' forty Years ſince they left off to repreſent the ' Myſteries of the Life of the Son of God. Theſe ' pious Spectacles appeared ſo fine in thoſe igno- ' rant Ages, that they made them the principal ' Ornaments of the Reception of Princes, when ' they made their Entry into Cities; and, as they ' ſung a Chriſtmas Carol inſtead of the cries of *Long* ' *live the King*, they repreſented in the Streets the ' good *Samaritan*, the wicked rich Man, the Paſ- ' ſion of Jesus Christ, and ſeveral other ' Myſteries, at the Reception of our Kings. The ' Pſalms and Proſe Devotions of the Church were ' the Opera of thoſe times. They walked in Pro- ' ceſſion before thoſe Princes with the Banners of ' the Churches; they ſung to their Praiſe Hymns ' compoſed of ſeveral Paſſages of Scripture, tacked ' together, to make Alluſions to the principal ' Actions of their Reigns.

CHRYSEIS, the Daughter of *Chryſes*, Prieſt of *Apollo*, is more known by This Patronymic Name, than by That of *Aſtynome*, which was her proper Name. She was taken by *Achilles*, when he plundered *Lyrneſſus*, and ſome other Places near *Troy*. She was married to the King of that Country (*a*). *Agamemnon*, finding her to his Taſte, kept her for himſelf, and was ſo far from reſtoring her to good *Chryſes*, who was come to redeem her, cloathed with his Prieſtly Ornaments, and furniſhed with a very great Ranſom, that he drove him unworthily from him (*b*). We learn from *Homer*, why he would keep This Concubine [*A*]. *Chryſes* prayed to *Apollo* to revenge him, and was heard; the Plague infected the *Greek* Army, and did not ceaſe, till, by the Advice of the Diviner *Calchas*, *Chryſeis* was reſtored to her Father (*c*). She was with Child, and yet ſhe boaſted that no one had touched her; but, when ſhe could hide it no longer, ſhe maintained, that it was not the Work of a Man, but of the God *Apollo* (*d*). The Son ſhe was delivered of was called *Chryſes*. He learned his Extraction ſomewhat late; but it was ſoon enough to do good Service to his Brother *Oreſtes* [*B*]. Some ſay, that *Iphigenia*

(*a*) Dictys, lib. 2. pag. m. 172.

(*b*) Homer. Iliad. lib. 1.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Hygin. cap. 121.

[*A*] *We learn from* Homer, *why he would keep This Concubine.*] He declared, in the Council of War, that he preferred her before his Wife *Clytemneſtra*, whom he had married a Maid, and that *Chryſeis* did not yield to *Clytemneſtra* either in Beauty, Wit, or Handy-work.

— — — — Ἐπεὶ πολὺ βούλομαι αὐτὴν
Οἶκοι ἔχειν· καὶ γάρ ῥα Κλυταιμνήστρης ἀρετᾶσιν
Κουριδίης ἀλέγω, ἐπεὶ οὐ ἧσσον ἐστὶ γυναικῶν,
Οὔ δέμας, οὐδὲ φυὴν, οὔτ' ἄρ φρένας οὔτε τι ἔργα.

— Quoniam valde cupio ipſam
Domi habere. Etenim Clytemneſtræ præpoſui
Uxori, quam virginem duxi, quoniam non ipſa eſt inferior
Neque corpore, neque indole, neque mente, nec operibus (1).

(1) Homer. Il. lib. 1, ver. 112.

A Maid unmatch'd in Manners as in Face,
Skill'd in each Art, and crown'd with every Grace.
Not half ſo dear were Clytemneſtra's *Charms,*
When firſt her blooming Beauties bleſs'd my Arms. Pope.

He had already told *Chryſes*, that he would detain *Chryſeis* till ſhe became old, and that he pretended to keep her to make Linnen-Cloth for him, and alſo to lie with him.

Τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω, πρὶν μὲν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν
Ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἐν Ἄργεϊ τηλόθι πάτρης,
Ἰστὸν ὑφαινομένην καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀρτιόωσαν

Hanc autem ego non liberabo antequam ipſam vel ſenectus adeat
Noſtra in domo Argis, procul à patria,
Telam percurrentem & meum lectum participantem (2).

(2) Ibid. ver. 29.

Mine is thy Daughter, Prieſt, and ſhall remain,
And Prayers, and Tears, and Bribes ſhall plead in vain,
Till Time ſhall ruſh every youthful Grace,
And Age diſmiſs her from my cold Embrace,
In daily Labours of the Loom employ'd,
And doom'd to deck the Bed ſhe once enjoy'd. Pope.

Mr *Perrault*, laughing at this Place of the *Iliad*, miſtook one Name for another: Let *Agamemnon*, ſays he, *keep* Briſeis, *the Daughter of the Great Prieſt, to make him Linnen-Cloth* (3). I muſt obſerve, that *Agamemnon*, though never ſo well pleaſed with *Chryſeis*, declared to the Council of War, that, if they would make him amends for her, he would reſtore her, if it was neceſſary to prevent the Deſtruction of the Army. He actually reſtored her, but made himſelf amends at the Expence of *Achilles*, from whom he took *Briſeis* (4). *Achilles* left off fighting, from whence proceeded an infinite number of Evils; and thus the Misfortunes of That War were always occaſioned by Women. If three or four Perſons could have lain without Women, it might have ſaved the Lives of Two or Three hundred thouſand Men. The Caſe was not ſo deplorable, nor ſo baſe, when it was ſaid:

(3) Parallele, Tom. II. pag. 340.

(4) *See* Arrianus's Epictetus, lib. 2, cap. 24.

Scilicet ut Turno contingat regia conjux,
Nos animæ viles inhumata infletaque turba
Sternamur campis (5).

(5) Virgil. Æn. lib. 11, ver. 371.

A Baſe, ignoble, Crowd, without a Name,
Unwept, unworthy of the Funeral Flame;
By Duty bound to forfeit each his Life,
That Turnus *may enjoy a Royal Wife.* Dryden.

[*B*] *Her Son —— did good Service to his Brother* Oreſtes.] By helping the Matter a little, we find, in the Hundred and Twenty firſt Chapter of *Hyginus*, that *Oreſtes* and *Iphigenia*, being fled from the *Cherſoneſus Taurica*, with the Statue of *Diana*, landed in the Iſle of *Sminthe*, where *Chryſes* was the Prieſt of *Apollo*. Young *Chryſes*, I mean the Son

(e) Tzetzes in Lycophr. & Magnum Etymologicum in voce Χρυσόπολις.

(f) Dictys, ubi supra, pag. 180.

Iphigenia was the Daughter of *Agamemnon* and of *Chryses* (e). Others relate, that *Chryses*, being informed of the good Treatment that his Daughter had received from the *Greeks*, brought her back again to their Army, and returned her to *Agamemnon* (f). We have shewed, in the Remarks of the Article BRISEIS, that *Horace* reasoned ill, when he made use of That *Greek* Prince's Example, to prove that his Friend ought not to be ashamed to love his Servant-maid. I shall remark here, that *Briseïs* and *Cryseïs* were first Cousins [C].

Son of *Agamemnon* and *Chryseïs*, had a mind to send these two Persons back again to *Thoas* King of *Taurica*; but his Father acquainted him with the Fraternity, that was between him and those two new Comers. Then young *Chryses* joined with *Orestes*, and both returned into *Taurica* to kill *Thoas*; which having performed, they went to *Mycenæ* with the Statue of *Diana*. This is ill enough related in the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary; they have added some Circumstances to it which are not in *Hyginus*, and forgot those, which are in That Author, and yet he is the only one that is cited. *Stephanus Byzantinus* informs us, that the City of *Chrysopolis* took it's Name from *Chrysis*, the Son of *Agamemnon* and of *Chryseïs*. Those who say, that This Woman maintained, she had brought her Chastity sound and whole from the *Greek* Army, say no improbable thing; for it is the common Talk of almost all the Women, who are carried away, or who are in Towns taken by Assault (6). It was a very convenient Thing, for a Woman, at the Time of the Seige of *Troy*, to be allowed to say, that she was with Child by a God.

(6) *Lewis Guyon*, in his *Diverses Leçons*, Tom. III. liv. 4. cap. 14, 15, approves that Women should say so, and advises them to it.

[C] Briseis *and* Chryseis *were first Cousins.*] For *Bryses* and *Chryses* were Brothers. Βρισης γὰρ καὶ Χρύσης ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν, παῖδες Ἀδρήστου. They are *Eustathius*'s Words (7). The learned and obliging Mr. *Drillenburg* gave me notice of This Passage.

(7) In Iliad. A. pag. 58. lin. 28.

CHRYSIPPUS, the natural Son of *Pelops* [A], was of an incomparable Beauty (a). *Laïus* became passionately in Love with him, and carried him away (b); but he was so speedily pursued, that they took his Prey from him and carried him Prisoner to *Pelops*, who pardoned him that Action, considering that Love had drove him to it. *Pelops*'s Affection for *Chrysippus* was greater than That which he had for his Legitimate Children; for which reason his Wife *Hippodamia*, animated with all the Spite of a Step-Mother, exhorted two of her Sons, *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, to take away this Bastard's Life: She did not question but that one Day he would aspire to the Crown. They refused to perform that base Action; upon which she resolved to do it her self: for which purpose, she took *Laïus*'s Sword, while he slept, and killed *Chrysippus* with it. The Suspicions fell on *Laïus*, because of his Sword; but *Chrysippus* had time enough, before he died, to clear him. *Pelops* was contented to turn away *Hippodamia* (c). Some Authors (d) say, That she did not kill *Chrysippus* with her own Hand, but that she caused *Atreus* and *Thyestes* to commit that Murder; and that, after they had killed *Chrysippus*, they threw him into a Well. Their Father would see them no more; and they retired into *Tripbylia* (e). Some say (f), That he was not indulgent enough to be satisfied with banishing his Wife, and that he was resolved to revenge the Death of *Chrysippus* chiefly upon her, but that he could not do it, because she fled to *Midea* (g). Others say, That, seeing her self accused by her Husband, she killed herself (b). We learn from *Thucydides*, that *Atreus* fled to his Nephew *Euristhеus*, King of *Mycenæ* (i). We must not think, that this *Chrysippus* differs from him, whom *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Arnobius*, and *Firmicus Maternus*, have associated with *Ganymede* [B]. This Son of *Pelops* has not been mentioned yet in *Moreri*'s Dictionary,

(a) Hygin. cap. 85, 272.

(b) See Remark [B].

(c) *Taken from* Plutarch in Parallelis, pag. 313 *Hegesander* Dorotheus in Pelopida.

(d) Schol. Euripid. in Orest. Tzetzes Histor. 18. chil. 1. *See also* Hygin. cap. 85.

(e) *A Part of* Elis *in* Peloponnesus.

(f) Pausan. lib. 6. p. 372. Edit. 1696.

(g) A Town in *Argos*.

(h) Hygin. cap. 85.

(f) Φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον. Patrem fugienti (*Atreo*) propter Chrysippi necem. *Thucyd. lib.* 1. *See also* Plato in Cratylo, pag. m. 272. C.

[A] *He was the natural Son of* Pelops.] Some say, that the Mistress, by whom he had This fine Child, was the Nymph *Danais* (1). Others call her *Axiothe* (2) or *Astyoche* (3); but the Scholiast upon *Homer* pretends, that *Chrysippus*'s Mother was *Pelops*'s lawful Wife. Consult him upon the Hundred and fifth Verse of the second Book of the *Iliad*. He speaks, as others do, of *Hippodamia*'s Jealousy, and of the Murther committed by *Atreus* and by *Thyestes*, and he quotes *Hellanicus*.

(1) Plut. In Parallel. pag. 313.

(2) Apollodor. Centur. 18. n. 7. Schol. Euripid. in Orest. ver. 5.

(3) Schol. Pindari ad Olymp. A.

[B] *We must not imagine, that this* Chrysippus *differs from him, whom* Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius ------ *have associated with* Ganymede.] *Clemens Alexandrinus* upbraids the Pagans with the Pederasty of their Gods, and makes use of these Words: Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐδὲ παίδων ἀπέσχοντο οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν θεοί, ὁ μὲν τις, Γλαῦκος, ὁ δὲ Ταχίτης, ὁ δὲ Πέλοπος, ὁ δὲ Χρυσίππου, τὸ δὲ Γανυμήδους ἐρῶντες. τούτοις ὑμῶν αἱ γυναῖκες ἀφοσιούμεναι τοὺς θεοὺς, τοιούτους δὲ ἐνχίσθων εἶναι τοὺς ἄνδρας τῆς ἑαυτῶν, οὕτω σωφρονεῖν ἵνα δοκῶ ὁμοίως τοῖς θεοῖς, τὰ ἴσα ἐζηλωκότες. Nam nec à pueris quidem dii vestri abstinuerunt: unus quidem Hylam, alius verò Hyacinthum, alius Pelopem, alius Chrysippum, alius autem Ganymedem, amantes. Hos deos vestræ uxores adorent, tales autem suos esse maritos precentur, adeò temperantes, ut sint dis similes, similia consectantes (4). —— *For your Gods abstained not even from Boys; One being in love with* Hylas, *another with* Hyacinthus, *another with* Pelops, *another with* Chrysippus, *and another with* Ganymede. *Let your Wives worship these Gods, and let them pray that their Husbands may be such, so temperate, as to be like Gods, following the same things. Arnobius*, who copies this Passage, and a great many others, out of the same Father, expresses himself likewise in an indeterminate manner: 'Quid, quod non contenti feminei generis attri-'buisse Diis curas, etiam sexus adjungitis adamatos 'ab his mares? Hylam nescio quis diligit: Hya-'cintho est alius occupatus: ille Pelopis desideriis 'flagrat: hic in Chrysippum suspirat ardentius: 'Catamitus rapitur delicium futurus, & poculorum 'custos: & ut Jovis dicatur pullus, in partibus Fa-'bius aduritur mollibus, obsignaturque posticis (5). —— *What! is it not enough that you make your Gods enamoured with the Female Sex, but you must make them in love with the Male likewise. One of them is in love with* Hylas; *another is taken up with* Hyacinthus: *This God burns with desire of* Pelops; *That fights more ardently after* Chrysippus: *A Catamite is carried away, to be a favourite and a Cup-bearer; and, that he may be called* Jove's *Young-One*, Fabius *is burnt in the soft Parts, and marked behind.* *Firmicus Maternus* is a little more particular: he not only names *Jupiter* in relation to *Ganymede*, but also *Hercules* in relation to *Hylas*, and *Apollo* concerning *Hyacinthus*: Only he has not named the Lovers of *Chrysippus*

(4) Clem. Alexandr. in Protrept. pag. 21. A.

(5) Arnob. lib. 4. pag. 145.

ctionary, nor CHRYSIPPUS of *Tyana* [C], Author of a Book teaching how to make Bread (*k*): but CHRYSIPPUS, a famous Phyſician born at *Cnidus* [D], and CHRYSIPPUS, the Diſciple of *Eraſiſtratus*, have not been omitted in it. It is not true, that this Diſciple of *Eraſiſtratus* compoſed *Georgics*; for it is a Work, which *Diogenes Laërtius* aſcribes to another *Chryſippus* (*l*).

(*k*) Athenæus, lib. 3. pag. 113, *and* lib. 14, pag. 47.

(*l*) Diog. Laërt. lib. 7. n. 186.

ſippus and *Pelops*. 'Puerorum aliquis delectatur amplexibus, Ganymedem in ſinu Jovis quærat, Herculem videat Hylam impatienti amore quærentem, Hyacinthi deſiderio captum Apollinem diſcat. Chryſippum alius, alius Pelopem videat, ut per Deos ſuos ſibi licere dicat, quicquid hodie ſeveriſſime Romanis legibus vindicatur (6). —— *The Pederaſt may find* Ganymede *in* Jupiter's *Arms, may ſee* Hercules *with all the Impatience of a Lover ſeeking after* Hylas, *and may learn that* Apollo *was in love with* Hyacinthus. *Another may ſee* Chryſippus, *another* Pelops: *inſomuch 'that he may ſay, he is authorized by his Gods to 'do, whatever is at preſent moſt ſeverely puniſhed 'by the* Roman *Laws*.' His Commentator (7) has nothing to ſay. I have looked in vain for ſome Note, in *Theodorus Canterus*, in *Godefca'cus Stewechius*, in *Gebhartus Elmenhorſtius*, and in *Deſiderius Heraldus*, four famous Commentators on *Arnobius*: I have found them all as dumb as Fiſhes, as to what concerns our *Chryſippus*, and the God, or the Hero, who loved him criminally. But what may be the Reaſon, why the three ancient Authors, whom I have cited, keep to ſuch indeterminate Expreſſions on this laſt point, and even that the firſt did not name the Lovers of *Hyacinthus* and *Ganymede*? It would be raſh and unjuſt to ſuſpect him of Artifice, as if, knowing that he, who loved *Chryſippus*, was a meer Man, he durſt not name him; and that, leſt it ſhould be thought, that there was ſome Deſign in this Forgetfulneſs, he, at the ſame time, ſuppreſſed the Names of the reſt. Let us ſay, that either his Memory deceived him, and that, having confuſed Ideas, he mixed *Chryſippus* with the Boys, whom the Gods had loved; or rather let us ſay, that he remembered, that certain Authors (8) attributed to *Jupiter*, what almoſt all the reſt attributed to *Laïus*. Let us keep to this laſt Tradition, and let us ſay, that the Lover of this fair Youth was neither a God, nor a Demi-God; he was a *Theban* (9), the Son of *Labdacus*. Conſult *Athenæus*, who will inform you, that *Laïus*, being lodged with *Pelops*, fell in love with *Chryſippus*, the Son of his Hoſt, and fled away with him to *Thebes* (10). That Author adds, that it was ſaid, that *Laïus* was the firſt, who loved in that manner. *Ælian* ſays the ſame thing, and that it was the reaſon, why the *Thebans* thought it a fine and laudable thing to make love in that manner (11). Note, that, according to *Hyginus*, it was *Theſeus*, who ran away with *Chryſippus* (12); but it is probable the paſſage is corrupted: See the ingenious Conjecture of Mr *Perizonius* (13), by which, inſtead of *quem Theſeus ludis rapuit*, he will have it to be read *quem Nemeis Laïus rapuit*. In effect, *Hyginus* had ſaid, in his Eighty fifth Chapter, that *Laïus* had carried away *Chryſippus* at the *Nemean* Games (14). Note, that he adds, that *Pelops* recovered him, having made War with the Raviſher. Note alſo, that *Piſander* was of Opinion, that the young Man was ſo aſhamed of his Adventure, that he killed himſelf. *Piſander apud Eurip. Scholiaſt. pag.* 402. *Edit. Steph. ipſum* (*Chryſippum*) *præ pudore intuliſſe ſibi manus autumat* (15).

(6) Firmicus Maternus, de Errore Profanar. Rel gionum, p. m 24.

(7) Joannes à Wower.

(8) Athenæus, *lib* 13, pag 603, 604, *quotes* Praxilla Sicyonia.

(9) He was King of *Thebes*.

(10) Athen. lib. 13, pag. 603, 604.

(11) Ælian, Var. Hiſtor. lib. 13, cap. 5. & Hiſtor. Animal. lib. 6. cap. 15. pag. m. 339.

(12) Hygin. cap. 272.

(13) In notis ad hunc locum, referente Thoma Munckero.

(14) Propter formæ dignitatem, Nemeæ ludis rapuit. *Hygin. cap.* 85.

(15) Munckerus in Hygin. ibid. pag. 140.

[C] Moreri's *Dictionary ſays nothing of* CHRYSIPPUS *of* Tyana.] *Jonſius* pretends, that *Athenæus* gave him the Elogy of moſt venerable Writer (16); but it is meer Irony in the Mouth of one of the Interlocutors of *Athenæus*; and we may juſtly compare this with the *Docte Cati*, mentioned above (17). There is more reaſon to ſay, that *Athenæus* called him an ingenious Talker about Tarts and Cakes. Σοφος πεμματολογος. *Sapiens ille Pemmatum Scriptor* (18).

(16) Σεμνότατος συγγραφεὺς dicitur apud Athenæum xiv. 12. *Jonſ. de Script. Hiſt. Philoſ. pag.* 157.

(17) Rem. [E], of the Article CATIUS.

(18) Athen lib. 14, cap. 15, pag. 648.

[D] Chryſippus, *a famous Phyſician, born at* Cnidus.] *Pliny* ſpoke of him as of a Man, who had made great Innovations in Phyſic: 'Horum 'placita, *ſays he* (19), Chryſippus ingenti garruli'tate mutavit, plurimumque & ex Chryſippo diſci'pulus ejus Eraſiſtratus, Ariſtotelis filia genitus. —— 'Chryſippus, *a greater Talker, deviated from their 'Opinions; and* Eraſiſtratus, *his Diſciple, Son of a 'Daughter of* Ariſtotle, *varied greatly from* Chryſippus.' Let us obſerve the two Qualities, which are here aſcribed to *Eraſiſtratus*. The firſt is That of *Chryſippus*'s Diſciple; the ſecond That of the Son of *Ariſtotle*'s Daughter. This does not agree with what we read in *Sextus Empiricus* (20), that *Pythias*, *Ariſtotle*'s Daughter, was married three times. I. To *Nicanor*; II. To *Proclus*, by whom ſhe had two Sons, who ſtudied Philoſophy under *Theophraſtus*; III. To the Phyſician *Metrodorus*, who had been a Diſciple of *Chryſippus* the *Cnidian*, and who taught *Eraſiſtratus*. From this third Marriage proceeded a Son, who was named *Ariſtotle*. Perhaps *Eraſiſtratus* was adopted by *Metrodorus*, and by *Pythias* (21); and, if it be ſo, *Pliny* would be only guilty of having not properly uſed the Word *genitus*. We ſee, in *Diogenes Laërtius*, that *Eraſiſtratus* acknowledged he had learned many Things of this *Chryſippus* (22); but the Expreſſion being equivocal, it cannot be determined, whether he had learned thoſe Things by Word of Mouth, or by Reading. *Galen* looks upon *Chryſippus*, the *Cnidian*, as *Eraſiſtratus*'s Maſter, and as the chief of thoſe, who diſapproved Bleeding (23). Father *Hardouin* obſerves, that This *Chryſippus* compoſed a Treatiſe *de Bracſica*, and a whole Work περὶ λαχάνων, *de Oleribus*. He (24) cites *Pliny* and *Diogenes Laërtius*, concerning the firſt of theſe two Things, and the Scholiaſt upon *Nicander* (25) concerning the ſecond. But *Camerarius*, in the Catalogue of the Authors *de Re Ruſtica*, which he added to his Treatiſe *de Re Ruſtica*, printed at *Nuremberg*, 1595, in 12mo, aſcribes the Book *de Bracſica* to one *Chryſippus*, a Diſciple of *Eraſiſtratus*. See *Jonſius*, who mentions nineteen *Chryſippus*'s, but without pretending that they are all diſtinct (26). His Collections are good and curious. The Author of the Treatiſe, *de Bracſica*, pretended, that Cabbages were a Remedy for all Diſeaſes. *Chryſippus medicus peculiarum bracſicæ librum dicavit, omnium morborum ex ea remedia continentem* (27). We muſt not forget, that *Chryſippus*, the *Cnidian*, was the Father of another *Chryſippus*, who was King *Ptolomy*'s Phyſician, and who, being oppreſſed by Calumny, was whipped, and puniſhed with Death (28). Laſtly, let us obſerve, that *Moreri* was in the wrong to ſay, That it is not well known in what Time *Chryſippus*, the *Cnidian*, lived. It is eaſy to infer, that he lived in the Time of *Alexander the Great*, and of the firſt *Ptolomy*.

(19) Plin. lib. 29, cap. 1, pag. m. 663.

(20) Sext. Empiricus adverſ. Mathemat. cap. 12, pag. 521.

(21) See Father *Hardouin* upon that Paſſage of *Pliny*.

(22) Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, n. 183.

(23) Galen. de Venæ ſect. contra Eraſiſtrat. cap. 2, 7, item alibi.

(24) Hard. in Indice Auctor. Plin. pag. 104.

(25) Ad Theriac. pag. 39.

(26) Jonſius de Hiſt. Script. Philoſ. pag. 157.

(27) Plinius Valerianus, de Re medica, lib. 4, cap. 29. *See alſo* Pliny, lib. 20, cap. 9.

(28) Diog. Laërt. ubi ſupra.

CHRYSIPPUS, a Stoic Philoſopher, was of *Soli* a Town of *Cilicia* (*a*). Some ſay, that he was a Diſciple of *Zeno* (*b*); it is more certainly known, that he ſtudied under *Cleanthes*, *Zeno*'s Succeſſor (*c*); but, as he had a very ſubtle Wit [A], and a great Talent at Reaſoning, he departed from the Doctrine of thoſe two great

(*a*) Strabo, lib. 14, pag. 462.

(*b*) Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, in Chryſippo, n. 179.

(*c*) Valerius Maximus, lib. 1. cap. 7. n. 11. ext. *ſuppoſes, that* Cleanthes *was* Chryſippus's *Diſciple: but he is groſſly miſtaken.*

[A] *He had a very ſubtle Wit.*] Let us ſee what *Seneca* ſaid of him; but, to underſtand his Thought the better, let us remember that he had juſt before cenſured ſeveral trifling Things, advanced by the Ancients, concerning the *Three Graces*; and then he adds (1): 'Chryſippus quoque, penes quem 'ſubtile illud acumen eſt, & in imam pene'trans veritatem, qui rei agendæ cauſa loquitur, '& verbis non ultrà, quàm ad intellectum ſatis eſt, 'utitur, totum librum ſuum his ineptiis replet: ita 'ut de ratione dandi, accipiendi, reddendique bene'ficii patica admodum dicat: nec his fabulis, ſed 'hæc

(1) Seneca de Benefic. lib. 1, cap. 3, pag. m. 6.

great Philosophers, and opposed them in many Points (d). He wrote many Books; they are reckoned above 705; among which were many that concerned Logic [B]; for he applied himself zealously to cultivate and refine That part of the System. Such a great number of Compositures will not be so much wondered at, when it is known, that he wrote several times on the same Subject; that he made use of any thing that came in his Way; that he cared but little to correct his Works [C]; that he

(d) Diog. Laërt. ubi supra.

hæc fabulis inserit. —— Chrysippus *likewise, whose Wit is subtle, and penetrating to the very bottom of Truth, who speaks to the purpose, and uses Words no farther than to be understood, fills his whole Book with these Trifles: insomuch that he says but little of the manner of conferring, receiving, and returning a Kindness; nor does he intermix Fables with These, but These with Fables.*' And, fearing to be blamed for having censured such a Philosopher, he makes use of these Words in his own Vindication: 'Tu modo hoc dicere, si quis mihi objiciet, quod Chrysippum in ordinem coëgerim, magnum mehercule virum, sed tamen Græcum, cujus acumen nimis tenue retunditur, & in se sæpe replicatur: etiam cum agere aliquid videtur, pungit, non perfoat. Hoc verò quod acumen est? —— Ad hanc honestissimam contentionem, beneficiis beneficia vincendi, sic nos adhortatur Chrysippus, ut dicat verendum esse, ne quia Charites Jovis filiæ sunt, parum se gratè gerere, sacrilegium sit, & tam bellis puellis fiat injuria. Tu me aliquid eorum doce, per quæ beneficentior, gratiorque adversus bene merentes fiam, per quæ obligantium, obligatorumque animi certent, ut qui præstiterint, obliviscantur, pertinax sit memoria debentium. Istæ verò ineptiæ poëtas relinquantur: quibus aures oblectare propositum est, & dulcem fabulam nectere. At qui ingenia sanare, & fidem in rebus humanis retinere, memoriam officiorum ingerere animis volunt, serio loquantur, & magnis viribus agant: nisi forte existimas, levi ac fabuloso sermone, & anilibus argumentis, prohiberi posse rem perniciosissimam, beneficiorum novas tabulas (2)

(2) Id. ibid. cap. 7, pag. 9. Confer quæ Plutarchus de audiendis Poëtis, pag. 31. E.

—— *I only desire you would stand by me, if any one shall object to me, that I endeavour to humble* Chrysippus; *a Great Man indeed, but a* Grecian, *whose Edge, too fine, is blunted, and often bows back on himself; even when he seems to be doing something, he only pricks, but does not perforate. But what kind of Edge is This?* —— Chrysippus, *when he would exhort us to this virtuous Contention, to wit, of conquering Kindness by Kindness, tells us, it is to be feared, since the Graces are the Daughters of* Jupiter, *least Ingratitude should be Sacrilege, and an Injury to such fine Ladies. Instruct me in those Points, by which I may become more beneficent and grateful towards those who deserve well of me, and which excite an Emulation between the Obliging and Obliged, so that They, who confer Benefits, forget them, They, who are indebted for them, constantly remember them. Leave these Trifles to the Poets; whose Design is to please the Ear, and to work up an entertaining Fable. But let Those, who would better our Minds, keep us to the Practice of Honesty, and put us in mind of our Duty, speak seriously, and act with great Force: unless perhaps you think, that a general Discharge for Benefits received, a most pernicious thing, can be prohibited by a light and fabulous Discourse, and old Wives Arguments.*' Nothing can be more judicious than This Criticism of *Seneca*: he did very well to shew the Ridiculousness of those Poetical Reasons, set forth in a Work, relating to some of the principal Duties of civil Life. However, he was so equitable as to discover, in his Censure, one of the finest Strokes of *Chrysippus*'s Character, which was his Subtility. We shall see the Epithets *Cicero* made Choice of in speaking of This Philosopher: 'Chrysippus, qui Stoicorum somniorum vaferrimus habetur interpres, magnam turbam congregat ignotorum Deorum, atque ita ignotorum, ut eos ne conjectura quidem informare possimus, cum mens nostra quidvis videatur cogitatione posse depingere (3). ——— Chrysippus, *the most artful Interpreter of the Dreams of the Stoics, collects together a vast Crowd of unknown Gods, and so unknown, that the Mind, which seems capable of representing any thing to itself in Thought, can attain to no Idea of them, even in conjecture.*' Chrysippus quidem, quanquam est acerrimo ingenio, tamen ea dicit, ut ea ab ipsa natura didicisse, non ut ipse reperire videatur (4). ——— Chrysippus, *tho' of the acutest Wit, says such things, as seem to be, not the result of Enquiry, but the Dictates of meer Nature.*' Et Chrysippus tibi acute dicere videbatur, homo sine dubio versutus & callidus. Versutos eos appello quorum celeriter mens versatur: callidos autem quorum tanquam manus operæ, sic animus usu concalluit (5). ——— *You thought.* Chrysippus *argued very subtilly, a Man; no doubt, of great Quickness and Craft. I call those Quick, whose Minds turn about with great Celerity, and Those Crafty, whose Minds are grown callous thro' use, as their Hands thro' any Work or Craft.*' Chrysippus's Application to Logic, which I am going to mention, is a very strong Proof of his Subtility.

(3) Cicero de Natura Deor. lib. 1, cap. 15.

(4) Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 6.

(5) Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 10, in the second Book de finibus, cap. 34, he calls him homo acutus & diligens.

[B] *He wrote many Books ——— among which were several that concerned Logic.*] *Diogenes Laërtius* makes them amount to the Number of Three hundred and eleven (6). Which makes me find some Obscurity in what *Valerius Maximus* says, that This Philosopher began his Thirty-ninth Treatise of Logic at eighty Years of Age. 'Citeriores ætatis metas, sed non parvi tamen spatii Chrysippi vivacitas flexit: nam octogesimo anno cœptum, undequadragesimum λογικῶν exactissimæ subtilitatis volumen reliquit. Cujus studium in tradendis ingenii sui monimentis tantum operæ laborisque sustinuit: ut ad ea, quæ scripsit pene-tus cognoscenda longa vita sit opus (7). ——— Chrysippus *retained the Sprightliness of his Genius to ascertain old Age: for he left behind him the Thirty ninth Treatise of Logic, a Work of the greatest Subtilty, which he began in the eightieth Year of his Age. Whose Industry and Labour in delivering down the Monuments of his Wit was so great, that it requires a long Life to be acquainted with all his Writings.*' There are some Examples, which shew, that Authors do not publish every Part of a Work according to it's Order. We know, that *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* published the fifteenth Book of his *Exotericæ Exercitationes*, without the fourteen that should have preceded it, and which, if I am not mistaken, have never appeared. You will find such another Example in the Article MORISON. One might therefore think, that *Chrysippus*, having divided a Work of Logic into many Treatises, skipped the Thirty ninth, and referred it to another time (8), and wrote it only in the eightieth Year of his Life. Perhaps, it may be supposed, that all his Works of Logic were so divided, that the Thirty ninth Book was almost the last. By this means we might reconcile *Valerius Maximus* with *Diogenes Laërtius*. Note, that *Moreri* mistakes prodigiously here. *Valerius Maximus*, says he, *relates, that he finished a Treatise of Logic at Fourscore Years of Age, which he had begun at Forty.* Mr *Menage* committed the same Fault (9). *Lucian* did not fail to jest upon the Dialectical Subtilties of This Philosopher (10). For the rest, he makes him live Eighty one Years (11); which confirms the Testimony of *Valerius Maximus*, concerning *Chrysippus*'s long Life; and therefore I did not think I ought to depend on *Diogenes Laërtius*, who makes him die at the Age of Seventy three Years (12).

(6) Diog. Laërt, lib. 7. n. 198. pag. m. 485.

(7) Val. Maximus, lib. 8, cap. 7. num. 10. de Stud. & Industr.

(8) Diog. Laërt. lib. 8, n. 198, *observes that the Work* περὶ τῶν καταλογομένων ζητημάτων, *contained* 39 *Books.*

(9) Menag. in Laërt. lib. 7, n. 189.

(10) Lucian. in Vitar. Auctione, pag. 374, & seq. Tom. I. *See also* his Icaromenippus, pag. 295, Tom. II.

(11) Id. in Macrobii, pag. 641, Tom. II.

(12) Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, n. 184.

[C] *He cared but little to correct his Works.*] I pretend to say this after *Diogenes Laërtius*, tho' the quite contrary is to be seen in the Editions of That Author. Ἐπιλάθετο δὲ αὐτὰ, πολλαχοῦ ὄντα τῷ αὐτῷ δόγματι ἐναντία, καὶ ὧν τὰ ὑποκείμενα γράφων καὶ διορθούμενος πλειόνακις. φαίη τε τῶν μαρτυριῶν παραθέσεις χρήσιμος. *Ea verò tam multa conscripsit, quod de eadem re sæpè scribere aggrederetur, omneque quod incideret mandaret literis, ac sæpè emendaret, magnaque*

he was full of Quotations (e); that he was, besides, very laborious (f); and that he lived to above the Age of Fourscore Years (g). He was of a very small Stature (b), but his Presumption was very great [D]. He associated himself for some time with the Academic Philosophers, and reasoned, after their manner, *Pro* and *Con* (i). Nevertheless, he is looked upon as a true Stoic, and even as one of the most illustrious Ornaments, and the most zealous and able Defenders, of That Sect (k). *Scioppius* has abused him very much [E], and this in a Work, wherein

(e) Id. Ibid. n. 180.

(f) Id. ibid.

(g) See Remark [B], Citat. (c).

(b) Diog. Laert. ubi supra, n. 183.

(i) Id. Ibid. n. 184.

(k) See Remark [L].

(13) Id. Ibid. n. 180.

naque testimoniorum nube uteretur (13). You see a very bad Reasoning in this Passage; for it imports, that the reason, why *Chrysippus* wrote so many Books, was, that he wrote often on the same Subject; that he made use of all that came into his Hands; that he often corrected his Works: and that he cited many Witnesses. Here are four Reasons: the first, the second, and the fourth are very good; but the third is good for nothing, and even contrary to the Author's Design; for the Trouble of reviving a Work often, and polishing it from time to time, is the fittest Thing in the World to hinder a Writer from giving many Books to the Public. But, if he writes down whatever comes into his Mind, and every thing that he finds in other Writings, and if he corrects his Works but little, he may overflow the Republic of Letters with his Writings: and therefore I believe *Diogenes Laërtius* said, That, most commonly, our *Chrysippus* did not correct his Performances. I believe the Transcribers have forgot the privative *Alpha* in the Word διορθώμενος (14). That, which confirms me in my Conjecture, is, that *Diogenes Laërtius* observes, in another Place, That *Chrysippus*, having a mind to publish as many Books as *Epicurus*, used frequent Repetitions, and published all that offered itself to him, without correcting it: he did not read his Writings over again; he made too much haste, and was full of Citations (15). Εἰ γάρ τι γράψαι ὁ Ἐπικούρ@, φιλονικεῖ τοσοῦτο γράψαι ὁ Χρύσιππ@. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πολλάκις ταυτὰ γέγραφε· καὶ τὸ ἐπελθὸν καὶ ἀδιόρθωτον (16) εἵλκε τῷ ἐπείγεσθαι, καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια τοσαῦτα ἐξῆν ὡς ἐκείνων γέμειν τὰ βιβλία. *Nam siquid Epicurus scriberet, tantundem scribere & Chrysippus contendebat. Atque ideo sæpius eadem scripsit. Unde & tumultuarie scribere ac parum emendate illi ex festinatione contingebat, totque testimonia inserit, ut ex iis fere libri plani esse videantur.* It is plain, that the Historian meant the same thing in these two Places, and therefore the one must be corrected by the other. The great Desire of publishing many Books did not only engage our Philosopher to cite much, and to repeat, but also to contradict himself: for sometimes he copied, and sometimes he refuted himself (17). None of his Works are extant: we have only the Titles of them; and, besides, it is thought, that we have lost part of the Passage, wherein *Diogenes Laërtius* had mentioned them. It is *Jonsius*'s Opinion. See his Treatise *de Scriptoribus Historiæ Philosophicæ* (18), where he endeavours to repair, in some manner, the Loss of That Place. Note, That *Chrysippus* never dedicated any thing to any King (19). Some will have it to be a Sign of his proud and contemptuous Humour, and add, That he refused to go to *Ptolemy*, who had desired *Cleanthes* either to come to him, or to send him some of his Disciples (20); but *Chrysippus* is so far from being to be blamed for either of those two Things, that, on the contrary, he deserves to be praised for it: Nothing was more worthy of a Philosopher, than to act in that manner. We are going to give better Proofs of his Pride.

(14) Or perhaps διορθώμενον.

(15) Diog. Laërt. lib. 10. pag. 724. Edit. Genev. 1616.

(16) The Amsterdam *Edit.* 1692, *has here* τῷ μὴ ἐπελθεῖν καὶ ἀδιορθώτως, &c. Eo quod non relegeret, & immendata adjunxit, eo quod festinaret.

(17) See the Article *EPICURUS*, Remark [E].

(18) In the 8th Chapter of the 2d Book, pag. 151, & seq. *See also* Menag. in Laërt. lib. 7. n. 190, & seq.

(19) Diog. Laërt lib. 7. n. 185.

(20) Id. ibid.

[D] *His Presumption was very great.*] He said often to his Professor, It is sufficient to shew me the Doctrines; I want no more; I shall find the Proofs myself (21). A Person asked him, one day, To whom shall I recommend my Son? To Me, answered he; for if I knew any one that exceeded me, I would go myself and philosophize under him (22).

(21) Id. ibid. n. 179.

(22) Id. ibid. n. 183.

[E] Scioppius *abused him much.*] He looks upon him as the Head of those Stoics, who had dishonoured the Sect, by making an ill use of their Wit, and runing after vain Subtilties, that were only fit to expose the Gravity of the Stoics to laughter. ‘ Neque tamen, *says he* (23), defendere ac negare ‘ velim fuisse Stoicorum non paucos, qui specie ingenii illecti, inanibus argutiis ludibria quædam excitando, dignitatem severissimæ & gravissimæ rationis in contemptum adduxerint: quorum Princeps jure dici possit Chrysippus, qui cum esset magna quadam ingenii vi præditus, mireque ad quidvis excogitandum celer & acutus, nihil æque solebat laborare quàm ut non reliquarum tantum sectarum inventoribus contradiceret, sed à Magistris etiam suis Zenone & Cleanthe plerisque in rebus dissideret. —— *Nor will I deny, that there were not a few Stoics, who, seduced by an appearance of Wit, wrote in a ludicrous manner, and thereby brought Contempt on the Dignity of severe and weighty Reasoning: the chief of whom we may justly say was* Chrysippus; *who, having a great Strength of Genius, and a wonderful Quickness of Thought, took the greatest pains, not only to contradict the Founders of other Sects, but even to dissent, in most things, from his Masters; Zeno and* Cleanthes.’ His Pride, adds he, moved him to dispute *pro* and *con* on most Subjects, and to write much, out of Envy to *Epicurus*, who had written more Books than any other Philosopher; but he could never equal That Competitor: He often repeated the same Things, and said many more that refuted each other (24). Wherefore *Plutarch* had some reason to attack This Stoic particularly, and to curb his Temerity and Audaciousness. This is what happens, continues *Scioppius*, when a Man thinks more on Victory, than on the Truth, in a Dispute. ‘ Sed solet hoc fieri, quoties ‘ victoriæ majorem, qui disputant, quam Veritatis ‘ rationem ducunt, verumque est illud poëtæ:

(23) Scioppius Element. Philosoph. Stoicæ moralis, fol. 165. verso.

(24) Sæpe enim scripsit eadem, sæpius sibi contraria ac repugnantia. *Id. ibid. fol.* 166.

Nimium altercando veritas amittitur.

‘ Quod Carneadi quoque evenisse Cicero testatur, ‘ ut odio scilicet Stoicorum in constituendo bonorum fine, plurimum à reliquorum Academicorum, ‘ suaque ipsius sententia discederet (25). —— *And* ‘ *that of the Poet is true;*

(25) Id. ibid. fol. 166. verso.

In too much wrangling Truth is often lost.

‘ *Which,* Cicero *tells us, happened likewise to* Carneades, *who, through dislike of the Stoics in adjusting the Bounds of Good, departed greatly from* ‘ *the rest of the Academics, and even from his own* ‘ *Opinion.*’ It cannot be denied, that these Reflexions of *Scioppius* are judicious. It is a very great Misfortune for a Sect to have a Writer for their Apologist, who has a vast, quick, ready, and proud Wit, and who does not only aspire to the Glory of a fine, but also of a fruitful Pen. The main and only Aim of such a Writer is to confute any Adversary whatsoever, whom he undertakes to oppose; and, as he labours more for his own Reputation, than for the Interest of the Cause, he attends chiefly to the particular Thoughts, which his Imagination suggests to him. He regards but little whether they are agreeable to the Principles of his Party, or not; he is well enough pleased, if they serve to elude an Objection, or to tire out his Adversaries. Dazzled with his Inventions, he does not see the wrong side of them: he does not foresee the Advantages, which the same Enemies, or another kind of Antagonists, will draw from them. He is only for a present Advantage, and does not trouble himself with Things to come. Moreover, heaping Book upon Book, sometimes, against one Sect, and sometimes against another, he cannot avoid contradicting himself; he cannot argue coherently. By this means he betrays the Interests of his Party, and, by striving to run from one Extream, he falls into another, and successively into both. The Saying of an ancient Poet, alledged by *Scioppius*, That we lose the Truth by disputing too much, will make several People be-

wherein he extolls, as much as he can, the Opinions of the Stoics. He uſes him ſo, becauſe he conſiders him as proud even to contradiction, and having done much Injury to the whole Party, by his extravagant and audacious Conduct. The Stoics complained, that *Chryſippus* had collected ſo many Arguments for the Hypotheſis of the Academic Philoſophers, that he could not confute them afterwards [*F*]; which ſupplied their Antagoniſt *Carneades* with Weapons. This ſeems to ſhew that he acted honeſtly, and that he was not willing to obtain a Victory by the trick of repreſenting weakly the Reaſons of the other Party. But then, if it be conſidered, that he diſapproved thoſe, who took as much care to improve the Arguments of their Antagoniſts, as their own, one might think, that there was more Vanity, than fair dealing, in his Conduct: however, he might have been reproached with this, that his Counſels and his Actions did not agree together [*G*]. The Stoics might have complained more juſtly ſtill of the Temerity, wherewith

lieve, that the Diſputes of Philoſophers reſemble That about the Oyſter, which Mr *Boileau* (26), and Mr *de la Fontaine* (27), have ſo well deſcribed. But there is a great Difference to be obſerved; for, if the Oyſter, that was contended for, was not adjudged to either of the contending Parties, it was at leaſt the Share of a third Perſon: The Diſputes of Philoſophers have another Effect; They make both the Spectators of the Combat, and the Combatants, loſe the Truth: no body lays, or can lay, hold of it, in the Sequeſtration it is left in during the Proceſs. I ſhall dwell a little more on this Subject, in one of the Remarks of the Article EUCLID (28).

(26) In his ſecond Epiſtle.

(27) In Fable 9, of Part IV, Book 3, pag. m. 44.

(28) In Remark [*E*].

[*F*] *The Stoics complained that* Chryſippus *had collected ſo many Arguments for the Hypotheſis of the Academic Philoſophers - - - - - that he could not refute them afterwards.*] The Words I am going to ſet down are very remarkable. *Cicero* introduces an Academic Philoſopher, who ſpeaks thus: 'De quibus volumina impleta ſunt non à noſtris ſolum, ſed etiam à Chryſippo, de quo queri ſolent Stoici, dum ſtudioſe omnia conquiſierit, contra ſenſus & perſpicuitatem, contraque omnem conſuetudinem, contraque rationem, ipſum ſibi reſpondentem inferiorem fuiſſe: itaque ab eo armatum eſſe Carneadem (29). - - - - - *With which whole Volumes have been filled, not only by our own Writers, but even by* Chryſippus; *concerning whom the Stoics are wont to complain, that, while he is induſtrious in collecting Arguments, againſt the Senſes, and Perſpicuity, and againſt all Cuſtom and Reaſon, he falls ſhort in anſwering himſelf; therefore that he furniſhed* Carneades *with Arms.*' *Plutarch* enlarged much upon this: 'He ſays, that *Chryſippus* has not only ſometimes, but often and in ſeveral places, confirmed and corroborated Opinions, which are contrary to his own Opinion, and That ſtrenuouſly, and with ſo much Earneſtneſs and Contention that it was not for every one to underſtand what he moſt approved: they themſelves, who admire the Man's Acuteneſs, affirm it, and think that *Carneades* ſaid nothing of his own, but, laying hold of thoſe Arguments, which *Chryſippus* alledged for the contrary Opinion, turned them againſt him. He often cried out, to him, while diſputing, in the Words of *Homer*,

Wretch! thy own Strength will thee undo - - - -

'As if he had given great Advantages, againſt himſelf, to thoſe, who would overthrow or calumniate his Doctrine. But as to thoſe things he has advanced againſt Cuſtom, they are ſo proud of, and ſet ſuch a value on them, that they fear not to affirm, that all the Sayings of all the *Academics* together, if they were collected into one Body, are not comparable to what *Chryſippus* has written in diſparagement of the Senſes: which is an evident Sign of the Ignorance or Self-love of the Speakers. But this indeed is true, that, being afterwards deſirous to defend Cuſtom and the Senſes, he was inferior to himſelf; and the latter Treatiſe was much weaker than the former. So that he contradicts himſelf, &c (30).'

(29) Cicero Academ. Quæſt. lib. 4, cap. 27.

(30) Plutarch. de Repugnant. Stoicorum, pag. 1036, *according to the Verſion of* Amiot.

Note, by the way, a Miſtake of *Amiot*: theſe words, *he often cried out to him aloud in diſputing*, too plainly inſinuate, that *Chryſippus* and *Carneades* often diſputed between themſelves perſonally. Now this is not true (31): *Chryſippus* was dead, before the other was capable of oppoſing him. The *Greek* of *Plutarch*, καὶ πολλάκις ἀναβοᾶν γενέσθαι, Δαιμόνιε φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος, ſignify, according to *Xylander*, not that *Carneades* ſaid this; but that it was cuſtomary to make ſuch Exclamation to *Chryſippus*; *Ô Chryſippe ſolent acclamare: infelix, tua te vis perdet.* I would rather ſay, this Expreſſion relates to *Carneades*, and that it ſignifies, that That Philoſopher, in refuting *Chryſippus*, turned his Diſcourſe to him, applying to him This Verſe. For this purpoſe, it was not neceſſary, either that *Chryſippus* ſhould be preſent, or even ſtill alive: and obſerve, that *Plutarch* remarks, in another place not far from this, that theſe two Philoſophers were not cotemporaries. He introduces a Stoic, who remarks, that 'it was 'not by Accident, but by divine Providence, that '*Chryſippus* came after *Arceſilaus*, and before *Carneades*, of whom the one is Author and Promoter of the Injury and Outrage done againſt Cuſtom, 'and the other had more Credit than all the reſt 'of the Academics. And *Chryſippus*, being between 'the two; by his Writings contrary to the Doctrine 'of *Arceſilaus*, ſtopped and ſhut up the Eloquence 'of *Carneades* (32).' This Stoic did not agree, that our *Chryſippus* furniſhed *Carneades* with Arms: for he compares him to a General of an Army, who places a good Garriſon in a Town ready to be beſieged by the Enemy, and aſſigns to each Soldier the Poſt he is to defend, with great Order and Prudence (33).

(31) See Remark [*E*], of the Article *CARNEADES*, Citations (39), and (40).

(32) Id. de Communibus Notionibus adverſus Stoicos, init.

(33) Id. ibid.

[*G*] *He might have been reproached with this, that his Counſels and his Actions did not agree together.*] I have ſaid (34), that he does not ſeem to have acted deceitfully, and that he did fairly repreſent the Objections of his Adverſaries. He preſerved all their Force ſo faithfully, that it was not poſſible for him to refute them ſo eaſily as he had propoſed them. He is accuſed to have in this contradicted his own Principles; and this is one of the things, for which *Plutarch* taxes him with Contradiction. Here is the Sequel of the above quoted Paſſage (35). 'So that he contradicts himſelf; for, 'having always directed the propoſing of an Adverſary's Opinions, not with Approbation, but by 'ſhewing in ſome Meaſure their Falſity, he has 'ſhewed himſelf more acute in oppoſing, than defending, his own Doctrines; and, having admoniſhed others to beware of contrary Arguments, as preventing Comprehenſion, he has been more ſedulous in framing ſuch Proofs, as take away Comprehenſion, than ſuch as confirm it. And yet he plainly ſhews, that he himſelf feared this, writing thus in his fourth Book *of Lives: Repugnant Arguments, and Probabilities on the contrary ſide, are not raſhly to be propoſed, but with Caution; leſt the Hearers, diſtracted by them, ſhould let go their Conception, not being able ſufficiently to apprehend their Solutions, but ſo weakly, that their Comprehenſions may eaſily be ſhaken. For 'even thoſe, who have, according to cuſtom, preconceived both ſenſible and other things, quickly forgo them, being diſtracted by* Megarian *Interrogations, and others more numerous and forcible* (36).' *Plutarch* preſſes him very hard, and maintains againſt him, I. That his Maxim is wrong: II. That, not having followed it, he has contradicted himſelf moſt groſly. As to the firſt Point, read

(34) In the Text of this Article.

(35) Citat. (30).

(36) Plut. de Repugnant. Stoic.

theſe

wherewith he maintained several Doctrines, which might render their Sect odious; for

these words: 'As for disputing on both sides, he 'says, that he does not universally reject it, but 'exhorts us to use it with Caution, as is done in 'Pleadings, not with Approbation, but to dissolve 'their Probability. *For to those*, says he, *who endeavour a Suspension of Assent concerning all things, it is convenient to do this, and it co-operates to what they desire; but, as for those, who would work in us Science, according to which we are professedly to live, they ought to lay down the contrary, and to conduct those, who are entred, from the beginning to the end; and, where there is occasion to make mention of contrary Discourses, to dissolve their Probability, as is done in Pleadings.* For this he has 'said in express words. Now, that it is absurd for 'Philosophers to think, that they ought to set down 'the contrary Opinion, not with all it's Reasons, 'but, like Pleaders, disabling it, as if they contended not for Truth, but Victory, we have elsewhere spoken against him (37).' As to the second Point, here is work for *Chrysippus*. One of his Books is cited against him (38), wherein he had spoken of the Arguments of *Stilpo* and *Menedemus* (39) with the utmost Contempt. 'And yet, good 'Sir, you fear lest these Arguments, which you 'deride, and term the Disgrace of their Proposers, 'as having a manifest Faultiness, should divert some 'from Comprehension: And did not you yourself, 'writing so many Books against Custom, in which 'you have added whatever you could invent, ambitiously striving to exceed *Arcesilaus*, expect, that 'you should perplex some of your Readers? For 'neither does he use slender Arguments against Custom; but, as if he were pleading, he, with 'some Passion in himself, stirs up the Affections of 'others, telling his Opponent, that he talks foolishly 'and labours in vain. And that he may leave no 'room to deny his speaking of Contradictions, he 'has, in his *Natural Positions*, written thus: *It may 'be lawful for those, who comprehend a thing, to 'argue on the contrary side, applying it to the Defence, which is in the thing itself; and sometimes, when 'they comprehend neither, to discourse of what is alledged for either.* And, having said, in his Book *concerning the use of Speech*, that we ought no more 'to use the Force of Reason, than of Arms, for 'such things as are not fitting, he subjoins this; *For 'they are to be employed for the finding out of Truth, 'and for the Alliance of them, and not for the contrary, though many Men do it.* By the *many*, perhaps he means those, who with-hold their Assent. 'But they indeed, comprehending neither, argue 'on both sides, as may be perceived: for thus only, or chiefly, does Truth afford a Comprehension of itself. But you, who excuse them, and 'do yourself write contrary to those things, which 'you comprehend, concerning Custom, and exhort 'others, with Approbation, to do the same in unprofitable and hurtful things, confess, that, using 'the Faculty of Disputing, You, through Ambition, act like a young Scholar.'

(37) Plut. ubi supra.

(38) Plut. ibid.

(39) The same thing with what he had called *Megarian* Interrogations.

It is no easy thing to apprehend, how *Chrysippus*, notwithstanding the Subtilty of his Wit, could have come off; for his Maxims are very unworthy of a Philosopher: and, if he could have justified them, he would by that very thing have pronounced a Sentence of Condemnation against his own Conduct, because he had infringed them, by maintaining the Cause of the Academics, which he believed to be most opposite to Truth, with all his Force, and better than *Arcesilaus* himself. They seem to me to have been in the right to tell him, that the Vanity of a young Man had seized him, in such a manner, that he had sacrificed his own Maxims to the Desire of taking advantage of a favourable Occasion to shew the Subtilty of his Thoughts, to the Prejudice of the Truths, which the Stoics taught. The Glory, that he promised to himself, if it should be said, that he had out-done *Arcesilaus*, and carried the Objections of the Academy much farther than he, transported him in such a manner, that he troubled himself but little about the rest. Thus we have seen a Controversist, in our Days, make no difficulty to contradict himself on all occasions, and dangerously to expose the Interests of his Church, and even such Truths as are generally received among Christians, provided he might acquire the Reputation of having found out new Ways, or new Methods of attacking and defending. What was the Idol, to which he sacrificed? When the worst comes to the worst, said he to himself, it will be confessed, that I have a vast Wit, and an happy Imagination.

Let us lay open the Falsity of *Chrysippus*'s Maxims. He would have those, who teach a Truth, to take but little notice of the Reasons of the contrary Party, and to imitate the Advocates. It was the general Spirit of the Dogmatists: there were but few, besides the Academics, who proposed the Arguments of both Parties with the same force. Now I maintain, that That Method of the Dogmatists was a bad one, and that it differed very little from the the deceitful Art of the Rhetorician Sophisters, which made them so odious, and which consisted in transforming the worst Causes into the best (40): for one of their chief Artifices was, to conceal all the Advantages of the Causes, which they opposed, and all the weak Sides of those, which they maintained; only they proposed some Objections to themselves for form-sake, which were chosen among the easiest to be refuted. This is, at the bottom, what *Chrysippus* would have Philosophers do: he would have them to touch slightly upon the Reasons of the contrary Party, which were able to shake the Persuasion of the Hearers or Readers, and to imitate those, who plead at the Bar. Why did he not say plainly, that they must do like Shop-keepers, who cry up their own Wares, and cunningly decry those of their Neighbours? Why did he not say also, that they must do like those, who, having quarrelled, carry their Complaints before the Judges? Every one tells his own Story so much to his Advantage, that, if you believe him, he is not at all in the wrong (41), because he suppresses all that is against him, and all that is favourable to his Enemy. *Chrysippus* was not only to blame for the dishonest and unfair way, by which he would have the Victory obtained, but also for his Indiscretion in revealing that Practice. It was not a thing to be communicated to the Public; he ought to have kept it in secret, as the Politicians do their Designs or Maxims of State, *Arcana Imperii*: he ought, at most, to have whispered it in the Ear of some wife and learned Disciple.

(40) Τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν. Causam Infirmiorem potiorem efficere. *See* Crefollius, Theatr. Sophistar. lib. 1, cap. 11, pag. 79, & seq.

(41) Compare what has been said above, in the Article BLONDEL (David), Remark [Q.], concerning the Narration of Facts in the Disputes of the Learned.

Note, That Antiquity had two sort of Philosophers; some were like the Advocates, and others like those, who report a Cause. The former, in proving their Opinions, hid the weak side of their Cause, and the strong side of their Adversaries, as much as they could. The latter, to wit, the Sceptics or Academics, represented the strong and the weak Arguments of the two opposite Parties faithfully, and without any Partiality. This Distinction has been very seldom seen among Christians, in the Schools of Philosophy, and less still in the Schools of Divinity. Religion does not admit of the Character of an Academic: it requires either a Negative or an Affirmative. No Judges are found there, but what are Parties at the same time: there are a great many Authors, there, who plead a Cause according to *Chrysippus*'s Maxim, I mean, who keep to the Function of an Advocate: but there is scarce any Reporter to be seen; for, if any one represents the whole Strength of the contrary Party faithfully, and without any Disguise, he becomes odious and suspected, and runs the hazard of being treated as an infamous Prevaricator (42). Human Prudence, Policy, the Interest of the Party, are not always the Reason why a Man acts meerly like an Advocate. A charitable Zeal likewise inspires this Conduct: and, upon this, I shall alledge what was said to me, the other Day, by a learned Divine, and a very honest Man. I maintained to him, that an Author, who, without dogmatizing, keeps within the bounds of History, may, and ought, faithfully to represent the most specious things, that the worst Sects can alledge in their own Vindication, or against Orthodoxy. He denied it. I suppose, said I, that you are a Professor of Divinity, and that you make choice of the

(42) See the Article CHARRON, Remark [F].

for he made no ſcruple to teach, that Fathers might commit Inceſt with their Daughters, Sons with their Mothers, and Brothers with their Siſters (*l*), and that Men ought to eat dead Bodies (*m*). Moſt of the Contradictions, and abſurd Paradoxes, which *Plutarch* objects to the Stoics (*n*), and about which he fiercely attacked them (which muſt needs have vexed them prodigiouſly) are taken from *Chryſippus*'s Works. If he had only reproached them with contradicting themſelves in the Doctrine of Fate, and in That of Human Liberty, he would not have gained ſo many Advantages over them; for the ſame things would be anſwered, to juſtify *Chryſippus*, that are anſwered, at this time, in favour of thoſe, who cannot reconcile the Decrees of God with our Free-will, and who cannot chuſe any words, when they ſpeak of Predeſtination, but what ſeem to be oppoſite to the Phraſes they make uſe of when they exhort Men to Virtue, and cenſure them for their Vices. No Philoſophers have ſpoken more powerfully of the fatal Neceſſity of Things, nor more magnificently of the Liberty of Man (*o*), than the Stoics. You may judge whether *Chryſippus*, who wrote ſo many Volumes with Precipitation, and who had a quick and very bold Wit, could come off without advancing many Propoſitions in his Moral Treatiſes, which could not agree with what he advanced in his Metaphyſical Treatiſes. *Plutarch* accuſes him of making

(*l*) Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, n. 188. *See alſo* Sextus Empiricus Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. lib. 3, c. 24, 25

(*m*) Id. lib. 7, n. 188. *See alſo* Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. lib. 3, cap. 24. *I ſpeak not of a Community of Wives among the Sages; he taught it, but other Philoſophers ſhewed him the way:* Ἐᾶσε τὸν, αὐτυχόντα τῇ ἀντυχίᾳ χρήσθαι, ut quilibet illi congrediatur quæ ſibi occurrit. *Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, in Zenone, n. 131.*

(*n*) *See his Treatiſe*, de Repugnantiis Stoicorum, *and his other Treatiſe* de Communibus Notitiis contra Stoicos.

(*o*) *See* Præſtantium & Eruditor. Virorum Epiſt. Eccleſiaſticæ ac Theologicæ, pag. 640, 659, Edit. 1684.

Myſtery of the Trinity for the Subject-matter of your Lectures for a whole Winter. You examine to the bottom what the Orthodox have ſaid, and what the Heretics have objected, and you find, by your Meditation, and by the Strength of your Parts, that the Solutions of the Orthodox may be much better anſwered, than they have been by the Sectaries. In a word, you diſcover new Objections, more difficult to be reſolved than all that has been hitherto objected; and I ſuppoſe you propoſe them to your Auditors. No, replied he, I would by no means do it; it would be a dangerous thing, for them: neither Charity nor Zeal for Truth allow of ſuch a thing. Such was his Anſwer. It may very well be, then, that certain Authors boaſt, in a Preface, to have overthrown all the Bulwarks of Hereſy, and yet that they remember to have omitted the Diſcuſſion of the moſt captious Arguments, for Charity-ſake. There is reaſon to believe this chiefly of the *Remiſh* Controverſiſts, ſince the Complaints, that have been made againſt *Bellarmin*, that his Sincerity in repreſenting the Reaſons of the Heretics has been prejudicial to the *Romiſh* Church (43).

(43) See above, Remark [*I*], of the Article BELLARMIN.

Whether thoſe, who prohibit the Sale of heretical Books, ought to permit the Objections of Heretics to appear in the Writings of the Orthodox, who confute them.

Here I muſt examine a thing, which I promiſed in the Article of That Cardinal (44). Is it to argue conſequentially, is it to preſerve an uniform and regular Conduct, to cauſe the Writings of an Heretic to be burnt, and yet to permit the reading of the Authors, who have refuted him? No, you will ſay: for the Reaſon, why the reading and the ſale of heretical Books are prohibited, is, becauſe it is feared they will infect the Readers. They are afraid, in *Italy*, that thoſe, who ſhould ſee in what manner a Proteſtant Writer proves his Tenets, and attacks the Catholick Doctrine, would be filled with Doubts, and even would ſuffer themſelves to be wholly perſuaded by That Author's Reaſons. But is there no Reaſon to fear the ſame Misfortune, if they read *Bellarmin*'s Writings? Will they not ſee, there, the Proofs and Objections of the Heretics? And, ſuppoſing that *Bellarmin* has been a fair Writer, will they not find them as ſtrong there, as in the very Books of the moſt learned Proteſtant? Yes, will it be ſaid to me; but they will find them confuted; whereas, if they ſhould read the Book of a Heretic, they would find the Poiſon, without having a Preſervative at the ſame time. This Anſwer is not ſatisfactory; for it ſuppoſes an extraordinary Imprudence and Lazineſs in the Readers. it is to ſuppoſe, that they had rather run the Hazard of their Salvation, than go from one Book to another; and that, knowing they might find *Bellarmin*'s Works in a Shop, where they bought the Book of a Calviniſt, they would decide in favour of the latter, before they had informed themſelves of That Cardinal's Reaſons; though at the ſame time they might lay on their Table both the Books which contains the Poiſon, and That which has the Antidote. You will grant, that the Difference between the Arguments of an Heretic, bound up together with the Arguments of an Orthodox, and thoſe ſame Arguments, bound up by themſelves, thoſe of the Heretic in one Volume, and thoſe of the Orthodox in another; I ſay, you will grant me, that ſuch a Difference is not a ſufficient Reaſon either to hope or to fear. This Hope or this Fear muſt therefore proceed from ſomething elſe. It muſt be ſaid, that what is thought to be a ſufficient Antidote, when the Reader compares together what an Orthodox Writer quotes out of an heretical Book, and what he anſwers to it, is not looked upon as a good Remedy, when he compares together the whole Book of the Heretic, and the whole Book of the Orthodox. It is therefore ſuppoſed, that, independently of the Anſwer, the Reaſons of the Heretic are weaker in the Work of the Orthodox Writer, than in the Work of the Heretic; and conſequently it is ſuppoſed, that the Author of the Anſwer had the Prudence to miſrepreſent and curtail them, and to turn them in ſuch a manner, that they ſhall not be able to ſurprize thoſe, who ſhall ſee nothing but That, and ſhall compare it with the Refutation. At this rate, the Inquiſitors, who prohibit a Book, and permit the reading of thoſe, who have refuted it, do not contradict themſelves: their Conduct is not made up of inconſiſtent Proceedings; they are, ſure, that the Prohibition will be uſeful, and that the Permiſſion will do no harm. Nevertheleſs, let us infer, that the ſame Policy, Prudence, Charity, or Zeal, (make uſe of what term you pleaſe), which requires that certain Books ſhould be burnt, or that the reading or ſelling of them ſhould be prohibited, requires, by a neceſſary conſequence, that all the Reaſons of an Author ſhould not be inſerted in the Books, wherein they are confuted: for if, contrary to *Chryſippus*'s Maxim, all the Strength of thoſe Reaſons ſhould be diſplayed with the utmoſt Sincerity, it would be to no purpoſe to ſuppreſs thoſe ill Books, unleſs they ſhould prohibit, at the ſame time, all the Writings that confute them. This is ſo plain, that it is very probable, that all the Authors, who are zealous to maintain the Diſcipline, comply with the Spirit of the Tribunals, that condemn certain Books; I ſay, it is very probable, that, if thoſe Authors undertake to refute any of thoſe Books, they order it ſo, that their Refutation does not diſcover what might ſhake the Faith of the Readers. They reduce an Objection to three or four Lines, which takes up ſeveral Pages; they produce it, without any Support, and without it's Preliminaries; they leave out what they cannot anſwer (45). After all, a Book, which ſeems never ſo ſtrong to thoſe who read it through, will hardly appear ſo in the Fragments, which an Adverſary alledges out of it, and which he ſcatters in ſeveral parts of his Anſwer, here four Lines, there five or ſix, *&c.*; they are Branches lopped from their Trunk; they are a diſmounted Machine; a diſmembered Body, which cannot be known again (46). All Controverſiſts mutually complain of the Artifices of thoſe, who write againſt them (47). I knew a *Roman* Catholic, who ſaid, that all the Works, publiſhed againſt *Bellarmin*, deſerved the Title of *Bellarminus enervatus*, which *Ameſius* made uſe of; *enervatus*, added he, not by the Force of the Anſwer, but by the Manner of repreſenting his Objections. The

(44) See above, Citat. (43), of the Article BELLARMIN.

(45) Et quæ Deſperat tractata nitescere poſſe, relinquit. *Horat. de Arte Poet. ver.* 150. *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *July* 1685, Art. 3, pag. 804.

(46) Non — Invenias etiam diſjecti membra Poetæ. *Id. Sat.* 4, *lib.* 1, *ver.* 62.

(47) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, ubi ſupra.

making God the Author of Sin. *Lipsius*, having undertaken to clear him from This Imputation, did not succeed well in it [*H*]. I do not wonder at it. The Definition

The Protestants complain yet more of the Tricks of their Adversaries. If you observe the Quarrels that arise sometimes between Persons of the same Party, and if you read the Books of the two Disputants, you will find some Force in them; but, if you should judge of *Mævius*'s Book, by the Scraps, which his Antagonist *Titius* cites out of them, and by the Censure that he passes upon them, you would think that *Mævius* can neither write nor argue, and that he has not common Sense.

Note, That I do not pretend to maintain, that the Tribunals, which prohibit Books, do not act inconsequentially (48).

(48) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republ. des Lettres, Sept. 1685. pag. 1053. Jan. 1686. Art. 3. pag. 639. July 1686 Art. 8. pag. 810.

[*H*] Plutarch *accuses him of making* God *the Author of Sin*: Lipsius, *having undertaken to clear him* - - - - - *did not succeed very well in it.*] You will find the Accusation in the Remark [*G*] of the Article PAULICIANS. I will not remove it from that place, since it was inserted there in the first Edition of this Work. I shall only examine *Lipsius*'s way of clearing him: but first of all let us see *Chrysippus*'s Thought concerning the Nature of God. 'Ait (*Chrysippus*) vim Divinam 'in ratione esse positam, & universæ naturæ ani- 'mo, atque mente: ipsumque mundum Deum di- 'cit esse, & ejus animi fusionem universam: tum 'ejus ipsius principatum, qui in mente & ratione 'versetur, communemque rerum naturam universa 'atque omnia continentem, tum fatalem umbram, '& necessitatem rerum futurarum. Ignem præte- 'rea, & eum quem antea dixi, æthera: tum ea 'quæ natura fluerent, atque manarent, ut aquam, '& terram, & aëra, solem, lunam, sidera, univer- 'sitatemque rerum, quâ omnia continerentur, atque 'homines etiam eos, qui immortalitatem essent 'consecuti. Idemque disputat, æthera esse eum, 'quem homines Jovem appellarent, quique aër per 'maria manaret, eum esse Neptunum: terram eam 'quæ Ceres diceretur: similique ratione persequitur 'vocabula reliquorum Deorum. Idemque etiam 'legis perpetuæ & æternæ vim, quæ quasi dux 'vitæ, & magistra officiorum sit, Jovem dicit esse: 'eandemque fatalem necessitatem appellat, sempiter- 'nam rerum futurarum veritatem, quorum nihil tale 'est, ut in eo vis divina ineffe videatur. Et hæc 'quidem in primo libro de Natura Deorum. In 'secundo autem vult Orphei, Musæi, Hesiodi, Ho- 'merique fabellas accomodare ad ea quæ ipse primo 'libro de Diis immortalibus dixerat: ut etiam ve- 'terrimi poëtæ, qui hæc ne suspicati quidem sint, 'Stoici fuisse videantur (49). —— Chrysippus *says, that the divine Energy consists in Reason, and is the mind of universal Nature; and he pretends, that the World itself is* God, *and the univer- sal Diffusion of his Mind; as also the Principle of That, which consists in Mind, and Reason, and containing the common Nature of Things, the Universe, and all things in it, as also the fatal Shadow, and Necessity of Things future. To which he adds the Fire, and the abovementioned Æther; then those things, that are by nature fluid, as Water, and the Earth, and the Air, the Sun, Moon, Stars, the Universe, in which all are contained, and even those Men, who attain to Im- mortality. The same Philosopher contends, that the Æther is Him, whom we call* Jupiter, *and the Air, which pervades the Seas,* Neptune; *the Earth, She who is called* Ceres; *and after the same manner he goes through the Names of the rest of the Gods. He pretends likewise, that the Energy of a perpetual and eternal Law, which is as it were the Guide of Life, and Preceptress of our Duty, is* Jupiter; *and he calls the same fa- tal Necessity, the everlasting Truth of things fu- ture; nothing of which seems to have in it any divine force. This is the Substance of his first Book of the Nature of the Gods. In the second, he attempts to reconcile the Fables of* Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, *and* Homer, *with what he had said in his first Book concerning the Immortal Gods: insomuch, that the most ancient Poets, who never so much as dreamed of these things, appear to have been Stoics.* The Process would be ended to his Confusion by this single Passage, if he were a Man, who kept to his Principles; but because he argued sometimes one way, and sometimes another, and maintained quite contrary things at several times, his Apologists want no Shifts; and, by the favour of his Contradictions and Incoherencies, they may pretend, for some time, that he is an orthodox Man, and impose upon People. We find, in the Passage of *Cicero*, which I have quoted, an incomprehensible Nonsense, and a more confused Chaos, than That of the Poets; nevertheless it appears clearly from it, that, according to *Chrysippus*, God is the Soul of the World, and that the World is the universal Extension of That Soul, and that *Jupiter* was the eternal Law, the fatal Necessity, the immutable Truth of all future things. The necessary and unavoidable Consequence, which follows from this, is, that the Soul of Man is a Part of God, and that all his Actions have no other Cause but God himself. Nevertheless, let us leave this Philosopher the liberty of forging Distinctions altogether precarious; he will at last fall again into an Abyss, after his Windings and Turnings. He supposes the Soul of Man has preserved itself from the general Fatality; he exempts it from the Condition of all other things; he makes it free. 'Ac mihi quidem videtur quum duæ sen- 'tentiæ fuissent veterum philosophorum: una eo- 'rum, qui censerent omnia ita fato fieri, ut id 'fatum vim necessitatis afferret, in qua sententia 'Democritus, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Aristoteles 'fuit: altera eorum, quibus viderentur sine ullo 'fato esse animorum motus voluntarii: Chrysippus 'tanquam arbiter honorarius medium ferire vo- 'luisse, sed applicat se ad eos potius, qui necessi- 'tate motus animos liberatos volunt (50). —— *There were two Opinions of the ancient Philoso- phers; one of those, who thought that every thing so fell out by Fate, that That Fate brought with it the Force of Necessity: in which Opinion were,* Democritus, Heraclitus, Empedocles, *and* Aristotle: *the other of those, who thought, that the Motions of Minds were voluntary, and not sub- ject to Fate:* Chrysippus, *as an honorary Arbiter, would steer a middle Course; but he inclines ra- ther to those, who will have the Soul free from a necessity of Motion.* Chrysippus autem cum & 'necessitatem improbaret, & nihil vellet fine præ- 'positis causis evenire causarum genera distinguit, 'ut & necessitatem effugiat, & retineat fatum. Cau- 'sarum enim, inquit, aliæ sunt perfectæ & princi- 'pales, aliæ adjuvantes & proximæ. Quomobrem 'quum dicimus omnia fato fieri causis antecéden- 'tibus, non hoc intelligi volumus, causis perfectis '& principalibus, sed causis adjuvantibus antece- 'dentibus, & proximis (51). —— *But* Chrysippus, *disapproving of Necessity, and allowing nothing to happen without previous Causes, distinguishes the several kinds of Causes, so as to reject Necessity, and retain Fate. For of Causes, says he, some are perfect and principal, others assisting and se- condary. When, therefore, we say, that all things happen thro' Fate by antecedent Causes, we mean, not perfect and principal Causes, but assisting and secondary.'* You see he does not deny, that every thing is produced by antecedent Causes; but he admitted two sorts of Causes, whereof the last did not destroy Liberty. The perfect and principal Causes, said he, do not permit an Action to be free, but the Causes, that are only assisting, do not hinder it from being so. Wherefore, forasmuch as he pretended, that our Desires do not depend on an external principal Cause, but only on an external and not principal one, which does only excite Man, he concluded, that our Soul produces them freely, and has the Command of them. It stands in need of being excited by Objects, without which it could not form any Acts of Consent; but the Objects, that excite it, do not produce the Acts of it's Will: it determines itself by it's own Force, after the Objects have given it a first Motion. He explained this by a Comparison. He that pushes a Cylinder, said he, gives it the first Motion, but not the Volubility; the Cylinder rolls afterwards by it's own Force: likewise our Soul, shaken

(49) Cicero, de Natura Deor. lib 2, cap. 15.

(50) Cicero, de Fato, cap. 17, & seq.

(51) Id. ibid.

(p) See Remark [H], Clem. (49).

tion alone, which *Chrysippus* gives of God (*p*), is sufficient to make one apprehend, that he does not distinguish him from the Universe; so that, by arguing consequentially, he must of necessity make him the Author of Moral and Physical Evil. What

shaken by the Objects, moves afterwards of itself. ' Quanquam assensio non possit fieri nisi commota ' viso, tamen quum id visum proximam causam ' habeat non principalem, hanc habet rationem, ut ' Chrysippus vult, quam dudum diximus, non ut ' illa quidem fieri possit nulla vi extrinsecus excitata, necesse est enim assensionem viso commoveri, sed revertitur ad cylindrum, & ad turbinem ' suum, quæ moveri incipere nisi pulsa non possunt. ' Id autem quum accidit, suapte natura, quod supereſt, & cylindrum volvi, & versari turbinem ' putat. Ut igitur, inquit, qui protrusit cylindrum ' dedit ei principium motionis, volubilitatem autem non dedit, sic visum objectum imprimet illud quidem, & quasi signabit in animo speciem ' suam, sed assensio nostra erit in potestate, eaque, ' quemadmodum in cylindro dictum est, extrinsecus pulsa, quod reliquum est suapte vi & natura ' movebitur (52).' Take notice, that *Cicero* had said, that *Chrysippus* perplexed himself in such a manner, that, whether he would or no, he confirmed the Necessity of Fate (53). This does not well appear in That Work of *Cicero*; and for that Reason I could easily believe, with *Lipsius*, that something is wanting in That Place (54), as it is certain that there are Gaps in some others. *Lipsius* applies himself to *Aulus Gellius*, who has preserved That Explication of *Chrysippus* more exactly. The Reader will give me leave to set down, somewhat at length, what he says; for this Subject is so sublime, so intricate, and so inexplicable, that we must not pretend to Brevity in the Quotations: the Retrenchments would only serve to obscure what had not been retrenched. In the Passage of *Aulus Gellius*, you will see, at first, the Definition of Fate according to *Chrysippus*; and afterwards the Consequence that was drawn from it, that Man does not sin, and that all Crimes ought to be imputed to Fate; and lastly, That Philosopher's Answer: ' Fatum, quod Graeci εἱμαρμένην vel εἱμαρμένην vocant, ad hanc ferme sententiam Chrysippus Stoicæ princeps philosophiæ definit. *Fatum* est, inquit, sempiterna quædam & indeclinabilis series rerum & catena, volvens semetipsa sese & implicans per æternos consequentium ordines, ex quibus apta connexaque est (55). —— Aliarum autem opinionum disciplinarumque auctores huic definitioni ita obstrepunt. Si Chrysippus, inquiunt, fato putat omnia moveri & regi, nec declinari transcendique posse agmina fati & volumina; peccata quoque hominum & delicta non sustentanda neque condicenda sunt ipsis voluntatibusque eorum, sed necessitati cuidam & instantiæ, quæ oritur ex fato, omnium quæ sit rerum domina & arbitra, per quam necesse sit fieri quicquid futurum est: & propterea nocentium pœnas legibus iniquo constitutas, si homines ad maleficia non sponte veniunt, sed fato trahuntur. Contra ea Chrysippus tenuiter multa & argute disserit. Sed omnium fere, quæ super ea re scripsit, sententia hujuscemodi est. Quamquam ita sit, inquit, ut ratione quadam principali necessario coacta atque connexa sint fato omnia; ingenia tamen ipsa mentium nostrarum proinde sunt fato obnoxia, ut proprietas eorum est ipsa & qualitas; nam si sunt per naturam primitus salubriter utiliterque facta, omnem illam vim, quæ de fato extrinsecus ingruit, mollissius tractabiliusque transmittunt. Sin vero sunt aspera & inscita & rudia, nullisque artium bonarum adminiculis culta: etiam si parvo sive nullo fatalis incommodi conflictu urgeantur, sua tamen scævitate & voluntario impetu in assidua delicta & in errores ruunt: idque ipsum ut ea ratione fiat naturalis illa & necessaria rerum consequentia efficit, quæ fatum vocatur. Est enim genere ipso quasi fatale & consequens, ut mala ingenia peccatis & erroribus non vacent (56). —— Chrysippus, *the Head of the Stoic Philosophy, defines Fate, which the* Greeks *call* εἱμαρμένην, *or* εἱμαρμένη, *nearly according to this Opinion.* Fate, says he, *is a certain, and eternal, immutable Series and Chain of Things, rolling and twisting itself thro' eternal Orders of Consequences, of which it is formed and linked together.* —— *But the Authors of other Opinions and Tenets thus refute this Definition. If* Chrysippus, *say they, thinks, that all things are moved and influenced by Fate, and that there is no opposing it's Laws, then the very Sins of Men are not to be imputed to themselves, and their Wills, but to a certain Fatality, which governs all things, and makes every thing future necessarily happen; and therefore that it is unjust to punish Offenders, if Men are fatally, not voluntarily, wicked. Against this* Chrysippus *argues with great Subtilty. But the Sum of what he says on this Head is as follows: Though every thing,* says he, *be compelled and necessitated by Fate, yet the Minds of Men are obnoxious to it according to their Propriety and Quality; for if they are originally, by Nature, made virtuous and good, they transmit, with less Offence, and more readily, all that Force, which falls on them extrinsically from Fate. But if they are rough and unpolished, and supported by no help of Science; also if they are pressed by little or no fatal Inconvenience; they yet rush into daily Offences and Errors, thro' their own Depravity and voluntary Inclination: and this very thing produces the natural and necessary Consequences of things. For it is as it were necessary and consequential, that bad Minds should not be free from Offences and Errors.*' Afterwards *Aulus Gellius* relates the Comparison of the Cylinder, and the Conclusion, which *Chrysippus* drew from his Discourse, that no body ought to be allowed to impute his Sins to Fate, and that no Malefactors ought to be heard, who have recourse to such a Refuge. ' Propterea ' negat oportere ferri audirique homines aut nequam aut ignavos & nocentes & audaces; qui, ' cum in culpa & in maleficio revicti sunt, perfugiunt ad fati necessitatem, tanquam in aliquod ' pacti asylum; &, quæ pessimè fecerunt, ea non ' suæ temeritati sed fato esse attribuenda dicant (57).'

(52) Id. ibid. cap 18.

(53) Dum autem verbis utitur suis, delabitur in eas difficultates, ut necessitatem fati confirmet invitus. *Id ibid. cap.* 9.

(54) Sed quod in *Vita* Cicero dicit, & hæret, parum pro interiore ipsa re videtur, & credo plura addidisse quæ ævo excidere unt. *Lipsius Phys. Stoicor. lib.* 1. *Dissert.* 14. *pag. m.* 805.

(55) Aulus Gellius, lib. 6. cap. 2.

(56) Id. ibid.

(57) Id. ibid.

It is easily seen, that this Philosopher does not extricate himself, and that his Distinction between the external Causes that necessitate, and those that do not necessitate, is of no use to him. He only goes about the Bush, and at last finds himself in the same place with those, who submit all things to the unavoidable Necessity of Fate. To be convinced of it, one need only join together his Comparison of a Cylinder, and the Confession he makes, that the internal Qualities of the Soul, which incline it to evil, are a natural and necessary Consequence of Fate (58). He says, that there are Souls well formed from the beginning, which bear the Storm that falls upon them from *Fate* without any Damage, and that there are others so rough and ill-turned, that, if Fate strikes them never so little, or even without any shock of Fate, they fall into Sin by a voluntary Motion. It is a certain natural Perverseness, that is the cause of it. But he said, that the fatal Necessity of all things is the first cause of human Souls being well or ill formed; he must therefore grant, that one may and ought to ascribe to Fate all the Crimes, that Men commit: so that, acknowledging otherwise a divine Providence, he could not avoid, if he argued right, to look upon God as the Cause of all those Crimes: and consequently *Plutarch*'s Accusation is very justly grounded; for, to make the Comparison of the Cylinder just, Fate must not be compared to the first Comer that pushes it, but to the Joyner that made it, and who afterwards pushes it with his Foot. The Reason, why the Cylinder rolls a long time, proceeds from it's Figure; but because the Joyner gave it that Figure, the necessary Cause of a lasting Motion, he is the true Cause of the Continuance of That Motion. All the Difference between a Cube, that does not roll, and a Cylinder, that rolls, all the Consequences, all the Regularities or Irregularities of the Rest of the one, and of the continued Motion of the other, ought to be attributed to the Workman, who gave those two Bodies the Form, from which they necessarily

(58) Idque ipsum ut ea ratione fiat naturalis illa & necessaria rerum consequentia efficit quæ fatum vocatur. *Id. ibid. pag.* 170.

What he taught concerning the Mortality of the Gods, cannot be read without Horror [I]. He not only believed them to be perishable; but he maintained also, that they would be destroyed in the Conflagration of the World; and, though he excepted *Jupiter*, yet he subjected him actually to Mutability. A certain Book, wherein he treated of the Amours of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, was so full of Obscenities [K], that is was much murmured at. One may therefore easily apprehend, that the

cessarily result. Any body may make the Application of this to human Souls. *Lipsius* plainly saw this Intricacy, and therefore, to bring off *Chrysippus*, he supposes, that the Stoics attributed the Imperfections of the Soul of Man to a real and incorrigible Vice of Matter, and not to GOD. 'Sed heus Chrysippe, si à Naturâ hæc constitutio aut devergium, Deum à malo qui excusas? quomodo non ille *Naturæ* auctor, atque ipsa Natura, malum malosque genuit, si tales fecit? Hoc caput est, & arx, ut sic dicam, causæ, nunc adeunda & occupanda. Aio Stoicos Mali principium non in Deo, sed in Materia (quæ tamen Deo, ut ipsi aliique voluerunt, ævo æqualis, & æterna) in Materia, inquam, constituisse. Itaque cum Deus homines aliaque faceret, omnia bona & in bonum finxisse: sed repugnantem aliquam vim & malitiosam in illa fuisse, atque esse, quæ alio traheret: atque hinc *Internæ*, atque etiam *Externæ*, mala exstitisse (59). —— *But tell me*, Chrysippus! *if this Constitution or Byass be from Nature, how do you justify God from Evil? How will you suppose him, who is the Author of Nature, and Nature itself, not to have produced Evil, and bad Men? This is the Capital and Fort, if I may so say, of the Cause, which is now to be attacked and taken. I say, then, that the Stoics refer Evil, not to GOD, but to Matter, which yet, as they and others affirm, is co-æval with GOD. Therefore, as GOD is the Creator of Men and all Things, he made all things good, and for good Purposes; but that there was in Matter a repugnant and evil Byass, which drew another way; and hence arose Internal, and even External, Evils.*' But this pretended Justification of *Chrysippus* has been so well confuted by *Plutarch* (60), that it is altogether insignificant. *Eusebius* has preserved us a Fragment of a Peripatetic Philosopher, called *Diogenianus*, who had very well shewed the Defects of *Chrysippus*'s Doctrine on this Point (61).

(59) Lipsius Phys. Stoic. lib. 2, Diff. 14.

(60) See the Article *PAULICIANS*, Remark [G].

(61) See Eusebius Præparat. Evangel. lib. 6, cap 8, p. 262, & seq. See also what Oenomaus says against the same Chrysippus, ibid. cap. 7.

Note, that *Calvin*, for instance, nor any other Christian Defender of absolute Predestination, is exposed to This Attack, since they declare, that there was not any Quality, necessitating to Evil, in the Soul of the first Man.

[I] *What he taught concerning the Mortality of the Gods, cannot be read without Horror.*] *Plutarch*, designing to shew, that the Stoics had spoiled all the common Notions, that Men had of the Gods, begins with the Idea's of Eternity and Incorruptibility. 'What Man is there, or ever was, *says he* (62), who does not believe the Divinity to be immortal and eternal? —— One may perhaps meet with some Nations so barbarous and savage, as not to think there is a God; but there was never found any Man, who, believing a God, did not, at the same time, believe him immortal and eternal. Certainly, those who were called Athiests, a *Diagoras*, a *Theodorus*, and a *Hippo*, durst not say, that the Divinity is corruptible; but they did not believe, that there is any thing incorruptible: thus they retained the common Anticipation of the Gods, but took away the Incorruptibility of Substance. But *Chrysippus* and *Cleanthes*, having filled, as one may say, Heaven, Earth, Air, and Sea, with Gods, have not yet made any one of those Gods immortal, or eternal, except *Jupiter* alone, on whom they make all the rest to depend, and into whom they suppose them to be resolved: so that in him to resolve is nothing better than to be resolved. For it is an Infirmity, both to perish, by being resolved into another, and to be preserved and nourished by the Resolution of others into himself. Now these are not like other of their Absurdities, gathered by Argument from their Suppositions, or drawn by consequence from their Doctrines; but they themselves, proclaiming it aloud in their Writings concerning the Gods, Providence, Fate, and Nature, expressly say, that all the Gods were born, and shall die by the Fire, melting away, in their Opinion, as if they were of Wax or Tin. —— *Chrysippus* then says, that *Jupiter* is like to Man, as is also the World and Providence to the Soul. When therefore the Conflagration shall be, *Jupiter*, who alone of all the Gods is incorruptible, will retire into Providence, and they, being together, will both perpetually remain in one Substance of the *Æther* (63).' These words seem to me to import a Separation of Body and Soul, and consequently Death. We have seen (64), that *Chrysippus* supposed, that GOD is the Soul of the World; and he said just now, that, when the World shall be burnt, *Jupiter* will withdraw into another place. Let us see his Contradictions, and at the same time a Parallel between the Impiety of *Epicurus* and the Impiety of *Chrysippus*. 'Whoever they are, says Antipater, *who shall take from the Gods Beneficence, strike partly at the Prenotion of them; and, according to the same reason, they do also, who think they participate of Generation and Corruption.* If, then, he, who esteems the Gods corruptible, is equally absurd with him, who thinks them not to be provident and gracious to Men, *Chrysippus* is no less in an Error than *Epicurus*. For the one deprives the Gods of Beneficence, and Liberality, the other of Immortality and Incorruptibility. *The other Gods*, says Chrysippus, *use Nourishment, being equally sustained by it; but* Jupiter *and the World, after another manner than those, who are engendered and consumed by Fire.* Here indeed he declares, that all the other Gods are nourished, except *Jupiter* and the World; but, in his first Book of *Providence*, he says, that *Jupiter* encreases till all things are consumed into himself. *For, since Death is the Separation of the Soul from the Body, and the Soul of the World is not indeed separated, but encreases continually, till it has consumed all Matter into itself, it is not to be said, that the World dies.* Who, therefore, can more plainly contradict himself, than he, who says, that the same God is nourished and not nourished (65)? Is it possible, that so subtle a Philosopher should have such monstrous Ideas?

(62) Plut. de Commun. Notitiis contra Stoicos.

(63) Id. ibid.

(64) See above, Citat. (49).

(65) Plut. de Repug. Stoicor.

[K] *A Book, wherein he treated of the Amours of* Jupiter *and* Juno, *was full of Obscenities.*] *Diog. Laërtius* is not the only Author, who says so: Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ κατατρέχουσι τῶν Χρυσίππου καὶ πολλὰ αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀῤῥήτως ἀναγεγραφότων. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων φυσιολόγων συγγράμματι αἰσχρῶς τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἥφαιστον καὶ τὸν Δία ἀναπλάττει, λέγων κατὰ τὰς ἐξαποσίας σίκυος ἢ μηδενὸς ἀτυχήσαι μᾶλλον πρόσωπον τὸ σῶμα, εἴτοι ἄν. Αἰσχροτάτην γὰρ (φασὶ) ταύτην ἀναπλάττει ἱστορίαν, εἰ καὶ ἐπαινεῖ ὡς φυσικὴν, χαμαιτυπίας μᾶλλον πρέπουσαν ἢ θεοῖς. Ἔστι τε τὰ παρὰ τοῖς περὶ τοιαῦτα γράψασι κατακεχωσμένα. 'Non desunt, qui & Chrysippum lacerent, dicentes illum complura turpiter obscœneque scripsisse. Nam in eo opere, quod de antiquis physiologis scripsit, fœda de Junone fingit ac Jove, ea dicens fescentis fere versibus quæ nemo nisi illoto ore dixisset. Turpissimam enim, aiunt, hanc fingit historiam, etsi ut naturalem laudat, lustris tamen magis convenientem quàm diis. Neque ab iis qui de tabulis scripsere inferiam (66). — *There are not wanting some, who censure* Chrysippus, *saying that he wrote many filthy and obscene things. For in that Work, which he wrote concerning the ancient Naturalists, he feigns scandalous Things of* Jupiter and Juno, *repeating such things for almost Six hundred Verses, as no one, but with unwashen Mouth, would have said. For, they say, he invents this most scandalous Story, which yet he commends as natural, more applicable to common Strumpets,*

(66) Diog. Laërt. l. 7, n. 187.

the Stoics had no great reason to be pleased with his Writings; for the Figure he made in their Party [*L*] gave occasion to ascribe to the whole Body the Errors of so famous a Member. Neither do we see the great Stoic Authors, as *Seneca*, *Epictetus*, and *Arrianus*, very forward to shew their Veneration for him [*M*]. They are commonly very sparing of their Praises of him. I do not find, that he has been reflected upon on the account of his Morals, which makes me believe that he led an unblameable Life. They make his whole Family to consist of one very old Maid-servant [*N*]; This is a Proof of his Chastity and Frugality. He very often quoted five Verses of *Euripides* (*q*) against Good-cheer, wherein it is said, that Nature has sufficiently provided for our Necessities by Bread and Water: from whence it may be inferred, that he was very sober. I have already said, that he addicted himself very much to Logic, and he detested the Works of *Archestratus* (*r*). I add here, that he took extraordinary pains to find out the Solution of a Sophism, which puzzled the Philosophers very much, and which was called *Sorites* [*O*]: It was a heap of Interrogations, where there was no end. The progress

(*q*) Aul. Gell. lib. 7, cap. 16.

(*r*) See Citation (80).

Strumpets, than to Gods, nor ever inserted by Writers about Fables. We may join to this a Passage of *Origen*: Καὶ τί με δεῖ καλαλέγειν τὰ περὶ θεῶν ἀτοπα Ἑλλήνων ἱστορίας, αἰσχύνης αὐτόθεν ἀξίας, καὶ ἀλληγορεμένας; ὅπου τε ὁ Σολεὺς Χρύσιππος, ὁ τὴν Στοὰν τὴν φιλοσόφων πολλοῖς συγγράμμασι συνεστὼς κεκοσμηκέναι νομιζόμενος, παρερμηνεύει γεγραφὴν τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ ἐν ᾗ ἐρῶσαν ἐποίησε τὴν Ἥραν τοῦ Διὸς ἐγκεφαλον. ' Et quid me opus est enumerare absurdas de Diis historias Græcorum, pudendas & ex se, & per allegoriam? quando Chrysippus Solensis, qui plurimis scriptis Porticum Philosophorum ornasse creditur, interpretatur Picturam in Samo, ubi Juno depicta est, morem gerens ' Jovin non nominandæ libidini (67). — *Why need I mention the absurd Stories of the Greeks concerning the Gods, shameful in themselves, and even allegorically understood? When even* Chrysippus *of* Soli, *whose Writings are said to be the Ornament of the Stoic Philosophy, interprets a Picture in* Samos, *in which* Juno *is represented as obliging* Jupiter *in a manner not fit to be named.* What a shameful thing, that such Pictures should have been seen in the Temples of the Heathens! Observe, that *Chrysippus* explained this by way of Allegory, and did not find in it a moral but a physical Sense. I leave you to think whether his Expressions could be modest. You have seen before (68), that he allegorised in the same manner all the Extravagancies of Mythology. he found all the Theology of the Stoics in them.

(67) Orig. contra Cels. lib. 4.

(68) In Remark [*H*], Clim. (49).

[*L*] *He made a Figure in their Party*] He was looked upon as the Pillar of the *Portico* (69), and there went a Proverb, that, without him, there would be no *Portico*: Ὅθεν φασίν· ἂν μὴ ἦν Χρύσιππος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν στοά.

Unde de ipso dictum aiunt:

Hic solus sapit: alii velut umbra feruntur.

Et,

Nisi Chrysippus fuisset, porticus non esset (70).

(69) Chrysippus, qui fulcire potuit Porticum Stoicorum. *Cicero Academ. Quæst. lib. 4. cap. 28. See many such Passages*, apud Menagium, in Diog. Laert. lib. 7, n. 183, pag. m. 339.

(70) Diog. Laert. lib. 7, n. 183.

[*M*] Seneca, Epictetus, *and* Arrianus, *are not very forward to shew their veneration for him*] We have seen (71) how plainly *Seneca* told him his own in his Books *de Beneficiis*. He quotes him in some other places, and seldom with any Elogy. Nevertheless, I confess, that, in his Treatise *De Otio sapientis*, he says, that *Zeno* and *Chrysippus* have done greater things by the Labours of their Pens, than if they had commanded Armies: he considers them as Legislators of Mankind (72): ' Nos certè sumus, qui dicimus, & Zenonem & Chrysippum majora egisse, quam si duxissent exercitus, gessissent honores, leges tulissent, quas non uni civitati, sed toti humano generi tulerunt.' *Epictetus* chides those, who boasted to explain *Chrysippus*'s Opinions, and bids them say to themselves, *If* Chrysippus *had not written obscurely, we should not have had any thing to boast of* (73). *Arrianus* often censures those, who read This Philosopher, and reckoned it as a great Exploit (74). I think we cannot positively affirm, that he ascribes to him the Glory, which results from a Reflexion he makes, in considering the divine Honours that were paid to *Triptolemus* (75). I believe, he means, in general, that he, who discovered to Men Truth, and the way to Virtue, would more justly deserve Altars, than Those, who taught them to sow Corn.

(71) In Remark [*A*].

(72) Seneca, de Otio Sapientis, sub fin.

(73) Epictet. Enchir. cap. 64.

(74) *See* Arriani Epictet lib. 1, cap 10, 17, lib. 2, cap. 16, & alibi.

[*N*] *His whole Family consisted of one very old Maid-servant.*] *Diogenes Laertius* speaks two or three times of it: ἠκολούθει τε γεραιᾷ μόνῃ, *sola autem anicula contentus erat* (76). He had already said, that they had known, from This old Servant, that *Chrysippus* used to write five hundred Lines every Day (77). Mr *Menage* is mistaken (78), when he pretends, that *Plutarch* spoke of the same old Woman, in the words, that I am going to cite. ' And even *Chrysippus* himself, in his Commentary ' concerning *Jupiter*, says, that it were as poor, absurd, and impertinent a thing, to glory in such ' Acts, though they proceed from Virtue, as it ' would be to bear valiantly the stinging of a Wasp, ' and chasily to abstain from an old Woman that ' lies a dying (79). *Chrysippus* spoke there in general, and without any relation to his Maid. His Censurer understands it so, and alledges it, only to reproach the Stoicks for contradicting themselves, and opposing common Notions: ' They think, *said* ' *he a little before*, that it is the same thing, to abstain ' from the Enjoyment of an old Woman, that has ' one Foot in the Grave, and to venture one's Life ' in defence of one's Country, since both do what ' their Duty requires: And yet for this, as a great ' and glorious thing, they will be ready to die, ' whereas to boast of the latter would be shameful ' and ridiculous, I have said an hundred times, ' that one runs the hazard of making wrong Applications, when one makes use of a Passage, before having examined what precedes, and what follows it. Mr *Menage* is an Instance of it here. I have found a thing in *Athenæus*, which confirms the good Opinion we ought to have of *Chrysippus*'s Temperance. Χρύσιππον δ' ἄνδρες φίλοι τὸν τῆς στοᾶς ἡγεμόνα καὶ πολλὰ θαυμάζων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπαινῶ, τὸν φολυθρύλλητον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλογολογίᾳ Ἀρχίστρατον ἐν τοῖς μετὰ φιλαινίδος καταλεγόμενα, εἰς ἣν ἀναφέρεται τὸ περὶ Ἀφροδίσιων ἀκόλαστον σύγγραμμα. ' Chrysippum, ô amici viri, Stoicorum ducem ac principem, ego ' mehercle in multis admiror, ob id tamen impensius laudo, quod famosum suis de obsoniis scriptis ' Archestratum in eodem loco ac numero semper ' collocarit cum Philænide, cui turpissimum de venereis opus adscribunt (80). — *In many things, my Friends, I admire* Chrysippus, *the Leader and Chief of the Stoics; but I principally commend him for this, that he always ranked* Archestratus, *infamous for his Writings on Delicacies, with* Philænis, *to whom they ascribe a most scandalous Work concerning Venereal Pleasures.*

(75) Arrianus, ibid. lib. 1, cap. 4. James Schegius, *his* Latin *Translator put in the Margin*, Chrysippus Triptolemo divinis honoribus dignior.

(76) Diog. Laert. lib. 7, n. 185.

(77) Ἡ δὲ παροιμιώδης γραῦς βύτις αὐτῷ ἔλεγον, &c. Anus quæ illi assidebat dicebat, &c. *Id. ibid.* n. 181.

(78) Menag. in Laert. lib. 7, pag. 339.

(79) Plut. de Comm. Notitiis, pag. 1060. *See also* Repugn. Stoic. cap.

(80) Athen. lib. 8, pag. 335.

[*O*] *He took extraordinary Pains to find out the Solution of a Sophism — which was called* Sorites.] In *Greek* σωρείτης, from the Word σωρὸς, which signifies *acervus*, a Heap. Hence it is, that the *Latins* thought they might call that Sophism *Acervalem* (81). Ulpian *has defined it*, ' cùm ab evidenter veris, per brevissimas mutationes, disputatio ad ea, ' quæ evidenter falsa sunt, perducitur (82). — ' *When, from Positions evidently true, the Disputation is led, through the shortest mutations, to Positions evidently false.*' *Cicero* describes it so as to ' *blameable*,

(81) Cicero, de Divinat. lib. 2, cap. 4.

(82) Ulpian. lib. 65, ff de Reg. Juris.

progreſs he made, as a Logician, which was without doubt very great, was of no

make the Etymology of the Word to be underſtood: ' Primùm quidem hoc reprehendendum quod captioſiſſimo génere interrogationis utuntur. Quod ' genus minime in Philoſophia probari ſolet, quum ' aliquid minutatim & gradatim additur aut demitur: ' Soritas hos vocant qui acervum efficiunt uno addito grano (83). —— *In the firſt place, this is* ' *blameable, that they make uſe of a moſt captious* ' *kind of Interrogation. Which Method is by no* ' *means commendable in Philoſophy, when any thing* ' *is minutely and gradually added or taken away:* ' *they call thoſe* Sorites, *who make an Heap, by the* ' *addition of a ſingle Grain.*' They took for example a grain of Corn, as you ſhall ſee below; and from this true Propoſition, *One grain of Corn is not a heap*, they endeavoured to lead one by degrees to this viſible Falſity, *One grain of Corn makes a heap*. You will find ſome Examples, in *Sextus Empiricus*, of the uſe that was made of this captious way of interrogating. I ſhall quote preſently a long Paſſage of *Cicero*, whereby it will appear, that they pretended to ſhew, by the help of the *Sorites*, that the Mind of Man never attains to the knowledge of the fixed Point, that divides the oppoſite Qualities, or that determines preciſely the Nature of every thing. This was their Queſtion: Wherein conſiſts little, much, length, breadth, ſmallneſs, greatneſs, *&c.* Do three grains of Corn make a heap? The Anſwer was, No. Do four grains make a heap? The Anſwer was ſtill the ſame. They went on in their Queſtions, from grain to grain, without any end; and, if you had anſwered at laſt, Here is the Heap; they pretended, that your Anſwer was abſurd, ſince it ſuppoſes, that one ſingle grain made the difference between what is not a heap, and what is one. I could prove, by the ſame Method, that a great Drinker is never drunk. I would ask, Will one drop of Wine make him drunk? No, will you ſay. Will two drops do it? By no means; nor three, nor four neither. I would continue my Queſtions drop by drop; and, if you ſhould tell me, when you come to the Nine hundred and ninety ninth drop, he is not drunk, and then, coming to the next drop, he is drunk, I ſhould conclude, that one drop of Wine makes the ſpecific Difference between a great Drinker's being drunk, and not being drunk, which is abſurd. If the Interrogations were made at every three Pints, you might eaſily obſerve the Difference between enough and too much; but the Maker of the *Sorites* has the choice of his Weapons, and makes uſe of the leaſt Particles of Quantity, and goes from one to the other, to hinder you from finding any fixed Point, that ſeparates the not being drunk from the being drunk, little from much, enough from too much, *&c.* A Man, unacquainted with Logic, would juſtly laugh at ſuch Cavils; he would appeal to common ſenſe, and to that degree of Light, which, in the uſe of civil Life, is ſufficient to make us diſcern, in general, what is little, much, *&c.* But a profeſſed Logician was not allowed to have recourſe to that Tribunal; he was obliged to anſwer in due form: and, unleſs he found a Solution according to the Rules of his Art, he loſt the Field of Battle; his Defeat and Overthrow were unavoidable. At this time, an *Hibernian* Tutor, who ſhould teaze a Profeſſor of *Salamanca* with a thouſand logical Cavils, and who ſhould receive for Anſwer, *Common Senſe, notorious evidence, ſufficiently ſhews that your Conſequences are falſe*, would paſs for the Conqueror; and it would be ſaid with reaſon, that the Profeſſor was worſted; for it was his Duty to anſwer in due form, and according to the Rubric of his Trade, ſince his Theſis was attacked by That Rubric. *Chryſippus*, who knew his Duty very well in that point, plainly ſaw, that the *Sorites* of the *Megaric* Dialecticians required a categorical Solution. We ſhall ſee his invention, after I have cited a *Latin* Paſſage: ' Sed quoniam tantum in ea arte ' (*Dialectica*) ponitis, (Cicero *brings in an Aſſertor of* ' *Uncertainty, who ſpeaks thus*) videte ne contra vos ' tota nata ſit, quæ primo progreſſu feſtive tradit ' elementa loquendi, & ambiguorum intelligentiam ' concludendique rationem, tum paucis additis venit ' ad Soritas lubricum ſanè & periculoſum locum, ' quod tu modo dicebas eſſe vitioſum interrogandi ' genus. Quid ergo, iſtius vitii num noſtra culpa ' eſt? Rerum natura nullam nobis dedit cognitionem ' finium, ut ulla in re ſtatuere poſſimus, quatenus ' nec hoc in acervo tritici ſolum unde nomen eſt. Sed nulla omnino in re minutatim interrogandi ' dives, pauper, clarus, obſcurus fit, multa, pauca, ' magna, parva, longa, brevia, lata, angusta, quanto aut addito aut dempto certum reſpondeamus non ' habemus. At vitioſi ſunt Soritæ. Frangite igitur ' eos ſi poteſtis, ne moleſti ſint. Erunt enim niſi ' caveatis (84). —— *But ſince you lay ſo much ſtreſs* ' *on Logic, take care you do not run counter to thoſe* ' *Elements of ſpeaking, be ſo wittily lays down, and* ' *the way to apprehend ambiguous expreſſions, and* ' *the Method of drawing Concluſions, from whence he* ' *goes on to the* Sorites, *a ſlippery and dangerous place* ' *indeed, which you juſt now called a faulty kind of* ' *Interrogation. What then? Is this Fault to be* ' *imputed to us? The Nature of things gave us no* ' *knowledge of Bounds, ſo as that we might determine* ' *in any thing, as 'tis plain we cannot in relation to* ' *the Heap of Corn, whence alone it had it's Name.* ' *We cannot certainly anſwer, when we are minutely* ' *asked, what addition, or diminution, makes Rich* ' *or Poor, Famous or Obſcure, Much or Little, Great* ' *or Small, Broad or Narrow. But the Makers of* ' *the* Sorites *are in the wrong. Break them there-* ' *fore, if you can, leaſt they be troubleſome; for they* ' *will be ſo, unleſs you guard againſt them.*' *Chryſippus* found no other Expedient, than to anſwer only a certain number of Interrogations, and then to be ſilent. His Invention was called the quiet Method. ' Multum in eo Chryſippus ſudaverat, ut finitorem acervi inveniret, ſed fruſtra: quare ſpe ' inveniendi quod quærebat dejectus, καθὰ ἑαυτὸν τινα τρόπον, quod aiunt, excogitaverat quem ' vocabat τὸν ἡσυχάζοντα λόγον (85): cum interrogatus ſuſtinebat ſe priuſquam ad finem interrogans perveniret (86).' Conſult *Caſaubon* in his excellent Commentary on theſe words of *Perſius*; *depunge ubi ſiſtam Inventus, Chryſippe, tui finitor acervi* (87). This Invention of *Chryſippus* was not a lucky one; you ſhall ſee how *Carneades* overthrew it (88): ' Cautum eſt inquit. Placet enim Chryſippo quum gradatim interrogetur, verbi cauſa tria ' pauca ſint (89), an ne multa, aliquanto priuſquam ' ad multa perveniat quieſcere, id eſt, quod ab his ' dicitur ἡσυχάζειν. Per me vel ſtertas licet, inquit Carneades, non modo quieſcas. Sed quid proficit? Sequitur enim qui te ex ſomno excitet, ' & eodem modo interroget, quod in numero conticuiſti. Si ad eum numerum unum addidero, ' multa ne erunt? progrediar rurſus quoad videbitur, quid plura? Hoc enim fateris, neque ultimum ' te paucorum, neque primum multorum reſpondere poſſe. Cujus generis error ita manat, ut non videam quò non poſſit accedere. Nihil me lædit, inquis. Ego enim ut agitator callidus priuſquam ad finem veniam equos ſuſtinebo, eoque magis ſi ' locus is quò ferentur equi præceps erit. Sic me, inquit, ante ſuſtinebo, nec diutius captioſe interroganti reſpondebo. Si habes quod liqueat, neque reſpondes, ſuperbis: ſi non habes, me tu quidem perſpicis, quia obſcura concedis. Sed negas te uſque ad obſcura progredi: illuſtribus igitur rebus inſiſtis. Si id tantummodo ut taceas, nihil aſſequeris. Quid enim ad illum qui te capture vult, utrum tacentem irretiat te, an loquentem? Sin autem uſque ad novem, verbi gratia, ſine dubitatione reſpondes pauca eſſe, in decimo inſiſtis, etiam à certis & illuſtrioribus cohibes aſſenſum, hoc idem me in obſcuris facere non finis. Nihil igitur te contra Soritas ars iſta adjuvat, quod nec augendi nec minuendi quid aut primum ſit, aut poſtremum, docet. —— *When* Chryſippus *was gradually asked,* ' *for inſtance whether three were few, or many,* ' *he ſtopped ſhort, before he came to many, which* ' *theſe Philoſophers call* ἡσυχάζειν, the being quiet. ' *You have my leave, ſaid* Carneades, *to ſnore, as* ' *well as to be quiet. But what advantage do you* ' *gain? One follows you, who will rouze you from* ' *your Sleep, and go on to interrogate you in the ſame* ' *manner, at when you became ſilent. If to the laſt* ' *number I add one, will they be many? I will go on as* ' *far as I pleaſe: What need there any more? You* ' *confeſs, you cannot anſwer, that it is the laſt of a* ' *few, or the firſt of many. Which kind of Error* ' *ſpreads*

(83) Cicero Academ Quæſt. lib. 4. cap. 28.

(84) Cicero, ubi ſupra, cap. 16, 28.

(85) Theſe Words might be rendered *the Quietiſt*, and this Expedient in a Diſpute might be ſo called, as others were called *The Reaper, The Liar*, &c.

(86) Caſaub. in Perſium, Sat. ult. p. m. 521.

(87) Perſius, Sat. ult. in fin.

(88) Cicero, ubi ſupra, cap. 16.

(89) This ſhews, that there is a Gap in *Diogenes Laertius*, *lib. 7. in Zenone*, *n.* 82. for the Example of the Sophiſm called *Ob elatæ*, which is to be found there, plainly agrees with the *Sorites*, as it has been well obſerved by *Cujacius*, *Tractatu 5, ad Africanum, & Gaſſendi Oper. Tom. I. pag.* 41.

no use to him as to his Style. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* produces him for an Example, That the Authors, who are perfect in Logic, observe the Rules of Grammar very ill as to the placing of Words [P]. This Careleſſneſs in the Language is leſs ſurpriſing at firſt, than to ſee this Philoſopher himſelf undermine all the Foundations of the Science, that he had ſo much cultivated [Q]; but neither does

'ſpreads ſo far as to extend I know not whither. It 'gives no advantage againſt me, ſays he. For I, like 'a skillful Driver, before I reach the Goal, will 'check my Horſes, eſpecially if I am driving towards 'a Precipice. In this manner, ſays he, I will ſtop, 'and anſwer no farther a captious Queſtioner. If 'you can, but will not, reply, you are proud: if you 'cannot, neither do you ſee clearly, becauſe you grant 'what is obſcure. But you deny that you proceed ſo 'far as to what is obſcure: you ſtop then at what is 'evident. If you gain Silence only, you gain nothing. 'For what is it to him, who would enſnare you, whe-'ther he takes you ſilent, or ſpeaking? But if, as 'far as nine, for inſtance, you reply without heſi-'tation that they are few, you ſtop at the tenth, you 'with-hold aſſent even from what is certain and clear, 'yet you ſuffer not me to do the ſame thing in what is 'obſcure. That Invention, therefore, is of no uſe to 'you againſt the makers of the Sorites, ſince it teaches 'neither the firſt nor laſt point of Increaſe or Dimi-'nution.' The Sceptics took advantage of This Invention of *Chryſippus*, and made it ſerve for an Argument *ad hominem*. See *Sextus Empiricus* (90). Note, that *Horace* fell upon the Admirers of the Ancients with a *Sorites*: It is a very fine Paſſage; ſuffer me to give way to the Temptation of placing it here:

(90) Sext. Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypotypoſ. lib. 2, cap. 22.

Si meliora dies, ut vina, poemata reddit,
Scire velim, pretium chartis quotus arroget annus
Scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit, inter
Perfectos veteresque referri debet? an inter
Viles atque novos? excludat jurgia finis.
Eſt vetus atque probus, centum qui perficit annos.
Quid? qui deperiit minor uno menſe, vel anno,
Inter quos referendus erit? veteresne Poetas?
An quos & præſens & poſtera reſpuet ætas?
Iſte quidem veteres inter ponetur honeſtè,
Qui vel menſe brevi, vel toto eſt junior anno.
Utor permiſſo, caudæque pilos ut equinæ
Paulatim vello, demo unum, demo etiam unum,
Dum cadat eluſus ratione ruentis acervi,
Qui redit ad faſtos, & virtutem æſtimat annis,
Miraturque nihil, niſi quod Libitina ſacravit (91).

(91) Horat. Epiſt. 1, lib. 2, ver. 34, & ſeq.

If Verſe, like Wine, improves, matur'd by Age,
What length of Years gives value to the Page?
Say, ſhall the Bard, who chanc'd to write, we
know,
A Century, nor more nor leſs, ago,
Stand with the Ancients, or the Moderns, plac'd?
With theſe admir'd, or with theſe diſgrac'd?
A Century, ſure, ſo long ago he writ,
Makes him an Ancient, and a Claſſic Wit.
What rank is His, an Age who cannot boaſt,
More Modern by a Month, or Year at moſt?
'Midſt Bards of old, or Theſe, whom, later born,
The preſent and the future Times ſhall ſcorn?
Who wants a Month, or Year at moſt, may be
Allow'd the Priv'lege of Antiquity.
This frank Confeſſion will my Cauſe avail;
By ſingle Hairs, I bare the Horſe's Tail.
One from an hundred Years you let me take,
From That Another, 'till the Heap I break;
Confuting Him, who values Wit by Years,
Nor living Bards, becauſe alive, reverés.

I find a *tamen*, a *nevertheleſs*, in Mr *Menage*, which is wrong. He ſays, that *Carneades* laughed at This Invention of *Chryſippus*, and that, *nevertheleſs*, he made uſe of the *Sorites*, to prove that there were no Gods. 'Ridet illud inventum Carneades apud Ciceronem —— Tamen ipſe Carneades ſoritice multa rogat apud Sextum Empiricum adverſus Mathe-'maticos pag. 339. & 340. dum probare ſatagit non 'eſſe Deos (92). But *Carneades*'s Contempt for the *Quietiſt* of the other Philoſopher ſhould not have hindered him from making uſe of the *Sorites*; on the contrary, That very thing ſhould have made him moſt earneſt to employ it againſt him.

(92) Menag. in Diog. Laert. lib. 7, n. 197, pag. m. 343.

[P] Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus *produces him for an Example, that Authors, perfect in Logic, pay but little regard to the Rules of Grammar.*] Here are his Words, according to the *Latin* Tranſlation: 'Denique temporibus conſequentibus omnino 'neglecta eſt (*bona collocatio verborum*) nulluſque 'prorſus exiſtimabat (*eam*) neceſſariam eſſe, quid-'piamve ad orationis pulchritudinem conferre. Ita-'que ejuſmodi ſtructuras reliquerunt. —— Dico 'autem Phylarchum, Durim —— & alios infiniti —— Verum quid opus eos admirari, ubi 'etiam hi qui Philoſophiam profitentur, & de Dialecticis differunt diſciplinis, adeò ſunt in collocandis verbis futiles, ut etiam pudeat dicere. Sufficiat autem argumento uti oratione Chryſippi Stoici: (ulterius enim non procedam) quo neque melius quiſquam, neque exactius Dialecticas diſciplinas proſequutus eſt (93): neque deteriori junctura compoſitos ſermones protulit; ex his qui alicujus 'nominis & famæ ſunt (94). —— *Laſtly, in the 'following Times, a proper Poſition of Words was 'entirely neglected, and ſcarce any one thought it 'neceſſary, or that it contributed any thing to the 'Beauty of the Diction. They therefore laid aſide ſuch 'kind of Structures. —— I ſpeak of* Phylarchus, Duris, '—— *and numberleſs others.* —— *But why ſhould 'we wonder at theſe, when even the Profeſſors of 'Philoſophy and Logic are ſhamefully negligent in the 'Poſition of Words? I need only inſtance in the 'Stile of* Chryſippus *the Stoic (for I will proceed 'no further) than whom no one excelled more in 'Logic, nor fell ſo ſhort in the Structure of Lan-'guage: of theſe, I mean, who were of any Credit 'or Reputation.*' *Diogenes Laërtius* may ſerve us to confirm the Judgment of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*; for, if he informs us, on one ſide, that *Chryſippus*'s Logic was ſo much admired, that it was ſaid the Gods would have made uſe of it, if they would have employed Dialectics; he obſerves, on the other ſide, that the ſame Philoſopher did not write well. Οὕτω δ' ἐπίδοξος ἐν τοῖς διαλεκτικοῖς ἐγένετο, ὥστε δοκεῖν τὰς παλείας ὅτι εἰ παρὰ θεοῖς ἦν ἡ διαλεκτική, ἐκ ἂν ἦν ἄλλη ἢ ἡ Χρυσιππεία. Πλεονάσας δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι, τὴν λέξιν ἠκαλλώπισε. *Adeo autem in dialectica inſignis fuit, tantæque apud omnes æſtimationis, ut plerique dicerent, ſi apud deos uſus eſſet dialectica, non futuram aliam quam Chryſippeam. Cæterum quum eſſet fœcundiſſimus, non usque adeo dictione clarus fuit* (95).

(93) The *Greek* runs thus, τότε . . . ἄμεινον ἤθελε τὰς διαλεκτικὰς τάξεις ἐκβίβασον.

(94) Dionyſ. Halicarn. de Collocatione Verborum, cap. 15, pag. m. 20.

(95) Diog. Laert. lib. 7, n. 180. *See* Cicero *in the fourth Book* de finibus, cap. 3, *where he ſpeaks of* Chryſippus's *Rhetoric with the greateſt Contempt.*

[Q] *He himſelf undermined all the Foundations of the Science that he had ſo much cultivated.*] See here the Proofs of it, which *Plutarch* ſupplies us with. 'Believe alſo, *ſays he* (96), our Friends the 'Stoics, ſaying, that Nature, not by Chance, but 'by a divine Providence, brought forth *Chryſippus*, 'when ſhe had a Mind to turn Things up ſide 'down, and alter the Courſe of Life; for which 'purpoſe never was any Man fitter than he: But, 'as *Cato* ſaid of *Julius Cæſar*, that never any but 'he came to the Management of public Affairs, ſo-'ber and conſiderately reſolved on the Ruin of the 'State; ſo does this Man ſeem to me, with the 'greateſt Diligence and Eloquence to overturn and 'demoliſh Cuſtom. Which they teſtify, who mag-'nify the Man, when they diſpute againſt him con-'cerning the Sophiſm called the *Liar*: For to ſay, 'that a Concluſion, drawn from contrary Poſitions, 'is not notoriouſly falſe; And again, to ſay that 'ſome Arguments, having true Premiſſes, and true 'Inductions, may yet moreover have the contrary 'to their Concluſions true; what Conception of 'Demonſtration, or what Anticipation of Faith,

(96) Plut. de Comm. Notitiis adverſ. Stoicos, init.

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does this ſeem very ſtrange, if one conſiders attentively what are the Effects of a long and earneſt Application to the Subtilties of Logic. It almoſt always happens, that a Man of Parts, applying himſelf too much to This Study, becomes a Caviller, and, by his Sophiſtries, embroils the very Theſis that he had moſt zealouſly maintained. He will rather deſtroy his own Work, than abſtain from diſputing, and he forms Difficulties againſt his own Doctrine, which put his Art to a Non-plus. The *Spaniſh* School-men are a ſpeaking Proof of this. They had not the Advantages, that *Chryſippus* had; for they did not, like him, join the Knowledge of good Literature to That of Logic. He was an univerſal Scholar; he underſtood Mythology, the Ancient and Modern Poets, Hiſtory, *&c* (*s*). There were but very few Subjects, whereon he did not write Books, and he condeſcended to give ſome little Precepts for the Education of Children [*R*]. This being at the bottom a very important thing to Human kind, we ought to praiſe him for having treated of it. He does not deſerve the like Approbation for his Works of Grammar (*t*), nor for his Books *de Divinatione*, wherein he explained the very Preſages of Dreams (*u*). He took care not to forget the moſt famous Diſpute of Things poſſible and impoſſible [*S*]: It concerned him as a Philoſopher who aſſerted the Doctrine of Fate. He laid down a Thought, in his Treatiſe of Providence,

(*s*) Permulta alia colligit Chryſippus, ut eſt in omni hiſtoria curioſus. *Cicero Tuſcul. lib.* 1, *cap.* 45.

(*t*) *Varro* de lingua Latina, lib. 8, pag. m. 101. *mentions ſix Books of* Chryſippus περὶ τῆς ἀνωμαλίας. *He calls him* homo acutiſſimus.

(*u*) *See* Cicero in libris de divinatione, *v. g. I.* 19. 20, 39. *II.* 25, &c.

(97) See the Article *ARCESILAUS*, Citation (49).

(98) See above, Citat. (26), of the Article *CARNEADES*

(99) Cicero, de Oratore, lib. 2, cap. 38.

(100) Quid quod eadem illa ars quaſi Penelopæ telam retexens tollit ad extremum ſuperiora. *Id. Acad. Queſt. lib.* 4, *cap.* 29.

(101) Quintil. Inſt. Orat. lib. 1, cap. 10, pag. m. 55.

(102) Id. ibid. cap. 1, pag. 6.

(103) *Id. ibid.* pag. 8. Note, that he quotes him again in the 11th Chapter of the ſame Book, pag. 57.

(104) Id. ibid. cap. 3, pag. 17.

(105) Voſſius, de Poëtis Græcis, pag. 87.

(106) Al δὲ τῶν τιθηνῶν εἶδαι καταβαυκαλητὰς ἀνομάζουσι. Nutricum lactantium cantilenæ Catabaucalæ nuncupantur. *Athen. lib.* 14, *cap.* 3, *pag.* 618.

(107) A Stoic who had lodged a great while in *Cicero's* Houſe.

(108) Cicero, Epiſt. 4. lib. 9, ad Familiar.

‘ does it not overthrow? —— *Chryſippus's* Logic, ‘ taking away and cutting off it's own chief Parts ‘ and Principles, what other Notion hath it left ‘ unſuſpected of Falſhood? For the Superſtructures ‘ cannot be ſteady and ſure, if the Foundations re- ‘ main not firm, but are ſhaken with ſo many ‘ Doubts and Troubles.’ *Plutarch* adds, that the Sect of the Stoics, who complained of the Academics *perverting the common Conceptions*, were more guilty of That Fault than they. It muſt be ſaid at leaſt, that our *Chryſippus* deſerved, as much as *Arteſilaus*, to be compared to thoſe Tribunes of *Rome*, who diſturbed the public Peace (97). There never was a greater Diſturber of all things in the Empire of Philoſophy; and, though he was a Dogmatiſt by Name, yet he laboured, in effect, as much for *Pyrrhoniſm*, as the moſt paſſionate Sceptics by Profeſſion. For, if in a Syllogiſm, as it is pretended, he affirmed, that the Concluſion, drawn from a true Major and a true Minor, is ſo true, that it does not hinder a contrary Concluſion from being true alſo, it is to no purpoſe to argue, and a Man muſt no more hope to attain to *Certainty*; the moſt evident Propoſitions become Problematical; it is, as much as, or more than, if one ſhould queſtion, with *Carneades*, *whether Things equal to a third are equal among themſelves* (98). This is the Fate of thoſe, who addict themſelves exceſſively to the Subtilties of Logic; they fall at laſt into their own Snares, and cannot extricate themſelves; they diſcover Difficulties, which they cannot anſwer, and which, at the ſame time, overthrow what they had before laid down. *Cicero* has deſcribed their Character very well; I ſet down his Words, though I have made uſe of them elſewhere in the firſt Edition of this Work. ‘ Dialectici ad extremum ipſi ſe com- ‘ pungunt ſuis acuminibus, & multa quærendo repe- ‘ riunt non modo ea quæ jam non poſſint ipſi diſ- ‘ ſolvere, ſed etiam quibus ante exorta & potita de- ‘ texta prope retexantur (99). —— *The Logicians* ‘ *in the end turn their own Points upon themſelves*, ‘ *and, through much Enquiry, meet with what they* ‘ *not only cannot ſolve, but with what unravels all* ‘ *they have before woven.*’ It is for this reaſon, that he compares Logic to *Penelope*, who unravelled her own Work (100). No body could, better than *Chryſippus*, know himſelf in the Picture of the Logicians, which *Cicero* has left us.

[*R*] *He condeſcended to give ſome little Precepts, for the Education of Children.*] He has preſcribed a kind of a Song for Nurſes, and adviſed to make choice of the moſt honeſt, that were to be found. Nay, he would have had, if it had been poſſible, Children nurſed only by learned Women. ‘ Et ‘ Chryſippus etiam nutricum, quæ adhibentur infan- ‘ tibus, allectationi ſuum quoddam carmen aſſignat ‘ (101). Ante omnia ne ſit vitioſus ſermo nutrici- ‘ bus: quas, ſi fieri poſſet, ſapientes Chryſippus op- ‘ tavit; certe, quantum res pateretur, optimas eligi ‘ voluit (102).’ He would have Children to be three Years under the Care of their Nurſes, and that they ſhould inſtruct them, without ſtaying till they were older. He did not approve, that they ſhould not be inſtructed till they were ſeven Years of Age. *Quintilian* is of his Mind. ‘ Quidam literis inſtituen- ‘ dos qui minores ſeptem annis eſſent non putaverunt ‘ —— melius autem, qui nullum tempus vacare cura ‘ volunt, ut Chryſippus, nam is quamvis nutricibus ‘ triennium dederit, tamen ab illis quoque jam in- ‘ formandam quam optimis inſtitutis mentem infan- ‘ tium judicat (103). —— *Some have thought, that* ‘ *Children, under ſeven Years of Age, ought not to be* ‘ *trained to Learning* —— *but they judge better,* ‘ *who are for improving every part of Life, as* Chry- ‘ ſippus; *for he, though he allowed three Years* ‘ *for Nurſing, yet was of Opinion, that the Minds* ‘ *of Infants themſelves ought to be cultivated as much* ‘ *as poſſible.*’ He had examined the Queſtion, Whether School-Boys were to be beaten? and declared for the Affirmative. ‘ Cædi vero diſcentes, ‘ quanquam & receptum ſit, & Chryſippus non im- ‘ probet, minime velim (104). —— *I would by no* ‘ *means have Learners beaten, though it is allowed* ‘ *of, and* Chryſippus *does not diſapprove it.*’ I would fain know, upon what grounds *Voſſius* ſays (105), that the Stoic *Chryſippus* is the Author of the Nurſes Songs, which *Athenæus* calls καταβαυκαλήσεις (106). The Words, which I have quoted, and which he quotes alſo, out of the tenth Chapter of the firſt Book of *Quintilian*, are not a good Foundation to build upon.

[*S*] *He forgot not the moſt famous Diſpute of Things poſſible and impoſſible.*] It owed it's Original to the Doctrine of the Stoics concerning Fate. The Thing in queſtion, was to know, whether there are poſſible Things, among thoſe that never were, and never ſhall be; or, whether all that is not, all that never was, and all that never ſhall be, is impoſſible. A famous Logician, of the Sect of *Megara*, whoſe Name was *Diodorus*, denied the firſt of theſe two Queſtions, and affirmed the ſecond; but *Chryſippus* ſtrenuouſly oppoſed him. Here are two Paſſages of *Cicero*: ‘ Περὶ δυνατῶν me ſcito ‘ καλὰ διαλαμβάνειν κρίνειν. Quapropter, ſi ventu- ‘ rus ea, ſcito neceſſe eſſe te venire. Sin autem ‘ non ea, τῶν ἀδυνάτων eſt te venire. Nunc ‘ vide, utra te κρίσις magis delectet, Χρυσιππεία ‘ ne an hæc, quam noſter Diodorus (107) non ‘ concoquebat (108). —— *As to Things poſſible,* ‘ *know, that I am of the Opinion of* Diodorus. ‘ *Wherefore, if you intend to come, know, that you* ‘ *cannot but come, and, if you do not come, it is im-* ‘ *poſſible you ſhould come. Conſider now, which* ‘ *Opinion you like beſt, That of* Chryſippus, *or* ‘ *That, which my Friend* Diodorus *could not digeſt.*’ This is taken from a Letter, written by *Cicero* to *Varro*. He lays down, more at large, the whole State of the Queſtion, in the little Book *de Fato*. I ſhall quote ſome Paſſages out of it. ‘ Vigila, Chryſippe, ne tuam cauſam, in qua tibi ‘ cum Diodoro valente dialectico magna luctatio ‘ eſt, deſeras —— omne ergo quod falſum dicitur ‘ in futuro, id fieri non poteſt. At hoc Chryſip- ‘ pe minime vis, maximeque tibi de hoc ipſo cum ‘ Diodoro certamen eſt. Ille enim id ſolum fieri ‘ poſſe dicit, quod aut fit verum, aut futurum fit ‘ verum: & quicquid futurum ſit, id dicit fieri ‘ neceſſe eſſe: & quicquid non ſit futurum, id ‘ negat

Providence, which may be looked upon as a first Draught of one of the finest Principles, that a great Philosopher of the XVIIth Century has advanced, and cleared [T]. Some Authors have reported, that he took Hellebore, to encrease the Strength of his Genius (x). He died in the CXLIIId Olympiad (y). They raised

(x) See, above, Remark [E], of the Article CARNEADES.

(y) Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, n. 184. Concerning the Circumstances of his Death, see Citation (119).

negat fieri posse. Tu etiam quæ non sint futura posse fieri dicis, ut frangi hanc gemmam, etiamsi id nunquam futurum sit: neque necesse fuisse Cypselum regnare Corinthi, quamquam id millesimo ante anno Apollonis oraculo editum esset. —— Placet Diodoro, id solum fieri posse, quod aut verum sit, aut verum futurum sit: qui locus attingit hanc quæstionem, nihil fieri quod non necesse fuerit: & quicquid fieri possit, id aut esse jam, aut futurum esse: nec magis commutari ea veris in falsa ea posse quæ futura sunt quam ea quæ facta sunt: sed in factis immutabilitatem apparere, in futuris quibusdam, quia non apparent, ne inesse quidem videri: ut in eo qui mortifero morbo urgeatur, verum sit, hic morietur hoc morbo: at hoc idem si vere dicatur in eo in quo tanta vis morbi non apparet, nihilominus futurum sit. Ita sit ut commutatio ex vero in falsum, ne in futuro quidem ulla fieri possit (109). —— *Take care, Chrysippus, you do not desert your Cause, which has occasioned a great Contest between you and* Diodorus, *the famous Logician.* —— *Whatever, therefore, is said to be false in time to come, That cannot happen. This you by no means assert,* Chrysippus, *and it is this very thing you so strongly contest with* Diodorus. *For he only asserts, that That may possibly happen, which is either true, or may hereafter be true, and what hereafter will be must necessarily be; and whatever will not hereafter be, That, he says, cannot possibly happen. Whereas you affirm, that even what will not be is possible, as that This Diamond may possibly be broken, which yet it never will be: and that it was not necessary, that* Cypselus *should reign at* Corinth, *though it was foretold a thousand Years before by the Oracle of* Apollo. —— Diodorus *thinks, that That only is possible, which is either true, or will be true: which brings us to this Question, That nothing happens but what necessarily happens; and whatever is possible, either now is, or is to come: and that those things, which will be, can no more be changed from true to false, than those, which actually are: that there appears an immutability in those things, which are, but, in some of those, which will be, no such thing seems to be, because they do not appear; as of him, who labours under a mortal Disease, it may be truly said, This Man will die of This Disease; but the same Thing, if it be truly affirmed of him, in whom so violent a Disease does not appear, will nevertheless happen. Hence it is, that, in what is to come, there can be no change from true into false.*' *Cicero* makes it plainly appear, that *Chrysippus* found himself often puzzled in That Dispute, and it must not be wondered at; for the way he took had no Connexion with his Doctrine concerning Fate; and if he had known, or if he had dared to argue consequentially, he would have adopted the whole Hypothesis of *Diodorus* with all his Heart. It has been seen above (110), that, notwithstanding the Liberty he acknowledged in the Soul, and his Comparison of the Cylinder, all the Actions of Man's Will are unavoidable Consequences of Fate; from whence it results, that whatever does not happen is impossible, and that there is nothing possible but what is actually done. *Plutarch* runs him down both on this, and on his Dispute with *Diodorus*, and maintains, against him, that his Opinion about Possibility is altogether contrary to the Doctrine of *Fatum* (111). Note, that the most illustrious Stoics had written on this Subject, without following the same Road. *Arrianus* names four of them, viz. *Chrysippus*, *Cleanthes*, *Archedemus*, and *Antipater* (112). He shews a great Contempt for This Dispute; and Mr *Menage* ought not to have quoted him as a Writer, who speaks honourably of *Chrysippus*'s Work περὶ δυνάμεων (113); for certainly these Words, γίγνεται δὲ καὶ χρύσιππος θαυμασίως, &c. *de his rebus mira scripsit Chrysippus*, &c. are not an Elogy in That Place, as it appears by the foregoing and following Words.

(109) Cicero, de Fato, cap. 6, & seq.

(110) In Rem. [M].

(111) Plut. de Stoicor. Repugn. pag. 1053, 1054.

(112) Arrian. in Epict. lib. 2, cap. 19, pag. m. 166.

(113) Citatur honorifice apud Arrianum. *Menag. in Laert. lib. 7, pag. 341.*

Dionysius Halicarnassensis mentioned (114) two Treatises of *Chrysippus*, wherein, under a Title that promised other things, he made a great Excursion into Logic. The Work was intituled Περὶ τῆς συνλέξεως τῶν τοῦ λόγου μερῶν, *de partium orationis collectione*, and treated only of Propositions true and false, possible and impossible, contingent, ambiguous, &c. A Subject, which our Schoolmen have very much handled and refined. Note, that *Chrysippus* acknowledged, that Things past were necessarily true, which *Cleanthes* would not admit of (115). Οὐ πᾶν δὲ παρελήλυθὸς ἀληθὲς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι, καθάπερ οἱ περὶ Κλεάνθην φέρεσθαι δοκῶσι. *Non omne præteritum ex necessitate verum est, ut illi, qui Cleanthem sequuntur, sentiunt* (116). We have seen, in another Place (117), that it has been pretended, that *Abelard* taught a Doctrine like That of *Diodorus*. I believe the Stoics resolved to give more extent to possible than to future Things, to soften the odious and frightful Consequences, which were drawn from their Doctrine of Fatality. At present, it puzzles the *Spinozists*, to see, that, according to their Hypothesis, it was as impossible from all Eternity, that *Spinoza*, for Example, should not die at the *Hague*, as it is impossible, that two and two should be six. They are sensible, that it is a necessary Consequence from their Doctrine, and a Consequence that scares and shocks the Mind, as containing an Absurdity diametrically opposite to common Sense. They are not well pleased, that it should be known, that they overthrow such a general and evident Maxim as this: *Whatsoever implies a Contradiction is impossible, and whatsoever does not imply a Contradiction is possible.* Now what Contradiction would there have been in this, that *Spinoza* should have died at *Leyden*? Would Nature have been less perfect, less wise, less powerful?

Let us not end without observing, that *Chrysippus* placed, among possible Things, the Resurrection of Men, and their Re-establishment in the same State, wherein each of them have appeared. *Lactantius* informs us of this, and also quotes his Words (118). *Melius Chrysippus —— qui in libris quos de providentia scripsit, cum de innovatione mundi loqueretur, hæc intulit.* Τότε δὲ ἴσως ἔχοντος, δῆλον ὡς ἐδύνατο δύνασθαι, καὶ ἡμᾶς μετὰ τελευτήσαι, πάλιν περιόδων τινῶν εἱλημμένων χρόνου εἰς ὃ τὸν ἴσον μὲν καλεῖσθαι σχῆμα. Chrysippus *thought better, who, in his Books concerning Providence, speaking of the Renovation of the World, expresses himself thus*: 'Things 'being so, it is plainly not impossible, that we ourselves, after Death, may, after certain Periods of 'Time, be restored to our present State.' The same Father ascribes to him another great Point of Orthodoxy, which moved him to do an ill Action; he believed, that his Soul would ascend into Heaven at its Separation from the Body; and he killed himself to go and enjoy that Place of Bliss (119). 'Multi ex iis quia æternas esse animas suspicaban'tur tanquam in cœlum migraturi essent, sibi ipsi ma'nus intulerunt, ut Cleanthes, *ut Chrysippus*, ut 'Zeno (120). —— *Many of those, who suspected 'the Soul to be immortal, that they might go to 'Heaven, laid violent Hands on themselves, as* 'Cleanthes, Chrysippus, *and* Zeno.'

[T] *He laid down a Thought ---- which may be looked upon as a first Draught of a Principle, which a Philosopher of the XVIIth Century has cleared.*] *Chrysippus*, in his Work of Providence, examined this Question, among others, *Did the Nature of Things, or the Providence that made the World and human kind, make also the Diseases, to which Men are subject?* He answers, that Nature's chief Design was not to make them sickly, for that would not agree with the Cause of all good Things: but, in preparing and producing many great Things very well ordered, and very useful, she found, that some Inconveniences resulted from it; and so they are not agreeable to her primary Design and Aim; they

(114) Dionys. Halicarn. de Collocatione Verborum, cap. 17, p. m. 11.

(115) Omnia enim vera in præteritis necessaria sunt, ut Chrysippo placet dissentienti à magistro Cleanthe, quia sunt immutabilia nec in falsum è vero præter ea possunt converti. *Cicero de Fato, cap. 7.*

(116) Arrian. in Epictet. lib. 2, cap. 19, pag. m. 165.

(117) In Remark [B], of the Article BERENGER.

(118) Lactant. Divin. Institut. lib. 7, cap. 23, pag. 506.

(119) *Diogenes Laërtius* does not speak of this; he says only, *l. 7, n.* 184, 185, that, according to *Hermippus*, *Chrysippus*, being invited to a Sacrifice by his Scholars, drank some sweet Wine without Water, and fell into a Vertigo, and died five Days after; but, according to others, he died with laughing, bidding his Maid to give some Wine to an Ass, which had eat his Figs.

(120) Lactant. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 18, pag. 194.

raised a Monument to him among those of the most Illustrious *Athenians* (z). His Statue was erected in the *Ceramicus* [*U*]. He accepted of the Freedom of *Athens*, which neither *Zeno* nor *Cleanthes* had done. *Plutarch*'s Criticism upon this seems to me too severe [*X*].

(z) Pausan lib. 1, pag. 55. Edit. 1696.

they are found in the Sequel of the Work, and exist only as Consequences. For the Formation of a human Body, said he, the exactest Idea, even the Usefulness of the Work, required, that the Head should be composed of a Contexture of small and thin Bones; but from thence this Inconvenience resulted, that it would not be able to resist Blows. Nature was preparing Health, and at the same time, by a kind of Concomitancy, it was necessary, that the Source of Diseases should be opened. It is the same with respect to Virtue; the direct Action of Nature, that gave it a Being, did, by a Counter-blow, produce the Generation of Vices. I have not translated literally, wherefore I place the *Latin* of *Aulus Gellius* here, in favour of those who understand that Language. 'Idem Chrysippus in eodem libro (quarto περὶ τεχνείας) 'tractat consideratque, dignumque esse id quæri putat, εἰ αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόσοι καθὰ φύσιν γίνονται. Id est naturane ipsa rerum vel providentia, quæ compagem hanc mundi & genus hominum fecit, morbos quoque & debilitates & ægritudines corporum, quas patiuntur homines, fecerit: existimat autem non fuisse hoc principale naturæ consilium, ut faceret homines morbis obnoxios; nunquam enim hoc convenisse naturæ auctori parentique rerum omnium bonarum. Sed quum multa, inquit, atque magna gigneret parere tque aptissima & utilissima, alia quoque simul agnata sunt incommoda iis ipsis, quæ faciebat, cohærentia: eaque non per naturam, sed per sequelas quasdam necessarias facta dicit, quod ipse appellat, καθὰ παρακολούθησιν. Sicut, inquit, quum corpora hominum natura fingeret, ratio subtilior & utilitas ipsa operis postulavit ut tenuissimis minutisque officulis caput compingeret; sed hanc utilitatem rei majoris alia quædam incommoditas extrinsecus consecuta est; ut fieret caput tenuiter munitum, & ictibus offensionibusque parvis fragile. Proinde morbi quoque & ægritudines partæ sunt, dum salus paritur. Sic Hercule, inquit, dum virtus hominibus per consilium naturæ gignitur, vitia ibidem per affinitatem nata sunt (121).' I do not think, that a Pagan could have said any thing more reasonable, in the Ignorance he was in, of the Fall of the first Man; a Fall, which we could not know but by Revelation, and which is the true Cause of our Miseries: If we had many such Extracts of *Chrysippus*'s Works, or rather if we had his Works, we should have a greater Notion of the Beauty of his Genius, than what we have.

(121) Aulus Gellius, lib. 6, cap. 1.

The modern Philosopher, whom I meant, when I said, that he has explained a very fine Principle, of which *Chrysippus*'s Thought was the first Draught, is the famous Author of the *Search after Truth*. The Substance of his Principle may be seen in the *Miscellaneous Thoughts upon Comets* (122), and one may judge thereby, whether *Chrysippus* had the same Idea.

(122) Paragraph 234, pag. 704, and following.

As for the other Things that he advanced to justify Providence (123), you will find the Discussion of them in the Remarks [*E*] and [*G*] of the Article PAULICIANS. See also the Remark [*F*] of the Article DEJOTARUS.

(123) *See* Aulus Gellius, lib. 1, cap. 1.

[*U*] *His Statue was erected in the* Ceramicus.] *Diogenes Laërtius*, who says this, has added to it an Observation somewhat fallacious. These are his Words: Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σωμάτιον εὐτελές. ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῆς ἀνδριάντος τῆς ἐν κεραμεικῷ. ὃς σχεδόν τι ὑπακέκρυπται τῷ πλησίον ἱστηκότι. ὅθεν αὐτὸν ὁ Καρνεάδης Κρύψιππον ἔλεγεν. Erat autem tenui corpusculo, ut ex ejus imagine, quæ in Ceramico est, videre licet, quæ ferme à vicino equite occulitur. Quocirca illum Carneades Crypsippum vocabat (124). - - - - - *He was a Man of very small size, as appears by his Statue in the* Ceramicus, *which is almost covered by an Equestrian Statue standing by it; for which Reason* Carneades *called him* Crypsippus.' It looks as if it were in order to prove, that the Statue of *Chrysippus* was small, that he mentions it's being almost entirely covered by the Equestrian Statue just by it. But this would be a very bad Reasoning, and I should rather believe, for his Honour, that he mentioned that Neighbourhood as a meer Fact, and not as a Proof of what he had just said; for, in short, it is easy to conceive, that a Man on Horseback may intercept the Sight of a Foot man of a good size. If we add to this, that the Statue of that Philosopher was sitting (125), we shall yet better apprehend how the Statue on Horseback might almost cover it all, without it's being a sign of it's Smallness, and therefore I wonder that *Vossius*, and several others, have approved the Reason which they pretend *Diogenes Laërtius* made use of. 'Chrysippum contumeliosè quasi latinam dixeris vocabat Zeno (126), teste Tullio in 1. de Nat. Deorum. Crypsippum Carneades, quia esset exiguus, ita ut statua ejus in Ceramico posita à vicino equite occuleretur: teste Laërtio (127). - - - Zeno *in contumely called him* Chesippus, *that is to say, a* Jakes, *as* Tully *affirms in B.* 1. de Nat. Deor. Carneades *called him* Crypsippus, *because he was so little, that his Statue in the* Ceramicus *was almost covered by an Equestrian one standing near it, according to* Diogenes Laërtius.' I shall observe, by the by, that they are mistaken who say, That *Diogenes Laërtius*, who mentions that Pun of *Carneades*, says also that the same *Carneades* accused *Chrysippus* of being a Parasite of Books, because he had copied *Epicurus*'s Books Word for Word: 'Hunc (*Chrysippum*) Gargeades lepide parasitum librorum appellat quod scripta Epicuri sit furatus, scripsitque eadem & verbis & numeris Diogenes (128).' This is what *Volaterranus* ventured to say, as taken from *Diogenes Laërtius*. It is a strange Alteration of another Censure, *viz.* that *Chrysippus*, out of meer Emulation, always set himself to write a Book as soon as ever *Epicurus* had published one. See the Remark [*C*] above. *Robert Stephens*, and *Theodorus Wringer*, have copied that Mistake of *Volaterranus* (129). For the rest, according to *Pausanias* (130), the Statue of our Philosopher was not in the *Ceramicus*, but in the College which bore the Name of it's Founder *Ptolemy*. Mr *Menage* reconciles that Difference, by supposing that this Statue was placed in the inner *Ceramicus* (131). *Lipsius* had said it (132). *Plutarch* mentions a brazen Statue erected to *Chrysippus* by one of his Scholars, with a glorious Inscription. Ἀσκληπιὸν γὰρ ὁ Χρυσίππου μαθητὴς καὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἀνεστήλωσεν ἐπίγραμμα τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον,

(124) Diog. Laërt. lib. 7, n. 182.

(125) Statue of in Ceramico Chrysippi sedentis, perrecta manu. — *There is in the* Ceramicus *a Statue of* Chrysippus, *sitting with his hand stretched out.* Cicero de fin lib. 1, cap. 11. *Note, that* Sidonius Apollinaris, Epist. 9, lib. 9, *says, that* Chrysippus *was represented* digitis propter numerorum indicia constrictis. *See also* Carm. 23, ver. 118.

(126) That is, *Zeno* the *Epicurean.*

(127) Vossius de Philosophor. sectis, cap. 19, n. 11, pag. m. 102.

(128) Volaterran. lib. 14, pag. m. 531.

(129) *See* Thomasius de plagio literario, pag. 170, 171.

(130) Pausan. lib. 1, pag. 59.

(131) Menag. in Laërt. lib. 7, n. 182.

(132) Lipsius Manud. ad Stoic. Philos. lib. 3, diffart. 22, pag. m. 654.

Τόνδε νίον Χρύσιππον Ἀσκληπιὸν ἀνέθηκε
Τῶν Ἀκαδημαικῶν σεμνοτάτων κοσμήτορα.

Aristocreon quidem Chrysippi discipulus & familiaris, æream imaginem in columna ponens, hos elegos inscripsit,

Hunc Academiacos solitum discindere nexus
Chrysippum juvenem ponit Aristocreon (133).

(133) Plut. de Repugnant. Stoic. cor. init. pag. 1033, *D.*

Aristocreon, *the Scholar and Friend of* Chrysippus, *placed his Statue on a Column, with this elegiac Inscription,*

This Statue Aristocreon *places here,*
To young Chrysippus, *who was wont to solve*
The Doubts of th' Academics. ——

[*X*] *He accepted of the Freedom of* Athens. — Plutarch's *Criticism upon this seems to me too severe.*] 'Antipater, in his Books concerning the Variance between *Cleanthes* and *Chrysippus*, writes, that *Zeno* and *Cleanthes* would not be made Citizens of *Athens*, least they should seem to injure their own Country. Now, if they did well, *Chrysippus* acted amiss in suffering himself to be inrolled as a Member of the City of *Athens*: However, I shall not insist any further upon that at present. But this I say; there is a monstrous Inconsistency in their Conduct, to preserve to their native

native Place the bare name of Country, but deprive it of both their Persons and Converse, by going to reside so far off in a strange Place; which is just the same thing as if a Man should leave his Wife, and go to cohabit with another, bed constantly with her, and have Children by her, and yet refuse to contract Marriage with the second, least he should seem to wrong the former (134).' Every body may see, that *Plutarch* gives us a Parallel between two Things that are not alike. The Caution of *Zeno* and *Cleanthes*, with respect to their Country, was, really, a Piece of Civility that was received as such; but the Caution of the Husband, to whom the Censurer compares it, will never pass for any thing but Mockery.

(134) Id. ibid. pag. 1034.

CHRYSIS, a Priestess of *Juno* at *Argos*, was the cause, by her Carelessness, that the Temple of the Goddess was wholly burnt. She had placed a Lamp too near the Sacred Ornaments; they took Fire, and, as she happened then to be in so found a Sleep, that she did not awake soon enough to prevent the Consequences of that Accident, the Fire consumed the whole Temple (*a*). Some say that she perished in the Flames [*A*], but others affirm that she fled to *Phlius* that same Night [*B*]. She had reason to fear the Resentment of the *Argians*; for, instead of recalling her, they made another Priestess (*b*). That Dignity was very considerable among them; it was the Rule of their Dates and Chronology (*c*). That Fire happened in the Ninth Year of the *Peloponnesian* War [*C*].

St *Jerom* observes, in his First Book against *Jovinian* (*d*), that our *Chrysis*, Priestess of *Juno*, was a Virgin. *Marianus Victorius* has no reason to say, in his notes on that Place, that the said Father speaks of *Chryseis*, whom *Agamemnon* carried away.

(a) Thucydides, lib. 4, sub. fin.

(b) *Called* Phaenia. Thucydid. ibid.

(c) Josua Barnesius in vita Euripidis, pag. 7. *See Remark* [C].

(d) Hieronym. adversus Jovinian. lib. 1, pag. m. 498.

[*A*] *Some say, that she perished in the Flames.*] *Arnobius* not only affirms it, but draws an Argument from this Fact against the Pagans. 'Ubi 'Juno regina, *says he* (1), cum inclitum ejus fanum sacerdotemque Chrysidem eadem vis flammæ 'Argiva in civitate deleret? - - - - - *Where was your Queen* Juno, *when her famous Temple and her Priestess* Chrysis *were both destroyed together by Fire in* Argos.' *Clemens Alexandrinus* supplied him both with this Fact, and the Consequence drawn from it (2). It was injudicious in him to make use of such a Proof against the Gods of the Pagans; for, besides that *Lucretius* makes use of the like Reason to destroy the Worship of the Gods in general, might not *Arnobius*'s Question have been retorted upon himself? Might he not have been asked, Where the God of *Israel* was, when the King of *Babylon* plundered and burned the Temple of *Solomon*? I do not know what the Fathers dreamed of, in some of their Arguments against the Gentiles.

(1) Arnob. lib. 6, pag. m. 207.

(2) Clem. Alexandr in Protrep. pag. 35.

[*B*] - - - - *others pretend, that she fled to* Phlius *that same Night*] Since *Thucydides*, who lived in those Times, affirms this Fact (3), it is very likely, that it is true, and that therefore *Arnobius* grounded a bad Objection on a Falsehood. *Pausanias* (4) relates, that That Priestess took refuge at the Altar of *Minerva* at *Tegea*, and that the *Argians*, out of respect for that Asylum, did not require that she should be delivered up to them (5), nay, they preserved her Statue, for it was still to be seen in *Pausanias*'s Time, at the Entrance of the Temple that was burnt (6).

(3) Thucydid. lib. 4, sub. fin.

(4) Pausanias, lib. 2, pag. 59.

(5) Id. lib. 3, pag. 86.

(6) Id. lib. 2, pag 60.

[*C*] *That Fire happened in the ninth Year of the* Peloponnesian *War.*] *Thucydides* affirms it (7). The learned Man, to whom the Public is obliged for the Edition of *Euripides*, printed in *England* in the Year 1694, informs us, that *Chrysis* was made Priestess of *Juno* at *Argos* in the third Year of the LXXVth Olympiad, and that she had exercised that Office Fifty six Years when the Temple was burnt. These are his Words, and his Quotation: 'Argis 'quidem hoc anno Chrysis Sacerdos Junonis constituitur, ex cujus sacerdotio mos erat Argivis peragere suorum temporum numerare. At illa 'quum per quinquaginta * sex annos suo fungeretur officio, tum demum lucerna negligenter ad 'corollas posita, *templum* incendio conflagravit (8).' - - - - *At* Argos, *this Year*, Chrysis *is appointed Priestess of* Juno; *by the Succession of which Priestesses, the* Argives *used to reckon their Time. But, when she had exercised that Office Fifty six Years, placing a Lamp carelessly near the Ornaments, she set fire to the Temple, and destroyed it.*' No body would think, considering the Place where Mr *Barnes* has put the Quotation out of *Thucydides*, but that That ancient Historian informs us, that *Chrysis* was in the Fifty sixth Year of her Priesthood, when the Fire consumed the Temple, and yet *Thucydides* does not speak of it; he says only, That it was at that time eight Years and six Months from the beginning of the *Peloponnesian* War. Whoever would accuse Mr *Barnes* upon this Account, would be a Caviller; for if it be true, that *Chrysis* was made Priestess in the third Year of the LXXVth Olympiad, there is some reason to cite *Thucydides* to prove, that That Woman was in the Fifty sixth Year of her Priesthood, more or less, when the Temple was burnt; since *Thucydides* observes, that That Fire happened in the ninth Year of the *Peloponnesian* War (9). Farther, *Thucydides* observes, in a Place, which Mr *Barnes* does not quote (10), that the *Peloponnesian* War began in the Fourty eighth Year of *Chrysis*'s Priesthood. It is true, that this proves that That Priestess was in the Fifty seventh Year of her Office at the time of the Fire, and not in the Fifty sixth, as Mr *d'Ablancourt* (11) and Mr *Barnes* affirm.

* Thucydides, lib. 4, in ipso fine, fol. 164. Vide Joh. Meursii Archont. Athen. lib. 3, cap. 6.

(8) Josua Barnesius in vita Euripidis, pag. 7.

(9) That is, the second Year, or thereabouts, of the 98th Olympiad.

(10) Lib. 2, Init. pag. 99.

(11) In his Translation of *Thucydides*.

CHRISTINA, Queen of *Sweden*, died at *Rome* the nineteenth of *April* 1689.

Look for SWEDEN.

CICCHUS (*a*), Native of *Ascoli* in *Italy*, an Author, who was reputed to have studied Magical Superstitions. It is not certain that he pretended to have a familiar Spirit. His Commentary on the Sphere of *Sacrobosco* was printed at *Venice* in the Year 1499. I shall recite *Gabriel Naudé*'s Judgment of him [*A*].

(*a*) He is called *Cicchus de Esculo*, or *Esculanus*, or *Æsculanus*, or *Asculanus*. Some say *Cichus*, or *Chicus*, instead of *Cicchus*.

He

[*A*] *I shall recite* Gabriel Naudé's *Judgment of him* (1).] 'The only Commentary that we have of 'Cicus *Æsculanus* on the Sphere of *Sacrobusto*, 'shews sufficiently that he was not only superstitious, as *Delrio* calls him (2), but also that he 'was a little crack-brained, having undertaken 'three Things in it that can do no less than discover his Folly: The first is, To interpret *Sacrobusto*'s Book according to the Sense of Astrologers, Necromancers, and Chiromancists: The second is, To cite a great many Authors that are 'falsified, and full of old and foolish Stories, as for 'instance, *Solomon de umbris idearum*; *Hipparchus* 'de vinculo spiritus, de ministerio naturæ, de Hierarchiis spirituum; *Apollonius de arte magica*; *Zoroaster de dominio quartarum octavæ sphæræ*; 'Hippocrates de stellarum aspectibus secundum lunam; *Aftafon de mineralibus constellatis*; and many more such: And the third, to make a frequent use of the Revelations of a Spirit called 'Floron †, whom he pretended to be of the Order of Cherubims: and that one day, being asked,

(1) Apologie des grans hommes, cap. 13, pag. m. 344.

(2) Disquisit. lib. 2, cap. 3.

† Cap. 4, Sph.

What

He makes him live in the Year 1320 (*b*), in the time of *Garbo*, who was a Physician of *Florence*, *who accused him of Magic before the Inquisitors, by whose Sentence he was burned alive.* He adds that he had seen his Tryal at *Rome* in the Library of the Cavalier *del Pozzo*; and that *he was a* Wag, *who acted the Magician*, and that *he published a Treatise of Natural Philosophy* in Italian *Verse*.

(*b*) Naudæana, pag. 41. *Edit. of Paris.*

The Author of the *Turco-Papismus* is grievously mistaken, when he makes him live under the Pontificate of *Paul* III [*B*]. There were almost two Centuries between the Death of that Astrologer and the Installing of that Pope, if we follow the Abbot *Crescimbeni*, who says that *Cecco*, of *Ascoli*, was burned at *Florence* the sixteenth of *September* 1327 (*c*). On that Supposition, I ought to have said, that he lived, not towards the end of the XVth Century, but about the beginning of the XIVth. I must not forget, that he makes a pretty good Figure among the *Italian* Poets. Some of the Poems that he writ in that Language have been printed [*C*]. A certain Author says that he was a better Astrologer than Poet (*d*).

(*c*) Giovanni Mario de Crescimbeni, Istoria della volgar Poesia, pag. 47, 262.

(*d*) Leandro Alberti, Descript. di tutta l'Italia, fol. m. 267.

' What the Spots in the Moon were, he answered briefly, *Ut terra terra est*: But, besides that he does not attribute that Spirit to himself in any Place of the said Commentary, it is also easy to judge, that this Story is like that which *Pliny* ‡ tells of the Grammarian *Appian*, who raised the Devil to know *Homer*'s Country.' *Leo Allatius* relates *Floron*'s Answer more at large; 'Patrum nostrorum memoria (3), *says he* (4), Cicchus Ascalanus Commentar. de Sphæra cap. 4. tradit Floron spiritum naturæ nobilissimæ ex Cherubinica hierarchia quærenti, quæ esset illa umbra quæ in luna conspiceretur, tradit respondisse, ut terra terra est, sic idea humiditatum est terra; si totam umbram habueris te non decipiet sicut umbra. Rursumque, ab alio de Christo interrogatum dixisse, carnem sumpsit humanam ut per ipsum salvaretur omnis caro. - - - - Cicchus Ascalanus, *in his Commentary on the Sphere, chap. iv. says, that the Spirit* Floron, *of the most noble Nature of the Cherubinic Hierarchy, being asked what the Shade that appears in the Moon is, answered, As Earth is Earth, so the Idea of Moisture is Earth: if you had the whole Shade it would not deceive you like a Shade. And again, when he was asked by another concerning* CHRIST, *he said, that he took upon him human Flesh, that all Flesh might be saved by him.*'

‡ Lib. 2, cap. 30.

(3) He knew not well in what Time he lived.

(4) Allatius de patria Homeri, pag. 3, 4.

[*B*] *The Author of the* Turco-Papismus - - - - - *makes him live under the Pontificate of* Paul III.] He places this Pope among those that were addicted to Magic, and reproaches him with his intimate Conversation with *Ascalanus*, a noted Magician, as a Proof of it (5): 'Paulum tertium cum Cecio 'Asculano, Magiæ & Necromantiæ infigniter pe- 'rito magnam familiaritatem habuisse testantur histo- 'riæ *.' *Sleidan*, one of the Authors that he quotes, cannot be accused of that Fault. These are his Words, which he takes from a Libel that had been published against that Pope: 'An non turpissimum 'est te pendere totum ab Astrologis & Necro- 'manticis? Negari factum non potest: nam & ho- 'noribus illos & facultatibus atque donis amplifi- 'casti Cecium, Marcellum, Gauricum Lusitanum '& alios (6). - - - - *Is it not a scandalous thing 'that you should be so fond of Astrologers and Ne- 'cromancers: this cannot be denied; for you have 'advanced them to Honours, Wealth, and Presents, 'to wit,* Cecius, Marcellus, Gauricus, *the* Portu- 'guese, *and others.*' *Sleidan* says indeed, that one *Cecius* had a share in the good Graces of *Paul* III, but he does not surname him *Asculanus*, and so he may come off. If he had had the like Precaution as to *Gauricus*, he could not have been charged with the Fault of making an *Italian* a Native of *Portugal*.

(5) Suetlius, In Turco-Papismo, lib. 1, cap. 8, pag. 55.

* Sleidan, & Verger.

(6) Sleidan, lib. 21, pag. m. 668, ad Ann. 1549.

[*C*] *Some of the Poems which he wrote in the* Italian *Tongue have been printed.*] His Poem *della Natura dell' Universo* was printed the first time in the Year 1478, with a Commentary by an anonymous Author, and afterwards in the Year 1516, and last of all, in 1552, in 8vo (7). The Abbot *Crescimbeni*, from whom I have this, says elsewhere (8), that *l'Opera intitulata* L'acerba *di Maestro Cecco d'Ascoli Astrologo del Duca di Calavria*, has been published.

(7) Crescimbeni, Istoria della volgar Poesia, pag. 306.

(8) Ibid. pag. 47.

CICONIA (FLAMINIUS), a Native of *Vicenza* in *Italy*, was a tolerable good Philosopher about the end of the XVIth Century. I doubt not but his *Italian* Name was *Cicogna* or *Cigogna*. He published a Book at *Vicenza* in the Year 1592 [*A*]. Mr *Konig* was not acquainted with this Edition (*a*). There was one STROZZI CIGOGNA, a Gentleman of *Vicenza*, who was a Divine; a Philosopher, Doctor of Civil-Law, and Nuncio of the City of *Vicenza*. These are the Titles he gives himself at the beginning of a Book, which he dedicated to the Doge of *Venice*, and Council of *Ten*, the sixteenth of *July* 1605 [*B*].

(*a*) He says that *Ciconia* published his *Quæstiones Naturales*, in 1603.

[*A*] *He published a Book at* Vicenza *in the Year* 1592.] It is a Quarto of 80 Leaves intituled, *Quæstiones naturales in quibus juxta Aristotelis principia multa diligenter pertractantur & summa facilitate disputantur contra Robertum Juvenatensem.* I have a Book, which was printed at *Venice* in 1585, with this Title. *Quæstiones tres R. P. Domini Honorati de Robertis Juvenatiensis Congregationis Lateranensis, Canonicorum Regularium Sancti Augustini.* These are the Names and Titles of the Author that *Ciconia* refutes. He attacks some others here and there, as *Averroes*, *Pomponatius*, *Zimara*. These sorts of Books are now a Days like base Coin cried down.

[*B*] STROZZI CIGOGNA —— *dedicated a Book to the Doge and Council of* Ten —— *in* 1605.] It is intituled, *Del palagio de gl' Incanti & delle gran meraviglie d'e gli Spiriti & di tutta la natura loro.* The Edition I make use of is of *Brescia*, *appresso Comino Presegni*, 1605, in 8vo. The *Oxford* Catalogue mentions an Edition of *Vicenza* in 4to, also in the Year 1605 (1). This Book was printed the following Year in *Latin* at *Cologn* in 8vo, under the Title of *Magiæ Theatrum de Spirituum & Incantationum naturâ*. The Translator was one *Gaspar Ens*.

(1) *Konig* only speaks of the Edition in 1617.

CIECA, a *Spanish* Author of a History of *Peru*. See LEO.

CYGNE (MARTIN *du*), a Jesuit, is reckoned the most famous Rhetorician of the XVIIth Century. He published in 1661 *an Analysis of Cicero's Orations*, which has been re-printed several times, and particularly at *Paris* in 1704. He left also an *Art of Poetry*, an *Art of History*, and an *Art of Rhetoric*. He died at *Ipres* in 1669 (*a*).

(*a*) *Taken from the* Memoires de Trevoux, *July*, 1704, *Art.* 95.

CIMON, Son of that *Miltiades*, who vanquiſhed the *Perſians* in the famous Battle of *Marathon*, was one of the beſt Generals of the Republic of *Athens*. Some Hiſtorians relate, that he was committed to the ſame Priſon, where *Miltiades* died, and was not releaſed till he had paid the Fine the deceaſed was condemned to pay, which he could never have paid, if *Elpinice*, his Siſter and Wife, had not married *Callias* [*A*]. Others ſay, he willingly made a Sacrifice of his own Liberty to have leave to bury his Father [*B*], and this latter Opinion would not well be confuted by ſaying, that in his Youth he was branded for his debaucheries [*C*]; for even thoſe, who have blamed him on this account, yet confeſs he was of a free

[*A*] *Some Hiſtorians relate, that he was committed to the ſame Priſon where* Miltiades *died, and was not releaſed* —— &c.] *Cornelius Nepos* follows this Opinion. 'Quum pater ejus, *ſays he* (1), item æſtimatam populo ſolvere non potuiſſet, ob eamque cauſam in vinculis publicis deceſſiſſet, Cimon eadem cuſtodia tenebatur, neque legibus Athenienſibus emitti poterat, niſi pecuniam, qua pater multatus erat, ſolviſſet. —— *His Father not being able to diſcharge the fine, and for that reaſon dying in Priſon*, Cimon *was confined in his place, nor could he, by the Laws of* Athens, *be releaſed, 'till he had paid the Sum, which his Father had been fined.*' He adds, that *Callias*, who was more rich than noble, deſired to marry *Elpinice*, and offered to pay *Cimon*'s Debts, if he would agree to the Match. *Cimon* rejected the propoſal, but *Elpinice* declared ſhe would never ſuffer the Son of *Miltiades* to die in Priſon, and, ſince ſhe could prevent it by marrying *Callias*, ſhe would do it. Thus the Affair was adjuſted, and *Cimon* recovered his liberty by the marriage of *Elpinice* his Siſter (2), a Woman that was not accounted over chaſte (3). I have already made mention of her in another place (4). She beſtowed her favours upon *Polignotus* the Painter. I know not whether he expreſſed his Gratitude to her otherwiſe than by the Picture of *Laodice*. To underſtand this, you muſt know, that *Polignotus* being to draw the *Trojan* Ladies, he drew *Laodice* exactly like *Elpinice* (5). Obſerve, that *Herodotus*, ſpeaking of the Trial of *Miltiades* (6), ſays nothing of the Impriſonment, either of the Father or Son, and plainly inſinuates, that *Miltiades* was not impriſoned at all. This great Man got a fall at the Siege of *Paros*, and hurt his Thigh; for which reaſon he could not himſelf anſwer at his Tryal. His wound confined him to his Bed, and they condemned him in a Fine of Fifty Talents. And as he died ſoon after by the Mortification in his Thigh, his Son *Cimon* paid his Fine. This is *Herodotus*'s account; but there wants one Circumſtance which *Plato* tells us: the Sentence was, that *Miltiades* ſhould be put into the Dungeon; but this Sentence was not executed: the College of the *Prytans* oppoſed it. Μιλτιάδην δὲ τὸν ἐν Μαραθῶνι εἰς τὸ βαράθρον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐψηφίσαντο· καὶ εἰ μὴ δικὴ τὸν πρυτανεῖα ἐφίσχεν δι. *Miltiadem vero, qui in Marathone pugnavit, in carceris baratbrum detrudere decreverunt, at niſi obſtitiſſet magiſtratus, proculdubio incidiſſet* (7). It is very ſtrange, if matters were thus ordered, that *Cornelius Nepos* ſhould write as we have ſeen above. He alſo ſays in the Life of *Miltiades*. *Hanc pecuniam quod ſolvere non poterat, in vincula publica conjectus eſt, ibique diem obiit ſupremum.* —— *Not being able to pay his Fine, he was thrown in Priſon where he died.* I ſhall produce ſome Authors in the following Remark, who maintain, that *Miltiades* did die in Priſon.

[*B*] *Others ſay, that he willingly made a ſacrifice of his liberty, to have leave to bury his Father.*] This is ſo generous an Action, that I am ſurpriſed *Plutarch* ſhould not mention it, who follows the Opinion of thoſe, who ſay *Miltiades* died in Priſon (8). It appears by *Seneca*'s Controverſies (9), that the Impriſonment of *Miltiades*, and *Cimon* left in his ſtead, ſerved for Themes for the Rhetoricians to declame upon. See alſo *Valerius Maximus*, who relates, that the *Athenians* conſtrained *Miltiades* to die in his Fetters; and would not ſuffer him to be buried, but on Condition, that *Cimon* his Son ſhould be committed to Priſon in his room. 'Bene egiſſent Athenienſes cum Miltiade, ſi eum poſt trecenta millia Perſarum Marathone devicta, in exilium protinus miſiſſent, ac non in carcere & vinculis mori coëgiſſent. Sed ut puto, hactenus ſævire adverſus optime meritum abunde non duxerunt. Imo ne corpus quidem ejus, ſic expirare coacti, ſepulturæ prius mandari paſſi ſunt, quàm filius ejus Cimon eiſdem vinculis ſe conſtringendum traderet. Hanc hæreditatem paternam maximi ducis filius, & futurus ipſe ætatis ſuæ dux maximus, ſolam ſe ſortitum, catenas ſcilicet & carcerem, gloriari potuit (10). —— *Well had the* Athenians *acted with* Miltiades, *if, after a Slaughter of Thirty thouſand* Perſians *at* Marathon, *they had baniſhed him, and not forced him to die in a Priſon loaded with Chains; but in my Opinion they thought theſe Rigours but too mild for a Man of his diſtinguiſhed Merit, when, after a Death, haſtened by this ſevere treatment, not even his Body was permitted to be interred, 'till* Cimon *his Son ſubmitted to his Father's Bonds. Thus Chains and Impriſonment were the only Inheritance, which a Son, who was afterwards the greateſt General of his Age, could boaſt to have received from a Father, who had been the greateſt of his.*' In the next Chapter he ſays expreſsly, that *Cimon*, at the price of his own liberty, willingly purchaſed a Permiſſion to bury his Father. *Ne te quidem Cimon ſilentio involvam, qui patri ſuo ſepulturam voluntariis vinculis emere non dubitaſti* (11). —— *Nor ſhall* Cimon's *Fame be loſt in Silence, who generouſly ranſomed his dead Father's Body, at the Price of his own Freedom.* I ſhould not much regard the evidence of this Author, if it was not confirmed by an Hiſtorian: for though no Body had ſaid it but *Seneca*'s Rhetoricians (12), yet we ſhould have found it in the Collections of *Valerius Maximus*: but here is an Authority of greater Weight. Græci ducem conſtituunt Cimonem Athenienſem, filium Miltiadis, quo duce apud Marathonem pugnatum eſt, juvenem, cujus magnitudinem futuram pietatis documenta prodiderunt. Quippe patrem ob crimen peculatus in carcerem conjectum, ibique defunctum, tranſlatis in ſe vinculis ad ſepulturam redemit (13). —— *The* Greeks *chuſe for their General* Cimon *of* Athens, *Son to* Miltiades, *General in the Battle of* Marathon, *a young Man, whoſe filial Piety had promiſed a future Grandeur, having ſurrendered himſelf Priſoner to redeem the Body of his Father, who, for defrauding the Public, had been thrown into* Priſon, *and was there dead.*'

[*C*] *In his Youth he was branded for his debaucheries.*] They not only charged him with ſtupidity, but alſo with Lewdneſs, Drunkenneſs, and lying with his Siſter (14). Κακῶς ἤκουε ὡς ἀπαίδευτος καὶ πολυπότης —— ψεύστης δὲ αἰτίαν ἔσχε πλησιάζειν τῇ ἀδελφῇ. *Male audivit ex luſtris & vinulentia —— adoleſcentia ejus famoſe fuit quaſi ſoreri ſuæ illuderet* (15). Theſe are great Faults of his underſtanding and heart. It is reaſonable to believe the firſt imputation is Calumny; for he diſcovered ſo great a Capacity after he was raiſed to Employments, that there was no Appearance of his ever having been a ſilly Man or a Fool. I confeſs ſome heavy Minds unfold by little and little, and become skilful by practice in Buſineſs; but then obſerve, thoſe Men, at the time of their heavineſs, act with Judgment, and, if they have not vivacity, they have good ſenſe, and are far from deſerving to be called ſtupid and fooliſh; and therefore at the worſt let us keep to the Teſtimony of *Stefimbrotus*, who was very near his cotemporary (16). Now what does he ſay of our *Cimon*? That in his Youth he learnt neither Muſic, nor any other things, which are commonly taught, among the *Greeks*, to thoſe who had a good Education given them (17), that he had not that elegance of Behaviour, and ſoftneſs of Language, which were peculiar to the *Athenians*, and that his Candor and Generoſity favoured more of *Peloponneſus* than *Attica*. Τὸ σφόδρα πολὺ τὸ γενναῖον καὶ ἁπλοῦς ἐνυπάρχειν καὶ μᾶλλον εἶναι

(1) Corn. Nepos in Vitâ Cimonis, init.

(2) Tali modo cuſtodiæ liberatus. *Id. ibid.*

(3) Plut. in Cimone, p. 480, F.

(4) Remark [*N*] of the Article PERICLES.

(5) Plut. in Cimone, p. 480, F.

(6) Herodot. lib. 6, cap. 136.

(7) Plato. in Gorgia, pag. m. 352, B.

(8) Ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ. Diem ſuum obiit in carcere. *Plut. in Vitâ Cimon. pag.* 480, D.

(9) See *Seneca* the Father, *Controverſ.* 29, *pag. m.* 243.

(10) Valer. Maximus, lib. 5, cap. 3, n. 3, Ext. p. m. 460, 461.

(11) Id. ibid. cap. 4, n. 5, Ext. pag. 473.

(12) Miltiades peculatus damnatus in carcere alligatus deceſſit, Cimonque filius ejus ut eum ſepeliret vicarium ſe pro corpore patris dedit. —— Miltiades, *being condemned for defrauding the Public, died in Confinement, and* Cimon *his Son, to redeem his Body, put himſelf in his Father's Place.* Seneca, Controv. 29, pag. 243.

(13) Juſtin, lib. 2, ſub. fin.

(14) Plut. in Cimone, pag. 480.

(15) Id. ibid.

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) Stefimbrotus Thaſius, apud Plutarch. *ibid.*

free and generous Spirit (*a*). There is reaſon to believe that his Youth was not deſtitute, as ſome report (*b*), of the Advantages of Education, or the Endowments of Nature. I have much to ſay upon his Marriage with his Siſter [*D*]. He ſignalized

(*a*) See Remark [*C*], Citation 18.

(*b*) See Remark [*C*].

εἶναι Πελοποννήσιον τὸ χρῆμα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἀνδρῶδες. *Mores inſigni generoſitate & ſinceritate tinctos, potiuſque ingenium hujus viri Peloponneſium fuiſſe* (18). I do not know whether this Teſtimony of *Stefimbrotus* be true; for it is ſaid that *Cimon*, being deſired to ſing at Dinner with *Laomedon*, had the Complaiſance to do it, and performed well. Πεφυκληθήσῃ ᾄσας καὶ ἄσαντος ἐκ ἀνδρῶν, *cum rogatus eſſet canere, & non illepide feciſſet* (19). *Ion*, who was at the ſame Entertainment, publiſhed this in one of his Poems. *Cornelius Nepos* affirms, that *Cimon* was eloquent betimes, well verſed in the Knowledge of Civil-Law, and in the Art of War. *Celeriter ad principatum pervenit, habebat enim ſatis eloquentiæ, ſummam liberalitatem, magnam prudentiam cum juris civilis, tum rei militaris, quod cum patre à puero in exercitu fuerat verſatus* (20). Let us alſo produce *Plutarch*: he does not confirm what is ſaid of *Cimon*'s Fooliſhneſs and ill Education. *Cimon*, ſays he (21), *was not inferior to* Miltiades *for Courage, nor to* Themiſtocles *for good Senſe and Wiſdom; and, no doubt, was ſuperior to both for Juſtice and Integrity: He was equal to them in the Qualifications of a good Commander, but excelled them both in thoſe of a good Governor, and the Adminiſtration of the Civil Affairs of the Town, and this when he was young, and unexperienced in War.* However it be, we find this Paſſage in an old Compiler. *Cimonis incunabula opinione fluſtitiæ fuerunt referta* (22).

(18) Id. ibid.

(19) Plut. in Cimone, pag. 484. *he cites* Ion.

(20) Corn. Nepos, in Vitâ Cimonis, cap. 2.

(21) Plut. in Cimone, pag. 487.

(22) Valerius Max. lib. 6, cap. 9, n. 3. Ext. pag. 583.

Thus much for the firſt Charge. The ſecond, with reſpect to his ill Morals, is not ſo eaſy to be defended. *Plutarch* confeſſes that *Cimon* abandoned himſelf to the Exceſſes of Love. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλως φαίνεται τοῖς περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐρωτικοῖς ὁ Κίμων ἐοικὼς γενέσθαι. *At qui apparet omnino hæſiſſe circa mulierum libidines Cimonem* (23). He cites *Melanthius* the Poet, who names two Concubines That General was paſſionately fond of (24); but it is ſurprizing that he ſhould alledge alſo his Grief for the loſs of a lawful Wife; for this Sentiment is not always a Proof of Lewdneſs. The moſt virtuous are ſometimes inconſolable for the Death of their Wives. However it be, you find this Obſervation in the ſame place, where *Plutarch* is endeavouring to prove the laſcivious Temper of *Cimon*. You will find alſo, that this diſconſolate Husband had need of Philoſophers upon this Occaſion; and it is thought, *Archelaus* compoſed, at this time, his *Elegies of Conſolation*. Δῆλον δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς Ἰασόνικην, τὴν Εὐρυπτολέμου μὲν θυγατέρα τὸ Μεγακλέους, καλὴ νόμος δ' αὐτῷ συμβιώσασαν, ὁ Κίμων ἀμελῶς διαθεθεὶς, καὶ δυσφορήσας ἀποθανούσης, εἴ τι δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι ταῖς γεγραμμέναις ἐπὶ παρηγορίᾳ τῇ πένθους ἐλεγείαις πρὸς αὐτόν· ἦν Παναίτιος ὁ φιλόσοφος οἴεται ποιῆσαι γνησίαν τὸν φυσικὸν Ἀρχέλαον, ἓν ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῖς χρόνοις τιθέμενον. *Jam non obſcuro amore filiam Euryptolemi Magaclis filii, juſtam tamen uxorem, eſt Cimon proſequutus, ejuſque mortem tulit ægerrimè, quatenus conjicere licet ex ſcriptis ad leniendum luctum ejus elegiis, quas Panætius philoſophus condidiſſe phyſicum Archelaum putat, neque abſurdè ducit ex temporibus conjecturam* (25). - - - - - - *It is moreover certain, that* Cimon *had an extraordinary Paſſion for his Wife* Iſodice, *Daughter of* Euripto lemus, *Son of* Megacles, *and that he was greatly concerned at her Death, if we may credit the Elegies written to ſoften his Afflictions, of which,* Panætius *the Philoſopher, not improbably from the Time, conjectures* Archelaus *the Naturaliſt to have been the Author.* Obſerve by the way, there was a Report, that *Cimon*, having made a Diſcovery of his Wife, the Daughter of *Callias*, being guilty of Adultery, cauſed her to be put to Death. The Rhetoricians declaimed much upon that Subject (26); for they ſuppoſed him to be accuſed of Ingratitude, becauſe, by marrying this Woman, he was enabled to pay the Debts he lay in Priſon for. Some ſay, this was a ſuppoſed Caſe, and that the Rhetoricians altered the Caſe, to diſplay their Wit the better (27). Perhaps it may be ſo; but the Reaſon, they found this upon, does not appear convincing to me. *Callias*, ſay they, paid the Fine, not to procure his Daughter the Benefit of marrying *Cimon*, but to have himſelf the Happineſs of eſpouſing *Elpinice*, *Cimon*'s Siſter. But might not ſomebody anſwer, *Callias* covenanted for both theſe Marriages, when he paid the fifty Talents; that is, he engaged *Cimon* to give him his Siſter, and to marry his Daughter. There is great Confuſion among Authors about this Matter; for *Tzetzes* ſays, that *Callias*, the Son of *Cimon* and *Iſodice*, paid a Fine of fifty Talents, to hinder his Father's being puniſhed for lying with his Siſter (28). Let us boldly fix this Inceſt as one of *Cimon*'s Debaucheries. As to Drunkenneſs, I do not ſee that *Plutarch* undertakes to acquit him: he only ſays, this did not prevent him from performing great Actions. Theſe are his Words (29), to which the Verſes of *Eupolis* the Poet, alſo refer (30) 'He is not wicked, but he 'is negligent, loving Wine more than Money, and 'ſometimes he ſlips away, and lies all Night at 'Sparta, leaving poor *Elpinice*, his Siſter, to lie a-'lone; and if, thus lazy, as he is, and addicted 'to Wine, he has taken ſo many Cities, and gained 'ſo many Victories, it is certain, if he had been 'temperate and vigilant, no *Grecian* Commander, 'before or after him, would have excelled him in 'glorious Feats of Arms.'

(23) Plut. in Cimone, pag. 481.

(24) Ariſteria of Salamis *and* Mneſtra.

(25) Plut. in Cimone, pag. 481.

(26) *See the 24th Cent. overſy of* Seneca, pag. m. 243. *The Title has theſe Words:* Callias ſordide dives natus redemit eum à republica & pecuniam ſolvit, atque filiam ſuam collocavit, quam ille deprehenſam in adulterio, deprecante patre occidit. Ingrati reus eſt.

(27) Rutgerſius Variar. Lect. lib. 2, cap. 9, p. 43.

(28) Tzetzes, Chil. 1, Hiſt. 28.

(29) Plut. in Cimone, pag. 488.

(30) The *Greek* of *Eupolis* is: Καιὸς μὲν ἦν, φιλοπότης δὲ κἀκολής· Κἄνσον' ἀπεκυλισθ' ἂν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι· Κἄν Ἐλπινίκην τὴν δὲ καταλείπων μόνην.

[*D*] *I have much to ſay upon his Marriage with his Siſter.*] The Commerce between *Cimon* and *Elpinice* is told ſeveral ways. Some conſider it as lawful, others as unlawful. *Cornelius Nepos* is one of the firſt: 'Neque enim Cimoni 'fuit turpe Athenienſium ſummo viro, ſororem 'germanam habere in matrimonio: quippe quum 'cives ejus eodem uterentur inſtituto. - - - *Nor was 'it a Crime in* Cimon, *the principal Man in* Athens, *'to marry his own Siſter: every Citizen had the 'ſame Privilege.*' He ſpeaks thus in his Preface: 'Habebat autem, *ſays he, in another place* (31), in 'matrimonio ſororem ſuam germanam nomine El-'pinicen, non magis amore quam more ductus, 'nam Athenienſibus licet, eodem patre natas, uxo-'res ducere (8). - - - - - - *He married his 'own Siſter, not more out of Love than Cuſtom, 'for the* Athenians *are permitted to marry their 'Fathers Daughters.*' *Athenæus* ſpeaks of it in quite a different manner, aſſuring us, that *Cimon* lay with *Elpinice*, contrary to the Laws (32). I have already cited one, who pretends, that this infamous Commerce would have expoſed *Cimon* to ſome grievous Puniſhment, if they had not paid a large Fine for him:

(31) Corn. Nepos, in Vitâ Cimonis, cap. 1.

(32) I have recited his Words in Remark [*N*], of the Article *PERICLES*.

Καλλίας δὲ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ζημιοῦται Ὅτι ὁ Κίμων ὁ παῖδὶ μιᾷδὶ ἔμνον τὶ παθὼν Ἕνεκα γάμων τῶν αἰσχρῶν τῆς ἀδελφομιξίας.

Decies talenta quinque multum Callias Solvit, Cimon ne quid mali pateretur ob Turpes ſororis atque fratris nuptias (33).

(33) Tzetzes, Chil. 1, Hiſt. 28.

Callias *a Fine of fifty Talents paid, To ſcreen his Sire from Laws his Lewd had broke, And join'd a Siſter in the Marriage Yoke.*

(34) Οὗτος Ἠσχημόνησεν Κίμωνα διὰ παρανομίαν ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συνώκισε. Andocides, in Orat. contra Alcibiadem, apud Rutgerſ. Variar. Lect. lib. 2, cap. 9, pag. 39.

(35) *Suidas*, in Voce Κίμων & Ὀστρακισμός.

(36) Varinus, in Voce Ὀστρακισμός.

(37) Ἀμφίας. Rutgerſ. Var. Lect. pag. 39.

Rutgerſius, who relates this Paſſage, and that of *Athenæus*, as two Authorities, to prove, that this Inceſt of *Cimon*'s was puniſhed, alledges three other Authors for the ſame Fact, as *Andocides*, *Suidas*, *Varinus*. The firſt affirms, that *Cimon* ſuffered the Puniſhment of *Oſtracism*, for breaking the Laws by lying with his Siſter (34). According to *Suidas*, he was accuſed of lying with her, and baniſhed for that Offence (35). *Varinus* obſerves the ſame thing (36), but through forgetfulneſs puts *Ariſtides* inſtead of *Cimon*. If we believe *Rutgerſius*, all theſe Authors vent nothing but Fictions (37): He oppoſes to them the *Athenian* Laws, which permitted the Marriages of Brothers with Siſters by the

nalized himself at the Battle of *Salamis* (*c*), and rendered himself so acceptable to the

(*c*) Plutarch in vita Cimonis p 481.

the Father's Side, which he proves by the Testimonies of *Cornelius Nepos* (38), *Philo* (39), and the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* (40). He cites these words of *Minutius Fœlix*: *Athenis cum sororibus legitima conjugia.* — *At* Athens *it is lawful to marry a Sister*; and *Seneca*, who says, *Athenis dimidium licet, Alexandriæ totum* (41). — *At* Athens *it was allowed to marry in half Blood, at* Alexandria *in the whole*: and *Plutarch* (42), who relates, that *Archeptolis*, the Son of *Themistocles*, married *Mnesiptolema* his own Sister (43). He attacks them from another quarter, and pretends, that *Ostracism* was never used to punish Crimes, but was designed to lessen the Glory of a Virtue that was envied, and he shews the Differences among those who say *Cimon* was punished. Some pretend he was banished, and others, that he was fined fifty Talents. Some assure us he was fined for his Father's Crime, for which he cites several Writers, as *Herodotus*, *Cornelius Nepos*, *Seneca* the Father, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Justin*. Unnecessary and mistaken Citations; for they have no Reference to the Question he is examining, or to the Punishment, the Authors he refutes are speaking of. They mean only the Punishment which was inflicted on *Cimon*, after his long Administration of the Affairs of the Republic. Finally, he quotes *Demosthenes*, who informs us, that *Cimon* was fined fifty Talents, for attempting to engross the public Administration of Affairs, and that there wanted but three Voices to have put him to Death (44). He quotes also a Passage of St *Cyril* (45), which declares, that *Cimon*'s Punishment was grounded on his being convicted of having aspired to the Sovereignty. *Rutgersius*, in my Opinion, is partly right, and partly wrong: He is right to maintain, that the *Athenian* Laws permitted Men to marry their Sisters, provided they were not by the Mother's Side, and that *Cimon*'s Banishment was not on account of his Marriage with *Elpinice*; but he is wrong in imputing what he does to *Athenæus*. *Athenæus*, giving a Catalogue of *Pericles*'s Vices, concludes with the Adventure of *Elpinice*. This Conclusion contains four things: 1. That *Cimon* had enjoyed his Sister in a criminal manner. 2. That afterwards he married her to *Callias*. 3. That he was banished. 4. That, for procuring his Return, *Pericles* was rewarded with the Enjoyment of *Elpinice*. This is what *Athenæus* says; but he does not say that *Cimon* was banished for having enjoyed his Sister: therefore *Rutgersius* is to blame for inserting, in his Translation of that *Greek* Author, a Clause which he ought not to insert: you will find it in a Parenthesis in the following Words. 'Cum Cimon Elpinice sorore quam 'postea Callias elocavit contra leges abutaretur ac '(*ob id*) in exilium pulsus esset (46). - - - - - *Because* Cimon *had, contrary to the Laws, married his Sister, (whom he afterwards gave to* Callias*), and was,* (for that reason), *banished.*' He is not the only one who is here mistaken. *Wower* (47), *Kirchmayer* (48), and several others, impute the same thing to *Athenæus*. The worst is, they charge *Plutarch* with the same, though he says, very plainly, that the Cause of *Cimon*'s Ostracism, was Resentment for an Affront the *Athenian* Troops received at *Sparta* (49). This Resentment renewed and redoubled the ill Design, which was hatching against *Cimon*, who had been long suspected of too much Friendship for the *Lacedemonians*, and was become odious to the popular Faction (50), by attempting to re establish the Authority of the *Areopagus*, and to restore to the Nobility the Tribunals which the People had taken from them. The Reason, which has deceived the Authors I now criticize, is a very weak one. *Plutarch* relates, that the Endeavours to restore *Aristocracy* raised a Clamour against *Cimon*, that they animated the People against him, and renewed the old Slanders concerning his Commerce with *Elpinice* (51). But is this a good Reason to maintain, that this Author affirms That Commerce to be the Cause of *Cimon*'s Exile? Must it not be confessed, that an infinite number of Authors examine ill what they alledge, and but very few are exact?

It may be said, perhaps, that it is true, *Athenæus* and *Plutarch* do not say what is imputed to them; yet it may not be less certain, that *Cimon*'s criminal Conversation with his Sister was the Cause of his Banishment. I answer, there remains no other Authority for this Fact, but that of the Orator *Andocides*; for, it is probable, *Suidas* builds upon him: and, as to *Varinus* (52), his Testimony is of no Weight. He lived in the beginning of the XVIth Century. Let us see then how far *Andocides* is to be depended upon, and let us remember, that an Orator makes no Scruple to amplify or extenuate things, according to the Interest of his Cause; he suppresses those Circumstances which are not to his Purpose; he takes for principal, what has been only accessory, or for accessory, what has been principal. *Andocides* knew, either by Books or by Tradition, that *Cimon*'s Enemies raised a loud Clamour against him, when they were attempting to get him banished. They ript up all the Faults of his Youth, and, above all, they raked into the old Filth of his Commerce with *Elpinice*: He was banished, not for his Crime, but because he was suspected of too much Ambition, and they abhorred his Attachment to the *Lacedemonian* Interest. But it did not serve *Andocides*'s Turn to touch upon this true Cause of his Banishment; therefore he takes no notice of it. His Design was to represent with what Severity their Ancestors punished a scandalous Behaviour; therefore he insists only on the Reproach of an ill Life, alledged by *Cimon*'s Enemies, and gladly assigns this for the only Cause of the Exile of that great Man. But it may be replied, does not *Tzetzes* say, that vast Numbers of Authors have reported, that *Callias*, the Son of *Cimon* and *Isodice*, paid fifty Talents to prevent the Mischief his Father was threatned with for his Marriage with *Elpinice*. I confess he does say this.

Τὸ δ' ἴσως ταῦτα γράφοις, μακρὸν ἂν εἴη μοι λέγειν,
Ἐπεὶ γὰρ πλεῖστοι ἱστοροῦσι τὰ ταῦτα γεγενῆσθαι,
Οἱ κωμικοὶ, καὶ ῥήτορες, Διόδωρος καὶ ἄλλοι.

Quot ista tradant, longum id esset exequi,
Nam sunt eorum plurimi, qui hæc scripserunt,
Diodorus, alii, Comici, atque Rhetores (53).

- - - - *It would be tedious for me to reckon up all who have maintained the same; there is, indeed, a vast Number, Comedians, Rhetoricians,* Diodorus, *and others.*

But in the first place, there is no Writer extant, who makes mention of a *Callias*, the Son of *Cimon*, nor who relates that a Son of *Cimon* paid for his Father. In the second place, the Authors, who remain, do furnish us with Reasons to doubt of these Facts; so that we ought not to rely much on the Evidence of a Poet, who lived in an Age far distant from all Antiquity. Thirdly, We may observe, he chiefly points out Comic Poets and Rhetoricians, Men that play with Circumstances, and dispose them as they please. To conclude, I say it is customary for Writers, who are something more solid than *Tzetzes*, to cite several Authors at the end of a long Narration, although those Authors do only mention the chief Points of that Narration; therefore we may suppose, that this great Number of Authors, that *Tzetzes* refers us to, only speak of the unlawful Amours of *Cimon* and *Elpinice*.

There remains another Difficulty to examine. If the *Athenians* were permitted to marry their Sisters, by the Father's Side, how comes it to pass that *Cimon* was so much traduced for such a Marriage? I answer, that, in all appearance, the Slander, that was raised against him, was only built upon a Supposition that he lay with *Elpinice* before he married her. *Plutarch* leads us to this, for, after observing, (54) that it was believed, *Cimon* was guilty of a criminal Conversation with his Sister, he adds, that others said she was his Wife, and that, not being able to find a suitable Match for herself, because she was poor, she chose her Brother for her Husband. Εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τὴν Ἐλπινίκην, ἃ χρῆμα τῷ Κίμωνι, φα-

(38) Corn. Nepos, in Vitâ Cimonis, cap. 1.

(39) Philo, περὶ τῶν ἀναφερομένων ἐν ἔθεσι νόμων.

(40) Schol. Aristoph. in Nub. Act. 5, Sc. 2, pag m. 168.

(41) Seneca, in Ludo de Morte Claudii.

(42) Plut. in Themist. sub fin pag 128.

(43) Ὁμοπάτριον, eodem patre genitam.

(44) Demosth. adverf. Aristocrat. pag. m. 457.

(45) Cyrill. lib. 6, contra Julianum.

(46) Rutgersi. Variar. Lect. pag. 138. Dalechamp, in his Version of Athenæus, hath omitted ob Id.

(47) Wower, in Minuc. Felicem, pag. m. 304.

(48) Georg. Casp. Kirchm. in Cornel. Nepot. Cimon. pag. m. 242.

(49) Plut. in Cimone, pag. 489.

(50) Id. ibid. pag. 488.

(51) Id. ibid. A.

(52) That is to say, *Varinus Phavorinus*.

(53) Tzetzes, Chil. 1, Hist. 22, apud Rutgersi. Var. Lect. lib. 1, cap. 9, p 37, 38.

(54) Plut. in Cimone, p. 480. F.

the *Athenians*, that they readily advanced him to the higheſt Poſts. If his own merit

νεφῶς δὲ γημαμένην συνοικῆσαι λέγουσιν, ἀξίᾳ τῆς εὐγενείας νυμφίᾳ διὰ τὴν πενίαν ἀποφεύσαν. *Sunt qui Elpinicen non clàm cum Cimone, ſed apertè ferunt contractis nuptiis ut uxorem habitaſſe, quòd ſponſum pro generis dignitate non inveniret ob inopiam* (55). As far as Hiſtories of this Nature can be certain, we may be aſſured, in Conſequence of theſe Words, that *Cimon* enjoyed his Siſter before ſhe was his Wife (56). They were both of an amorous Temper. If he was lewd, ſhe was not chaſt. They were very young, and lived together; judge, I beſeech you, if they could contain. Such Intrigues do not continue long, before the World begins to ſuſpect ſomething; the Slander ſoon fills the whole Town; thus *Cimon* was traduced with it. It is probable, that, to ſcreen himſelf from Satire, without being deprived of the Pleaſures of his Amour, he did what the Laws allowed; that is, he married *Elpinice*. He acted, in this Caſe, as many others, who marry the Miſtreſſes they have diſhonoured. This is a Reparation of Honour, with reſpect to the Magiſtrate, but none to the particular Perſons. They are always puniſhing the Fault by their Satire; the Breach is always open in their Opinion; it is a Wound ill cloſed, which they ſpitefully open again, as Opportunity offers. No wonder then, that *Cimon*'s Enemies made uſe of this old Infamy, as often as they would plague and perſecute him. But, when Hiſtorians have been favourable to him, they have only conſidered the thing in it's beſt light, and, diſmiſſing the Preliminaries of his Marriage, are contented with ſaying, *Elpinice* was his Wife. *Cornelius Nepos* has blindly followed this Method, in imitation of thoſe other Authors mentioned by *Plutarch*. You ſee now, that, by knowing what the *Athenian* Laws allowed, it may be ſaid, our *Cimon* tranſgreſſed the Laws by his Commerce with his Siſter. If it is aſked why he did not marry her, as ſoon as he fell in love with her, I anſwer, becauſe ſhe was poor, and he was willing to indulge himſelf, without entering into any Engagements, which might deprive him of the Liberty of marrying a rich Woman, when an Opportunity preſented: but, when his Commerce with her grew infamous, he was forced to take other Meaſures, and convert his Concubinage into Wedlock. We often ſee ſuch Converſions.

(55) Id. ibid. pag. 481, A.

(56) Plutarch, de his qui ſerò à Numine puniuntur, pag. 552, *ſuppoſes they might have brought a criminal Proceſs againſt* Cimon, *for his Commerce with his Siſter.* ἢ Κίμωνα συνόντα τῇ ἀδελφῇ διώξας εἶλεν: aut Cimonem cum ſorore concumbentem in Judicio reum tanti criminis peregiſſet.

EXAMINATION of *Muret*'s Criticiſm.

I did not remember that any one before me had made uſe of this Diſtinction, which I have juſt made; but, having read again two Chapters of *Muret*, wherein he criticizes *Cornelius Nepos*, I find that, Two hundred Years ago, the *Latin* Tranſlation of *Plutarch* had made uſe of it. Let us ſee a little the Subſtance of *Muret*'s Criticiſm: *Muret* declares (57), that, reading in *Cornelius Nepos*, that it was no ſhame for *Cimon* to marry his own Siſter, the *Athenian* Cuſtom allowing it, he was ſurprized at it, for he did not remember that any other Author mentions ſuch a thing of the *Athenians*. He conſidered of it attentively, and he recollected the Harangue of *Andocides*, where it is ſaid that *Cimon* was baniſhed for this Marriage, as a Tranſgreſſor of the Laws; therefore he apprehended *Cornelius Nepos* was miſtaken. Two or three Years after (58), the Apology of that ancient Hiſtorian appeared in the Notes upon *Plutarch* (59). The Apologiſt makes uſe of two Methods: 1. He ſays that *Cimon* was baniſhed, for having to do with his Siſter before ſhe was his Wife. 2. That *Themiſtocles*'s Son married his Siſter, by the Father, as *Plutarch* witneſſes; and therefore *Cornelius Nepos* is not the only one who charges the *Athenians* with ſuch a Cuſtom: the firſt Obſervation was confirmed, by the Word ἀναγκόμως, *againſt the Laws*, which an Author uſes in ſpeaking of this Commerce (60); a Word which would have been uſeleſs, if, in ſome Caſes, the *Athenian* Laws had not permitted a Man to lie with his Siſter. *Muret* replied, that he was not ignorant that the *Athenian* Laws permitted the Marriage of a Siſter, not by the Mother's Side, with her Brother (61). *Theon*, continued he, has informed me of this, in his Notes upon *Ariſtophanes*; and I had read, in *Phile*, the Difference there was between *Solon* and *Lycurgus*: the latter allowed them to marry their Siſter, by the Mother's Side, the former their Siſter by the Father's Side; but I never knew they were allowed to marry their Siſter both by Father and Mother: and, if *Elpinice* was only *Cimon*'s Siſter by the Father's Side, *Cornelius Nepos* was wrong to call her *ſororem germanam*, and they would not have had a juſt Reaſon for baniſhing *Cimon*: for it was not Inceſt, but ſimple Fornication, to lie with a Woman that the Laws allowed to marry. The Addition of the Word ἀναγκόμως, proves nothing. They may as well tell me, that *Cicero* would not have employed the Term *nefarie*, ſpeaking of *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, if (62), in ſome Caſes, it had not been lawful to conſpire the Ruin of one's Country. *Muret* concludes, that *Cimon* and *Elpinice* had the ſame Father and Mother; and, for that Reaſon, they conſidered his Marriage as a Breach of the Laws. He adds, that St *Cyril* (63) would not have reproached *Cimon* with this Marriage, as a vile Action, if it had been conſiſtent with the Cuſtoms of the *Athenians*. In that Caſe he ought to have condemned *Solon*, and not *Cimon*.

(57) Muret. Var. Lect. lib. 7, cap. 2, pag. m. 989.

(58) Id. ibid. lib. 15, cap. 5, pag. 1238.

(59) *See the Notes of* Xylander *and* Cruſerius, in Vitas Plut. pag. 40.

(60) Athenæus, lib. 13.

(61) See the 5th Chapter of his 11th Book of *Varia Lectiones*.

Let us make a few Remarks here upon this Diſpute of *Muret*. I. It was ſo natural to join the Obſervations of the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*, and of *Phile*, to the Cenſure of *Cornelius Nepos*, that it cannot be imagined the Critic would have omitted them if he had known them. I appeal here to the Conſciences of all learned Men. One word, if you pleaſe, Gentlemen; can you believe, that a Man of Learning, who looks upon what *Cornelius Nepos* ſaid to be falſe, *viz.* that the *Athenian* Laws gave Permiſſion to marry a Siſter; can you believe, that he would content himſelf with alledging *Andocides*, and there ſhut up his Chapter, when he knows what the Interpreter of *Ariſtophanes* and *Phile* have obſerved upon the ſame? Can you believe, that, if he remembers, they ſay, it was permitted in *Athens* to marry a Siſter by the Father's Side only, he would make no Reflexions thereupon, but quit *Cornelius Nepos* abruptly, without informing the Public of ſo curious a Difference as that, between the Laws of *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, concerning the Marriages of Brothers with Siſters? I am certain, if you ſpeak ſincerely, you will anſwer me in the Negative, and that, if *Muret* has not inſerted thoſe Remarks, it is purely becauſe he was not then acquainted with what *Theon* and *Phile* have ſince taught him. Let us ſay then, that in this Place of his Anſwer to the Apologiſt of *Cornelius Nepos*: Ego autem non eram neſcius licuiſſe ‘ Athenienſibus ſorores eodem patre, dum ne eadem matre, natas uxores ducere: Docuerat me ‘ id Theon —— docuerat me id Philo (64): —— ‘ *I was not ignorant, that at* Athens *a Man might* ‘ *marry his Siſter by the ſame Father, if ſhe were* ‘ *not Siſter by the ſame Mother:* Theon *and* Philo ‘ *had both informed me of that:*’ he is fallen into the Foible of ſome learned Men, whoſe Vanity does not permit them ingenuouſly to confeſs, that they are indebted to their Cenſors for ſome Information (65), whether they have this Obligation to them from what they have found in their Works, or becauſe they have there ſeen ſome things, which have given birth to enquiries, that otherwiſe would never have been attempted. That, which confirms me in this Thought, is, that, if he had known at that time what theſe two Writers ſay, he would have ſeen the Error of his own Criticiſm; for he could not be ignorant that the Hiſtorian, he cenſures, evidently ſuppoſes, that *Elpinice* was not the Siſter of her Husband by the Mother's Side (66). He could only then have charged him with uſing an improper Word, in maintaining, that *ſoror germana* ſignifies a Siſter by Father and Mother. II. *Muret* did not forget this grammatical Note, in his Anſwer to the Apologiſt: but who will believe that a polite Author, in the time of *Auguſtus*, could be ignorant that *germana ſoror* may ſignify a Siſter by the Father's Side? It has been proved againſt *Muret*, that his Criticiſm was ill-founded (67). III. He is wrong to imagine, that, becauſe it was permitted to marry a Siſter by the Father's Side, therefore to defile her before Marriage was not a puniſhable Crime. It muſt be ſuppoſed, that the Laws, by permitting ſome particular things, yet do not free from blame thoſe

(62) Nam illud quidem argumentum ex Athenæo, non fuiſſe additurum, παρανόμως τοῦς τότε ἰδίοις γαμεῖν, poſſet etiam ſi παρανόμως, æque bellum eſt, ac ſi quis, quia Cicero ſæpe dicit, Catilinam peſtem patriæ nefarie moliri, colligat, idem non ſemper nefarie, ſed interdum etiam ſine ſcelere fieri poſſe. *Muret. Var. Lect. lib.* 15, *cap.* 5, *pag.* 1238, 1239.

(63) Cyrill. adverſ. Julianum, lib. 6.

(64) Muret. Var. Lect. lib. 15, cap. 5.

(64) See Remark [E], of the Article *MARCIONITES*.

(66) Habebat in matrimonio ſororem germanam ſuam, nomine Elpinicen: non magis amore, quam patrio more, ductus. Nam Athenienſibus licet eodem patre natas uxores ducere. *Corn. Nepos, in Vitâ Cimonis, cap.* 1.

(67) *See* Wowerus in Minucium Felicem, *pag. m.* 304, *and* Rutgerſius, Var. Lect. lib. 1, cap. 9, pag. 41.

merit on the one side was an advantage to him, the public Envy of *Themistocles*'s Glory was no less for his Interest [*E*] on the other, who had been too long in Authority not to have a rival wished for, to supplant him. *Cimon*'s Courtesy, and the Discipline he established among the *Athenian* Troops, whom he commanded under *Pausanias* General of all *Greece* a Man fierce and harsh, contributed not a little to transfer the Superiority of the *Greeks* from the *Lacedemonians* to the *Athenians*. All the Allies put themselves under his Conduct, in order to besiege *Pausanias* in *Byzantium* (*d*), whose ill behaviour they were no longer able to bear, and afterwards to attack the *Persians* in a City of *Thrace* (*e*), upon the River *Strymon*. He defeated them upon that River; after which he made a descent upon the Country, and blocked up the City in such a manner, that the Governor, despairing of being

(*d*) They could not take him; he escaped privately. *Plut. in vita Cimonis*, pag. 483. C. See the Article CLEONICE, Remark [*A*].

(*e*) Called *Eion*: See Remark [*B*] of the Article AGESIPOLIS.

those that commit them. I am sure very few among the *Athenians* acted like *Cimon*, the Public being shocked at those Sorts of Marriages. If I am not mistaken, they looked upon it as an odious and scandalous thing. And therefore it was thought a horrible Action for a Man to debauch his own Sister, and, when he was at liberty to marry her, to chuse rather to live with her in a State of Concubinage. IV. The Argument taken from the word ὁμομήτριος might have been better answered; they might have alledged *Athenæus* himself, who says somewhere, that *Alcibiades* was charged with not observing the Laws in his Amours, since he lay with his Mother, his Daughter, and his Sister. Παράνομον εἶναι λέγων καὶ εἰς γυναῖκας καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν. συνεῖναι γὰρ φησιν ἀνδὶ καὶ μητρὶ καὶ θυγατρὶ καὶ ἀδελφῇ κατὰ Πέρσας. *Dicens contra leges eum & fœminarum congressu abuti, & reliquam vitæ partem agere: esse* NAMQUE *illi cum matre, filia, sorore, more Persarum, stupri consuetudine* (68). V. What relates to St *Cyril* is very weak. These are *Murat*'s Words: 'Postremo sanctissimus & eruditissimus vir Cyrillus 'Alexandrinus libro sexto adversus Julianum, non 'furtivos concubitus, sed nuptias, cum sorore Ci- 'moni, ut scelus nefarium objicit: non facturus, 'si id apud Athenienses legitimum & usitatum 'fuisset. Tunc enim accusari Solonem oportuerat, 'qui id permisisset, non civem, qui patriæ suæ 'legibus paruisset (69). —— *Lastly, That most pious and learned Man* Cyril *of Alexandria, in his sixth Book against* Julian, *does not condemn private Amours, but* Cimon's *Marriage with his 'Sister, as a great Crime; which he would not 'have done, had such a Marriage been allowed or 'usual at Athens; for then he should have condemned* Solon, *who permitted such things, not a private Man who conformed to the Laws of his 'Country.*' If St *Cyril* speaks only of the Marriage, it does not follow, that *Cimon* had not corrupted his Sister before he married her; besides, there are some Permissions so contrary to decency, that those who make use of them are very blameable. And besides, is it not plain, that the principal Design of this Father was to make the Pagans ashamed of the scandalous Disorders that were committed among them, and so to lash the Republic of *Athens* through the Sides of *Solon*.

(68) Athenæus, lib. 5, cap. 20, pag. 220.

(69) Murat. Var. Lect. lib. 5, cap. 3, pag. m. 1139.

I cannot dismiss this Subject, without saying one word upon the contrary Methods of *Solon* and *Lycurgus*. The former allowed them to marry their Sisters by the Father, and forbid them their Sisters by the Mother. *Lycurgus*, on the other hand, permitted the latter, and prohibited the former. This is ridiculous both ways, and I would fain know upon what reasons they founded this Distinction. I am afraid they are but frivolous ones; for what can be more insipid, in order to justify the *Athenian* Legislator, than to say, that the Relation is always certain, with respect to the Sisters on the Mother's Side; whereas a Man's Daughters by a second Marriage sometimes are nothing at all to the Children of the first? Does this extenuate the Incest? Is it not sufficient that they believe they marry their Sisters? The *Egyptian* Legislator justly laughs at this Scruple of these two *Greeks*; and, though he was very wrong to unite what they had divided, yet he was right to call their Division a Chimera. Read *Philo*'s Words: Ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναῖος Σόλων ὁμοπατρίους ἐφῆκε γαμεῖσθαι, τὰς ὁμομητρίους ἐκώλυσεν· ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων νομοθέτης ἐμπαλιν, τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁμογαστρίοις γάμον ἐπιβέβλαπε, τὰς πρὸς τὰς ὁμοπατρίους ἀπέλυσε. ὁ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, χλευάσας τὴν ἐκάτερων ἐνταῦθα, ὡς ἡμίεργα διαλαμβάνουσαν, εὑρόντων εἰς ἀθλιότητα, ἐπιδεδικαίωκεν· ἅπασαν ἀδελφὰς ἀγεσθαι, καὶ πατρόθεν καὶ μητρόθεν ἀπούσας ἀδελφὰς ἀγεσθαι, τὰς τε ἰδίας τῆς ἑτέρας τῶν γονέων, τάδε, ἢ τάδε, καὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐκ θατέρας μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ πρεσβυτέρας καὶ ἰσοκλινὰς καὶ διδύμους γὰρ πολλάκις ἐγεννήσαντο, ἃς ἡ μὲν φύσις ἅμα τῇ γενέσει διήρτησε, καὶ διέζευξεν, ἡ δ' ἀκολασία καὶ φιλαδονία εἰς κοινωνίαν ἐκάλεσεν ἀκοινώνητον, καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἀνάρμοστον. Athenian Solon has observed its uterine tantum germanis, eodem patre prognatis relinquit liberum: contra Lacedæmonitarum legislator uterinis non interdicit connubio, sed solis eodem patre genitis; at Ægyptius ridens utriusque simplicitatem & semiperfectæ placita, laxavit libidinem, & auxit in corporibus animisque infandabilem malum intemperantiæ, permissa licentia ducendi sorores, sive per alterutram parentem sive per utrumque cognatas, majores priores & minores æqualesve, ne gemellis quidem exceptis, quas natura ipso natali sejunxit, intemperantia vero societate copulavit insociabili, & male comparata junctura (70). —— *The Athenian Legislator*, Solon, *allowed Sons and Daughters by the same Father, but not by the same Mother, to marry; the* Lacedemonian, *on the contrary, permitted those of the same Mother, but not of the same Father, to marry; but the* Egyptian, *as it were to ridicule those Scruples and splitting of Laws, gave a full Loose to lawless Lust, infected Mind and Body with the incurable Disease of Debauchery, by authorizing the Marriage of Sisters, whether by the one or by the other, or both Parents, older, younger, or of the same Age, as in Twins, whom, though Nature herself had at their Birth kept asunder, this extravagant Licence joined in ill-paired Yokes, and an unnatural Union.* Here are three sorts of Legislators, whom *Philo* condemns. But what would he have answered to those, who should have told him, that *Solon* only authorized a Law, which was in force in the Time of your Patriarchs, and which *Abraham* the Father, and Stock of your Believers, practised himself (71). It is certain, *Clemens Alexandrinus* (72) infers, from the Patriarch's Words, that it was no Sin at that time to marry a Sister, provided she was not by the Mother's Side.

(70) Philo, de specialibus Legibus quæ ad sextum & septimum Præceptum Decalogi referuntur, pag. 779, 780. Edit. Francof. 1691.

(71) See the first Remark of the Article SARA.

(72) Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 3, pag. 421, E.

[*E*] *The public Envy of* Themistocles's *Glory was no less for his Interest.*] *Plutarch* says: 'As soon 'as he began to concern himself with the Govern- 'ment of Affairs, the People received him with 'great Joy, being already weary of *Themistocles*; 'for which reason *Cimon* was immediately advan- 'ced to the greatest Posts, and highest Honours 'of the City. They were charmed with the Cour- 'tesy and Integrity of the Man. Also *Aristides* 'used his Interest for his Advancement, as well up- 'on account of his Ability and genteel Carriage, as 'because he designed him for a Counter ballance 'to the Artifice and Boldness of *Themistocles* (73).' Thus the two Causes of *Cimon*'s Advancement are clearly explained; his own Merit and the Pleasure of mortifying *Themistocles*: by this we see the Inconstancy of Men, and the Power of Envy. They are weary with admiring long the same Person, and therefore seek for new Objects of Admiration, turning to the first rising Sun that offers to their View. Nor is the Republic of Learning exempted from this Spirit of Levity and Jealousy (74). A young Author is sometimes favoured because another has too long enjoyed the public Applause. *Aristides*, who

(73) Plutarch. in Vitâ Cimonis, pag. 482.

(74) *See the Preface of* Nouvelles Lettres contre l'Histoire du Calvinisme de Mr Maimbourg.

being able to save it, set it on Fire; some time after, *Cimon* made himself Master of the Isle of *Scyros* [*F*], from whence he sent to *Athens* the Bones of *Theseus*. His Exploits, after this Time, are much more considerable. Not contented with taking from the *Persians* all that they possessed in *Greece*, he briskly pursued them into their own Country, without giving them time to recover themselves. When use was to be made of Arms, he employed them to conquer; but if Intrigues appeared to him more likely to succeed, he used that way to gain Towns, by causing them to rebel. He had such admirable Success in all this, that no Troops of the *Persian* King were seen to appear in all the Country, situated between *Ionia*, and *Pamphilia*. Having been informed, that the *Persian* Fleet durst appear upon the Coast of *Pamphilia*, he sailed from *Cnidus* with two hundred Gallies, and, after subduing the *Phaselites*, he attacked the Fleet, and destroyed it, near the Mouth of the *Eurymedon* [*G*]; and, landing his Troops the very same Day, he routed the *Persian* Land Army (*f*): after this he attacked eighty Sail of *Phenician* Ships, who were coming to join the *Persian* Fleet, and obtained such a compleat Victory over them, that not one Ship escaped. The Treaty of Peace, which was the Fruit of so many Victories, was a cruel Mortification to the Enemy [*H*]. When the Peace was concluded with *Persia*, *Cimon* conquered the *Thracians*, and the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Thasos*; but these Victories presenting him with a fair opportunity of seizing part of *Macedonia*, which he neglected, they accused him of being corrupted by King *Alexander*'s Presents. He justified what he had done, and was entirely acquitted; but it was not so easy for him to avoid another Storm which arose against him. For he could not avoid being banished by *Ostracism*. He had rendered himself odious by his affection to the *Lacedemonians*, and his Opposition to the Power of the People. He was rather for placing the supream Authority in the hands of Persons of Note, than to leave it at the discretion of the Multitude; this procured him many Enemies, who not only drove him from the City, but also hindered him from serving in the *Athenian* Army against the *Lacedemonians*. Before the time of his Banishment was expired, he came back to serve as a Volunteer; but, upon the complaint of his Enemies, he was forced to retire. The *Athenians* losing a Battle in this War near *Tanagra*, they were under a necessity of recalling

(*f*) He made use of a Stratagem that succeeded, which is described by *Diodorus Siculus*, *lib.* 11, *cap.* 61, *ad Olymp.* LXXVII. He drilled his Soldiers like the *Persians*.

who passed for so upright a Man, perhaps, at another Conjuncture, would have contributed nothing to *Cimon*'s good Fortune; but, in pure Opposition to *Themistocles*, he became the great Promoter of that young Man, who was so disgraced for his Debaucheries (75). If the Motives of most Mens Services for one another were known, it would appear, that the Intention to do good has a less Share in them, than a design to mortify others. You recommend a Person ardently, you protect him, you advance him swiftly. Is this because you love him, and are engaged by his Merit? There are two Answers to this Question; one from the Mouth, the other from the Heart. The first declares for the Affirmative, but the Heart answers in this Manner: I raise such a one to the utmost of my Power, in order to humble another; what I procure for one is just so much taken from the good Fortune of another. The Maxim of Physicians may be extended to political Actions: *Generatio unius est corruptio alterius; the Generation of one thing is the Corruption of another.* But whereas Nature's direct Intention is Generation, and Destruction is but by accident, in all the Offices of civil Life they seem to have Destruction directly in view: Generation is the means; Destruction the end.

(75) *See* Plutarch, an seni sit gerenda Respublica, pag. 795, *C.*

[*F*] *Some time after* Cimon *became Master of the Isle of* Scyros.] *Cornelius Nepos* has but ill observed here the Order of Time; for he supposes, that the Conquest of this Island was after the two Victories, which *Cimon* obtained over the *Persians*, on the same Day (76). I do not refute him by citing *Plutarch*, who makes the Reduction of the Isle of *Scyros* prior to these two Victories; but by citing an Author, who is more exact in Chronology than *Plutarch*. This is *Thucydides*; by reading him you will find, that this Island was subdued immediately after the Action upon the River *Strymon* (77). This Error of *Cornelius Nepos* is in *Moreri*, and has not been observed by any Commentators I have consulted (78).

(76) Corn. Nepos, in Vitâ Cimonis, cap. 2.

(77) Thucyd. lib. 1, pag. m. 53.

(78) Cybertus Longolius, Janus Gebhardus, Georgius Gasper Kirchmayer.

[*G*] *He destroyed the* Persian *Fleet near the Mouth of the* Eurymedon.] This is another Error of *Cornelius Nepos*, adopted by *Moreri*: it is a Geographical Error, which the Commentators have observed (79). This Historian assures us, that the Naval Battle, and Land Battle, that *Cimon* gained the same Day, were fought near *Mycale*. He is mistaken, whether he understands, by *Mycale* (80), a maritime City of *Caria*, or an Island of *Ionia*. Both this City and Island are too far from *Pamphilia* to excuse *Cornelius Nepos*, by supposing, that he only differs from other Historians, in determining a true place which they had not put down. It often happens, that the same Battle has two or three Names. An Author is not to blame when he prefers one of those Names to all the rest, and makes no mention of the others; but in such a Case the Action must happen near two or three Places, whose names may serve to describe it. This cannot be said of *Mycale*, or the River *Eurymedon*, or any other part of the Coast of *Pamphylia*. Now the Circumstances shew, that those two Battles were both fought by *Cimon* upon that Coast. I easily believe *Cornelius Nepos*, is lead into this Error by his confused Ideas of the Victory obtained against the *Persians* near *Mycale* (81), the same Day that *Mardonius* was defeated in *Bœotia* (82).

(79) *See* Kirchmayer *upon this place of* Cornelius Nepos: *He cites two other Commentators*, Christianus Fridericus Franckensteinius, *and* Joannes Andreas Bosius.

(80) *See the* Thesaurus Geographicus *of* Ortelius, *at the Word* Mycale.

(81) *See* Herodot. lib. 9, cap. 99, & seq

(82) *At* Platea.

[*H*] *The Treaty of Peace, which was the Fruit of so many Victories, was a cruel Mortification to the Enemy.*] Nothing is more shameful than the Conditions of Peace, which the *Greeks* imposed upon them. *Plutarch* says: 'This Exploit so humbled 'the Pride of the *Persian* King, that he entered 'into the Treaty of Peace so famous in ancient 'Histories: By which he engaged, upon Oath, that 'his Armies should come no nearer the *Grecian* 'Sea, than the Career of a Horse, and that no 'Gallies, or Ships of War, should sail beyond the 'Chelidonian and Cyanean Islands. Nevertheless, 'Callisthenes, the Historian, writes, that this was 'not an Article of the Treaty; but the King, terrified by that great Defeat, observed it, and that 'afterwards he kept from the *Grecian* Seas; that 'when *Pericles* with fifty Gallies, and *Ephialtes* 'with thirty Gallies only, sailed beyond the *Che*'lidonian Islands, they found no Barbarian Fleet to 'oppose them. However, this Treaty at length 'is to be found in the public Records of *Athens*, 'collected by *Craterus*, as a certain Truth; and 'upon this Occasion the *Athenians* built an Altar to 'Peace, and bestowed the highest Honours upon 'Callias, who had negotiated this Peace with the 'King of *Persia* (83).' *Diodorus Siculus* mentions this Treaty; but does not agree with *Plutarch* as to the

(83) Plut. in Vitâ Cimonis, pag. 486, 487.

recalling him. Upon his return, his chief care was to restore the Peace; and he succeeded in it [*I*]; but finding their Thoughts were bent on nothing but War, and fearing this Martial Humour, if it was not employed against the *Barbarians*, should excite fresh Troubles among the *Greeks*, he made the necessary Preparations to attack the Island of *Cyprus*, and *Egypt*: he obtained a Naval Victory against the *Persians*, upon the Coast of *Pamphilia*, and, if he had not died at the Siege of *Cittum*, in the Island of *Cyprus*, it is thought he would have subdued all *Egypt* (*g*); his Liberality to every Body, and his Charity to the Poor, were admirable (*h*), as may be seen in *Moreri*. *Suidas* ascribes an excellent Book to him, concerning the Method of knowing Horses (*i*).

(*g*) Taken from *Plutarch. in Vitâ Cimonis.*

(*h*) *See* Cornelius Nepos, in Vitâ Cimonis, cap. 4. Cicero le Officiis, lib. 2, cap. 18. Plut. in Vitâ Cimon. pag. 484. Athenæus, cap. 12, pag. 533, *citing the tenth Book of* Theopompus.

(*i*) Ἔγραψεν ἱππικῶν βιβλίον θαυμάσιον. Admirabilem librum de cognoscendis equis agentem scripsit *Suidas*, *in* Κίμων.

the Time: He does not say it was concluded after *Cimon* had obtained those two Victories on the same Day in *Pamphilia*: He places those Victories in the LXXVIIth Olympiad (84), and the Treaty of Peace in LXXXIId Olympiad (85). It is true, he supposes, that, a little before the King of *Persia* consented to these shameful Conditions, the *Athenians*, under the Conduct of *Cimon*, had won two Battles very near together, one by Sea, the other by Land; one in the Sea of *Cyprus*, and the other upon the Coast of *Cilicia*. The News of this Disaster, *continues he*, obliged the King to command his Generals to conclude a Peace upon the best Terms they could. For that purpose they sent their Embassadors to *Athens*; and their Proposals were accepted by the *Athenians*, who immediately nominated *Callias* for their chief Plenipotentiary, and it was concluded as follows: "Ut Græci per "Asiam civitatibus universis libertate ac suo jure uti "permittatur. Ne satrapæ Persarum trium dierum "itinere inferius ad mare descendant. Ne longa "navi intra Phaselidem & Cyaneas excurratur. Hæc "ubi rex & militiæ præfecti rati habuerunt, Athe"nienses contra jurarunt, se in provincias Artaxer"xis arma non expedituros (86). —— *That all the* Grecian *Cities in* Asia *should enjoy their Rights and Liberties. That the* Persian *Lords should not approach nearer than three Days Journey to the Sea. That no Ships of War should pass* Phaselis *and the* Cyanneæ. *These Articles being ratified by the King, and his Generals, the* Athenians, *in their Part, swore never to carry Arms into the Territories of* Artaxerxes." *As Diodorus Siculus* is more exact than *Plutarch* in ascertaining time, it may be presumed he is in the right. It must be confessed, that *Plutarch* is no good guide in Chronology; he transposes, sometimes, Events, as if he was writing an Epic Poem, and aspired to the Praises *Horace* bestowed upon *Homer* (87).

(84) Diod. Siculus, lib. 9, cap. 61.

(85) Id. lib. 12, cap. 4.

(86) Id. ibid. pag. m. 413.

(87) In medias res Non secus ac notas auditorem rapit. *Horat. de Arte Poët. ver.* 148.

[*I*] *After his Return, his chief Care was to restore the Peace; and he succeeded in it.*] I have followed *Plutarch* (88), rather than *Cornelius Nepos*, who seems to say, that, before his Return to *Athens*, he went to *Lacedæmon*, to adjust the Differences between these two Cities. *Ille, quod hospitio Lacedæmoniorum utebatur, satius existimans contendere Lacedæmonem, sua sponte ex provinciâ, patriamque inter duas potentissimas civitates conciliavit* (89). *Æschines*, the Orator, observes, that *Cimon*, who enjoyed the Right of Hospitality at *Sparta*, concluded a Truce of fifty Years, which lasted but thirteen Years (90). This Number I suspect, when I consider, that *Thucydides* mentions only an Alliance of five Years (91). Note, that *Cimon*'s Exile, which was to be for ten Years, continued but five (92).

(88) Plut. in Vitâ Cimonis, pag. 490.

(89) Corn. Nepos, in Vitâ Cimonis, cap. 2.

(90) Æschines, de falsâ Legatione, pag. m. 270.

(91) Thucyd. lib. 3, p. m. 59, 60.

(92) Corn. Nepos, in Vitâ Cimon. cap. 2.

CINYRAS, King of *Assyria* according to some, or of *Cyprus* according to others, is celebrated for nothing, but having had *Adonis* by his own Daughter *Myrrha* [*A*]. We observe elsewhere (*a*), that this Incest was involuntary on his part, not knowing the Maid, they brought to him, was *Myrrha*; as soon as he knew it, he attempted to kill her, and would have done it, if he had not been prevented. It is said, that grief for this Incest caused him to kill himself (*b*); but others account for his Death in another manner; for some say he perished for disputing with *Apollo* the Prize of Music (*c*), after he had violated his Promise to the *Grecians* [*B*]. He was to have furnished them Provisions during the Siege of *Troy*; but not performing his Agreement (*d*), *Agamemnon* loaded him with Curses, and what was worse, the *Greeks* made themselves Masters of *Cyprus*, and expelled him (*e*). The long life *Anacreon* gives him (*f*) does not agree with the Music Dispute I have mentioned; for who can believe that an old Man, of One hundred and sixty Years, would enter the Lists with *Apollo* on such an Account? The Mythological History is full of varieties concerning the Father, the Wives, the Sons, and Daughters of *Cinyras* (*g*); they say he had fifty Daughters, who were all metamorphosed into Halcyons (*h*): others say that *Juno* changed them into Stones, which served for the Steps of her Temple (*i*). He was much beloved by *Apollo* (*k*), and acquired such Wealth, that he became a Proverb like *Crœsus* (*l*). He was

(*a*) In the Articles *ADONIS* and *MYRRHA*.

(*b*) Hygin. cap. 242.

(*c*) Suidas, in Κινύρας.

(*d*) Eustath. in Hom. 10. Iliad.

(*e*) Theopompus, apud Photium, pag. 389.

(*f*) Apud Plinium, lib. 7, cap. 48.

(*g*) *See* Meursius in Cypro, cap. 9.

(*h*) Eustathius, in Iliad. lib. 10.

(*i*) Ovid. Metam. lib. 6.

(*k*) Pindar. Pythi Od. 2.

(*l*) Id. Nem. Od. 8. Plato de Legibus, lib. 2. Suidas, in Καταγράφεις.

[*A*] *He is celebrated for nothing, but having* Adonis *by his own Daughter* Myrrha.] Not that there are no other remarkable things in his Life; but the School Books, the Historical Dictionaries, and the Compilers of common Places, not speaking of them, as they do of *Myrrha*'s Adventure, *Cinyras* is little known to the Republic of Learning, but by this Accident. Some very learned Men believe, that *Pindar* is over-burthened with the Luxuriancy of his Subject, when he is speaking of *Cinyras* (1); and they understand of That Prince these Words of *Pindar*: Πολλὰ γὰρ πολλοῖς λέλεκται. —— *Many Authors have spoken much of him* (2): But the Sequel of the Discourse has nothing in it to justify such a sense of the Words.

(1) Pindar. Nem. Od. 8.

(2) Meziriac upon Ovid's Epistles, pag. 398. Benedictus in Pindari Nem. Od. 8. Meziriac reads πολλὰ γὰρ πολλὰ λέλεκται. *Many and many things are said of him.*

[*B*] *After he had violated his Promise to the* Grecians.] *Palamedes* was dispatched to him to obtain Auxiliary Troops from him; but, instead of demanding them, he persuaded him not to join the *Greeks*. He returned loaded with Presents, all which he kept for himself, except one wretched Cuirass, which he gave *Agamemnon* as from *Cinyras*: he gave them reason to hope, that the King of *Cyprus* would send a Fleet of One hundred Sail; but those hopes proved vain. This is part of what *Alcidamas* accuses *Palamedes* of; but he was wrong to speak so contemptuously of the Cuirass, if it resembled the Description *Homer* has left us of it (3). Some have said, that all the Ships *Cinyras* sent the *Grecians* were Earthen-Ware, and manned with Glass Men, except one (4); those who will have the *Cinyras* of the *Pagans* to be *Noah* of (5) the Scriptures, will find it a hard Matter to make what we have said, and shall say, of *Cinyras*, tally with *Noah*. I do not pretend they cannot bring it to bear; for where has not Mr *Huet*'s (6) Skill discovered *Moses*?

(3) Iliad. A.

(4) Eustat. in Iliad. A. apud Meurs. in Cypro, pag. 111.

(5) Bibliot. Universelle, Tom. III, pag. 18.

(6) *Bishop of* Avranches.

was also very handsome (*m*), and received many favours from *Venus*. The Fathers of the Church, who wrote against the Abominations of the *Pagans*, reproach them, that the *Venus* they adored in *Cyprus* had been a Whore to *Cinyras* [*C*]. The chief Temple of *Venus*, in that Island, was at *Paphos*: indeed there was an ancient Tradition, that it was built by King *Aërias* (*n*); but, according to modern Tradition, *Cinyras* consecrated it, and the Goddess landed there at her Birth; but it was not *Cinyras*, who instituted the Science of the *Aruspices*, or Soothsayers; it was *Thamyras*, who came from *Cilicia*; afterwards an Order was made, that the Descendants of *Cinyras*, and those of *Thamyras*, should preside at the sacred Rites. In process of Time, the latter yielded up their Right to the former, that there might be no reason to complain, that the Royal Family had no Prerogative above a Foreign Family. *Tacitus* observes (*o*), that none but the *Cinyrades* (*p*) were consulted. *Cinyras* united in his own Person the Priesthood and the Royal Dignity (*q*); so that afterwards the Priesthood of the *Paphian Venus* was always in the hands of a Prince of the Blood; and therefore *Cato* thought he made a very advantageous offer to King *Ptolemy*, when he proposed to make him Priest of *Venus*, upon his surrendering up the Island to the *Roman* People (*r*). Mention is made of another Temple, which *Cinyras* built upon Mount *Libanus* (*s*); he also built three Cities *Paphos*, *Cinyrea*, and *Smyrna*, which last he named after his Daughter (*t*). He was the inventor of several things, as Tiles, Pincers, the Hammer, the Lever, and the Anvil (*u*). He was also the first that discovered the Copper Mines in the Isle of *Cyprus*. He is reckoned among the antient Diviners (*x*). *Clemens Alexandrinus* (*y*), citing *the History of Philopater*, composed by *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Agesarches*, observes that his Tomb, and that of his Posterity, was in the Temple of *Venus* at *Paphos*. Some say he was not born in the Island of *Cyprus*, but came thither from *Assyria*, where he was King. See the Remark [*A*] of the Article ADONIS.

(*m*) Anthol. lib. 4, cap. 1. Hygin. cap. 270.

(*n*) Tacit. Hist. lib. 2, cap. 3.

(*o*) Ibid.

(*p*) That is, the Descendants of *Cinyras*.

(*q*) Scholiast. Pindari in Pyth. Od. 2.

(*r*) Plutarch. in Vitâ Catonis.

(*s*) Lucian. de Dea Syria.

(*t*) Hygin. cap. 275.

(*u*) Plinius, lib. 7, cap. 56.

(*x*) Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. 1, pag. m. 333. Meursius, de Cypro, p. 220.

(*y*) Admon. ad Gent. pag. 29, Arnob. lib. 6, pag. 193.

[*C*] *The Fathers of the Church* —— *have reproached them, that the* Venus, *they adored in* Cyprus, *had been a Whore to* Cinyras.] *Arnobius* first of all will give us an account of it. *Numquid regè à Cypro, cujus nomen Cinyras est, ditatam meretriculam Venerem Divorum in numero consecratam* (7). —— *Have you not heard* (says he) *that a* Cyprian *King, named* Cinyras, *made his Whore a Goddess?' Firmicus Maternus* expresses himself with no less force (8). 'Audio Cinyream Cyprium templum amicæ meretrici donasse, ei erat Venus nomen. Initiasse etiam 'Cypriæ Veneri plurimos & vanis consecrationibus 'deputasse, ratuisse enim ut quicunque initiari vellet secreto Veneris sibi tradito, assem in manum 'mercedis nomine Deæ daret. Quod secretum quale sit omnes taciti intelligere debemus, quia hoc 'ipsum propter turpitudinem manifestius explicare non possumus. Benè amator Cinyras meretriciis 'legibus servit, consecratæ Veneri à sacerdotibus 'suis stipem dari jussit, ut scorto. —— *I find that* Cinyras, *the* Cyprian, *dedicated a Temple to his Whore, whose name was* Venus; *and that by ridiculous Ceremonies he admitted many* Cyprian *Votaries to this* Venus. *For he enjoined that, whoever desired to be initiated in her Mysteries, entrusted to him, should pay a piece of Money as an Acknowledgment to the Goddess; the Nature of which Mysteries should be conceived in Silence, since Modesty will not allow an Explication of them. Well did this gallant* Cinyras *keep up the wanton Trade in assigning his Priests to pay a Hire to his deified* Venus, *as to his Whore.*' What Confusion! What Corruption! Mysteries instituted, whose Ritual appoints, that whoever is initiated, shall receive a handful of Salt, and a *Phallus*, and should offer a piece of Silver to *Venus* (9). What a strange Ribbon or Collar of an Order was given there! Consult *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who informs us, that *Cinyras* was the first, who durst raise from Darkness these filthy Ceremonies in Honour of a Courtezan of his Country. Οὐ γὰρ μὲ ὁ Κύπριος ὁ νυκτέρης Κινύρης παρῆγαγε πρῶτ' ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μαγγανεύματα ἔργα ἐκ νυκτὸς ἡμέρας παραδύναι τολμήσας, φιλοτιμούμενος θεᾶσαι πόρνην πολίτιδα: Non enim Cyprius insularis Cinyras mihi unquam persuasit, libidinosa quæ circa Venerem fiebant orgia ausus ex nocte diei tradere, dum meretricem civem vellet in Deos referre (10). —— *Never shall* Cinyras, *the* Cyprian, *persuade me, who dared to bring the lewd Orgia of* Venus *from Darkness to Light, and endeavoured to make a Whore a Goddess.* See also *Arnobius*, at the One hundred and sixty ninth Page of the Fifth Book, where he says. 'Nec non & Cypriæ Veneris abstrusa illa initia 'prætereamus, quorum conditor indicatur Cinyras 'rex fuisse, in quibus fumentos ea certus stipes inferunt ut meretrici, & referunt phallos propitii 'numinis signa. —— *Let us likewise pass over these abstruse Mysteries of* Venus, *which* Cinyras *is said to have instituted, to whom those that entered made Presents, as to a Whore, and carried back some Emblem* (Phallus) *of the Goddess's Favour.*' Who can doubt but this is he, whom *Lucian* (11) pairs with *Sardanapalus*, and gives as the Model of an effeminate Man.

(7) Lib. 4, pag. m. 143.

(8) De Errore prof. Relig. pag. m. 22.

(9) Clem. Alexand. Admon. ad Gent. p. m. 10.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) In Rhetori Præcept.

CINUS or CYNUS, a famous Civilian, of a Noble Family of *Pistoia* [*A*]. He flourished in the XIVth Century: his Commentary on the *Code* was finished in 1313: He writ also upon some parts of the *Digests*. He was no Friend to the Interpreters of the Canon-Law, and often censures them; for which he is blamed by *Nicolas de Tudeschis* (*a*). He died at *Bologna*, and was interred near his Master *Dinus* (*b*) [*B*]; his Death is placed in the Year 1336 (*c*). He was no less celebrated for

(*a*) This is he that is so well known by the Name of *Panormitanus*.

(*b*) Taken from Forsterus, Hist. Juris Civilis, pag. m. 498, 499.

(*c*) Konig. Bibl. pag. 193, 753.

(1) Forster. Hist. Juris Civilis, pag. m. 499.

(2) Konig Biblioth. pag. 753.

(3) Leand. Alberti, Descritt. d'Italia, fol. m. 41.

(4) Crescemb. Istoria della volgar Poesia, pag. 87.

(5) Forster. Hist. Juris Civilis, p. m. 499.

[*A*] *He was of a noble Family.*] *Forsterus* calls it, *Familiam Sygisbaldorum* (1): others use the Word *Sigibuldi* (2), *Leander Alberti* makes use of the *Italian* Word *Simbaldi* (3), and Mr *Crescimbeni* uses the Word *Sigibaldi* (4).

[*B*] *He was interred near his Master* Dinus.] It was without any honourable Distinction. *Juxta Dynum pari, hoc est, ignobili & vulgari sepulchro terræ conditus* (5). —— *He was interred near* Dinus, *in such another common Grave.* Some say, these two Civilians, and *Florianus de Sancto Petro*, lie all in the same Tomb, in the *Dominican* Cloister at *Bologna* (6). Note, that *Cinus* had been Professor of Laws in the Univerfity of that City (7). They mention this Epitaph. *Sino, eximio Jurisconsulto Bartolo Præceptore dignissimo, Populus Pistoriensis B. M. posuit.* This gives room to believe, that his Countrymen were willing to make reparation for the neglect

(6) Leand. Alberti, Descritt. d'Italia, fol. 41.

(7) Id. ibid.

for his *Italian* Verses, than for his Lectures on the Civil-Law; and he is reckoned among those, who began to give a grace to the *Tuscan* Lyric Poetry. *Petrarch* may pass for his Disciple, and has made no scruple to steal some Thoughts from him. The *Canzoniere* of *Cinus* is still extant, for which we are obliged to a Lady (*d*), whom the Author tenderly loved (*e*). I shall produce one Passage, to prove he was subject to this Passion [*C*].

(*d*) Madonna Ricciarda de' Selvaggi

(*e*) *Taken from* Crescembeni, Istoria della volgar. Poesia, pag. 87.

neglect of the Inhabitants of *Bologna*, who had put no Inscription upon his Monument. One Word must be corrected in that Epitaph: instead of *Bartolo*, read *Bartoli*; for *Cinus* was the Master, not the Scholar of *Bartolus* (8).

(8) Forster. Hist. Juris Civ. p. 583. Crescembeni, Istoria della volg. Poesia, pag. 87.

[*C*] *I shall produce one Passage, to prove he was subject to this Passion.*] *Julius Clarus*, having said, that if a Woman lies with her Footman, she deserves to be punished; but a servant Maid, that lies with her Master, ought not to be punished, but rather rewarded; adds, this gave *Cinus* the Lawyer reason to maintain, that Presents ought to be made by the Persons who love, and not by the Persons who are loved: the rest of the Passage must rather be expressed here in *Latin*, than in *English*. 'Unde 'sumit argumentum Cynus in d. l. 1. quòd amato- 'res debent donare amasiis suis, non econtra, sub- 'dens: Et crede experto, quòd donum magis valet 'quàm suspirium, imò suspirium nihil valet sine 'dono: ferum tamen præponitur auro, nam fe- 'cundam Juven. *Ferrum est quod amant.* Quod '(ut ipse ait) quidam exponunt, id est, ferreum 'membrum, propter cujus ferri fortitudinem in- 'signes etiam servis vilissimis se exponunt' (9). Upon this Head, *Julius Clarus* observes, that Doctor *Cynus* was very amorous, and a good Poet. 'Quæ 'verba D. Cyni sunt notanda, quia licet esset ex- 'cellens Doctor, fuit etiam maximus Amator, & 'egregius Poëta, ut Franc. Petrarchæ attestatur in 'his carminibus, in quibus ipsius mortem deplorat' 'Et extant adhuc cantiones & alia carmina amato- 'ria D. Cyni non insulsa (10). —— *Which Words of* Cinus *deserve notice, who, though an Adept in Law, was so left such in Love, and an excellent Poet, as* F. Petrarch *testifies in his Poems, where- in he laments his Death; and there are still extant some agreeable Odes and Love Songs of his composing.*'

(9) Julius Clarus Recept. Sentent. lib. 5, cap. de Fornicatione, n. 20, p. m. 230.

(10) Id. ibid.

(*a*) This Article is communicated by Mr FREDERIC-MAND LEWIS DE BESELER of *Aschembourg*, Translator and Continuator of *Morери* in *High-Dutch*. See the Article *BIBLIANDER*, Citation (*f*).

CIOLEK (*a*) (ERASMUS), in *Latin Vitellius* [*A*], Bishop of *Plocko* in *Poland*, was a Native of *Cracovia*, of low and mean Extraction (*b*), neither his Birth nor Education being known to any Body (*c*). Nevertheless, what was wanting to him in Birth, which indeed was very low, was abundantly made up to him by a penetrating Mind, by his Wisdom, his Learning, and his Eloquence [*B*]. He was in great favour with *Alexander* King of *Poland*; and it is thought That Prince, from the time he was made Duke of *Lithuania*, admitted him to an intimate Friendship with him, and was chiefly governed by his Counsels (*d*). *Alexander*, ascending the Throne of *Poland* (*e*), after the Death of his Brother *John Albert*, was resolved to reward his faithful Minister *Ciolek*, and gave him the Bishopric of *Plocko* in 1504, which *Vincent* I *Przerabski* had had before him. He is charged by some with instilling into his Master Principles of Tyranny (*f*). Otherwise he gave many Proofs of his Fidelity, in the good Services he did in several Embassies to the Emperor *Maximilian* I, and at the Court of *Rome* (*g*). But his Patron, who advanced him, died two Years after (*h*), and his Brother, *Sigismond* I, succeeded him in the Government, who also employed him, and found him, as his Brother had done, faithful and diligent. He sent him several times to the Emperor, and the Pope; but his chief Negociation was at the great and celebrated Diet of *Augsburg* in 1518, where he appeared as Embassador of the King of *Poland*, together with *Raphael Castellan* of *Lenden*, and *Boguslao* Marshal of *Lithuania*. It was in this place (where all the great Men of *Germany*, and many Embassadors, and Persons of Distinction, from Foreign Parts, were met) that *Ciolek* displayed his great Capacity. *Friday* the Twentieth of *August*, he made a Speech in the most considerable

(*b*) Vill & plebejo loco Cracoviæ natus. *Stanislaus Lubienski Vita & Series Episcoporum Plocensium*; in *Operibus* ejus Antwerpiæ, Ann. 1643 excusis, pag. 320. Erasmum Ciolcum humilem plebeium, quemadmodum eruditum est, appellat. *Mart. Cromer. de Origine & Rebus gestis Polonorum, lib. 30, cap. ult.*

(*c*) Lubienski, Operum, pag. 369. Quo genere quave stirpe genitus fuerit Erasmus Ciolek, unde prodierit, quomodo creverit, & illa ipse, qua vixit, ignoravit ætas.

(*d*) Cromerus, de Orig. & Reb. gest. Polon. lib. 30, cap. ult.

(*e*) Ann. 1502.

(*f*) Lubienski, Oper pag. 370.

(*g*) It is very likely *Cromer* is mistaken here, and has transposed the Embassies which he made under *Sigismond* I.

(*h*) In 1506.

[*A*] *In* Latin Vitellius.] The Art of metamorphosing names is not unknown to the *Poles*, and they seem to have good skill in it, if they can make *Vitellius* out of the Word *Ciolek*, which has some relation to the *Polish* Word for a *Calf*. *Martin Cromer*, who declines this Word by a *Latin* termination, calls him *Ciolcum* (1): there is still in *Poland* a very considerable noble Family, of the name *Ciolek*, and called in *Latin Vitellhana*; they came out of *Italy*, in the Year 971, in the time of *Miecislaus*, and are descended from *Robert* Archbishop of *Gnesna*, of the race of the *Vitellini*, *Paulinus*, the Brother of *Robert*, very much encreased his Family in *Poland*; from whence are derived several Archbishops of *Gnesna*, and other Persons of Distinction (2). It will not be amiss to add here what *Okolski* relates of one of this Family (3). I shall give you his own Words, that you may have from the Fountain Head a remedy, which is very suitable to a *Polish* Subject. He says them: 'Stanislaus Ciolek seu Vitellius, no- 'bilis Polonus, circa sec. XV. clarus, fertur ante 'consuetum tempus natus, quapropter 4. septimanas 'in adipe apri conservabatur, crevit in maximum 'Virum, Castellanum Sendomir, Mareschallum Cu- 'riæ &c. —— Stanislaus Ciolek, *or* Vitellius, *a noble Pole, who flourished in the XVth Century, is said to have been born before the usual Time; where- fore he was kept four Weeks in the Fat of a Boar, and grew to be a very great Man*, Castellan *of Sen- domir, Marshal of the Court*, &c.'

(1) Mart. Cromer. de Origine & Rebus gestis Polonorum, lib. 30, cap. ult.

(2) Simon Okolski, in Orbe Polono, Tom. 1, pag. 108, & seq.

(3) Ibid. pag. 114.

[*B*] *By his Eloquence.*] *James Spiegel* (4) has given an excellent Description of him, in his Letter to *Erasmus*, as the most learned, and most eloquent, Man of his time, and adds this Character. *Singularis Integritatis vitæ. - - - Of singular Integrity of Life. Richard Bartholin* confirms the same (5): 'Episcopus Plocensis vir literatus & gravis orationem 'habuit latinam plane & rei satis accommodatam, 'in qua sapienter & erudite de expeditione contra 'Turcas suscipienda disputavit. - - - *The Bishop of* Plocko, *a learned and grave Man, gave us in* Latin *an Oration very much to the Purpose, where- in he argued with great Judgment upon the Expe- dition designed against the* Turks.' And in another Place: 'Hæc mihi Reverendissimus Episcopus Plo- 'censis, apud Cæsarem Poloniæ Regis Oratorem 'agens, recitavit, vir gravissimus & literatus, & cui 'sine controversia fides adhibenda (6). - - - *This I was told by the Bishop of* Plocko, *a Man of great Learning and sound Judgment, whom without doubt we may credit) when he spoke before his Majesty the King of* Poland.' *Stanislaus Lubienski* (7) gives him indeed the Character of a wise and prudent Man, since he says, that he obtained by his Address the Bishopric of *Plocko*. Yet it looks as if *Lubienski* did not give much Credit to what *Spiegel* mentions

(4) In his Letter to *Erasmus*. See Remark [*C*].

(5) In Concinnâ Descriptione de Conventu Augustensi edita à Conrado Adelmann de Adelmannsfelden, *Canonico Augustano, Anno* 1518. in 4to.

(6) In Conclam. Descript. &c.

(7) Operum pag. 370, *he says*, Tantum ingenii valuit, ut Episcopatum Plocensem adipiscerctur.

conſiderable Aſſembly to the Emperor, and the States of the Empire, with ſo much Life and Energy, that many of the illuſtrious Aſſiſtants wept [C]. For which Reaſon *James Spiegel* got it printed. To conclude, *Ciolek* finiſhed his Life during his Embaſſy to the Court of *Rome* (i). For, being ſent to *Rome* by *Sigiſmund* I, to negociate ſome ſecret Affairs with Pope *Leo* X, after having obtained certain Privileges of the Pope for his Church, he died there, the ſame Year that the Pope alſo died, in the Year 1521, and was buried in the Church of *St Maria del Popolo*. *Raphael Leſczynſki* ſucceeded him in his Biſhopric (k).

(i) See Remarks [C], at the end.

(k) Lubienſki, Oper. pag. 370.

mentions of his Integrity; ſince he ſays (8), *Vafrum fuiſſe hominem & callidum, & qui Regi, cujus gratia florebat,* (Alexandro) *tyrannidem ſuaderet, plurique crediderc.*

(8) Ibid.

[C] *That ſeveral of the Aſſiſtants wept.*] This is a very particular Circumſtance, which is obſerved by *James Spiegel*, Counſellor and Secretary to the Emperor (9); and I believe few Orators were ever able to do by Words what *Ciolek* did, eſpecially in preſence of ſuch an Auditory. *James Spiegel* has ſo much Faith in the force of this Speech, that he doubts not, but it will make thoſe weep that ſhall read it. As the expreſſions in his Letter to *Eraſmus* are remarkable (10), and give an ample Deſcription of this Circumſtance, as well as of *Ciolek*'s Eloquence, and his chief Auditors, I ſhall here inſert them at length: ' Reverendiſſimus Dominus Eraſmus Vitellius Epiſcopus Plocenſis, ſingulari integritate vitæ, raraque doctrina, Romanaque facundia inſignis: vel eo mihi nomine præcipue colendus, quia cognominis, de te perquam egregiam frequenter facit mentionem. Primam (ut auſicus auſico utar verbo) audientiam coram Cæſare, ſacri Imperii Electoribus omnibus, & cæteris Germaniarum Principibus proceribuſque obtinuit. Sic ornate, ſic graviter oravit, ut ad intima uſque præcordia auditorum vehementia ſententiarum penetraverit, pluresque ad fletum concitaverit, ei vero docto ſimul & facundo omnes docti & eloquentes palmam tribuunt. Aderant enim viri non pauci, tum exquiſite docti, tum in judicando naris emunctiſſimæ. Antiſtes Torgeſtinus, Peutingerus, Huttenus, Bartholinus, Spalatinus, & Statius ille in nullo doctrinæ genere non verſatus, Henricus Stromer Medicus, & Laurentius Zochius Juriſconſultus, Cardinalis Maguntini, florentiſſimi Principis, Cancellarius. Igitur facta mihi primum præ cæteris elegantiſſimæ hujus orationis copia: Quia digna multorum lectione viſa fuit eruditorum calculo, & ab omnibus deſiderata, imprimendam curavi ſub auguſto tuo nomine; non dubito quin ut audientibus lachrimas commovit, ita hæc eadem legentibus magis copioſas excutiet, & in rem chriſtianam propenſiores eorum animos reddet. ... *The Right Reverend* Eraſmus Vitellius, *Biſhop of* Plocko, *a Man of ſingular Integrity, uncommon Learning, and a perfect Maſter of* Roman *Eloquence, who, as being another* Eraſmus, *and for that Honourable Mention he often makes of you, deſerves a more than common reſpect from me, had his firſt Audience (to ſpeak the Language of the Court) before His Imperial Majeſty, all the Electors of the Empire, and the other Princes and Lords of* Germany; *he ſpoke with ſo much Strength and Elegance, that the force of his Diſcourſe pierced the very Hearts of the Audience, and drew Tears from many of them. To this Man of Learning and Eloquence all the learned and eloquent allow the Prize to be due. There were preſent Men of exquiſite Learning, Judgment, and Penetration. The Preſident of* Torgau, Peutinger, Hutten, Bartholinus, Spalatinus, *and* Statius, *verſed in every kind of Literature*; Henry Stromer *the Phyſician, and* Laurence Zochius *the Counſellor, Chancellor to the moſt Illuſtrious Prince, the Cardinal of* Mayence. *Having therefore had the happineſs of procuring this beautiful Oration, which, in the Opinion of the learned, well deſerves to be read, and which every one ſeems deſirous to read, I took care to have it publiſhed under the Protection of your auguſt Name; and I doubt not but, as it drew Tears from the Hearers, it will make them flow more copiouſly from the Readers, and incline their Hearts more zealouſly to the Cauſe of Chriſtianity.*' To give a further Idea of the Magnificence of the Aſſembly of the Diet, in which *Ciolek* ſpoke, I ſhall produce what *John Muller*, the famous Printer at *Augsburg*, who printed *Ciolek*'s Speech, has added by way of Appendix. ' Aderant, *ſays he*, in hoc conventu ' tres reverendiſſimi Domini Cardinales, Cajetanus, ' Gurænſis, & Maguntinus, pluresque Regum Oratores, & omnes fere Germaniæ Duces, cum magna parte Epiſcoporum & nobilitatis ſuæ primariæ; ' qualis in Imperio ſupra 30. annos viſus non ' eſt. —— *There were preſent, in this Aſſembly, which was the greateſt the Empire had known for above thirty Years, three Cardinals, ſeveral Embaſſadors of crowned Heads, with moſt of the Biſhops, and chief Nobility.*' As to the Edition of this Speech, *James Spiegel*, as is obſerved before, printed it in 4to at *Augsburg* 1518, under the Title of: ' Oratio per R. P. Dominum Eraſmum Vitellium Epiſcopum Plocenſem in celeberrimo Auguſtenſi Conventu ad Cæſarem Maximil. nomine victoriosiſſimi Regis Poloniæ Sigiſmundi habita, coram omnibus S. Imp. Electoribus pluriſque Germaniæ Principibus, die veneris, 20 Aug. A. Dom. 1518.' After this it was reprinted *ex Bibliotheca Joh. Piſtorii in Corpore Hiſtoriæ Poloniæ* (11) *Tomo III. p. 5. —7.* *Marquardus Freherus* (12) ſays it is alſo to be found in *Reuſneri Antiquitates.*

(9) In Epiſt. ad Eraſm. Rotter. Orationi Vitellii præmiſſa.

(10) Ex Auguſta Vindelic. prid. Kal. Sept. Ann. 1518.

(11) At *Baſil*, in 1518, in Folio.

(12) In Indice Autorum, Tom. II. Rer. Germanic. Scriptorum, præmiſſo.

CIPIERRE (PHILIBERT *de* MARCILLI *Lord of*) was born in the *Mâconnois* (a). He gave ſo many Proofs of his Courage and Prudence in the Service of *Henry* II, both in *France* and *Italy*, that That Prince made him Governor to the Duke of *Orleans*, his ſecond Son, who afterwards reigned by the Name of *Charles* IX. It is pretended, that if others had not ſpoiled the excellent Education he gave that young Prince, he would have proved a very great King [A]. When *Charles* IX came to the Crown, they found it neceſſary, in order to do him the greater Honour, to have always a Prince of the Blood with him, to obſerve his Conduct; and they gave this Poſt to the Prince *de la Roche-ſur-Yon* (b); but *Cipierre*

(a) Le Laboureur, Addit à Caſtelnau, Tom. I, p. 526.

(b) Idem *taken from* Brantome.

[A] *If others had not ſpoiled the excellent Education, he gave* Charles IX, *he would have proved a very great King.*] *Brantome* charges upon his Minions, and not upon his Governor, *Charles*'s two ill Qualities, Swearing and Diſſimulation. He maintains, that *Cipierre* was ' as brave a Lord, as ever ' was Governor to a King, honeſt, free, and open, ' without Lies or Hypocriſy, and that he had well ' inſtructed him, without teaching him the Principles ' of Diſſimulation (1).' He adds, among other things, that he taught *Charles* to expreſs himſelf eloquently. ' In my Opinion, *ſays he* (2), Mr *de* ' *Cipierre* ſpoke *French*, *Spaniſh*, and *Italian*, better ' than any Gentleman, or Military Man, that ever ' I knew, and therefore the King was deſirous to ' imitate him, rather than *du Perron*, afterwards ' Marſhal *de Retz*, who certainly ſpoke well.' He ſays in another Place (3), ' that *Cipierre* told a Story ' the beſt of any Man in the World: he knew how ' to deſcribe every thing with the greateſt Grace, ' and in the beſt Language, ſo perfectly was he accompliſhed in all things.'

(1) Brantome, *cited by* Labourer, Tom. I, pag. 374.

(2) Id. Tom. II, pag. 860.

(3) Id. Tom. I, pag. 528.

pierre was ſtill continued in his Employment [*B*]. The two Governors preſerved a good underſtanding together: The Prince *yielded in many things to* Cipierre, *knowing him to be of as great a Capacity as any Lord in* France: *on the other Hand* Cipierre, *who was a very wiſe Man, ſhewed a great deal of Honour and Reſpect for* the Prince, - - - - - *and it was a Pleaſure to ſee thoſe two Governors maintaining their Rank in a becoming Manner near the King's Perſon, one ſuperior, the other a little inferior to him.* *Cipierre* was created a Knight of the Order by *Francis* II, in 1560 (*c*). They, ſay that finding himſelf ſeized with a mortal Diſeaſe, and preparing to ſet out for *Aix* to drink the Waters, he earneſtly intreated the Queen-Mother to pacify the difference between the *Guiſes* and the *Colignis*, and thereby to deſtroy the Root of a Faction, which would be in a Condition to ruin the Kingdom (*d*). He died at *Liege*, in *September* 1565, without being able to reach the Waters. Thoſe of the Reformed Religion were ill ſatisfied with his Conduct [*C*]: they made pretty ſharp Verſes againſt him, both before and after his Death (*e*). It was he that informed the Prince of *Condé* at *Orleans*, in 1560, that *le Renaudie*'s Plot was diſcovered (*f*). It was he that was charged, ſome Months after, to ſecure the City of *Orleans* (*g*), which was ſuſpected of being diſaffected: he commanded for ſome Days the *French* Army, at the Seige of that City, after the Duke of *Guiſe* was killed (*h*), and obtained leave of the Pope's Legate for the Soldiers to eat Fleſh during Lent [*D*]. He married *Louiſe de Halluin* (*i*), by whom he had one Daughter, that was afterwards the Wife of *Francis de la Magdalene*, Lord of *Regni*, Grandfather of the Ducheſs of *Leſdiguieres* (*k*). His Father married *N* - - - - of *St Amour*, Lady of *Cipierre* (*l*).

(*c*) Le Laboureur, Additions à Caſtelnau, Tom. I, pag. 374

(*d*) Thuan. lib. 38.

(*e*) *Mr* Le Labourer *ſets down ſome*, Addit à Caſtelnau, Tom. I, pag. 374.

(*f*) Mezerai Abregé Chronolog. Tom. V, pag. m. 19.

(*g*) Beza, Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 3, pag. 290. Thuan. lib. 26.

(*h*) Brantome, Capit. Etrangers, Tom. I, p. 132.

(*i*) Le Labourer, Additions aux Memoires de Caſtelnau, Tom. I, pag. 374.

(*k*) She died at *Paris*, July 2, 1656, according to Father *Anſelm*, *Hiſt. des Officiers*, *p.* 243.

(*l*) Le Labourer, Addit. à Caſtelnau ubi ſupra.

[*B*] *But* Cipierre *was ſtill continued in his Employment.*] *Brantome*'s Words, which I have quoted, are a proof of it: yet it is certain he loſt it for ſome time, and afterwards was re-called: for *Languet* affirms, he was removed from the King, and was not reſtored, though the King of *Navarre* interceded for him. *Languet* makes mention of this within two Days after it happened, in a Letter from *Paris*, dated *February* the firſt, 1562. What he ſays of the cauſe of that Governor's Diſgrace is ſo curious, and ſo much a ſecret Hiſtory, that I cannot help relating it. The Fact is, *Charles* IX was ſo grievouſly offended, that *Cipierre* had taken a Book of Divinity from him, that he declared he would no longer have him for his Governor. The Words, which *Languet* uſes a little before, are a proof to me, that the Book, he took away from the young Monarch, was, in *Cipierre*'s Opinion, an heretical Book: for this Author had juſt ſaid, there was reaſon to believe, that *Charles* IX, and his two Brothers, would ſoon declare themſelves Proteſtants: that the Duke of *Orleans* had already ſufficiently made it appear, that he was of that Party, and that the Duke of *Anjou*, in the preſence of ſeveral Perſons, had requeſted of the Queen Mother, that for the future he might have no Domeſtics, but what were *Lutherans*. 'Regina cautius ſua adminiſtrat, nam accommodat ſe tempori, & oſtendit ſe nobis addictiorem quam antea. Rex & fratres videntur brevi tranſituri ad noſtras partes. Hæc ſi non ſunt matre impellente, fiunt ſaltem ipſa non nolente, nam ſi vellet poſſet hoc impedire. Aurelianenſia jam ſatis oſtendit ſe eſſe à noſtris partibus. Andegavenſis, planè puer, nuper petiit à matre coram pluribus, ne deinceps daret ei Miniſtros, qui non eſſent Lutherani. Hæc verba mater excepit riſu. Rex habuit gubernatorem nobilem virum (nomine Sipierre) natum in Burgundia, qui ex tenui fortuna ſua induſtria pervenit ad magnas opes, & fuit admodum charus Regi Henrico. Is cum nuper Regi Librum Theologicum eripuiſſet, ita offendit eum, ut diceret matri, ſe nolle amplius habere eum gubernatorem. Mater itaque eum removit à filii gubernatione, & ei ſuffecit Principem de la Roche ſur Yon. Cum Navarrus pro remoto apud Regina deprecaretur, illa reſpondit, hoc non ſua, ſed filii voluntate eſſe factum qui nolit eum habere gubernatorem. Hoc nudiuſtertius primum accidit. Referunt & alias cauſas, quare ſit remotus: nam ſunt valde addictus Guiſis (4). —— *The Queen acts with greater caution, agreeable to the Times, and appears more in our Intereſt than formerly: The King, and his Brothers, ſeem ready to come over to our Party: though this may be without the Direction of the Queen, it cannot be againſt her conſent; ſince, if ſhe would, ſhe might prevent it. The Duke of* Orleans *has already ſufficiently declared for us. The Duke of* Anjou, *though a Boy, lately deſired the Queen, in the preſence of ſeveral Perſons, to give him for the future no Servants, but* Lutherans; *at which ſhe ſmiled. The King had for Governor one* Sipierre, *a Perſon of Diſtinction, born in* Hungary, *who was much careſſed by King* Henry, *and, by a ſteady Application to Buſineſs, had raiſed himſelf from mean Circumſtances to an ample Fortune. He, having lately taken from this Prince a Book of Divinity, had ſo exaſperated him, that he told the Queen he would have him no longer for Governor. Upon which the Queen removed him from his Office, and placed the Prince* de la Roche ſur Yon *in his ſtead. When the King of* Navarre *ſollicited the Queen to reſtore him, ſhe anſwered, it had not been done by her own, but by her Son's direction, who refuſed him for Governor. This happened but two Days ago. There are other Cauſes aſſigned for his removal: for he was ſtrongly attached to the Houſe of* Guiſe.' If you conſult the Paſſage of the Memoirs of the Queen of *Navarre*, which you will find in her Article (5), it will appear, that *Languet* had no ill Intelligence of the *French* Court.

(4) Languet. Epiſt. 68, lib. 2, pag. 201, 202.

(5) In Remark [*B*].

[*C*] *Theſe of the Reformed Religion were ill ſatisfied with his Conduct.*] Monſieur *le Labourer* gives no other reaſon for this, than the Commiſſion *Cipierre* had to diſarm *Orleans* (6); but the Verſes, he quotes, ſuppoſe that this City was cruelly treated, and that *Cipierre*'s ſeverity extended both to the Walls, and to the Men. *Thuanus*, who otherwiſe praiſes *Cipierre*, yet obſerves, that he was devoted to the *Guiſes* (7). In a Word, when the Proteſtants exhibited their grievances after the firſt Peace, they complained, not only that *Burgundy* had been ill treated by *Savannes*, and *Guienne* by *Monluc*, but alſo that *Orleans* had ſuffered by *Cipierre* (8).

(6) Addit. à Caſtelnau, Tom. I, pag. 529.

(7) Thuanus, lib. 26, pag. m. 520.

(8) Vraie Hiſt. des Troubles, fol. 43 verſo, at the Year 1563.

[*D*] *He obtained leave of the Pope's Legate for the Soldiers to eat Meat during Lent.*] The Cardinal of *Ferrara*, the Pope's Legate, was then in the Queen-Mother's Army. He looked upon the requeſt made to him as a deteſtable thing, at a time when they were at War *with Hereticks, who were Enemies to Lent; but, having conſidered the matter, he anſwered, that, as to Fleſh, it was an abominable thing, not to be mentioned*, that he would only allow them to eat *Butter, Cheeſe, and Milk* (9). Mr *de Cipierre* anſwered: 'Sir, you muſt not think to govern our Military Men, as you do your Eccleſiaſtics; for it is one thing to ſerve GOD, and another thing to ſerve in the War; give me leave to tell you the Truth; it is not proper, at ſuch a time as this, and in ſuch an Army, formed of various ſorts of Men, to raiſe theſe ſcruples: for, as to your Butter, your Cheeſe, and your Milk, our *French* Soldiers will not touch them, as your *Italians* and *Spaniards* do. They will eat Fleſh and good victuals, to ſuſtain themſelves the better. Whatever prohibition you lay upon them, they will eat it privately, and by ſtealth. Wherefore be adviſed, and give them leave to eat it: give them a good

(9) Brantome, Cap. Etrangers, Tom. I, p. 132.

Diſpenſation

' Diſpenſation and Abſolution: for if they diſpenſe ' with it of themſelves, your Authority will be ' leſſened thereby; whereas, on the contrary, it will ' be encreaſed if you give them a Permiſſion, and ' all will ſay, the Legate, honeſt Man, gives us a ' Diſpenſation; which will ſound better every ' where (10).' The Legate reliſhed this wholeſome Advice, and granted what *Cipierre* deſired (11). What *Brantome* had reported a little before, is ſo proper to confirm the Opinion of all good, pious, and wiſe Men, as to War, that I cannot forbear copying it. ' *Charles* the fifth, to excuſe ' brave and gallant Men, ſuch as himſelf, ſaid, that ' being courageous, ambitious, and war-like, he ' could not be religious and conſcientious. ' And ' this is what the Illuſtrious Marquis *de Peſcayre* ' ſaid once, in the Wars of *Lombardy*, to the Le' gate, who was afterwards Pope *Clement*, concern' ing reforming the Diſorders and Debaucheries of ' the Soldiery. *Mon Seanor Legado, no ay coſa mas ' difficultoſa à los que exercen la guerra, que con ' igual diſciplina ſervir en un miſmo tiempo à Mars y ' à Chriſto, porque el uſo de la guerra en eſta corrup' tion de militia parece ſer todo contrario à la Juſti' tia y Religion.* That is to ſay; Sir, there is no' thing more difficult than for thoſe, who are em' ployed in War, to ſerve, at the ſame time, and ' with equal Diſcipline, Mars and CHRIST, be' cauſe the practice of War, in this corruption of ' the Soldiery, is quite contrary to Juſtice and Re' ligion (12).' This is the Judgment thoſe make of War, who are beſt acquainted with it, and ſince *unicuique in ſua arte credendum eſt.* —— *Every one is to be believed in his own Profeſſion,*' we muſt conclude, that, to conduct an Army according to the Laws of the Chriſtian Religion, is a *Platonic* Idea, an *Utopia* of Sir *Thomas More*, a Philoſopher's Stone, which will never be found.

(10) Id. pag. 133.

(11) Ib. pag. 134.

(12) Id. ibid. p. 131.

CIPIERRE (RENATUS *de* SAVOIE *Lord of*), Son of *Claudius de Savoie*, Count *de Tende*, Governor and Great Seneſchal of *Provence*, had by *Frances de Foix*, his ſecond Wife, a Son and a Daughter, whom their Mother brought up in the Reformed Religion. He was alſo himſelf very much ſuſpected of inclining to the ſame; either becauſe his Lady openly profeſſed that Religion, or becauſe he would not ſuffer any violence to be committed, in his Government, againſt thoſe called Heretics. This Moderation ſtirred up againſt him the Count *de Sommerive*, his own Son by a former Marriage, and obliged him to take Arms, in his own defence, againſt one he had given Life to. He was defeated, and forced to abandon his Government to this unnatural Son. *Cipierre*, who had ſupported his Father's Cauſe with the utmoſt Vigour, being made by him a Colonel of Horſe (*a*), whilſt *Cardel* his Brother-in-Law (*b*) ſerved as Colonel of Foot, was unhappily aſſaſſinated by a Party of the Rebels at *Frejus* [*A*], Anno 1568. Returning from *Nice*, where he had been to compliment the Duke of *Savoy*, they laid an Ambuſh for him in a Wood; but, not being able to prevent his eſcape to *Frejus* with all his Followers, they purſued him thither, and, ringing the Alarm Bell, ſurrounded his Lodgings. The Conſuls did their utmoſt to ſave him; they prevailed upon the Marquis of *Arci*, who was chief of that mutinous Troop, to retire, upon Condition, that *Cipierre* and his Domeſtics ſhould lay down their Arms. But the Mutineers preſently returned, and put thoſe poor People to the Sword, unable to defend themſelves. The Marquis, not ſeeing the Body of *Cipierre* among the Dead, for the Conſuls had ſecured him, pretended great concern for him, and proteſted that the only way to ſave his Life was to put him into his Hands. The Conſuls, believing his promiſes, delivered him up, and immediately they ſtabbed him in a thouſand Places [*B*]. Tantum Relligio potuit ſuadere malorum! *Such deviliſh Acts Religion could perſwade* *. It was not doubted but the Court, and the Count *de Sommerive*, had a hand in that exploit, and that *Ciſierre* was thus ſeverely treated out of hatred to the Reformed Religion; the Prince of *Condé*, the Admiral, and all their Friends, were exceedingly concerned for this Action (*c*).

(*a*) Beza, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 12, pag. 319.

(*b*) He was of the Houſe of *Saluces*, and had married the Daughter of the Count *de Tende*, and *Frances de Foix*. Beza, ib. pag. 328.

* Lucret. lib. 1.

(*c*) Ex Thuano, lib. 44, ad Ann. 1568.

[*A*] *He was aſſaſſinated —— at* Frejus.] Thus I tranſlate the *Forum Julii* of *Thuanus*. *D'Aubigné* (1) calls this Place *Fourques* (2), and pretends, that *Arci*, who was Governor of it, when he cauſed Count *de Tende* to be killed, and Twenty nine others, ſaid aloud, *He had poſitive Orders for what he did.* It is not eaſy to reconcile this Hiſtorian with *Thuanus*; for if *Gaſpar de Villeneuve*, Lord of *Arci*, or *Arci, Arcii Regulus*, had been Governor of the Town where this Maſſacre was committed, as *D'Aubigné* pretends, he would have been under a Neceſſity of uſing a Stratagem to get the Count delivered up by the Conſuls, eſpecially when he had entered the Town, at the Head of the Mutineers, according to *Thuanus*.

(1) Tom. I, lib. 5, cap. 2, p. 370.

(2) He ought to call it *Frejus*, as *Moreri* does, *Abregé Chronol. Tom. V*, p. 210.

[*B*] *They ſtabbed him in a thouſand Places.*] *Thuanus* attributes this baſe Execution to an Inſurrection of the Mobb. ' Ab irruente multitudine innume' ris pugionum ictibus confoditur, deboneſtato eti' am poſt mortem repetitis vulneribus cadavere (3).

(3) Thuan. lib. 44, pag. 895, col. 1.

' —— *He was ſtabbed in a Multitude of Places by an ' enraged Mob, who even after he was dead re' peated their barbarous Strokes on his Body.*' *Brantome*, who had a confuſed Idea of this infamous Murder, charges it only upon one Perſon. ' He ' was killed, ſays he (4), in time of Peace, entring ' in a quiet Manner into a City of *Provence*. I ' have ſeen, a hundred times, the Villain, who ' murdered him, carrying Lemons to the Queen-' Mother; but I have forgot his Name, and the ' City where it happened. The Huguenots, *he adds*, of *Provence*, had a great Confidence in him, ' for he was a brave and gallant Lord, and if he had not ' been taken off would have been very active.' *He had ſaid before*, ' he was a brave and valiant Gentle' man, who was a Huguenot, and had ſometimes ' Quarrels with his half Brother the Count *de Som' merive*, but at other times they were mutually ' kind and friendly.'

(4) Brantome, Diſcours du Connetable de Montmorenci.

CYRIL, Deacon of the Church of *Heliopolis*, near *Mount Libanus*, was a great Iconoclaſt, under the Empire of *Conſtantine*. Inflamed by the Love of God (*a*), he broke to Pieces ſeveral Images, which the *Pagans* worſhipped. The latter did not fail to remember this, when their Religion prevailed under the Reign of *Julian*, but revenged themſelves with great fury. They killed *Cyril*, and, ripping open his Body, eat his Liver. But all, who were engaged in this Fact, were puniſhed in an aſtoniſhing Manner. Firſt, their Teeth rotted away, then their Tongues, and at length their Eyes (*b*); *Alcyonius* aſſures us, that *Cyril*, before this Exploit againſt

(*a*) Ζήλῳ τινὶ θεολήπτου ἔρωτος Divini amoris æſtu inflammatus *Theodoretus, Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib. 3, cap. 7.*

(*b*) Taken out of *Theodoret. ibid.*

againſt the Idols, was baniſhed to the Iſle of *Naxos*, and that he was ſlain by the order of *Julian* himſelf [*A*], his Courtiers feeding upon the Entrails of this Holy Man. I do not find this in *Theodoret*.

[*A*] Alcyonius *aſſures us, that* Cyril —— *was baniſhed* —— *and ſlain by order of* Julian *himſelf.*] His Words are: 'Cyrillus quoque ſempiterna laude videtur decorandus, qui leviſſime ſuum in Naxo inſula exſilium toleravit, idque principatu Magni Conſtantini, apud quem poſtea tanta gratia & auctoritate valuit, ut cum bona ejus venia complura veterum Deorum ſimulacra ſubverterit; quo defuncto, cum poteſtas rerum omnium penes Julianum eſſet, illius juſſu diſſectus eſt, mandavitque inſuper crudeliſſimus tyrannus, ut Purpurati ſui viſcera ſanctiſſimi & innocentiſſimi hominis epulentur (1). —— Cyril *ſeems no leſs worthy of immortal Honour, who, with uncommon Æquanimity, bore his Exile in the Iſland of* Naxos, *and that under* Conſtantine the Great, *in whoſe Favour he afterwards had ſo great a ſhare, that, by his Permiſſion, he deſtroyed many Statues of the antient Gods. After whoſe Death, the ſole Authority being lodged in* Julian, *he was by his Command cut to pieces; and the inhuman Tyrant, moreover, ordered his Grandees to feed on the Entrails of this moſt innocent and holy Man.*' Perhaps the Matter is a little amplified; but if his Deſign was particularly to blacken the apoſtate Prince, by ſome probable Additions, why did he not alſo ſuppreſs ſome things? his Rhetorical way of writing permitted it. Why ſhould he mention the Idols which *Cyril* broke to pieces? This Circumſtance extremely abates the Gentile Cruelty. The Catholics may judge of it by their own Practice. When the Duke of *Alva* put ſo many Proteſtants to death in the *Low Countries*, his Scruples, upon that Account, were eaſily removed, by remembering, that they were Enemies to Images. It muſt be granted, that Martyrs obtain a pure Crown, when they can not be reproached to have made uſe of Hatchets againſt conſecrated Statues, &c.

(1) Petrus Alcyonius, in Medico Legato priora, fol. 104.

CYRUS, Son of *Darius Nothus*, King of *Perſia*, became famous for his Noble Qualities, but much more ſo by the War he undertook againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes*. *Darius*, their Father, perceiving his Death approaching, re-called him from the Government of a Province he had committed to him. *Cyrus* brought with him *Triſſaphernes*, in whom he entirely confided; but That Man deceived him; for he perſwaded *Artaxerxes*, who ſucceeded *Darius*, that *Cyrus* was contriving ſomething againſt him. This ſo provoked the King, that he would have deſtroyed *Cyrus*, if *Pariſatis* their Mother had not warded off the blow; not content with ſaving his Life, ſhe alſo procured for him the Government of the Province he had before obtained of King *Darius*. *Cyrus* was no ſooner returned, than he began to form deſigns of Ambition and Revenge, making all neceſſary Preparations, both to revenge his Brother's ill Treatment, and ſeize his Crown. He took care to engage in his Service ſome good *Greek* Captains, who had fled from their own Country, to whom he gave Orders to raiſe Troops, and thus began his March, concealing his real Intention under divers Pretences. His Money ſoon failed him; but, without being diſcouraged at it, he had the happineſs to meet a Queen, who did not ſatisfy herſelf with bringing him Money [*A*]. Although his mercenary Troops created him much uneaſineſs, yet he paſſed the *Euphrates*, and promiſed himſelf a deciſive Victory. In the mean time *Artaxerxes*, who had been well informed, by *Triſſaphernes*, of *Cyrus*'s Preparations, had neglected nothing to be in a good Condition to receive him. He marched to meet him with a fine Army; the Battle was fought near *Babylon*, and it is believed, *Cyrus* would have been Conqueror, if he had not periſhed in it, by fighting with too much Courage, and too little Caution (*a*) [*B*]. *Aſpaſia*, his Concubine, fell into the Hands of *Artaxerxes*, and was conſidered as one of the chief parts of the Body. We ſhall give you an Abridgment of her Hiſtory, in the Remark [*C*]. She did not abuſe the

(*a*) Taken from the firſt Book of *Xenophon*'s Hiſtory of the Expedition of *Cyrus the younger*. The Battle between the two Brothers, in which *Cyrus* was killed, was fought the 3d Year of the 95th Olympiad, which anſwers to the 14ſd Year of *Rome*, according to *Calviſius*.

[*A*] *He met with a Queen, who was not contented to bring him Money.*] Her Name was *Epyaxa*; ſhe was Wife of *Syennefis*, King of *Cilicia*. She came very ſeaſonably to *Cyrus*; for he owed almoſt four Months Pay to his Troops, and found himſelf every Day teized before his Door by Crouds of Soldiers, demanding their Arrears. As it was not his Cuſtom to feed them away without Money when he had it, he was much embarraſſed, fearing they would conclude, that, ſince he uſed to pay well when he could, his Treaſures were entirely exhauſted. Such an Opinion might cauſe his whole Enterprize to miſcarry. *Epyaxa* put him out of his Pain; for, upon her Arrival, he gave the Army four Months Pay; and, either out of Gratitude to her, or becauſe the Queen would not confer her Favours by halves, he freely cohabited with her. At leaſt this was the common Opinion. Ἐλέγετο δὲ Κῦρος καὶ συγγενέσθαι τῇ Κιλίσσῃ (1). *It is commonly reported that he lay with* Cyrus. To oblige her, he reviewed all his Troops before her, and made them perform their Exerciſe; and the *Greeks*, making a ſhew of charging the *Barbarians*, and routing them, the Queen was ſeized with fear, and fled alſo. She returned to *Cilicia*, with a good Guard, which *Cyrus* gave her, and arrived, five Days before him, at *Tarſis*, the capital City of the Kingdom of *Syennefis*. But, notwithſtanding all the Favour and Service ſhe had done him, the City was pillaged by the Soldiers, and, which is ſtrange, *Syennefis* would not truſt himſelf with *Cyrus*, though he had truſted his Wife with him. At length, by his Wife's Perſuaſion, he paid *Cyrus* a Viſit, and received ſome Preſents from him, which coſt him dear; being obliged to furniſh a good Sum of Money to ſubſiſt his Troops, and preſerve his Country from plunder (2).

(1) Xenophon de Cyri Expedit. lib. 1, pag. m. 146.

[*B*] *He was killed in fighting with too much Courage, and too little Caution.*] The *Greeks* that were in his Pay had ſo routed the *Perſians*, who oppoſed them, that *Cyrus*, overjoyed, was ſaluted King by all about him. He had with him a Body of Six hundred Men to obſerve the main body of *Artaxerxes*, Army; as ſoon as he perceived them in Motion, he immediately charged them with this Troop; and, breaking through the firſt Ranks, routed Six thouſand Men of the Regiment of Guards, and killed their Leader; after which, ſeeing the King, his Brother, he ſpurred his Horſe towards him, and wounded him with his Lance (3). The Fight was ſharp, and *Cyrus*, attended by a very few, was overpowered and ſlain (4).

(2) Taken from *Xenophon*'s firſt Book of the Expedition of *Cyrus the younger*, p. m. 145, 147.

(3) *Cteſias*, who was in *Artaxerxes*'s Army, ſays in his Hiſtory, that he dreſſed the Wound. *Xenoph. de Cyri Expeditione, lib.* 1, pag. 157.

(4) *Taken from* Xenoph. ibid. *See alſo* Plutarch's Life of *Artaxerxes*.

[*C*] *We ſhall give you an Abridgment of her Hiſtory in the Remarks.*] *Aſpaſia*, who the Daughter of *Hermotimus*, and born at *Phocæa* (5). According to *Ælian*'s Deſcription of her, ſhe muſt have been a moſt accompliſhed Woman, in Body and Mind. Her Name was *Milto*, before ſhe came to *Cyrus*; but

(5) *Suidas*. Plut. in Pericle, pag. 165. Amiot *has ill tranſlated* native de la Phocide.

the Complaisance of *Cyrus*, and behaved with so much Art, that she obtained the Love

but that Prince made her change it, giving her the Name of *Pericles*'s celebrated Mistress (6). *Hermotimus*, whose Wife died in Child-bed of our *Aspasia*, gave her an Education agreeable to the Meanness of his Estate. During her Infancy she underwent a great uneasiness: she was the finest Child in the World; but a Tumour happened to break out on her Chin, which terribly disfigured her. And a Physician, her Father brought her, too cruelly refused his Assistance, upon his not being able to pay him his Price. She returned home disconsolate, her Glass helping to encourage her Grief, Ἀπελθοῦσα ἔξω ἔκλαεν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς γόνασι κάτοπτρον καὶ δρῶσα ἑαυτὴν ἐν αὐτῷ σφόδρα ἤλγει. *A medico digressa in acerbissimo latitu versata est, & speculum in genibus tenens, sequ in ipso contemplata vehementer doluit* (7). At length, by a Dream, she learned a Remedy which cured her; and afterwards became the finest Woman of her Age. Her Hair was light and curled, she had large Eyes, a hawked Nose, small Ears, a delicate Skin, a lovely Complexion of white and red, her Lips were of an admirable red, her Teeth whiter than snow, her Feet and Legs perfectly well shaped, and her Voice so sweet, that, when she spoke, one would have thought he had heard the Sirens sing. Her extraordinary Beauty was purely owing to Nature; for neither her own Humour, nor her Father's Fortune, would allow her to encrease it by borrowed Charms. The Governour of those Parts under *Cyrus*, the King of *Persia*'s Son, took her against her own, and her Father's, Will, and brought her to *Cyrus*, together with other beautiful young Women. She was presented to that Prince, just as he rose from Table, and was sitting down to drinking, according to the Custom of the Country. There were three other *Greek* Girls with her, who were not at all of her Temper; they suffered themselves readily to be painted, and dressed up, having admirably well retained the Lessons their Nurses had taught them, in what manner to behave when *Cyrus* should come to them, to play with, caress, and kiss them. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν τοιχῶν διδιδαγμέναι, ὅπως τυπτόμεναι χρὴ τὸν Κῦρον, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ὀφθεῖσαι, καὶ περιβάλλειν μὲ ἀποσχεσθῆναι, καὶ ἀπέρχεσθαι μὴ δυσχεράναι, καὶ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπομεῖναι, ἐπειτα δὲ μᾶλλον μαθήματα, καὶ διδάγματα γυναικῶν καπηλικῶν τῷ κάλλει χρωμένων ἔργα. Et à nutricibus acceperant documenta, quemadmodum erga Cyrum se gerere deberent: quomodo insinuare se illi & adblandiri, & non refugere, si accederet, neque si tangeret, ægre ferre, & osculum admittere eas oporteret, omnibus denique præceptis & institutis amatoriis, quibus uti mulieres, quibus sua venalis est forma, solent, instructæ (8).—— *They had learnt from their Governesses how to receive* Cyrus, *in what manner to make their Court to him; not to turn aside at his Approaches, or seem affected at a Touch, but to allow his Kisses, with all the wanton Lessures, and Instructions, in which Women, who set their Charms to sale, are usually instructed.*' They strove who should please him most; but *Milto* expressed so much Aversion to the State she was designed for, that they were under a Necessity to force her, by blows, to put on the Habits that were given upon such Occasions; and whilst her Companions, by ogling and smiles, did all they could to charm the Prince, she only wept, not daring to lift up her Eyes: such Shame did her native Modesty cause in her to see herself in that Condition. When *Cyrus* bid them sit down by him, the other did at the first word; but our *Aspasia* not without Force: The rest permitted *Cyrus* to touch them, as much as he pleased; *Aspasia* alone would not allow the least Freedom, and even threatned *Cyrus*, as soon he but touched her with his Finger, and, upon his laying his Hand on her Breast, she rose up, and endeavoured to fly from him. *Cyrus*, in Justice to her, declared, that of all who had been brought him she was the only one that was truely a Novice in those Affairs; and he entertained a stronger Passion for her than for all the Women he had ever enjoyed. Ἅπαξ γὰρ τῇ χειρὶ μόνον τῶ Κύρου περιαλαμένου, ἐξεζέσασά τε καὶ ἔφαλο αὐτὸν οἰμώξεσθαι τοιαῦτα δρῶσα, ὑπερήσθη τότε ὁ Κῦρος. ὑπερεμάνη τε αὐτῆς καὶ περιμένης φεύγειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν μαζῶν ἥψατο, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μὲν ὑπερηγάσθη τὴν ἐυγένειαν ὁ Περσικῶς ὁ τῶ Δωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποβλέψας πρὸς τὴν ἀγορεύσαν, ταύτην μόνην, ἔφη, ἀληθῶς καὶ ἀδίδαθρον ἤγαγες. αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ καπηλικὸς ἔχουσι καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἔτι, καὶ τῇ τρυφῇ μᾶλλον, ἢ δὲ τούτων ὁ Κῦρος πλέον ταύτην ἠγάπησεν, ἢ ὅσας ὡμίλησε πώποτε ἀνθρώπους. Si enim extrema manu saltem Cyrus attingeret, exclamabat, dicebatque eum non impune laturum, quod talia fecisset. Ea re supra modum delectatus est Cyrus, & quum attrectante mamillas, illa surgeret, & se in pedes conjiceret, contra Persarum consuetudinem ardente amore Cyrus erga ingenuitatem ejus flagare cœpit, respicienisque ad emptorem: hanc, inquit, solam ingenuam & incorruptam adduxisti: reliquæ verò tum facie tum magis etiam moribus fucatæ sunt. Quamobrem Cyrus eam plus amavit omnibus cum quibus unquam consuetudinem habuisset (9).—— *If* Cyrus *touched her with a single Finger, she cried out, and threatened Revenge, at which he was extreamly pleased; but if he offered to stroke her Breast, she arose and endeavoured to quit the Room; here* Cyrus *was transported in a manner unusual to the* Persians, *and, turning to the Merchant, said, This is the only accomplished, and unstained, Beauty you have brought, but the Charms of the rest are artificial, and their Minds are still more evidently debauched. Wherefore* Cyrus *had a greater Affection for her, than for any Woman with whom he had ever conversed.* Plutarch says almost the same thing. It is true, he says not, that *Aspasia* threatened *Cyrus*, but those that would bring her to him. Βυλομένων δὲ περάγειν τῶν καλουμένων, διμωξεῖσθαι μέντοι τοῦτων ἔφη ὃς ἂν ἐμοὶ περαγάγῃ τὰς χεῖρας. *Paratibus adducere ipsam cubicularibus, se si, inquit, mihi qui admoverit manus* (10).

(6) Plut. ibid. Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12, cap. 1.

(7) Ælian. ibid.

(8) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 12, cap. 1, pag. m. 543, 544.

(9) Ælian. ibid. pag. 545.

(10) Plut. in Artaxerxes pag. 1024, 1025.

She was useful to *Cyrus*, not only in the Pleasures of Love, but also by her Counsels. He consulted her in the most difficult matters, and never repented, that he followed her Advice: her Capacity was therefore as great as her Beauty. Thus qualified, a Prince's Mistress commonly goes very far; and if she has not the substantial Part of Government and Sovereignty, she wants but a little of it. As to Rank and Dignity, *Cyrus* lived with *Aspasia*, almost as with a lawful Wife; and it is believed, after he once knew her, he had nothing more to do with other Women. It cannot therefore be thought strange, that the Rise of a *Greek* Maid to such a Degree, should make so much noise at the Court of the great King (11). This Reputation was of great Service to *Aspasia*; for, after *Cyrus* was killed, they diligently sought for her, by *Artaxerxes*'s Order. They found her disconsolate, and, in spight of her Opposition, they put on her the Robes the King sent her: she appeared so charming in this Dress, that he fell desperately in Love with her, and, though he thought it a Point of Honour to make her forget his Brother, it was long before he could succeed. *Aspasia* alone was able to comfort him for the Loss of *Teridates*, the most beautiful of his Eunuchs (12).

(11) So they stiled the *Persian* King. See Remark [A], of the Article ARTABANE IV.

(12) Taken from Ælian. lib. 12, cap. 1.

Xenophon relates one thing, which is not very consistent with what we have said, that *Cyrus* was content with *Aspasia* alone. He mentions two Concubines of that Prince, one of *Phocæa*, the other of *Milatus*. This was younger than the other, and made her escape from the *Persians*, the Day that *Cyrus* was killed. She of *Phocæa* remained in the Enemy's Hands. The Historian says, she had Wit and Beauty. Βασιλεὺς δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ διαπράζεως καὶ τὴν Φοκαΐδα τὴν Κύρῳ παλλακίδα τὴν σοφὴν καὶ καλὴν λεγομένην εἶναι, λαμβάνει. ἡ δὲ Μιλησία ἡ νεωτέρα ληφθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφὶ Βασιλέα ἐκφεύγει γυμνὴ πρὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων. *Rex interim cum suis castra diripit, ac Cyri ipsius pallacam Phocaicam eximia specie ac prudentia etiam (uti fama ferebatur) mulierem abducit. Namque altera natu minor Milesia à regia cohorte capta nuda effugit* (13).—— *The King and his Party ransacked the Tents, and carried off one of the Concubines*

(13) Xenophon. lib. 2, Expedit. Cyri, sub. fin.

Love of *Paryſatis* [D]. As ſhe looked upon this Favour, as a Bleſſing from Heaven upon her, ſhe did not fail to return public Tokens of her Gratitude to the Goddeſs *Venus* [E]. If all be true that is reported of her, her Beauty muſt have continued with her a prodigious while [F]. For the reſt, it appears by *Cyrus*'s Letter to

of Cyrus, a Phocean, *and (according to Report) of extraordinary Beauty and Diſcretion. But the other, a* Mileſian, *and younger, made her eſcape naked from the Guards, after ſhe had been taken.* This was our *Aſpaſia*. It is not likely, that *Cyrus* ſhould bring with him two Concubines, and leave the youngeſt neglected. If he had brought a Regiment of them, it might be ſaid, the greateſt part were only for ſhow: but it cannot be ſuppoſed this was the Caſe, when they were only two. Beſides, does not *Xenophon* ſay, it was thought that *Cyrus* lay with the Queen of *Cilicia*. This refutes *Ælian*'s Tradition; for *Aſpaſia* had been with *Cyrus* long before that. Obſerve, that *Xenophon* uſed the word σοφὴν differently from *Plutarch*: the latter uſes it in a manner, that is more honourable for *Aſpaſia*: he does not ſay, as *Xenophon*, that *Aſpaſia* was reported to be wiſe; but he ſays, that *Cyrus* called her *the Wiſe* (14).

(14) Plut. in Artaxerxe, p. 1025.

[D] *She obtained the Love of* Paryſatis.] One Day *Cyrus* had a Preſent made him of a very fine Necklace; he ſhewed it to *Aſpaſia*, and told her it was worthy of the Daughter, or Mother, of a King. She confeſſed it was; upon which, he commanded her to take it, and wear it; but ſhe artfully refuſed, telling him it was fitter for the Queen-Mother, and adviſing him to ſend it her: *for, continues ſhe,* you will find my Neck fine enough without this Ornament. *Cyrus* ſent the Necklace to his Mother, and writ her the whole Converſation. *Paryſatis* received the Letter with as much Joy as the Preſent; being extreamly pleaſed to ſee that *Aſpaſia* did not deſire a greater ſhare of *Cyrus*'s Affection than ſhe herſelf had. She ſent her magnificent Preſents: all which *Aſpaſia* gave to *Cyrus*, telling him he wanted them more than ſhe. Such a Conduct is very praiſe-worthy, few Women uſing their good Fortune with ſo much Moderation. Ἀσπασία μὲν ἡ μεγάλως λεγομένη, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν γυναῖκας φρονήσασα τὰ ἐπαρθῆναι ἔδεσαν ἡτὴν παῤ ἀνδράσι γυναῖκα ἀρετήν. φιλόκοσμοι γὰρ αἱ πολλαὶ γυναῖκες. Aſpaſia itaque animi magnitudine præſtans, contrarium reliquis regum uxoribus faciens, eas longe ſuperavit. Sunt enim illæ rerum ad ornatum mundumque pertinentium plus æquo ſtudioſæ (15). —— Aſpaſia *acted with a greatneſs of Soul, ſuperior to what we find uſually in Women; who are too fond of adorning themſelves. Aſpaſia* was contented with the Heart of *Cyrus*, and made this only uſe of his Favour, to enrich her Father *Hermotimus* (16), (which did not require any great Sum of Money) and to teſtify her Gratitude to *Venus*, as we are going to ſee.

(15) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 12, cap. 1, pag. 548.

(16) Id. p. 547.

[E] *She did not fail to return public Tokens of her Gratitude to the Goddeſs* Venus.] In her Infancy ſhe often dreamed, that ſhe ſhould be exalted to a high Fortune (17). After the Phyſician had refuſed to cure her, ſhe dreamt ſhe ſaw a Pigeon, which, being changed into a Woman, told her the true Remedy for her Illneſs was to take Noſegays of Roſes, conſecrated to *Venus*, and apply them to the Tumour, when they were dried. She did it, and they diſſipated the Tumour (18). Seeing herſelf ſo powerful with *Cyrus*, ſhe concluded, that *Venus* had long ago honoured her with her Protection. Therefore ſhe offered Sacrifices to that Goddeſs; ſhe conſecrated to her a Statue of fine Gold, placing before it a Pigeon, glittering with Jewels, and every Day recommended herſelf to this Idol, by Prayers and Oblations (19).

(17) Id. p. 546.

(18) Id. p. 547.

(19) Id. p. 547.

[F] *If all be true that is reported of her, her Beauty muſt have continued a prodigious while with her.*] *Artaxerxes* lived Ninety four Years, and reigned Sixty two (20). Some Years before his Death, he declared his Son *Darius* his Succeſſor (21). *Darius* was then fifty Years old. There was a *Perſian* Law, that whoever was nominated King, ſhould ask a Preſent, and he that nominated him King ſhould give it him, if poſſible. *Darius* asked *Aſpaſia*. The King, his Father, was vexed at his Demand, though, beſides his Wife, he had, at that Time, Three hundred and ſixty very beautiful Concubines. He anſwered, that *Aſpaſia* was at Liberty; if ſhe pleaſed, ſhe might give herſelf to *Darius*, but no Violence ſhould be uſed. *Aſpaſia*, being called, declared her Intention of going with *Darius*, and, accordingly, ſhe was delivered to him; but after *Artaxerxes* had made this Preſent to his Son, he found out this Stratagem to reſume it. He made her Prieteſs of *Diana*, by which Office ſhe was bound to Continency, and a ſingle Life. *Darius* was ſo enraged at this, that he conſpired againſt his Father, and thereby abſolutely ruined himſelf. Thus *Plutarch* informs us (22). *Juſtin* relates the ſame in Subſtance; only he does not ſay, as *Plutarch* does, that *Aſpaſia* was made Prieteſs of *Diana Anitis*, who was worſhipped at *Ecbatane*, but Prieteſs of the Sun, and thereby Continency was enjoined her. ' Hanc patrem cedere ſibi ſenti ' regnum Darius poſtulaverat: quæ pro indulgentia ' ſua in liberos primo facturum ſe dixerat; mox ' pœnitentia dictus, ut honeſte negaret quod temere promiſerat, ſolis eam ſacerdotio præfecit, ' quo perpetua illi ab omnibus viris pudicitia imperabatur (23). —— Darius *had requeſted her of his Father with the Kingdom, who, out of an uncommon Indulgence to his Children, readily conſented; but afterwards, repenting his too haſty Compliance, made her Prieteſs of the Sun (wherebye ſhe was enjoined a perpetual Chaſtity), that he might, with Honour, retract his Promiſe.*' This is very ſurprizing; for *Aſpaſia*, as *Plutarch* obſerves, was *Cyrus*'s favourite Miſtreſs, before ſhe had the ſame Place with *Artaxerxes*. All Hiſtorians agree, that *Cyrus*'s Expedition was in the firſt Years of *Artaxerxes*'s Reign. We will ſuppoſe, with *Caloviſius*, that the Battle, in which *Cyrus* loſt his Life, was fought the third Year of this Reign. We will ſuppoſe, that *Artaxerxes* choſe *Darius* for his Succeſſor in the Fifty eighth Year of his Reign; it does not appear, by *Plutarch*'s Account, that That Prince lived above two or three Years after *Darius* was crowned King. Then *Aſpaſia* muſt have been *Artaxerxes*'s Concubine Fifty five Years. She could not be leſs than twenty Years old at *Cyrus*'s Death. She muſt be Seventy five Years old, when the new King requeſted her as a particular Favour, and when the King, with whom ſhe had lived Fifty five Years, could not part with her. So that, at ſuch an Age, ſhe muſt have had ſtill extraordinary Charms. Is not this ſtrange? can one imagine, without laughing, that a Woman of almoſt eighty Years muſt be made a Prieteſs, that no Man might enjoy her? at ſuch an Age muſt one be bound to Continency by a religious Vow? is not ſuch an Age a much ſurer Rampart againſt the Deſires and amorous Addreſſes of Men, than the venerable Office of Prieteſs? I do not remember, that any Critic urges theſe Difficulties againſt *Plutarch*, or obſerves that this Lady muſt have preſerved her Beauty a long time, but I find this Remark in a Book written by a Courtier. ' We read, *ſays he* (24), that *Artaxerxes*, of all his Women, loved *Aſpaſia* the beſt, ' who was very old, and yet very fair, and who had ' been his late Brother's Miſtreſs. *Darius*, his Son, ' fell in love with her: ſo beautiful ſhe was, notwithſtanding her Age, that he demanded her of ' his Father, at the ſame time that he divided the ' Kingdom with him: the Father, out of Jealouſy, ' that he might not partake of this Dainty, made her ' Prieteſs of the Sun, becauſe, in *Perſia*, thoſe, who ' are in that Office, are entirely devoted to Chaſtity.' It was not *Brantome*'s Intereſt to criticize upon *Plutarch*; on the contrary, it was his Buſineſs to find, in this Author, the foregoing Chronology. You muſt know *Brantome* mentions ſeveral Ladies, who had been very charming in the latter Seaſon of their Lives, even to the Winter of their Age, to their ſeventieth Year. This he affirms of the Ducheſs of *Valentinois*, and of another, mentioned before (25). For the reſt, the great Wiſdom, for which *Aſpaſia* has been commended, does not appear in her Choice of *Darius*. She prefers the Son to

(20) Plut. in Artaxerxe, ſub fin.

(21) Id. p. 1024.

(22) Id. p. 1024, & ſeq.

(23) Juſt. lib. 10, cap. 2.

(24) Brantome, Dames Galantes, Tom. II, p. 227.

(25) In Remark [G], of the Article ARTAGON (JOAN of).

to the *Lacedemonians*, that he did not ſtick, when it was neceſſary, to make the uſual Promiſes of Princes in ſuch Caſes [*G*].

to the Father, the riſing Sun to the ſetting Sun, forgetting the conſtant Friendſhip *Artaxerxes* had had for her ſo many Years. This verifies in her the *Spaniſh* Proverb, *Que ninguna damas lindas, o a lo menos pocas, ſe hajan viciadas de la cinta hoſta à hacce*; that is, *That none, or at leaſt very few, Ladies, grow old below the Girdle*. *Brantome* ſays, (26), that hearing this Proverb mentioned to a certain Lady, he asked her how ſhe underſtood it, 'Whether it meant, that old Age did not deſtroy 'the Beauty of the Body below the Girdle, or that 'the natural Appetite and Deſire did not decline 'at that time of Life? She replied, ſhe underſtood 'it of both, for, tho' Age weakens the Strength 'of Concupiſcence, it is not entirely deſtroyed till 'Death.'

(26) Dames Galantes, Tom. II, pag. 198, 199.

[*G*] *It appears, by* Cyrus's *Letter to the* Lacedemonians, *that he did not ſtick, when it was neceſſary, to make the uſual Promiſes of Princes in ſuch Caſes.*] He wrote to them for Troops, and, in his Letter, promiſes ſo many Advantages to all that would join him, that every Man had reaſon to conclude, that he ſhould make his Fortune by entering into his Service. They ſhall not receive their Pay, ſays *Cyrus*, by Tale, but by Meaſure (27). He made no Secret of his Deſign, boaſting he was more worthy of the Throne than his Brother. 'I have more Courage, ſays *he*, than He (28), I 'am a better Philoſopher, I underſtand Magic bet- 'ter, I can drink better, and bear more Wine than 'He can (29). He is an effeminate Coward, that 'durſt not even ride on Horſe-back when he hunts, 'nor dares He, in time of Danger, ſit on his Throne.' The Ingenuity of *Cyrus* is very extraordinary: he does not conceal, from the *Lacedemonians*, his Intentions of dethroning *Artaxerxes*; he did not tell them, as is the Practice in all Civil-Wars, that he had no deſign upon the Crown, but only to drive evil Counſellors from the King, who abuſe his Name to oppreſs the People, and overthrow the Laws. He knew the *Lacedemonians* would be glad that the Crown of *Perſia* ſhould be upon the Head of one, under great Obligations to them; for this reaſon he did not hide from them his true Deſign. No doubt, when his Intereſt required it, he made the accuſtomary Proteſtations; and I am perſuaded, at this Day, no Scruple would be made to communicate ſuch a Secret to any neighbouring Princes, who might hope to be Gainers by ſuch a Change.

(27) Μισθὸν τοῖς στρατευομένοις οὐ δρέμμα ἀλλὰ μέτρον ἐσεῖσθαι. Stipendium militibus non annumeratum ſed admenſurum. *Plutarch. in Artaxerxe, pag.* 1013, *F.*

(28) Id. ibid.

(29) Οἶνον δὲ πλείονα πίνειν καὶ φέρειν Vinum potare & ferre largius. *Id. p.* 1014, *A.*

CLARUS (JULIUS) one of the beſt Civilians of the XVIth Century, was born at *Alexandria*, in the *Milaneſe*, of a *Patrician* Family. He undertook a great Work, and what is called, by the Civilians, The received Opinions, *Receptæ Sententiæ*; that is, ſuch as moſt of the Doctors commonly follow. His public Employments not allowing him ſufficient time to finiſh ſuch a Work [*A*], he publiſhed part of it [*B*], and at length declared his Reſolution to give it over (*a*), ſince, being obliged to follow the King *Spain*, he had not leiſure to reviſe what he had wrote, which would alſo require a greater number of Books, than he could carry with him (*b*). He ſet out from *Madrid*, upon his Travels into *Italy*, and being arrived at *Carthagena*, he was ſeized with a Diſtemper, which carried him off the thirteenth of *April*, 1575: he was buried at *Milan*, in the Church of *Peace*, in a Tomb he had built for himſelf, Anno 1566 (*c*): he was born the ſixth of *January* 1525 (*d*).

(*a*) Julius Clarus, Præfat. lib. 5, Sentent. Recept

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Konig, *deceived by the date of* Julius Clarus's *Epitaph, falſely believed he died in* 1566; *but it is the Date of the ſetting up the Monument.*

(*d*) *Taken from* Ghilini, Parte I, pag. 131, 132.

[*A*] *He undertook a great Work - - - - - which his Employments did not allow him Time to finiſh.*] The War having forced him to retire to *Mantua*, he employed himſelf in reviſing his Work, in order to publiſh it; but, hearing the King of *Spain* had made him Counſellor of the Senate of *Milan*, he gave it over (1). Some Years after, he was made Preſident of the extraordinary Queſtors, and Prefect of the *Annona* (2), and Maſter of the Waters. While he diſcharged his Duty, with the utmoſt Diligence, in theſe Places, they ſent for him into *Spain*, where *Philip* II made him Counſellor in the ſupream Council of *Italy*. He therefore quitted his Country, his Wife and Children, and was obliged to travel thro' *France*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*, and leave the beſt part of his Writings unfiniſhed (3).

(1) Julius Clarus, Epiſtola dedicatoria Tractatus de Teſtamentis, &c.

(2) As much as to ſay Intendant of the Proviſions.

(3) Julius Clarus, in Præfat. lib. 5, Recept. Sentent.

[*B*] *He publiſhed part of it.*] His Deſign was to publiſh a Work *Receptarum Sententiarum*, in ſeven Books. In the firſt he treated *De Legibus & Conſtitutionibus*; in the ſecond, *De Jure Perſonarum*; in the third, *De Materia Succeſſionum & ultimarum voluntatum*; in the fourth, *De Contractibus*; in the fifth, *De Maleficiis*; in the ſixth *De Civilibus Judiciis*; the ſeventh was to contain good Indexes to the whole Work, together with ſome Tracts not directly relating to the ſix preceeding Books. But he only publiſhed, firſt, a Treatiſe *de Feudis*, three Years (4) after he was preferred to be Counſellor of *Milan*: it was a Fragment of the fourth Book. Some time after, he publiſhed a Tract *de Teſtamentis*, being part of the third Book, which he dedicated to *Antony Perrenot* Biſhop of *Arras*; the Dedication is dated from *Milan*, *May* 1, 1559: this was followed by a Treatiſe *de Donationibus & de Jure Emphyteutico*, Parts of the fourth Book. At laſt he publiſhed the fifth Book entire, concerning *Criminal Matters*. All theſe Tracts are collected together in the Edition of *Frankfort*, in Folio, in 1572, by the Care of *John Fichard*, a Civilian, and Syndic of that City. There have been ſeveral Editions (5) in different Places, and ſometimes with Additions borrowed from other Writers. Mr *Moreri*, copying *Ghilini*, without quoting him, gives the Titles of *Julius Clarus*'s Writings very wrong. His Words are: 'He compoſed ſeveral Tracts: *Opera Juridica*. '*Receptarum Sententiarum Opera omnia. Volumen in* '*quo omnium Criminum materia ſub acceptis ſententiis* '*copioſiſſime tractatur.*' This is ſaying nothing in particular, but repeating the ſame thing three or four times in different Terms. The worſt is, it is believed all the Works he mentions differed one from another, which is a great Miſtake. The Praiſes that *John Fichard* beſtowed on our *Julius Clarus* are juſt, and ought not to be ſuſpected of Flattery, on Pretence, that he adviſed his dear Companion, *Sigiſmund Feyrabend*, to reprint the Works of that Author. 'Inter illos jam recitatos (Juriſperitos) 'cum hic Julius Clarus vir multis certe nomi- 'nibus inſignis, ſive generoſos natales - - - - ſive 'eruditionem (in Jure potiſſimum civili) planè ra- 'ram, ſive dexteritatem denique in his quæ tractan- 'da ſibi ſumit feliciſſimam ſpectemus, facile princeps 'ſit, *&c* (6). —— *Far ſuperior to all theſe* (Lawyers) 'was Julius Clarus, *a Man eminent on many Ac-* 'counts, *for his Birth*, - - - - - *for his uncommon* 'Knowledge (*eſpecially in the Civil Law*), *and a* 'peculiar Happineſs *in handling his Subjects*.' This Pretence is ſometimes good; for when a Man is obliged to praiſe for the Honour of his own Judgment, and the Benefit of a Bookſeller he favours and directs, the Expreſſions of Approbation he beſtows on the Author, are not always in a juſt Proportion to his Merit.

(4) Id. ibid.

(5) Mine is the Edition of *Frankfort*, 1582, in Folio.

(6) Jo. Fichard. Epiſt. Dedicatoria Operum Julii Clari.

CLAUDIUS, in *Latin Tiberius Claudius Druſus*, the *Roman* Emperor, aſcended the Throne after the Death of *Caligula* his Nephew, in the Year of *Rome* 794 (a). Mr *Moreri* ſpeaks largely of him. I ſhall examine another time what he ſays, and what I could add to it. At preſent, I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that this Emperor would ſuffer none in public Employments, who did not underſtand the *Latin* Tongue. For this Reaſon he diſcharged a Magiſtrate deſcended from one of the moſt Illuſtrious *Greek* Families, and reduced him to the Condition of a Foreigner. *Rome* had long expreſſed this Jealouſy for the Majeſty of her own Language, and the ſame Paſſion hath paſſed into other Countries [*A*]. However

(a) That is, the 41ſt of the Chriſtian Æra.

[*A*] *He would not ſuffer any in public Employments, who did not underſtand the* Latin *Tongue.* ----- Rome *had long expreſſed this Jealouſy for the Majeſty of it's Language, and the ſame Paſſion hath paſſed into other Countries*] I have already prepared (1) my Readers for ſome Facts concerning the Zeal of People for their own Language. I will begin with proving what I have ſaid of the Emperor *Claudius*. 'Splendidum virum, Græcisque provinciis principem, verum Latini ſermonis ignarum, non modo albo judicum eraſit, ſed etiam in peregrinitatem redegit (2). —— *He not only ſtruck out of the Liſt of Judges, but likewiſe diſfranchiſed an eminent Man, and a Deputy of the Province of* Greece, *but ignorant of the* Latin *Tongue.*' Sitting upon an Affair of Conſequence, concerning the *Lycians*, he aſked ſomething of one of their Deputies, who was born in *Lycia*, but had obtained the Freedom of *Rome*: he aſked it in *Latin*, and finding the Deputy did not underſtand him, he deprived him of his Freedom, ſaying, *They ought not to be* Romans *who were ignorant of the* Roman *Language*. Εἶτα μὴ δεῖν Ῥωμαῖον εἶναι τὸν μὴ καὶ τὴν διάλεξιν σφῶν ἐπιστάμενον. *Dicendi Romanum eum eſſe non debere, qui ſermonem eum neſciret* (3). Obſerve here an Error of *Caſaubon*: he ſuppoſes that this Deputy was born at *Rome* (4), and perhaps conſulted the *Latin* Verſion with more Care than the *Greek* Text. For if he had examined well the Force of theſe Words: Λυκίᾳ μὲν τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντας, Ῥωμαίους δὲ γεγονότας. *A Lycian originally, but at that time a Citizen of* Rome; he would have known, that, conſidering the following Words, they were ill tranſlated *Lycium quidem originæ, Romanum tamen natum.* —— *Of a* Lycian *Family, but born at* Rome. *Xiphilin*'s Tranſlator has done better in giving them this turn: *Qui olim Lycius, tum Civis Romanus erat* (5).

(1) See Remark [*F*], of the Article ATTILA.

(2) Suet in Claudio, cap. 16.

(3) Dio, lib. 60, ad Ann. 796, pag. m. 777.

(4) De Legato Lyciorum quodam oriundo Quidam e Lycia fuit nato Romæ. *Casaub. in Sueton. Claud. cap.* 16.

(5) Xiphil. in Claudio, pag. m. 148.

Valerius Maximus obſerves, as a Proof of the ancient Gravity of the *Romans*, that the Magiſtrates always anſwered the *Greeks* in *Latin*, obliging them to make uſe of an Interpreter. They did this not only at *Rome*, but alſo in *Greece* and *Aſia*, and, that we may ſee the whole extent of their Politics, I will produce the Paſſage of That Author, in which the Ambition of the *Romans* is obſervable, with reſpect to the Propagation of their Language. 'Magiſtratus vero priſci quantopere ſuam populique Romani majeſtatem retinentes ſe geſſerint, hinc cognoſci poteſt, quod inter cetera obtinendæ gravitatis indicia, illud quoque magna cum perſeverantia cuſtodiebant, ne Græcis unquam, niſi Latine reſponſa darent. Quinetiam ipſa linguæ volubilitate, qua plurimum valent, excuſſa, per interpretem loqui cogebant; non in urbe tantum noſtra, ſed etiam in Græcia, & Aſia: quo ſcilicet Latinæ vocis honos per omnes gentes venerabilior diffunderetur. Nec illis deerant ſtudia doctrinæ, ſed nulla non in re pallium togæ ſubjici debere arbitrabantur: indignum eſſe exiſtimantes, illecebris, & ſuavitate literarum imperii pondus & auctoritatem domari (6). —— *How zealous the old Magiſtrates were of maintaining their own, and the Majeſty of the* Roman *People, may hence be learnt, that, amongſt other Inſtances of enforcing their Grandeur, they laid it down as an unalterable Maxim, never to treat with the* Greeks *but in* Latin; *and obliged them moreover to deliver, by an Interpreter, what had flowed from a Volubility of Tongue peculiar to that People; and that not only in* Italy, *but in* Greece *and* Aſia; *that the Honour of the* Roman *Language might be diffuſed with greater Majeſty through all Nations. Nor yet were they wanting in the Studies of Language, but thought, that* Greece *ought to ſubmit to* Rome *in every thing; and that the Force and Majeſty of Empire ought to have the Preference of Delicacy and Sweetneſs of Language.*' A little after he obſerves, that the Orator *Molo*, who taught *Cicero* Eloquence, was the firſt that was allowed to ſpeak *Greek* in the Senate, which afterwards became a Cuſtom. 'Quis ergo huic conſuetudini, qua nunc Græcis actionibus aures curiæ exſurdantur, januam patefecit? ut opinor, Molo rhetor, qui ſtudia M. Ciceronis acuit. Eum namque ante omnes exterarum gentium in ſenatu ſine interprete auditum conſtat. Quem honorem non immerito cepit, quoniam ſummam vim Romanæ eloquentiæ adjuverat (7): ----- *Who firſt introduced this Cuſtom, by which the Ears of the Court are ſtunned with Pleadings in* Greek? *I believe it to be* Molo, *the Rhetorician, who firſt improved* Cicero's *Studies. For it is certain he was the firſt Foreigner, who was heard in the Senate without an Interpreter. Of which Honour he was not unworthy, having improved the moſt Force of* Roman *Eloquence.*' *Dion* confirms what *Valerius Maximus* ſays, that they pleaded Cauſes, in *Rome*, in *Greek*, under the Empire of *Tiberius* (8). Nevertheleſs, the Emperor would not ſuffer, that a native *Greek* Soldier ſhould give his Evidence before the Judges in his own Tongue (9); according to *Dion*. *Suetonius* alſo ſpeaks of this; but it is not likely he ſhould ſay what is found in the Editions: 'Militem quoque Græce teſtimonium interrogatum niſi Latine reſpondere vetuit (10). —— *He ordered, that a Soldier, though interrogated in* Greek, *ſhould give his Evidence only in* Latin.' It ought rather to be read *Græcum* than *Græci*; for it was as much unworthy the Majeſty of *Rome* to interrogate the Witneſſes in *Greek*, as to ſuffer them to anſwer in *Greek*; wherefore we ought to conclude, that if *Tiberius* permitted the one, he would not forbid the other; and that ſince he hindered them from anſwering in *Greek*, he would not ſuffer them to be examined in the ſame Language. *Suetonius* relates how ſcrupulous he was when under a Neceſſity of uſing a *Greek* Word in the Senate (11); he rather choſe they ſhould be guilty of a Circumlocution in the Edicts than inſert a foreign Word (12). But we muſt not expect here a general Rule, without Exception; nor is an exact Uniformity of Conduct to be found in the beſt regulated States. Therefore we muſt not be ſurprized to hear the *Roman* Ambaſſador make his Speech, to the *Tarentines*, in *Greek*. He pronounced the Language ill; they laughed at him; and That was one of the Indignities that he ſuffered, and which the *Roman* Republic reſented very much to their own Prejudice (13). The *Romans* had not then the Aſcendant, as when they reproached *Cicero* as guilty of an unpardonable Fault, for ſpeaking *Greek* in a *Greek* Senate. 'Ille negat & ait indignum facinus eſſe quod ego in Senatu Græco verba feciſſem, quod quidem apud Græcos Græcè loquutus eſſem, id ferri nullo modo poſſe (14). —— *He maintains it to be an unpardonable Offence in me to ſpeak in an Aſſembly of* Greeks; *and that my uſing the* Greek *Language before the* Greeks *was not to be born.*' This was the Complaint againſt him, and not that he ſpoke *Greek*, in his Houſe, with *Carneades*, and the other Embaſſadors of *Greece*. He that repreſents this matter thus betrays the groſſeſt Ignorance: 'In Verrinis etiam invenimus Marco Tullio quaſi crimen objectum quod domi cum Carneade cæteriſque Græciæ legatis Græcè colloquutus fuiſſet (15). ----- *In the Orations againſt* Verres, *we find it objected to* Cicero, *as a Crime, to have ſpoken* Greek,

(6) Valerius Max. lib. 2, cap. 2, n. 2, pag. m. 140, 141.

(7) Id. ibid. n. 3, pag. 142.

(8) Dio, lib. 57, p. 702, ad Ann. 769.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Suet. in Tiberio, cap. 71.

(11) Id. ibid.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Dionyſius Halic. in Excerptis Legat.

(14) Cicero, Orat. 4, in Verrem. cap. 66.

(15) Bretus, in Ordine pertractandi Judiciorum Civilium, c. 63, fol. 85, verſo.

However this Emperor had a great value for the *Greek* Tongue (*b*), and even made uſe of it to give Anſwers to Embaſſadors in the Senate. (*b*) Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 42.

'Greek, *at his own Houſe with* Carneades, *and the* 'other Grecian *Embaſſadors.*' *Cicero* was born long after the Embaſſy of *Carneades:* but this is not the only Blunder to be found in Quotations from *le Bret*. We muſt not paſs by one Inſtance, which *Caſaubon* has turned to an ill uſe. *Paulus Æmilius*, having ſubdued the *Macedonians*, publiſhed his Commands to that conquered Nation in *Latin*; but immediately *Octavius*, the Pretor, explained them in *Greek*. 'Silentio per præconem facto 'Paulus Latine quæ Senatui, quæ ſibi ex concilii 'ſententia viſa eſſent pronunciavit: ea Cn. Octavius 'Prætor (nam & ipſe aderat) interpretata ſermone 'Græco referebat (16).' *Caſaubon* pretends to prove, by this Paſſage of *Titus Livius*, that the *Roman* Magiſtrates uſed their own Tongue, becauſe they could not expreſs themſelves well in *Greek* (17); for, continues he, thoſe who ſpoke *Greek* readily uſed it upon every Occaſion, and immediately alledges the Pretor *Octavius*. This is plainly to ſuppoſe, that *Paulus Æmilius* could not ſpeak *Greek*, and that, if he could, he would have given his Orders in that Language; but this is falſe: he ſpoke it when he pleaſed (18), and if he then uſed the *Latin* Tongue, it was to give his Words a greater Mark of Authority, as being the Language of the Sovereign.

(16) Tit. Livius, lib. 45. cap. 29.

(17) Caſaub in Baronii Exercitat. 9, Art. 3, pag. m. 299.

(18) Hæc Græco ſermone Perſeo (Paulus) Latine deinde ſuis, exemplum inſigne æternitis, inquit, &c. *Livius, lib. 45, cap. 8.*

An infinite Number of Authors have taken notice of a Paſſage of St *Auſtin*, which I ſhall copy, concerning the Policy of the ancient *Romans*, who, together with the Yoke of Servitude, impoſed that of their own Language upon all the Nations they ſubdued. 'Opera data eſt ut imperioſa civitas non 'ſolum jugum, verum etiam linguam ſuam domitis 'gentibus per pacem ſocietatis imponeret. Per 'quam non deeſſet imo & abundaret etiam inter-'pretum copia (19).' It appears, by a Paſſage of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, that, in his time, it was neceſſary to ſtudy the Law in *Latin*; for he ſays, he had almoſt forgot *Greek*, becauſe the *Roman* Laws were writ in a Language that gave him much trouble. Ἐκφερασθήσε. δὲ καὶ παραδόσεις τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ καταλελειμμένας καὶ ἀλλόθι, καὶ συνχεομένοις δυσὶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. τῇ βασιλικῇ, φορτικὴ δ' ὅμως ἐμοί. Conceptæ verò ſunt ac traditæ Romanorum lingua terribili illa quidem, ſuperba, & imperium quod obtinent præ ſe ferente; cæterum mihi moleſta & barbara (20). —— *They are compiled and delivered in the intricate, pompous, Language of the* Romans, *ſuch as ſpeaks their Power, but is very perplexing to me.* *Tribonius*, the Civilian, obſerves, that all the Decrees of the Pretors were to be in *Latin* (21).

(19) Auguſt. de Civitat. Dei, lib. 19, cap. 7.

(20) Gregorius Thaumaturgus, in Laudat. Origen. apud Caſaub. Exercit. 19, in Baron. pag. 199.

(21) Tribon. lib. 48, ff. de re judic.

The Care *Rome* took to extend it's Language ſucceeded ſo well, that in *Plutarch*'s Time there were very few who did not ſpeak *Latin* (22), and *Libanius* expreſſes great concern, that the *Greek* Tongue would be loſt, the Sovereignty belonging to thoſe, whoſe natural Language was *Latin* (23). The Popes concurred with the Princes in the ſame Care; and if the Emperor *Marcian*, who was a *Greek*, preferred the *Latin* Tongue to the *Greek*, in the Council of *Chalcedon*, where he ſpoke firſt in *Latin*, and then in *Greek* (24), we alſo find, that the Pope's Deputies, at the Councils, always read their Diſpatches in *Latin*, and they looked upon it as a Piece of Complaiſance, whenever, at the Requeſt of all the Fathers, they ſuffered them to be explained in *Greek* (25). The public Records were made in *Latin*, for ſeveral Ages, almoſt all over the Weſt, and even after they had withdrawn their Obedience from *Rome* in Temporals. This will appear hereafter, when I ſhall ſpeak of ſome States that aboliſhed this Cuſtom. I refer you to *Melchior Inchofer*'s Book *Hiſtoria Sacræ Latinitatis*, where you will find ſeveral curious things, and among others this, that it is probable, that Jesus Christ ſometimes ſpoke *Latin*, ſeeing he paid ſo exact an Obedience to the Civil Laws, and the *Romans* having every where eſtabliſhed their Language, it is not likely, that he would exempt himſelf from this Law. Beſides, being examined in *Latin* by *Pontius Pilate*, without doubt he anſwered in *Latin* (26). This does not well agree with what *Arnobius* ſays, who aſſures us, to wit, that Jesus Christ ſpoke but one Language, which every one of his Auditors took to be his own natural Tongue, how different ſoever they were in their own Language from one another. 'Unus fuit è nobis qui cum 'unam emitteret vocem, ab diverſis populis & diſ-'ſona oratione loquentibus, ſamil aribus verborum 'ſonis & ſuo cuique utens exiſtimabatur eloquio (27).'

(22) Ὧν μὲν (Ῥωμαίων) λόγῳ νῦν ὑμᾶς τὰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι χρώνται. Quo (Romanorum) ſermone univerſi ferè mortales nunc utuntur. *Plutarch. in Quæſt. Platonicis circa fi. pag.* 1010, *D.*

(23) Libanius, de ſua Fortuna, apud Caſaub. Exercit. 19, in Baron. pag. 201, 202.

(24) *See* Baron. ad Ann. 16, n. 8.

(25) Id. ibid.

(26) Melchior. Inchofer. Hiſt. Sacræ Latinit. pag. 230, Edit. Monach. 1638.

(27) Arnob. lib. 2, pag. m. 27.

Let us now ſpeak of the Affection, which other Nations have expreſſed for their own Language. The *Greeks* ſignalized themſelves in that Reſpect. I might bring ſeveral remarkable Inſtances, but ſhall content myſelf with one. They commended *Themiſtocles* (28), for condemning to death the Interpreter, who had followed the *Perſian* Embaſſadors, and explained, in *Greek*, the Command of thoſe *Barbarians*, that the Earth and Water ſhould be delivered up to the King, their Maſter (29). He thought that ſuch a Prophanation of the *Greek* Language, to declare the Will of a *Barbarian*, could not be expiated but by the Death of the Author of ſuch an abuſe. No doubt *Greece* was extreamly concerned to hear what was done at *Carthage*, in the Time of the firſt *Dionyſius*, when a Decree was made to forbid all *Carthaginians* ſtudying the *Greek* Tongue. The Cauſe and Deſign of this Prohibition was this: *Suniatus* had written a Letter in *Greek* to the Tyrant *Dionyſius*, and they were reſolved to prevent any one's ſpeaking to the Enemy without an Interpreter: 'Dux belli Hanno 'Carthaginienſis erat: cujus inimicus Suniatus, po-'tentiſſimus ea tempeſtate Pœnorum, cum odio e-'jus, Græcis literis, Dionyſio adventum exercitus, '& ſegnitiem ducis familiariter prænuntiaſſet, com-'prehenſis epiſtolis, proditionis damnatur: facto ſe-'natus conſulto, ne quis poſſes Carthaginienſis, aut 'literis Græcis aut ſermoni ſtuderet; ne aut loqui 'cum hoſte, aut ſcribere ſine interprete poſſet (30). '—— Hanno, *the* Carthaginian, *was General in* 'this War, *whoſe Enemy* Suniatus, *a Man of* 'great Power *in* Carthage, *out of hatred to him,* 'expreſsly *informed* Dionyſius, *in* Greek, *of the* 'Army's *March, and the General's Inactivity; but* 'his *Papers being intercepted, he was condemned* 'for holding a treaſonable *Correſpondence with the* 'Enemy, *and a Decree made, whereby every* Car-'thaginian *was ſtrictly prohibited to ſtudy* Greek, 'that *he might not converſe with an Enemy, or* 'write without an Interpreter.' I have ſpoke, elſewhere (31), of what is ſaid of *Attila*'s Ambition for the Glory of his Language. The ſame has been related of ſome *Saracen* Princes: 'The uſe 'of the *Greek* Tongue began to be neglected 'in *Egypt*, after the Conqueſts of the *Arabians*, 'in the Reign of Caliph *Valid*, who reſided at 'Damas, becauſe that Prince forbad the *Greeks* to 'make uſe of any other than the *Arabian* Language 'in their public Tranſactions, which very much 'increaſed the Ignorance (32), that became ſo groſs 'at that time in *Greece* and *Italy* (33).' The Reſpect the *Turks* have for their Language is very ſingular, if that be true which I have read in the Life of *Bajazet* II. 'The Sultan threatning to 'make War with the *Venetians*, the Republic diſ-'patched an Embaſſador to him, to deſire Peace. 'He granted their Requeſt, and ſent them the Ar-'ticles of it, written in *Latin*; but *Andrew Gritti*, 'a *Venetian* Gentleman, who lived long at *Con-'ſtantinople*, and was perfectly acquainted with all 'the *Turkiſh* Cuſtoms, aſſured the Embaſſador, that 'the *Turks* never ſtood to any Agreement, which 'was not written in their own Language. There-'fore the Embaſſador did his utmoſt to get the 'Treaty changed into the common Language of the 'Country; but it was all loſt Labour: and he was 'no ſooner gone, but *Bajazet*'s Fleet ſet ſail, with 'a Deſign to attack the *Venetian* Towns in the 'Morea (34).' Another Author ſays: 'The *Turks* 'maintain, that their Language is the only good 'one in this World, that in Paradiſe they will 'ſpeak the *Arabian* Tongue; and that the Jargon 'of the *Perſians*, their mortal Enemies, is deſigned 'for Hell (35).' It is a Privilege of the *Sclavonian* Tongue, that if a Gentlemen does not underſtand it, he cannot enjoy an Inheritance, nor poſſeſs certain Lands in *Moravia* and *Bohemia*.

(28) Plutarch. in Themiſt. pag. 114.

(29) Ἑρμηνέα ὄντα συλλαβὼν ἀπέθανε, ὅτι φωνὴν Ἑλληνίδα βαρβάροις προσάγοι ἐπὶ βλάβῃ χρήσεως. Interpretem ex plebiſcito comprehenſum necavit, quod ſermone Græco mandata edere barbaroſ ſuſſiſet auctus. *Id. ib.*

(30) Juſt. lib. 22, in fin.

(31) In the laſt Rem. of the Article *ATTILA*.

(32) Compare this with the Paſſage of *Marmora*, in Rem. [E], of the Article *CASTILE* (Alphonsus).

(33) Comparaiſon de Platon & d'Ariſtote, Parte 4, cap 3, pag. m. 383.

(34) Du Verdier, Abregé de l'Hiſtoire des Turcs: *in Bajazet's Life. See alſo* Bembo, Hiſt. Venet. lib. 2 fol. 92, verſo, Edit. *Paris* 1551.

(35) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. XIII, pag. 25.

' Apud Bohemos & Moravos lex est ne cui Illustri
' vel Equestri ordine nato cujusquam hæreditatem
' cernere, prædiave quæ nos *Landgutter* appellamus,
' possidere liceat, nisi linguæ Slavonicæ perito (36).'
The same Author says, that, in the XVIth Century, the King of *Spain* obliged the *Moors* to renounce their Mother Tongue, and speak *Spanish*.

(36) Forstnerus, in Tacitum, pag. m. 579.

But, on the other hand, there are Nations so indifferent for their Language, that it was long before they would use it in public Writings. The *Spaniards* (37), and *Germans* (38), began to do this in the XIIIth Century, and the *French* in the XVIth (39).

(37) See Remark [E], of the Article *CASTILE* (Alphonsus).

(38) See Remark [AA], of the Article *FRANCIS* I.

(39) See the same Remark.

CLAUDE (John) Minister of the Church of *Paris*, born in the Year 1619, at *la Sauvetat* in *Agenois*, was one of the greatest Men of his Order. He studied Classical Learning under his Father (*a*), and having afterwards performed his Course of Philosophy and Divinity at *Montauban*, he was admitted Minister in the Year 1645, and had a Church called *la Treine*. He served it a Year, and then he served the Church of *Sainte Afrique* in *Roüergue*, and Eight Years after That of *Nismes*. The Protestants had an Academy in this last Town, and so he had an Opportunity to exert one of his chief Talents, which was, to explain a piece of Divinity well. He made some private Lectures to the Students, so well fitted for the use of the Pulpit, and the understanding of the Scripture, that they were of great use. He had undertaken to confute Cardinal *de Richelieu*'s *Method* [A]; but understanding that Mr *Martel*, Professor of Divinity at *Montauban*, had been ordered by a Synod to do it (*b*), he laid aside that Undertaking. Having opposed, in a Synod of the *Lower Languedoc*, a Man, whom the Court had gained to attempt a Re-union, he was punished for it by a Decree of the Council, who forbad him to exercise his Ministry in *Languedoc*. He had exercised it eight Years at *Nismes*. He went to *Paris*, in order to have that Prohibition taken off; and during that Journey he composed a little Book, which occasioned the most famous Dispute that ever was seen in *France* between the Protestants and the Catholics [B]. Having

(a) He was a Minister, and having served the Church of *la Sauvetat*, he served that of *Montauban* and *Caors*, near *Bergerac*.

(b) Mr *Martel*'s Answer was not printed at *Rouen*, in 4to, in the Year 1673.

[A] *He had undertaken to confute Cardinal* de Richelieu's *Method*] It will not be amiss to say here, that the said Method was printed off the first of *February* 1651. This, I say, will not be useless, because many might think of another Date by reading in the *Acta Eruditorum*, that it appeared when Mr *Claude* was already Minister of *Nismes*: ' In hac ' filium Isaacum suscepit 5. Mart. 1653. eoque tem- ' pore ad Ecclesiam Nemausensem . . . vocatus fuit, ' sed laboriosissimum erat munus illud, tum quod ' conciones quotidie habendæ essent, tum ob alia ' negotia pastoralia. Nihilominus ingenium & assi- ' duitas viri non tantum occupationibus illis sufficit, ' sed & studiis continuandis: ita ut editum *tunc* à ' Cardinale Richelio contra Reformatos librum qui ' Methodus dicitur, refutandum susciperet (1) ——
Here his Son Isaac *was born the fifth of* March, 1653. *at which time he was called to the Church of* Nismes, *a most laborious employ, being obliged to preach every Day, and attend likewise on other Pastoral Duties. But so great were his Genius and Industry, that he not only discharged all the Duties of his Province, but continued his Studies, so that he undertook to answer a Book entituled*, The Method, TRUE published by Cardinal *Richelieu* against the Reformed.' He could not be a Minister there before the Year 1655; for before he was so, he had served the Church of *Sainte Afrique* eight Years (2); and before he served the Church of *Sainte Afrique* he had been a Year Minister of *la Treine* (3). Add these Nine Years to 1645, which is the Year of his Reception into the Ministry (4), and you will find the Year 1654.

(1) *Acta Erudit. Lips.* 1687, pag. 648. Note, that these Words, *cui tunc quoque benedictus erat*, ought not to be understood as if Mr *Claude* had preached every Day. It is only said in the Abridgment of his Life, that there was a Sermon preached every Day at *Nismes*; but that Church had three or four Ministers at least.

(2) Abridgment of his Life, pag. 25.

(3) Ibid. pag. 10.

(4) Ibid.

When Mr *Claude*'s Library was sold at the *Hague*, it appeared that he had wrote many things on his Copy of that Work of Cardinal *Richelieu*; which was the Reason that some Persons had a great mind to buy it. I have heard say that it was soon after sent into *France* to be put in the King's Library.

[B] *He composed a little Book, which occasioned the most famous Dispute that ever was seen in* France, *between the Protestants and Catholics* (5)] The Gentlemen of *Port Royal* were very busy at that time to bring over Mr *de Turenne* to their Religion; and they found out a cunning way of arguing. They pretended to shew, that the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome* concerning the Real Presence had been the constant Doctrine of the Christian Church from the very beginning. They gave him a little Book, wherein they pretended to prove, that such a Change of the Belief of the Church, as the Protestants supposed, was impossible. Madam *de Turenne*, who always feared what happened after her Death, I mean, that her Husband would change his Religion, strengthened him as much as she could; which was the Reason that she caused an Answer to be made to the Book of the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal*. Mr *Claude* was charged to do it, and succeeded admirably well. It appeared so ingenious, so delicate, and so strong, that many Copies were made of it (6). The Gentlemen of *Port Royal*, having heard of it, thought they could not avoid refuting it. This produced the famous Work, which they published in the Year 1664, intituled, *The Perpetuity of the Faith of the Catholic Church concerning the Eucharist*. It contains the first Piece, and the Reply to Mr *Claude*'s Answer. That Minister, who was then at *Montauban*, composed a Reply, that was printed with his first Answer in the Year 1666 (7). That Work is intituled, *An Answer to the two Treatises intituled, The Perpetuity of the Faith of the Catholic Church concerning the Eucharist*. It made an extraordinary noise, insomuch that many Country Parsons, who had never heard of *du Moulin* or of *Daillé*, knew that the Minister *Claude* had wrote against the Holy Sacrament in a dangerous manner. The most famous and the meanest Preachers in the Provinces affected to preach, during the Octave of the Holy Sacrament, and upon other occasions, against the Possibility of the Innovation: the Pulpits then resounded only with the Names of *Paschasius*, *Lanfranc*, *Ratramnus*, &c. It is certain, that the fine Turn, the Politeness, and the Wit, which attended Mr *Claude*'s solid Arguments, contributed extremely to the great noise his Book made; but it is no less certain, that the condition, *Jansenism* was in at that time, was one of the chief Causes of that great noise. Many Bishops were professed Friends to *Port-Royal*; many others favoured them under-hand; that Party had every where some choice learned Men, who durst speak; (for they were not silenced till the Year 1668) and the jansenists made it their business to cry up the Books of their Party: which moved them, for their own Glory, to preach up Mr *Claude*'s Name and Merit every where. On the other side, their Enemies commended very much, though by indirect and secret ways, that Minister's Work (8): they were not unwilling that he should triumph, provided the Gentlemen of *Port-Royal* should be humbled by it. Doubtless this contributed very much to make Mr *Claude*'s Book famous. So important it is to appear in print at certain times (9), and against certain Persons, rather than in other Circumstances. Mr *Arnauld* undertook to confute Mr *Claude*'s Book, and published a large Quarto in the Year 1669. That Volume was followed by two others some time after: but before that first Part came

(5) See above, Remark [O], of the Article *ARNAULD* (Antony), Doctor of the *Sorbonne*.

(6) The following Words are to be found in the Preface to the *Perpetuité*. *Those of his Party cried it up mightily, and got so many Copies of it, which were dispersed at* Paris, *and in the Provinces, that it was very near as common as if it had been printed.*

(7) See above, Cita. (58), of the Article *ARNAULD* (Antony), Doctor of the *Sorbonne*.

(8) It was sold in the Shop of the Bookseller of the Archbishop of *Paris*. See the Preface of Mr *Claude*'s Book against Father *Nouet*.

(9) Quantum interest in quæ tempora cujusque virtus inciderit!

ving tarried six Months in *Paris* without obtaining any thing, he went to *Montauban*, where he preached the next day after his coming (c), and was made Minister of that Church. Four Years after, the Court forbad him to exercise his Office in *Montauban*, which obliged him to make another Journey to *Paris*. He was there almost nine Months, *without being able to obtain leave to return to* Montauban —— *During that Interval, he was invited by the Church of* Bourdeaux: but That of *Charenton* would not be *deprived of a Man of so great Merit* (d); they chose him for their Minister in 1666. From that time until the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, he did that Church, and the whole Body, very considerable Services by his excellent Works, and by the particular Examination of the Affairs which the Deputies of the Provinces communicated to him. No Man was ever more fit than he to be at the Head of a Consistory, or of a Synod [C], or to dispute *extempore*. This last Qualification appeared in the Conference, at which *Mademoiselle de Duras* desired to be present [D]. He was distinguished from other Ministers by the manner how the Court would have him to retire into Foreign Countries [E]. He made choice of *Holland* for the place of his Retreat, where he was very well received, and honoured with a considerable Pension by the Prince of *Orange*. He preached now and then at the *Hague*: His last Sermon was on *Christmas-day* 1686. He succeeded in it as well or better than ever: The Princess of *Orange* was very well pleased with that Sermon. He fell sick on the same Day of a Sickness that carried him off, *January* 13, 1687. He gave many Proofs of his Piety on his Death-bed, as also of the Sincerity wherewith he had professed the Reformed Religion (e). His Death afflicted the whole Party, and was the more sensible to wise Men, because few besides him were able to bring into the right way the credulous People, whom some rash Writers had led astray, and to ballance the Faction of those Men. It has been the opinion of many, that if he had lived longer we should not have seen so many scandalous Quarrels break out, at which the *Roman* Catholics rejoiced; but others believe that nothing would have been able to put a stop to those Quarrels, which had already begun before Mr *Claude* died. I cannot

(c) It was upon a Communion Day.

(d) Abridgment of the Life of Mr *Claude*, pag. 43.

(e) Taken from the Abridgment of his Life, written by Mr *de la Devese*, Minister at the *Hague*. I have rectified his Mistake about the Year that Mr *Claude* was born in.

came out, Father *Noüet*, a famous Jesuit, entered the Lists, and published a Book against Mr *Claude*, to which the latter made an Answer (10), which some prefer before his other Books, and which he looked upon himself as his favourite Book (11). Father *Noüet* made no Reply; he only published a Letter of Sixty Pages in 8vo (12). The Author of the *Journal des Sçavans* had a Fling at Mr *Claude*, when he gave an Abstract of that Jesuit's Book (13). He enlarged very much upon the Genius of that Minister, and his manner of disputing: and what he said being no ways obliging, Mr *Claude* had not patience enough to be silent. He published a very witty Letter (14) against him, which the Journalist answered some time after (15). Things went no farther. As for what concerns Mr *Arnauld*, Mr *Claude* was obliged to undertake a very laborious Work; for he was obliged to examine the Opinion of the *Greek* Church, and that of the Schismatics of the East; he was obliged to read many Travellers, and to build many Hypotheses. Mr *Claude*'s great Capacity appeared as much as ever by the Answer that he published to Mr *Arnauld*'s first Volume. The Jansenists made but a general Answer to that Book of Mr *Claude*. It is true that, as to what concerns the Opinion of the *Greeks*, Father *Paris* a Monk of *St Genevieve* came to their Assistance against that Minister. The matter of the Dispute was changed some time after. Those Gentlemen published their *Prejugez legitimes contre les Calvinistes*, which Mr *Claude* confuted by one of the best Works that he or any other Minister ever wrote, and which remained unanswered till the Year 1684 (16). Mr *Nicolle* at last replied, that Year, in his *Pretendus Reformez convaincus de Schisme*.

(10) It was printed in 1668.

(11) See the Abridgment of his Life, pag. 49.

(12) It is inscribed to Mr *Claude*, and dated *October* 1, 1668: and therefore what he says, pag. 6, is hard to be understood, *viz.* that his Answer to Mr *Claude* had taken up that Minister near three Years; for *Noüet*'s Book did not come out till about the latter end of the Year 1666. The Booksellers put 1667 in the Title.

(13) In the Journal of the 28th of June, 1667.

(14) It is an anonymous Letter, intituled, *Lettre d'un Provincial à un de ses amis sur le sujet du Journal du 28. Juin.* 1667.

(15) In the Journal of *Decemb.* 26, 1667.

(16) It is intituled, *Defense de la Reformation*. It was first printed in 4to, at *Rouen*, in 1673, and then at the *Hague*, in 12mo, in the Year 1682.

[C] *No Man was ever more fit to be at the Head of a Consistory, or of a Synod.*] This cannot be better commented upon, than by the following Words. ' Mr *Claude* excelled particularly at the head of an ' Assembly: Thus he distinguished himself many ' Years in the Consistory of *Charenton*, and in some ' Synods of the *Isle of* France, where he was Moderator. —— When any Business intricate in it ' self, and more intricate still by the Ignorance and ' the Shifts of the Parties concerned, was in agitation in a Synod, Mr *Claude* had such a Discernment, that he cleared that Chaos in a moment: ' he formed a clear and plain Proposition, as if the ' Question had run only upon a *Yes* or *No*: a Character that never deceives, when we are to judge ' of a Man, that presides in a Company, seeing the ' choice of Matters, and the clear Light wherein ' they are put, is a certain sign of the Presence, ' Neatness, and Force of a great Genius (17).

[D] —— *or to dispute* extempore. *This Qualification appeared in the Conference, at which* Mademoiselle de Duras *desired to be present.*] That Lady (18) would not abjure her Religion without hearing the Bishop of *Meaux* and Mr *Claude* dispute together in her Presence. She had the Satisfaction she desired: those two illustrious and brave Champions entered the Lists at the House of her Sister, the Countess *de Roi*, on the first of *March* 1678. Each of them wrote the Relation of the Conference, and ascribed the Victory to himself. At first those Relations were handed about in Manuscript, but at last the Bishop of *Meaux* published his in the Year 1682: that of Mr *Claude* followed it soon after. The Journalists of *Leipsic* have not distinguished the time of the Conference from that wherein the Relations were published. ' Postea, *say they* (19), anno ' 1683, occasione illustris *Durasiæ* à Reformata ad ' Romanam religionem transeuntis, colloquium cum ' Episcopo *Condomensi*, postea *Meldensi*, habuit, cujus relationem, ut notum est, uterque didit. —— ' *Afterwards*, say they, *in the Year* 1683, *upon the Illustrious* Mademoiselle de Duras *quitting the Reformed Religion, for that of the Church of* Rome, *he had a Conference with the Bishop of* Condom, *afterwards Bishop of* Meaux; *an Account of which, as is well known, they both published.*'

(17) Abridgment of his Life, pag. 75, & seq.

(18) Sister to the Maréchal *de Duras*, and the Maréchal *de Lorge*.

(19) Acta Eruditor. 1687, p. 662.

[E] *He was distinguished from other Ministers, by the manner how the Court would have him to retire into Foreign Countries.*] In Page 100 of the Abridgment of his Life, are these Words: ' He had fifteen ' Days allowed him, as the other Ministers, to go out ' of the Kingdom; *the Clergy* found a way to shorten that time; for on a *Monday*, the Twenty ' second of *October* (20) 1685, which was the Day ' wherein the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes* ' was registered in the Parliament of *Paris*, Mr ' *Claude* received an Order, at Ten o'Clock in the ' Morning, to depart in Twenty four Hours (21). ' He obeyed with a profound respect, and went ' way with one of the King's Footmen, who was ' to conduct him to the Frontiers of *France*, and ' who, performing his Commission faithfully, was ' nevertheless very civil to Mr *Claude*: so true is it ' that a great Merit works upon those very Persons ' who

(20) It is *December* in the Abridgment of his Life. In the Abstract of it, published in the *Acta Eruditor.* 1687, pag. 663, there is *die* 7 *Decemb.*

(21) He says so himself, pag. 92, 93, of the *Plaintes des Protestans*.

I cannot tell which of those two Opinions is the best (*f*). He left a Son, who was a Minister [*F*], and who took care to publish several fine Works of the deceased. I would enlarge on the Praises of Mr *Claude*, and confute the Calumnies published against him, were it not that I find in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, of the *Dutch* Edition, all that can be be said in a Dictionary upon such a Subject. I shall take notice of some Faults of the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary according to the Edition printed in *France* [*G*]. Mr *Paulian* has very much abused Mr *Claude* in his Animadversions upon Mr *Jurieu*'s *Pastoral Letters*, and falsly ascribed a Book to him, and

(*f*) Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites. Virg. Ecleg. 3. vers. 108.

"who do not love our Religion. He took "Coach at *Paris* for *Bruffels*: His Name that went "before him procured him many Civilities in his "Journey (22). He went through *Cambray*, where "he lay: He was presented with some Refresh"ments from the Jesuits there: The Father Rector "honoured him with a Visit: He returned that "Civility, and the difference of Religions did not "interrupt those Compliments, and those Marks of "a reciprocal Esteem."

(22) Abridg. of his Life, p. 101.

[*F*] *He left a Son who was a Minister.*] He married at *Castres* in the Year 1648 (23). From that Marriage was born *Isaac* CLAUDE, at *Sainte Affrique*, the fifth of *March* 1653 (24). His Father loved him tenderly, and was very glad to see that his Inclination led him to the Ministry, and that the Choice he had made, and which ought to be very free, was answerable to his Desires. He had the Satisfaction to see him improve by his Knowledge and Example. He studied in the Academies of *France* under the best Masters, who took great care of him. He returned to his Father, who compleated his Education, particularly with regard to Preaching; after which he was examined at *Sedan* in the Month of *September* 1678, and judged very worthy to be admitted into the holy Ministry. He was desired by the Church of *Clermont* in *Beauvoisis*, within fourteen Leagues of *Paris*, in the Synod of the *Isle of* France, and his Father had the Satisfaction to impose his hands on him the ninth of *October* 1678 (25), and to find him Minister of the *Walloon* Church at the *Hague*, when he fled into *Holland* in the Year 1685. *Isaac* CLAUDE died at the *Hague* the Twenty ninth of *July* 1695. He was from Father to Son the fourth of his Family who had exercised the Ministry, for his great Grandfather was a Minister. This Particularity has been omitted by Mr *de la Devoze*. He left one or two Sons, who are brought up to Study.

(23) Ibid. p. 24.

(24) Ibid. p. 25.

(25) Ibid. pag. 74. 75.

[*G*] *I shall take notice of some Faults in the Supplement to* Moreri's *Dictionary, according to the Edition printed in* France.] I. *La Salvetat* (26), where Mr *Claude* was born, is not *a small Town of the Upper* Languedoc, *not far from* Castres. It is not true that his Father, *passionately desiring to see him quickly a Minister, did not stay till he was Twenty five Years of Age to get him admitted into the Ministry*. Mr *Claude* was made a Minister in the Year 1645, and therefore he was Twenty six Years of Age when he was admitted into that Office. Now that is an Age, wherein those who are designed for the Ministry, and are not yet Ministers, begin to pass for old Students of Divinity (27). So that it is false that Mr *Claude*'s Father acted like an impatient Man. II. It is absurd to suppose that, to satisfy his impatience, he was obliged to make use of his Credit in the *Upper Guienne* and in the *Upper Languedoc*. Had he had any Impatience, it would be only grounded on his Son's being made a Minister, having studied Divinity but three Years; but a Student of as much Wit as he was, and of his Age, improves more in three Years than others do in four or five. IV. Mr *Claude* did not read any public Lectures of Divinity at *Nismes*: He never had the Degree of Professor there: he only read some private Lectures; it is said so in the Abridgment of his Life (28). V. It is false that he ever declared, that he *only* undertook his first Journey to *Paris* to shew *that he had no kind of Repugnancy* to the Project of Re-union that was contriving in *France*. VI. The Supposition of the Author of the *Supplement*, that Mr *Claude* was forbidden to exercise his Ministry in *Languedoc* by a Decree of Council, because he was averse to the Project of Re-union, agrees with the Narrative of Mr *de la Devoze* (29). But if it be supposed that the King's Decree contained that Reason, it is a great Mistake. Now this must have been supposed by the Author of the Supplement, since he says, that Mr *Claude* could not pretend to justify himself, but by shewing an Inclination to the Re-union. Consider well the words of the Supplement, wherein the Author pretends to shew, that Mr *Claude* did a deceitful Action in that Journey; which he endeavours to prove by this Remark, *viz.* that he wrote a Book against the *Perpetuity of the Faith*. I say, consider well this Passage, and you will see, that the Continuator of *Moreri* supposes plainly, that Mr *Claude* endeavoured to have the Prohibition taken off, only declaring, that it had been surreptitiously procured, and that it was not read, as it was supposed in the Decree, that he was against the Project of Re-union. If a Minister had spoke thus at Court, and in the mean time had writ such a Book of Controversy as that of Mr *Claude*, he would without doubt have been a Cheat. But it is false that he took such a Course to justify himself at Court. VII. I believe the Reason, that is given in the Supplement, why he did not engage with the University of *Groningen*, to be very false. I have always heard say, that it was only the Consistory of *Charenton*, and the Requests of many private Persons, that made Mr *Claude* resolve to thank the Gentlemen of *Groningen*. VIII. It is not true, that *his Sermons were never accounted excellent by the Huguenots themselves*; for they contained all that the Huguenots desired; a great Order, a profound Divinity, a great Sublimity, and a great deal of Eloquence and Solidity. The Protestants do not value the worldly Ornaments, and the soft and effeminate Rhetoric wherewith the Popish Preachers adorn themselves. All that can be said is, that Mr *Claude* had no pleasing Voice, which occasioned a witty Saying of Mr *Morus* (30): but, notwithstanding this, his Sermons were very much esteemed. IX. Nothing is more false than to maintain, that *those among the Calvinists, who were clear sighted*, have acknowledged, that Mr *Claude*'s Character was properly *that of an ingenious Sophister, and of a cunning Declaimer*. X. It is a ridiculous thing to prove this by what the *illustrious Viscount of Turenne* might have said; for every body knows, that That Hero, who had a wonderful Genius for what concerned Martial Affairs, and the Functions of a General, did not pretend to Learning, and could not be a competent Judge in controversial Writings. XI. There is nothing more like a Romance, I say a Romance forged against all Probability, than That pretended Project of Mr *Claude*, *wherein the Ministers were to desire a Conference with the Bishops*. It is a notorious thing, that in the Reign of Mr *Claude*, if one may be permitted to speak so, he and the other Ministers looked upon all Proposals of Disputes, or Conferences, as a Snare. One of them (31) published a Book on that Subject (32), wherein he shewed, that great care ought to be taken not to fall into that Trap. XII. I have nothing to say concerning the mysterious Conference that Mr *Claude*, as it is said, desired to have with the Archbishop of *Paris*. The Confutation of it is to be found in a Memorial, which the Son of that great Man caused to be inserted in the *History of the Works of the Learned* (33). See also *Moreri*'s Dictionary, of the *Dutch* Edition. It is a shame for our Age, that such a Romance should have been published in an Historical Dictionary at *Paris*, and that such a Boldness has not been punished. XIII. It was the Twenty second of *October*, and not the Twenty second of *December*, 1685, that Mr *Claude* left *Paris* to go to the *Hague*. XIV. Lastly, it is false, that Mr *Claude* granted the Infallibility of the Church.

(26) It should be *le Sauvetat*.

(27) The Age of 27 Years, which the *Leipsic* Journalists have very well observed, following the Narrative of Mr *de la Devoze*, should have made them attend to the Place which they have translated thus: *Mansi —— imposuerunt se patre qui filium functionis sacra* MATURE *edidicerat octobar.* Acta Erudit. 1687. pag. 658.

(28) Pag. 18.

(29) Abridgment of the Life of Mr *Claude*, pag. 19.

(30) When the Church of *Charenton* began to think of having Mr *Claude* for one of their Ministers, they made him preach. The Sermon being over, Mr *Morus* said, *All the Votes will be for him, except his own.*

(31) It is the same who has published the History of the Edict of *Nantes*.

(32) That Book has been mentioned in the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*, May, 1685, pag. 574. of the second Edition. See also *December* in the same Year, pag. 1333.

(33) November, 1689, pag. 1332. & seq.

[*H*] Mr

and the design of another Book [*H*]. He has also been so bold as to publish, that the Author of those *Pastoral Letters* was very glad to hear that he was dead.

[*H*] *Mr* Paulian —— *falsly ascribed a Book to him, and the Design of another Book.*] He says he is the Author of a Letter of some pacific Protestants that appeared in the Year 1685. He says, that Mr *Claude* owns it himself in some Letters, and that a Lady, with whom he was intimately acquainted, had publickly acknowledged it. He quotes in the Margin a Letter to *Mademoiselle Dangeau* and *Madam de la Garde* (34). These Proofs seem to be strong, and yet it is very false, that Mr *Claude* wrote the Letter of the pacific Protestants; and I am very much persuaded, that he never writ to any body that he was the Author of it. The Animadverter upon the *Pastoral Letters* is no less mistaken, when he says (35), that Mr *Claude* took upon him to write the History of the Persecution under the Title of *Histoire Dragonnale*, but that he died before he had finished it. Mr *Claude* was too great an Author to use such a Title: he was not writing the History of the last Persecution, but that of the Princes of *Orange*.

(34) It is about the latter end of the Book.

(35) Pag. 164

CLAVIUS (CHRISTOPHER) a *German* Jesuit, born at *Bamberg*, excelled in the Knowledge of the Mathematics, and was one of the chief Instruments that was made use of for the Correction of the Calender, of which he also undertook the Defence against those who found fault with it, and particularly against *Scaliger*. I do not believe that the latter laid down his Arms so humbly as a modern Author relates it [*A*]; nor that *Clavius* died in the manner mentioned by another modern Writer [*B*]. The extraordinary Humility, which *Alegambe* ascribes to *Clavius* [*C*], does

[*A*] *I do not believe, that* Scaliger *laid down his Arms so humbly, as a modern Author relates it.*] *Joseph Scaliger* was one of those who found fault with the new Calender, 'and of the most under-'standing —— But *Clavius* gave him such perti-'nent Reasons for it, that this learned Critic left 'off writing against him, and even declared, that he 'thought it a glory to yield to a Man of that 'Reputation (1).' I wish it had pleased Mr *Bullart* to quote the Book wherein *Scaliger* declares this; for if the Quotation was true, we should find a piece of Modesty, and a Contradiction in it. As for the Modesty, the thing speaks of itself; and as for the other point, if you consult the *Scaligerana*, you will see *Clavius* very little esteemed in it. He is called there an Ass, a Beast, a tun-bellied *German* (2), a dull Pate, a Man who eat two Breakfasts, and who was a great Drinker. He is but little better used in *Scaliger*'s Letters: 'Infantiorem imperitio-'rem & magis ridiculum reperies neminem (Chri-'stophoro Clavio) si quidem unius Geometriæ ſci-'entiam excipias, quam in eo etiam si stipes esset 'propter longum tempus quo illud saxum volvit, ali-'quam oportet esse. Quinquaginta enim annos pub-'lice Euclidem legit. Hoc unum excipe, tantus est 'stupor hominis ut in iis etiam quæ ad Matheſin 'ipsam pertinent ΑΣΦΑΛΕΣΤΕΡΟΣ sit (3). 'There is not to be found a more childish, illiterate, 'or ridiculous Parson than* Christopher Clavius, *if 'we only except the Science of Geometry, in which, 'though he were a Log, he must have some skill from 'the long time he has laboured in it; for he has 'publickly read* Euclid *fifty Years. Take this away, 'and so great is the Stupidity of the Man, that in 'those very things which relate to Mathematics he is 'blinder than a Beetle.* Let us see what he says in another Book: 'Certe non video quid mathematica 'studia Clavio contulerint, qui in his adeo infans est 'ut mediocriter literis humanioribus tinctus hæc me-'lius intelligat, quam ille qui toto vitæ suæ tempore 'nihil præter mathematica tractavit (4). —— *I can-'not find what advantage* Clavius *has made of his 'Mathematical Studies, since in them he is still so 'much a Child, that a Man tolerably versed in polite 'Learning may understand them better than he, who 'has toiled at them all his Life.*' It may be some body will tell me, that, notwithstanding all these hard words, *Scaliger* might have owned, that *Clavius* had admirably well maintained the Cause of the *Gregorian* Calender, and that is the Matter in question in *Bullart*'s words: but this Objection will soon be answered: 'Nihil vidi ineptius, jejunius, falsius & 'impudentius libro Clavii in elenchum nostrum de 'anno Juliano. —— *I never met with any thing 'more trifling, jejune, false, and impudent, than* Clavius's *Remarks upon my Dissertation on the* Julian *'Year.*' Thus *Scaliger* speaks of him in his Twenty ninth Letter. In another place he speaks of him thus: *Clavius has committed so many Mistakes concerning the Papal Year; de hi ad Eusebium. Clavius is also mistaken in his Correction, he has done worse than before.* —— Quæ scripserunt graviora tecuit, leviora refutavit, sed nunc omnia ostendam in Eusebio (5). —— *He has passed over the stronger Arguments, answered the weaker; but I shall now prove all by* Eusebius.

(1) Bullart. Academie des Sciences, Tom. II, pag. 118, 119.

(2) Cardinal *du Perron* made the same Judgment of him. *Clavius*, says he in the *Perroniana*, *who is so much cried up by the Jesuits, is a heavy and dull-witted Man, he has no Subtility nor Genteelness, he is a* German *Horse.*

(3) Joseph. Scaliger, Epist. 206.

(4) Id. Canon. Isagog. lib. 3.

'If Mr *Bullart* went upon *Richeome*'s Testimony, he has made it appear that he did not take the Sense of an Author exactly: for that Jesuit alledges only a Piece written before *Clavius*'s Answer, in which consequently *Scaliger* did not confess, that he acquiesced in the Solutions of his Adversary. These are the words of *Richeome*: '. I omit —— the 'Works upon all sorts of Mathematics of *Christopher 'Clavius*, praised not only by the late Monsieur '*de Candal*, the *Euclid* of our Age, but also by '*Joseph Scaliger* *, so far as to say, that he had 'rather be reproved by him than praised by an-'other; This Commendation of a Jesuit by a 'Protestant, no Friend to our Society, is the more 'to be regarded (6).'

(c) In the Scaligerana.

* Scaliger. in Castig. Calendar.

(6) Richeome, Plainte Apologetique, pag. 31.

[*B*] —— *nor that* Clavius *died in the manner mentioned by another modern Writer.*] *Paganinus Gaudentius* affirms, that *Christopher Clavius*, visiting the seven Churches of *Rome*, was thrown down by a wild Ox, who run over him and killed him. *Christophorus Clavius dum septem urbis templa invisit à bubulo humi affligitur conteritur & occiditur* (7). Such a kind of Death of a Jesuit, who was a famous Man, and Seventy five Years old, is too singular not to have been observed by all those who wrote an Encomium upon that celebrated Mathematician. Now it is certain, that *Alegambe*, *Southwell*, *Lorenzo Crasse*, *John Nicias Erythræus*, and *Bullart*, say nothing of it. The following words of *Nicius Erythræus* do plainly shew, that *Gaudentius* has published a Lie. 'Verum in istud etiam 'tantum atque immortalitate dignum ingenium, sæ-'va mors, cui nihil est eximium, nihil intactum, 'nihil sanctum, vim & crudelitatem suam exercuit: 'sed in eo sævitiæ suæ modum adhibuit, quod non 'antea est illi ausa manus afferre, quam maturitatem 'suam adeptum cum esse vidisset: nam senex Romæ 'in collegio suæ Societatis est mortuus (8). —— 'Death, who has no regard to Greatness or San-'ctity, exercised his Cruelty and Power on this 'great Man, though worthy of Immortality; but 'with such Forbearance did he delay the Stroke, as 'though he was afraid to lay his violent Hands 'upon him, before he saw him ripened into Years. 'For he died at Rome, in an advanced Age, in a 'College of his own Order.' Would an Author, who moralizes in this manner upon the mitigated Cruelty of Death, have forgotten the tragical Accident mentioned by *Gaudentius*? I shall set down likewise the words of *Alegambe*: 'Tandem ætate 'meritisque gravis Romæ vitæ defunctus est die 'VI Februarii anno MDCXII. ætatis LXXV. —— 'He died at Rome, loaded with Years and Merit, 'the sixth of February, in the Year 1612, aged 'Seventy five.' Correct *Lorenzo Crasse*, who says the sixth of *January*.

(7) Paganinus Gaudentius in Oratione de Philosophorum quorundam luctuoso exitu.

(8) N. Erythræus, Pinacoth 1, pag. 177, 178.

[*C*] Alegambe *attributes to him an extraordinary Humility.*] 'In quo illud maxime admirandum ex-'titerit,

does not agree with some other Qualities that *Lorenzo Crasso* gives him, representing him as a Man abounding in his own sense, and very touchy when reflected upon (*a*).

(*a*) Lor. Crasso Elog. part. 2, pag. 143.

' titerit, quod cum tanta eruditionis fama ac nomi-
' nis sui claritudine tam insignem pietatem ac mode-
' stiam perpetuo conjunctam retinuerit, ut nullum
' sibi hominem unquam, se ipsum aliis omnibus
' postponeret (9). —— *What is chiefly to be admi-*
' *red in him is, that, though no Man was ever more*
' *remarkable for his Piety, Modesty, and Learning,*
' *yet he preferred all Men before himself.*'

(9) Alegambe, in Bibliot. Societ. Jesu, pag. 74.

[(§ *a*) He who won the Battle of *Platæa*, and was afterwards punished as a Traitor. See his Life in *Cornelius Nepos*. REMARK. CRIT.]

CLEONICE, a young Lady of *Byzantium*, whom *Pausanias* (§ *a*) had a mind to enjoy, and whom he killed by a Mistake. It is said that the Ghost of that Lady haunted him every night [*A*], as shall be seen more at large in the Remark.

[*A*] Pausanias —— *killed her by a Mistake. It is said, that her Ghost haunted him every Night.*] ' They report of *Pausanias*, that, one Day, when ' he was in *Byzantium*, he sent for a young Lady of ' a noble Family, whose Name was *Cleonice*, to de-' bauch her. Her Parents dreading the cruel Hu-' mour of the Man, were forced to consent, and so ' abandoned their Daughter to his Embraces. *Cleo-' nice* desired the Servants to put out all the Lights; ' so that approaching silently, and in the dark to-' wards his Bed, she stumbled upon the Lamp, ' which she overturned and spilled. *Pausanias*, who ' was fallen asleep, awaked, and startled with the ' Noise, thought an Assassin had taken that dead ' time of the Night to murder him: so that hastily ' snatching up his Poniard which lay by him, he ' wounded his supposed Enemy to Death. After ' this he never enjoyed himself, but was disturbed ' in his Thoughts: for his dear Mistress haunted his ' Bed, and would not let him sleep, but interrupted ' his Repose with these angry words:

Villain, be just and of thy Crime repent,
Or dread the Hand that brings thy Punishment.

' This tragical Accident gave the last stroke to his ' Ruin: for after this the Allies joining their Re-' sentments and Forces with *Cimon*'s, besieged him ' in *Byzantium*; but he escaped out of their Hands, ' and fled to *Heraclea*. Here coming to a place ' which might be called the Oracle of the Dead; ' where they raise up Spirits to know future Events, ' he solemnly invoked *Cleonice*, and intreated her ' Ghost to be reconciled: Accordingly she appeared ' to him, and answered him in these words, *As soon* ' *as thou comest to Sparta, thou shalt be freed from* ' *all the Misfortunes which now afflict thee.* Here-' by obscurely foretelling, in my Opinion, That im-' minent Death he was to suffer. This is the His-' tory that is told of him (1).' No such thing has been said of poor *Dido*, who was worse treated than *Cleonice*; for *Æneas* was not only the Cause of her Death, but also robbed her of her Honour. She designed to revenge herself on him after her Death, and to return from Hell to pursue him from place to place: but it is not said her Ghost did ever persecute *Æneas*. Let us set down her Threats; they are conceived in such terms as may be criticized.

(1) Plutarch, in Cimon's *Life*, pag. 482. See also Pausanias, lib. 3, cap. 17, pag. m. 252.

—— sequar atris ignibus absens:
Et cum frigida mors animâ seduxerit artus,
Omnibus umbra locis adero: dabis improbe pœnas;
Audiam, & hæc manes veniet mihi fama sub imos (2).

(2) Virgil. Æn. lib. 4, ver. 384.

Dido shall come in a black sulph'ry Flame,
When Death has once dissolv'd her mortal Frame.
Shall smile to see the Traytor vainly weep;
Her angry Ghost arising from the deep,
Shall haunt thee waking, and disturb thy Sleep.
At least my Shade thy Punishment shall know,
And Fame shall spread the pleasing News below.

DRYDEN.

If *Dido*'s Ghost was to be every where with *Æneas*, what need was there that she should wait in Hell for the News of *Æneas*'s Misfortune? Could she not learn in this World, when any Disaster happened to that unfaithful Man? You will tell me that she was so troubled, that *Virgil* ought to make her speak without minding what she said. Let it be so. The Grammarian *Servius* will shew you another Evasion.

CLEONYMUS, cotemporary with *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, left *Lacædemon* on public and private Discontents. He was the Son of *Cleomenes* II, King of *Sparta* (*a*); but, because of his violent and imperious Humour, the *Lacedæmonians* had no Affection for, nor Confidence in him, and left all the Royal Authority to *Areus* his Brother's Son. Thus much for the public Discontents; here follow the domestic ones. Being already advanced in Years, he had married *Chelidonis* [*A*], a Princess of the Blood, and Daughter of *Leotychides*, a very beautiful Woman; but she loved very passionately *Acrotatus*, a very beautiful Youth, the Son of King *Areus*. That Marriage occasioned a great deal of Trouble and Infamy to the unfortunate *Cleonymus*; for every body knew the conduct of his Wife, and that she despised him. So that, being full of Grief and Anger, he left *Lacedæmon*, and went to sollicit *Pyrrhus* to make War with the *Lacedæmonians*. *Pyrrhus* came near the City with a numerous Army (*b*), and might have taken it at the first Onset, if he had followed the Advice of *Cleonymus*, which was to attack it immediately, without giving the few Inhabitants, that *Areus* had left there, time to recover their surprise. *Areus* was at that time in the Isle of *Crete* to assist the *Gortynians*. *Pyrrhus*, fearing the City would be plundered if he entered it in the Night, deferred the Attack till the next day. He was so vigorously repulsed in all the Assaults that he gave, either before or after *Areus*'s Return, that he found himself obliged to give over his Enterprize. We must not forget the Courage that the Women of *Lacedæmon* shewed on that occasion [*B*]. It was resolved to send them away

(*a*) Plut. in Agid. & Cleom. Pausan. in Lacon. *Father* Labbe, Chron. Franc. ad Ann. Rom. 481, *is in the wrong to say that* Areus *was* Cleonymus's *Brother.*

(*b*) In the Year of *Rome* 480, the 3d of the 126th Olympiad.

[*A*] *He had married* Chelidonis.] *Parthenius* speaks of that Woman, and of her Amours with *Acrotatus*, in the Twenty third Chapter; but she is called *Cbilonis* there, either for want of Memory in *Parthenius*, or by a Mistake of his Transcribers.

[*B*] *We must not forget the Courage that the Women of* Lacedæmon *shewed on that Occasion.*] *Calvisius* attributes to them all the Resistance that was made the first day; and says, that the Men returned the next day, and destroyed *Ptolemy* the

Son

away in the Night to *Crete*, but they oppoſed it; and *Archidamia* came with Sword in hand into the Senate, complaining in the name of all the reſt, that they were thought capable to ſurvive the Deſtruction of their Country. They laboured all the Night on the Intrenchment that was made againſt the Enemy. *Chelidonis* was the only Woman that remained ſhut up. She put a Rope about her neck, that in caſe of neceſſity ſhe might prevent her falling alive into the hands of her Huſband. Her Gallant *Acrotatus* did Wonders; and as he returned from the Place where he had repulſed the Enemies Aſſaults, and was proud of his Victory, he ſeemed taller and more beautiful than ever to the Women of *Lacedæmon*, ſo that they cried out that *Chelidonis* was very happy to be beloved by ſuch a Man. The old Men followed him with a thouſand Acclamations, exhorting him to continue to kiſs well *Chelidonis* (*c*) [*C*].

(c) Taken from *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Pyrrhus*.

Son of *Pyrrhus*, and the moſt conſiderable Part of his Army (1). He cites *Juſtin* and *Plutarch* for it, but neither of them ſays what he aſcribes to them. *Juſtin* does not ſpeak of the Return of the Men, nor of two Attacks one after another; he ſays in general, that the Women had a greater ſhare in the Reſiſtance than the Men, and that *Pyrrhus* loſt his Son *Ptolemy* with his choice Troops (2). As for *Plutarch* (3), he only ſays, that the Women did work on the Intrenchment, encouraged the Men, and performed ſuch other Services of the ſecond Order: and, according to his Account, *Ptolemy* was not killed but when the King of *Lacedæmon* charged the Rear of *Pyrrhus*, on the way to *Argos*, that is, when *Pyrrhus* abandoned *Laconia*. That Prince fully revenged his Son's Death by a great Slaughter of the *Lacedæmonians*. He performed ſome Actions that Day that ſeem to be a little romantic. This *Ptolemy* was a Man of ſuch a bold Courage, that *Pyrrhus*, hearing of his Death, ſaid, *that he had been killed a little later than his Raſhneſs deſerved, or later than he, his Father, apprehended* (4).

(1) Calvif. ad Ann. Mund. 3677.

(2) Juſtin. lib. 25, cap. 4.

(3) Plut in Vita Pyrrhi.

(4) Aliquanto tardius eam quàm timuerit ipſe, vel timuerit tam ejus mortem, occiſum eſſe. *Juſtin. ibid.*

[*C*] *The old Men - - - - exhorted him to kiſs well* Chelidonis.] *Go* Acrotatus, ſaid they to him, *make much of* Chelidonis, *and get brave Children by her for* Sparta. Here are the *Greek* Words: Ἴθι, ἄνερ, καὶ φίλει τὴν Χελιδονίδα· μίσγου παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς τῷ Σπάρτᾳ ποιεῖ. *Perge Acrotate, & coito cum Chelidone, gignito tantum egregios filios Spartæ* (5). They were very plain People, ſince they made ſuch Acclamations along the Streets. See the Margin (6).

(5) Plutarch. in Pyrrho, pag. 402. *C.*

(6) The *Greek* Word uſed by *Plutarch*, is ſo coarſe, that our Boors do not uſe a more obſcene one at Country Weddings.

CLEOPATRA, Siſter of *Alexander the Great*. See the Remark [*A*] of the Article *Denys*.

CLEOPHIS, an *Indian* Queen, was deprived of her Kingdom, by *Alexander the Great*, but reſtored again, as a reward for ſubmitting to his Luſts; thus ſhe recovered, by her Lewdneſs, a Crown, which ſhe could not preſerve by her Courage (*a*). The Son ſhe had by that Conqueror, was named *Alexander*, and was King of *India* [*A*]. But the Mother, after ſhe had proſtituted herſelf to *Alexander*, was called the Royal Whore (*b*); thus *Juſtin* relates the matter (*c*). See alſo *Quintus Curtius*. Book viii. Chap. x.

(a) Concubitu redemptum regnum ab Alexandro recepit illecebris conſecuta quod virtute non potuerat. *Juſtin. lib.* 12, *cap.* 7.

(b) Propter proſtratam pudicitiam, Scortum regium ab Indis exinde appellata eſt. *Id. ibid.*

(c) Ibid.

[*A*] *The Son ſhe had by the Conqueror - - - - - was King of the* Indies.] Her eldeſt Son *Aſſacan* was dead before the Invaſion of *Alexander* (1). She had alſo another Son, whom ſhe carried to that Prince (2); he died perhaps before her Son, by *Alexander*, was fit to reign; or perhaps was preferred to the Throne on account of his Father's Fame. *Moreri* aſſures us, that this Son of *Alexander* and *Cleophis* (3) was murthered or poiſoned by *Caſſander*. But neither *Diodorus Siculus*, nor *Quintus Curtius*, that he quotes, ſay any thing of it.

(1) Quint. Curt. lib. 8, cap. 10.

(2) Ibid.

(3) So *Moreri* calls her.

COCHLŒUS (John), Doctor of Divinity, Canon of *Mentz* and *Worms*, Dean of the Church of our *Lady* at *Francfort*, was born at *Wendelſtein*, near *Nuremberg*, about the Year ——— (*a*) ——— He was not ſo attached to Books of Controverſy, but he compoſed ſome Works of another Nature; for he wrote a Hiſtory of *Theodoric*, King of the *Oſtrogoths* [*A*], which was printed at *Ingolſtadt* 1544; and a Hiſtory of *Totila*, which was never publiſhed (*b*).

(a) The *Nova Mariæ Baltici*, *Feb.* 1699, *pag.* 41, ſays in the Year 1502.

(b) He mentions it in his Preface to the *Hiſtory of* Theodoric.

[*A*] *He writ a Hiſtory of* Theodoric, *King of the* Oſtrogoths.] The Journaliſt of the *Baltic*, for the Month of *February*, 1699, ſays, that they were printing, at *Stockholm*, *Vita Theodorici Regis Oſtrogothorum & Italiæ, Auctore Joanne Cochlæo, Germano, cum Additamentis & Annotationibus, quæ Sueo-Gothorum ex Scandia expeditiones & commercia illuſtrat, operâ Johannis Peringſkioldi.* This Book of *Cochlæus* was very ſcarce. The Perſon, who has undertaken to give a new Edition, with proper Notes to it, has compared the Edition of *Ingolſtadt* with a Copy taken from the Manuſcript at *Prague*, and collated with the Manuſcript in the Library at *Hamburgh* (1). The ſame Journaliſt, in the Month of *November* 1699, informs us, that this new Edition was finiſhed.

(1) *Taken from* Nova Literaria Maris Balthici & Septentrionalis menſis Feb. 1699, pag. 41.

COLLATIUS (*a*) (Peter Apollonius) a Prieſt of *Novarra*, lived towards the end of the XVth Century. This can no longer be doubted of, ſince the Journey that Father *Mabillon* took into *Italy*, in the Year 1686 [*A*]. *Collatius* wrote

(a) *Moreri* ſpeaks of him under the Words *Apollonius Collatius*, p. 294. and then, pag. 296, he makes a Title of him, and refers the Reader to *Collatius*.

[*A*] *He lived towards the end of the XVth Century. This can no longer be doubted of, ſince the Journey that Father* Mabillon *took into* Italy, *in the Year* 1686.] Mr *Magliabecchi* preſented *Dom Mabillon* with a Poem of *Apollonius*, in Epic Verſe, on *David* and *Goliah*, and ſhewed him, that the ſame Poem is dedicated to *Laurence de Medicis*, and that there are with it ſome Epigrams of the ſame Author, whereof one is the Epitaph of *Paul* II, and the other that of *Sixtus* IV. *Dom Mabillon*, inſerting this in the Relation of his Journey, obſerves judiciouſly, that, for the time to come, it cannot be doubted

wrote several *Latin* Poems, and one among the rest upon the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, which was inserted in the *Bibliotheca Patrum* by *Margarinus de la Bigne*. It had, before that, been printed at *Paris* [B], by the care of *John Gagney* Doctor of Divinity; and another Edition of it came out at *Leyden* in the Year 1586, by the care of *Adrian vander Burch*, who had revised and corrected the Text. This is a Proof that *Collatius* was taken for a very ancient Author. *Scaliger*, the Father, was not in that Error; for he ranked him (*b*) among the modern Poets, below *Andrew Alciatus* and *Balthasar Castiglione*, and above *Lancinus Curtius*, *Faustus Andrelinus*, and *Erasmus*. One may easily perceive that he did not place those Authors according to an exact Chronology; but nevertheless he shewed plainly enough, that *Collatius* was a modern Poet. He ascribes some *Fasti* to him, and does not speak well of them [C]. Several learned Men have taken so little notice of that Place of *Scaliger*, that they have quoted *Collatius* as an ancient Author [D]. *Vossius* (*e*) wonders that *Gyraldus* said nothing of this Priest of *Novarra*. Father *Briet* spoke of him for the use of this Dictionary [E]. It is not long since the Poem of our *Apollonius* upon

(b) Vid. Casc. Scalig. Poet. lib. 6.

(c) Vossius de Histor. Lat. p. 812.

doubted that *Peter Apollonius* lived about the end of the XVth Century. But what he says of *Vossius* is not so exact as I could wish it were. These are his Words: 'Quo ex carmine discimus ætatem hujusce auctoris quem alii ad fæculum septimum, alii ad decimum, alii ad alia tempora referunt, ut videre licet apud Gerardum Vossium de Historicis Latinis ubi Petrus Apollonius Collutius appellatur (1). - - - - *From which Poem we learn the Age of this Author, whom some place in the VIIth Century, others in the Xth, and others in other Times, as we find in* Vossius, *where he is called* Petrus Apollonius Collutius.' First of all, *Vossius* does not call him *Collutius*, but *Collatius* (2); and in the second Place, he does not say, that some make *Collatius* to live in the VIIth Century, and others in the Xth, and some others in other times; he says only, that *Margarinus de la Bigne* (3) placed him in the VIIth Century, about the Year 690, and that some great Men of our Age quote him as an ancient Author. He adds, that he takes him to be a modern Author, cotemporary with, and later than, the Year 1490, and that *Barthius* (4) believes him also to be a modern Writer. *Vossius*'s Reason is, that he does not think he ought to be distinguished from *Apollonius Collatius*, of whom *Scaliger* speaks in his Poetics. It is therefore manifest, that *Dom Mabillon* has not quoted *Vossius* right.

(1) Mabillon. Musæum Ital. Tom. I, pag. 294.

(2) Vossius, de Hist. Lat pag. 811.

(3) In Indice chronologico veterum Ecclesiæ Scriptorum in Tom. I, Bibl. Patrum.

(4) Adversar. lib. 23, cap. 27.

[B] *His Poem on the Destruction of* Jerusalem *had already been printed at* Paris.] I have not set down the Year of that Edition, because I perceived some Difference between Mr *de Launoi* (5), and Mr *Daumius* (6); the latter, who believes, that it was only the second, and that the first had appeared in *Italy*, places it in the Year 1546; the other places it in the Year 1540 (7). Mr *Daumius* reckons that of *Margarin de la Bigne* for the third Edition (8), and that of *Adrian Vander Burch* for the fourth, whom he blames for saying that his Edition of *Leyden* 1586 was the second. He pretends, that he ought to have said that it was the fourth. But neither would this have been right; considering the Edition of 1540 which Mr *de Launoi* mentions, and that of *Paris*, 1575, which is in the Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library. I do not speak of the Edition that *Vossius* looked upon as the first (9), (which is, according to him, that which was published at *Paris*, in the Year 1516, by the care of *John Gagney*) for it is plain that he is mistaken as to the time. *Gagney* did not begin to study Divinity, 'till the Year 1524 (10). So that it is not likely he should have published *Collatius* in 1516. *Vossius* tells us of an Edition made by *Christopher Plantin* at *Antwerp*, revised by *Vander Burch*: it is doubtless the same as that of *Leyden*, in 1586: and if *Vossius* had seen *Antwerp* in the Title of his Copy, it ought to be imputed to the Custom the Booksellers have, to print many Titles, and to put, in some of them, some Years and Towns, that differ as much as they please from the Years and the Towns mentioned in the others. How many times have they, by that means, occasioned the Number of Editions to be encreased by the Bibliographers, without any reason? *Daumius* was in the right to think that the *Paris* Edition came out after an Edition of *Italy*: for that Work was printed at *Milan*, in 1481 (11).

(5) Hist. Collog. Navarr. pag. 685.

(6) Epist. ad Reinesium, pag. 87.

(7) In the *Acta Eruditi*, 1692, pag. 558, *It is placed in the Year wherein Mr de Launoi places it.*

(8) *In the* Bibliotheca Patrum.

(9) Vossius de Hist. Lat. p. 812.

(10) Launoi, Hist. Gymn. Navar. pag. 681.

(11) Acta Eruditi Lipsiens. 1692, pag. 558.

[C] Scaliger *ascribes some* Fasti *to him, and does not speak well of them.*] These are his Words: 'Apollonius Collatius fastos edidit, in quibus pictatem laudes, frigiditusculus tamen poëta est: & cum discedit ab elegiaco etiam infelix (12). - - - - Apollonius Collatius *published Annals, wherein, tho' the Piety of the Author is commendable, yet the Poetry is dull, and when he leaves the Elegy is entirely flat.*'

(12) Jul. Cæsar Scalig. poetic. lib. 6.

[D] *Several learned Men* —— *have quoted* Collatius *as an ancient Author.*] *Vossius* says only, without naming any body, that the great Men of this Age commonly quote him as such (13); but *Barthius* does not use so much Caution: he says, that *Collatius* has been quoted as an ancient Christian Poet by *Joseph Scaliger* in his Notes on *Eusebius*; by *Casaubon*, in his Commentary on *Suetonius*; by *Francis Junet*, in his Notes on *S. Paulinus*; by *Christopher Colerus*, in his Observations on *Tacitus*; by *Thomas Dempsterus*, in his Notes on *Corippus*; by *Meursius*, in his Glossary; by *John Savaron*, in his Commentary on *Sidonius Apollinaris*; by *Bulengerus*, in his Treatise, *de Imperatore*, and elsewhere (14). The learned *Reinesius*, who was not sorry to censure *Barthius*, pretends (15), that there was no reason to find Fault with those great Men, since they say nothing of the Age that *Collatius* lived in, and they might well quote an Author, who appeared to them a Modern: that in particular it is an absurd thing to censure *Joseph Scaliger* for it: Could he be ignorant of what his Father had taught him concerning *Collatius*'s Age? Read the Answer of *Daumius* to these Objections of *Reinesius* (16); I am sure you will find, that *Barthius* was in the right.

(13) Ut antiquum à summis eruditis hujus viri passim laudatur. *Vossius de Hist. Lat. pag.* 812.

(14) Barth. Commentar. ad Claudian. pag. 705. *In his Commentary upon* Statius, *Tom. II, pag.* 436, *he quotes the last Commentator upon* Petronius. *I suppose he means* Goldastus.

(15) Epist. ad Daumium, pag. 25, 26.

(16) Ibid. p. 270.

A Carmelite, named *Daniel*, of the Virgin *Mary*, has likewise taken *Collatius* for an ancient Christian Poet (17); and it seems that he had a mind to shelter himself under the Authority of *Casaubon*. The Marquis *d'Agropoli* censures him for it, and overthrows at the same time what the Carmelites would infer from a Passage of that Poet.

(17) Daniel à Virgine Maria, vines Carmeli, part. 3, cap. 16, n. 358, apud Marchionem Agropolitanum in Exam ne Div. nitio in Carmelo consultæ, Art. 22, pag. m. 22.

[E] *Father* Briet *spoke of him for the Use of this Dictionary.*] He does not determine the Age that *Collatius* lived in, but he has committed some Faults. I. He says, that *Margarin de la Bigne* places him in the time of *Charlemagne*, and makes him flourish about the Year 690 (18). It is *Margarin de la Bigne*, who assigns him that Year; why then does Father *Briet* impute to him to have placed him under *Charlemagne*, whose Reign did not begin till the Year 768, and his Empire 'till the Year 800, or 801. It is evident, that this Jesuit took the Year 690, and the time of *Charlemagne*, for the same thing, which is a Mistake. II. He says, that *Vossius* rejects the Opinion of *Margarin de la Bigne*, and places *Collatius* in the beginning of the XVth Century; so that he makes him live in the time of *Politian*. *Vossius* sets down expressly the Year 1490, which is towards the end, and not in the beginning, of the XVth Century; and it would be a chronological Mistake to pretend that an Author, who had flourished in the beginning of the XVth Century, should have lived at the same time with *Politian*. III. Father *Briet* rejects *Vossius*'s Opinion, because he does not find *Collatius*'s Stile lofty enough for the Age that *Politian* lived in, which is that wherein Learning was revived. He finds false

(18) Briet. de Poët. Lat. lib. 5. pag. 63.

upon the Combat of *David* and *Goliah* was printed at *Milan*, with some Elegies and Epigrams [*F*].

Quantity in *Collatius*, and an Ignorance of the *Greek*, which does not agree with the Age of *Politian*. That Reason is very insignificant; for all the Authors of the XVth Century did not equally improve by the Increase of Learning in *Italy*: Some of those who endeavoured to polish their Stile, either for Verse or Prose, made but an indifferent Progress, and learned the *Greek* Language but very imperfectly. IV. That Jesuit finds a little more Loftiness and Politeness in *Collatius*'s Stile, than there was in the time of *Charlemagne*; from whence he concludes, that *Vossius* and *Barthius* bring him too low, *eum nimis deprimunt*. If he means, that they despise him too much, he is mistaken; for they only take him for a modern Poet. If he means, that they make him a little too modern, he confutes himself; for according to his way of arguing, in our third Observation, the more a Poet raised himself above the Barbarity of the VIIIth Century, the more he deserves to be placed in *Politian*'s Century.

[*F*] *The Poem ----- on the Combat of* David *and* Goliah *was printed at* Milan, *with some Elegies and Epigrams.*] I have said, already, what Father *Mabillon* learned, concerning this matter, from the illustrious *Magliabecchi*, and I shall say here what we find in the Journal of *Leipsic* (19). We are told there, that Mr *Magliabecchi* gave Mr *Pusterla*, Keeper of the *Ambrosian* Library at *Milan*, some Poems of *Apollonius*; and that *Pusterla* gave them to Mr *Lazarus Augustin Catta*, a Civilian of *Novarra*, who got them printed at *Milan*, in 1692, in 8vo. That Collection contains the Combat of *David* and *Goliah*, and a Complaint of Jesus Christ against the Jews, in Epic Verse, an Elegy on the Pleasures of a Country Life, and divers Epigrams; but the Epitaphs of *Paul* II, and *Sixtus* IV, that were in Father *Mabillon*'s Copy, were suppressed. Our *Apollonius* is called *Collatinus* in the Work published by Mr *Catta*. *Ricciolus* must be placed in the Number of those that took him for an ancient Christian Poet; for he placed him in the VIIIth Century (20).

(19) Mens. Decemb. 1692. pag. 558, 559.

(20) Ibidem.

COLOGNE (Peter *de*) in *Flemish Van Ceulen* [*A*], Minister of *Metz* in the XVIth Century, had a great share in the Friendship of *Calvin* and *Beza*. He was of *Ghent*. We say in another place (*a*), that *Robert Stephens*, with whom he was familiarly acquainted at *Paris*, was the Cause of his going to *Geneva*; where *Calvin*, having put the last hand to his Instruction, perswaded him to devote himself to the Ministry of the Word of God. He performed the first Exercises of it at *Metz*, in the Year 1558. *Clervant* brought him thither for that Function from *Geneva* (*b*). That Church was dispersed in the Reign of *Francis* II. *Clervant*, who was a Gentleman of great Worth, and very zealous for the Cause, retired with his Family to *Strasburg*; *Peter de Cologne* retired to *Heidelberg* (*c*), from whence the Protestants called him back again to *Metz* in the beginning of the Reign of *Charles* IX (*d*). He preached privately from House to House till the fourth of *May* 1561, when he was taken Prisoner as he was preaching. Some days after he was put out of the City, but he returned again a little while after; for on the Twenty fifth of *May* of the same Year the Protestants begun to preach publickly, by the King's Leave. It is true that *Senneterre*, who commanded in the City, would not suffer that Minister to return thither: so that, after he had preached, the Protestants were obliged to conduct him back again under a good Guard to the Village of *Grixi*. This lasted but till the Return of *Vieilleville*, Governor of *Metz* (*e*); for he caused *Cologne* to come in again. The King, having received at *Metz* the News of the Battle of *Jarnac*, that was fought in 1569, wherein the Prince of *Condé* was killed, permitted the demolishing of the Temple, and the Ministers could not get out of the City but with great Trouble and Danger (*f*). *Peter de Cologne* retired into the Palatinate, and was Minister at *Heidelberg*. He died in the Flower of his Age. He had composed some Books [*B*] during his abode at *Metz*. His Son DANIEL COLONIUS was Principal of the Walloon College at *Leyden* (*g*). He published some Theses on *Calvin*'s *Institution* in the Year 1628. *Heinsius* dedicated to him his *Aristarchus sacer*.

(*a*) *In the Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* Dieu (Lewis de).

(*b*) Beza Hist. Eccles. lib. 16. pag. 444.

(*c*) Ib. pag. 446.

(*d*) Ib. pag. 449.

(*e*) Ib. pag. 452.

(*f*) Ib. pag. 464.

(*g*) Orat. Funebr. Ludov. de Dieu.

[*A*] *In* Flemish Van Ceulen.] He was the first of his Family who latinized this Name by that of *Colonius* (1). It was his Schoolmaster's Fancy; but in *France* he was called *de Cologne*.

(1) Vide Orationem funebrem Ludov. de Dieu.

[*B*] *He had composed some Books.*] *La Croix du Maine* durst not venture to give the Titles of them. 'He wrote, *says he*, several Treatises, printed at *Lyons* 'in the Year 1564, by *John de Ogerolles*, the 'Titles of which Books I will not name, for a 'certain Reason.' *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, who was not a Huguenot like him, had more Resolution. Not being suspected, he did not think himself obliged to use so much Circumspection. He says, 'that *Peter de Cologne* translated, out of *German* 'into *French*, The Conformity and Agreement of 'the Holy Scripture, and of the ancient and sound 'Doctors of the Church, and of the Confession of 'Augsburg well understood, concerning the Doctine 'of the Lord's Supper, by the Divines of the Uni'versity of *Heidelberg*. At *Geneva* 1566, in 8vo. 'He translated also, from the *German* Language, 'Thomas Erastus's *True and Right Understanding of* 'these Words of the Lord's Supper, This is my Body. 'At *Lyons*, 1564, in 8vo (2).' As these Books are not now to be found, I think, that, tho' I had great Libraries at command, I could not say which of them Mr *Ancillon* meant in the Life of *Farel*. *Peter de Cologne*, says he, *made a Translation of a Treatise of the Lord's Supper, and dedicated it to Monsieur* de Clervant. None of these three Authors speak of the Answer that *Peter de Cologne* made to *Francis de Beaucaire de Peguillon*, Bishop of *Metz*, printed at *Geneva*, in the Year 1566 (3).

(2) Du Verdier, Biblioth. Franç. pag. 1001.

(3) *See the Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* Dieu (Lewis de.)

COLOMIÉS (PAUL), in *Latin Colomesius*, cultivated the Study of the *Belles Lettres* with great Application, and communicated several curious Observations to the Public [*A*]. He was of *Rochelle*, and the Son of a good Physician (*a*). Among the learned Persons he knew, there was none that he had more intimate Acquaintance with than *Isaac Vossius*; and I think that, if he went betimes into *England*, and before the Protestants of *France* felt the greatest Blows of the Storm that swallowed up the Edict of *Nantes*, it was because *Isaac Vossius* was become Canon of *Windsor*. The Praises, he bestows upon that learned Man, exposed him to an insult, which he bore with the utmost Meekness [*B*]. He had not been long in *England*, before he expressed a dislike of the Presbyterian Party, and an inclination to Episcopal Communion. He made a little Collection of certain select Passages, which he called *Theologorum Presbyterianorum Icon*, which created him many Enemies; no doubt he was to blame to publish that little Book, and even imprudent to write against People, whom he represents as impatient, distrustful, and obstinate; should not this very Character have obliged him to say nothing that might expose him to their resentment? the best way to confute him, was to say nothing; for such an excellent patience would have convinced the World, that they did not resemble the Picture he had drawn of them. And indeed it must be confessed, to the Honour of these Gentlemen, that they contemned this abuse: but as it is difficult, among so great a number of Men, not to find one that will break loose, so there was a Presbyterian Minister in *Holland*, who wrote so sharp an Invective against poor Mr *Colomiés* (*b*), that, if the whole Party were to be judged of by the Character of one Person, That would be sufficient to conclude, that the *Icon Theologorum Presbyterianorum* was drawn to the Life. The Author of the *Icon* bore this Insult without saying a word, not that it was not easy to answer the reproaches of his adversary [*C*]; but probably he was afraid his Condition would be made worse by

(*a*) *His Name was* John Colomiés: *He had a fine Library.*

(*b*) *See* l'Esprit de Mons. *Arnaud*, Tom. II pag. 297, & seq.

(1) *They reproach him with omitting some, and particularly* Casaubon. *See* Am. Jon Mélange de Littérat. Tom. III pag. 96.

[Casaubon was born at *Geneva*, and therefore was not a *Frenchman*. EDIT.]

* *The Arabic & Hispanic Orientalia were published at* Hamburgh, *by* John Christ. Wolfius, *in* 1730.

(2) 1. A Collection of Observations in Latin. 2. A Collection of curious Particulars in *French*. 3. Clavis Linguæ Scaligeri, Casauboni, Salmasii & aliorum. 4. A Key to the *French* Letters writ to *Scaliger*. 5. Notes upon *Quintilian*.

(3) *Rather at* Roan, *tho'* London *is in the Title Page.*

(4) *See in the* 13th *Volume of the* Bibliotheque Universelle, *pag.* 33. *an Extract of this Book intitled* Pauli Colomesii Observationes Sacræ, Editio secunda, auctior & emendatior. Londini, 1689, in 12mo, pag. 34.

(5) *It is the* Appendix, Observationum ad Pomponium Melam Accedit ad easdem P. Simonis Objectiones Responsio.

[*A*] *He communicated several curious Observations to the Public.*] It were to flatter Mr *Colomiés*, to say, that he made Discoveries by the Penetration of his Genius. Certainly that was not his Talent; but he knew how to improve his Reading, and to select many singular things that most Readers do not mind, and which they are glad to find when any body has brought them into little Collections. His chief Study consisted in collecting such things; so that in this respect he was a true Ferret. The first Book he published is called *Gallia Orientalis*; which treats of the *French*, who have understood the *Hebrew* Tongue (1). This Work is much quoted; it tells well, and is hard to be met with; it was printed at the *Hague*, in 1665, in 4to. The Author had prepared a second Edition, enlarged and corrected, and had composed a like Work of the *Italians* and *Spaniards*, who understood *Hebrew*. He even gave his Manuscript to a Bookseller of *Rochelle*, settled at *Amsterdam*, who promised to print it; but three things have hindered hitherto the Impression of these Manuscripts. I. The Death of the the Bookseller. II. The Death of the Author. III. The depraved Taste of the Public, who relish nothing but Libels and Romances. Yet it is to be hoped, that something of these Works of *Colomiés* will be printed *. The second Book he published was entituled, KEIMHAIA LITERARIA, and contains several little things (2). It was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1668, and at *Utrecht* in 1669 in 12mo. His other Works are *Epigrams and Madrigals*, at *Rochelle* in 1671, in 12mo. *Remarks upon the second* Scaligerana, *Groningen* 1669, in 12mo. *The Life of Father* James Sirmond, at *Rochelle* 1671, in 12mo. Tertullian's *Exhortation to the Martyrs, translated into* French, at *Rochelle* 1673, in 12mo. Rome *Protestant*, at *London* (3), 1675, in 12mo. *Historical Miscellanies*, at *Orange* 1675, in 24mo. *Observationes Sacræ*, with a Letter, written by the Author to Mr *Claude*, *concerning the* French *Version of the* Geneva *Bibles*, at *Amsterdam* 1679, in 12mo (4). *Theologorum Presbyterianorum Icon, ex Protestantium scriptis ad vivum expressa*, and *a Parallel between the Practice of the Primitive Church, and that of the Protestants of* France, *in the Exercise of their Religion*, 1682, in 12mo. *Bibliotheque choisie*, Rochelle 1682, in 8vo, reprinted at *Amsterdam*, 1699, with Additions. *Ad Guillielmi Cave Canonici Windesorienſis Chartophylacem Ecclesiasticum Parælipomena, London* 1686, in 8vo. A Letter to Mr *Justel* concerning Father *Simon*'s Critical History. This Letter was printed at *London* 1686, in 4to, with a Book of *Isaac Vossius* (5). As Mr *Colomiés* collected, with great care, the Letters of Illustrious Persons, he published some of them at *London* 1687, in 8vo, together with two Epistles of St *Clement*, &c. The Title of the whole Volume is *Sancti Clementis Epistolæ duæ ad Corinthios, Interpretibus* Patricio Junio, Gottifredo Vendelino, & Joh. Bapt. Cotelerio. *Recensuit & Notarum Spicilegium adjecit* Paulus Colomesius *Bibliothecæ Lambethanæ Curator. Accedit* Thomæ Brunonis *Canonici Windesorienſis Dissertatio de Therapeutis Philonis. His subnexæ sunt Epistolæ aliquot singulares vel nunc primum editæ, vel non ita facile obviæ.* The same Year he published some Letters of the Queen of *Sweden* (6), and, in 1690, a Collection of *Vossius*'s Letters in Folio. He constantly followed the Rule of *Maximus Callimachus, that a great Book is always a great Evil*: all his Books are of a very small size, upon which Mr *Baillet* has made this Reflexion (7). 'The Author of 'L'*Esprit de M. A.* imagines he could not say 'a more stinging thing to Mr *Colomiés*, his Brother Protestant, than by expressing his Contempt of 'him, and coldly rallying his small Books of few 'Leaves. He calls him the great Author of little 'Books, adding, that a Volume of a single Sheet 'was sufficient to make him take place among Authors of the first and second Size.'

(6) *I learn this from the* Bibliotheque Universelle, Tom. 13. pag. 336.

(7) Jugem. des Sçavans, Tom. I. pag. 448.

[*B*] *The Praises, he bestows upon that learned Man, exposed him to an Insult, which he bore with the utmost Meekness.*] 'I shall not however depend upon the 'judgment of Mr *Colomiés*, who, they will say, is an 'Author at a reasonable rate, and retained by Mr '*Vossius* to write little Books, wherein he hardly 'speaks of any thing, but *the Great Vossius* (8).' Though Mr *Colomiés* read this, he did not cease to applaud Father *Simon*, in a Letter he wrote to Mr *Justel*. A Journalist says (9): 'Mr *Colomiés* 'Letter —— contains, curious remarks upon some 'places of Father *Simon*'s Critical History, and has 'nothing in it, but what is very moderate, though 'Mr *Colomiés* was not ignorant of Father *Simon*'s 'being the Author of the Preface and Notes of 'the new Edition of his Critical History.'

(8) *Preface to the new Edition of the* Critical History of the Old Testament.

(9) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, May 1686, pag. 595. *Edit.* 2.

[*C*] *A Presbyterian Minister wrote a sharp Invective against him —— he might very easily have answered the reproaches of his Adversary.*] I have already blamed Mr *Colomiés* for publishing his *Icon*. He had better have let the Passages he collects been scattered up and down; and besides, he chose a very improper time for it. He ought not, on such an occasion, to have exposed *the weak side of a Country*: So that if the Author of *L'Esprit de Monsr. Arnaud* had attacked him in this manner, if he had

confuted

by a Reply [*D*]. He imitated the patience of those, who had been aſperſed in the ſame

confuted the main Points, without deſcending to perſonal reproaches, he would have deſerved commendation; but by flying upon him with violence and fury, he becomes inexcuſable himſelf, and does an injury to his Cauſe. Their Diſpute furniſhed the Readers with a ſort of Theatrical Dramatic Entertainment; but, whereas in Comedies, you have firſt the great Tragic Paſſions repreſented, and then the Comic Parts; on the contrary, here you have firſt the diverting Comic Part, and then Tranſports of Anger, and grave Invective; but nothing can be more ridiculous than thoſe places where the Author pretends to rally; and if Mr *Colomiés* had replied to him, he muſt have been irrecoverably mortified on that head. I do not deſire the Reader ſhould take my Word for it; I will produce my Proofs.

I. Mr *Colomiés* puts his Name at the head of his Works, PER PAULUM COLOMESIUM *Rupellenſem*. Upon this, the Author of *L'Eſprit de Monſ. Arnaud* makes this Jeſt as cold as Ice. 'You ſee by 'the grandeur of this great Man's Name, that Heaven appointed him for an Author. For among all the 'Ancients and Moderns, you find no Name ſo proper to make a fine Figure at the head of a Volume, or in the Title Page of a Book (10): —— 'It muſt be confeſſed, it fills the Mouth, and the 'Eyes, and though there was nothing elſe to exhibit to the Public, it would deſerve to be printed (11). This is like a Man, who for fear of falling ſhort, cannot part with any Thought that offers, or perhaps it would be better to ſay, that it is a ſign of great want of Judgment, and a Taſte for Raillery. However it be, no Man could ſhew better his ill Taſte, than by pretending to diſcover the leaſt grain of Wit in all this, and if I was to anſwer ſuch a ſorry Banter, I ſhould do no more than calmly open the firſt Book, in a Library, that came to hand, and it would be very hard if I did not ſoon find Names as proper to *fill the Mouth, and the Eyes*, as that of *Paulus Colomeſius Rupellenſis*. After which, with a ſerious Air, I would thus beſpeak my Antagoniſt: 'You ſay, that among all the Ancients and Moderns, there is no Name ſo proper 'to make a fine Figure at the head of a Work —— 'and that, though there was nothing elſe to exhibit to the World, yet it would deſerve to be printed. If you were acquainted with many Authors, 'you would not talk at this rate, and it is plain, 'you have not much read or conſidered the Ancients, 'or the Moderns. Why do you not lament the 'Fate of infinite Number of Peaſants, who never 'have their Names ſet at the beginning of any 'Book, though they deſerve to be printed, on account of the many Letters they contain. This 'is your Foundation.' Men of true Wit never rally upon a falſe Fact; they never ridicule an Author for what is common to him with other learned Men, and has nothing particular in it. Are *David Blondellus Catalaunenſis*, *Dionyſius Petavius Aurelianenſis*, *Dionyſius Lambinus Monſtrolienſis*, and a hundred others, I could name, more or leſs to be excepted againſt, than *Paulus Colomeſius Rupellenſis*?

II. The Railleries, this Author grounds upon Mr *Colomiés* being ſirnamed *Rupellenſis*, are not better. In order that Raillery be true, he, who is rallied, muſt deſerve to be rallied: now this can never be ſaid of any one, who follows only the common Cuſtom. When one rallies another upon his Cloaths, he makes himſelf ridiculous, unleſs there is ſomething odd and unfaſhionable in his Cloaths. So that the Jeſt upon *Rupellenſis* is good for nothing, unleſs it be not the common Practice of Authors, who write in *Latin*, to join the Name of their City to their Family Name; but it is certain that this is their Practice, and conſequently Mr *Colomiés* only followed a ſettled Cuſtom (12). Let us conclude, that all this banter reverts upon it's Author, and makes him ſuſpected for a Stranger to the Republic of Letters.

III. But the dulleſt of all his Jeſts is this. After having put down in Capital Letters the Names and Sirnames of his Adverſary, he compares them with others. AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, ſays he (13), *and* SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS CLAROMONTANUS (14), *are nothing like it. I hope Poſterity, who will not be ſo well acquainted with Mr* Colomiés *as we are, will believe, that* RUPELLENSIS *ſignifies the Biſhop of* Rochelle, *as the* HIPPONENSIS *of St* Auguſtin *ſignifies the Biſhop of* Hippo. It is a very wretched Raillery, which is built upon an abſurd Foundation, and which is more ſhocking to thoſe who are not concerned, than to thoſe who are intended to be rallied by it. Nothing is more repugnant to probability than to ſay, the Epithet RUPELLENSIS will one Day ſignify, *Biſhop of Rochelle*: and it is an injury to our Poſterity to imagine them capable of ſuch a groſs blunder. Readers in the Ages to come muſt be a hundred times more barbarous than they were three or four hundred Years ago, if they can believe what the Author of the *Eſprit de Mr Arnauld* hopes they will believe. It may be ſaid, he does not believe ſo, but ſpeaks ironically. I know it, but ſtill his ironical Hope ought to refer to a probable Event. Otherwiſe it would be a fine Raillery to tell a Country Gentleman. *You are drawn with a Sword by your ſide, I hope our Deſcendants will take you for a Duke and Peer.* But in ſhort, it may be ſaid, in favour of our ill Jeſter, that, ſince the *Hipponenſis* of St *Auguſtin* does ſignify Biſhop of *Hippo*, ſo *Rupellenſis* may alſo mean, Biſhop of *Rochelle*. The conſequence I acknowledge; but the principle, from whence it is drawn, is falſe and abſurd; for, in St *Auguſtin*'s Titles, the term *Epiſcopi* is always joined to the Word *Hipponenſis*, and That Father is never taken for a Biſhop, by virtue of the latter Word, but only by the Word *Epiſcopi* (15). The Increaſe of Biſhops might juſtly be dreaded in future Ages, if the Raillery of our Cenſor was good: for, as I obſerved before, it is a common Practice for Authors, who write in *Latin*, to put the Name of their Country in the Titles of their Books. The Reformers have not neglected that Cuſtom (16). A Profeſſer of *Leyden*, of his acquaintance, has indeed put a Title to his Works, which may properly fill the Mouth and the Eyes (17).

Had I not good Reaſon then to ſay, Mr *Colomiés* might eaſily have confounded his Adverſary on the ſubject of Raillery? Might he not have laughed at him, as a Man ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed at a very common thing (18), a Crime hardly pardonable in half Scholars.

It had been as eaſy to confound him upon a more conſiderable Point, than upon Railleries. He is accuſed of being Penſioner of *Iſaac Voſſius*, and even his Paraſite. 'This Obſervation was due to the 'great *Iſaac*, to re-imburſe him for the Penſion and 'Lodgings, he furniſhes Mr *Paulus Colomeſius* 'Rupellenſis with; for our Author lives with him. 'It muſt not be wondered at, that Mr *Colomiés* is 'attached to the Party of the Canons, who live at 'their eaſe on the fatneſs of GOD's Houſe, ſince he 'gathers the crumbs that fall from their Table, and 'dwells in a Land flowing with Milk and Honey '—— (19). It is a vile Compliance to ſacrifice his 'Brethren to the Paſſion of thoſe, who give him 'perhaps a meal —— (20). I know not what Religion that Man is of; but this is certain, he is 'of the Paraſites Religion, always for him that 'gives moſt (21).' This cruel Satire, which reflects upon the Epiſcopal Clergy on one hand, and *Colomiés* on the other, might eaſily be refuted. I have read a Letter, written at that time by Mr *Juſtel*, in which he ſays, they were very wrong to treat Mr *Colomiés* as a Paraſite: the Behaviour of that Man, and his way of ſubſiſting in *England*, fully confuted the Accuſation of the *Eſprit de Mr Arnaud*.

[*D*] *But probably he was afraid his Condition would be made worſe by a Reply.*] I never heard of any ill reports againſt the Honour of *Paul Colomiés*, or his Relations; but after all, where are the Men, whoſe Youth and Family are totally free from all ſtain, great or ſmall, or have nothing to fear from the abuſive Memoirs of an Enemy. I imagine that *Colomiés* conſidered, if he farther provoked the Author of the *Eſprit de Mr Arnaud*, he would oblige him to write to *Rochelle* for ſome Memoirs, which would be furniſhed from thence, to cry down a Man that had endeavoured to render the Presbyterian Party odious to all *Europe*. Therefore he was ſilent, that he might not expoſe himſelf afreſh to the Slander of ſo dangerous an Enemy. See what we have obſerved before on this head (22). [*E*] *He*

(10) *The Author puts in three Lines, and large Characters*, Per Paulum Colomeſium Rupellenſem. *This laſt Word is in a ſmall Character in the Title of the* Icon.

(11) Eſprit de Monſ. Arnaud. Tom. II. pag. 298, 299.

(12) *I give no Proofs of it, the thing being ſo well known.*

(13) L'Eſprit de Monſ. Arnaud, Tom. II. pag. 299.

(14) *But this is wickedly curtailing the Names of this Biſhop of* Auvergne, *that they may not exceed the Names of* Colomiés. *It ſhould be* CAIUS SOLLIUS APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS AVERNORUM EPISCOPUS. *Few Authors ſay*, CLAROMONTANUS EPISCOPUS.

(15) *The Author of* Cabale Chimerique *repreſented this to the Author of* L'Eſprit de Monſ. Arnaud, *in* 1651, pag. 186, 187, *of the Preface of the* Chimera demonſtrated.

(16) *The Title of* Beza's *Works is* Theodori Bezæ Vezelli Volumen primum Tractationum Theologicarum.

(17) ANDREAE RIVETI PICTAVI SAMAXENTINI SS. THEOLOGIAE DOCTORIS ET SACRARUM LITERARUM PROFESSORIS Opera.

(18) *This Author has been often charged with this Fault in the Books concerning the* Chimerical Cabal of Rotterdam.

(19) Eſprit de Monſ. Arnaud, Tom. 2. pag. 302.

(20) Ibid. pag. 303.

(21) Ibid. pag. 304.

(22) *Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* ARNAULD, *Doctor of the* Sorboane.

same Book; he was silent, which was certainly in him a mistaken and unseasonable Virtue [E]. I have been told, that, I. When they established the *French* Church at *London*, of which Mr *Allix* was Minister, Mr *Colomiés* was made Reader (c); this Congregation observed the Rites of the Episcopal Church. II. That having lost his Employment under the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (d), when that Archbishop was deprived of his Temporals, for obstinately refusing to take the Oaths to King *William* and Queen *Mary* in 1691, he grew melancholy, and fell into a Distemper of which he died shortly after, unjustly deserving to encrease the Appendix of *Pierius Valerianus*, *de Infelicitate Literatorum*. In the first Remark I insert the List of his Works. If any think I have given too good a Character of him, I refer them to other Authors, more difficult to be pleased than my self, who speak much more favourably of him [F]. Perceiving himself ill at *Lambeth*, he came to *London*, where he died the thirteenth of *January* 1692 [G]. Before he was buried, they discovered that he had contracted, at *Lambeth*, a Marriage of Conscience with a Woman of low Condition. He left her a Legacy of thirty Pounds, which recovered her from the grief she expressed by her Cries and Lamentations at the day he was buried. He was suspected by many to die a Socinian.

(c) He is called Priest of the Church of England in the 13th Volume of the Bibliotheque Universelle, pag. 338.

(d) *Library Keeper*, Bibliotheca Lambathanæ Curator.

(e) See the Mercure Galant of July 1702, pag. 87.

He is treated as a great Man by an Author, who observes that it *may be said with as much Truth as Wit, that he was a great Author of little Books* (e); this is doing him Honour, by an Expression which was only designed to ridicule him (f).

(f) See above, Citation (7).

[E] *He was silent, which was certainly a mistaken and unseasonable Virtue.*] Clemency, that Virtue so amiable, so useful, so necessary, and so divine, becomes pernicious on certain Occasions. There are some Evils which require the Rigours of an exemplary Punishment: the Practice of Moderation becomes unseasonable, and opens a Door to new Sufferings. This is true, not only in Political Governments, but also in the Republic of Letters. Authors who dare to publish such Books, as the *Esprit de Monsr Arnaud*, deserve no favour; to let them go unpunished, is exposing the reputation of others to continual plunder. Against such Authors as these, *Boccalini* should have made *Apollo* hold his extraordinary Session, and sitting on his Bed of Justice, alluding to the Custom of *France*, summon all the Forces of *Parnassus*. He ought to suppose at least, that *Apollo* sends out against them the *Prætorian* Guards, or the Marshalsea of *German* Poets, to apprehend and keep them close Prisoners (23). This is necessary for the security of the Highways, in the Republic of Letters; and yet among all the Persons, who have been insulted in the *Esprit de Monsr Arnaud*, not one has publickly resented it; for a Letter, that appears perhaps Ten Years after, or a Word or two, in some other work, is to be reckoned as nothing. Those who were wounded should immediately have cried out, and those who were not, yet ought to have seconded them for the general Good; nay, they ought to have implored the assistance of the Laws, according to the Practice of Antiquity.

(23) See Mr Baillet, Jugem. sur les Critiq. Tom IV. pag. 9. & pag. 28 &c. of the 2d Century of Boccalini.

> —— doluere cruento
> Dente lacessiti, fuit intactis quoque cura
> Conditione super communi: quin etiam lex
> Pœnaque lata malo quæ nollet carmine quenquam
> Describi —— —— (24).

(24) Horat. Epist. 2, lib. II. ver. 154.

> *Thus Satires spread, none spar'd the good Man's Name,*
> *For Malice libell'd what she could not blame.*
> *The growing License all with Terror saw,*
> *Till a tough Cudgel, authoriz'd by Law,*
> *And blushing Rods, kept wicked Wits in Awe.*

Impunity only served to promote the rashness of this Pen; and no doubt, if the *Spons*, the *Allixs*, the *Merlats*, to say nothing of others, who imitated their Patience, had vigorously repelled the Insults of that Man, he would never have carried his Satire so far as to make wicked attempts on the Life of his Colleagues, by accusing them of cabalting, and under that Name thrusting in whoever he will. If those, who had so much patience, were afraid of him as an Author, they must have been great Dupes; since nothing was more easy than to silence him, and the very first time that they wrote against him, upon the subject of the Cabal, he was so much cast down, that he was forced most humbly to beseech the Magistrates, that he might be permitted to write, and his Adversaries be forbid to answer (25). But of this we shall speak more at large in another Article (26).

(25) See the Preface to the Chimera demonstrated, pag. 65.

(26) In Remark [E] of the Article TAVERNIER.

[F] *Other Authors more difficult than myself — speak more favourably of him.*] I should be wrong to compare myself with Mr *Baillet*: I readily, and willingly yield to him the Right of Censure. If he judges more freely than I, and if I make greater allowances than he does, it is because he knows more certainly, than I do, the good, the best, the great Errors, the small Defects. He shall be my evidence in this Remark; he, I say, who has exceedingly praised *Colomiés*, as it appears by what follows. 'In Justice to this Author it must be acknowledged, that he is one of those who are best acquainted with Books. Even it appears, that his principal Talent consists in distinguishing good Books from bad, and what is curious and scarce in polite Literature. As the greatest Part of his Books are critical Pieces, I must in Gratitude to him confess, that many of his Works have been of very great service to me (27).' In another Place, speaking of his *Gallia Orientalis*, he says (28): 'These are excellent Materials, collected with abundance of care, and may be of great use to those who shall undertake to write a Universal Library of the *French* Authors (29).'

(27) Jugem. des Scavans, Tome II, num. 69. pag. 32.

(28) Ibid. num. 137, pag. 170.

(29) *Add to this his* Elogium *in the* Journal des Scavans, August 27, 1676, pag. m. 213. *In the* Acta Eruditorum *of* Leipsic, Tome III, pag. 314; *and in the* Melanges d'Histoire & de Literature par Monsr de Vigneul-Marville, pag. 269. *Edition of* Rouen, 1699.

[G] *He died at* London *the Thirteenth of* January, 1692.] That is New Stile; for the Register of *St Martin*'s Church, in the Church-yard of which he was buried, imports the Funeral to have been *January* the fifth 1691. It is well known, that, in *England*, all public Records begin the Year on the Twenty fifth of *March*; so that the fifth of *January*, 1691, according to the Register of *St Martin*'s Parish, must be the Fifteenth of *January* 1691, according to the Stile of *Holland*. Now, as the dead are commonly buried, at *London*, two Days after their decease. I have put down the Date as above. I should not have known this so exactly, but by the information of Mr *de la Regne*, a *French* Minister at *London* (30).

(30) His capacity is well known, by a Sermon he preached at *London*, on the Peace, *Sept.* 23, 1697, which was printed soon after, at that Place.

COLONNA (Pompey), Cardinal Archbishop of *Montreal* in *Sicily*, and Bishop of a great number of Places [A], made a great Figure in the World, and with a great

[A] *Bishop of a great Number of Places.*] His Titles in *Oldoini* and *Mandosi* are: 'Archiepiscopus Montis Regalis in Sicilia, & Rossanensis, Episcopus Reatinus, Sarsinensis, Interamnensis, Acerrensis, Aquilanus, Polentinus, Aversanus, Montis Marrani, & Catanensis. —— *Archbishop of* Mont Real *in* Sicily, *and* Rossa, *Bishop of* Reate, Sarsina, Terano, Acerræ, Aquila, Polentia, Avellino, *Mount* Marno, *and* Catana.'

[B] *The*

a great mixture of good and ill. He knew how to wear equally well the Cardinal's Hat, and Warriour's Helmet, and tried more than once the Viciſſitude of good and ill Fortune. *Julius* II degraded him from all his dignities; *Leo* X reſtored him, made him a Cardinal, and truſted him with ſeveral Embaſſies. *Clement* VII ſtripped him of the Purple, but reſtored it ſoon after. It is pretended that to him he owed his Promotion to the Papal Chair, which Obligation he would not return by gratifying him in all his demands. The Anſwer *Clement* VII one day made him deſerves to mentioned here [*B*]. *Pompey Colonna* died Viceroy of *Naples*, in the Year 1532, and was buried without Pomp, or Epitaph, in the Convent of the *Olivetan* Monks. He is the Author of ſeveral Poems, in which he celebrates the Beauty and Charms of *Iſabella Filamarini*, the Prince of *Salerno*'s Wife. He was her Admirer, but proteſts he had no diſhonourable Deſigns upon that virtuous Lady. This is perhaps one of thoſe poetic Proteſtations, which are as little to be regarded as the Perjuries of Lovers. He wrote another Book more ſerious, and more laboured, in Honour of the fair Sex, *de Laudibus Mulierum* [*C*], which he conſecrated chiefly to the Glory of *Victoria Colonna*, his Relation. This Article deſerved to be made longer, but I would not repeat what every one may find in *Moreri*.

[*B*] *The Anſwer* Clement VII *one Day made him deſerves to be mentioned here.*] 'Cardinal *Pompey* 'Colonna, having, by his Intrigues, raiſed *Cle*'ment VII to the Papal Throne, in Oppoſition to 'Cardinal *Franciotto Orſini*, received many Fa'vours from the new Pope: but imagining no'thing would be denied him, and ſoliciting one Day 'for ſomething, which was not only unjuſt, but diſ'honourable to his Holineſs to grant, *Clement* re'fuſed his Requeſt. *Colonna*, provoked by his De'nial, began to reproach him, that by his Intereſt 'he had obtained the Papacy. His Holineſs re'plied, it was true; but then he deſired him to 'let him be Pope, without being ſo himſelf, and 'not take from him what he had been inſtrumental 'to procure him (1).

(1) Meynier Reponſes libres aux Demandes curieuſes, pag. 279, 280.

[*C*] *He wrote a Book* [illegible] *in Honour of the fair Sex*, de Laudibus Mulierum.] Father *Oldoini* (2) ſays, the Manuſcript is in the moſt Chriſtian King's Library. See alſo the *Bibliotheca Romana of Proſper Mandoſi*.

(2) In Athenæo Romano.

(a) Leand. Albert. lib. 3, de Viris Illuſtr. Ord. Prædicat. apud Voſſium de Hiſtor. Lat. pag. 480.

(b) Thomas Fazellus, lib 8, Decad 1 poſter. Rerum Siculer. apud eund. Ibid.

COLONNA (Victoria) a learned and illuſtrious Lady. See VICTORIA COLONNA.

(c) *As* John Rieche *does*, apud Voſſium de Hiſt Lat. pag. 480.

(d) *As* Philip de Bergamo *does*, lib. 13. Supplem. Chronic. apud eund. Ibid.

COLUMNA or COLONNA (John), a Dominican born at *Rome*, was made Archbiſhop of *Meſſina* (*a*), Legate and Governor of *Tauromine*, by *Alexander* IV, 1255 (*b*). Therefore it is wrong to place him after the Year 1325 (*c*), or in the Year 1313 (*d*). He wrote a Hiſtory intituled, *Mare Hiſtoriarum*, the *Sea of Hiſtories* [*A*], which reached from *Adam* to the Year 1250 (*e*). *Antoninus*, Archbiſhop of *Florence*, quotes it ſometimes. *Poſſevin* mentions one James Columna, a Dominican and Hiſtorian, and he pretends, that this Archbiſhop of *Florence*

(4) *And not in the Year* 1333, *as* La Croix du Maine *pretends*, pag. 36.

(5) Sammarthanl ſub 75 Epiſc. Conſtan. Normann allegant Vitam Caroli VII. Reg. Franc. per Joannem Quadrigarium Monachum S. Dionyſii lib. 4. Maria Hiſt. & in Patriarchio Bituricenſi, cap. 26. allegatur Joannis du Corillo Mare Hiſtoriarum, caphuium 24, §. 3. libri primi de origine Francorum. *Sandius, Animadv. in Voſſium de Hiſt. Lat. pag.* 170, 171.

(e) Spondan. ad Ann. 1255. num. 10.

[*A*] *He wrote a Hiſtory, intituled*, Mare Hiſtoriarum, The Sea of Hiſtories.] There is a Miſtake in thoſe words of the Jeſuit *Gaultier*, *Johannes de Columna, Author Matris Hiſtoriarum* (1). He ſays this in his Table of the XIVth Century: which ſhews, that he did not know the Age of our *Columna*. The *French* Tranſlator not ſuſpecting they had printed *Matris*, inſtead of *Maris*, tranſlates it, *Author of the Mother of Hiſtories*. Father *Gualtier* has copied theſe two Faults from *Genebrard*'s Book. *Johannes de Columna, auctor libri cujus titulus eſt Mater Hiſtoriarum* (2). This Work was tranſlated into *French*, in the Reign of *Charles* VIII. The Tranſlator informs us, that he had added all that concerned the Kings of *France*, having formed this Deſign, becauſe he had brought down his Tranſlation to the Foundation of the *French* Monarchy, when *Charles* VIII aſcended the Throne. He calls himſelf a *Frenchman, a Native of* Beauvoiſin. And adds, he was confirmed in this Deſign, *by the virtuous Exhortations, and eminent Reaſons of the noble* Andrew de la Haye, *Lord of* Chaumot, *and Receiver of the Taxes, and Payments of the Troops, Towns, and Election of* Sans. The Edition I have is printed at *Lyons*, by *John du Pre*, 1496, in two Volumes, in Folio, and reaches to the Death of *Lewis* XI, in 1483. I have ſeen a Copy of it, belonging to a Canon of *Antwerp* (3), in which are written theſe words, *Borchardus auctor hujus operis, ut patet ex* 120 *capite hujus voluminis, folio* 702: — Borchard *is Author of this Book, as appears by the Hundred and twentieth Chapter of this Volume, pag.* 702. Accordingly in that Page is written what follows: 'And becauſe I *Borchard*, 'Doctor and Profeſſor of that holy Divinity, be'ing willing to ſatisfy the Deſire of thoſe, who, 'by a great Inclination and Devotion, go over the 'Sea, to viſit the Places of the ſaid *Holy Land*, 'through which I have paſſed and walked many 'times, having deſcribed it according to my beſt 'Capacity, without ſaying, or adding any thing 'but what I myſelf have ſeen, being preſent in the 'ſaid places, or on the Mountains from whence I 'could conſider them.' But this proves only, that the Tranſlator, or ſome Continuator, has inſerted into that *Sea of Hiſtories Benoeventure Brechard*'s Deſcription of the *Holy Land*, which he viſited about the Year 1280 (4). They have inſerted in it abundance of other things (5), and even took the Liberty to change the Oeconomy of it. It was divided into Books, by *John Columna* (6); but in the *French* Verſion it is divided into ſix Ages, each of which contains ſeveral Chapters. *Du Cheſne*, who ſays nothing of the Edition I uſe, mentions three others. 'The great Sea and Flower of Hi'ſtories, *ſays he* (7), printed in the beginning of 'the Reign of *Charles* VIII, King of *France*, in 'two Volumes, in Folio, and ſince continued to 'the Year 1543, at *Paris*, by *Ambroſe Girault*: 'Laſtly, augmented with a third Volume, down to '1551, by *John le Gendre Aurelianois*.'

This *Sea of Hiſtories* has been quoted by an infinite Number of Authors, eſpecially by *John Conſin*, who ſet a great Value on it (8).

Voſſius obſerves, that an anonymous Author, who wrote, in *Italy*, in the Year 1381, a Treatiſe *de Hierarchia ſubcœleſti*, has ranked *John Columna* among the Authors, who have writ the Hiſtory of the Popes (9): but this does not neceſſarily infer, that he compoſed a Book expreſsly upon the Popes: it may only mean what he has inſerted relating to them in his *Mare Hiſtoriarum*. He publiſhed alſo a Volume of Letters (10). It is ſaid alſo, that he compoſed a Treatiſe, *de Viris Illuſtribus & Chriſtianis* (11). If he had writ a particular Hiſtory of the Popes, I cannot think, that *Volaterran* would have omitted it in his Liſt (12), where he ſets down Landulf Columna, who dedicated his Works to Pope *John* XXII.

(1) Oudin. Tabul. Chron. pag. m. 799.

(2) Genebrard. Chronol. lib. 4. *about the Year* 2317.

(3) William Van Hamme.

(6) Trithem. de Scriptor. Eccleſ. pag. 226. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 480.

(7) Du Cheſne Biblioth. des Hiſt. de France, pag. m. 57.

(8) *In his* Hiſt. de Tournai.

(9) Voſſius de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 481.

(10) Trithem. de Scriptor. Eccleſiaſt. pag. 226. *See the* Biblioth. of Geſner, fol. 408, verſo.

(11) Sandius Animadv. in Voſſium de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 172.

(12) Volater. lib. 22. initio.

Florentet copies him in many Places. *Voſſius* is not of his Opinion [*B*]. I ſhall obſerve a ſmall Error of *Andrew Rivet* (*f*).

(*f*) At the end of Remark [*B*].

[*B*] Poſſevin *mentions one* James Columna - - - - - *copied by* Antoninus, *Archbiſhop of* Florence - - - - - *but* Voſſius *is not of his Opinion.*] Thus he expreſſes himſelf: 'Poſſevinus diverſos facit, Joannem & Jacobum, Columnas, utrumque Ord. Præd. utrumque Hiſtoricum: atque addit, B. Antoninum plura ex Jacobo derivaſſe in Hiſtoriam ſuam. Puto falli. Nam Antoninus Joannem Columnam teſtem advocat, cum aliqui, tum Tit. xix. Cap. i, ubi Sermo eſt de Innocentio III, qui prius Lotharius vocabatur. At Jacobum Columnam Hiſtoricum, quantum meminiſſe poſſum, planè neſcit: nec fuiſſe ejus nominis Hiſtoricum cenſeo (13).' Poſſevin *makes two* Columnas, John *and* James, *both* Franciſcans, *and both Hiſtorians; and adds, that* Antoninus *had borrowed many things from* James *which he had put into his Hiſtory. I believe he is miſtaken. For* Antoninus *quotes* John Columna *ſeveral times, and particularly in the ſixth Tit. of Book* I, *where he ſpeaks of* Innocent III, *whoſe former Name was* Lotharius. *But, as I remember, he knows no ſuch Hiſtorian as* James; *nor do I think there was any Hiſtorian of that Name.*' *Sanderus* objects to him, that *Nauclerus* relates ſomething on the Authority of *James Columna* (14). He might have added, in Confirmation of his Criticiſm, that the Fact, for which *Nauclerus* cites *James Columna*, is not to be found in the *Mare Hiſtoriarum* (15); and obſerve, that ſeveral Authors make mention of this *James*. 'Jacobus Columna Ordinis Sancti Dominici Hiſtoricus eruditus, quem pluries citat Sanctus Antoninus in ſuis Hiſtoriis. Scripſit mandavit *Chronicon à creatione Mundi, uſque ad ſua tempora* 1340. Eſt Jacobi mentio apud Luſitanum, Plodium, Fernandez, Fontanam de Romana Provincia, & Ambroſium de Altamura in *Bibliotheca Ordinis Prædicatorum* (16). - - - - - 'James Columna, *of the Order of St* Dominic, *a learned Hiſtorian, who is often cited by St* Antoninus *in his Hiſtory. He wrote a* Chronicle from the Creation of the World to his own Times 1340. *Mention is made of this* James *by* Luſitanus, Plodicus, Fernandez, Fontana *of the* Roman *Provinces, and* Ambroſius Altamura *in his* Bibliotheca Ordinis Prædicatorum.' Theſe are the words of *Proſper Mandoſi*, who forgot our *John Columna*, in his five firſt Centuries *Bibliothecæ Romanæ*.

(15) Voſſius de Hiſtor. Lat. pag. 482.

(14) Sanderus Animadv. in Voſſium de Hiſt. Lat. pag. 173.

(15) That *Nicolas*, Biſhop of *Myra*, gave *Arius* a Box on the Ear in the Council of *Nice*. *See* Nauclerus, Tom II. Generat. XI, pag. mihi 469.

(16) Proſper Mandoſius Bibl. Romanæ, cent. I, num. 11, pag. 14, 15.

Give me leave to add here one little part of the Controverſy concerning Pope *Joan*. Mr *du Pleſſis*, having quoted *Antoninus*, who tells us the Tale of that Female Pope, *Coeffeteau* charged him with altering the Paſſage, and ſuppreſſing this Limitation; 'If what is reported, and what *Martinus* ſays, be true. It is added alſo, that they erected a Marble Statue in Memory of her; but *Vincent de Beauvais*, and *John de Columna* makes no mention of it (17).' *Rivet*, in his Anſwer to *Coeffeteau*, uſes theſe words: 'Concerning the Marble Statue, *Antoninus* oppoſes to thoſe, who commonly add it, *Vincent de Beauvais*, and *John de Columna*, who do not mention it. But he ſhews, by this particular, that they make mention of the reſt of the Story (18).' *Rivet* is miſtaken: for thoſe two Authors ſay nothing of the She-Pope; and therefore *Antoninus* could not ſay, they only omitted what concerned the Statue. He ought to have conſulted them, before he had determined the meaning of *Antoninus*'s ambiguous Expreſſions.

(17) Coeffet. Reponſe au Myſtere d'Iniquité, pag. 508.

(18) Rivet. Remarq. ſur la Reponſe au Myſt. d'Iniquité, Part I. pag. 594.

COMANA. There were chiefly two Cities of this name, one in *Cappadocia* (*a*), and the other in the Kingdom of *Pontus* (*b*). Both were conſecrated to *Bellona*, and obſerved almoſt the ſame Rites in the Worſhip of that Goddeſs. One was built upon the Model of the other, That of *Pontus* upon That of *Cappadocia* (*c*). It was in the latter that *Oreſtes* eſtabliſhed this Religious Worſhip (*d*) [*A*]. In each City the Temple of the Goddeſs was endowed with a great many Lands, and a great number of Men officiated there under the Authority of a Pontif, a Perſon of Credit, and

(*a*) Strabo, lib. 12. pag. 559. *and* lib. 12. pag. 389.

(*b*) Id. lib. 12. pag. 385.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Ib. pag. 389.

[*A*] *It was in* Comana *of* Cappadocia, *that* Oreſtes *eſtabliſhed that religious Worſhip.*] Τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ ταῦτα δοκεῖ Ὀρέστης μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Ἰφιγενείας κομίσας ἄγων ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς Σκυθίας τὰ τῆς Ταυροπόλου Ἀρτέμιδος. Theſe words of *Strabo* (1) ſignify, 'that it was believed 'Oreſtes, and his Siſter *Iphigenia*, brought thither 'this Religion from *Scythia Taurica*, being the ſame 'Worſhip they paid to *Diana Tauropolos*.' He adds, that *Oreſtes*, who had let his Hair grow in token of Mourning, left it in this ſame place of *Cappadocia*, which, for that reaſon, was named *Comana*. Now, as he ſays in another place (2), ſpeaking of *Comana*, a City of *Pontus*, that it was conſecrated to the ſame Deity with *Comana* of *Cappadocia*, and had it's Origin from it (3), he plainly ſhews, either that he did not know, or did reject, the Competition there was between the two Cities, and that he diſregarded the Pretenſions of the Inhabitants of *Pontus*. Nevertheleſs, it is certain, they did not yield to the others the Title of Chief, and alſo boaſted they had the true Statue of *Diana*. In which they were rivalled not only by the *Cappadocians*, but alſo by the *Lydians*; ſo that it was not under Chriſtianity, that the Practice firſt began of quarrelling about the Poſſeſſion of a Relic; for, long before they began to claim in ſeveral Places the Poſſeſſion of the true holy Handkerchief, or *John the Baptiſt*'s Head, ſeveral Pagan Cities had diſputed the Poſſeſſion of the Statue of *Diana Taurica*. The *Lacedemonians* pretended to have it. The *Athenians* maintained, that *Iphigenia* had left it in their Country (4). The Inhabitants of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, and *Lydia*, diſputed the ſame Relic. Διεμεμάρτυρηκε δὲ καὶ τὸν τηλικοῦτον ὄνομα τῇ Ταυρικῇ θεᾷ ἄγειν ἀμφισβητοῦσι μὲν Καππάδοκες καὶ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκοῦντες τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ Λυδῶν οἱ ἐσχατοι Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν Ἀναΐτιδος. Cum adhuc illuſtre ſit Tauricæ Dianæ nomen, ut Cappadoces cum Euxini accolis penes utram ſit gentem ejus Deæ ſignum inter ſe certent, & Lydi etiam illi apud quos Anaïtidis Dianæ fanum eſt rem controverſam faciunt (5). —— *The Name of* Diana *of* Tauris *is at this Day ſo famous, that the* Cappadocians, *and they of* Pontus, *ſtill contended who has the Poſſeſſion of her Statue; and the* Lydians *likewiſe, with whom remains the Temple of* Diana Anaïtis, *ſtill contend for the ſame.* As to the Statue of *Diana*, *Dion* gives all the Honour of it to *Comana* of *Cappadocia*; he ſays nothing of the Competition of the *Lydians*, nor of the Inhabitants of *Pontus*. He ſays only, that in *Cappadocia* there were two Cities of the ſame Name, which were not far aſunder; each boaſted of the ſame Things, told the ſame Tales, and ſhewed the ſame Rarities; each pretended to have the true Knife of *Iphigenia*. Μυθολογοῦσι καὶ δεικνύουσι τὰ τε ἄλλα παίγνια ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων, καὶ τὸ ξίφος ὡς αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο τὸ τῆς Ἰφιγενείας, ὃν ἀμφότεροι ἔχουσι. *Cum reliqua omnia ſimilia utrinque fabulantur oſtentantque, tum utraque urbs gladium habet quem verum Iphigeniæ eſſe autumant* (6). There is no doubt but he means that theſe two Cities of *Cappadocia* were named *Comana*. Now as no Hiſtorians, or Geographers, mention two *Comana*'s in *Cappadocia*, near one another; perhaps *Dion* was miſtaken, in not placing, as *Strabo* has done, one of the two *Comana*'s in *Cappadocia*, and the other in the Kingdom of *Pontus*. *Ortelius* is miſtaken, when he aſſures us, that *Dion* makes mention of the *Pontic Comana*, and *Comana* of *Cappadocia* (7). Perhaps *Dion* has confounded together *Comana* and *Caſtabala*: for it is true, there was a City in *Cappadocia* named *Caſtabala*, where the things ſaid of *Oreſtes*, and *Diana Tauropolos*, were pretended

(1) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 389.

(2) Pag. 383, lib. fin.

(3) Ἀφ' ἧς ἔσχηκε καὶ ἡ ἐκείνη. Atque adeo inde limitata. *This is the printed Translation: it does not ſeem to have all the Force of the Original.*

Several Pagan Cities boaſted of having the ſame Relics.

(4) Pauſanias, lib. 3. pag. 98.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Dio, lib. 35.

(7) Abrah. Ortelius in Theſauro Geograph.

and of such Consideration, that the King only was superior to him [*B*]. His Dignity was during Life (*e*). Several Dictionaries, and other Books, make *Strabo* say, that, in his time, there were above Six thousand Persons consecrated to the service of *Bellona*, at *Comana* of *Cappadocia*, who, at certain annual Feasts of the Goddess, beat and wounded one another. I cannot think *Strabo* has said any thing more (*f*), than that, when he travelled there, the Ministers of *Bellona* were above Six thousand, both Men and Women. What they say of those Fights is built upon another Foundation [*C*]. He says of *Comana* of *Pontus*, that it was a populous and trading City, that it was thronged by great numbers of People, at the Festival of *Bellona* going out, and that, at all Times, there were abundance of Strangers, who resorted thither to pay their Vows, or to offer Sacrifices to the Goddess of the Place (*g*). This without doubt was one of the things that drew Strangers thither; after the *Mithridatic* War, the *Romans* in a manner secularized this Pontificate [*D*], and

(*e*) Ib. pag. 370.

(*f*) Ib. pag. 369.

(*g*) Strabo, lib. 12. pag. 385.

pretended to be transacted. The *Diana*, who had a Temple in this City, was firnamed *Perasia*; this served as a Proof. For the rest, the Priestesses, in this place, boasted of being able to walk on burning Coals without hurt. Ἐν τοῖς Καππαδόκαις ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Περσαίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ὅπερ φασὶ τὰς ἱερείας γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ δι' ἀνθρακιᾶς βαδίζειν ἀπαθεῖς, καθ' ταῦθα δὲ τινες τὴν αὐτὴν θρυλλοῦσιν ἱστορίαν τὴν περὶ τὴν Ὀρέστου καὶ τῆς Ταυροπόλου. Περσαίαν καλεῖσθαι φάσκοντες διὰ τὸ πόρρωθεν κομισθῆναι. Apud Castabala Perasiæ Dianæ fanum est, ubi aiunt sacrificas mulieres illæsis pedibus per prunas ambulare: atque ibi sunt qui autument gesta quæ de Oreste & Tauropolo Diana feruntur: dictamque Perasiam quod trans mare eo pervenerit. (8). —— *At* Castabala *is the Temple of* Diana Perasia, *where it is reported, that her Priestesses walk unhurt on burning Coals, and here is told the Story of* Orestes *and* Diana *of* Tauris, *who, they say, was called* Perasia *(the Foreigner) because she was brought from abroad.*

(8) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 370.

[*B*] *The Temple of the Goddess —— was served —— under the Authority of a Pontif - - - - that the King only was superior to him.*] The Inhabitants of *Comana* were reputed the King's Subjects, but were obliged to obey the Pontif: Ἄλλως μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ βασιλεῖ τεταγμένοι, τῷ δὲ ἱερῶν ὑπακούοντες. *Regi quidem alias subditi, sed Pontificis tamen dicto audientes.* Thus *Strabo* speaks of him in pag. 369. He adds, that the Pontif was Lord of the greatest Part of the Temple, and of all the Ministers of holy Things. He received all the Product of the Lands belonging to the Temple; in a word, throughout all *Cappadocia* he was honoured next to the King; for this reason, he was almost always of the Royal Family. Ἔστι δ' ὅτῳ δευτερῷ καθὰ τιμὴν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δ' ἐπίσκοπος τῶν αὐτῶν γένους ἦσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. *Is secundum regem in summo est inter Cappadoces honore: plerumque ex eadem familia sunt Pontifices & Reges.* *Strabo* observes almost the same thing of the Pontif of *Comana* in *Pontus*. This Pontif was next to the King, and twice a Year he wore the Royal Diadem, when they celebrated the going out of the Goddess. Ἤγετο δὶς τοῦ ἔτους καθ' ἑκάστους λεγομένας τῆς θεᾶς διάδημα ἐτυγχάνε φορῶν ὁ ἱερεύς, καὶ ἦν διάπερ καθ' τιμὴν μετὰ τὸν βασιλέα. *Cum bis quotannis in exitu quem vocabant Deæ Diadema Pontifex gestaret & honore secundus à Rege esset* (9). I have made these Remarks for two Reasons: I. To shew, that the same Spirit, which, under Christianity, has procured the Clergy so much Honour and Wealth formerly, prevailed also under the Pagan Religion. So that, tho' Men may change their Opinions and Principles, yet Nature will recover it's Rights. What is founded upon Mechanical Passions is an inalienable imprescriptible Demesn. In the great Revolutions of Religion, Nature may be dispossessed for a Time; but sooner or later she recovers her Possessions. This is my first Motive. My second is, That it appears to me, that Father *Noris* has committed a Fault, when he says, in a general and unlimited Manner, that the same Man was Prince and Pontif of *Comana*. ‘ Hunc ‘ Archelaum Pompejus Sacerdotem Bellonæ ac Comanorum principem (UTRAQUE enim dignitas ‘ UNI EIDEMQUE conferebatur) constituerat (10). - - - - - Pompey *made this* Archelaus *High* ‘ *Priest of* Bellona, *and Prince of* Comana; *for both* ‘ *Honours were conferred on* ONE AND THE SAME ‘ PERSON.’ I do believe, that *Pompey* conferred these two Characters upon *Archelaus* at the same time; but *non fit erat ab initio, - - - it was not so from the beginning.* I shall give two Instances in the Remark [*D*], to confirm what I have said of the great Power of these Pontifs.

(9) Ibid. pag. 384.

(10) Noris, Cenotaph. Pisan. pag. 255. *See Remark* [*C*], *of the Article* ARCHELAUS, *King of* Cappadocia.

[*C*] *What they say of these Fights is built upon another Foundation.*] The Priests of *Bellona* had this in common with the Priests of *Cybele*, that, at certain Seasons, they counterfeited the Enthusiasts, and expressed, by extravagant Postures, a great Distraction of Mind. Far from sparing their own Bodies, they cut themselves till the Blood ran down, and this was a part of their divine Service. *Lactantius* reproaches the Heathens with this. ‘ Ab isto ‘ genere sacrorum non minoris insaniæ judicanda ‘ sunt publica illa sacra; quorum alia sunt matris ‘ Deûm; in quibus homines suis ipsi virilibus litant: ‘ amputato enim sexu nec viros se, nec fœminas faciunt: alia Virtutis, quam eandem Bellonam vocant, in quibus ipsi Sacerdotes non alieno, sed suo ‘ cruore sacrificant. Sectis namque humeris, & ‘ utraque manu districtos gladios exerentes, currunt, ‘ efferuntur, insaniunt (11). —— *From these Solemnities we may infer, that the rest are not less infected with Madness: as those of* Cybele, *where* ‘ *Men sacrifice Virility, by Castration, making themselves neither Men nor Women; and those of Virtue, whom they also name* Bellona, *at which the Priests offer no Blood but their own. For with a drawn* ‘ *Sword in each Hand, and streaming Shoulders, they* ‘ *are guilty of all the wild Extravagances of Men* ‘ *possessed.*’ It is very likely these Rites were observed in *Comana*, where *Bellona* was had in such Veneration; yet *Strabo* does not mention it. He says indeed, at *Comana* in *Cappadocia* there were many inspired or fanatic Persons: but he does not say, that the Priests of *Bellona* were either castrated (12), or that they wounded one another. Some pretend, that *Valerius Flaccus* affirms both the one and the other; for instead of *Comates*, they read *Comanes*, in his seventh Book, about the end.

(11) Lactant. Institut. Divinar. lib. 2. cap. 21.

(12) *On the contrary he mentions their Wives: Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἀγυιαῖς γυναῖκες δρμῶσι μετὰ ἀνδρῶν. Viri una cum mulieribus. Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 369.*

Qualis ubi attonitos mœstæ Phrygas antrus matris
Ira, vel excelsos lacerat Bellona Comanos.

As when the Phrygians Cybele *inspires,*
Or her Comanian *War's great Goddess frets,*
An unmann'd furious Tribe, &c.

[*D*] *The* Romans *secularized in a manner this Pontificate.*] We have proved before, that the Pontif of *Comana* did not enjoy the Sovereignty. The King was superior to him, and the Inhabitants of *Comana* were properly the Subjects of the King. But when *Pompey* had finished the *Mithridatic* War, he gave that Pontificate to *Archelaus*, without imposing any other Dependance upon him, than that which the *Roman* People reserved to themselves when they gave a Country. *Appian*, enumerating the Kings and Princes, placed, by *Pompey*, in several Parts of *Asia*, does not forget *Archelaus*: ‘ Ejus etiam ‘ Deæ quæ à Comanis colitur Archelaum fecit fiminem, cuivis dinastæ parem opibus (13). —— ‘ *He made* Archelaus *High-Priest to the Goddess of the* ‘ Comanians, *who has a Revenue not inferior to* ‘ *any Princes.*’ He forbad him only to sell the Inhabitants, and as for the rest, commanded them to obey

(13) Appian in Mithridat. pag. m. 268.

and made it a sort of Sovereignty, without taking from it the Intendance of Sacred Things. *Pompey* gave it to *Archelaus*, *Cæsar* to *Nicomedes*, and *Augustus* to *Dyteutus*, who had performed a very generous Action (*b*) [*E*]. *Appian* has committed an Error here [*F*].

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 384, 385.

obey him. Περιέθηκε τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν τότων μὲν ἐγκρατεῖς ὄντας καὶ τῶν σφετέρων οἰκετῶν ἀρχικωτέρους, κυρίους δὲ τῶν ἀποδόσεων. Mandavit inhabitantibus Comana ut Archelao parerent. Horum ergo is princeps fuit & hierodulorum in urbe degentium dominus, nisi quod vendendi eos non habebat potestatem (14). —— *He enjoined the Inhabitants Obedience to him; he was therefore their Sovereign, and Lord of all his Ministerial Slaves; but he had not Power to sell them.* He enlarged the Circumference of the Lands, that belonged to the Temple, with fifty *Stadia* (15). These Words of *Strabo*, *They were there also at least Six thousand* (16), shew, that he speaks of *Comana* in *Pontus*, and not of *Comana* in *Cappadocia*: for some Pages before (17) he had said of the latter, That he had seen above Six thousand Persons there. The Sequel of his Discourse confirms this, *viz.* That he means, that *Pompey* invested *Archelaus* with the Pontificate of *Comana*, in the Kingdom of *Pontus*. *Strabo* does not agree in this with *Hirtius*, who informs us, That the Pontificate given by *Pompey* was in *Cappadocia*. Not that he makes mention of *Pompey*; but it is enough for him to say, That *Cæsar* adjudged the Pontificate of *Comana* to *Nicomedes*; for we read in *Appian* (18), that *Cæsar* took from *Archelaus* the Pontificate which he bestowed upon *Nicomedes*. I shall set down the Words of *Hirtius*, because they confirm what I have said before concerning the Authority of the Pontif of *Comana*. 'Magnis itineribus per Cappadociam confectis, biduum Mazacæ commoratus (*Cæsar*) venit Comana vetustissimum & sanctissimum in Cappadocia Bellonæ templum, quod tanta religione colitur, ut sacerdos ejus Deæ majestate, imperio & potentia secundus à rege consensu gentis illius habeatur. Id homini nobilissimo (19). — Cæsar, *passing thro'* Cappadocia, *by long Marches, having staid two Days at* Mazara, *came to* Comana, *the most ancient Temple of* Bellona, *in* Cappadocia, *which is honoured with such uncommon Zeal, that her Priest, from the Majesty of the Goddess, is esteemed, by the People, next in Power and Dignity to the King.*' You will find the Sequel of this Passage above, in the Article ARCHELAUS, King of *Cappadocia*, Remark [*D*], Citation (3).

(14) Strabo, lib. XII, pag. 384.

(15) Ibid.

(16) Ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι τῶν ἱερωμένων. Casaubon *says however, that* ἑξακόσιοι, *quos supra dixit in Cappadocia Comanis fuisse illorum Veneri devotorum sex millia & amplius.* Casaubon *is mistaken; they were not consecrated to* Venus.

(17) Pag. 369.

(18) In Mithrid. sub. fin.

Not long before, *Cicero* had prevented a dangerous Civil-War in that Country. The Pontif, who wanted nothing of what might cause a Dread, and who was able to cut out a great deal of Work for King *Ariobarzanes*, was persuaded, by *Cicero*, to retire from *Cappadocia*. 'Quumque magnum bellum in Cappadocia conciaretur, à sacerdote armis se, quod tutatus putabatur, defenderet, adolescens & equitatu & peditatu, & pecunia paratus, & toto, iis qui novari aliquid volebant: perfeci ut è regno ille discederet, rexque sine tumultu, ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aliis communita, regnum cum dignitate obtineret (20). —— *When a dreadful War was ready to have burst out in* Cappadocia, *and it was thought the High-Priest, a young Man, largely supplied with all the Necessaries of War, would take up Arms, I caused him to support the Kingdom, and procured the King Possession of his Dominions and Authority, and this without Arms, without Confusion, and without injuring the Royal Dignity.*'

(19) Hirtius de bello Alexandr.

(20) Cicero, Epist. IV, lib. 15, ad familiar. pag. 389, 390. Edit. Græv.

[*E*] Augustus *gave it to* Dyteutus, *who had performed a very generous Action.*] *Dyteutus* was the eldest Son of *Adiatorix*, Tetrarch of *Galatia*. *Adiatorix* had obtained from *Marc Antony* That Part of the City and Territory of *Heraclea*, which the Inhabitants granted to the Colony, that the *Romans* had sent thither. He was so base as to fall, in the Night-time, upon the *Romans*, and he massacred them; he said afterwards, That *Marc Antony* had given him leave to do it. This happened a little before the Battle of *Actium*. After *Marc Antony* was overcome, *Adiatorix* fell into the Hands of *Augustus*, and was condemned to Death, with his eldest Son (21). He, his Wife, and his Children, were led in Triumph; and, as he was carried to the Place of Execution, his youngest Son told the Soldiers that he was the eldest. *Dyteutus* maintained the contrary, and there arose an admirable Contest between the Brothers. Their Father and Mother ended it, by persuading *Dyteutus* to yield, because, being older, he would be in a better Condition to protect his Mother and his other Brother. So that *Adiatorix* was killed with the younger. *Augustus*, having heard of it, was sorry for their Death, and, to shew his Beneficence to those that remained, he raised *Dyteutus* to the Pontificate of *Comana* (22).

(21) Strabo, lib. XII, pag. 374.

(22) Id. ibid. pag. 384, 385.

[*F*] Appian *has committed an Error here.*] He says, that *Cæsar* ratified the Distributions of several States made by *Pompey*, except the Pontificate of *Comana*, which he took from *Archelaus*, but that, soon after the Conquest of *Egypt*, all those States, and all that *Cæsar* and *Marc Antony* had given away, were added to the Provinces of the *Roman* People; the *Romans*, adds he, greedily taking hold of all Opportunity to aggrandize themselves (23). I give more Credit to *Strabo*, who affirms, That in his Time *Dyteutus* was possessed of the Pontificate of *Comana* (24).

(23) Appian in Mithrid. sub. fin.

(24) Νῦν ἔχει Δύτευτος υἱὸς Ἀδιατόριγος. Nunc pontificatum obtinet Dyteutus Adiatorigis filius *Strabo, lib XII, pag.* 384.

COMBABUS, a young Lord at the Court of the King of *Syria*, was made choice of by that Prince, to attend the Queen in a pretty long Journey that she was to take. That Queen's Name was *Stratonice*; she designed to build a Temple to *Juno*, according to the Orders she had received for it in a Dream. *Combabus* was a very handsome young Man; and he believed that the King would certainly conceive some Jealousy against him; therefore he requested him most earnestly not to give him that Commission, and, not been able to obtain his Request, he looked upon himself as a dead Man, if he did not find out an Expedient to put himself out of all danger, with respect to the King. He obtained only seven Days to prepare himself for that Journey, which he did in this manner. As soon as he came Home, he lamented the Misfortune of his Condition, that exposed him to the Choice of losing his Life or his Sex; and, after many Sighs, he cut off those Parts that are not to be named, and put them embalmed into a Box, which he sealed up. He is rightly compared to the *Castor*.

—— Imitatus Castora qui se
Eunuchum ipse facit, cupiens evadere damno
Testiculorum —— (*a*).

(*a*) Juven Sat. XII, ver. 34.

Just as the Beaver, when he's close pursu'd,
Bites off his Stones, the cause of all the Strife,
And pays them down a Ransom for his Life.

Upon his Departure, he gave the Box to the King, in the Preſence of a great many People, and deſired him to keep it till he ſhould return. He told him, that he had put ſomething in it that he valued more than Gold and Silver, and that was as dear to him as his own Life. The King put his Seal to the Box, and gave it to his Maſters of the Wardrobe to keep. The Queen's Journey laſted three Years, and did not fail to produce what *Combabus* had foreſeen. She became deſperately in love with that young Man, and did what ſhe could to keep the Decorum of her Quality; but Silence did but increaſe her Love: At laſt ſhe was forced to diſcover it, firſt by Signs, and then by Words. 'Tis true, that being unwilling to have a Confident, and wanting Courage to deſire a Cure for her Evil, ſhe ſupplied her want of Boldneſs with ſome Glaſſes of Wine [*A*]. Having made herſelf drunk, ſhe went to *Combabus*'s Chamber, diſcovered her Love to him, and moſt humbly deſired him not to be cruel to her. He put her off, under Pretence, that ſhe was drunk; but becauſe ſhe would not hear any Reaſon, and threatened to do ſome deſperate Action, he declared to her, that it was impoſſible for him to ſatisfy her, and, leaſt ſhe ſhould be incredulous, he made her an Eye-witneſs of his Impotency. After that Sight, *Stratonice* was not ſo fond of *Combabus*: nevertheleſs, ſhe continued to love him [*B*], and would be perpetually with him: She endeavoured, by ſeeing and ſpeaking to him, to comfort herſelf for the Misfortune of not being able to carry the Intrigue farther. In the mean time, the King, being informed of their Conduct, re-called *Combabus*. That Order did not aſtoniſh the young Man; for he remembered that his Juſtification was depoſited in the King's Cloſet; ſo that he returned boldly. He was put into Priſon immediately, and ſome time after the King ſent for him into his Chamber, and accuſed

[*A*] Stratonice - - - - - *being deſperately in love with him* - - - - - - *ſupplied her Boldneſs with ſome Glaſſes of Wine.*] *Lucian* ſuppoſes that Three Reaſons induced her to make herſelf drunk (1). I. She hoped that then ſhe ſhould be bold enough to diſcover her Paſſion. II. She would not be ſo much aſhamed of a Refuſal. III. People forget what they do in that Condition. He might have added a fourth Reaſon, which is, That a Man does not conceive ſo much Contempt for a Woman, who runs into ſuch exceſs of Impudence, when ſhe has drunk too much, as for a Woman that ſhould make the ſame Declaration in her right Senſes.

(1) Lucian. de Syria Dea, pag. 892, 893, Tom. II.

[*B*] *He made her an Eye witneſs of his Impotency: nevertheleſs, ſhe continued to love him.*] I muſt obſerve, for that Queen's Honour and Glory, that *Lucian*, a Man who was not afraid of what he ſaid, tells us, That ſhe had only Converſations with her Gallant; they were indeed frequent, but nevertheleſs pure and harmleſs. Ἰδοῦσα δὲ ἡ Στρατονίκη τὸ ἄτολμον ἤλατο, μανίης μὲν ἔτι ἐκείνης ἔσχετο, ἔρωτι δὲ ἐδαμᾷ ἀλήθετο, ἀλλὰ πάντα οἱ συνέφα ταῦτην παρεμυθίην ἐποιέετο ἔρωτι ἀπρήκτου. Stratonice ſaw what nunquam futura putaſſet, à furore quidem illo ita in præſens deſtitit, amoris autem haudquaquam oblita eſt. Sed perpetua converſatione cum illo ita infectum amorem ſolabatur (2). —— Stratonice, *having ſeen what ſhe ſo little expected, abated the Violence of her Paſſion, yet ceaſed not to love him; but, being perpetually in his Company, thus ſoothed her unaccompliſhed Deſires.* It muſt not be ſaid, That, in the Condition that *Combabus* had put himſelf in, he could give her nothing but Words; for the Relations of the *Levant* inform us of the contrary. How exceſſive ſoever the Jealouſy of Men may be, yet it is not ſo copious in Inventions as the Love of Women. They believed, that if they ſhould put their Wives under the Guard of Eunuchs, I mean of certain Men, whoſe Genitals were cut off, they might ſleep quietly; but they found themſelves miſtaken. Thoſe Eunuchs were not only good for ſomething, but were alſo preferred to other Men in many Places:

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 893.

Sunt quas Eunuchi imbelles ac mollia ſemper
Oſcula delectent & deſperatio barbæ,
Et quod abortivo non eſt opus.

(3) Juven. Sat. VI, ver. 364.

There are, who in ſoft Eunuchs place their Bliſs,
To ſhun the ſcrubbing of a bearded Kiſs,
And 'ſcape Abortion. ——

DRYDEN.

It was therefore neceſſary to have recourſe to other Remedies, and to cut the Eunuchs cloſe to the Skin: they would not truſt them in *Turkey*, if they had the leaſt part of their Genitals left (4). But this Precaution proves ſtill ineffectual; for, *notwithſtanding they are cut cloſe, as the Embaſſador* de Breves *ſpeaks, yet he affirms, that ſome of them marry ſeveral Wives, to ſerve them for abominable Impurities* (5). St *Baſil* was not ignorant, that there is no truſting to the compleateſt Mutilations: He ſays, they do not make him, that was a Male, to become a Female; he is ſtill a Male: Juſt as an Ox, whoſe Horns are cut off, continues to be an Ox, and does not become a Horſe. He carried the Compariſon much farther: He ſays, That an Ox, whoſe Horns are cut off, does not ceaſe, when he is angered, to make all the Poſtures that he made before, and even to ſtrike with that part of his Head where his Horns were. The other part of the Compariſon may be ſeen in theſe Latin Words. ' Maſculina corpora, licet illa Eunuchorum ſint, cau-' tè vitanda ſunt virgini. Sit enim ille licet Eunu-' chus, vir tamen per naturam eſt. Sicut enim cor-' nutus bos, etſi illi præcidantur cornua, non tamen ' ſublatis cornibus equus efficitur; ſed abſint licet ' cornua, bos tamen eſt: ita & maſculus, abſciſſis ge-' nitalibus omnibus, ea tamen mutilatione ſua mu-' lier effectus non eſt, ſed maſculus (ut eſt natura ' conditus) permanet: ac ſicuti bos reciſis cornibus, ' ſic quoque, furore cornu petit, (cervicem quippe ' incurvans, & caput ad feriendi impetum formans, ' gaudet intentare minas) ac ſæpius ea parte capitis ' ferit qua cornibus antea fuerat armatus; ſatisfacit-' que furori per actus imaginem, (ita enim afficitur ' correptus iræ impetu, non ut caſſo feriens vulnere, ' ſed ut priſtu ictu cornuum ſcindens, ac dividens:) ' ita & maſculus, quamvis abſciſſus genitalia, vitioſa ' tamen concupiſcentia maſculus eſt. Quocirca & ' ipſe ad actum fœditatis ſimiliter formans, amorem ' ſpirat, incredibilemque veſaniam: imo & ad coitum ' fervens, etiamſi ea parte non violet, fœminæ tur-' bulentus incumbens; ipſe tamen ac ſi corruperit ſa-' tisfeceritque cupidini, ita ſceleris imagine affectus ' eſt. Eam verò ad peccatum vehementiùs irritans, ' totum quidem corrumpit animum, corpuſque ad ' corruptionis actum inclementer inſtigat (6)'. St *Baſil* is not the only Father of the Church, who charged Women to have a care of Eunuchs, and to be perſuaded that they are able to commit a thouſand laſcivious Tricks with them. I ſpeak of ſuch Eunuchs as were cut cloſe. See Father *Theophilus Raynoud*'s Book, which I have quoted. The Examples and Paſſages of the Fathers, alledged by that Jeſuit, make him laugh at *Peter Abelard*'s Apology. I have already obſerved this (7), and ſhall perhaps ſay ſomething more of it in the Article HELOISA. But let us return to *Stratonice* and *Combabus*, and obſerve, that ſhe is much to be praiſed, if, after entertaining a criminal Love for another Man, ſhe confined herſelf within the Bounds of meer Converſation.

(4) Buſbeq. *Letter* 3, apud la Voyer, *Letter* 112, Tom. XI, pag. 527.

(5) La Motha Vayer. ibid.

(6) S. Baſilius libro de Sanctâ Virginitate, ad finem, apud Theophilum Raynaudum in Tractatu de Eunuchis, cap. 5. art. 2. n. 17. pag. m. 147.

(7) See above in Remark [*T*] of the Article ABELARD.

cuſed him of Adultery, Perfidiouſneſs, and Impiety [C], in the Preſence of thoſe who had ſeen the Box given. Witneſſes were produced, who depoſed, That they had ſeen him enjoy the Queen [D]. He made no Anſwer till they were going to lead him to the Place of Execution. Then he ſaid, That he did not die for having defiled the King's Bed, but becauſe the King would not return the Box that he had put into his Hands at his Departure. Whereupon the King commanded the Box to be brought. They opened it, and the Innocency of the Accuſed appeared, and he told the Reaſons that made him commit That Violence upon himſelf. The King embraced him, and ſeemed much concerned at that Diſaſter: he cauſed the Accuſers to be puniſhed, loaded him with Favours, and granted him the Privilege of ſpeaking to him at all times, even when he was converſing with the Queen [E]. Now as his firſt Commiſſion imported, that he ſhould have the care of building the Temple, which *Stratonice* was ordered to build to *Juno*; he deſired leave to return to that Place, to finiſh the building of that Temple. He obtained leave, and returned no more to the Court (*b*). His Statue of Braſs was placed in the Temple, by the King's Order, to do him Honour. They had given that Statue the Air of a Woman, and the Dreſs of a Man; yet it has been ſaid, that in compaſſion to Women he left off the Dreſs of a Man [F], and dreſſed himſelf like them (*c*). We ſhall

(*b*) He ſpent the remaining Part of his Life in the holy City, where the Temple was built. *Lucian. de Syria Dea, pag.* 896.

(*c*) *Taken from* Lucian *in his Treatiſe* de Syria Dea, Tom. II. Oper. pag. 876, *& ſeq. Note*, that That Treatiſe, which is aſcribed to *Lucian*, is not written in the *Attic* Dialect, as the other Treatiſes of that Author, but in the *Ionic* Dialect.

tion. *Virgil*'s *Dido* would not have been ſo honeſt, ſince, in her Lover's Abſence, ſhe wanted a more ſolid Amuſement than Words, which was the Son of *Æneas* in her Lap.

---illum abſens abſentem auditque videtque,
Aut gremio Aſcanium, genitoris imagine capta,
Detinet, infandum ſi fallere poſſit amorem (8).

(8) Virgil. Æn. lib. 4. var. 83.

Abſent, her abſent Hero ſees and hears,
Or in her Boſom young Aſcanius *bears:*
And ſeeks the Father's Image in the Child,
If Love, by Likeneſs, might be ſo beguil'd.
DRYDEN.

[C] *The King charged him with Adultery, Perfidiouſneſs, and Impiety.*] The firſt and ſecond Crimes are obvious, ſince the King made choice of *Combabus* as the Queen's Guardian. The third Crime is not very hard to be underſtood, if we conſider that the King had commiſſioned *Combabus* to build a Temple to *Juno*. That Journey to the Holy City (9), in order to build a Temple, was a Work of Devotion, and a kind of Pilgrimage. So that it was profaning a holy thing, to make Love during that Time. Λέγων τετρᾶσθαι Κομβάβου ἀδικήμασι μοιχὸν τὰ ἱερὰ, καὶ ἐς τιμὴν ὑβρίσθαι, καὶ εἰς θεὸν ἀσεβεῖσθαι τῆς ἐν τῷ ἔρῳ τοιάδε ἕνεκεν. Dicens Combabum triplicem injuriam intuliſſe, ut qui adulterium commiſiſſet, fidem violaſſet, & in Deam impius fuiſſet, cujus in opere talia perpetraſſet (10). *Alledging* Combabus *was guilty of a threefold Crime, of Adultery, a Breach of Faith, and Impiety towards the Goddeſs, in whoſe Service he had done it.*

(9) So *Lucian* calls the Town whither *Stratonice* went to build a Temple.

(10) Lucian. de Syria Dea, Tom. II, pag 894.

[D] *Witneſſes were produced, who depoſed that they had ſeen him enjoy the Queen.*] I have followed *Benedictus*'s Tranſlation, both here, and where he ſpeaks of *Stratonice* and *Combabus*'s Converſations. In both Places *Lucian* makes uſe of the ſame Verb, πάντα σὺν αὐτῇσι, *perpetua converſatione cum illo* (11). Ἤλασχον ὅτι ἀναφανδὸν σφέας ἀλλήλοισι συνόντας εἶδον. Coarguebant ipſum quod manifeſte ipſos congredientes vidiſſent (12). *They depoſed that they had ſeen them publickly in the very act.* But that Verb does not ſignify the ſame thing in thoſe two Places: In the firſt it ſignifies, to be together, and, in the ſecond, to lie together. If one ſhould judge of Things by Appearances, the Accuſers might be in the right; nevertheleſs it ought not to be affirmed, ſince *Lucian* does not affirm it (13). It is probable, that ſince the Queen did not ceaſe to love *Combabus*, but, on the contrary, ſaw and ſpoke to him very often, to allay, in ſome meaſure, her diſappointed Deſires by that means, ſhe was not contented with meer Words. And as *Combabus* was certain that he had his Juſtification ſure and ready with the Prince, how malicious ſoever the Accuſers might be, it is very likely that he did not refuſe the Queen any thing that ſhe could obtain of him. The Box ſecured them both againſt the ill Offices of the Accuſers, and, doubtleſs, That made them take leſs heed whether they were obſerved; ſo that perhaps the Accuſers ſaw enough to convince themſelves of the Crime whereof they accuſed *Combabus*. Let us remember the Paſſage of *Baſil*, to which I add another. 'Eunuchos *quibus exſcinditur tota virilitas*, negat S. Baſilius (14) impudicitiæ flamma liberari: ſed quamvis corpore nihil poſſint, tamen ait animo deſiderioque jugiter in cœno, porcorum more, convolvi, & poſt abſciſſionem eſſe impudiciores ſervos voluptatis, qui liberi metu ne deprehendantur petulantiam licenter fœdis attactibus & amplexibus exſatiant, ut poſſunt non ut volunt laſcivientes. —— *St* Baſil *ſays, that Eunuchs, ſtripped cloſe to the skin, are not free from looſe Deſires; for though impotent in Body, yet in Mind and Inclination they wallow, ſays he, like Swine, eternally in the Mire; and after Abſciſſion are the more abandoned Slaves to Luſt, who, freed from Fear of Diſcovery, glut their wild Deſires by wanton Touches, and looſe Embraces, not agreeably to their Inclination, but to their Power.*' And who knows whether *Stratonice* never ſaid to him, as the Woman, of whom *Petronius* ſpeaks; *Longuari tuo gratias ago, in umbra voluptates diutiùs luſimus. —— Thanks to your Impotence, we have wantoned longer in the Shade of Pleaſures.*

(11) Pag. 895.

(12) Pag. 895.

(13) Theophilus Raynaud, ubi ſupra, pag 148, *is in the wrong to ſay*, Hoc Stratonicæ à Combabo exacto acciderit —— narrat Lucianus, *that is, what St* Baſil *ſpeaks of.*

(14) Lib. de vera Virgin. ſub fin. apud Theoph. Raynaudum, ubi ſupra, n. 12. pag. 143.

[E] *The King —— granted him the Privilege of Acceſs to him at all Hours, even when he was converſing with the Queen.*] Thoſe that know the ancient and modern Ceremonial of the Eaſtern Princes, are not ignorant what ſign of favour it is to have free acceſs to the King at any time. The Privilege of *Combabus* went farther; it contained expreſs Orders to the King's Officers to admit him, though he ſhould interrupt the King's and Queen's Pleaſures. Ἀπίξεαι δὲ παρ' ἡμέας ἄνευ ἐσαγγέλου, ἢν μή τις ἀπόῤῥητα σε ἡμετέρης ὄψιος, ἢν ἦν γυναικὶ ἅμα ξυνάζωμαι. *Ad nos venies non vocatus, neque te quiſquam à noſtro conſpectu arcebit, non ſi cum uxore concumbam* (15). Tho e who aboliſhed the Tyranny of the *Magi*, after the Death of *Cambyſes*, the Son of *Cyrus*, were contented with a leſſer Privilege than that, *viz.* that they might come to the King without asking leave, except when he lay with the Queen. Πασίνται ἐς τὰ βασιλήια πάντα τὸν βελόμενον τῶν ἐπὶ δόρυ ἐσαγγελέων ἢν μὴ τυγχάνῃ αὐτῶν μετὰ γυναικὸς βασιλεύς. *Ut regiam introire unicuique è ſeptem ſine internuncio liceret, niſi forte cum uxore cubaret rex* (16).

(15) Lucian de Syria Dea, Tomo II, pag. 896.

(16) Herod. lib. III. cap. 84.

[F] *It has been ſaid, that in Compaſſion to Women he left off the Dreſs of a Man.*] During the Celebration of the great Feſtival, a Woman that was a Stranger found *Combabus* ſo handſome, that ſhe fell very much in Love with him. But hearing afterwards that he was an Eunuch, ſhe was ſo vexed at it, that ſhe killed herſelf. *Combabus*, conſidering the Misfortune of his Impotency, left off Man's Apparel, that Women might no more be deceived on his Account in ſuch a diſpleaſing or fatal manner. I remember a witty Saying, that is in the *Menagiana*: 'Madam *Cornuel* knew that M. *de L*—— was impotent, and did not know him by ſight: he was a very handſome Man. Having met him at M. *de Rambouillet*'s

shall see in the Remarks the Variations that concern this History [G], and the Error of those, who have said, that the Courtiers castrated themselves, to have a share in *Stratonice*'s Favour [H].

' *Rambouillet*'s House, she asked who he was? and ' being told that he was the Marquis *de L*; —— Ah! ' said she, who would not have been deceived in ' him (17)?'

(17) Menagiana, pag. m. 107.

[G] *We shall see the Variations that concern this History.*] Some say, that *Stratonice* herself accused *Combabus*, and writ to the King, that he had solicited her to violate her conjugal Faith. *Lucian* rejects this as a Fable (18); and even does not believe what is related of *Sthenobœa* and *Phædra*. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ Σθενεβοίαν πείθομαι, οὐδὲ Φαίδρην, τοιόνδε ἐπιθυμῆσαι, εἰ τὸν Ἱππόλυτον ἄτρεκὲς ἐτόθει Φαίδρη. At credo neque Sthenobœam, neque Phædram, talia perpetrasse, si Hippolytum Phædra verè concupiscebat (19). —— *I do not believe that* Sthenobœa, *or* Phædra, *if really desirous to enjoy* Hippolytus, *ever did such things.* It is reported, that to revenge themselves for the ill Success of their Advances, they complained to their Husbands of having had their Honour attempted, the one by *Bellerophon*, and the other by *Hippolytus*. I do not see why *Lucian* doubts of these Stories; for it is not only very possible that the Passion of those Women, as violent as you please, should be converted into Hatred, thro' Indignation at a Refusal, but it is also most likely it should be so. Such a Refusal is a bloody Affront: It is a mortal Offence to despise the Advances made by a Sex that is used to be courted and not to court. Corrupt Nature breathes nothing but Revenge at the sight of such an Affront. The holy History informs us, that *Potiphar*'s Wife changed, upon such an account, her Love into a most revengeful Anger towards the Patriarch *Joseph* (20). One of *Constantine*'s Wives did the like towards *Crispus* her Husband's Son. So that I believe *Lucian* did not shew his Judgment on this Head. He seems to me more reasonable on the other; he did well not to believe that *Stratonice* accused *Combabus*; for she had no reason, like *Phædra*, to think herself despised. She might flatter herself to have appeased the most-lovely Person in the World, in the Eyes of him whom she courted. Why should she have been angry with him? He could not have been more tractable for the finest Woman in the Universe. *Sthenobœa*, *Phædra*, *Potiphar*'s Wife, *Fausta*, could not say this of the Objects of their Love; the Insensibility that was shewed them was not an unconquerable Fault.

(18) Lucian. de Syria Dea, Tom. II. pag. 894.

(19) Id. ibid.

(20) Gen. chap. xxxix.

[H] *The Error of those, who pretend, the Courtiers castrated themselves, to have a share in* Stratonice's *Favour.*] ' The Love of many Women for ' Eunuchs is so common, that all Histories give some ' Examples of it. That Passion was so much the ' more remarkable in *Stratonice* for *Combabus*, after ' he became so, that all the Queen's Courtiers geld- ' ed themselves out of Complaisance, to acquire the ' Favour of both.' *La Mothe le Vayer* says this (21). He has committed three Faults: I. He gives us to understand, that the Love of *Stratonice* began after she knew that *Combabus* was gelt; which is a great Mistake. If *Stratonice* had known the Execution that he had performed on himself, she would have cast her Eyes elsewhere: and it is certain, that the Knowledge of a certain Imperfection is able to hinder the growth of a Passion, but not to smother it when it is become very strong. II. He ought not to have said, that all the Courtiers castrated themselves; for *Lucian* says it only of *Combabus*'s most intimate Friends. III. Much less ought he to have said, that all the Courtiers castrated themselves, to acquire *Stratonice*'s Favour; for *Lucian* says not a word of it. He says only, that those, who loved *Combabus* most, castrated themselves, to comfort him under his Disgrace. Λάσαι δὲ τῶν φίλων τὰς μάλιστα οἱ συνόντες ἐς παραμυθίην τῷ πάθεϊ ποιεῦνται· ἐλάσθαι τῆς συμφορῆς, ἵνα μοι γλὰ ἑωυτὸν. *Rerutus & illius amici qui erga ipsum maxima benevolentia fuerunt affecti in solatium ejus quod ille passus fuit, ejusdem affectionis fecistatem fe-*

(21) *Loco* 11a, Tom. XI, pag. 525, 526.

bi eligisse, nam & seipsos castrarunt (22). It is a Consolation for the Unfortunate, to have Companions in their Misfortunes. Two things must be observed; the one is, that, after the opening of the Box, *Combabus* acquired the Prince's Favour in the highest Degree; the other, that he desired leave to return to the Holy City, where he lived the rest of his Days. Add to this, that three Years were spent in the Building of the Temple (23). It must be supposed, that *Stratonice* returned to her Husband at those three Years end; and consequently she was separated from *Combabus*: so that the Persons, who castrated themselves out of Complaisance to *Combabus*, could not pretend to please *Stratonice*. I confess, that *Lucian* does not say, whether it was at the King's Court, that *Combabus*'s Friends castrated themselves, or whether it was in the Holy City; but he insinuates clearly, that it was in the last place: for he will have it, that their Conduct served for a Foundation to a Custom that was observed every Year; which was to castrate several People in the Temple that *Stratonice* and *Combabus* had built (24). The Author of a *French* Dictionary (25), transcribing the Mistake of *la Mothe le Vayer*, made it worse; these are his Words: ' We read in History, ' that several Woman have been passionately in Love ' with Eunuchs. *Stratonice* could not live without ' her *Combabus*, who was castrated; insomuch that ' the Courtiers of that Queen castrated themselves, to ' have also a share in her Favour. *Cæsar Scaliger Exercitat.* 277.' This is to out-do the Fault of *la Mothe le Vayer*; for he does not alledge *Stratonice* for the only Motive of what was done by the Courtiers: and moreover, he does not quote *Scaliger*, who says nothing of it. As for the rest, the Copier is guilty of the same Faults with *la Mothe le Vayer*. His Example of *Stratonice* is not well chosen, because she did not fall in Love with *Combabus*, after she knew that he was an Eunuch. Since *Lucian* does not declare, whether it was at the King's or at the Queen's Court, that they had the Complaisance to conform themselves to *Combabus*; it is an inexcusable Rashness in a modern Author, to be so bold as to determine that it was at the Court of *Stratonice*. Observe well, that *Combabus* was a Favourite in both those Courts, but that he was not at the King's and at the Queen's Court at the same time, after *Stratonice*'s Love for him; for, ever after, he was either with the King in the Queen's Absence, or with the Queen in the King's Absence. I add, that *Lucian* does not say, that those, who made themselves like *Combabus*, were Courtiers; but, on the contrary, he says, that they were true and intimate Friends of *Combabus*, and that they imitated him, to comfort him. Why then should we be told, fifteen hundred Years after, not only that those, who castrated themselves, were *Stratonice*'s Courtiers, but also that their only Aim was, to make that Queen in Love with them? I confess this Criticism is not a thing considerable in itself: I have insisted upon this Subject, to cure, if it be possible, a Distemper that prevails but too much among Authors. They relate what the Ancients tell us with a thousand Alterations and Additions. I am sure that there are a hundred Paradoxes in our modern Authors, attended with their Citations in the Margin, that are not better grounded than this of *la Mothe le Vayer*, concerning the pretended manner, wherewith *Stratonice*'s Courtiers acquired her Favour.

(22) Lucian. ubi supra, pag. 897.

(23) Id. pag. 892.

(24) Ibid. pag. 897.

(25) Cesar de Rochefort: *His Dictionary was printed at* Lyons 1685, *in* folio. *The Passage which I quote is in Page* 168.

I shall conclude with this Note: It has been said that *Juno*, out of Affection for *Combabus*, inclined many Persons to castrate themselves, that he might not be the only Person that should lament the loss of his Tackling. Λάσασθαι δὲ ἢ Ἥρη φιλέουσα. Κομιδῇ δὲ πολλοὶ τὸν τομὴν ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἔλαβον, ἵνα μὴ μόνος νηῒ ἀνιηρῇ λυπέοιτο. *Dicentes Junonem, cum amaret Combabum, multos ad se castrandum impulisse, ne solus ille Virgoret quod veiratus esset* (26).

(26) Lucian. ibi pag. 897.

COMENIUS (John Amos), a Grammarian, and a Proteſtant Divine, in the XVIIth Century, was born in *Moravia*, the 28th of *March*, 1592. Having ſtudied in ſeveral Places, and namely at *Herborn*, he returned into his Country, in the Year 1614, where he was made Rector of a College (*a*). He was made a Miniſter in the Year 1616 (*b*), and had the Church of *Fulnec* given him in the Year 1618 (*c*). At the ſame time they gave him the Direction of the School, that was newly erected in that little Town. One of his greateſt Deſigns at that time was to introduce a new Method of teaching Languages. He publiſhed ſome Eſſays of it in the Year 1616, and had prepared other Writings on that Subject, that were loſt in the Year 1621, when the *Spaniards* plundered his Library after they had taken the Town. The Proſcription of all the Miniſters of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, by an Edict of the Year 1624, interrupted his Project; but he took it in hand again at the Requeſt of one of his Brethren, to whom a Proteſtant Baron (*d*) had given his three Sons to be inſtructed in the Year 1627. Some Miniſters, and *Comenius* among the reſt, kept themſelves concealed in that Baron's Houſe, in the Mountains of *Bohemia*. The Perſecution increaſed in ſuch a manner the following Year, that they were obliged to leave this Retreat. *Comenius* fled to *Leſna*, a City of *Poland*, where he taught the *Latin* Tongue. The Book that he publiſhed in the Year 1631, with the Title of *Janua Linguarum reſerata*, acquired him a wonderful Reputation [*A*], inſomuch that thoſe, who governed *Sweden*, wrote to him in the Year 1638, to offer him a Commiſſion to reform all the Schools in that Kingdom. He did not think it proper to accept that Offer; he only promiſed to aſſiſt thoſe, that ſhould have the Commiſſion for it, with his Advice: and from that time he put into *Latin*, what he had compoſed in his Mother-Tongue, about the new Method of inſtructing Youth (*e*). A Specimen of it was publiſhed under the Title of *Panſophiæ Prodromus* (*f*), which made him be looked upon as a moſt able Perſon to be the Reſtorer of the Schools. The Parliament of *England* deſired to make uſe of him, to reform the College of the Nation. *Comenius* came to *London* in the Month of *September* 1641, and would have been admitted into a Committee, to propoſe his Plan of a Reformation, if the Parliament had not been too much taken up with other Buſineſs. The Civil-Wars of *England*, and the Diſorders of *Ireland*, ſhewed him, that the Times were not favourable to him. He went into *Sweden*, whither he was invited by a Perſon of Merit (*g*), and a great Lover of the Public Good. He arrived there in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1642. He conferred with Chancellor *Oxenſtiern* concerning his Method; and at laſt all ended in this, that he ſhould ſettle himſelf at *Elbing* in *Pruſſia*, and labour on his Method. I forgot the beſt of the Buſineſs. The Patron, whom I have mentioned, was very liberal: he provided *Comenius* with a conſiderable Maintenance: and the latter, being free from the Fatigue of Teaching [*B*], employed himſelf only in finding out ſome general Method for thoſe who had the care of Youth. He beſtowed four Years upon it in *Elbing*; after which, he went again into *Sweden*, to give an Account of his Work. His Book was examined by three Commiſſioners, who judged it worthy to be printed, after the Author ſhould have put the finiſhing hand to it. *Comenius* went about

(*a*) Scholæ Præſovienſi Præfectus. *Præf. Operum Didacticorum Comenii.*

(*b*) Epiſt. dedicat. Oper. Didact. Comenii.

(*c*) Præfat. Oper. didact.

(*d*) George Sadowski de Slaupna.

(*e*) Ex Præfatione Operum Didacticorum.

(*f*) The Forerunner of Univerſal Science

(*g*) Louis de Geer.

[*A*] *The Book that he publiſhed —— with the Title of* Janua Linguarum reſerata, *acquired him a wonderful Reputation.*] Though *Comenius* had publiſhed no other Book but that, he would have immortalized himſelf. It is a Book, that has been printed a great many times, and tranſlated into I know not how many Languages: there have been many Polyglot Editions of it. I do not doubt but that *Comenius* ſpeaks ſincerely, when he owns, that the Succeſs of that Work was much above his Expectation: for who would not be ſurprized, that ſuch a Book ſhould have been tranſlated not only into twelve *European* Languages, but alſo into *Arabic*, *Turkiſh*, *Perſian*, and *Mogul*. The moſt vain of all Authors would never have expected ſuch a thing. 'Factum eſt, quod futurum imaginari non 'poteram, ut puerile illud opuſculum univerſali 'quodam eruditi Orbis applauſu fuerit exceptum. 'Teſtati ſunt id permulti variarum Gentium Viri, 'tam literis ad me datis, quibus inventioni novæ 'impensè gratulabantur, tum tranſlationibus in Linguas vulgares quaſi certatim ſuſceptis. Non ſolum enim in omnes Europæas linguas (1) (quarum numero, quarum editiones publicas vidimus, nempe Latinam, Græcam, Bohemicam, Polonicam, Germanicam, Suedicam, Belgicam, Anglicam, Gallicam, Hiſpanicam, Italicam, Hungaricam) ſed & in Aſiaticas, Arabicam, Turcicam, Perſicam, adeoque Mogolicam, toti Orientali Indiæ familiarem (ut ex literis ad Jacobum Golium, Orientalium L L. Lugduni Veſtræ Profeſſorem, à Petro Golio fratre, Aleppo Syriæ Anno 1641, datis, patet) tranſlatus eſſet idem Libellus noſter (2). - - - - 'It has happened indeed, beyond my Expectation, 'that this ſmall Piece ſhould meet with an univerſal Approbation from the learned World. This has 'been confirmed to me by Letters from ſeveral learned 'Men of different Nations, wherein they beſtow great 'Compliments on the Invention; as alſo by Tranſlations into various Languages, carried on by a ſort of 'Emulation. For it has been tranſlated, not only into 'all the* European *Languages, in number twelve, in 'which it has appeared, namely*, Latin, Greek, 'Bohemian, Poliſh, German, Swediſh, Dutch, 'Engliſh, French, Spaniſh, Italian, Hungarian; 'but alſo into the Aſiatic, Arabic, Turkiſh, Perſian, 'and that of the Mogul, familiar to all the Eaſt 'Indies; as appears from the Letter of Peter Golius, dated at Aleppo, 1641, to James Golius, 'Profeſſor of the Oriental Languages at Leyden.

(1) *Here are the Names of ſome of the Tranſlations*, ex Diario Biographico Henn. Witte. *The* German *Tranſlation was made by* John Mochinger, *the* Poliſh *by* Andrew Wegleticius, *the* Bohemian *by* Comenius, *the* Greek *by* Theodorus Simonius, *the* Engliſh *by* John Ancoranus, *the* French *by* Samuel Hartlib, *the* Italian *and* Spaniſh *by* Nathanael Duez, *and the* Dutch *by* Seidelius.

(2) Comen. Epiſt. Dedicator. Operum Didact. ad Conſules Amſterdam. pag. 1.

[*B*] Comenius *being free from the Fatigue of Teaching*] Whereas before he was only to teach one School, he was then to take a general care of all the Colleges: juſt as if a Curate ſhould be made a Cardinal. 'Factis mihi, *ſays he* (3), à Mœcenate meo beato otiis, conſtitutaque honeſta (ut particulari ſcholæ miniſtrandi functione exemptus, communioribus poſſem vacare ſtudiis) ſuſtentatione, elaboravi ſexennio. - - - - - - *Having obtained, by 'the Indulgence of my good Patron, Leiſure, and a 'competent Subſiſtance, (that, being diſengaged from 'the Management of a particular School, I might 'purſue a more extenſive Study) I have laboured ſix 'Years.'*

(3) Comen. Epiſt. Dedicator. Conſulibus Amſterdam.

about it the two following Years, in the ſame City of *Elbing*; after which he was forced to return to *Leſna* (*b*). We are come to the Year 1648. I find that two Years after he went to the Court of *Sigiſmund Ragotſki*, Prince of *Tranſylvania*, where they deſired to confer with him concerning the Reformation of the Schools. He gave that Prince ſome Writings, which concerned the manner of regulating the College of *Patak* (*i*), according to the Plan of his *Panſophia*; and for the ſpace of four Years he was allowed to propoſe what he pleaſed concerning the good Order of That College (*k*). Afterwards he returned to *Leſna*, where he remained 'till the Month of *April* 1656, when the *Poles* burned it [*C*]. He loſt all his Manuſcripts there, except what he had writ on the *Panſophia*, and St *John*'s *Revelation* (*l*). He fled into *Sileſia*, and afterwards into the Country of *Brandenburg*, than to *Hamburg*, and at laſt to *Amſterdam* (*m*), where he found ſome very charitable Perſons. The Golden Shower, that fell upon him in this City, obliged him to ſtay there all the Remainder of his Days [*D*]. In the Year 1657 he printed there the different Parts of his new Method of Teaching, at the Expence of his chief *Mæcenas* (*n*). It is a Book in *folio*, divided into four Parts, which coſt the Author watchful Hours, and much Money to others, and from which the Republic of Letters drew no manner of Profit: neither do I believe that there is any thing uſefully practicable in the Author's Scheme (*o*). The Reformation of Schools was not the chief thing of which he was fond; he was yet more infatuated with Prophecies, and Revolutions, the Fall of Antichriſt, the *Millenium*, and ſuch like Whims of a dangerous Fanaticiſm: I ſay dangerous, not only in relation to Orthodoxy, but alſo in relation to Princes and States. He collected the Viſions of one *Kotterus*, thoſe of *Chriſtina Poniatovia*, and thoſe of *Drabicius*, with a wonderful Care, and publiſhed them at *Amſterdam*. Thoſe Viſions promiſed Wonders to thoſe, who would undertake to exterminate the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and the Pope. *Guſtavus Adolphus*, *Charles Guſtavus*, Kings of *Sweden*, *Cromwell*, and *Ragotſki*, had been foretold as the Executors of thoſe magnificent Prophecies; but the Event did not anſwer. *Comenius*, not knowing any longer which way to turn, bethought himſelf, as it is ſaid, to make his Addreſs to *Lewis* XIV, King of *France* [*E*]. He ſent him a Copy of *Drabicius*'s Prophecies, and intimated, that GOD promiſed That Monarch the Empire of the World, by the Defeat of the Perſecutors of JESUS CHRIST. He compoſed ſome Books at *Amſterdam*, under a malignant Planet. This may be ſaid particularly of that, which he publiſhed againſt *Mareſius* concerning the Reign of a thouſand Years. He drew a thundering Anſwer upon himſelf; wherein the Author pretended to have unmaſked him. ‘ Ita Deo diſpenſante evenit, ut tua importunitate coactus, larvam tibi detraxerim, ‘ & quam hactenus egeris perſonam in hac ſcena mundi toti mundo oſtenderim (*p*). ‘ —— *Thus*

(*b*) Ex Præfatione partis II. Operum Didactic. corum.

(*i*) Suſannah Lorantſi *the Mother of* Sig. ſmund Ragotſki *concerned her ſelf particularly in that School. See* Comenius Part III. Oper Didact. p. 70.

(*k*) See the third part of his *Opera didact.*

(*l*) Hiſtoria Revelationum, pag. 181.

(*m*) Ibid. pag. 182.

(*n*) Laurence de Geer, *the Son of* Lewis.

(*o*) Sorbiere *has given a true Character of him and his* Panſophia. *See the* Sorberiana, *pag.* 51.

(*p*) Mareſius in Antirrhetico, pag. ult.

(4) *To Rem.* [*K*].

(5) Poſt Leſnæ incendium quod τῶν ἀνυπερβλήτων ſtudiorum illi miſere urbi concivit, ut etiam illi publice exprobratum eſt. - - - - *After the burning of* Leſna, *which Calamity was brought on the City by his Pride, and with which he was publickly reproached.* Mareſius in Antirrhetico, pag. 8.

(6) *See* Nicolas Arnoldus, in diſcurſu Theologico contra Comenium, *in the laſt Page.*

[*C*] *He remained at* Leſna, *till the* Poles *burnt it.*] We ſhall ſee below (4), that *Comenius* was reproached for having been the Cauſe of that Diſaſter (5); and that, if he might have followed his own Inclination, he would not have ſtaid in that Town, although he perſuaded others not to fear any thing, and aſſured them they ſhould have a ſpeedy Deliverance.

[*D*] *The Golden Shower, that fell upon him in* Amſterdam, *obliged him to ſtay there the remainder of his Days.*] Some took it ill, becauſe his Office of Superintendant of the Churches of *Poland* and *Bohemia* required he ſhould be elſewhere. It is likely that his ambulatory Life would have continued longer than it did, if he had not found a plentiful Harveſt in *Amſterdam*. He found ſome charitable People there, and ſome rich Merchants, who were in hopes he would teach their Children *Latin* in a ſhorter and eaſier Method, and who thought they ought to pay a Man largely, that ſaved the Time and Labour of the Youth. No doubt he ſaid within himſelf, it is good to be here, let us therefore build here our Tabernacles. ‘ Mercatoribus quibuſdam Amſterdamenſibus gratus vixit, qui delicatulis ſuis filiis, ejus opera habitum latinitatis nullo ‘ labore, & majore æris quam temporis diſpendio, infundi poſſe ſperant. Et ſic ille aureum apud eos meſſem metit; at vero ubi manet cura Eccleſiarum Polonicarum & Bohemicarum, quarum Senior & Superintendens eſt, & quas in tam miſero ſtatu reliquit, ſibi conſulens (6)? —— *He lives in the good Graces of ſome Merchants at* Amſterdam, *who imagine, that by his means their pretty Maſters may eaſily attain a habit of ſpeaking* Latin, *and at a leſs expence of time than Money. So he reaps a Golden Harveſt amongſt them. But where is the regard due to his Churches of* Poland *and* Bohemia, *of which he is Elder and Superintendant, and which he has left in ſuch miſerable* ‘ *Circumſtances, to ſhift for himſelf?*’ The paternal Tenderneſs of the *Dutch* has been very well repreſented in few Words in this Paſſage of Mr *Arnoldus*

[*E*] *Not knowing which way to turn, he bethought himſelf, as it is ſaid, to make his Addreſs to* Lewis XIV, *King of* France.] All that I can affirm is, that I have heard ſeveral Perſons ſay ſo. But as for the Promiſe itſelf, I have an Author to alledge who has read *Drabicius* very much; ſo that he may be credited in the things that he aſſures us to have found in him. Let us hear him then: ‘ The *Spaniards* may cry up, if they pleaſe, the great Advantages the Houſe of *Auſtria* gains over it's Enemies; as for us (*he ſpeaks in the Name of the Proteſtants*) if we have no great reaſon to be ſatisfied with the preſent, we have great things to hope for the future. There is a Prophecy that promiſes the Empire to the King. It was made by one *Drabicius* a *Bohemian*, who propheſied about twenty Years ago, that the King would be Emperor, that the Houſe of *Auſtria* would be deſtroyed, that *Vienna* would be taken by the *Turks*, that the *Turks* would take *Carinthia* and *Stiria*, and deſtroy the State of *Venice*, and the City of *Rome*; and that the King, being created Emperor, would give Peace and Liberty of Conſcience to all *Europe*. It appears, that, within theſe fifteen or ſixteen Years, Heaven labours to perform it's Promiſe: and certainly, we ſhall do what we can to fulfil thoſe Prophecies. The Houſe of *Auſtria* is already humbled, and almoſt deſtroyed. The King is Maſter of the great City of *Strasburg*, of all *Alſatia* and *Friburg*. He has all the Country of the *Rhine*, and five Electors, three Eccleſiaſtical, the Palatine of the *Rhine*, and that of *Brandenburg*, at his diſpoſal. The War with the *Turks* is not yet ended; and who knows how far all this will go (7)?’ This Author has very much altered his Syſtem ſince (8).

(7) Eſprit de Mr Arnaud, Tom. II. pag. 290, 291. *That Book was printed ſoon after the raiſing of the Siege of* Vienna.

(8) *See* la Cabale Chimerique, pag. 133 & 134, *of the ſecond Edition; where, among other things, you will find this:* How quickly did he change his Syſtem! He ſhould be aſhamed of having made us, as much as in him lies, the Horror of the Chriſtian Name, and of the good Allies of this State, by declaring that we would do all we could to have the Houſe of *Auſtria*, the Republic of *Venice*, and the City of *Rome*, deſtroyed by the *Turks*, and to put the Imperial Crown upon the Head of *Lewis* XIV. *Quantum mutatus ab illo!*

[*F*] *He*

'—— *Thus, by the Providence of* God, *I have performed what your Importunities compelled me to undertake and unmasked you, and exposed to the World the Part you have hitherto acted.*' He was represented as a Spunger and a true Sharper [F], who made an admirable use of the Character of a Fugitive for his Religion, and of the pompous Ideas of his Method of Teaching, in order to empty the Purses of well-disposed Persons. He was also laid open in some other Respects [G]. He

[F] *He was represented as a Spunger, and a true Sharper.*] These are his Adversaries Words: 'Agnosco hominem ella ingenii eximii & admodum inventivi, ac plane ei convenientia qui diceret, *con Parte e Pinganno, le vivo mezza Parte: con Pinganno e Parte, le vivo l'altra parte.* Nam ut nullum hoc seculum tulit mysticum sensatorem illo subtiliorem, ita nullum protulit scriptorem in trichotomiis excogitandis feliciorem (9). —— *I own him to be a Man of fine Parts, and uncommon Invention, such as would suit with him who should say: By Art and Deceit I live half the Year; By Deceit and Art I live the other Part: for, as this Age has not produced a more expert mystical Juggler, so neither has it known one of a happier Dexterity in nice and needless Distinctions.*' See what he says concerning the Craft *Comenius* made use of with *Lewis de Geer*, to be the only Possessor of his Liberalities, and to make them last long. The *Pansophia* that he promised, and which never came out, was always retarded, said he, by memorable Occurrences; so that, by his long Delays, he made it altogether useless according to his Principles. for he pretended, that the Reign of a thousand Years would begin in the Year 1672 (10). *Maresius* says (11), that his Wages were not the fourth part of the Sum, that *Comenius* made his Patron spend every Year. 'Ausim dicere Comenium triplo vel quadruplo quotannis constitisse uni familiæ Degerianæ, dum eam fraudulenter lactat spe Pansophica, & pascit sive fascinat potius fumo Chiliastico, & revelationum Drabicianarum, quam soleo consequi in meum stipendium annuum ex ærario publico. —— *I dare affirm, that* Comenius *cost that one Family of* de Geer *three or four times as much yearly, as I receive for my Salary, out of the public Treasury, whilst he amuses them with Pansophic Hopes, and feeds, or rather infatuates, them with the vain hope of his Millenium, and the Revelations of* Drabicius.'

[G] *He was also laid open in some other respects.*] I. He was accused of an excessive Pride; and the Author observes, that it is the general Fault of those who pretend to be inspired. And indeed that Favour is of so great a value, that it is no wonder if those, who persuade themselves, that God honours them with such a Distinction, use the ordinary Teachers with the greatest Contempt. But at the same time they discover that they boast wrongfully of being inspired: for if God did them that great Honour, he would not refuse them the Spirit of Christian Humility; they would not conceive so great an Indignation against all those that will not believe their Dreams. 'Ut est sui plenus *(says* Maresius (12), *speaking of* Comenius) & grandis sentit de seipso, prout solent omnes isti Visionarii, qui speciale cum numine commercium sibi intercedere gloriantur, esse superbissimi, non potest æquo ferre animo suas non dicam solum nænias, & quisquilias, sed fanaticas & enthusiasticas cogitationes improbari. ..... *Big with a high Opinion of himself* (thus *des Marets* speaks of *Comenius*) *as it is usual with all those Visionaries (who boast an immediate Intercourse with the Deity) to be haughty, he cannot with any Patience bear his vain Trifle, or rather his Fanatic and Enthusiastic Dreams, to be called in question.*'

II. *Maresius* charges him with being much enraged because he had been convicted of a Contradiction. He had written against one *Felgenhaverus*, who vented some Prophecies like those of *Drabicius* (13): he had refuted him with the same Reasons that confuted the Visions of *Drabicius*: so that he had confuted himself before-hand, and they need only to oppose his own Arguments to himself, to render him ridiculous. This touched him to the quick. This is the fate of Infatuation, and of those that become Fanatics by a passionate adherence to some particular things. Their first Works overthrow their last; and if any Body dares blame them for their Contradictions, they fall into a furious Rage. We have seen so glaring an Instance of it, since the Death of *Comenius*, that it is not necessary to mention it: III. He was accused of want of Judgment: *Maresius* did not deny that he had Wit and Memory; and to prove that he had no Judgment, he told him that he meddled with too many things, that he was a restless Man, and even that he had no settled Notions in things belonging to Grammar. 'Non mirum est quod in Comenio summa ἀκεφαλία summæ ingenii dexteritati conjungatur. Illam comprobant ἀκεφαλίας constans ejus πολυπραγμοσύνη, genius vitæ desultorium, & ἀκαταστασία perpetua, quæ maximè in suis Grammaticationibus fingendis & refingendis per totos 30 annos eluxit (14).' IV. He was accused of Inconstancy in Matters of Religion. He was told, that he had for a long time revolved in his Head the Pacification of the Church in concert with the *Socinians* (15). *Zwickerus*, who was of That Sect, upbraided him publickly with it, *Maresius* adds, that he had a wonderful Cunning to accommodate himself to the Humour of the Party with whom he was to live; but that, if one might believe the common Report, he communicated with none. He was reproached with his Coldness to confute the Papists, as never having wrote any thing against them but a little Book against the *Capuchin Valerian Magni*, to which he did not set his Name without disguising it according to the mysterious Rules of the Cabala. 'Ita tepidus est in propugnanda protestantium causa contra Pontificios, ut non nisi semel tale quid fecerit adversus Valerianum Magnum Capucinum, suo ordinario nomine dissimulato, & assumpto Cabalistico Huldrici Newfeldii, quod præfixit illi paucularum plagarum opusculo (16).' He justified himself in the second Edition, by saying that he had never loved Disputes. In that second Edition he would have added a Project of Re-union between the Protestants and the Catholics; but his Friends obliged him to leave it out (17). *Maresius* forgot to alledge, as a Proof of his Inconstancy, the Books that he published against the *Irenicon Irenicorum* of the Socinian *Zwickerus* (18). But he did not forget to tell him, that during the Life of his two Patrons, he had spoke always civilly of *Cartesius*; whereas after their Death he published an Invective against that great Philosopher. V. The chief thing he blames him for, is Fanaticism: *Sed præsertim est Comenius Fanaticus, Visionarius, & Enthusiasta in folio* (19). —— *But above all, Comenius is a Fanatic, Visionary, and Enthusiast of the first Magnitude. Comenius* pretended that the Prophecies of *Drabicius* ought to serve for a Rule to all the Princes of *Europe* which was the Reason that he wrote Letters to the Pope, to the Emperor, to Kings and Cardinals, to recommend that Work to them as the Rule of their Conduct. 'Datis ad Papam, ad Imperatorem, ad Reges, ad Cardinales literis has nænias illis de meliori nota commendare atque exinde quid facere, quid cavere, quid metuere debeant illis prescribere (20).' He was always watchful over the Events of *Europe*, to make them agree to the System of his Visions. It is the Property of those Men, as we know by fresh Instances, to amend their Predictions according to the News of the Gazette. *Comenius*, being uncertain whether the Plenipotentiaries of *England* and *Holland*, who were to treat of the Peace at *Breda* in the Year 1667, could conclude it, sent them one of his Angels, to signify unto them that they should end the War, and thereby facilitate the coming of the Reign of Jesus Christ, that Reign of a thousand Years, that should bring the Golden Age again, and restore Innocency. He published a Book intituled, *Angelus pacis ad Legatos pacis Anglos & Belgas Bredam missos, indeque ad omnes Christianos per Europam, & mox ad omnes populos per orbem totum mittendus, ut se sistant, belligerare desistant, pacisque Principi Christo, pacem gentibus jam loquuturo locum faciant.* He promised two other Books, which were to be the *double Morning of the Great Day*

(9) Maresius in Anthrhetico, pag. 81.

(10) Id. ibid. pag. 8.

(11) Ibid. pag. 55.

(12) Ibid. pag. 5.

(13) Id. ibid.

(14) Id. ibid.

(15) Ibid. pag. 6.

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) The Book is intituled, *Abjuratum Ecbo.* The second Edition was printed in 1658.

(18) *See the Remark* [M].

(19) Maresius, ubi supra, pag. 9.

(20) Id. pag. 10.

He owned, at last, the Vanity of his Labours [*H*], and of the Trouble he had given himself, since Providence had made him leave his Country. And indeed he would have been more worthy of Praise, if he had, during his Exile, employed his Thoughts only upon his own Salvation, rather than to be always intent upon the Events of *Europe*, to find in the Interests of Princes, in their Wars, in their Alliances, *&c.* wherewith to flatter himself with the Hopes of being restored to his Country, and of revenging himself. This made him run into Fanaticism. He died at *Amsterdam* the 15th of *November* 1671 (*q*). If he had lived but a little longer, he would have been a Witness of the Falshood of his Promises concerning the *Millenium* [*I*]. He was in the 80th Year of his Age when he died. Some Persons have been surprised that he lived so long [*K*], and

(*q*) Epist. Danielis Comenii Joh. Arnoldi filii apud Spizelium in Infel. Literat. pag. 1028. Konig *is mistaken when he places the Death of* Comenius *in the Year* 1670.

(21) Id. Ibid.

Day ready to rise (21). VI. He was told, that he and such other *millenary* Fanatics have no other aim than to stir up the People, and that he left no Stone unturned to induce *Cromwell* to cause some Insurrections in *Bohemia*: ' *Ne objicium Comenio quæ ipse quondam per tertium multus est apud Cromwellium ad res turbandas in Bohemia* (22). VII. Lastly, *Maresius* charged him with chusing rather to expose the Authority of the Scriptures, than to own himself in the wrong. He had formerly concluded (23), that since the Event did not answer to the Prophecies of *Felgenhaverus*, they did not come from God; but as for those of his three Seers (24), he defended them with might and main, though the Event had contradicted them; and he compared them with those of the Old Testament. ' Nunc verò suas propugnat etsi ab eventu fuerint destituræ, imo eas impiè, profanè & sacrilegè cum prophetiis V. T. audet conferre (25).'

(22) Id. pag. 58.

(23) In Epistola ad Stolcium, anno 1640.

(24) Catterus, Pontatovia, Drabicius.

(25) Maref. ibid. pag. 66.

[*H*] *He owned at last the Vanity of his Labours.*] See the Book that he published at *Amsterdam*, intituled, *Unius necessarii*, in the Year 1668, and the Praises that *Spizelius* bestowed upon him (26) for that Confession, and for his Resolution to mind nothing for the future, but the great Affair of his Salvation.

(26) In Infelice Literato, pag. 1024, & seqq.

[*I*] *If he had lived but a little longer, he would have been a Witness of the Falshood of His Promises concerning the* Millenium.] He said that the Reign of a thousand Years was to begin in the Year 1672, or in the Year 1673 (27). So that there is scarce any Body but believes he died very seasonably, since he avoided the confusion of seeing the vanity of his Prophecies. I am persuaded that he did not gain much by it. He was so used to such Disappointments, and minded so little what People would say of it, that he could have born this last Check without any trouble. Those Gentlemen are of an admirable Constitution: nothing puts them out of Countenance; they appear as boldly in Company after the Expiration of the time as before; they neither fear Railleries, nor the most serious Complaints; they are always ready to begin again: in a Word, they are Proof against the justest Mortifications. We must not lay altogether the Fault of it on the particular turn of their Wit, and of their Inclination; the Public is more to be blamed for it than they are, because of it's prodigious Indulgence. It is a common Saying, That God forgives every thing, and that Men forgive nothing: but that Maxim is false, with respect to the Commentators on the *Revelation*: it is very probable that God has not the same Indulgence, as the Public, for the Boldness wherewith they handle his Oracles, and expose them to the Contempt of Infidels. A learned Divine observes, that *Comenius* lost nothing of his Credit, though he had deceived the People a hundred times by his Visions: he always passed for a great Prophet; so true it is that Men are pleased to be deceived in some things (28)! I have said already, that *Comenius* continued to spread the Predictions of *Drabicius* as divine Prophecies, tho' the Event had declared against them. Here is an instance of it. He was the Coadjutor of *Drabicius*, and was to be one of those, who in the Presence of that Prophet should put the Crown of *Hungary* on Prince *Ragotski*'s Head at *Presburg* (29), after *Drabicius* had been in *Transylvania* to proclaim there that Prince King of *Hungary*, and to anoint him before all the People, after the Sermon that he was to preach on this Text, I HAVE ANOINTED MY KING UPON ZION THE HILL OF MY HOLINESS. ' Solsepe iter ad principem —— ut eum coram toto ' exercitu quem ad ipsum collegi ungas & proclames Regem terræ hujus. Sed præmittas concionem super verba Psalmi secundi, Ego unxi Regem meum, &c. quam concionem statim meditare, peractaque illa effundes oleum unctionis olei Balsamini (*quod reperies in aula principis.*) in conspectu totius populi super caput principis (30). ' *Make the best of your Way to the Prince, to anoint and proclaim him King of this Country, before the whole Army, which I have gathered to him. But first preach a Sermon on those Words of the second Psalm*, 'I have anointed my King, *&c.* ' *To the compassing of which sit yourself immediately; after the delivery of which, pour the anointing Oil of* Balm (which you will find in the Prince's Court) ' *on the Prince's Head, in the sight of all the People.*' He lived long enough to be convinced that this could not happen.

(27) Maref. Antithet. pag. 8.

(28) Interes totius ineptiæ ejus decepti eum pro magno Prophetæ habere pergunt, nec quicquam inde detrimenti authoritas ejus sentit. Sic mundus vult decipi. *Arnoldus in the Appendix to the* Discursus Theologicus, pag. viii.

(29) Scribe Adjuncto (*Comenio*) illum fore unum de illis qui regio capiti coronam imponent te quoque præsente. *Revel.* 155, *ver.* 3, 4. *apud Arnoldum Discurs. Theol. contra Comenium, pag.* 37.

(30) Revel. 30, v. 4, apud Arnold. ibid.

[*K*] *Some Persons have been surprised that he lived so long.*] It is difficult to conceive, that a Man of Reputation can long out-live the Shame of having been a Promoter of Prophecies, which the Event had confounded in such a manner, that they seemed expressly designed to contradict them. *Comenius* found himself liable to other Mortifications, that were not less grevious than that.

They reproached him with having done a great Prejudice to his exiled Brethren (31). Most of them had saved a great deal of Money, and instead of preserving it by good Husbandry, they spent it prodigally in a little time, because *Comenius* assured them that they should quickly return home; and because they thought, by virtue of his Promises, that they needed not be sparing, and that it was better for them to free themselves from every thing that might incumber them in their Journey. This was the Cause that, notwithstanding all the great Hopes wherewith they fed themselves, they soon fell into Beggary. Besides, they reproached him with (32) having been the Cause of the plundering and burning of *Lesna* (33), a Town of *Poland*, where they had found a Retreat, and as it were their Pella: with being, I say, the Cause of it, by reason of the Panegyric that he unseasonably made upon *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, at the time of the Invasion of *Poland*. He prophetically declared him the approaching Destroyer of Popery, whereby he rendered the Protestants of *Poland* extreamly odious to the Catholics of that Kingdom; and he seemed not to be undeceived, when the King of *Sweden* soon after turned his Arms against *Denmark*. *Comenius* made a second Panegyric upon him (34), wherein he congratulated him no less for the new Invasion, than he had done for the foregoing: It was a great Illusion to think, that That Prince had a Design against the Church of *Rome*. The Elector of *Brandenburg* writ to *Richard Cromwell*, that the *Swedes* had ruined the Protestant Religion in *Poland* (35), and no Prince contributed so much to dispossess *Charles Gustavus* of the Conquests that he had made, as the Protestants. There was a time when the Faith of *Comenius* did stagger; for though it has been said (36), that the Faithful of *Lesna*, relying upon his Promise, expected a sudden Deliverance, which made them neglect to withdraw themselves with their Effects into a place of Security; he himself informs us, that he designed in due time to shelter himself from the Storm; but that not being able to obtain his Leave from his Church, and being unwilling to retire without their Consent, which would have been an ill Example, as they told him, he was surprized with the rest by the *Polish* Army. ' Equidem subdacere ' me

(31) *See* Arnoldus, Discurs. Theolog. contra Comenium.

(32) Ibid. & pag. 83.

(33) It was burnt about the end of *April*, 1656.

(34) Arnoldus Discurs. Theol. pag. 69.

(35) *That Letter contains some very remarkable things. It is dated the* 28*th of* Decemb. 1658, *and is to be found in the* Præstantium & eruditorum virorum Epistolæ, pag. 837, Edit. 1684.

(36) Arnoldus, pag. 87.

and that the Vexation of having succeeded so ill in his Predictions did not shorten his Days. Mrs *Bourignon* and he esteemed each other *cordially* and *spiritually* [*L*]. I ought not to forget that he published something against the *Socinians* [*M*]. It is said, that the Author of a Book, intituled JANUA COELORUM RESERATA, made choice of that Title, because there is none to which the Ear is more used than to that of *Janua Linguarum Reserata* of *Comenius* [*N*]. The Articles of DRABICIUS and KOTTERUS contain several things that may pass for a Supplement to this.

' me mature volui metu, sive talis alicujus tragici exitus, sive diuturnioris belli . . . sed impetrare a meis dimissionem non potui; cum scandalo autem deserere gregem (malo prorsus exemplo, ut dicitabant) nolui (37).' He left his House, his Goods, his Library, and several Manuscripts, in the writing of which he had spent about forty Years. Only part of the Apocalyptic Treatises, and some others (38), escaped the Flames; they had time enough to throw them into a Hole, and to cover them with Earth, and they were found again ten Days after the Fire (39).

(37) Histor. Revelationum, pag. 281.

(38) Those concerning the *Pansophia*.

(39) Histor. Revelationum, pag. 281.

[*L*] *Mrs* Bourignon *and he esteemed each other cordially and spiritually.*] ' He broke with Mr *Serrarius*, because he had acted with so much Passion and Injustice against her. He continued to esteem her all the rest of his Life, and desired her on his Death-bed to come and give him the last Visit, saying to those who spoke to him of her, *O the holy Maid! Where is she then? Let me have the Happiness to see her once more before I die. All the Knowledge and Learning that I have had, are only the Productions of Reason, and the human Mind, and the Effects of human Study; but she has a Wisdom, and a Light that proceed immediately from* GOD *alone, by the* HOLY GHOST. After she had been to see him, according to his Request, he said, with great Transports of Joy, to those that came to see him, *I have seen an Angel of* GOD: GOD *has sent me his Angel this Day.* He died some time after in the Grace of GOD, as Mrs *Bourignon* did not question; having often said, that she had never seen a learned Man better and more humble than he (40).'

(40) Vie Contenuë de Madle. Bourignon, pag. 292.

[*M*] *He published something against the* Socinians.] One of that Sect wrote a Book, intituled, *Irenicum Irenicorum, seu reconciliatoris Christianorum hodiernorum norma triplex, sana omnium hominum ratio, Scriptura sacra, & traditiones*, and dedicated it to the Pope. Neither the Author's Name, nor the Time or Place of the Impression, appear in it; but we know that a Physician, born at *Dantzic*, whose Name was *Daniel Zwickerus*, composed it, and had it printed at *Amsterdam*, in the Year 1658 (41). *Comenius* refuted him in a Book intituled, *De Irenico Irenicorum, hoc est conditionibus pacis à Socini secta reliquo Christiano orbi oblatis, ad omnes Christianos facta admonitio*: It was printed at *Amsterdam* in 1660, and refuted soon after; for *Zwickerus* published in the same Town, in 1661, his *Irenicomastix perpetuo convictus & constrictus, seu nova confirmatio infallibilitatis Irenici Irenicorum per ostensam futilitatem criminosæ COMENIANÆ refutationis*. It was not long before *Comenius*'s Reply came out; and it was soon followed by a Piece of *Zwickerus*, intituled, *Irenicomastix posterior iterato victus & constrictus imo obmutescens, seu novum & memorabile exemplum infelicissimæ pugnæ Dn. Joh. Amos Comenii, contra Irenici Irenicorum Autorem. Comenius* entered the Lists once again: his Adversary did the same; for he published *Irenicomastigis pars specialis, seu finalis confutatio Comenii, Hoornbeekii, & aliorum* (42). Note, by the by, that Dr *Bull* has refuted several Passages of the *Irenicum Irenicorum*, and that he has been blamed for not having seen the other Books of the same Author; for want of which, he condemns *Daniel Zwickerus* for several things, whereof he would have found him innocent, if he had consulted the *Irenicomastix perpetuo convictus*, &c. This I find in a pseudonymous Piece, printed at *London*, in the Year 1697, and intituled, *Fides primorum Christianorum ex Barnaba, Herma, & Clemente Romano, demonstrata, defunsioni Fidei Nicenæ D. Georgii Bulli opposita* (43).

(41) *See the* Bibliotheca Antitrinitariorum, pag. 158.

(42) Taken from the same Bibliotheque *ubi supra*.

(43) The Author calls himself *Lucas Melliorus*, *V. D. M.* Note that *Lucas Melliorus* is the Anagram of *Samuel Crellius*, the Author's true Name, Grandson of the famous *John Crellius*.

[*N*] *The Author of a Book, intituled,* Janua Cœlorum reserata, *made choice of that Title, because of that of the* Janua Linguarum reserata *of* Comenius.] That Book being little known, it is fit to say something of it here, that all my Readers may learn in general what it is, without looking for other Books, or stirring from their Place.

It is a Book (44), the Author whereof was pleased to call himself *Carus Larebonius*. He attacks Mr *Jurieu*'s *System of the Church*, in the Stile of a peripatetic Philosopher, and quite overturns it, since he clearly shews, that, according to that Minister's Hypothesis, a Man may be saved in all Religions. This was an unluckly thing for Mr *Jurieu*; for it was stripping him of the best Feather in his Plume, since the best Book that he writ, and which was most esteemed, came to nothing by that means. Among so many Writings of Mr *Jurieu*, Mr *Nicolle* found none but this that deserved to be answered. He divided the rest into two Classes, and he placed in the first the Books, wherein he pretends, that Mr *Jurieu* says nothing new; and in the second those, wherein he pretends, that Mr *Jurieu* says some new things (45). He will have it, that those of the first Class are only *meer Collections and Dispositions* of what had been already said by the Writers of the Party; and that those of the second contain only heaps of *Calumnies against all sorts of People, or empty Visions and Imaginations, or passionate Declamations.* Now he thought that the *Makers of Collections* ought to be left unanswered, and *to be given up to the Judgment of the Public, who soon bring them to Reason by the Disgust they conceive against such Books; and that Silence and Contempt are the Punishment that best suits the Vanity and Passion* of those who write Books of the second Class. He thought particularly concerning Mr *Jurieu*'s *Accomplishment of Prophecies*, that *he no more would advise a Man to undertake the Refutation of it, than to apply himself seriously to refute the Centuries* of Nostradamus (46); but as for the *System of the Church, which*, he says (47), *was not looked upon as a despicable Work*, he found, after having well thought of it, that he ought to refute it. I only relate these things historically.

(44) *Printed at* Amsterdam, 1692, *in* 4to.

(45) *Nicolle*, Preface to his Book concerning the Unity of the Church, pag. 2.

(46) Ibid. pag. 27.

(47) Ib. pag. 1.

(48) See his second Apology.

(49) He finds fault even with the *Latin* Stile of it, and instances, that such a Negligence of Stile is a Miracle of the Divine Justice (for he has always Miracles at hand), and does not take notice that *Larebonius* says, in the beginning and at the end of his Book, that he had pitched upon the Stile of the Schoolmen. ' Iniquum est, ' *sand Mr* Amyrant *upon such* ' *an Occasion*, id in aliquo reprehendere in quo ' duta opera neglexit diligenter ' elaborare. . . . ' *It is unjust to object the want* ' *of Accuracy, where an Author* ' *on purpose declined being elaborate.*' Mr *Jurieu* has been so prudent as to judge of the Latinity only by Proxy; for he was not ignorant that his Incompetence in that matter was known even before he wrote against Mr *Sculteti*. (See Mr *Simon*, *Rep. à la Def des Sent.* pag. 191.) His Proxy, or Substitute, is very likely a mean Scholar, since he finds *Larebonius*'s Arguments obscure and intricate, though nothing can be clearer than his Book.

(50) Virgil. Æneid. lib. XI. ver. 62.

(51) Pag. 58, & seq.

Moltia luctus
Exigua ingentis, misero sed debita patri (50).

. . . . . *a weak Relief,*
And far inferior to a Father's Grief.

Consult a little Book printed at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1692, and intituled, *Nouvel Avis au petit Auteur des petits Livrets*; — *New Advice to the little Author of the little Books.* You will find (51) a Letter in it full of curious Reflexions, which may serve as an Apology for Mr *Jurieu*'s Anger, and which will prevent your wondering that neither he nor his Friends have been able to answer the *Janua Cœlorum reserata*. Whoever criticizes *Larebonius* under pretence that several of his Words and Phrases are not taken out of Classical Authors, is over nice, and even ridiculous. His Work is of the Nature of those, whose Imperfection consists only in wrong Arguments or Falsities; and none can deny him the Privilege, which all the Authors of common Places of Divinity and public Theses enjoy, which is, not to trouble themselves whether their *Latin* is flat or not.

COMMANDINUS (FREDERIC) born at *Urbino* in *Italy*, of a Noble Family, was one of the learned Men of the XVIth Century. His great Knowledge of the Mathematics was attended with a great Skill in the Greek Tongue, which enabled him to tranſlate the Greek Mathematicians into Latin. He publiſhed and tranſlated many of them, which never had been tranſlated before. *Francis Maria*, Duke of *Urbino*, who underſtood thoſe Sciences very well, was a moſt affectionate Patron to him for that very reaſon. *Commandinus* died in 1575, being Sixty ſix Years of Age, and was buried in the Sepulchre of his Anceſtors; and *Anthony Toroneus* made his Funeral Oration (*a*). I ſhall give a Catalogue of the Books, which *Commandinus* tranſlated and commented upon [*A*]. He is very much praiſed by *Blancanus* (*b*), and others, and deſerves it. It is no ſmall Glory to him, to have had *Bernardin Baldus* and *Guy Ubaldus* among his Diſciples; for they were excellent Authors, and indebted to him for their great Improvements. I ſhall make a ſhort Obſervation upon his Tranſlation of *Euclid* [*B*].

(*a*) Ex Thuano, lib. LXI, pag. 139.

(*b*) Chronol. Mathem. p. 61.

[*A*] *I ſhall give a Catalogue of the Books he tranſlated and commented on.*] *Archimedis circuli dimenſio, de lineis ſpiralibus, quadratura parabolæ, de conoidibus & ſpheroidibus, de arenæ numero*, Venice, *for* Paul Manutius, 1558, *in fol.* *Ejuſdem Archimedis de iis quæ vehuntur in aqua*, Bologna, 1565, *in* 4to. *Apollonii Pergæi Conicorum libri quatuor una cum Pappi Alexandrini lemmatibus, & commentariis Eutocii Aſcalonitæ*, &c. Bologna, 1566, *in folio* (1). *Ptolemæi planiſphærium*, Venice, 1558, *in* 4to. *Ejuſdem de Analemmate liber*, Rome, 1562, *in* 4to. *Elementa Euclidis, at* Peſaro, 1572, *in fol.* *Ariſtarchus de magnitudinibus at diſtantiis ſolis & lunæ, at* Peſaro, 1572, *in* 4to (2). *Heronis de ſpiritalibus* (3), *at* Urbino, 1575, *in* 4to. *Machometes Bagdedinus de ſuperficierum diviſionibus, at* Peſaro, 1570, *in fol.* *Pappi Alexandrini Collectiones Mathematicæ, at* Peſaro, 1588, *in fol*, &c. This laſt Work would not have been printed ſo ſoon after the Death of the Author, if the Duke of *Urbino* had not vigorouſly concerned himſelf in it: had it not been for that, the Law-Suit which the two Daughters of *Commandinus* commenced againſt each other, would have occaſioned a long delay, as his Son-in-law *Valerius Spaciolus* acknowledges (4). He publiſhed alſo ſome Books of his own compoſing, a Treatiſe *De centro gravitatis ſolidorum*, Bologna, 1565, *fol.* *Horologiorum deſcriptio*, Rome, 1562, &c (5).

(1) Ex Ant. Verderio, Supplem. Epitom. Geſner.

(2) See the Catalogue of the Public Library of *Oxford*.

(3) *See* Voſſius de Mathem. pag. 290.

(4) Voſſius, ibid. pag. 59.

(5) Oxford Catalogue.

[*B*] *I ſhall make a ſhort Obſervation upon his Tranſlation of* Euclid] Mr *Teiſſier* obſerves, that *Commandinus tranſlated the Works of* Euclid *into* Italian; and he cites *Voſſius de Mathem. pag.* 68. (6). But it is certain, that *Voſſius* does not ſay that it was in *Italian*. I find no body that ſays it was. Doubtleſs it is the Fault of *Teiſſier*'s Printer, that inſtead of *Heronis Alexandrini Spiritalium liber*, we read in pag. 470, which I have quoted, *Hieronis Alexandrini Spiritualium liber*. In *Blancanus* (7), they have put *Neronis* inſtead of *Heronis*. Thus the Printers multiply Writers. Some Compilers, to ſhew that they out-do thoſe that went before them, will perhaps give out, as a rare Diſcovery, that there was anciently an able Mathematician, whoſe Name was *Nero*, of whom we have ſtill ſome Works.

(6) Elog. tirez de Mr de Thou, Tom. I. pag. 470.

(7) Chronol. Mathemat. pag. 61.

CONCINI (CONCINO) known by the Name of *MARSHAL D'ANCRE*, abuſed the Goodneſs of the Queen-Mother, *Mary de Medicis*, ſo exceſſively, that, in order to ſtop his Ambition, it was thought fit to make away with him, without any Trial [*A*]. It would have been too dangerous a thing to undertake it in due form; which is alone ſufficient to ſhew that he was a wicked man [*B*]. He was born at *Florence*, where his Father, from a meer Notary, came to be Secretary of State. He came into *France* with *Mary de Medicis*, the Wife of *Henry* IV; and at firſt he was only Gentleman in Ordinary to that Princeſs, but he afterwards became her Maſter of the Horſe, and raiſed himſelf prodigiouſly by the Credit that one of the Queen's Maids, whom he married, had with her Majeſty (*a*). He bought the Marquiſate of *Ancre* (*b*), a little after the Death of *Henry* IV. He was Governor of *Amiens*, *Peronne*, *Roie*, and *Mondidier*: He became firſt Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, and afterwards Marſhal of *France* (*c*). He endeavoured to have the Goverment of *Picardy*; but the Duke of *Longueville*, having the Choice of that Government, and of that of *Normandy*, choſe the firſt, and by that means the Marſhal *d'Ancre* was excluded from his Pretenſions, and even forced to yield the Government of *Amiens* to that Duke; for that Reſignation was ſtipulated by the Treaty of *Loudon*, if the Duke of *Longueville* ſhould chuſe the Government of *Picardy*. The Marſhal *d'Ancre* had at the ſame time the Government of *Normandy* beſtowed upon him. He cauſed *Quillebeuf* to be fortified in that Province, notwithſtanding the Parliament had forbid it: He got the particular Government of *Pont de l'Arche*, and endeavoured to have alſo that of *Havre de Grace* (*d*). In ſhort, there was no longer reaſon to doubt that he deſigned to have all things at his

(*a*) Leonora GALLIGAI. *See her Article.*

(*b*) *In* Picardy.

(*c*) Baptiſte le Grain, Decade de Louis le Juſte, *B.* 4. *towards the end.*

(*d*) Id. lib. IX.

[*A*] *It was thought proper to make away with him, without any Trial.*] I am not ignorant that *le Grain*, and ſome other Hiſtorians ſay, that the King ordered the Sieur *de Vitri to apprehend the Marſhal, with an Intention to have him tried in his Parliament of* Paris (1); but I find the particular Relation of the Death of the Marſhal *d'Ancre* more credible (2). It imports, that the King, finding too great a Danger in the Project of the Trial, took another Reſolution, which was, to command *Vitri* to cauſe the Marſhal to be killed.

(1) Le Grain, Decade de Louis XIII, B. 10, pag. m. 387.

(2) It is printed together with the Hiſtory of the Favourites, collected by *Peter du Puy*.

[*B*] *Which alone ſhews, that he was a wicked Man.*] For a Subject cannot, without a Crime, form the Deſign of making his Maſter fear him; and if he compaſſes that Deſign, he muſt have made uſe of a thouſand unjuſt ways; he muſt have turned thoſe out of their Places that did not pleaſe him, and advanced others upon whom he could depend: that is, he muſt have degraded good Men, to raiſe thoſe, who ſacrifice every thing to Fortune. How many Extortions muſt one make, to heap up as much Money as is neceſſary to have Spies and Creatures every where? Our Marſhal *never went abroad without having two hundred Gentlemen about him, beſides the Men to whom he gave Wages, whom he called his thouſand Livres Paltroons* (3). We ſhall ſpeak hereafter (4) of the Slavery wherein he kept the King.

(3) Le Grain, ubi ſupra.

(4) *In Rem.* [*D*].

his Diſpoſal; for he removed the wiſeſt Heads from the King's Council, and filled their Places with his own Creatures. He diſpoſed of the Finances, he diſtributed the Offices, he got Friends every where, both in the Armies and in the Towns, and terrified thoſe, who oppoſed his Faction, by Examples of a ſevere Revenge. There was no other Remedy for all thoſe great Diſorders, than that of killing him. That Commiſſion, given to *Vitri*, one of the Captains of the Life-Guards, was executed on the Drawbridge of the *Louvre* on the Twenty fourth of *April* 1617, where ſeveral Piſtols were fired at That Marſhal. The next day, the Mob, having taken the Body out of the Grave, in the Church of *St German de l'Auxerrois*, dragged it up and down the Streets, and diſcharged their Anger all manner of ways [C]. The Parliament proceeded againſt the Memory of the deceaſed, and declared him convicted of High-Treaſon, both divine and humane, condemned his Wife to be beheaded, and declared their Son *Ignoble, and uncapable of holding* any Office in the Kingdom (e). Strange things were diſcovered in their Proceſs concerning their Judaiſm and Sorcery. I ſpeak of it elſewhere (f). This Man's Inſolence is a ſad Example of that Fatality, which attends the *French* Monarchy more than any other Country in the World; which is, that the Queens there preſerve almoſt al ways the foreign Heart which they bring with them, and are commonly the Inſtrument that God makes uſe of to humble and chaſtiſe the Nation. Here are already two Queens, deſcended from the Houſe of *Medicis* (g), who did almoſt overthrow That Monarchy in favour of the *Spaniards*. That Part of the French Hiſtory is ſhameful for the *French* Name. Why did they ſuffer that the King ſhould be ſeveral Years a Slave to a *Florentine* [D]? Was it not a baſe thing to bend the Knee, as they did, before that Idol, whilſt they inwardly deteſted it [E]? There

(e) Ibid. lib. X.

(f) *In the Article* GALLIGAI, *Rem.* [D] *and* [E].

(g) Catherine *the Mother of* Charles IX, *and of* Henry III, *and* Mary *the Mother of* Lewis XIII.

[C] *The Mob ... diſcharged their Anger all manner of ways.*] The Footman of a Gentleman, who had been lately put to death (5), to gratify the Marſhal, begun the Tumult in the Church of *St Germain de l'Auxerrois*. They cried out, that the Body of that *Excommunicated Jew* ought to be taken out of his Grave, and thrown on a Dunghil. They went about it immediately, with ſo much Fury, that, if any one had repreſented to them that they ought to have ſome Reſpect for the Holineſs of the Place, they would have buried him alive in the Marſhal's Grave. When they had opened the Coffin, they dragged the Body to the end of the *Pont-neuf*, and hanged it by the Heels on one of the Gallows, that the deceaſed had cauſed to be ſet up for thoſe that ſhould ſpeak ill of him. They cut off his Noſe, his Ears, and his Privy-parts; a little after they took him down again, they dragged him to the *Greve*, and to the other Places, and then they diſmembered him, and cut him into a thouſand Pieces; every one would have ſome part of him; his Ears were ſold very dear; his Entrails were thrown into the River; part of the Body was burnt before the Statue of *Henry* IV, on the *Pont-neuf*, and ſome roaſted part of his Fleſh with that Fire, and made their Dogs eat it (6). The Author of the Relation, printed with the Hiſtory of the Favourites, relates ſome things that are ſtill more ſurprizing. The Great Provoſt, appearing with his Archers, to put a ſtop to the beginning of the Tumult in the Church of *St Germain de l'Auxerrois*, was threatened to be buried alive, if he advanced farther (7). That Author adds, that a Man, in a ſcarlet Dreſs, was ſo enraged, that, having thruſt his Hand into the dead Body, he took it out again all bloody, 'and licked the Blood, and ſwallowed 'alſo ſome little Pieces that he had tore from the 'Body; *that* another pulled his Heart out, and 'broiled it on ſome Coals, and eat it publickly 'with Vinegar (8).' That Author relates the Particulars of the Conduct of the Mob, according to the ſeveral Stations where the Body was hanged, diſmembered, and burnt; he ſays, that on the next Day the Aſhes were ſold for fifteen Pence an Ounce (9). It is certain, that a Herd of mad Bulls will as well hearken to Reaſon, and are leſs to be feared than a mutinous Mob.

(5) He was a Gentleman of *Normandy*, called *Hurtevan*, who was beheaded at *Paris* the 21ſt of *March* 1617. Le Grain, ubi ſupra, lib. IX. ſub. fin.

(6) Le Grain, ubi ſupra, lib. X, pag. 399, 400.

(7) Relation, pag. 53.

(8) Ib. pag. 56.

(9) Ib. pag. 57.

[D] *Why did they ſuffer that the King ſhould be ſeveral Years a Slave to a* Florentine? Theſe are not Slanders invented either by the Marſhal *d'Ancre*'s Enemies, or by thoſe of *Lewis* XIII, ſince that Prince owns his Servitude himſelf, in the Letters that he writ to the Governours of the Provinces, the Day that the Marſhal was killed. 'I make no 'doubt, *ſays he* (10), that in the whole courſe of 'Affairs, ever ſince the Death of the late King, 'my Lord and Father, [whom GOD abſolve] you 'have eaſily obſerved how the Marſhal *d'Ancre*, 'and his Wife, abuſing my Youth, and the Power 'they acquired by degrees over the Mind of the 'Queen, my Lady, and Mother, have projected 'to uſurp all the Authority, to diſpoſe abſolutely of 'the Affairs of my State, and debar me from the 'Knowledge of them: a Deſign, which they have 'carried ſo far, that there was nothing left to me 'hitherto but the Name of King, and that it would 'have been a capital Crime for any of my Officers 'and Subjects to ſee me in private, and to entertain me with any ſerious Diſcourſe. Which GOD 'of his infinite Goodneſs having made me ſenſible 'of, and of the imminent Danger that my Perſon 'and State would be expoſed to by ſuch exorbitant 'Ambition, if I had given any ſign of my Reſentment, and of the extream Deſire I had to give 'the neceſſary Orders againſt it; I have been 'forced to diſſemble, and to hide my good Intentions by my outward Actions, waiting till it 'ſhould pleaſe the ſame Divine Goodneſs to prepare the way, and afford me an opportunity to 'remedy it.' The Author of the Relation ſays, that, when the King heard that the Marſhal was dead, he looked out at the Window, and ſaid, *I thank you, I thank you, now I am a King* (11). He went afterwards to other Windows, and cried out, *To Arms, To Arms, my Friends*; and ſaid, GOD *be thanked, now I am a King* (12). The Lieutenants, Enſigns, and the Exempt of the Guards, which he ſent into the Streets of *Paris* to prevent any Diſorder, cried out all over the City, *Long live the King, the King is King* (13). The Biſhop of *Luçon*, who was afterwards Cardinal *Richelieu*, had been one of the Marſhal's Favourites, and performed at that time the Functions of firſt Secretary of State. He came into the King's Chamber, ſome time after the Execution was done; *Sir*, ſaid the King to him, GOD *be thanked, this Day we are freed from your Tyranny* (14). He did not know at that time that his Deliverance would not continue long, and that he ſpoke to a Man, who was deſtined to leave him only the Title of Sovereign. However it be, it is certain, that the Marſhal had uſurped a great Power over the King's Perſon. He took from him *the Liberty of going to the fine Houſes that are about* Paris, *and reduced his Diverſion of hunting to his walking only in the* Tuilleries (15). The Proteſtion of a Queen-Regent inſpires a proud Man with too much Boldneſs.

(10) Le Grain, ubi ſupra, pag. 392.

(11) He ſpoke thoſe Words to the Men that attended *Vitri*.

(12) Relat. pag. 28.

(13) Ib. pag. 29.

(14) Le Grain, pag. 392.

(15) Relat. pag. 4, & 5.

[E] *To bend the Knee ... before that Idol, whilſt they inwardly deteſted it*] The Marſhal ſaid one Day, that 'the People of *France* are not what they 'are thought to be; for although they ſpeak very 'ill of me, yet as ſoon as I come into any part of 'the

There are no finer Verſes of *Malherbe* than thoſe which he made on the Fall of that Idol. He pretends that it juſtified Providence, which was, if one may ſay ſo, arraigned, and *in reatu*, during that Marſhal's Proſperity [*F*]. Thus the Poets give themſelves the Liberty to touch upon great Myſteries under Metaphors and bold Figures. It is ſurprizing that the Marſhal *d'Etree* ſhould have extenuated the Faults of Marſhal *d'Ancre* ſo much as he has done [*G*]. The Italian Author, who publiſhed at *Lyons* an Hiſtory of *Lewis* XIII, in the Year 1691, is not guilty of that Exceſs [*H*]. Mr *de Beauvais-Nangis* (*b*), who knew the Court of *Lewis* XIII very well, is far from clearing our *Concini*, and rather confirms the common Reports.

(*b*) *See his* Hiſtory of the *French* Favourites, pag. 100, & ſeq.

' the Provinces, all the Officers make Speeches to me
(16) Ib. pag. 43. ' as to the King (16).' Such a baſe Flattery did not only deſerve to be mentioned, but alſo to be deſcribed with more Indignation than there is in the following Paſſage. ' We muſt not omit (for Truth ' belongs to Hiſtory) that many Princes and Lords ' of the Court, many Deputies of the States-General, many of the chief Magiſtrates, a great part ' of the Nobility, a great number of the Officers ' and Citizens of Towns, did not only bear, but ' were not aſhamed to advance the Grandeur of that ' Tyrant with all their Might, in order to obtain his ' Favour; and in the mean time they neglected the ' Love and Fidelity, which GOD commands us to ' ſhew to our King and Country, and the ancient ' Generoſity, being baniſhed from the Hearts of the ' *French*, was intirely employed to ſupport the
(17) Le Grain, pag. 385. ' foreign Uſurper (17).'

[*F*] *Providence —— was arraigned, and* in reatu, *during that Marſhal's Proſperity.*] *Malherbe* introduces the God of the *Seine* curſing the Marſhal, and foretelling him his approaching Ruin.

Tes jours ſont à la fin, ta chute ſe prépare,
Regarde moi pour la derniere fois.
C'eſt aſſez que cinq ans ton audace effrontée,
Sur des ailes de cire aux étoiles montée,
Princes & Rois ait oſé défier;
La fortune t'apelle au rang de ſes victimes,
Et le ciel accuſé de ſuporter tes crimes,
Eſt reſolu de ſe juſtifier.

(18) *In his* Socrate Chretien, pag. m. 239.

Balzac made ſome Reflexions on that Piece of *Malherbe* (18). Perhaps I ſhall touch upon them in the Article of RUFINUS (19), on occaſion of the words of *Claudian*, who ſays, that the Proſperity of *Rufinus* was a Trial between GOD and
(19) *Rem.* [*C*]. Man, which GOD gained only by the Ruin of *Rufinus*.

[*G*] *It is ſurprizing that the Marſhal* d'Etree *ſhould have extenuated the Faults of the Marſhal* d'Ancre *ſo much as he has done.*] Read the Memoirs of the Regency of *Mary de Medicis*, printed in the Year 1666, and you will not find there any of the Marſhal *d'Ancre*'s Actions, that deſerve that a Page ſhould be whipt for them; and you will ſee, in the Concluſion, a Character of him more like a Panegyric than an Apology. Againſt my Cuſtom, I ſhall not here refer my Readers to *Moreri*, but ſet down the ſame Words he has cited. ' When I conſider (*the Author of the* Memoirs
(20) Pag. 244, 245. ' *ſpeaks* (20) the Circumſtances of the Death of ' Marſhal *d'Ancre*, I can only attribute it to his ill ' Fate, having been adviſed by a Man whoſe Inclinations were very mild; and as he himſelf was naturally good natured, and had diſobliged but few ' Perſons, it muſt needs be his Star, or the State of ' of Affairs, that raiſed ſo many People againſt him. ' He was agreeable in Perſon, skillful on Horſeback, and in all other Exerciſes; he loved Pleaſures, and chiefly Gaming; his Converſation was ' ſweet and eaſy; he had high and ambitious ' Thoughts, but he hid them carefully; he never ' came nor affected to come into the Council; nay ' the King has often been heard to ſay, that he did ' not mean he ſhould be killed.' I ſhould act imprudently, ſhould I prefer the Teſtimony of this Author before that of ſo many Writers, who have ſpoke ill of *Concino Concini*. Not but that I think it very poſſible, that, with indifferent Faults, a Man, who has a great Imprudence, and many Enemies, may become the Averſion of the People, and paſs for a very wicked Man. A cunning, malicious, and powerful Enemy, will make the Mob believe many Lies. Nay, I believe that many things have been ſtrained concerning that unfortunate *Florentine*, and that no fewer Obſtacles muſt be overcome to diſcover the Properties of the Loadſtone, than to know exactly, and with the niceſt Diſtinction, the Truth of *Concini*'s Affairs: And on this occaſion I ſhall obſerve, that, in many Caſes, Hiſtorical Truths are not leſs impenetrable than Phyſical ones.

[*H*] *The* Italian *Author —— is not guilty of that exceſs.*] I mean Count *Alexander Roncoveri* (21). He ſays, that *Concini* ſhewed ſome very good Qualities when he began to be in favour; but he adds, that afterwards they were ſtifled by the bad ones, and appeared no more, and could do no Service. ' Af-
(21) He is a Native of *Placentia*. ' ſeriſcono le memorie di quel tempo, che ne' principii della ſua potenza era huomo di buona legge, ' di grata compagnia, di conſacevole humore, diſintereſſato, mà profondamente ambitioſo, e violente; ' difetti, che nel progreſſo confondendoſi con le ' prime buone qualità in ultimo le ſoffocarono di ' tal maniere, che quelle non poterono apparire, e ' meno giovargli (22).' Had he but mentioned the
(22) Aleſſ. Roncoveri, Iſtoria del regno di Luigi XIII, lib. V, pag. 205. Particulars of that Marſhal's great Eſtate, it would have been ſufficient to know that he was a wicked Man; he would have given him a ſatirical Stroke. I take *Juvenal* to witneſs.

Patricios omnes opibus cum provocet unus,
Quo tondente gravis juveni mihi barba ſonabat,
Cum pars Niliacæ plebis, cum verna Canopi
Criſpinus Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,
Ventilet æſtivum digitis ſudantibus aurum,
Nec ſufferre queat majoris pondera gemmæ:
Difficile eſt ſatyram non ſcribere - - - -
- - - - - - - ſacro nec cedat honori
Nuper in hanc urbem pedibus qui venerat albis.
(22) Juv. Sat. I. ver. 24. & 110.

When all our Lords are by his Wealth outoy'd,
Whoſe Razor on my callow Beard was try'd;
When I behold the Spawn of conquer'd Nile,
Criſpinus, *both in Birth and Manners vile,*
Pacing in Pomp with Cloak of Tyrian *Dye,*
Chang'd oft a Day for needleſs Luxury;
And finding oft Occaſion to be fann'd,
Ambitious to produce his Lady Hand.
Charg'd with light Summer Rings his Fingers ſweat,
Unable to ſupport a Gem of Weight.
Such fulſome Objects meeting every where,
'Tis hard to write, but harder to forbear.
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
And he who lately barefoot trod the Streets,
To ſacred Honours won't ſubmit.

' Oltro un miglione di lire, che valevano i ſuoi
' ſtabili in Francia, ne haveva un' altro di contanti
' in caſſa, ſeicento mila ſcudi ſopra Faideau, quat-
' trocento mila frà Roma, è Fiorenza, è non oſtante
' il ſacheggio della ſua Caſa, mobili, gioie, argenti,
' e cariche per due miglioni ſenza quella di Luo-
' gotenente del Re nella Normandia, di primo
(24) Aleſſ. Roncoveri, ubi ſupra, pag. 199, 200. ' Gentilhuomo della Camera del Rè, e d'Inten-
' dente della Caſa della Regina (24).'

CONDREN (CHARLES DE) Superior-General of the Fathers of the Oratory, in the XVIIth Century. I ſhall add but one thing to what *Moreri* has ſaid of him,

him, viz. That they have collected as many of his Writings together as they could; and that this Collection contains two Parts, the last of which was reprinted by it self at *Brussels*, by *Francis Foppens*, in 12*mo*, in the Year 1659. These are pious Letters, and will be very acceptable to the Mystics.

CONECTE (THOMAS) a Monk of the Order of the *Carmelites*, born in *Bretagne*, was burnt at *Rome* for an Heretic, in the Year 1434 (*a*), after he had been followed by the People as the greatest Preacher of his Time. Having been much admired in his own Country, he left the Convent of *Rennes*, and went into *Flanders*. He acquired such a Reputation there by his Preaching, that one cannot sufficiently express the Honour that was done him in all the Places that he went through [*A*]; nor the Concourse of People that came to his Sermons [*B*]. He declaimed vehemently against the Vices of the Clergy, and against the Luxury of Women, especially against their Head-Dresses, which were of such a prodigious Height [*C*], that the highest Top-knots now are but Dwarfs to them. He reformed that Excess, and obliged the Ladies to dress themselves modestly; but it was not so much by the Force of the Reasons wherewith he represented the Evangelical Duties to them, as by exhorting the Boys to insult the Women that would not reform themselves [*D*]: and therefore, as soon as he left the Country, they put on their Head-dresses again, with higher Toppings [*E*], as it were to make themselves amends

(*a*) Argentré, Hist. de Bretagne B. 10, cap. 42. *Gibert*, *as* Spondanus, *place his Death in* 1431.

[*A*] *One cannot sufficiently express the Honour —— that was done him in all the Places that he went through.*] When it was known that he was to come to any place, 'The Nobles and all sorts of People 'went to meet him, and accompanied him bare-'headed, holding the Bridle of his Mule as far as 'his Lodgings; and happy was he that could lodge 'him (1).' *Paradin* will tell us more of it: 'Brother *Thomas Conette* had acquired so great a 'Reputation of Holiness, that every body ran after 'him, so that one half of them could scarce see 'him. When he travelled, he was mounted on a 'little Mule: many other Monks of his Order, 'and many Priests, followed him on foot, as his 'Disciples, and Secular Priests in great Number. 'The Clergy, the Nobility, and the Burghers, 'met him out of the Cities and Boroughs, ho-'nouring and reverencing him as much as if he 'had been an Apostle of JESUS CHRIST: in-'somuch that, where-ever he came, he went always 'attended with a great Multitude of People, who 'went out a great way to meet him, as if he was 'descended from Heaven. And when he came 'into any Town, commonly the most noble, and 'the most considerable, Person, holding the Bridle 'of his Mule on foot, conducted him with the 'whole Multitude to his Lodging, which was ge-'nerally got ready for him in the best House. And 'his Disciples were also lodged in the other best 'Houses, as it is practised in the Retinue of Princes: 'and every body took it as a great Honour to 'lodge him, or any of his Attendants (2).'

(1) Argentré Hist. de Bretagne liv. X, cap. 42.

(2) Paradin, Annales de Bourgogne liv. III. ad ann. 1428, p. m. 700.

[*B*] —— *the Concourse of People that came to his Sermons.*] There were commonly fifteen or sixteen thousand People, who came to hear him preach (3): The Women were on one side, and the Men on the other, a Rope parting them (4). He did not preach in the Churches, but in the greatest Places; a large Scaffold was built there, hung with the richest Hangings that could be found: an Altar was erected on that Scaffold, which was as magnificently adorned as possible. Brother *Thomas* said Mass there before his Sermon (5). All the Place was hung with fine Hangings. Consult *Bertrand d'Argentré* (6).

(3) Paradin says, that about twenty thousand People went frequently to hear him preach.

(4) Argentré, ubi supra.

[*C*] *He declaimed especially against their Head-dresses, which were of a prodigious Height.*] 'In 'those days Women wore a rich high Ornament 'on the Head, which they called *Hennins*, and the 'Women of the *Netherlands* dressed themselves with 'it. —— In Truth Mr *John Juvenal des Ursins* '(who lived in those times) says, that notwith-'standing the Wars of *France* (he speaks of the 'time of *Charles* VI) the Ladies were excessive in 'their Dress, and wore wonderful high and broad 'Horns, having on each side two Ears so large, 'that it was impossible for them to come through a 'Door: which I believe were the *Hennins* of '*Flanders*; for those Superfluities are quickly spread 'all over the World among Women (7).' See the following Remark, and observe, by the by, how Modes and Fashions have their ebbing and flowing (8). We are now returned to the *Hennins* under another Name, I mean, under that of *Top-knots*. I have not yet seen the Treatise that was published at *Paris* in 1694, concerning the *Extravagancy of Head-dresses*; but I do not question that this Reflexion was made in it.

(5) Paradin Annales de Bourgogne, pag. 700. Argentré Hist. de Bretagne, lib. X. cap. 42, *says, that he preached before he said Mass.*

(6) Argentré, ibid.

(7) Argentré, ibid.

[*D*] *He reformed that Excess —— by exhorting the Boys to insult the Women that would not reform themselves.*] I shall explain this by the words of *Paradin*: 'But what was remarkable in his Ser-'mons, says *Paradin* (9), was, his way of crying 'down the Head dresses of Women; for at that 'time every body was very extravagant in Cloaths, 'and the Women wore very strange Ornaments 'on their Heads. They were about an Ell long, 'and as sharp as Steeples, with long Crapes, set 'off with rich Fringes, hanging down behind 'their Backs, like Standards. This Preacher was 'so angry with those Head-dresses, that he used to 'inveigh most bitterly against them, abusing the 'Ladies at a strange rate for wearing those *Hen-'nins*, as he called them. And to make them more 'odious to the People, he gave some small Presents 'to little Children, where-ever he preached, to cry 'out against and hoot at those *Hennins*. Those lit-'tle Children were so well taught, that when ever 'any Woman came to hear the Sermons of Brother '*Thomas*, they cried out against their *Hennins*, as 'loud as ever they could, till they pulled them off, 'or went away; and then they would run after 'and hoot at them: nay, some would throw Stones 'at them, which occasioned a great deal of Disor-'der; for some great Ladies were very much abused 'by those Children, to whom the Preacher granted 'many Pardons for their Hootings, pretending to 'have a Power to do it. Those Hootings lasted so 'long, that the Ladies durst not appear in Public, 'and were forced to come to Brother *Thomas*'s Ser-'mons in a Disguise, with a Linnen Head-dress, as 'ordinary Women.'

(8) *See, above, the Remark* [*G*] *of the Article* ANDROMACHE.

(9) Paradin, ubi supra.

[*E*] *As soon as he left the Country, they put on their Head-dresses again, with higher Toppings.*] It may be said, that they only bowed down their Heads like a Bulrush, which is the Emblem of a Repentance that lasts no longer than the Day, that is designed for an extraordinary Fast. But *Paradin* made use of another Comparison, that seems yet more proper to me. These are his Words (10): 'No more *Hennins* were to be seen wherever 'Brother *Thomas* went, such was his Hatred against 'them. This was useful for some time, till that 'Preacher went away from the before-mentioned 'Countries. But after his Departure, the Ladies 'lifted up their Horns again, and did like the Snails, 'which, when they hear any Noise, pull in their 'Horns, but, when the Noise is over, suddenly 'raise them again higher than before (11). So did 'the Ladies: for the *Hennins* were never larger, 'more pompous, and magnificent, than after the 'Departure of Brother *Thomas*. Thus we see what 'it is to be obstinate against the Obstinacy of some 'Persons.' Could any one believe, that three or four

(10) Paradin Annales, de Bourgogne, page 701. Note, Monstrelet, Tom. II, *of his Chronicle*, folio, m. 38, verso, *says almost the same thing.*

(11) The Women did not long comply with his Exhortations. Immediately after his Departure they put on their Horns again, and made amends for the time past. *Argentré, ubi supra.*

amends for their loſt time (*b*). He burnt ſuperfluous Cloaths, Tables, Dice, Cards, *&c.* (*c*), and let no body ſee him but in the Pulpit. It was a prudent thing; for he might perhaps have forgot himſelf in familiar Diſcourſes, which would have leſſened the great Opinion People had of him. Having made a ſufficient Stay in the *Netherlands*, he went into *Italy*, and reformed the Order of the *Carmelites* at *Mantua* (*d*), not without meeting with ſome oppoſition [*F*]. From *Mantua* he went to *Venice*, where he was very much taken notice of; for the Embaſſadors of the Republic at the Court of *Eugenius* IV, whom he followed to *Rome*, recommended him to that Pope, as a Man of a holy Life, and full of Zeal: but they verified the Maxim, *Peſſimum inimicorum genus laudantes*, although they went with a good Intention about it. The Pope, knowing that this great Preacher of Reformation was at *Rome*, ordered that he ſhould be tried. He was found guilty of the moſt dangerous Hereſies that could be taught in thoſe times: He blamed the diſſolute Life of the Clergy, and that of the Court of *Rome*; he had ſaid, that many Abominations were committed in that Court; that the Church ſtood in need of a Reformation; that the Pope's Excommunications ought not to be feared, when People ſerve GOD; that the Monks might eat Fleſh, and that the Clergy, who had not the Gift of Continency, might marry. He was burnt, and ſhewed a great Conſtancy, nor did he retract. Some great Perſons among the Catholics have not ſcrupled to ſay that he was unjuſtly put to death. *Baptiſta Mantuanus* (*e*), who was General of the Carmelites, made a true Martyr of him (*f*). The Proteſtants take care not to forget him, when they make a Liſt of thoſe, who at ſeveral times have deſired the Reformation of the Church. But I muſt obſerve, that ſome Proteſtants ſpeak of him as of a meer Hypocrite [*G*].

(*b*) See Remark [*E*], in the Marg n, Citat. (11).

(*c*) See Remark [*E*] towards the end.

(*d*) In the Year 1432.

(*e*) His Words, taken from the Book *De Vita Beata*, have been quoted by *Bertrand d' Argentré*, *ubi infra*.

(*f*) *Taken from* Bertrand d' Argentré's Hiſtoire de Bretagne, *Book X, chap.* 42.

four Lines after, this Author ſhould tell us, that Brother *Thomas* prevailed ſo much with *the Ladies, that they themſelves brought their Ornaments to him, whilſt he was preaching, and burnt them publickly on his Scaffold in a great Fire that he kindled near his Pulpit?* Is not this a manifeſt Contradiction? He might eaſily have avoided that Contradiction; it was but ſaying that all the Ladies did not leave off their Dreſs for fear of being hooted at and ſtoned; but that ſome of them had a true compunction of heart.

(12) *In the beginning of* October, 1699.

Whilſt this is Printing (12), the Gazettes inform us, that at the Court of *France*, a little Word that the King ſpoke by the by has been more effectual againſt the extraordinary height of Head-dreſſes, than all the Eloquence of the Preachers. *They have* for the ſpace of twelve or fifteen Years cried out in vain againſt that part of Women's Luxury; they have attacked that *Coloſſus* with all the Figures of Rhetoric, ſupported by the moſt ſolid Arguments of Religion, and inſtead of overthrowing it, or at leaſt of breaking ſome part of it, they have ſeen it encreaſe Monthly. They ſaw a new kind of Amphitheatre round about their Pulpits, which would have been very regular, if Women of the ſame Condition had ſat down in the ſame Ranks, and if the Ranks had been leſs diſtant from the Preacher, according as the Top-knots exceeded each other: but becauſe Places are not diſtributed according to that proportion, the Amphitheatre had no Symmetry. It is therefore better to compare this with a Wood of lofty Trees, wherein thoſe that reach nearer the Clouds are mixed with thoſe that do not reach ſo high. However it be, the Preachers did not fight abſent Enemies; they had a full ſight of them, and though they approached to the very Mouth of their Cannon, and in the very Face of their Thunder-bolts, yet they *encreaſed and multiplied*. Their two-edged Sword ſtruck and cut, but the Effect it produced was like the Labour of a Gardener that prunes a Tree; his Strokes make it greater and fairer; whereas the Efficacy of the Royal Word has been ſo quick and powerful, that it has almoſt in one Day levelled thoſe proud Mountains even with the ground.

Duris ut ilex tonſa bipennibus
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per cædes, ab ipſo
Ducit opes animumque ferro (13).

(13) Horat Od. IV. lib. IV. ver. 57, & ſeq.

As ſoon as the Women heard, I will not ſay a Prohibition or ſome Threatening, but only a hint of diſlike, they laboured all night on that Reformation, and the next Day they appeared before the Monarch in another Dreſs. That Reformation makes a ſurpriſing Progreſs; it paſſes from the Court to the City: and becauſe it would be, they ſay, like ruſticity and meanneſs not to conform to it, there is good reaſon to believe, that in a few Months there will remain no footſteps of the faſhion that has laſted ſo long. This ſhews, that if crowned Heads knew their Strength in that reſpect, or if they would make uſe of it, they would do more with a Word, than all the Preachers and Confeſſors with a Multitude of Words (14). Shall not we ſee a Medal about this? As for a Song, we cannot miſs of it; and I do not queſtion but that ſome Poets will make Alluſion to thoſe Kings of *Judah*, who did not take away the high Places, and thereby leſt the Reſtoration of Religion imperfect. *Veruntamen excelſa non abſtulit, adhuc enim populus immolabat & adolebat in excelſis incenſum* (15). Here, will they ſay, the Reformation begins with the Deſtruction of the high Places. The ingenious Writer, who makes Monthly Reflexions on the News (16), will doubtleſs tell us ſome pretty thing on this Adventure. The Abuſe was ſo great, that it required a new *Thomas Conecte*.

(14) *Compare this with Rem.* [*M*] *of the Article* LEWIS XII.

(15) Lib. IV, Regum, cap. 12. ver 3. & alibi paſſim.

(16) *Since the Month of* June, 1699. *His Book is intitled* L'Eſprit des Cours de l'Europe.

[*F*] *He Reformed the Order of the* Carmelites — *not without meeting with ſome Oppoſition.*] *Nicolas Kenton*, an *Engliſhman*, Provincial of the *Carmelites*, wrote againſt this Reformation, and dedicated his Writings to *John Faciſi*, General of the Order (17).

(17) Argentré, *ubi ſupra.*

[*G*] *Some Proteſtants ſpeak of him as of a meer Hypocrite.*] *John Chaſſanion*, a zealous Huguenot, having ſaid 'that Hypocriſy thruſts and mixes itſelf 'with the *pure and lawful Service of* GOD, *and* 'that it does the like with reſpect to Superſtition 'and Idolatry, even with Pomp and Oſtentation, 'brings in Brother Thomas *as an Inſtance of it*; 'who, with a vain Shew and a ſpecious Zeal, did 'ſo deceive the World under pretence of a Refor- 'mation of Manners, that every Body took him for 'a holy Man (18).' He relates that Preacher's Travels, *&c.* on the Credit of *Enguerrand de Monſtrelet*. 'To act his Farces, *ſays he* (19), they 'built him Scaffolds in the beſt and moſt conve- 'nient Places, richly hung and adorned: on which 'having ſaid his Maſs, he preached his Sermons; 'wherein he reproved every Body for their Vices, 'eſpecially the Clergy for their Concubines and 'Whores (20). He did well in that: But it was 'a Monkiſh Trick, a piece of Madneſs, and a ſacri- 'legious Impudence, to ſtir up little Children a- 'gainſt Women on account of their Dreſs; promi- 'ſing them certain Days of Pardon, as if he had 'been a GOD.' Laſtly, he ſays that he was condemned as an Heretic, and burnt. And then he adds; 'By which means GOD, who makes uſe of 'all Inſtruments, was pleaſed to chaſtiſe, and puniſh 'the Hypocriſy of that Monk, who, pretending 'to be a holy Man, was a hair-brained and ambi- 'tious Fool (21).

(18) Chaſſanion, Hiſtoires Memorables des grans & merveilleux Jugemens de Dieu, cap. 21, pag. m. 119.

(19) Id. ibid. pag. 121.

(20) Paradin, *ubi ſupra*, pag. 760, *obſerves the ſame thing:* He preached, *ſays he*, very long Sermons, making great Digreſſions againſt the Vices of all Orders of Men, and even againſt the Fornication and Lewdneſs of the Clergy, who kept Concubines, Strumpets, and Whores, at Bed and Board, contrary to the Oath of Chaſtity they had taken.

(21) Chaſſanion, ibid pag. 124.

CONON, a Mathematician and Aſtronomer, was of *Samos* (*a*). He flouriſhed about the CXXXth Olympiad. He died before his Friend *Archimedes*, who had a great Eſteem for him, and communicated his Writings to him, and ſent him ſome Problems [*A*]. He had ſome Diſputes with the Mathematician *Nicoteles*, who writ againſt him, and treated him with a little too much Contempt (*b*). *Apollonius Pergæus* confeſſes it, though he acknowledges that *Conon* was not lucky in his Demonſtrations (*c*). He invented a kind of *Volute*, which differed from that of *Dinoſtratus*; but becauſe *Archimedes* explained the Qualities of it more clearly, the true Name of the Inventor was forgotten: for it is not called the Volute of *Conon*, but the Volute of *Archimedes* (*d*). As for *Conon*'s Aſtronomical Knowledge, I refer you to *Catullus* [*B*], who deſcribes it in the beginning of his Poem on *Berenice*'s Hair, who was the Siſter and Wife of *Ptolomy Evergetes*. *Note*, That *Conon* was ſo great a Flatterer, as to give out that the Hair of that Queen was changed into a Conſtellation. We find in *Photius* (*e*) the Extracts of a Book, that contained about fifty Narratives of the fabulous Times. The Author's Name was *CONON*: he dedicated that Work to King *Archelaus Philopater*, from whence *Voſſius* (*f*) took the Liberty to make him live towards the beginning of the VIIIth Century of *Rome*; for he believes, that *Strabo*, *Dion*, and the other Hiſtorians, afford ſome Arguments, from which it may be inferred that the ſame King *Archelaus* was one of the Princes that followed *Mark Antony*'s Party againſt *Octavius*. If it were ſo, That *Conon* ought to be diſtinguiſhed from him, who, as *Joſephus* tells us, had made mention of the *Jews* (*g*). Indeed it would have been ridiculous in *Joſephus* to glory in the Teſtimony of ſo modern an Hiſtorian. That which is moſt probable is, I. That *CONON*, Author of a Book concerning the City of *Heraclea*, quoted by the Scholiaſt on *Apollonius* (*b*), is the ſame with *CONON*, who writ a Piece concerning *Italy*, quoted by *Servius* (*i*). II. That *Conon* mentioned by *Photius*, or *Conon* mentioned by *Joſephus*, are the ſame with him.

(*a*) Apollonius Pergæus in epiſtola ad Attalum præfixa Libro IV Conicorum.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Ex Voſſio de Scient. Mathem. cap. 14. n. 5. pag. 327, 328.

(*e*) *In the* 186*th Chapter.*

(*f*) Voſſius de Hiſtor. Græc. lib. 1, cap. ult. pag. m. 262.

(*g*) Joſeph. cont. Apionem, lib. 2. pag. 1051.

(*b*) Apollon. Schol. in lib. I.

(*i*) Servius in Æneid. lib. VII. ver. 738.

[*A*] *He died before his Friend* Archimedes, *who had a great Eſteem for him —— and ſent him ſome Problems.*] We have the Proof of this in *Archimedes*'s Writings. 'Debemus Conone vivente ipſa emittere in vulgus: hunc enim accepimus talia poſſe deprehendere, & ipſis accommodatam proferre demonſtrationem (1). —— *Theſe things ought to be publiſhed whilſt* Conon *is living*; *for he, as I underſtand, comprehends them with eaſe, and can give a proper Demonſtration.*' This is what is found in one of *Archimedes*'s Letters, in the beginning of one of his Books. What follows is to be found in another Letter: 'Antea quidem mihi manſit ſcriberem eorum problematum demonſtrationem quæ prius ipſe propoſueram Cononi (2). —— *You formerly demanded of me a Demonſtration of thoſe Problems, which I had propoſed to* Conon.' He ſays elſewhere: 'Quot in Geometria theoremata viſa primum impoſſibilia, tempore perfectionem capiunt? Conon quidem non ſufficiens tempus ſortitus ſit eorum diſquiſitione, vitam eum morte commutavit, & ea dubia reliquit: quamquam omnia invenerat, ut & alia multa quibus plurimum Geometriam adduxit. Scimus quippe in illo fuiſſe non vulgarem Mathematicarum artium peritiam, laboriſque ſupra modum tolerantiam (3). —— *How many Theorems in Geometry, which at firſt ſeemed impoſſible, have in time been brought to perfection?* Conon, *not being allowed a ſufficient time to inveſtigate them, died, and left them in the dark, tho' he had invented them all, and many more, wherein he has enriched Geometry: For in him we found an uncommon ſkill in Mathematics, joined to an extraordinary Patience and Application.*' Here is another Paſſage: 'Cum audiiſſem defunctum eſſe Cononem qui nobis reliquus erat in amicitia, tibique admodum fuerat familiaris, puta in Geometria maxime verſatus; virum quidem mortuum amare planxi, ut amiciſſimum & hominem in Mathematicis plane mirabilem. Atque tunc repente ſtatui mittere ad te, ſicuti antea ad Cononem ſolebam, geometricum theorema, quod nemo quidem prius eſt contemplatus, &c (4). ——— *Having heard of* Conon's *Death, with whoſe Friendſhip I was honoured, and with whom you kept an intimate Correſpondence, as he was thoroughly verſed in Geometry, I greatly lamented the loſs of a ſincere Friend, and a Man of ſurpriſing Knowledge in Mathematics: I then determined to ſend to you, as I had before done to* Conon, *a Theorem in Geometry, hitherto obſerved by no Body.*'

(1) Archimed. Epiſt. ad Doſitheum præfixa, libro 1. de ſphæra & cyndro.

(2) Idem Archim. Epiſt. præfixa lib. II.

(3) Idem Epiſt. præfixa libro de ſpiralibus.

(4) Id. in libro de quadrat. Parabolæ.

[*B*] *As for* Conon's *Aſtrological knowledge, I refer you to* Catullus.] Here is the beginning of his Poëm:

Omnia qui magni diſpexit lumina mundi,
Qui ſtellarum ortus comperit, atque obitus:
Flammeus ut rapidi ſolis nitor obſcuretur,
Ut cedant certis ſidera temporibus;
Ut Triviam furtim ſub Latmia ſaxa relegans
Dulcis amor gyro devocet æcrio:
Idem me ille Conon cœleſti lumine vidit
E Bereniceo vertice cæſariem
Fulgentem clarè (5).

(5) Catullus, Epigr. 67. pag. m. 134.

Who ſcann'd each Object of the ſtarry Sphere,
Knew when they riſe, and when they diſappear:
Who knew why Darkneſs dims the World's great Eye;
Why Stars, at certain Periods, ſeem to die:
Who knew why Cynthia *from her Orb ſhould move*
The Plains of Latmos, *and* Endymion's *Love:*
Conon, *the ſame who view'd me from that Height,*
Whence Berenice *ſpreads ætherial Light.*

CONON, General of the *Athenians* in the *Peloponneſian* War, made himſelf ſo famous by his brave Exploits, that they gave him the Command over all the Iſlands [*A*]. He commanded the Naval Forces the laſt Year of the War; but

[*A*] *They gave him the Command over all the Iſlands.*] It is thought that *Cornelius Nepos* has committed a ſmall Anachroniſm (1); for other Hiſtorians do ſcarce begin to ſpeak of *Conon*, but by ſaying that he was put in *Alcibiades*'s place: now from that time to the end of the War, they do not ſay that he had the Command in queſtion; and the *Athenians* were not in a condition to give it: after all, whoever had been inveſted with it would not have made ſuch Conqueſts as *Conon* did: *In qua poteſtate Pharas cepit coloniam Lacedæmoniorum* (2). —— *In which Poſt he took* Phera, *a Colony of the* Lacedæmonians.

(1) See Kirchmaier's *Commentary upon* Cornelius Nepos in Conon. pag. m. 433, 434.

(2) Corn. Nepos in Conone, c. 1.

but was not preſent at the Fight which was ſo fatal to the *Athenians* [*B*]. His Abſence contributed very much to the deciſive Battle, which the *Lacedæmonians* won (*a*) under the Conduct of *Lyſander*, near the River *Ægos* (*b*). *Conon*, after this Misfortune, hearing of the Loſs of his Country, retired to *Pharnabazus* Governor of *Ionia* and *Lydia* [*C*], and inſinuated himſelf in his Favour, that he might annoy the *Lacedæmonians*. The latter broke with *Artaxerxes* King of *Perſia*, and carried the War into his Country under the Conduct of *Ageſilaus*. They made great Progreſſes; and it is likely they would have ſubdued all the Provinces on this ſide the *Taurus*, if *Conon*, by whoſe Counſels the *Perſian* Army was directed (*c*), had not thwarted their Deſigns [*D*]. He eaſily perceived, that *Tiſſaphernes* betrayed the King of the *Perſians*: the thing was plain; nevertheleſs the King, who was under ſome Obligations to *Tiſſaphernes*, was ſo prepoſſeſſed in his behalf, that he would not believe him to be guilty. This obliged *Conon* to take a Journey to the Court of *Perſia*. He ſhewed the Treaſon of that General ſo plainly, that he convinced the King of it. He received a Commiſſion to cauſe a Fleet of Ships of War to be fitted out againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; and by that means he had a Fleet under his Command, which obtained (*d*) a ſignal Victory over them (*e*). His chief care was, to make uſe of that Opportunity in favour of his Country [*E*]: He ſailed towards *Athens* with part of the victorious Fleet; he diſtributed the Money, that *Pharnabazus* had given him, among the

(a) *In the fourth Year of XCIIId Olympiad.*

(b) Apud Ægos flumen. *Corn. Nepos in Conone, cap. 1.*

(c) Hunc (*Ageſilaum*) adverſus Pharnabazus habitus eſt imperator; re quidem vera exercitui præfuit Conon, cujuſque omnia arbitrio geſta ſunt. - - - *Pharnabazus had indeed the Name of General, but in reality Conon was Chief, and all things were done by his Direction.* Id. ibid. cap. 2.

(d) *The ſecond Year of the XCVIth Olympiad, according to* Diodorus Siculus.

(e) Hos Conon, apud Cnidum adortus magno prælio fugat. *Corn. Nepos, ib. cap. 4.*

Lacedæmonians. It was much in thoſe times, if they could keep on the defenſive (3). So that it is thought that the Hiſtorian anticipates and confounds the times, and that *Conon* had not that Authority over all the Iſlands before he received it from the King of *Perſia*. If that Author had committed this Fault, he performed the Duties of an Hiſtorian very ill. He would be in ſome manner excuſable, if he had taken one time for another with reſpect to a Dignity that the Republic of *Athens* had conferred; but ſuppoſing the Cenſure to be right, he has done worſe: he is miſtaken both as to the Time, and thoſe who conferred that Command; he aſcribes to the *Athenians* what was only done by *Artaxerxes*, and yet he ſpeaks ſeparately of what *Artaxerxes* did. 'Hinc magnis muneribus donatus (*Conon*) ad mare 'eſt miſſus, ut Cypriis & Phœnicibus cæteriſque 'maritimis civitatibus naves longas imperaret (4). '—— Conon, *loaded with preſents, was ſent to Sea,* 'to take upon himſelf the Command of the Fleet of the 'Cyprians, Phœnicians, *and other Maritime Powers.*' Perhaps I may be anſwered, that he does not ſay from whom *Conon* received that Office, and that therefore Charity requires that we ſhould ſuppoſe that he means the Command which *Artaxerxes* conferred on *Conon*: but nothing can be more abſurd, nor more againſt the Laws of Hiſtory, than to mention in that place the Command wherewith the King of *Perſia* honoured that illuſtrious *Athenian*. We muſt therefore acknowledge, that *Cornelius Nepos* intangled himſelf. *Xenophon* ſays in expreſs Words, that *Pharnabazus* and *Conon* ravaged the Territory of *Phera* (5). It was ſome time after the Defeat of the *Lacedæmonians* at *Cnidus*.

(3) *See* Juſtin. lib. V. cap. 6.

(4) Cornelius Nepos in Conon. cap. 4.

(5) Xenoph. lib. 4. de rebus geſtis Græcor. pag. m. 314.

[*B*] *He was not preſent at the Fight, which was ſo fatal to the* Athenians.] Here is a new Fault of the Hiſtorian. There is no Reader but will think, by virtue of his Words, that the *Athenian* Fleet was attacked whilſt *Conon* was upon a Journey, or whilſt he was carried to ſome Town for his Health: but there is no ſuch thing: *Conon*'s Abſence conſiſts in this; he foreſaw that the Enemy would obtain a compleat Victory, and ſo he made his Eſcape in time with nine Ships (6). It is true that it was not out of Fear, but becauſe he found that by reaſon of the ill Diſcipline of the Troops, they were not in a condition to make a Reſiſtance. The Commentators, who endeavour to juſtify *Cornelius Nepos*, do it pitifully (7).

(6) Id. ibid. lib. II, pag. 268. *See alſo* Plutarch in Lyſandro.

(7) *See* Kirchmaier in Corn. Nepos Conon. pag. 334.

[*C*] *He retired to* Pharnabazus, *Governour of* Ionia *and* Lidia.] Here is another Fault of the Hiſtorian. He does all that is neceſſary to perſuade his Readers that *Conon*, not ſeeking a place of Security, but a place where he might do his Country Service, went directly to the Court of *Pharnabazus*. *Non quæſivit ubi ipſe tuto viveret, ſed unde præſidio poſſet eſſe civibus ſuis* (8). This Account is deceitful: Neither the Thing, nor the Reaſon of it, is true; for that General fled directly to the Iſle of *Cyprus*, to King *Evagoras*, a good Friend of the *Athenians*: I ſay, he fled thither both for his own Security, and to take new meaſures with that Prince for the Good of his Country. Ὡς Εὐαγόραν ἦλθε νομίσας καὶ τῷ σώματι βεβαιοτάτην εἶναι τὴν παρ' ἐκείνου καταφυγήν, καὶ τῇ πόλει τάχιστα ἂν αὐτὸν γενέσθαι βοηθόν. *Ad Evagoram ſe contuliſſe, quod putabat ſe apud eum & ſaluti ſuæ rectiſſimè conſulturum, & Reipublicæ erigendæ adjutorem quamprimum habiturum* (9). All the Hiſtorians ſpeak of that Retreat of *Conon* (10); and ſome Authors ſay, that he was yet in *Cyprus* when *Ageſilaus* ravaged *Aſia*. *Iſocrates* tells us, that *Conon*, for ſome time, minded only his private concerns in the Iſle of *Cyprus*. Χρόνον μὲν τινα περὶ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλειαν διέτριβεν (11). He was yet in *Cyprus*, according to *Juſtin* (12), when it was diſcovered that *Tiſſaphernes*, betraying the King of *Perſia*, had ſuffered the *Lacedæmonians* to commit ſome Hoſtilities in *Aſia*. If *Cornelius Nepos* has committed a Fault in not ſpeaking of that Retreat of *Conon*, he was miſtaken likewiſe when he undertook to ſpeak of it. He ſays, in the Life of *Chabrias*, 'that it is the common Fault of Republics, to envy a Man of diſtinguiſhed Merit. 'Eſt hoc commune vitium in mag- 'nis liberiſque civitatibus, ut invidia gloriæ comes 'ſit, & libenter de his detrahant quos eminere vi- 'deant altius.' For which Reaſon, ſays he, ſeveral Great Men have voluntarily abſented themſelves from *Athens*, and *Conon* lived a long time in the Iſle of *Cyprus*. This Example is wrongly alledged; for *Conon* retired into that Iſland after ſuch a lamentable Defeat, that he was either afraid (13), or aſhamed (14), to return to *Athens*. Add to this, that That City fell a little while after under the Yoke of *Lacedæmon*.

(8) Nepos, c. 2.

(9) Iſocrates in Evagora, pag. m. 292.

(10) Juſtin. lib. V. cap. 6. Xenoph. lib. II. Diodor. lib XIII. Plutarch in Lyſandro, pag. 438. in Artaxerxe, pag. 1021.

(11) Iſocr. Orat. ad Philip. pag. m. 337.

(12) Juſtin. lib. VI, cap. 1.

[*D*] *The* Lacedæmonians *would have ſubdued the Provinces on this ſide* Taurus, *if* Conon - - - - *had not thwarted their Deſigns.*] A political Craft, which his Hiſtorian does not mention, proved a hundred times more uſeful to him than all his Skill in War. He perſuaded the King of *Perſia* to ſend large Sums of Money to the Orators of *Greece*, in order to raiſe a War againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. Each of thoſe Orators, thus gained, ſtirred up the People of their ſeveral Cities in ſuch a manner, that a formidable Confederacy was made againſt the *Lacedæmonians* (15); and then *Ageſilaus*, being recalled into his Country, was obliged to give over all his Projects of Conqueſt, to think on the Defence of the States of *Lacedæmon*. There is nothing better for thoſe that would begin, or cauſe a War to continue, than to have the Tongues of Orators at their Devotion. Accordingly it appears that they take great care to win the Affection of ſuch Perſons.

(13) Crudelitatem civium metuens ad regem Cyprium concedit. *Ib. lib. V. cap. 6.*

(14) Ἀτυχήσας δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ - - - οἰκαδε μὲν ἀφικέσθαι κατηξιώθη. Cum navali prælio - - - male pugnatum eſſet redire domum erubuit. *Iſocrat. ibid. pag. 338.*

(15) Polyænus lib I. Stratagem. ſub. fin. *See alſo* Plut. in Artaxerxe, pag. 1021. & Xenophon Hiſt. Græc. lib. III. pag. 294. Edit. 1581.

[*E*] *His chief care was to make uſe of that Opportunity in favour of his Country.*] *Juſtin* and *Cornelius Nepos* make uſe of too ſtrong Expreſſions, when they ſpeak of the condition from which *Conon* delivered *Athens*. *Juſtin* ſuppoſes that, when the *Lacedæmonians* loſt the famous Battle of *Cnidus*, they held the City of *Athens* under the Yoke of Servitude; that they had a Garriſon in it; in a Word, that it was one of their conquered Countries. 'Victi Lace- 'dæmonii fugam capeſſunt, præſidia hoſtium Athe- 'nis

the Inhabitants; and gave Orders to repair the *Piræeus*, and the Walls of the City. Had he only done this, he had not been to blame; but he forgot himself so far, as to endeavour to take *Ionia* and *Æolis* from the *Persians*, and restore them again to the *Athenians*. That Plot could not be carried on so privately, but the *Persians* perceived it. Hereupon *Teribazus*, Governour of *Sardes*, sent word to *Conon*, that he had something of great moment to communicate to him; for which he would send him to the King. *Conon* went to *Sardes*, where he was made a Prisoner. Some say that he was brought to *Artaxerxes*, and that he perished in that Country; but others assert, that he made his Escape out of Prison, and question whether *Teribazus* did not consent to it (*f*). *Moreri* should not therefore have affirmed that *Teribazus, jealous of his Glory, had him put to Death*: for *Xenophon* owns, I. That *Teribazus* did not apprehend him, till the Crimes the *Lacedæmonians* charged him with were fully proved against him; II. That afterwards he sent to know of the King his Master, what he should do with him (*g*). *Conon* left a Son, whose Name was TIMOTHEUS, who was a great Captain, and who experienced the usual Ingratitude of his Country (*b*). That *Timotheus* was a Disciple of *Isocrates* [*F*]. He came off handsomely when they reproached him with his Mother's scandalous Life [*G*]. He left a Son, whose Name was CONON, who was condemned to rebuild part of the Walls of the City [*H*]. We find no great Exactness, either in *Justin*, or *Cornelius Nepos*, concerning our *Conon*, whether we compare them together [*I*], or

(*f*) *Taken from* Cornelius Nepos *in* Conon's *Life.*

(*g*) Xenoph. de gest. Græc. lib. IV, pag. m 325.

(*b*) *See his Life in* Cornel. Nepos.

nis deducuntur, populo restituta dignitate condicio servilis eripitur (16). --- *The* Lacedæmonians, *being routed, quitted the Field; the Enemy's Garrison was removed from* Athens, *the People were freed from Slavery, and restored to their ancient Liberties.*' This is not only strained, but also false; for the *Athenians* had recovered their Liberty, six or seven Years before *Conon* had defeated the Naval Army of the *Lacedæmonians* at *Cnidus*, the Dominion of the Thirty Tyrants had been abolished, the Amnesty had been published, and the popular State had been re-established, &c (17). It was *Thrasybulus*, who produced that great Revolution in the third Year of the XCIVth Olympiad (18). But the Battle of *Cnidus* was fought the second Year of the XCVIth Olympiad. Moreover, is it not certain, that the Year before that Battle of *Cnidus*, the *Lacedæmonians* were beaten near *Haliartus* by the Confederate Army? Were not the *Athenians* one of those People, who had confederated against the *Lacedæmonians*? Could they have done it, if they had had a *Lacedæmonian* Garrison in their City? *Cornelius Nepos* has not been guilty of *Justin*'s Anachronism; he knew very well that the *Thebans* and the *Athenians* had declared War against the *Lacedæmonians* before the Battle of *Cnidus*. ' Postea quam ' domum à suis civibus revocatus est (*Agesilaus*) quod ' Bœotii & Athenienses Lacedæmoniis bellum indixerant, Conon nihilo secius apud præfectos regis versabatur. ------- *After that* Agesilaus *was* ' *called home, the* Bœotians *and* Athenians *having* ' *declared War against the* Lacedæmonians, Conon ' *still continued amongst the King's Lieutenants.*' After those Words, that Historian relates how *Conon* went to the Court of *Persia*, and obtained a Commission to fit out Ships of War to keep at Sea the following Year. It was with that Fleet that *Conon* beat the *Lacedæmonians* at *Cnidus*. *Justin* has confounded every thing: He falsly imagined, that the *Thebans*, the *Athenians*, and their Allies, did not declare War against the *Lacedæmonians* till after the Battle of *Cnidus* (19). It is no wonder if the Words of *Cornelius Nepos* are not so false as those of *Justin*; the Anachronism of the latter is not to be found in the other. Nevertheless, we may say that *Cornelius Nepos* expressed himself ill (20); for, properly speaking, it cannot be said, that a Nation, which makes War with another, and gains Battles against another, is under the Servitude of that other. This was the case of the *Athenians* before the Battle of *Cnidus*. In the Style of an Orator, one might speak as *Cornelius Nepos* does; for an Orator makes no difficulty to say, that *Gustavus* set all *Europe* at Liberty, that was a Slave to the House of *Austria*. But this would be very impertinent in a Historian.

(16) Justin. lib. VI. cap. 3.

(17) Xenoph. lib. II. sub. fin.

(18) *According to* Calvisius.

(19) Justin. ubi supra, cap. 4.

(20) Hoc Conon apud Cnidum adortus magno prælio fugat, multas naves capit, complures deprimit: qua victoria non solum Athenas sed etiam cuncta Græciæ, quæ sub Lacedæmoniorum fuerat IMPERIO liberata est. --- Conon *engaging them at* Cnidus *gained a signal Victory, took and sunk a great Number of Ships; by which Victory not only* Athens, *but all* Greece, *was delivered from the* Lacedæmonian *Yoke.* Cornel. Nepos in Cononc.

[*F*] Timotheus *his Son was a Disciple of* Isocrates (21).] *Cicero* says, that *Timotheus* equalled his Father in military Virtues, and surpassed him in Learning. ' Quod idem fecit Timothëus Cononis ' filius, qui cum belli laude non inferior fuisset ' quàm pater, ad eam laudem doctrinæ & ingenii ' gloriam adjecit (22).'

(21) Plut. in vita Isocrat.

(22) Cicer. de Offic lib. I. cap. 32.

[*G*] ——— *and came off handsomely when they reproached him with his Mother's scandalous Life.*] She was a *Thracian* Woman, and had followed the Profession of a Courtezan; but after she had left it off, no Body led a more discreet and exemplary Life than she: which is peculiar to this sort of Women, when once they are sincerely converted; at least it is the Opinion of the Author whom I quote. Τιμοθεὸς δ' ὁ στρατηγήσας Ἀθηναίων ἐπιφανὴς, ἑταίρας ἦν υἱὸς, ὁρᾶτ]ε τὰ γύνα, σεμνὴν δ' ἄλλως τὴν τρόπον, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ γὰρ ἀπ τοιαύτας εἰς τὸ σώφρον, τῶν καὶ χεῖρ σεμνυνομένων εἰσὶ βελτίας. *Timothei, qui cum magna gloria Athenienſium dux exercituum fuit, mater erat Thracia genere, meretrix, ſed gravibus & laudatis moribus. Nam ejus conditionis fœminæ cùm ad temperantiam & continentiam ſeſe applicuerint, aliis qui ob eas virtutes gloriantur probiores ſunt* (23). *Timotheus*, finding himself rallied for having such a Mother, answered, that he was very much obliged to her, since she was the cause that he was the Son of such an illustrious Father (24). And indeed, if that Woman had not behaved her self ill, she would not have lain with *Conon*, and so *Timotheus* had never been. He owed therefore his Existence to the Lewdness of his Mother; but that Existence was glorious, considering the Figure that *Conon* made in the World. This puts me in mind of what is said of the Mother of three illustrious Bastards: She did not repent of what she had done, since she had produced three Men of great Merit. See the Remark [*B*] of the Article ERASMUS.

(23) Athenæus, lib. XIII. cap. 5. pag. m. 577.

(24) Id. ibid.

[*H*] CONON, *his Grandson, was condemned to rebuild part of the Walls of* Athens.] *Cornelius Nepos* makes a moral Reflexion upon it, in an ingenious Antithesis. ' Hujus (*Timothei*) post mortem quum ' populum judicii sui pœniteret, mulctæ novem partes detraxit, & decem talenta Cononem filium ejus ad muri quamdam partem reficiendam jussit dare, ' in quo fortunæ varietas est animadversa; nam quos ' avus Conon muros ex hostium præda patriæ restituerat, eosdem nepos cum summa ignominia familiæ ex sua re familiari reficere coactus est (25). ' ——— *After his* (Timotheus's) *Death, the City, repenting the Sentence they had passed, remitted nine parts of the Fine, and ordered* Conon *his Son to pay Ten Talents towards repairing a certain part of the Walls. Wherein the change of Fortune is remarkable; for the Grandson, with the greatest disgrace to his Family, was compelled out of his own Fortune to repair those very Walls, which his Grandfather had, with Honour, wrested from the Power of the Enemy.*'

(25) Corn. Nepos in vita Timothei, cap. 4.

[*I*] *Neither* Justin *nor* Cornelius Nepos *are over exact, whether they are compared together* ——.] Here is *Justin*'s Narrative (26). After the *Lacedæmonians* had subdued the Republic of *Athens*, they became

(26) Justin. lib. VI, cap. 11, &c seq.

or whether we compare *Conon*'s Life with that of *Agesilaus* written by *Cornelius Nepos*

became more ambitious than before (27), and thought of no less than the Conquest of all *Asia*. To perform this, they must conquer the *Persians* that were governed by *Tissaphernes*, and those that were commanded by *Pharnabazus*. The Attempt seemed too great to *Hercyllides*, General of the *Lacedæmonians*; for which reason he bribed *Tissaphernes*, and made a particular Treaty with him, whereby he engaged not to attack him, provided they should give him certain Sums of Money. *Pharnabazus* complained of it, and represented that *Tissaphernes*, instead of opposing the Enemies, bought a Truce of them, which enabled them to attack the other Provinces of the Monarchy more vigorously; that the Command of the Fleets ought therefore to be taken from him, and given to *Conon*, who lived in Exile in the Isle of *Cyprus*. The King of *Persia* found the Remonstrances of *Pharnabazus* just, and ordered him to put the Naval Forces under the Command of *Conon*. Hereupon the *Lacedæmonians* desired Assistance of the King of *Egypt*, and obtained several Ships, and resolved to send their King *Agesilaus* with a great Army into *Asia*. Thus *Conon* and *Agesilaus* were set one against another in *Asia*. The Match was well made; they were equal in all things; for which reason the one did not overcome the other. ' Non facile dixerem quod aliud par ' ducum tam bene comparatum fuerit, quippe ætas, ' virtus, consilium, sapientia utrique prope una, ' gloria quoque rerum gestarum eadem: quibus cum ' paria omnia fortuna dederit, invictum tamen ab ' altero utrumque servavit (28). —— *It would be* ' *difficult to find two other Generals so well matched*; ' *for their Age, their Valour, their Conduct and* ' *Experience were almost the same, and the Glory* ' *they had acquired was equal; and as Fortune had* ' *thus placed them on a level, yet she ordered it, that* ' *neither of them was conquered by the other.*' But because *Conon*'s Soldiers rose up in Arms for want of Pay, and the Letters which he wrote to the King about it had no effect, he went to the *Persian* Court, and remonstrated so powerfully the ill management of the Finances, by the King's Ministers, that the King appointed a Man who should take care to supply *Conon* with the necessary Sums. *Conon* was sent immediately to the Fleet, and, without losing any time, he made a Descent into the Enemies Country, ravaged it, took some Towns, and struck such a Terror every where, that the *Lacedæmonians* resolved to recall *Agesilaus*. In the mean time they equipped a great Fleet, and thought themselves in a condition to hazard a Battle; but they were beaten by *Conon*. That Victory set *Athens* at liberty, and encouraged the *Thebans* to declare War against them: they beat them, and entered afterwards with their Forces into the Territory of *Lacedæmon*. The *Lacedæmonians* recalled *Agesilaus* to oppose that Torrent (29). *Agesilaus* returned, and obtained a Victory. *Conon*, being informed that *Agesilaus* had left *Asia*, made a new Descent into the Enemies Country, plundered it, and returned afterwards to *Athens*.

(27) More ingenii humani quo plura habent eo ampliora cupientes. ... *As the more Men possess, the more they naturally covet.* Ib. cap. 2.

(28) Id. ibid. cap 2. HIAMEN *favours of an ill Logician: for it is so far from being strange, that two Generals equal* IN EVERY THING *did not overcome one another, that it would be a wonder, if they had. And therefore I have not said, as* Justin *does*, and yet the one did not overcome the other; *but I have used the Words* for which reason *instead of* and yet.

(29) See the latter end of the last Remark.

See the Relation of *Cornelius Nepos* in the Body of this Article, and compare it with that of *Justin*, and you will find that one of those two Historians is guilty of great Oversights. I. According to *Justin*, no Employment was given to *Conon*, before the King of *Persia* was convinced of *Tissaphernes*'s Treason by the care of *Pharnabazus*: The first Employment, that was given him, was the Command of the Fleet: he had kept in the Isle of *Cyprus* till *Pharnabazus* procured it for him (30). But according to *Cornelius Nepos*, he did not retire into the Isle of *Cyprus*, but went directly to *Pharnabazus*: He was the Soul of the Army commanded by that General, and opposed against King *Agesilaus*: His good Counsels prevented *Agesilaus* from making any more Conquests: He was not idle after the Retreat of *Agesilaus*: He was sent to the Court by *Pharnabazus*, to accuse *Tissaphernes*: He undeceived *Artaxerxes* about that Traytor: and afterwards he obtained the Command of the Fleets. Can two Narratives be more different from one another than these? II. According to *Justin*, the *Lacedæmonians*, knowing that *Conon* was to command the Naval Forces of *Persia*, made great Preparations by Sea and Land: They gave the Command of their Fleet to *Pisander*, and sent *Agesilaus* with fine Troops into *Asia* to oppose *Conon*; so that those two great Men were matched against each other. *Agesilaus* and *Conon* preserved their Honour; neither of them overcame the other. But *Conon*, being ill obeyed by his Soldiers, because they were not paid, was obliged to go to the Court of *Persia* to solicit the necessary Supplies: He received Money, and was sent back to the Fleet. *Cornelius Nepos* relates the thing quite otherwise: He says that *Conon* did not command the Naval Forces till after *Agesilaus* had left *Asia*, to come to the Assistance of *Lacedæmon*: He says, that *Conon* went to the Court of *Persia* to accuse *Tissaphernes*, and not because the Soldiers were discontented. III. According to *Justin*, the *Persian* Army was only commanded by *Conon*; but, according to *Cornelius Nepos*, *Pharnabazus* commanded it: it is true, *Conon* had really the Command, because things were directed by his Counsels. The Faults of *Justin*'s Narrative are very plain; for that Author, after having said that *Conon* was the King of *Persia*'s Admiral (31), makes him appear at the Head of a Land Army, without telling us why or how the Court ordered such a Change, and even without observing that they disposed of him in another manner. No Body will deny that *Agesilaus* made War by Land (32): It is therefore most certain that *Conon*, who was to fight him, according to *Justin*, was to command by Land. The Historian, not contented with that Fault, has committed another: He does not only mention a chimerical Admiral, who without performing the least thing at Sea, did only appear at the Head of a Land Army; but he says also, that That General, being gone to complain that his Forces were not paid, was sent back to the Fleet. Who would not believe, upon reading this, that *Conon* had already appeared in the Fleet of the King of *Persia*? Yet it is certain, that he only appears in *Justin*'s History among the Land Forces. These are Faults of Exactness, which cannot be justified by saying, that That Author did but abridge a great History; for a good Abbreviator never suppresses such Circumstances as those that are wanting here. Thus much concerning the critical Observations that might be made upon *Justin*, considering him as if he was the only Author that had spoke of these things: but I do not question, that if he was compared with the other Historians, he would easily be found guilty of some Falsities. I could wish that those, who have commented upon him, would have taken notice of the Faults of his Narrative, and of his historical Confusions. Most of them chose rather to make Grammatical Remarks upon him.

(30) His vocibus regem à Tissaphernе alienatum hortatur (*Pharnabazus*) ut in locum ejus navalis belli ducem eligat Conona Atheniensem, qui amissa bello patria Cypri exulabat. *Just. lib. vi, cap. 1.*

(31) Justus est (*Pharnabazus*), Conona classi præfe[illegible] Xenophon, lib. 3 pag. 304. Edit. Lond. The Lacedæmonians sent a Commission to [illegible] to command the Sea Forces, not that he gave that Employment to his Brother-in-law.

(32) Xenophon, lib. 4. pag. 307. Edit. Lond.

I would not always prefer *Cornelius Nepos* before *Justin*; for although, having only written the Life of one Man, he ought to have spoke more exactly than those who met that Man in their way, whilst they were writing a general History; it is nevertheless certain, that in some things I had rather give credit to the general History of *Xenophon*, than to him. *Xenophon* is in several respects more and less consonant to *Cornelius Nepos* than to *Justin*: He neither says, that *Conon* commanded the Land Forces against *Agesilaus*, nor that he occasioned the Disgrace of *Tissaphernes*. This is to refute *Cornelius Nepos* and *Justin* at once. He does not bring *Conon* upon the Stage till after the Punishment of *Tissaphernes*, and only to command the Van-guard of *Artaxerxes*'s Naval Forces at the Battle of *Cnidus* (33). *Cornelius Nepos* finds nothing here to countenance him; but there is something in it that favours *Justin*. *Xenophon* acknowledges, that *Conon* made two Descents into the Territories of the *Lacedæmonians*, but both after the Battle of *Cnidus*, and as being *Pharnabazus*'s Lieutenant or Colleague (34). This refutes *Justin*, who even names *Pharnabazus*, and who supposes, that the first Descent was made before the Battle of *Cnidus*. When the News of that Battle was brought to *Agesilaus*, he was already in *Bœotia*, according to *Xenophon* (35). If this be true, *Justin* is mistaken, when he says, that *Conon*'s Exploits obliged the *Lacedæmonians* to recall *Agesilaus*. He is also mistaken, when he relates, that *Conon*, hearing that *Agesilaus* was returned from *Asia* into *Greece*, left the Coast of *Asia*, and went to make a second Descent

(33) Xenoph. de Rebus Gestis Græc lib. 4. pag. 393.

(34) Id. pag. 313, 314.

(35) Id. pag. 303.

Nepos [*K*]. The Grammarian *Servius* falſly believed, that our *Conon* was meant in theſe Words of *Virgil*, *In medio duo ſigna Conon* (*i*). *Beroaldus* (*k*), cenſuring that Miſtake, obſerved, that, according to the Grammarian *Probus*, *Virgil* meant *Conon of Samos*, who is the Subject of the foregoing Article.

(*i*) Eclog. III. ver. 40.

(*k*) Beroald. Animadv. in Servium.

ſcent into the Territories of *Lacedæmon*. *Conon quoque audito reditu Ageſilai, & ipſe ex Aſia ad depopulandos Lacedæmoniorum agros revertitur* (36). For this ſecond Deſcent having been made after the Battle of *Cnidus*, which was fought after the Return of *Ageſilaus* into *Europe*, I leave you to judge whether the Return of *Ageſilaus* made *Conon* reſolve to make a ſecond Deſcent. Some may praiſe the ancient Hiſtorians as much as they pleaſe, but I ſhall never be perſuaded that they equal ſome of our Moderns as to the diſtinct Obſervation of the Time wherein each thing happened (37).

(36) Juſtin. lib. 6, cap. 5.

(37) *See Mr* Perrault, Parallèle des Anciens & des Modernes, Tom. I. pag. 275. Dutch Edit.

[*K*] *Or whether you compare* Conon's *Life with that of* Ageſilaus, *written by* Cornelius Nepos.] We find in the firſt, that *Conon* was ſo eſteemed by *Pharnabazus*, that every thing was done by his Advice. It is he who, properly ſpeaking, commands the Army (38); *Pharnabazus* has only the Name of *Generaliſſimo*. It is *Conon* who ſtops the Progreſs of *Ageſilaus*: without him, all *Aſia*, on this ſide of *Taurus*, would have fallen into the Power of the *Lacedæmonians*. Look in the Life of *Ageſilaus*, whether *Conon* ſignalized himſelf againſt him, and you will not ſo much as once find the Name of *Conon* in it. You ſee *Ageſilaus* always victorious; he always bubbles his Enemies; if he does not think fit to fight, none can oblige him to it; if he fights, he always gets the Victory, though he be inferior in number (39); if he does not penetrate into the Heart of the Monarchy, it is not *Conon* that is the Cauſe of it, it is becauſe he is called home where his Preſence is wanted. If *Cornelius Nepos* was tender of *Conon*'s Honour, he did well not to mention him in the Life of *Ageſilaus*, where there is nothing but ſhame to be got by all thoſe who reſiſted that Prince in his Expedition into *Aſia*. But whilſt that Hiſtorian was tender of another Man's Honour, he proſtituted his own; he was not ſenſible of the Character he gave *Conon* in his Life; ſo that *Cornelius Nepos* might be ſtrangely puzzled by this Dilemma: 'What you have ſaid of *Conon*'s Exploits 'againſt *Ageſilaus*, is either true or falſe: if it be 'falſe, you deſerve to be toſſed in a Blanket; if it 'be true, you deſerve it no leſs: for you do not 'only ſuppreſs it in the Life of *Ageſilaus*, but 'you ſpeak in ſuch a manner of *Ageſilaus*'s Exploits, that all your Readers plainly ſee the *Perſians* did nothing conſiderable, and got nothing but 'ſhame.' Here is another Attack. In the Life of *Conon*, the *Lacedæmonians* break the Alliance they had made with the *Perſians*; they carry the War into *Aſia*, under the Conduct of *Ageſilaus*; and they are chiefly prompted to it by *Triſſaphernes*, who betrays his Maſter, and make a ſecret Treaty with them. The Treaſon of that General is plain and certain, though the King is not willing to believe it (40). But in the Life of *Ageſilaus*, it is *Artaxerxes* who begins to make Preparations againſt the *Greeks*: but he is prevented with ſo much Diligence, that *Ageſilaus* gets with his Troops into *Aſia*, before the *Perſian* Governors hear of his ſetting out. *Tanta celeritate uſus eſt, ut prius in Aſiam tum copiis pervenerit quam regii Satrapæ eum ſenſerint profectum* (41). *Triſſaphernes*, as well as the reſt, is ſurprized and confounded; he deſires a Truce; he ſeems to deſire it only to conclude a Peace; but at the bottom he ſeeks only to gain time in order to raiſe Troops: he obtains a Truce for three Months, but all his Thoughts are bent on War; and afterwards he makes no ſtep that looks like a Colluſion. It is true, he is not ſo happy in penetrating into the Deſigns of his Enemy, and in defending the Provinces that the King of *Perſia* truſted him with; but he does what he can, if the Hiſtorian may be credited. I have not found any Commentators that charge him with that groſs Contradiction. Laſtly, in the Life of *Conon*, *Pharnabazus* has the Command of the *Perſians* againſt *Ageſilaus*; but in the Life of the latter, the Name of *Pharnabazus* is not ſo much as once mentioned: and thus the ſame Author, in one place, gives *Conon* and *Pharnabazus* the whole care of reſiſting; and in another place he gives it all to *Triſſaphernes*. It may be ſaid, that he would have leſſened the Glory of *Ageſilaus*, if he had owned the Treaſon of *Triſſaphernes*. But if that Reaſon is good, we muſt not place him among Hiſtorians; he deſerves only the Title of Panegyriſt, with the falſe Rhetoric of a Sophiſt. If thoſe two Lives were critically examined, one would be apt to think that they were compoſed by two Writers who intended to confute each other; and yet they are the Production of one and the ſame Pen.

CORNELIUS NEPOS criticiſed.

(38) Ne quidem vera exercitui præfuit Conon, ejuſque omnis arbitrio geſta ſunter Europ. *Nepos in Conone, cap.* 2.

(39) Pepulit ergo quoties cumque congreſſus eſt multo majores adverſariorum copias. *Id. in Ageſilao, cap.* 3. *fin.*

The Life of *Conon*, written by *Cornelius Nepos*, differs from *Juſtin*'s Relation in many things, as I have already ſhewed. I muſt farther take notice of a Difference that is to be found between *Juſtin* and the Life of *Ageſilaus*, written by *Cornelius Nepos*. According to *Juſtin*, Fortune managed herſelf ſo between *Ageſilaus* and *Conon*, that they were equal in all things, ſo far that the one did not overcome the other (42). *Cornelius Nepos* ſays the quite contrary, though he affects to ſuppreſs *Conon*'s Name. He does not only relate ſome Events, which ſhew, in a very ſenſible manner, that *Ageſilaus* beat the *Perſians*, without ſaying that the latter ever had any Advantage; but he tells us, in expreſs words, that it was agreed on all Hands, that *Ageſilaus* was the Conqueror (43). He adds, that That Prince, at the Head of a victorious Army, was fully perſuaded that he ſhould be able to ſubdue all *Perſia* (44). I forgot to obſerve, that, according to *Juſtin*, the *Lacedæmonians* recalled *Ageſilaus*, when they found themſelves blocked up by the Enemies after the Battle of *Haliartus*, where *Lyſander* was killed. They were under Apprehenſions for their City, ſays he, wherefore they recalled *Ageſilaus*, who was doing great things in *Aſia*. *Quod metuentes Lacedæmonii regem ſuum Ageſilaum ex Aſia qui ibi magnas res gerebat ad defenſionem patriæ arceſſunt* (45). If he had ſaid no more than this, he would not have been much to blame; but he ſays, ſome Pages before, that the recalling of *Ageſilaus* was reſolved upon before the Battle of *Cnidus*, and that the loſs of that Battle did ſo encourage the *Athenians* and the *Thebans*, that they declared War againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, and that they won a Battle wherein *Lyſander* was killed. This is overthrowing the Order of Events: the Battle of *Haliartus* preceded that of *Cnidus* by one Year. Thus it appears, that *Juſtin* fell into the Sophiſm *à non cauſa pro cauſa*, which is more common ſtill among Hiſtorians than among the Peripatetics, as I have ſaid elſewhere (46).

(42) I have quoted and criticiſed *Juſtin*'s Words above in Citat. (28).

(43) Sic in Aſia verſatus eſt ut omnium opinione victor duceretur. *Cornel. Nepos in Ageſilao, cap.* 3. *fin.*

(44) Quum victori præeſſet exercitui, maximamque haberet fiduciam regni Perſarum potiundi. *Id. ibid. cap.* 4.

(45) Juſtin. lib. 6, cap. 4.

(46) Above, at the end of the laſt Remark of the Article CAUSSIN.

(40) Defecerat à Rege Triſſaphernes, neque id tam Artaxerxi quàm exteris erat apertum. *Id. ibid.*

(41) Id. ibid. cap. 2.

CONRAD (Herimannus). We have under this Name a *Latin* Speech, in which the United Provinces are very ill treated [*A*]. It was printed at *Molſheim*, about the Year 1618. The Author aſſures us, he had born Arms ever ſince the Battle of *Pavia*. *Berneggerus* thinks it is the Production of a Jeſuit (*a*).

(*a*) Matthew Bernegg. in Tuba Pacis, pag. 272.

[*A*] *A Latin Speech, wherein the United Provinces are very ill treated.*] He accuſes them of taking no Care of Religion, but as far as it appears uſeful to them to aggrandize themſelves. 'Ordines Belgii 'potentiſſimos Atheiſmi præfidentes arceſſit, nec Religionem curæ habere dicit, niſi quatenus ad amplandum imperium utilis eſſe videtur (1). —— 'He arrogantly charges their High Mightineſſes with 'Atheiſm, and with want of concern for Religion, 'unleſs ſo far as ſeems calculated to promote their 'Power.'

(1) Bernegg. in Tuba Pacis, pag. 272.

CONRARUS (GREGORY), the Pope's Prothonotary, was one of the learned Men of the XVth Century. We have a Letter, which *Poggius* writ to him, in answer to the Objections that were made against his Book *de Nobilitate*. Among the Letters of *Candidus Decembrius*, not printed, there is one written by our *Conrarus*, to the learned *Cicelia* of *Gonzaga*, wherein he congratulates her for despising the Pleasures of the World, to consecrate herself to GOD; and exhorts her to read no longer the Poets, which *Victorinus*, her Preceptor, had made her so fond of, but to read the Treatises of the Holy Fathers about Virginity and Continency. He recommends several Works of the Fathers to her, and particularly a Treatise of St *Basil*, which *Ambrosius Camaldulensis* had translated into *Latin*, and the Books of *Salvian*, *de Providentia Dei*, which he (*Conrarus*) had found in *Germany*, and brought into *Italy*, when he returned from the Council of *Basil* (*a*). He speaks of *Ambrosius Camaldulensis* as of an excellent Man, who died before he attained to Old-age (*b*) [*A*].

(*a*) Cujus libros de Providentia Dei è Concilio Basileensi redeuns, de Germanorum ergastulis in Italiam deportavi.

(*b*) Ex Museo Italico Mabillonii, Tom. I. pag. 198.

[*A*] *He speaks of* Ambrosius Camaldulensis, *as of an excellent Man, who died before he attained to Old-Age.*] These are his Words: 'Multa quidem 'utilia ex Doctoribus Ecclesiasticis egregiè transtu- 'lit, & plura transtulisset, ni eum à laboribus hu- 'manis *immatura* mors sustulisset. — *He had made an* 'excellent *Translation of many useful things from the* 'Doctors of the Church, *and he would have proceeded* 'farther, *had not an* UNTIMELY *Death prevent-* 'ed *his carrying on so laudable a Work.*' This may serve to refute those who make *Ambrosius* live till the Year 1490, and may be added to the Reasons I have alleged against them in his Article, Remark [*E*].

CONSTANCE, a City of *Germany*, situated between two Lakes formed by the *Rhine*, has very long preserved the Form of a Republic; and the better to maintain it's Liberty, which the Princes of the House of *Austria* would fain have taken from it, it entered into a Confederacy with the Cities of *Zurich*, *Lindau*, and *Uberlingen*. It abolished Popery in the Year 1523; but, being put under the Ban of the Empire in 1548, it was so pressed by the Emperor *Charles* V, that it was forced to submit to him; and then the greatest Part of the Protestants, and particularly *Ambrose Blaurer*, their chief Minister, retired to other Places. From that time *Constance* has belonged to the House of *Austria* (*a*); and *Moreri* is very much mistaken, who says, in two Places, that it was an Imperial Town. It joined with the League of *Smalcald* in 1531 (*b*); and no doubt this was one Motive to *Charles* V to subdue it after he had vanquished the League. The *Swedes*, under the Command of Marshal *Horn*, besieged *Constance* in 1633, but could not take it. The Besieged wrote a Journal, in which they have inserted abundance of Miracles, or extraordinary Observations of the Divine Protection, which appeared in their Favour during the Seige (*c*) [*A*]. A Protestant has criticised a little upon this [*B*].

(*a*) *Taken from* Matthieu Dresserus, Hist. Hist. Partic V. pag. 196, & seq.

(*b*) Munster in Cosmogr. pag. m. 397.

(*c*) Spanh. Merc. Suisse, pag. 372.

[*A*] *The* Swedes *besieged it in* 1633. —— *The besieged wrote a Journal, wherein they inserted abundance of Miracles* —— *which appeared in their Favour during the Seige.*] The principal ones were, 'I. The Advantages obtained in the weakest parts 'of the City, above their Hopes. II. The Cou- 'rage and incredible Resolution of their Citizens 'and Soldiers, besides the good Understanding kept 'up between them. III. The frequent and season- 'able Convoys thrown at different times into the 'Town, and the wonderful Concurrence of favour- 'able Winds to forward them, although the Air of 'the Climate is commonly otherwise, and their 'Lake subject to frequent Storms in those Months. 'IV. The little damage done by the Grenades, and 'red hot Bullets, notwithstanding the prodigious 'Number thrown into the Town, which were suffi- 'cient to reduce the City to Ashes, and it's Inhabitants 'to Beggary. V. The extraordinary Height of the '*Rhine*, which was wont to fall as soon as the Heat 'of the Summer was over, but now continued to 'swell, and furnished one of the City Mills so abun- 'dantly with Water, that they had enough to sup- 'ply the Necessities of the besieged, throughout 'the whole Siege: which was confirmed by the 'Report of the Millers, that this Flood of Water 'ran off as soon as the Enemy were dislodged, and 'the Foreign Troops dismissed. VI. The most 'Contemplative added, that the fourth Day of the 'Siege they saw the Blessed Virgin, in open Day, 'soaring aloft over the Church of the *Augustines*, 'with infinite Splendor. The *Swedish* Centinels 'are also produced in the same Journal, as having 'seen the like Apparitions, and the Appearance of 'a Face more than Angelical, sliding along the 'Walls, near the Loop Holes, from the Tower of 'Rewenegg to the Gate of *Creutzlingen* (1).

(1) Spanheim, Mercure Suisse, pag. 207, *and following.*

[*B*] *A Protestant has criticised a little upon this.*] *Frederic Spanheim*, who was Minister at *Geneva* when he wrote the *Swiss* Mercury, and furnished me with the preceeding Remark, adds: 'The *Swedes* found nothing like this, neither in 'their Inventory, nor by the Report of their Men; 'and they observe, that the Author of the Journal 'was often forgetful, not remembering, in the 'Conclusion of his Narrative, what he had con- 'fessed at the beginning of it, neither the Terror of 'their Men, nor the Ruins of the City, nor the 'Numbers in the Hospitals, nor the Registers of 'the Dead, which are sufficient to shew the Ef- 'fects of the Grenades. They reckon also, as the most 'dangerous Apparitions, which they saw during 'the Siege, the Entrance of so many Troops into 'the Town, by favour of the Lake, the want of 'Boats, and the Breadth of the Lake, preventing 'their People from disputing the Passage at such a 'Distance. Indeed the besieged themselves charge 'their Registers with Five thousand five hundred 'Men that entered the Town, during the Siege, 'besides Count *de Wolfegg*'s Regiment, which was 'in Garrison there, before the Arrival of the *Swedes*. 'The City of *Uberlingen* furnished them with Two 'hundred Men; *Lindau* Four hundred; *Bregentz* 'Two hundred; Colonel *de Merly* One thousand 'Two hundred; the Regiment of *Embs* Five Hun- 'dred; the Regiment of *Altringen* Five hundred; 'Colonel *Comargo* One thousand; Serjeant Major '*de Reinach* One thousand, and his Lieutenant Five 'hundred. The *Swedes* imagine that such powerful 'Succours, so often repeated, together with all neces- 'sary Provisions, were not only sufficient to keep 'their Ground behind good Curtains, against Five 'or Six thousand Men, who had the Face to besiege 'them, in the midst of so many Difficulties, and in 'a Foreign Country; but also to have drove them 'out of the Field, if these Auxiliary Troops had 'been as tender of their Honour, as they were of 'their Persons (2).

(2) Ibid. pag. 209, *and following.*

You see then that this Minister rejects as false one part of the Miracles, which the Inhabitants of this

this beſieged City gloried in. The other part is of ſuch a Nature, that there is no Country, where ſuch like things may not be obſerved, where Winds, Rains, the Riſe of Rivers, &c. have not favoured or deſtroyed Military Enterprizes. Now as there is no probability, that GOD ſhould ſuperſede the general Laws of Nature, but in Caſes where the Preſervation of his Children requires it, we ought not to take for a Miracle, what happens equally among Believers and Unbelievers. Yet in all Religions People are ſtrangely inclined to think themſelves favoured by miraculous Benefits, and perhaps if *Frederic Spanheim* had writ a Hiſtory of a Siege, happily ſuſtained by a Proteſtant Town, he would have made Obſervations not unlike thoſe which he now confutes (3). There are ſome Miniſters, who ſee a Miracle in all Events, which concern their Party. Mr *Jurieu*, for example, finds one every where (4), and lately in what happened to the Inhabitants of the *Cevennes* (5). But People, who are acquainted with the Military Art, and know the Situation of the Country, the Diſpoſition of the neighbouring Cities, and all the Particulars of the Inſurrection of the *Cevennois*, diſcover nothing ſupernatural in the Continuance and Circumſtances of it. I will not enter into the Queſtion, whether a Man, who is perſuaded, that a certain Concurrence of ſecond Cauſes has ruined the Deſigns of the Enemy, ought to make others believe there was a Miracle in it, and whether he can juſtify himſelf, by pretending, that thereby he excites more confidence in the Mind, and greater thankfulneſs for the Divine Protection; but I dare affirm, that if he hopes by this means to engage Princes to enter into War, he will find himſelf greatly deceived. Mr *Jurieu* may cry out as long as he will, that, the Preſervation of the *Camiſars* is a continued Series of Miracles. The Princes will not ſtir in it, if other political Reaſons, which they know better than he, and do not want his Advice in, do not engage them to aſſiſt thoſe People. They will ſee clearly into an Affair. Now Miracles to come are an Object of Faith, and conſequently an obſcure Object.

(3) Compare this with what has been ſaid in the *Continuation des Penſées Diverſes*, pag. 312.

(4) Ibid. pag. 313.

(5) See a Book which he publiſhed in 1705, intituled *Actes aux Puiſſances de l'Europe*, &c.

COORNHERT, a *Dutch* Author in the XVIth Century: See KOORNHERT.

CORBINELLI (JAMES), born at *Florence*, of an illuſtrious and ancient Family [*A*], retired into *France* in the Reign of *Catherine de Medicis*. That Queen, to whom he had the Honour to be related, placed him near her Son, the Duke of *Anjou*, as a Man of a polite and learned Judgment (*a*). He daily read *Polybius* and *Tacitus* to him, and often the *Diſcourſes* and the *Prince* of *Machiavel*, if we may believe *Davila* (*b*). He did not flatter his Maſter like a weak and intereſted Courtier, but ſpoke the Truth boldly, and made his Court without Meanneſs. He was looked upon as a Man reſembling the ancient *Romans* [*B*], who were upright, and uncapable of any Baſeneſs. He had a great ſhare in the Eſteem of Chancellor *de l'Hoſpital* [*C*]. He was a Friend and a profeſſed Patron of learned Men; ſo far, that, though he was not very rich, yet he ſpent part of his Eſtate to get their Writings printed [*D*]. But his Talents were not

(*a*) Dupleix, Hiſt. de Henri IV, ad ann. 1589, n. 1, ſays, That *James Corbinelli*, a Man of exquiſite Learning, had been with King *Henry* III. in *Poland*, to converſe with him about good Literature.

(*b*) Lib. vi. pag. m. 350, ad ann. 1570. *The Duke of* Anjou *was then King of* France.

[*A*] *He was of an illuſtrious and ancient Family.*] Here are the Words of the Preface prefixed to the Maxims of *Livy* collected by Mr *Corbinelli*: 'He 'is originally of one of the moſt ancient and noble 'Families of *Florence*: and in the time of the Re'public his Anceſtors held the firſt Places among 'the Lords of the Government.'

See *Claudius Malingre* Sieur *de St Lazare*, in an Epiſtle dedicatory *to the noble and illuſtrious Mr* Peter de Corbinelli, *Counſellor and Steward to the King* (1). 'This was one of *James Corbinelli*'s Sons.

(1) *Prefixed to the* Hiſtoires Tragiques de noſtre Temps, *a Book printed at* Roüen, 1641.

[*B*] *They looked on him as a Man reſembling the ancient* Romans.] In the Preface that I have mentioned, theſe Words of *Juſtus Lipſius* are cited: 'Gentem veſtram amavi ſemper, & ex ea illos ma'xime qui vetere illa Italia digni, qualem te eſſe, 'mi Corbinelli, video (2). —— *I have always had* 'a ſingular eſteem for thoſe of your Nation, and more 'eſpecially for them who, like you, my Corbinelli, 'are worthy of old Italy.' The Paſſage is curtailed; I muſt ſet it down entire: It will appear by it, that *Peter Victorius* had a great Eſteem for our *Corbinelli*. 'Qualem te eſſe, mi Corbinelli, non ſolum ex igni'culis literarum tuarum quos ſparſos collego, video, 'ſed etiam ex teſtimonio viri magni Victorii qui de 'indole tua ad virtutem magna prædicat nec vana. 'Such as I find you to be, my Corbinelli, not only 'from thoſe bright Beams of Learning, which you 'diffuſe, but alſo from the Teſtimony of the Great 'Victorius, who makes honourable mention of your 'virtuous Diſpoſition.' That Letter of *Lipſius* informs us, that *Corbinelli* had a Brother, who came to an unfortunate end. 'Fratris tui μεγαλοψύχου 'hiſtoriam & triſte exitium legi: quid miremur? 'hodie illæ vitæ, & nil niſi σχολὴν videmus à ple'riſque his Dynaſtis (3). —— *I have read the Hiſtory, and unhappy Fate of your brave Brother: Why* 'ſhould we wonder? Such are the preſent times, and 'we meet with nothing but Perverſeneſs from moſt of 'theſe great Men.' It is great odds, but that he periſhed at *Florence* in ſome Republican Enterpriſe.

(2) Lipſ. Epiſt. 5, cent. 2. Miſcell. *It is dated from* Leyden, *in* 1586.

(3) Id. ibid.

[*C*] *He was very much in the Eſteem of the Chancellor* de l'Hoſpital.] 'It appears by the Epiſtle in *Latin* Verſe, which that Chancellor inſcribed to *Corbinelli*, not only that he was better 'pleaſed with his Converſation than with that of 'any of his other Friends; but alſo that *Corbinelli* 'was almoſt the only Courtier whom the Court 'had not ſpoiled, and who knew how to pre'fer uſeful Knowledge before Intereſt and For'tune.' Theſe are the Words of the Author of the Preface, and here are ſome of That Chancellor's Verſes:

Corbinelle, libens te plus fruar omnibus uno,
Præſentiſque animum ſermone oblectet amici.
Tu ſervare modum noſti prope ſolus in aula,
Et præferre bonas inhoneſtis quæſtibus artes (4).

(4) Epiſt. 6.

Thee, Corbinelli, *all my Soul deſires,*
Thy Converſation loves; thy Worth admires:
For few, like thee, in that exalted Scene,
To Virtue ſteddy, keep the Golden Mean.

The Letter, that *John Michael Brutus* writ to *James Corbinelli*, deſerves to be read: it is printed with ſome other Letters of that Author.

[*D*] *He ſpent part of his Eſtate to get ſeveral Writings printed.*] 'The Book of *Dante* on the *Italian* 'Language was publiſhed by his Care (§ *a*), be'ſides many other curious Works, that would have 'remained in Oblivion, if he had not publiſhed 'them (5).'

(5) *Preface to the* Maximes de Tite Live.

(§ *a*) He not only publiſhed this Book of *Dante* from the ſole Manuſcript extant, which was in his hands, but he alſo inriched it with *Italian* Annotations, which follow the Text in the Edition of *Paris* in 8vo, 1577. In one of the Obſervations of Marſhal *de Baſſompierre* upon ſome Lives of the Hiſtorian *Dupleix*, which I ſhall ſet down in Remark [*H*] of this Article, it is ſuppoſed, as a certain Truth, that *Corbinelli* was baniſhed *Florence* for a State-Crime, which is directly contrary to the Words of *J. A. de Baif*, in his Epiſtle in Verſe to *Henry* III, where, ſpeaking of this *Corbinelli*, he ſays, *without any Miſdemeanour baniſhed from* Florence. For the reſt, this Epiſtle is in the fourth Leaf of the Book already mentioned, intituled: 'Dantis Aligerii præcellentiſſ. Poëtæ

not confined to the Exercises of the Muses. He was fit for Business, and was no less a Man of Courage and Resolution, than a Man of Management and Intrigue [*E*]. *Raphael Corbinelli*, his Son, Secretary to *Mary de Medicis*, Queen of *France*, was the Father of Mr *Corbinelli*, who is at present one of the best and finest Wits of *France* (*c*) [*F*]. See his Elogy in a Preface, which has afforded me, not only the Materials, but also the Expressions of this Article. It is observable, that it was not known *what Religion* James Corbinelli *was of* [*G*]; which might make one suspect, that his Religion consisted only in being an honest Man. The Maréchal *de Bassompierre* inveighed against him [*H*].

(*c*) Taken from the Advertisement prefixed to a Book, intitled, *Les Ancens Historiens Latins reduits en Maximes*, printed in the Year 1694. Father *Bouhours* is said to be the Author of that Preface.

'Poetæ de vulgari Eloquentia Libri duo. Nunc 'primum ad vetusti & unici scripti Codicis exem-'plar edidi. Ex Libris Corbinelli: Ejusdemque An-'notationibus illustrati. Ad Henricum Franciæ Po-'loniæque Regem Christianissimum. Paris, Jo. 'Borbon. 1577. REM. CRIT.]

[*E*] *He was a Man of Courage and Resolution, as well as a Man of Management and Intrigue.*] 'Peter 'Matthieu says, in his History of *Henry* IV, that 'the King came near *Paris* about an Enterprise 'contrived by his Servants, who promised to open 'a Gate to him. He knew by their means, adds 'the Historian, all that passed; and the most private 'Advices were carried by *Corbinelli*, a resolute 'Man, and extremely desirous to see the King's 'Cause triumph over Rebellion. *Corbinelli*, says 'the same Historion, wrote down all that he heard, 'and carried it publickly in his hand, as a Paper of 'common Business, or of a Law-suit. His bold 'and confident Face deceived the eyes of the Guards 'that were at the Gates; and by shewing that he 'trusted every Body, he was suspected by no Body (6).' Another Historian speaks of him in this manner: 'The King had many faithful Friends in 'the City, who gave him notice of every thing 'that passed, and kept themselves in a Readiness to 'facilitate his Entrance. Among the rest, *James* '*Corbinelli* contributed to it with great Art and Di-'ligence. He always carried his Advices in his 'hand like pieces of a Law-suit, to make himself 'less suspected by reason of his Boldness. Pressing 'his Majesty about the Execution of his Design, he 'only wrote these three Words to him, *Come*, '*Come*, *Come*, written only in as much Paper as 'was needful to contain them, and he put them in-'to a Quill sealed up, which the Messenger carried 'in his Mouth. —— This *Corbinelli* was an *Italian*, 'of one of the most ancient and noble Families of '*Florence*. He fled into *France* for having been ac-'cessary to the Conspiracy of *Pandolfo Puccio*, as 'Thuanus observes in his History (7).'

(6) Ibid.

(7) Dupleix, Hist. de Henri IV. pag. 42. ad ann. 1589.

[*F*] *Mr* Corbinelli —— *is at present one of the best and finest Wits in* France.] The Preface does not observe that he published a Collection, in several Volumes, of the finest Passages that are to be found in the Works of the greatest Wits of this Age (8): wherefore I mention it. As for what remains, I refer my Reader to the Preface, which contains Mr *Corbinelli*'s Character, described in a very delicate manner, and which does him a great deal of Honour. The pains, that he has taken to reduce the ancient Historians into Maxims, will contribute both to their Glory, and to the Instruction of the Public. The Author of the Preface very justly says, 'That 'those, who are good Judges, will take delight to 'see, that a vast number of Thoughts and Maxims, 'wherewith the Moderns adorn themselves, have 'been stollen from the Ancients, and that this alone 'will be sufficient to make the Merit of those great 'Men appear, and perhaps to reclaim some prepossess-'sed Persons, who have not a due Respect and Ad-'miration for Antiquity.' I make no doubt that, if the Ancients should be compared with the Moderns, taking their Thoughts singly and by themselves, one might easily be convinced that the Advantage does not lie on the side of the latter: for I do not believe that any body has had any noble and nice Thoughts in this Age, but what may be found in the Books of the Ancients. The most sublime Metaphysical, and Moral Conceptions, which we admire in some Moderns, are to be met with in the Books of the ancient Philosophers; and therefore our Age cannot pretend to the Superiority, unless a whole Work of a Modern be compared with a whole Work of an Ancient. For can any one doubt, that a Work, which equals other Works, when the fine Parts of it are compared with the fine parts of them, will be inferior to them, if the weak things, contained in it, are more numerous and more gross than the weak things contained in the others. Can any one doubt, that, though *Des Cartes* had found all the parts of his System in the Books of the Ancients, he would be more admirable than they, since he knew how to join together so many scattered things, and how to form a methodical System out of several Materials, which had no Connexion one with another?

(8) *It is intituled*, Extrait de tous les beaux endroits des Ouvrages des plus celebres Auteurs de ce Tems, *and printed at* Amsterdam *in* 1681.

A REFLECTION upon the Parallel between the Ancients and the Moderns.

Note, that Mr *Corbinelli* kept Correspondence by Letters with the Count *de Bussi Rabutin*: This appears by the Letters of the latter, among which there are several Fragments of what Mr *Corbinelli* had writ to him: His Name is only denoted by a *C.*

[*G*] *It was not known what Religion* James Corbinelli *was of.*] *Thuanus* says so: These are his Words; *It was not known what Religion* Corbinelli *was of: it was a political Religion, according to the* Florentine *way; but he was a Man of good Morals* (9). This Testimony is of great weight for two Reasons: I. Because *Thuanus* was a grave Man, and a Man of Probity; II. Because he was very well acquainted with *Corbinelli*. He had already said of him; 'I have been very well acquainted with Mr '*Corbinelli*, a *Florentine*. He was a great Wit. 'He had a great Capacity for Business, and an 'excellent Judgment. He married an *English-*'*woman*, by whom he had some Daughters, 'who are still at Court, in the Service of 'some Ladies. The Countess of *Fiesque* has one 'of them. He had but a small Fortune; but he 'lived very frugally, and went very neatly dress. 'He was a great Friend of the Abbot *d'Elbene* (10).

(9) *See* Thuanus, pag. m. 35.

(10) Ib. pag. 39.

[*H*] *The Maréchal* de Bassompierre *inveighed against him.*] The Passage of *Dupleix*, which I have mentioned above, gave occasion to it: 'There 'is nothing more cold and impertinent, *the Mark-*'*chal censures him in this manner* (11), than that 'whole Chapter: Was there no faithful *Frenchman* 'to be named, without alledging that Man, who 'was banished from *Florence* for Treason? What a 'fine Invention, to carry Advices in one's hand! 'They were not very important, since That, which 'he describes as most excellent, was *Come*, *Come*, '*Come*. Had not the King been a very cunning 'Man, if he had minded such Advice? What has 'the History of *France* to do with *Corbinelli*'s Ex-'traction? And he must be an honest Man, since he 'was one of those who conspired against his Prince 'with *Pandolfo Puccio*, and was hanged on a Hook 'at the Palace Windows for his Crime.' Observe, that this Conspiracy, as heinous as it may be, does not invalidate what others say of *Corbinelli*'s good Morals. State Conspiracies are the greatest Crimes that can be committed, and yet some Persons suffer themselves to be drawn into them, by Motives which they think to be very good, morally speaking; so true is it, that Man's Conscience is subject to the most deplorable Illusions. *Brutus*, and several of those, whom he engaged to murder *Cæsar*, were Men of good Morals, and of eminent Virtue.

(11) Remarques sur les vies de Henri IV & Louis XIII, de Dupleix, pag. 11.

CORCEONE (ROBERT), Cardinal of the Title of *St Stephen*, on Mount *Cælius*, was an *Englishman*. He is spoken of in *Moreri*'s Dictionary (*a*); but no mention is made there of what I am going to say. Having been sent into *France* by Pope *Innocent* III, for the Business of the *Crusade*, as well against the *Albigenses* as against the *Saracens*, he held a Council at *Paris* in the Year 1212, wherein

(*a*) *At the Word* Curson.

he caused good Regulations to be made for the Reformation of Manners. He forbad the Secular Clergy to engage themselves by Oath not to lend Books, or Houses, or other things, and not to borrow any thing, and not to be Security for any body. He forbad the Regulars to engage themselves by Oath not to lend Books, provided they took care to be indemnified, or to have the Books restored to them. He ordered them also not to lie two and two together [*A*]; and he made the same Prohibition to the Nuns, to avoid, as he said, the Danger of Incontinency. He held other Councils; he appointed Preachers for the *Crusade*, and very much tormented the Heretics; but he shewed so much Bitterness against the Clergy, and was so ready to give the Cross to all sorts of People, that Complaints were made against it at the Court of *Rome*. He made himself so odious by his Attempts upon the Rights of the *Gallican* Church, that they appealed from his Proceedings during the Council that he convoked at *Beziers*. The Deputies of the Clergy of *France* carried on their Appeal vigorously, and so confounded that Cardinal in a General Assembly held at *Rome*, that the Pope desired them to mitigate a little the grievous Complaints they made (*b*). *Corceone* brought many People, who had taken the Cross upon them, in the Year 1214, to *Simon de Montfort*, who made War with the *Albigenses* (*c*). He died in *Palestine*, where he had followed the *Crusade*, as may be seen in *Moreri*. Among other Works, he is the Author of a Treatise on this Question, *Whether* Origen *is in Paradise or no*.

(*b*) Taken from Spondanus's Ecclesiastical Annals, ad ann. 1212, n. 8.

(*c*) Id. Spondan. ib. ad ann. 1214, n. 2.

[*A*] *He ordered them not to lie two and two together.*] Here is a Passage out of *Peter St Romuald's Abregé du Tresor Chronologique* (1): 'In the Year 1212, a Council was celebrated at *Paris* under Cardinal *de Corceone*; the Decrees whereof are to be found in *Spondanus*, and this among others: *Interdicimus Regularibus & Monialibus ne bini, vel binæ, in lecto jaceant propter metum incontinentiæ.* A little Book was printed in the Year 1643, written by a pious Priest, and approved by four Doctors: It is intituled, *A Christian Advice concerning a Matter of great Importance*: wherein the Author greatly desires, that the said Decree may be carefully observed, because of the Inconveniences, which he specifies as modestly as he can' That Book, though written never so modestly, must needs create an Indignation against the Law concerning Celibacy, since it produces such evil Consequences.

(1) St Romuald. Abregé Chronol. & Histor. Tom. III, pag. m. 127, 128.

CORDIER (MATURIN), in *Latin Corderius*, lived in the XVIth Century, and was one of the best Schoolmasters that could be desired; for he understood the *Latin* Tongue very well, was a Man of Virtue, and diligently applied himself to his Function; being as careful to form his Scholars to Wisdom, as to good *Latin*. He employed his long Life in teaching *Children*, *as well at* Paris, *as at* Nevers, Bourdeaux, Geneva, Neufchastel, Lausanne, *and lastly again at* Geneva (*a*), where he died the eighth of *September* (*b*) 1564, *at the Age of Eighty five Years, having taught Children of the sixth Class but three or four Days before his Death.* He quitted Divinity for some time at *Paris*, in the College of *Navarre*, about the Year 1528, after teaching a Class there; but he quitted that Study for his old Employment of a Grammarian (*c*). He taught at *Nevers* in 1534, 1535, and 1536 (*d*). *Calvin*, who had been his Pupil, at *Paris*, in the College of *La Marche* (*e*), dedicated to him his Commentary upon the first Epistle to the *Thessalonians* (*f*). The Country of *Maturin Cordier* is not exactly known. Some say he was of *Normandy*, and others of *Perche* (*g*). He published several Books, which were very useful for the Instruction of School-Boys [*A*].

(*a*) Beza's Life of *Calvin*, or his Preface to *Calvin*'s Commentary on *Joshua*, pag. m. 4.

(*b*) In the Latin Editions of *Calvin*'s *Life*, it is 6 nonas Sep. ambris; *but it must be read* Idus *and not* nonas.

(*c*) Launoi, Hist. Coll. Navar. pag. 200.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Beza's Life of *Calvin*, pag. 4. In a former Edition he had said, that it was in the College of St Barbe.

(*f*) Id. pag. 52.

(*g*) La Croix du Maine, pag. 318.

[*A*] *He published several Books, which were very useful for the Instruction of School Boys.*] *Du Verdier vau Privas* has given us the Titles of the following: *Christian Epistles, at* Lyons, *in* 16mo, *by* Loys Tachet, 1557; *Sentences extracted from the Holy Scriptures for the Instruction of Children*, printed in *Latin* and *French*, by *Thibault Payen*, 1551; *Spiritual Songs, Twenty six in number*, printed at *Lyons*, in 16mo, by *John Caristi*, in 1560 (1); *A Looking Glass for Children, to form them to Civility and Virtue* (2), at *Paris*, in 16mo, by *John Bonfons*: Cato's Latin *Distichs, translated into* French, printed at *Lyons*, in 8vo, by *Thibault Payen, more than a hundred times, and since by others, being a Book Children commonly use at School* (3). He adds, that *Maturin Cordier's Colloquies* have been translated from the *Latin* into *French*, by *Gabriel Chapuis*. There is no Book more useful to make Children speak *Latin*. It is writ in a pure Stile, and full of good Instructions. It has been printed an infinite Number of Times. *La Croix du Maine* observes, that (4) this Author writ, in *French* Verse, *Remonstrances and Admonitions to the King, and the States of his Kingdom*, printed in the Year 1561, at *G*, that is *Geneva*. *Gesner*, who published his *Bibliotheque* in 1545, says, that *Cordier* taught at that time at *Neufchatel*: he gives us the Titles of some School-Books, which he had published (5), which I shall not mention, except this one, 'De corrupti 'sermonis apud Gallos emendatione, & Latine loquendi ratione, sive de Latini sermonis varietate & modis loquendi Lib. 1. addantur autem etiam ipsæ phrases corruptæ, & Gallicæ interpretationes locutionum: ut in posterum vitentur, earumque loco puræ ac elegantes eloquendi formulæ doceantur, quæ quidem non temere, sed secundum locos communes aliquot digestæ sunt. Plurimum sanè prodesit hoc opus ad sermonem & variandum & locupletandum. In Latinis formulis sola contentum est linguæ proprietate: neque verborum sucum, neque longas & obscuras periphrases affectat, cum potissimum in puerorum gratiam conscriptum sit, propter quos etiam passim permulta pie & Christianè vivendi hortamenta interjiciuntur (6). —— 'Of the corrupt Manner of speaking Latin amongst 'the French, and it's Emendation; or the Variety 'of the Latin Language, and Forms of Speech 'Book 1. To which are added, the corrupt Phrases, 'and the French Translations; that they may be 'avoided for the Future, and pure and elegant 'Forms taught in their Place, digested in a regular 'Manner of Common-Place. This Work conduces 'much to the varying and enriching Discourse In the 'Latin Forms it only aims at Propriety of Speech, not 'affecting a Pomp of Words, or tedious and obscure 'Circumlocutions, the Work being composed chiefly 'for the use of Boys, for whom there are also inserted 'many Pious and Christian Precepts of Life.' *Gesner* informs us, that this Book was printed at *Paris*, by *Robert Stephens*, in 1536, in 4to; and at *Basil*, by

(1) In Epist. Gesn. p. m. 596, *marks the Edition of* 1557, in 16mo.

(2) La Croix du Maine, pag. 318, *observes*, that this Book, since the Edition of *Poitiers*, in 1559, has been printed at *Paris*, by *John Ruell*, and others, in 1560, under the Title of *Crudité Puerile*.

(3) Du Verdier Biblioth. Franç. pag. 802.

(4) La Croix du Maine, pag. 318.

(5) De Quantitate Syllabarum, de Latino Declinato partium Orationis, &c.

(6) Gesner Bibl. folio 507 verso.

by *Westhemer*, in 1537, in 4to. His Abbreviators ought to know, in the Year 1584, what I am going to mention. *Maturin Cordier* made many Emendations to this Work in the fourth Edition, printed by *Robert Stephens*. He was informed, that the Examples of ill Phrases, which he had set down in order to avoid them, had been a Prejudice to the young Scholars, because, by the natural Inclination we have to what is bad, they took more notice of those barbarous Expressions, which served to divert them, than of the polite Phrases. 'In Libelli 'nostri lectione unum esse hoc malum permulti affirmabant, quòd pueri (ut natura in deteriorem 'partem ferè proni sumus) ridendi ac jocandi studio '& libentius & sæpius in legendo corrupto sermone '& Barbaris locutionibus, quàm Latinis edisscendis, 'à se se oblectarent. Ex quo fieri dicebant, ut non- 'nulli formandæ juventutis magistri discipulos om- 'nino prohiberent ab ejus libri lectione; videlicet 'ne sermonis vitiis, quæ nondum audierant, semel 'in tenera ætate imbuti, ea vix umquam postea de- 'ponerent (7). —— *This Objection was made by 'several, that (as we are naturally prone to Depra- 'vity) Boys, to divert themselves, took more Pleasure, 'and were fonder of corrupt and barbarous Phrases, 'than of pure and polite Language. Whence it hap- 'pened, say they, that some Masters strictly forbad 'their Scholars reading that Book; least, being tin- 'ctured in their Infancy with a corrupt Manner of 'speaking, which they should not otherwise have 'known, they would scarcely ever after leave it.'* He was often advised to suppress this Part of the Book, and at last he consented to do it. The Title of this Book was altered in the fourth Edition, after this manner (8): *Commentarius puerorum de quotidiano sermone, qui prius liber de corrupti sermonis Emendatione dicebatur.*

(7) Matur. Corderius Præf. Comment. puerorum de quotidiano Sermone.

(8) I know not the Date of it, the Author not mentioning it in his Preface. My Edition is of *Par.* 1. *Ex Officina Roberti Stephani*, 1580, in 8vo, which was made fifteen Years after the Death of *Cordierius*. Mr *de Leuwenkoi*, *Hist. Coll. Navarr. pag.* 701, makes the fourth Edition to be 1550, *apud Robertum Stephanum.*

CORICIUS (JOHN) lived very agreeably at *Rome*, in the Pontificate of *Julius* II, *Leo* X, and *Clement* VII. He made himself beloved by learned Men, because he had a great Affection for them; and they praised him so much, that they procured him a very great Reputation. He had them very often together in his Garden (*a*), and afforded a noble Exercise to all the Poets, whom the Liberality of *Leo* X had invited to *Rome* (*b*); for he appointed a Combat of Poetry [*A*]; which was celebrated every Year on St *Anne*'s Day (*c*): the Subject of it was an Elogy upon that Saint, upon the Virgin *Mary*, and JESUS CHRIST (*d*). He fell into the Hands of the Soldiers, who took the City of *Rome* in the Year 1527; and it cost him a very great Ransom (*e*). He had hid part of his Money under the Door of the Court of his House: no body knew it but the Mason, who had closed up the Hole. That Mason desired him to lend him Twenty five Pistoles, which he wanted to redeem himself out of the Soldiers Hands; and not being able to obtain them, he revealed the whole Secret to a *Spanish* Captain. That Captain went to *Coricius*'s House, took the Master aside on several Pretences, and carried the Money away. *Coricius* complained of it to the Generals, but to no purpose; so that finding himself reduced to great Necessity, he endeavoured to get out of *Rome*; which he did after many Difficulties. He was maintained for some time at *Verona* by the Liberality of *Calystus Amadæus* (*f*); and as he was preparing himself to return to *Trier*, his native Country (*g*), he fell sick, and died overwhelmed with Grief and Vexation (*b*).

(*a*) *Taken from* Pierius Valerianus, lib. 2. de Litteratorum infelicit. pag. m. 87.

(*b*) Paulus Jovius Elog. cap. 103. pag. m. 241.

(*c*) Pierius Valerian. ubi supra.

(*d*) Jovius, ubi supra.

(*e*) Pier. Valerian, ubi supra.

(*f*) Calysti Amadei ejus urbis propræsulis liberalitate sustinetur. *Id. ibid. pag.* 82.

(*g*) Jovius, ubi supra.

(*b*) *Taken from* Pierius Valerianus, ubi supra.

[*A*] *Learned Men praised him very much —— He appointed a Combat of Poetry*] I will quote *Paul Jovius* for it: 'Franciscus Arsillus scripsit — lepi- 'dum item libellum de Poetis urbanis mihi tanquam 'veteri sodali dedicatum (1), quum Leone Ingenii 'liberaliter arridente, multi undique poetæ illustres, 'nequaquam ad inanes spes, in Urbem confluxis- 'sent, & pulcherrimo quòdam certamine à singu- 'lis in una tantum statuæ materia scriberetur, qua 'carminum farragine Coritius homo Trevir, humani juris libellis præpositus, uti perhumanus poeta- 'rum hospes, ac admirator inclaruit; ea scilicet 'statua insigni marmorea Aureliano in templo dedi- 'cata, invitatisque vatibus, ut tria numina Christi 'Dei, & Matris, ac Aviæ uno in signo celebrarent (2). —— F. Arsillus *wrote an ingenious Treatise on the City Poets, dedicated to me as an old Com- panion; when, by Leo's great Encouragement of Wit, many excellent Poets came from all Parts to Rome, and met with favours they had been promis- ed: The Subject of one Statue was proposed for a Trial of Poetical Skill. In the Collection of which Poems, Coritius, a Gentleman of Treves, is highly extolled for the generous Reception and Patronage he gave to Poets. The Statue was that celebrated one of Marble in the Aurelian Temple, and the Poets were invited to celebrate* GOD *the* SON, *the Virgin Mary, and St Anne, in the same Piece.' Longolius* speaks of those Assemblies, and these Entertainments on St *Anne*'s Day, and he even says they once quarrelled there; but does not enter into the Particulars: writing to a Man who was well acquainted with the Affair. 'De eodem Gorytio 'illud mihi velim diligenter perscribas, ecquid fa- 'cem Annæ diem anniversario illo studiosorum hominum conventu epulisque celebrarit: an vero propter anni superioris dissidium, cœnas facere omnino desierit: an sodalitatem potius illam (scis quam dico) non vocaret: reliquis cœnam dederit. Neque vero quam eos laute splendideque acceperit, quæro: novi hominis magnificentiam, sed quid dictum, quamque frequens convivium eo hominum genere fuerit, qui se academicos & esse & numerari existiment. Subvereor interdum, ut cum illis in gratiam redierit. Contra cum mihi in mentem venit, istis & cœnas & hortos Epicuri mirum in modum probari, hunc autem mensis non sumptuose minus quam libenter instructo, jam nihil inimicitiarum reliquum esse suspicor. Tu me velim de tota diei illius ratione certiorem facias (3). —— *I desire likewise that you would carefully inform me of the same Gorytius, whether he has celebrated the Festival of St Anne, by the Anniversary Entertainments of the Wits, or whether the last Year's Quarrel has induced him to leave it off; or whether he chose not to invite a certain Fra- ternity, you know at whom I hint. I do not en- quire with what Magnificence he entertained. I am no stranger to the Greatness of his Mind; but upon what their Conversation turned, and how oft these would-be Literati met. Sometimes I fear his Reconciliation; but when I reflect how like Epicures these Gentlemen are wonderously devoted to Gardens and Regalios, and that he entertains with no less Chearfulness than Grandeur, I imagine their Animosity cannot long subsist; from you I desire an Account of the whole Day.'*

(1) *See the Article* ACCURSIUS (MARIA ANGELUS), *Remark* [*A*].

(2) Paulus Jovius, Elog. cap. 103.

(3) Longolius Epist. lib. 2. folio m. 182.

CORNELIA, the Wife of *Pompey*. See the last Remark of the Article MUCIA.

CORNELLIUS (ANTONY), Licentiate of Civil-Law, and Author of a Book, which I have mentioned in the Article WECHEL (a), was a Native of *Billi* [A], upon the Frontiers of *Auvergne*, and lived in the Time of *Francis* I. Father *Garaſſe* is guilty of many Blunders concerning that Book [B], which was printed off in *January* 1531 (b), the Author of it was then very young [C].

(a) *At the Remark* [B].

(b) *It is* 1532, *beginning the Year in* January.

[A] *He was a Native of* Billi.] I prove this by the Epigram at the end of *Querela infantium* (1).

(1) See more exactly the Title of *Cornellius*'s Book, in the Remark [B] of the Article WECHEL.

' Guillelmi Nurii Judicis Billienſis ad Antonium Cornellium Billienſem utriuſque Juris Licentiatum doctiſſ. Hexaſtichon.

Olim in te puero quiddam haud vulgare videbar
Perſpicere, Antoni, talia ſigna dabas.
At neque deſtituis ſpem tu jam grandior iſtam,
Imo infinitis vincis ubique modis.
Id tibi teſtatur facile liber ille, puellos
Intinctos ubi litem inſtituiſſe facit.

Whilſt yet your Genius bloom'd, our hopes began
Of ſomething fair, when ripen'd into Man.
Still as you grew, our Expectations roſe,
But your ſuperior Worth no limits knows.
This the ſtrong Senſe of your Complaint *has ſhown,*
Where Babes are taught a Language not their own.

[B] *Author of a Book* —— *Father* Garaſſe *has made many blunders concerning this Book.*] I have plainly proved this, in the Remark [B] of the Article WECHEL; but ſince the ſecond Edition of this Dictionary, I have received an Analyſis of the *Querela Infantium*, which concludes with theſe Words: ' Give me leave to draw from hence ſome ' Conſequences: I. That his Name, *Antonius Cornellius*, is not a feigned Name, as Father *Garaſſe* ' pretends, in his *Somme Theologique*, pag. 19. and ' 298: this may be inferred from the Epiſtle Dedicatory. Is it credible, that a Man diſguiſed ' would dare to dedicate his Book to *Antony du* ' *Bourg* (2), Lieutenant-Civil of the Prevoſte of ' *Paris*, and afterwards Chancellor; that he ſhould ' call him therein his *Mæcenas*, and relate ſome particulars between that Magiſtrate and himſelf? ' II. The Epigram mentioned above (3), removes ' all Reaſon to doubt, that *Cornellius* was not his ' true Name. A Man, who does not conceal his ' Country, and to whom the Judge of the Place addreſſes his Verſes, ſhall he diſguiſe his Name? ' The leaſt attention to theſe Circumſtances takes off ' all Suſpicion. III By what has been already ſaid ' of the Treatiſe in queſtion, it plainly appears, that ' it is not ſo infamous and deteſtable, as Father *Ga*' *raſſe* would perſuade us. IV. And therefore it is ' falſe what that Jeſuit ſays, that the Impreſſion of ' that vile Book has drawn down the Wrath of ' GOD upon the Printer (4). I have obſerved in another place (5), that there are two Copies of this Book of *Cornellius*, in the Library of the Archb. ſhop of *Rheims*, and that Mr *Bourdelot* (6) has done me the favour to ſend me his Copy. Since that, Mr *Lancelot* has informed me, that there is alſo one of them in the *Mazarine* Library, and he heard there was one in the Royal Library, and in other Places. Another Perſon has ſent me Word, that the Copy in the *Mazarine* Library, No. 2634 is bound in Paſte-board covered with red Paper, with another Book, intituled: *Diſcorſo Cattolico & Apologia Hiſtorica cavata dal Vecchio e Nuovo Teſtamento, & ornata de diverſe Hiſtorie, compoſta dal eccellente Dottor Camillo Borrello ſopra un Giudicio fatto interno à quella Sentenza di Pilato che li anni paſſati fu trovata nel l'Aquila Città d'Abruzzo. Opera veramente utile, nella quale ſi deſcrivono diverſi concetti notabili ſi di Teologia, come anco d'Hiſtorie e d'Annali, ove con molte Autorità e Sentenze de Scrittori approbati ſi ſcuopre ſe detta Sentenza è vera, o nq. Drizzata alla Santità di N. S. Siſto V Sommo Pontefice, con la Tavola delle materie principali, & coſe più notabili, ch' in eſſa ſi contengono. In Napoli, appreſſo Horatio Salviati*, 1588. This Book is addreſſed to *Paul Jovius* (7); and they have taken a great deal of Pains in it, to prove that the Sentence of *Pilate*, found in the City of *Aquila* in the *Abruzzo*, is fictitious.

(4) Manuſcript Memoir, communicated by Mr *Lancelot*.

(5) *In the Rem.* [B] *of the Article* WECHEL.

(6) He is firſt Phyſician to the Ducheſs of *Burgundy*.

(7) *It contains* 144 *Pages.*

[C] *The Author of it was very young.*] This may be inferred from theſe Words, in his Advertiſement to the Reader: ' Quod ſi quid deprehenderis nota dignum pro tua facilitate in meliorem interpretare ' partem, ÆTATIQUE meæ adſcribe atque condona. —— *If you meet with any thing worthy of* ' *Cenſure, put a favourable Conſtruction upon it,* ' *aſcribing it to my* AGE, *and let that plead my* ' *Excuſe.*

(2) Obſerve, this Mr *Du Bourg* was a Native of *Auvergne* as well as our *Cornelius*.

(3) *Remark* [A].

CORONEL (ALPHONSUS), a great *Spaniſh* Lord, miſtruſting Don *Pedro the Cruel*, King of *Caſtile*, formed a Party in *Andaluſia*, to be in a Condition to hold out againſt his King. He raiſed Men, fortified Places, and ſent his Son-in-law *John de la Cerda* into *Mauritania* to deſire Aſſiſtance. He relied chiefly on the City of *Aiguilar*, where he commanded. Don *Pedro*, having taken ſome other Places from him, prepared himſelf to lay ſiege to that, when more urgent Affairs obliged him to march towards *Aſturia*, where one of his Brothers had revolted. But as ſoon as he had pacified that Province, and the Troubles that were elſewhere, he returned into *Andaluſia*, and attacked *Aiguilar*. *Coronel* defended himſelf with great Vigour for four Months. At laſt the Town was taken by Aſſault in the Month of *February* 1353. He was at Maſs when News was brought him that the Enemies had entered the Town. This did not oblige him to interrupt his Devotions; but he kept there till Maſs was over, and then he ſhut himſelf up in a Tower. He was taken there, and tried as a Rebel; I mean, that he was put to Death, as being guilty of High Treaſon (a). *Mary*, one of his Daughters, was ſo zealous for the Preſervation of her Chaſtity, that ſhe choſe rather to kill herſelf, than put that Virtue to any hazard [A]. What ſhe did upon that account is ſo ſtrange, that I muſt needs relate it. See the Remark [A].

(a) *Taken from* Mariana, *Chapter* 17, *Book XVI. of his Hiſtory of* Spain.

[A] *One of his Daughters* —— *choſe rather to kill herſelf, than to put her Chaſtity to any Hazard.*] Her Husband *John de la Cerda* having in vain ſought for Aſſiſtance among the Moors of *Granada*, and among thoſe of *Africa*, returned into *Portugal*, where he lived in a mournful Exile. *Mary Coronel*, his Wife, could not bear his Abſence; and, for fear of falling into the Temptations of Nature, killed herſelf. I cannot expreſs, in our Language, the Invention ſhe made uſe of; and therefore I ſhall ſet down the *Latin* words of *Mariana*. ' Ejus uxor ' Maria Coronellia, cum mariti abſentiam non ſer' ret, ne pravis cupiditatibus cederet, vitam poſuit, ' ardentem forte libidinem igne extinguens adacto ' per muliebria titione. Dignam meliore ſeculo fœ' minam, inſigne ſtudium caſtitatis (1).' That Author does not contradict himſelf, in maintaining on the one ſide, that the Love of Virtue was extraordinary in that Lady, and in ſuppoſing on the other, that is likely ſhe was tormented with the heat of the Fleſh; for the moſt ardent Love of Chaſtity does not neceſſarily exclude the mechanical Diſpoſitions

(1) Mariana, de rebus Hiſpaniæ, lib. 16. cap. 17. pag. 80. Edit. Mogunt. 1619. in quarto.

fections to Incontinency. That Lady being fully resolved to do nothing against her Duty, and sensibly affected with the Love of Purity, struggled with Nature; but she could not always prevent, nor put a stop to, Temptations. Such a Warfare seemed to her too troublesome, and too dangerous, and brought her into Despair. She exceeded the Evangelical Counsels. We find indeed in the Scripture (2), *If thine Eye offend thee pluck it out, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy Members should perish, and not that thy whole Body should be cast into Hell. And if thy right hand offend thee, cut it off, and cast it from thee; for it is profitable for thee that one of thy Members should perish, and not that thy whole Body should be cast into Hell*: but we do not find there, that it is lawful to kill one's self to prevent a Temptation. She might have executed that Evangelical Precepts, or Counsel, literally, without killing herself. *Origen*, *Ambrosius Moralis*, and some others, performed it in the literal Sense, and did not die of it (§ *a*). You have read in the Conferences of a Jesuit (3), 'What an *Athenian* Woman did, not to declare the Secrets of her Friends: after having endured the Rack with an incredible Constancy, she bit her Tongue off, and spit it in the Face of the Tyrant, who had a mind to know of her what she would not tell.' You have also read that Author's Reflexion upon it: *That Woman had reason to fear that her Tongue would serve her an ill Turn, and she did wisely to part with it* (4). This Reflexion cannot be well applied to the Action of *Mary Corneil*. A more exact Parallel might be drawn between *Portia*, *Brutus*'s Wife, and the Wife of *John de la Cerda*; but it would contain several Differences. *Portia*, the Daughter of *Cato Uticensis*, and *Brutus*'s Wife, killed herself by swallowing live-coals (5); but it was only out of Vanity, not to out-live her Husband, and to shew herself a faithful Disciple of the Sect of the Stoics, which her Father and her Husband had been so fond of.

(2) Matth. cap. v. ver. 29, 30.

(3) Entretiens d'Ariste & d'Eugene, 3 Entretien, p. m. 197.

(4) Ibid. pag. 198.

(5) Valer. Max. lib. 4. cap. 6. n. 5.

['(§ *a*) It is easy to conceive how Men may perform this Operation upon themselves; but it does not appear in what manner Women can do it. Mr *Venette*, in the last Chapter of his Book, intituled, *Le Tableau de l'Amour conjugal*, says, 'Without doubt Women may be made incapable of conceiving, by taking from them the, *&c.* But the Difficulty is to know, how the Ancients proceeded in this matter: and to give my Opinion, I do not believe that the Operation could be performed without great danger.' Perhaps the following Book, which I have never seen, may give some account of it. *Eunuchi nati, facti, & mystici, ex sacra & humana Literatura illustrati. Zacharias Pasqualigus puerorum emasculator ob Musicam quo loco habendus. Responsa ad quæstum per Epistolam J. Heriberti. Diviene* 1655, *in* 4to. This Book is ascribed to Father *Theophilus Raynaud*. Rem. Crit.]

COSTA (Margaret), was born at *Rome*, and lived in the XVIIth Century. She *had a Genius for Poetry, and she prepared a Feast on Horse-back, in the Form of a Carrousel and of a Ballet, for the King of* France. *The Subject of that Entertainment was a Challenge between* Apollo *and* Mars (*a*). You may find the Description of it in a Book of Father *Menêtrier* (*b*). 'The Performance of that 'Design appearing too difficult, *Orpheus* was preferred before it, and represented 'in the Year 1647 [*A*]. Nevertheless, that Entertainment of Signora *Costa* 'was printed with her other Poems, which she dedicated to Cardinal *Mazarin* (*c*).'

(a) Menêtrier, Representations en Musique, pag. 232.

(b) Ib. pag. 233. & seq.

(c) Id. ib. pag. 235.

[*A*] *She prepared a Feast on Horse-back* —— Orpheus *was preferred before it.*] 'In the Year 1647, 'Cardinal *Mazarin*, who had a mind to introduce 'the Diversions of *Italy* into *France*, sent for some 'Actors from *Italy*, who represented *Orpheus* and '*Eurydice* in the Royal Palace, in *Italian* Verse and 'Music, with wonderful Decorations of the Stage, 'and some Machines which had not yet been seen (1).' You may find the Description and Analysis of that *Opera* in Father *Menêtrier* (2): 'The Success of that Representation, the Novelty whereof 'surprised every Body, by the wonderful Changes of 'the extraordinary Decorations, and by the harmonious singing, as well as by the Variety of 'Dresses, and Consorts, occasioned the renewing 'of that Spectacle at his Majesty's Wedding, where '*Ercole Amante* was acted, whose *Italian* Composition was translated into *French* Verse for the Satisfaction of those that did not understand *Italian* (3).' It will be said, that this is needless as to Signora *Margherita Costa*. I grant it: but because a great many Readers will be glad to be informed of that first Essay of *Opera*'s in the same place where I have incidentally mentioned it, I thought I ought not to suppress this Remark.

(1) Menêtrier, Representations en Musique, pag. 395.

(2) Ibid. *from page* 195 *to page* 205.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 205.

COTIN (Charles) a *Parisian*, one of the *French* Academy, very ill used in the Satires of Mr *Boileau*: See his Apology, and several Particulars of his Life, in the *Parallel* of Mr *Perrault* (*a*). See also the Letters collected by *Richelet* (*b*). He died in *January* 1682 (*c*).

(a) *Second Part, pag.* 174, *and following, of the* Dutch *Edition.*

(b) The Lives of some *French* Authors are prefixed to them. That of *Cotin* is to be found there, pag. 56 of the *Dutch* Edition, 1699.

(c) Mercure Galant, March 1682, pag. 143.

COTYS, King of *Thrace*, Cotemporary with *Philip*, Father of *Alexander*, reigned Twenty four Years. At first he gave himself over to Luxury, and to a voluptuous Life; and Prosperity having made him more proud afterwards, he became so cruel, that he split his Wife in two, beginning with the Privy-Parts (*a*). *Athenæus*, according to *Dalechamp*'s Translation, does not relate the thing in that manner [*A*]; but that is an ill Version, as the learned *Maussac* has very well observed

(a) Harpocration in voce Κότυς.

[*A*] *He split his Wife in two* —— Athenæus, *according to* Dalechamp's *Translation, does not relate the thing in that manner.*] Having said that *Cotys*, the most voluptuous Prince that ever reigned in *Thrace* (1), did not begin to be unhappy till he had offended *Minerva*, he relates what I am going to say. *Cotys* once pretended to marry that Goddess; the Marriage Feast was given; the Nuptial-Chamber was prepared, and there wanted nothing but the Bride. *Cotys*, having drunk hard, waited impatiently for her; and not seeing her come, he was mad at it, and sent one of his Guards to know whether she was come to the Chamber that was prepared for her. He brought the King word that he had seen no Body there; which put that furious Prince into such a Passion, that he killed the Messenger. He sent another, who returned with the same Answer, and was served like the first. The third, whom he sent, thinking to avoid the like Misfortune, would not tell him that no Body was there; but assured him that *Minerva* had expected the King a great while. But his Imposture had no better Success than their Ingenuity: *Cotys*, being seized with a Fit of Jealousy, as if the third Messenger had made use of the Opportunity, which the Impatience of the Bride might afford him, fell upon him, and cut him in pieces, beginning with the Privy parts. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔτος ἀφ' οὗ ζηλοτυπήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα τάχ' ἀντὶ χέρσιν ἀνέτεμε τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπὸ τῶν αἰδοίων ἀρξάμενος. Tum rex zelotypia percitus ne quid in uxorem suam ausus ille fuisset, manibus suis militem confecit ac discerpsit à pudendis

(1) Ὅτι ἀπάντων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν, ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ γενομένων, μάλιστα πρὸς ἡδυπαθείας καὶ τρυφὰς ὥρμησε. Omnium Thraciæ regum quotquot unquam fuerunt deditissimus voluptati ac deliciis. *Athen. lib.* 12. *cap.* 8. *pag.* 531.

observed [B]. *Cotys* died a violent Death: one *Python* killed him, and retired to *Athens*, where his Action was magnificently rewarded (b) [C]. His Brother helped him to kill that King; which they did to revenge their Father. *Ariſtotle*, who ſays this [D], obſerves, that one *Adamas* rebelled againſt *Cotys*, to revenge himſelf of an Injury he had received from him in his Youth: *Cotys* had cauſed him to be caſtrated. *Cerſobleptes*, the Son of *Cotys*, ſucceeded his Father, in the Kingdom: He had a Siſter, who was the Wife of *Iphicrates* [E]. I believe this is the *Cotys Plutarch* made mention of in his Apophthegms [F]. He ſpeaks elſewhere of a COTYS, King of *Paphlagonia*, who made an Alliance with *Ageſilaus*, and married

(b) Demoſthenes ad cenſ. Ariſtocratem, pag. 452. A.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 532, ex Theopompo.

pudendis exerſus (2). This is *Athenæus*'s account, if we follow his Tranſlator: but he is not to be followed (3); he does not obſerve, that the Words, Ὁ δὲ Κασιλαὺς ἔτος ποιῶ, are the beginning of another Story, and ſignify *Rex iſte aliquando*.

(3) I followed him, but rectify my Error in this third Edition, according to the Advice of Mr *Voyſſiere la Croſe*.

[B] - - - - *as the learned* Mauſſac *has very well obſerved it.*] He pretends that *Theopompus* affirms the ſame thing in *Athenæus*, as *Harpocration*, to wit, that *Cotys* cut his own Wife in Pieces; and he cenſures *Dalechamp* for having tranſlated *Athenæus*, as if the third Meſſenger had been ſerved ſo, and not the Queen herſelf. ' Eruditiſſimus Dalecampius longiſſime erravit à veritate hiſtoriæ cum hæc Græca verba Theopompi - - - in vertit (4). - - - Imo è contrario mulierem propriam diſcerpſit: ut optime habet Harpocration, quod deſegnant evidentiſſime illa verba τὴν ἄνθρωπον: falſiſſimum autem eſt eam conſcidiſſe tertium militem. Fraudi fuit ſine dubio eruditiſſimo illi interpreti vox ἄνθρωπον, cui non animadvertit conjunctum eſſe articulum τὴν, & hoc in loco mulierem ſignificare. Hæc velim dicta in favorem ſudiorum (5). —— *The learned*, Dalechamp *has quite deviated from the Truth of Hiſtory, in tranſlating the* Greek *of* Theopompus *in this manner. For, on the contrary, he cut his own Wife to pieces,* ſays Harpocration *has very juſtly obſerved. and which the Words* τὴν ἄνθρωπον *moſt plainly demonſtrate; that he ſerved the Soldier in this manner is undoubtedly falſe. The learned Tranſlator was probably led into this Miſtake by the Word* ἄνθρωπον, *to which he did not obſerve, that the Article* τὴν *was prefixed, and that in this place it ſignifies the Woman. I mention this for the ſake of younger Readers.*'

(4) See, above, Citat. (2), the *Greek* Words of *Theopompus*, and *Dalechamp*'s Tranſlation of them.

(5) Philippus Jacobus Mauſſacus Not. ad Harpocration. pag 221, Edit. Log. Bat. 1683.

[C] *One* Python *killed him, and retired to Athens, where his Action was magnificently rewarded.*] When he did that Action, he was aſſiſted by his Brother *Heraclides* (6). After that Murder, he could not have found a place of Safety every where (7); but he thought *Athens* would be a very good Sanctuary, becauſe of the long Wars they had had with *Cotys*. So he went thither, and deſired that the Rights of a Citizen might be granted him (8). He not only obtained that Privilege (9), but alſo a Crown of Gold; and they loaded him with ſo many Praiſes in the Speeches that were made before the People, that perceiving they expoſed him to Envy, by extolling to the Sky the Murder that he had committed, he found out an Expedient to allay the Jealouſy that was raiſing againſt him (10). He preſented himſelf before the People, and declared that he pretended nothing to the Glory of that Action, that he had only been the Inſtrument of a Deity, and that conſequently all the Merit of it was to be aſcribed to that Deity. *Diocles* ſays ſallily in *Diogenes Laertius* (11), that it was the Philoſopher *Pyrrho*, who was honoured with the Freedom of *Athens*, as a Reward for the Murder of *Cotys*. The War had made a great Alteration in the Minds of the *Athenians*; for they had formerly given the Freedom of their City, and a Crown of Gold, to *Cotys* (12). It is pretended, that, to ſhew them that he valued himſelf as much as they, he made them Citizens of *Thrace*. ' Capax generoſi ſpiritus illud quoque. dictum regis Cotys: ut enim ab Athenienſibus civitatem ſibi datam cognovit: Et ego, inquit, illis meæ gentis jus dabo. Æquavit Athenis Thraciam, no viciſſitudine talis beneficii imparem ſe judicando, humilius de origine ſua ſentire exiſtimaretur (13). —— *As ſoon as* Cotys *underſtood that the* Athenians *had preſented him with the Freedom of their City, and I, ſays he, in return will make them free of my Nation, which expreſſion ſhews him to have been of a generous Spirit. He put* Thrace *on a level with* Athens, *leaſt by ſhewing himſelf unable to return the Compliment, he might be thought to have too mean an Opinion of his Country.*'

(6) Demoſthenes adverſ. Ariſtocratem, pag m. 444. C. *See the following Remark.*

(7) Demoſth. ib. pag. 446. G.

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid. pag. 445. C.

(10) Plutarch. de Iſi laude, pag. 542, E, & de gerendâ Republica, pag. 816, E.

(11) Lib. 9, n. 65.

(12) Demoſth. ubi ſupra, pag. 445. E.

(13) Valer. Max. lib. 2, cap. 7, ſinem.

[D] Python *and his Brother did this to revenge their Father's Death.* Ariſtotle - - - - *informs us of this.*] It is in the tenth Chapter of the Fifth Book of his Politics. Something muſt be corrected in it. Πάρων δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης οἱ Αἴνιοι Κότυν ἀνῄρεθισαν, διὰ πατρὸς τιμωρίαν (14). *Jam Paro & Heraclidæ Æntii Cotyn interemerunt, patris injuriam ulciſcentes.* This is what is to be found in my Edition of *Ariſtotle* (14), which is that of *Geneva* 1605. It muſt be Πύθων inſtead of Πάρων, and the Words ought to be rendered thus, *Jam Python & Heraclides*, &c. I muſt not forget that *Plutarch* obſerves, that thoſe two Murderers of *Cotys* had been *Plato*'s Diſciples (15).

(14) Pag. 305. D.

See alſo *Philoſtratus* in the firſt Chapter of the ſeventh Book of the Life of *Apollonius*, wherein he ſays, that they were of the Sect of the *Academics*.

(15) Plut. Adv. Colotem, pag. 1126.

[E] *His Son - - - - had a Siſter, who was the Wife of* Iphicrates.] *Menæſtheus*, who proceeded from that Marriage, ſaid one day, that he valued his Mother more than his Father, becauſe his Mother had done all her Endeavours to make him an *Athenian*, whereas his Father had done his utmoſt Endeavours to make him a *Thracian*. ' *Menæſtheus filium reliquit* Iphicrates) *ex Threſſa natum, Cotî regis ſorore. Is cùm interrogaretur*, utrum pluris matrem penſve faceret; matrem, *inquit*. *Id cùm omnibus mirum videretur: at ille*, merito, *inquit*, facio. Nam pater quantum in ſe fuit, Thracem me genuit: contrà mater, Athenienſem (16).' Such was the Pride of the *Athenians*; they preferred the Freedom of their City to the Quality of a King's Son-in-law and Grandchild, and they beſtowed great Rewards on the Murderers of a crowned-head. *Demoſthenes* informs us, that *Iphicrates*, tho' loaded with Honours in his Country, engaged in a Sea fight againſt the *Athenians*, for the Intereſt of his Father-in-law. He adds, that *Cotys*, being moſt ungrateful for that Service, did not endeavour to facilitate a Pardon for *Iphicrates*, by any Civilities to the People of *Athens*; but, on the contrary, he would have him to exaſperate the *Athenians* more and more againſt him, by employing him in the Attack of their other Places: and becauſe he could not obtain that from him, he deprived him of the Command of his Troops, and reduced him to the miſerable neceſſity of ſeeking a corner of the Earth for his Retreat. For, when *Iphicrates* found himſelf diſgraced at the Court of *Cotys*, he durſt not retire to *Athens*, having lately born Arms againſt his Country (17). I forgot to obſerve, that there is a Jeſt of the Poet *Anaxandrides* in *Athenæus* (18), on the Entertainment that *Cotys* gave on his Daughter's Wedding-day with *Iphicrates*.

(16) Cornel. Nepos in Iphicrate, ſub fin.

(17) Ex Demoſth. ubi ſupra, pag. 449.

(18) Lib. 4, cap. 3, pag. 131.

[F] *I believe this is the* Cotys *that* Plutarch *made mention of in his Apophthegms.*] *Cotys*, mentioned by *Plutarch*, was a paſſionate Man, who corrected his Servants cruelly when they committed any Fault. He had a noble Preſent ſent him; which was, ſome very fine Veſſels of Earthen Ware, adorned with fine Painting: He rewarded him who brought them, but cauſed them all to be broke (19), becauſe he foreſaw that his Servants could not avoid breaking ſo brittle a Matter as that; which if they ſhould do, he could not forbear to puniſh them too ſeverely (20). This ſuits well enough with our *Cotys*. *Moreri* applies it to another *Cotys*, who *took* Pompey's *part*, ſays he: But the Places, that he quotes, contain nothing like it; and I do not queſtion but that he is miſtaken. We ſhall ſee his other Faults in the following Remark. Obſerve that I do not deny that there was one *Cotys*, King of *Thrace*, who ſent his Son (21) to *Pompey* at the Head of Five hundred Horſe.

(19) Plut. in Apoph. pag. 174.

(20) Compare with this what *Auguſtus* did in the Houſe of *Vedius Pollio*, *apud Senecam de Ira, lib. 3. cap. 4. pag. m. 581.* and the Advice which *Plutarch*, *lib. de Ira Cohibenda*, pag. 462. *E*, gives to paſſionate People, not to have any precious Veſſels in their Houſes.

(21) *Called* Soſander. *See* Cæſar de Bello Civ lib. 3, cap. 4. pag. m. 312. *See alſo* Lucan, lib. 5. ver. 54.

[G] Tacitus

married a handſome Maid by that means (c). *Livy* makes mention of one COTYS, King of the *Odryſæ*, who fought faithfully againſt the *Romans* for *Perſeus* King of *Macedonia* (d). *Tacitus* ſpeaks of ſome Princes called COTYS, of whom *Moreri* does not give a good Account [G].

(c) In Vita Agricolæ, pag. 601.

(d) Livius, lib. 42.

[G] Tacitus *ſpeaks of ſome Princes called* COTYS, *of whom* Moreri *does not give a good Account.*] I. He ſays that *Cotys King of* Thrace *divided his Kingdom with his Uncle* Reſcuporis, *in* Nero's *time.* He ſhould have ſaid, that, after the Death of *Rhœmetalces* (22) King of *Thrace*, *Auguſtus* divided that Kingdom between the Son and Brother of the deceaſed. *Rheſcuporis*, who was the Brother, had, for his ſhare, ſuch Places as were leaſt cultivated, and neareſt to the Enemy. *Cotys*, who was the Son, obtained the neareſt Countries to *Greece*. This is what *Tacitus* ſays in the Sixty fourth Chapter of the ſecond Book of his Annals. II. And therefore it was a great Miſtake to cite *Tacitus l.* 11. & 12. *Annal. & l.* 2. *Hiſt.* It is true, that in the Eleventh Book we find a *COTYS*, King of the leſſer *Armenia*, whom *Moreri* ſpeaks of; but no mention is made of that *Cotys* in the Twelfth Book, nor of any *Cotys* in the ſecond Book of the Hiſtory; and conſequently *Moreri*'s Citations are very falſe, ſince this Queſtion may be asked him, beſides what I have juſt now obſerved, Why have you not cited any Body concerning *Cotys*, who, as you ſay, *divided his Kingdom with Reſcuporis? COTYS*, mentioned in the Twelfth Book of the Annals, was the Brother of *Mithridates* King of *Boſphorus*. It is likely that he, who is mentioned in the Eleventh Book, was the Son of that *Cotys* King of *Thrace*, whom his Uncle *Rheſcuporis* treated ſo cruelly. I ſhall ſpeak of him hereafter. That which makes me believe that he was his Son, is, that the Emperor *Caligula*, giving the leſſer *Armenia*, and part of *Arabia*, to *Cotys*, gave the States of that ſame *Cotys* to *Rhœmetalces* (23). That *Rhœmetalces* was doubtleſs the ſame, who, after the Condemnation of *Rheſcuporis*, the Murderer of *Cotys*, obtained part of *Thrace* from *Tiberius*, whilſt the other part was given to the Sons of *Cotys* (24). III. *Moreri*'s greateſt Fault is an Omiſſion. He had in his hands an Account full of Morality, the Materials whereof were ſupplied him by *Tacitus*; Why did he not make his Advantage of them? I will not imitate his Negligence. The two Princes, between whom *Auguſtus* divided *Thrace*, were of a very different Humour. *Cotys* was an honeſt, polite, mild, and agreeable Man; *Rheſcuporis* was fierce, cruel, and ambitious, and could not ſuffer any Companion. ' Ipſorumque regum ingenia, filii mite & antiquum, ' huic atrox, avidum & ſocietatis impatiens erat ' (25).' By that Remark *Tacitus* prepared his Readers to ſee, without any Aſtoniſhment, the Cataſtrophe that he was to repreſent. Any Reader, that is not ſtupid, will expect after this to ſee *Cotys* deprived of his Dominions. It were a kind of a Miracle, if the Share of an honeſt Man did not become the Prey of an ill Man. *Rheſcuporis*, during the Life of *Auguſtus*, whoſe Power he feared, ſeemed to be a Friend to his Neighbour, and made but ſlow Uſurpations; but as ſoon as he heard of that Prince's Death, he kept within no bounds. *Tiberius*, being informed of it, let them know that he would have them end their Differences peaceably. There needed no more to oblige *Cotys* to diſarm: and as he judged of others by himſelf, he conſented to an Interview which *Rheſcuporis* propoſed to him: and the better to ſhew his Sincerity, he accepted of the Invitation to the Entertainment that *Rheſcuporis* was to give him under pretence of cementing their Alliance. He repreſented to him, in vain, the Laws of Sincerity and Hoſpitality; for he found himſelf loaded with Chains after the Feaſt. ' Rheſcuporis, ' ficta modeſtia, poſtulat *eundem in locum cœratur*, ' *poſſe de controverſiis colloquio tranſigi*. Nec diu ' dubitatum de tempore, loco, dein conditionibus: ' cum alter facilitate, alter fraude cuncta inter ſe ' concederent, acciperentque. Rheſcuporis ſanctimo' do, ut dictitabat, fœderi, convivium adjicit; tri' ſtique in multam noctem lætitia, per epulas ac ' vinolentiam incautum Cotyn, & poſtquam dolum ' intellexerat, *ſacra regni, ejuſdem familiæ deos, & ' hoſpitales menſas* obteſtantem, catenis onerat (26). *Rheſcuporis*, having poſſeſſed himſelf of all *Thrace*, wrote to the Emperor, that he found himſelf obliged to do it, to prevent *Cotys*, who had plotted againſt him. ' Thracia omni potitus ſcripſit ad Tiberium ' ſtructas ſibi inſidias, præventum inſidiatorem (27). This is the uſual Perfidiouſneſs wherewith the moſt unjuſt Men cover their black Attempts. *Tiberius* made him anſwer, that if he was innocent, he ought to have no Miſtruſt; and that he ſhould ſet *Cotys* at liberty, and come to *Rome* to diſcuſs his Rights there. By a much more cunning piece of Policy than is thought, he choſe rather to be guilty of a complete Crime, than of one half committed: he cauſed *Cotys* to be killed, and publiſhed that *Cotys* had made away with himſelf. ' Rheſcuporis inter ' metum & iram cunctatus maluit patrati quam in' cepti facinoris reus eſſe: occidi Cotyn jubet, ' mortemque ſponte ſumptam ementitur (28).' But divine Juſtice did not ſuffer him to enjoy long ſuch a wicked Uſurpation. He was not cunning enough to avoid the Emperor's Snares (29): He was obliged to come to *Rome*, where the Senate, upon the Accuſation that the Widow of *Cotys* entered againſt him, deprived him of his Kingdom, and even of his Liberty. He was carried to *Alexandria*, and put to Death, either becauſe he endeavoured to make his Eſcape, or becauſe they pretended he had committed ſome Crime. His Son *Rhœmetalces*, who had no ſhare in his Wickedneſs, had likewiſe none in his Puniſhment. *Thrace* was divided between him and the Sons of *Cotys*; and becauſe the latter were not of Age, they were put under the Guardianſhip of *Trebellienus Rufus*, who was Regent of the Kingdom. The fourth Fault of *Moreri* is his diſtinguiſhing *Cotys*, the Nephew of *Rheſcuporis*, from him whom *Ovid* ſpeaks of; for it is not to be queſtioned, but that he to whom that Poet inſcribed an Elegy, is the ſame with him that *Tacitus* praiſes, and to whom *Auguſtus* gave part of *Thrace*. *Ovid* praiſes him very much, and deſires his Protection. He informs him in one place that he is an Exile in the Neighbourhood of his Dominions (30); and in another, that he lives in his Fortreſſes (31). This is ſomewhat obſcure. We learn from this Epiſtle of *Ovid*, that *Cotys* had ſtudied, and even that he had made good Verſes:

Adde, quod ingenuas didiciſſe fideliter artes,
Emollit mores, nec ſinit eſſe feros.
Nec regum quiſquam magis eſt inſtructus in illis,
Mitibus aut ſtudiis tempora plura dedit.
Carmina teſtantur: quæ ſi tua nomina demas,
Threïcium juvenem compoſuiſſe negem.

Science, the Soul's beſt Phyſic, mends Mankind,
And ſoothes the native Fierceneſs of the Mind.
To thee, dread Sire, are all her Virtues known,
Virtues that rarely reach the gilded Throne.
The Muſes too thy ſofter Hours inſpire,
And warm the Scythian *with Poetic Fire.*

The Antiquity of his Family was ſo conſiderable, that it reached back to *Eumolpus* (32). Now *Eumolpus* is he who taught the *Athenians* the Myſteries of their Religion (33). V. Laſtly, what *Moreri* ſays, *that* Cotys *was a certain King of the* Getæ, *among whom* Ovid *was exiled*, may be condemned. It is certain that *Cotys*'s Kingdom was *Thrace*, and not the Country of the *Getæ*. It may be that *Cotys* kept Garriſon in *Tomi*, the place of *Ovid*'s Exile: but that is not to be King of the *Getæ*; and ſo *Lipſius* ſeems to be in the wrong when he ſays, *In hujus regno vates ille exulavit, quod ſitæ vobis juventutem* (34). Did ever any one beſeech a Prince, when one is in his Kingdom, to order it ſo that he may live ſafely in the Neighbourhood of his Dominions? Yet this is the Concluſion of *Ovid*'s Requeſt.

Hæc (35) *quoniam careo, tua nunc vicinia præſtet*
Inviſo poſſim tutus ut eſſe loco.

(22) I think it is he whom *Dion* ſpeaks of, *lib.* 54. *pag. m.* 624. *ad ann.* 743, & *lib.* 55. *pag.* 632. *ad ann.* 759. He was, if I am not miſtaken, the Brother of one *Rhoſciporis* (Son of COTYS), who was killed in the Year 743, according to *Dion*, *pag.* 624.

(23) Dion, lib. 59, ad ann. 793, pag. m. 745.

(24) Tacit. Ann. lib. 2, cap. 67.

(25) Id. ibid. cap 64, ad ann. 772.

(26) Id. ib. cap. 65.

(27) Ibid.

(28) Ib. cap. 66.

(29) Paterculus, lib. 2, cap. 129, reckons this one of Tiberius's Intrigues that were beſt managed.

(30) Fama loquax veſtras ſi jam pervenit ad aures
Me tibi finitimi parte ſecura ſoli.
Ovid. Epiſt. 9. *lib.* 2, *de Ponto*, *ver.* 2.

(31) Tu quoque fac proſis intra tua cæſtra jacenti.
Ibid. ver. 37.

(32) Ib. ver. 2 & 19.

(33) Plut. de Exilio, pag. 607, E.

(34) Lipſ. in Tacit. Ann. lib. 2, cap. 64.

(35) Natali homo.

Some

Some (36) believe, that he, to whom *Ovid* writ, was the Son of *Cotiſon*, King of the *Getæ*, of whom *Suetonius* ſays this: 'M. Antonius ſcribit 'primum eum (*Auguſtum*) Antonio filio ſuo deſpon- 'diſſe Juliam: dein Cotiſoni Getarum Regi, quo 'tempore ſibi quoque invicem filiam regis in matri- 'monium petiiſſet (37). —— Marc Antony *writes*, 'that Auguſtus *firſt promiſed his Daughter* Julia *to* 'his Son Antony; *then to* Cotiſo, *King of the* Getæ, 'at which time he alſo demanded the King's Daughter 'in Marriage.' Theſe words contain two things, which are not to be found in any other Writer. I. That *Auguſtus* had a mind to marry his Daughter *Julia* to *Cotiſon*, King of the *Getæ*. II. That he himſelf had a mind to marry the Daughter of the ſame *Cotiſon*; for notwithſtanding what a great Critic ſays to the contrary (38), this is the Senſe of *Suetonius*'s words, which is not to be refuted by the conſtant Affection of *Auguſtus* for his Wife *Livia*. You muſt know that it is *Marc Antony* who ſpeaks, and that he was not very careful of his Expreſſions when it concerned him to make that Emperor odious. The leaſt Reports, the leaſt Suſpicions, ſerved him to make ſome Articles of his Manifeſtos. But I came back to refute thoſe, who ſay, that *Ovid* writ to the Son of that *Cotiſon*. I oppoſe to them *Tacitus* (39), who ſays poſitively, that *Cotys*, King of part of *Thrace*, in the time of *Tiberius*, had obtained that part of the Kingdom from *Auguſtus*, after the Death of his Father *Rhæmetalces*. And therefore in the time of *Ovid*'s Exile, *Cotys*, who reigned in *Thrace*, was the Son of that *Rhæmetalces*. Mr *de Tillemont* is miſtaken (40) when he ſays, that he was only the Nephew of *Rhæmetalces*; and it is likely, that what I am going to ſay deceived him. He ſaw that, in the Year 738 of *Rome*, *Rhæmetalces* governed *Thrace* as Guardian of his Nephews, the Sons of *Cotys* (41); and that, in 759, *Rhæmetalces*, and *Rhæſcuporis* his Brother, expelled the Enemies (42). So that he thought that *Cotys*, to whom *Auguſtus* gave part of *Thrace* after the Death of *Rhæmetalces*, was one of thoſe Pupils, Sons of *Cotys*, of whom *Rhæmetalces* was Guardian in the Year 738. He would not have thought ſo, if he had taken notice that the Teſtimony of *Tacitus* is conſiderably enforced by the Praiſes that *Ovid* beſtowed upon the Valour of *Cotys*'s Father.

Non tibi Caſſandreus pater eſt ——
Sed quàm marte ferox, & vinci neſcius armis,
Tam nunquam facta pace cruoris amans (43).

The Great in Arms, unconquer'd on the Plain,
In Peace thy Sword ne'er knew a bloody Stain.

Thoſe Praiſes ſuit with *Rhæmetalces*, who appears from time to time on the Stage from the Year 738 to the Year 759 (44); and many precarious Suppoſitions muſt be made, to make them ſuit with one *Cotys* that died before the Year 738, leaving his Sons very young; which gives occaſion to preſume that he did not reign long.

(36) *See* Ovidium Notis Variorum, in 8vo, Tom. III, pag. 661.

(37) Suet. in Auguſto, cap. 63.

(38) Caſaubon, in hæc verba Suetonii.

(39) Annal. lib. 2, cap. 64.

(40) Hiſtoire des Empereurs, Tom. I, pag. mihi 21.

(41) Dio, lib. 54, pag. 612.

(42) Id. lib. 55, pag. 651, 652.

(43) Ovid, ubi ſupra, ver. 43.

(44) *See* Dion, lib. 54, pag. 612, 624, & lib. 55, pag. 652.

COTTA (Catellian), wrote ſome *Scholia ad Mediolanenſium Statuta*, and a little Treatiſe *de Juriſperitis*, wherein he begins with *Mutius Scævola*, and ends with *Andrew Alciatus* (*a*). He writ alſo a Book intituled *Memorabilia*, printed at *Venice* in the Year 1572, in 8vo, which is taken out of other Authors (*b*). He acknowledges it in the Title-Page of his Work, and therefore he cannot be ſaid to be a Plagiary.

(*a*) Teiſſier. Catalogus Catalogorum, pag. 52.

(*b*) Multa vel potius multos collegit. *Scipio Gentilis in Apol. Apuleii*, pag. 428.

COTTERUS (Christopher), one of the three Prophets, whoſe Revelations *Comenius* publiſhed. Look for KOTTERUS.

COUSIN (Gilbert), in *Latin Cognatus*, born at *Nozeret* in *Franche Comté* (*a*), in the Year 1505, was a learned Man, as it appears by his many Books, of which there is a Liſt in the Epitome of *Geſner*'s *Bibliotheque*. He had been a Servant to *Eraſmus* [*A*], who did Juſtice to his good Qualities. *Eraſmus* eſteemed him very much, and taught him many things [*B*]. He procured him a Canonſhip at *Nozeret*, and offered him his Houſe with ſome Advantages, when he found him diſguſted with his Benefice, by reaſon of the Law-Suits that attended it. See the Forty ſixth, Fifty firſt, and Fifty fifth Letters of the Twenty ſeventh Book of *Eraſmus*. *Couſin* was living in the Year 1563 [*C*]. He was no Plagiary as to the Paſſage mentioned by *Thomaſius* (*b*); for his Notes upon *Lucian* were printed before the *Adverſaria* of *Peter Pithœus* came out.

(*a*) Epit. Bibl. Geſner.

(*b*) Thomaſius de plagio literario n. 22, p. 232, *where he confeſſes*, that he does not know which of thoſe two Authors preceded the other.

[*A*] *He had been a Servant to* Eraſmus.] *Eraſmus* writ the following words to *Lewis de Vers*, Abbot of *Mont Sainte Marie*, who was a Kinſman to *Couſin*. 'Gilbertus Cognatus mihi jam pluſquam 'triennium fidelem & commodum præſtitit famu- 'lum, quem ego tamen ob mores liberales non tam 'pro famulo habui, quam pro convictore, & in ſtu- 'diorum laboribus ſocio. Proinde & tuæ reverendæ 'amplitudini gratulor talem cognatum, & illi multo 'magis tam amicum & benignum patronum. —— 'Gilbert Couſin *has now, for above three Years, diſcharged the Duty of an able, and a faithful,* 'Servant to me, *though, out of Reſpect to his extraor-* 'dinary Merit, *I treated him, rather as a Compa-* 'nion, *and Partner of my Studies, than as a Ser-* 'vant. *Wherefore I congratulate you, moſt worthy* 'and Reverend Sir, *in ſo deſerving a Kinſman, and* 'him more abundantly *in ſo good and indulgent a* 'Patron.' I take this from the Forty ſixth Letter of the Twenty ſeventh Book of *Eraſmus*. It was written the eleventh of *December* 1533.

[*B*] Eraſmus —— *taught him many things.*] *Eraſmus* reckons this among the Advantages that *Couſin* got by waiting upon him; and he pretends alſo to have kept him from the dangerous Contagion of the new Opinions. 'Spero autem fore ut illum 'temporis apud me peracti non pœniteat; nam præ- 'ter eruditionis fructum quem ex mea conſuetudine 'capit haud pœnitendum —— poterat alibi non- 'nihil attrahere contagii à ſectarum amatoribus; 'apud me vero etiam ſi quid attraxiſſet, purgari 'poſſit (1). —— *I hope he will have no occa-* 'ſion to repent the time he ſpent with me; for 'beſides ſome Improvement, *which I hope he received* 'from my Converſation, *he might elſewhere* 'have contracted ſome Errors from the Encouragers 'of Sects, *from which with me he might have been* 'cured.' I cannot tell what *Couſin*'s Opinions were whilſt *Eraſmus* was living; but I do not doubt but that he was afterwards either a Proteſtant, or a Favourer of them (*a*).

(1) Eraſm Epiſt. 46, lib. 27.

[§ (*a*) Whoever reads his *Adagia* will be ſtrongly inclined to believe this. See among others the Chapter, intituled, *Magis phantaſticus quam Papæ Mula.* Rem. Crit.]

[*C*] *He was living in the Year* 1563.] This appears by Advertiſement that *Mark Hopperus* prefixed to the Edition of *Lucian*, publiſhed at *Baſil* in the Year 1563. He there beſtows many Praiſes upon *Gilbert Couſin*, whoſe Notes on *Lucian* were inſerted in that Edition.

CRANTOR, a *Greek* Philosopher and Poet [*A*], was born at *Soles* in *Cilicia*. He left his native Country, where he was admired, and went to *Athens*, where he was a Disciple of *Xenocrates* with *Polemo* (*a*) [*B*]. The latter, having succeeded *Xenocrates* in the Academy, about the end of the XVIth Olympiad (*b*), had the Pleasure to see the fame *Crantor*, who had formerly been his Fellow-Disciple, among his Scholars. This was great Honour to him; for that Scholar was learned enough to teach Philosophy; and People were so persuaded of it, that, when he retired into the Temple of *Æsculapius* during a Fit of Sickness (*c*), several Persons went to him, thinking that he designed to settle a School there, to put themselves under his Discipline. *Arcesilaus*, his Favourite, did not go thither with that Design, but in hopes of a good Recommendation from him to *Polemo*. He obtained what he desired: *Crantor* was so little concerned at that Request, that, as soon as he was recovered, he himself became one of *Polemo*'s Auditors (*d*). He was accounted one of the Pillars of the Platonic Sect [*C*], and he was the first who wrote Commentaries on *Plato*'s Works (*e*). If he did not explain other things more clearly, than that which concerns the Nature of the Soul (*f*), he had as much need of a new Commentator as *Plato*. He wrote a Book of Consolation, which is lost, and which was much esteemed [*D*]. He was not very old (*g*) when he died of a Dropsy (*h*). He left his Estate to *Arcesilaus*. That Estate amounted to twelve Talents

(*a*) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 24. *Instead of* Polemon, *there is in* Meursi Philemon

(*b*) *See* Diogen. Laërt. in Xenocrate, lib. 4. n. 14.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Laërt. ibid. n. 25.

(*e*) Πρῶτος τῶ Πλάτωνος ἐξηγήσατο. Proclus lib. 1. *in* Timæum apud Menagium Not. in Diogen. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 27.

(*f*) *See his Opinions upon it in* Plutarch's *Treatise* περὶ τῆς ἐν τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας, pag. 1012, & seq.

(*g*) Laërt. lib. 4. n. 25.

(*h*) Id. ib. n. 27.

[*A*] *He was a* Greek *Poet.*] It has been observed, that, having sealed up his Poems, he put them in the Temple of *Minerva* at *Soles* (1). Compare with this what I have said of *Heraclitus*, in the Remark [*E*] of the Article EURIPIDES.

(1) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 25.

[*B*] *He was a Disciple of* Xenocrates *with* Polemo.] *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hofman*, are in the wrong to say that he was a Disciple of *Plato* with *Xenocrates* and *Polemo*.

[*C*] *He was accounted one of the Pillars of the Platonic Sect.*] *Cicero* furnishes me with the Proof of it in these words: *Crantor ille qui in nostra Academia vel in primis fuit nobilis* (2). - - - - Crantor *one of the most distinguished Persons of our Academy.* He seldom forgets him when he speaks of *Plato*'s first Successors. 'Speusippus Platonis sororis filius, & Xenocrates qui Platonem audierat, & qui Xenocratem Polemo & Crantor, nihil ab Aristotele, qui una audierat Platonem, magnopere dissensit. - - - - - - Arcesilas primum, &c (3). - - - *Speusippus, Son to* Plato's *Sister*, Xenocrates, *Scholar to* Plato, Polemo, *and* Crantor, *Scholars to* Xenocrates, *differed but little from* Aristotle, *who was also Scholar to* Plato. - - - - - Arcesilas *was the first*, &c.' Note, by the by, that this Place of *Cicero* may serve to refute the three Writers of Dictionaries, whom I have censured in the foregoing Remark. They affirm, that *Xenocrates* and *Polemo* filled *Plato*'s School with new Doctrines. You will find this Passage of *Cicero* at length in the Article of ARCESILAUS (4), with some others (5) that confirm what I ascribe here to that *Roman* Orator; and if you would know what account was made of *Crantor*, you need but read these two Verses of *Horace*:

(2) Cicero, Tusc. lib. 3, cap. 6.

(3) Idem de Orat. lib. 3, cap. 28, fol. 92. *A.*

(4) *See, above, Citat.* (42) *of the Article* ARCESILAUS.

(5) *Add that of the 1st Book* de Finibus, cap. 2.

Qui quid sit pulcrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plenius ac melius Chrysippo & Crantore dicit (6).

(6) Horat Epist. 2, lib. 1, ver. 3.

Mankind may learn from his immortal Song,
What's virtuous, lovely, useful, right, or wrong,
With greater Ease than from the labour'd Page
Of Crantor *or* Chrysippus.

This is said of *Homer*.

[*D*] *He wrote a Book of Consolation - - - which was much esteemed.*] It is cited under this Title, in the first Book of the *Tusculan Questions*, *Simile quiddam est in consolatione Crantoris* (7). What follows in *Cicero*, shews, that *Crantor* did not forget the common Topic of the Miseries of this Life; neither is it a thing that can be omitted in such Writings: Can any body argue against a Father who laments the Death of his Children? I say, can any body urge to him Motives of Consolation, without remembering the Evils to which the Life of Man is exposed, and which a vast number of People would have avoided, if they had died young? Here is the Answer that was given to a Father in an Oracle of the Dead (8).

(7) Cicero Tusc. 3, cap. 48.

(8) Psychomantium.

Ignaris homines in vita mentibus errant.
Euthynous potitur fatorum munere læto,
Sic fuit utilius finiri ipsique tibique.

Man! foolish Man! thro' Life's dark windings strays,
In Errors strangely lost ten thousand Ways.
Thy Son is sent, by Fate's all-wise Decree,
To happier Climes. Say, is it worse for thee?

You lament the Death of a Son, and you ask the Reason of such a great Calamity: know that Men are ignorant; he enjoys an agreeable Favour that Fate has done him. His Interest and your's required that he should leave this World (9). This is a piece of *Crantor*'s Book. I think the Title of that Book was περὶ πένθους, *de Luctu*; for so *Diogenes Laërtius* quotes it. I shall set down his words, because they contain an exquisite Encomium: Θαυμάζεται δὲ αὐτῦ μάλιστα βιβλίον τὸ περὶ πένθους (10). *His Treatise of Mourning is chiefly admired* (11). For the same Reason I ought to cite this Passage: 'Legimus omnes Crantoris veterris Academici de luctu, est enim non magnus, verum aureolus, & ut Tuberoni Panætius præcipit, ad verbum ediscendus libellus (12). - - - - *We have all read* Crantor, *the old Academic*, de Luctu: *it is indeed a small, but a valuable, Piece, and, as* Panætius *in his Advice to* Tubero *observes, ought to be learnt by Heart.*' It will not be useless to observe on what occasion this was said: it was to prove, that the ancient Academy did not teach the Indolence, or Insensibility, which was a Doctrine of the Stoics. *Cicero*'s Interlocutor proves the contrary by this little Book of *Crantor*. It is certain, that this Philosopher did not approve the Doctrine of the Stoics, and that he said, that the Exemption from Passions would cost too dear, since it could not be acquired but by the Stupidity of the Body, and the Savageness of the Soul: Μὴ γὰρ νοσεῖμεν, (φησὶν ὁ Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς Κράντωρ) νοσήσασι δὲ παρεῖη τὶς αἴσθησις, εἴτ' ἔν τεμνοῖτό τι τῶν ἡμετέρων, εἴτ' ἀποσκῴτο. Τὸ γὰρ ἀνώδυνον τοῦτο οὐκ ἄνευ μεγάλων ἐγγίνεσθαι μισθῶν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, ταθηριῶσθαι γὰρ εἰκὸς, ἐκεῖ μὲν σῶμα τοιοῦτον, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ψυχήν. Optandum est, inquit Crantor Academicus, ne ægrotemus: sed si in morbo simus, sectus ejus aliquis adesse debet, sive secetur pars nostri aliqua, sive avellatur. Indolentia enim illa non sine magna jactura homini potest parari: quippe necesse est ut ibi corpus, ita hic animum plane efferatum esse (13). - - - *We ought to wish* (says the Academic *Crantor*) *to avoid Sickness; but should it seize us, should some Limb be tore or cut off, we must have a Sense of it. That Insensibility is not to be attained but at the Price of Humanity; for either the Mind, or the Body, must become savage.* *Cicero* mentions the same Thought of *Crantor*. 'Minime, inquit, (*Crantor*) assentior his, qui istam nescio quam indolentiam magnopere laudant, quæ nec potest ulla esse, nec debet. Nec ægroto etiam, inquit, nisi is qui fuerat sensus adsit, sive secetur quid,

(9) Apud Ciceronem, Tuscul. 1, cap. 48, *ex* Crantore. *That Story is to be found more at large in* Plutarch de Consolat one, pag. 102; *but* Crantor *is not quoted.*

(10) Diog. Laërt lib. 4. n. 27.

(11) Thus it ought to be rendered, and not, *Of Grief*, as Mr *Meurs* has it.

(12) Cicer. Acad. Quæst. lib. 2, cap. 44.

(13) Plut. de Consolatione, pag. 102. *D.*

Talents (*i*). What some affirm is not true (*k*), *viz. that, after the Death of the Philosopher* Crates, *he taught in the Academy*; for he died before *Crates* and *Polemo* (*l*).

(*i*) Id. ib. n. 25.

(*k*) *Mr* Foucher, *pag.* 28 *of his* Histoire de la Philosophie des Academiciens.

(*l*) Diog. Laërt. lib. 4, n. 27.

'quid, sive avellatur à corpore. Nam istud nihil 'dolere, non sine magna mercede contigit immanitatis in animo, stuporis in corpore (14).

(14) Cicero, Tuscul. Quæst. lib. 3, cap. 6.

For the rest, we learn from *Plutarch*, that *Crantor* composed that Book to comfort *Hippocles*, who had lost his Children (15). *Plutarch* took some Thoughts out of it, which he made use of in his Treatise of Consolation to *Apollonius*. That same Treatise of *Crantor* was very useful to *Cicero*, who took many things out of it, when he composed a Book on that Subject. He owned it: and for that Reason, *Pliny* does not reckon him amongst the Plagiaries. 'Scio enim, *says he* (16), conferentem au'ctores me deprehendisse, à juratissimis & proximis 'veteres transcriptos ad verbum, neque nominatos; 'non illa Virgiliana virtute, ut certarent: non Ci'ceroniana simplicitate, qui in libris de Republica, 'Platonis & comitem profitetur: in consolatione 'illis, *Crantorem*, inquit, sequor. - - - *For I* 'find, says he, *in comparing Authors, that some of* 'the greatest Credit have transcribed the Ancients 'verbatim, *without quoting them, not to vie with* 'Virgil's *Honesty*, or Cicero's *Plain-dealing, who in* 'his Treatises de Republica *owns* Plato, *and in his* 'Consolatio *owns* Crantor *for his Guide.*' Father *Hardouin* observes, in his Note on those words of *Pliny*, that *Cicero* says, that *Crantor* intituled his Book, *de Luctu minuendo*. But it is certain, that *Cicero*; in the Passage (17) quoted by that learned Jesuit, speaks of his own Work, and not of that of *Crantor*: Mr *Dacier* says (18), that *Cicero*, in his Book of Consolation, made use of these words; 'Sed ego 'Crantorem sequor, cujus legi brevem illum qui'dem sed vere aureum, & ut Panætio placuit, ad 'verbum ediscendum de Luctu librum, quo acute 'universum doloris medicinam complexus est.' He distinguishes this Passage from that of the second Book of the Academic Questions. I have not found it in the Fragments that have been collected out of *Cicero*'s Treatise *de Consolatione*: but it is in the Book that *Sigonius* endeavoured to impose upon the World, under the same Title, for one of *Cicero*'s Works. It is likely Mr *Dacier* is not of the Opinion of those Critics, who believe that *Sigonius* had a mind to deceive the Public. Note, that one of the things that *Cicero* borrowed of *Crantor*, is, that we come into the World to expiate our Crimes. 'Ci'cero cum in principio consolationis suæ dixisset, 'luendorum scelerum causa nasci homines; iteravit 'id ipsum postea quasi objurgans eum qui vitam 'poenam non esse putet (19). - - - - Cicero, *having* (19) Lactant. lib. 3, cap. 18, pag. m. 197. *said in the beginning of his* Consolatio, *that Men* 'came into the World *to attone for their Crimes*, 'repeats the same thing, *as a Reproof to him who* 'should imagine Life not to be a Punishment.' Compare this with these words of *Plutarch*, and you will find that I am in the right. Πολλοῖς γὰρ καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν (ὡς φησι Κράντωρ) ἐδόκει μὴ μόνον ἀλλὰ πάλαι κεκλαυσαι ταὐθρώπινα, τιμωρίαν ἡγουμένοις εἶναι τὸν βίον, καὶ ἀρχὴν τὸ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώποις συμφορῶν τὴν μεγίστην. Many, and those wise Men, says *Crantor*, *having* (20) Plut. ubi supra, pag. 115 B. *long before this Day complained of the Condition of Man, who thought Life a Punishment, and to be born the greatest Misfortune.* The learned *Casaubon* did not take notice of the words that I have quoted out of *Pliny*; for, to confirm his Conjecture, that *Cicero* had made great use of *Crantor*'s Book, he alledges only the Testimony of St *Jerom*. 'Eum 'libellum —— dubium non est quin in suo de con'solatione magnam partem expressisset (Cicero) 'quod & Hieronymus his verbis testatur: *legimus*, 'inquit, *Crantorem, cujus volumen ad consolandum* 'dolorem suum sequutus est Cicero (21). —— *There* (21) Is. Casaubo. Not. ad Diog. Laërt. lib. 4. n. 27. 'is no doubt but* Cicero, *in his Treatise* de Consola'tione, *copied the greatest part of this Book, which* 'St Jerom *testifies in these words.* I have read, *says* 'he, *Crantor*, whose Treatise on Consolation Ci'cero has followed.'

(15) Plut. de Consolat. pag. 106 B.

(16) Plin. in Præfat.

(17) Epist 27, lib. 12, ad Att. *It is the* 20*th in* Grævius's *Edition.*

(18) Dacier *upon the* 3*d Epistle of the* 1*st Book of* Horace, *pag.* 142, 143, *of the* 8*th Tome.*

CRATERUS, the Author of a Work, the Loss whereof ought to be lamented [*A*], was a *Macedonian* (*a*). Nevertheless, we must not believe, with *Vossius*, that

(*a*) Plutarch. in Aristide, fub fin. pag. 334 F.

[*A*] *The Author of a Work, the Loss whereof ought to be lamented*] It was a Collection of the Decrees of the People of *Athens* (1). How many Difficulties might we not resolve, if we had that Work? How many Particulars should we not find in it, concerning the illustrious Persons that were banished, or ill used in other Respects, in that famous Commonwealth? *Craterus* was an exact Author: he related the Purport of the Accusation, and that of the Judgment that had been given, and cited the Authors who supplied him with those things. Τοῦτον οὖν ὑφεῖλετο ὁ Κράτερος τεκμήριον παρέχων, ὅτε δίκην ὅτε ψήφισμα, καίπερ οἰόμενος γράφειν τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ παρατίθεσθαι τὰς ἱστορίας. *Hujus rei Craterus scriptum monumentum profert nullum, neque formulam accusationis, neque plebiscitum, solitus aliquo talia adscribere & citare autores* (2). Nay, there is some reason to believe that he inserted the Treatises of Peace at length in his Work (3). I believe that Mr *de Mauffac* would have bought such a Book at the Rate of it's weight in Gold, notwithstanding the Contempt and Indignation he expresses against the modern Compilers of Decrees or Arrests (4). 'Hodie in Gallia '(*says he*) nos hujusmodi homines è trivio vocamus *Collecteurs d'Arrests*, ad quorum nugas, & somnia excudenda, & typis mandanda, divina hæc excudendi ars potius inventa videtur, quàm ad serias & non ita futiles doctorum virorum lucubrationes, posteris imperitiam sequioris hujus seculi hominum miraturis, typographorum avaritiam contemptui relinquendas (5). - - - - - - *In* France, says he, *we* 'now a-days call such Men in Derision Collecteurs d'Arrests; *for the publishing of whose empty and incoherent Notions, the divine Art of Printing seems* 'rather invented, *than for the solid and laborious* 'Lucubrations of learned Men, *which will stand as a* 'mark to Posterity of the ill Taste of this degenerate Age, 'and the Avarice of Printers.' Observe, by the by, that it is not only now a-days that learned Men complain, that the Booksellers choose rather to print bad Books than good ones. They should not complain of the Booksellers, but of the Readers; for, if the Sale of good Books was as profitable as that of others, no doubt the Booksellers would prefer good Copies before bad ones. I call those good Books that are truly so, and not those that are only so in the Booksellers Stile.

(1) Schol. Arist. in Ran. act. 3, p. 7.

(2) Plut. in Aristide, pag. 335. A.

(3) *See* Plutarch in Cimone, pag. 487. A; *and above* Cimon. (33) *of the Article* CIMON.

(4) *See in* Furetier's *Dictionary, at the Word* Arrestographe, *the Names of many Compilers of Arrests.*

(5) Mauffac. Not. in Harpoc. voce Ἀριστόκρατες.

A n Observation upon the Complaints that are made against Booksellers.

You may find a Confirmation of this in Mr *du Pin*. 'We see daily a world of little *French* Books ap'pear in Public, and there is scarce any ancient 'Book printed, either *Greek* or *Latin*. It is true 'that the Booksellers say it is not their Fault, but 'the Fault of the Public, that the first sell and go 'off, and that they grow rich by them; whereas 'the latter remain in their Shops, and are often the 'Cause of their Ruin. It is therefore the Fantasti'calness of the Men of this Age that is to be blam'ed. The Taste for Antiquity is lost; there is no'thing but Novelty that pleases. True and solid 'Learning is no more fashionable; People are con'tented to know things superficially. There is now 'no solid Study: People learn Antiquity in the 'new Books, and few go the Fountain-head. It 'is a very deplorable thing for the Republic of Let'ters; and it is much to be feared, that this superfi'cial Study will bring us into a worse condition 'than the Ignorance and Barbarity of the foregoing 'Ages (6).'

(6) Du Pin, Nouv. Bibliothe. des Auteurs Eccl. Tom. II, pag. 200, Dutch Edit.

[*B*] *We*

that he is the same *Craterus* who had so great a Share in *Alexander's* Friendship [B]. I wonder that *Pinedo* knew no more of the matter than *Vossius* furnished him with [C]. *Moreri* is very much mistaken about CRATERUS, the Favourite of *Alexander* (b).

(b) See Rem. [B].

[B] *We must not suppose with* Vossius, *that he is the same* Craterus, *who had so great a share in* Alexander's *Friendship.*] I wonder that *Vossius* could advance such a Conjecture as this: 'Suspicor esse 'eum ipsum qui cum Alexandro M. militavit, de 'quo sequenti libro dicemus (7). —— *I imagine him* '*to be the same, who served under* Alexander the 'Great, *of whom I shall speak in the following Book.*' He renews his Conjecture when he speaks of that *Craterus* who accompanied *Alexander*: 'Fortasse 'idem est ille Craterus Macedo de quo inter incertæ 'ætatis scriptores dictum fuit libro tertio (8). —— '*It is perhaps the same* Craterus, *of whom I spoke* '*in the Third Book, amongst the Writers, whose* '*Ages are not well known.*' He had quoted *Strabo*, who speaks of a certain Letter of *Craterus* to his Mother *Atossa*, and who says, that this Letter contains several incredible things, and which do not agree with any other Relation. Ἐκδέδοται δέ τις καὶ Κρατεροῦ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα Ἄτοσσαν ἐπιστολὴ πολλὰ τὰ ἄλλα παράδοξα φράζουσα, καὶ οὐχ ὁμολογοῦσα ἄλλοις. *Edita est etiam epistola quædam Crateri ad matrem Atossam scripta, quæ cum alia permulta admirabilia narrat, tum cum nullo concordat* (9). This concerns the *Indies*. I am very much inclined to believe, that it was a suppositious Letter: for though it is possible that the Favourite of a great King, and one of the chief Generals of a Conqueror's Army, may divert himself with composing a Letter full of Stories; yet I do not think it likely that he should write such things to his Mother. I think it much more unlikely, to suppose that such a Lord as *Craterus*, shining with Glory for having had so great a share in *Alexander's* Conquests and Friendship, could resolve to collect all the Decrees of the People of *Athens* with all the requisite Circumstances and Citations. It was the business of a Practitioner in the Law. The writing of *Alexander's* History, or the Relation of his Campaigns, is another thing: I do not deny but that his Favourite *Craterus* might have done himself much Honour by it. He went about it, if *Moreri* may be believed: 'Craterus, *says he*, gave some 'marks ——— of his Wit, by the fine Works that 'he composed of *Alexander's* Conquests. *Strabo*, 'who makes mention of it, cites a Letter of *Crate-* 'rus in his Fifteenth Book.' This is to pretend that *Strabo* distinguished that Letter from the History of *Alexander's* Conquests. Now this is false: He only spoke of that Letter. I own that *Freinshemius* places *Craterus* among *Alexander's* Historians; but his Expression is sufficient to convince one that there is no certainty about it. 'Craterus cum sub 'Alexandro res gereret ejus etiam historiam dicitur 'conscripsisse (10). —— *Whilst* Craterus *served un-* 'der Alexander, *he is said to have wrote his Histo-* 'ry' *Vossius*, the only Author that *Moreri* consulted, speaks only of the Letter mentioned by *Strabo*; so that all that can be said is, that *Craterus* wrote a Letter concerning the Wonders of the *Indies*. As for me, I cannot but believe that it is suppositious. I believe also, that, if he had made the Compilation of the Decrees of the *Athenians*, *Plutarch*, or some other Authors who mention it, would sometimes have taken notice of the Dignity he had been in with *Alexander the Great*; and that having said nothing of it, we ought to take their Silence as a Proof against *Vossius*.

(7) Vossius de Histor. Græc. lib. 3, pag. 347.

(8) Ibid. lib. 4, pag. 462.

(9) Strabo, lib. 15, pag. 484.

(10) Freinshem. Prolegom. ad Q. Curtium, cap. 4.

[C] —— Pinedo *knew no more of the matter, than* Vossius *furnished him with.*] What *Vossius* says of *Craterus*, the Compiler of Decrees, amounts to this; that *Plutarch* took him to witness, that *Stephanus Byzantinus* has quoted the third and the ninth Book of his Decrees: *Citat tertium & nonum è Crateri libris περὶ ψηφισμάτων, de scitis, sive decretis* (11): and that *Harpocration*, at the Word ἀνδρῶν, quotes the same Work (12). *Pinedo*, having noted the Places where *Stephanus Byzantinus* cites *Craterus*, and a place where the Citation was corrupted, refers us to *Vossius*, and ingenuously confesses that he goes no farther (13). I am sure he would not have stopped there, if he had known the Remarks of *Maussac*. That learned Critic observes, that the Transcribers have often changed the Word *Craterus* into *Carterus* (14): He gives these Words of *Pollux* for an Example of it (15): Καρτέρα πιεσάντων τῷ τὰ ψηφίσματα συνάγοντι: and takes notice of a Mistake of the Translator, who instead of saying, *to give credit to* Craterus *the Compiler of the Decrees*, *Cratero fidem habere qui Decreta in unum collegit*, has translated, *to give credit to* Carterus, *who collected the Suffrages*, *Cartero fidem habere suffragia poscenti*. He corrects a remarkable Fault in *Suidas*. *Craterus* (16) is cited there in the ninth Book of Sophisms: Thus Books are multiplied. How many Persons may have believed that *Craterus*, besides the Compilation of Decrees, had also made a Compilation of Sophisms? The Alteration of a Syllable (17) may have occasioned that Multiplication. *Maussac* conjectures, that instead of Κρατῖνος ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι, it must be read Κρατέρος (18) in a place of *Harpocration* (19). It is true that he believes also, that *Crathus* the Comic Poet perhaps composed a Piece for the Stage, intituled, ψηφίσματα. *Valesius* is positive that *Cratinus* must be put out, and *Craterus* put in (20). Here is something more worthy of Attention. *Maussac* observes, that *Alexis* had composed an Hymn against *Craterus*, as, says he, *Aristotle* composed one against *Hermias* (21). I do not insist upon these two small Faults which *Henry Valesius* has not censured: the one that *Maussac* should have said *Alexinus*, and not *Alexis*; the other, that *Aristotle* made an Hymn in Honour of *Hermias*, and not against him. But I observe, that this Remark of *Maussac* enables us to guess at the time wherein our *Craterus* lived; a time, about which *Vossius* durst not produce so much as a Conjecture. In whatever sense *Athenæus's* Words be understood, it seems we may conclude from them, that *Craterus* and *Alexinus* lived at the same time; for it is not likely that *Alexinus* would have composed an Hymn either against *Craterus*, or in his Praise, if he had never had any Acquaintance with him. Πλειὼν δ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ εἰς Κρατερὸν τὸν Μακίδονα γεγραφὼς, ὃν ἐξηνήνατο Ἀλεξῖνος ὁ διαλεκτικός - - - ᾄδεται δὲ καὶ ἔτος ἐν Δελφοῖς λυρίζοντος τὸ τῖνος παιδός. *Est & Pæan scriptum carmen in Craterum Macedonem quod Alexinus Dialecticus composuit.* - - - - - Canitur ille Delphis puero lyram pulsante (22). — Alexinus, *the Logician, composed also a Hymn against* Craterus *of* Macedon, *sung, at* Delphos, *by a Boy to the Harp.* I know very well, that *Alexinus*, a great Disputer (23), and a subtle Logician, would have attacked both the living and the dead, when the Question was about Philosophy (24); but *Craterus* was not in that case. Now if he lived in *Alexinus's* time, he may be placed towards the CXXth Olympiad; for *Alexinus* was a Disciple of *Eubulides*, who lived at the same time that *Aristotle* did. See the second Book of *Diogenes Laërtius*, at the One hundred and ninth Section. *Valesius* comes in here to put us out (25): he pretends that *Maussac* is mistaken in taking *Craterus*, mentioned in the Passage of *Athenæus*, for the Compiler of Decrees: he says, the Hymn was composed against *Craterus* the Successor of *Alexander*. He gives no Reason, nor cites any Body for it. One might say several things for and against his Opinion; but it were to dispute without hopes of finding any Certainty. Perhaps some Persons that are at leisure will amuse themselves with those Discussions. I conclude with saying, that the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* has cited our *Craterus* at least twice, on occasion of the Decree that was fulminated against the impious *Diagoras*. See the Article DIAGORAS (26).

(11) Vossius de Hist. Græc. pag. 347.

(12) Idem pag. 462.

(13) Videsis Vossium de Hist. Græcis, lib. 3, & lib. 4, cap. 9. Ego enim nihil de eo memoratu dignum habeo dicere. *Pinedo in Stephan. pag.* 759.

(14) Maussac. in Harpocrat. voce ἀνδρῶν.

(15) Lib. 8, cap. 20.

(16) In voce κύμβιον. *I do not find this Fault in the* Suidas *of Æmilius* Portus, *printed at* Geneva, *in* 1619.

(17) Non σοφίσματα sed ψηφίσματα Craterus ille collegerat, *Maussac. ib.*

(18) Maussac *should have said* Κρατερῶ.

(19) In voce ἀφανιστῆρας.

(20) Vales. Not. in notas Maussaci, pag. 99.

(21) Maussac ubi supra, voce νόμος Φρύνιος.

(22) Athen. lib. 15, pag. 696.

(23) He was surnamed the *Dialectician*, as we have seen in the Words of *Athenæus*, which I have just now quoted. See *Diog. Laërt. lib.* 2. *in Euclid.* n. 109.

(24) Jonsius, lib. 2, cap 2, *says that* Alexinus *wrote against* Aristotle: *he cites* Hierocles *and* Hermippus. *He is mistaken as to the latter.* Hermippus, *says he*, lib. 1, de Aristotele apud Athenæum, lib. 15, cap. 16. Alexini in Aristotelem petulantiam notat. Athenæus *does not mention that.*

(25) Vales. ubi supra.

(26) *Surnamed* The Atheist, *at the end of the Remark* [D].

CRATIPPUS was a Peripatetic Philosopher of great Reputation [A]. He taught Philosophy at *Mitylene*, where he was born. He went afterwards to *Athens* (a), to teach it there; and had, among his Scholars, the Son of *Cicero*. He was highly valued by that great Orator (b), who obtained of *Cæsar* the Freedom of *Rome* for him, and afterwards moved the Court of the *Areopagites* to make a Decree, to desire *Cratippus* to live at *Athens*, as an Ornament of the City (c), and to instruct the Youth (d). We may be perswaded, that he made very good Lectures, since *Brutus*, preparing himself for the War against *Marc Antony*, went to hear him (e). There are some Proofs, that he was none of those Professors, who do not understand the World; for he did not obstinately dispute with *Pompey* concerning the Divine Providence [B], at a time when the Misfortunes of that *Roman*

(a) *See Rem.* [A].

(b) *See the same Remark.*

(c) Ὅτις κοσμήσει τὴν πόλιν. S cut ornamento urbis. *Plut. in Ciceron. pag.* 873. A.

(d) Id. ib.

(e) Plut. in Brut. pag. 994, F.

[A] *He was a Peripatetic Philosopher of great Reputation.*] These Words of *Cicero* witness it. 'Cratippus Peripateticorum omnium quos quidem 'ego audierim, meo judicio, facile princeps (f).' Cratippus *is, in my Opinion, by far the most excellent of all the Peripatetics whom I have heard.*' Let us observe on what occasion *Cicero* bestows this praise upon him: he says, that, when he was going to command in *Cilicia* (g); *Cratippus* came from *Mitylene* to *Ephesus* to wait upon him. The beginning of the first Book of *Cicero's Offices* contains another Testimony of *Cratippus's* Merit. 'Quamquam te, 'Marce fili, annum jam audientem Cratippum, idque Athenis, abundare oportet præceptis institutisque Philosophiæ, propter summam & doctoris auctoritatem, & urbis, quorum alter te scientia augere potest, altera exemplis, tamen, &c (3). —— 'Though, *my Son, after a Year's Study under* Cratippus, *and that at* Athens, *you cannot but be abundantly stored with the Maxims and Rules of Philosophy, having had the happiness of a Master famed for his Learning, and of a City so full of bright Examples; Yet*, &c.' There is still a greater Commendation of him in the third Book of the same Work. Quamquam à Cratippo nostro, principe hujus memoriæ Philosophorum, hæc te assidue audire atque accipere confido, tamen conducere arbitror tibi hos aures tuas vocibus undique circumsonare — suscepisti onus præterea grave & Athenarum & Cratippi: ad quos cum tanquam ad mercaturam bonarum artium sis profectus, inanem redire turpissimum est dedecorantem & urbis auctoritatem & magistri (4). —— *Though I hope you hear and receive these things constantly from* Cratippus, *the most eminent Philosopher of this Age, yet I think it highly necessary, that these Precepts should be inculcated from all quarters.* - - - - Athens *and* Cratippus *render the task you have undertaken of great or consequence; to return empty from that great Mart of Learning, would be dishonourable, and derogate from the Honour of the City, and the Master.*'

(f) Cicer. de Universitate, c. 1.

(g) *In the Year of* Rome 702.

(3) Cicero de Officiis, lib. 1. Init. *See also the 2d Chapter of the 2d Book of the same Work.*

(4) Id. ibid. lib. 3, cap. 2, pag. m. 283.

[B] *He did not obstinately dispute with* Pompey *concerning the divine Providence.*] After the Battle of *Pharsalia*, *Pompey* went to *Mitylene*, to take in his Wife (5). His whole Fleet consisted of a single borrowed Ship. The Inhabitants ran to the Shore, and desired him to come into the Town. He thanked them for it. The Philosopher *Cratippus* was one of those that went to complement him. 'Pompey disputed a little with him, and complained 'of divine Providence, in which *Cratippus* gently 'receded, advising him to hope for the best, fearing 'he might be tiresome and troublesome to him if he 'had directly opposed his Arguments. And when 'Pompey might have demanded, *How the Providence 'of the Gods appeared in his Case*, *Cratippus* might 'have answered, that, for the ill Government of 'Affairs at *Rome*, it was necessary the Power should 'be lodged in the hands of a Sovereign Prince, and 'then he might have demanded, *How, or by what 'signs, Oh* Pompey! *shall we believe, that if thou 'hadst been the Conqueror, thou wouldest have made 'a better use of thy good Fortune, than* Cæsar *has done, or will do? But we leave this as it shall 'please the Gods to appoint* (6).' *Cratippus* acted the part of a wise Man: Had he been a meer Scholar, he would have followed *Pompey* to his Ship, and would have had the last Word, he would have pushed his common places to the tenth Reply; and would have made it a point of Honour, to get a more compleat Victory over him in a Dispute, than *Cæsar* had obtained in the pitched Battle. He would not have been sensible that the Circumstances of the time did not require it, and that the Passions of the Soul must be cured as the Diseases of the Body. Purging and Bleeding, which may save the Life of a Patient, if seasonably used, take it away if they are used unseasonably. The same may be said of Passions; whoever designs to cure them, must take a proper time for it. Nothing can be more troublesome than certain Comforters, who will have, by all means, afflicted Persons to confess that they are in the wrong to afflict themselves. The best way to dispose them to hearken to Reason is, to give them some Advantage: Suffer your self to be overcome sometimes, do not answer all their Reflexions, or if you go about it, do it indirectly, and with Condescension, and at last be the first that is silent, and keep your Arguments for a better Opportunity. Time will dispose the sick Person to make a better use of your Philosophy.

(5) Plut. in Pompeio, pag. 638.

(6) Id. ib. pag. 659.

Impatiens animus, nec adhuc tractabilis arte,
Respuit, atque odio verba monentis habet.
Aggrediar melius tunc, cum sua vulnera tangi
Jam sinet, & veris vocibus aptus erit.
Quis matrem, nisi mentis inops, in funere nati
Fiere vetet? non hoc illa munenda loco.
Cum dederit lacrymas, animumque impleverit æger;
Ille dolor verbis emoderandus erit.
Temporis ars medicina fere est: data tempora prosunt,
Et data non apto tempore vina nocent.
Quin etiam accendas vitia, irritesque vetando,
Temporibus si non aggrediare suis (7).

(7) Ovid. de Remedio Amor. ver. 123, & seq.

Distemper'd Minds, distracted with their Grief,
Take all for Foes who offer 'em Relief;
But when their first fermenting smart is o'er,
They suffer you to probe the ripen'd Sore.
'Tis Madness, a fond Mother to dissuade
From Tears, while on his Hearse her Son is laid.
But when Grief's Deluge can no higher swell,
Declining Sorrows you'll with ease repel.
Cures have their Times; the best, that can be try'd,
Inflame the Wound, unseasonably apply'd.

FATE.

Cratippus was not ignorant of this Art, and knew how to practise it with *Pompey*. That great Man was not then in a condition to hearken to Reason with respect to Providence; his Wound was yet bleeding, and his vexation would have been encreased by a strong Refutation of his Murmurs. Contradiction would only have provoked and angered him. His Complaints were a Fire, which would have increased by stirring it, whereas it might be hoped, that it would be extinguished for want of Agitation (8). It was therefore better to forbear disputing. Any Man, that was versed in the Knowledge of the World, would have done so; but a meer Scholar, a Philosopher, who had been nothing but a Philosopher, would have done the quite contrary. Note, that some Writers of the XVIIth Century say, that *Cratippus* did actually make the Answers contained in the Passage of *Plutarch*, which I have set down before. Rare Men! Who fancy they are better informed of such things than the ancient Historians; or rather, for want of reading the Originals, they pervert

(8) Vidi ego jactatas mota face crescere flammas, Et vidi nullo concutiente moti

Roman General, made him unfit to yield to the Reasons that might have been alledged to him. Moreover, he knew how to be sociable with his Scholars, and to charm them by the Agreeableness of his Conversation, which was free from that pedantic Gravity [C], which others cannot leave off, and which discourages young People. He writ some Books concerning Divination, and fell into an Inconveniency, which can hardly be avoided, when a Man rejects only part of certain Doctrines: he was shewed, that the Reasons, he made use of to maintain what he retained, were favourable to the Opinions which he did not retain [D].

Moreri

pervert and spoil History. The Jesuit *Bissilius* supposes that *Cratippus* told *Pompey*, that, considering the Disorders of the Republic, *Rome* could not avoid being destroyed, unless it was Monarchically governed (9). He adds, that those, who heard that Answer, asked *Cratippus*, Why then, if the Gods are wise, did they rather grant that Monarchy to *Julius Cæsar* than to *Pompey*? and that the Philosopher answered, Can you tell whether *Pompey* would have reigned better than *Cæsar*? the Gods only know it (10). Can any Body wonder that News-writers give a wrong Account of what they hear? Do Authors relate right what they have read in *Plutarch*? *Plutarch* says, that *Cratippus* thought it better to be silent, because he must otherwise have answered this and that; and yet they are so bold as to affirm, that he answered all those things, and then retired, that he might not be obliged to reply, and tell him some disagreeable Truths. 'Inter hæc ne *Pompejo*, se pluribus fortassis impugnaturo, veridicis responsis molestiam aggravaret, obticuit *Cratippus*, & abivit (11). —— *Upon this* Cratippus, *not to aggravate the concern of* Pompey, *who in all probability would have urged him farther, declined the question, and took his leave.*'

(9) Joannes Bissilius, Numar. illustr. decade 4, parte iv. p. 2856.

(10) Cujus, me hercules eventus præscientia penes vos (*adjecit*) immortales, penes nos, nihil minus est. *Id. ib.*

(11) Id. ib.

By the way, it has been observed, that *Pompey* did not begin to be unfortunate, till he maintained the best Cause. *O rem miseram! malas causas semper obtinuit, in optima concidit* (12). You will find this in the following Passage of *la Mothe le Vayer*, which contains a Judgment contrary to mine, concerning *Cratippus*'s Conduct. There is a Prudence 'full of 'Vanity, and so presumptuous as to find fault with 'the Decrees of Heaven. Such was the Prudence 'of *Cato*, when he asked how the divine Providence 'could permit that *Pompey* should be Invincible, 'when he did nothing that was reasonable, and 'only acted to satisfy his Ambition; whereas, having afterward embraced the good Cause in favour 'of the public Liberty, he was always unsuccessful, 'and worsted by *Cæsar* the Usurper of it *. *Pompey* himself, abounding in his own Sense, discoursed in that manner with the Philosopher *Cratippus* at *Mitylene*, after his Defeat at *Pharsalia*. *Plutarch* praises that Philosopher for having prudently condescended to the Opinions of that great and unfortunate Captain, contenting himself to give him some hopes for the future. But I think it had been better for him not to have had so much worldly Prudence; and that, if he had represented to *Pompey* the Respect that is due to the Decrees of the Almighty, he might have the better reclaimed him from his Impiety, which made him blaspheme against the Orders of Providence, which we cannot comprehend, though they tend always to the general Good of Mankind. It seems to me, that *Cratippus*'s Philosophy would not have been less prudent, nor less comfortable, if he had taken such a course; and it had been wiser, having nothing of Meanness in it, or that could flatter *Pompey*'s Resentment, which did but provoke God the more against him (13).'

(12) Cicer. Epist. 21, lib. 7, ad Attic.

* Plut. in Cat. & Pomp.

(13) La Mothe le Vayer. Dialogue 6. de la Promenade, pag. 144 *of the thirteenth Volume of his Works. See also* pag. 146, *where he confutes absolutely excuse* Cratippus.

[C] *He knew how to charm his Scholars by the Agreeableness of his Conversation, which was free from pedantic Gravity.*] We find this in a Letter of *Cicero*'s Son: 'Cratippo me scito, *says he* (14), 'non ut discipulum, sed ut filium esse conjunctissimum: nam cum & audio illum libenter, tum etiam propriam ejus suavitatem vehementer amplector. Sum totos dies cum eo, noctisque sæpenumero partem: exoro enim ut mecum quam sæpissime cœnet. Hæc introducta consuetudine, sæpe inscientibus nobis & cœnantibus obrepit, sublataque severitate philosophiæ, humanissime, nobiscum jocatur. Quare da operam ut hunc talem, tam jucundum, tam excellentem virum videas quamprimum. —— *The familiarity, in which* Cratippus *has indulged me, speaks him more a Father, than a Master. He speaks without reserve, and I am charmed with his peculiar sweetness of Temper. I spend whole Days with him, and often part of the Night, for I engage him to sup with me, as often as may be; by means of this intimacy, he comes when we do not expect him, and are at Supper, and, laying aside the Severity of a Philosopher, he entertains us with the most polite flow of Wit; wherefore take the first Opportunity to see this great, agreeable, and most extraordinary Man.*' This is a great Encomium that he bestows upon his Professor: he made vast Improvements under such a Master; and for that Reason *Trebonius*, desiring to carry him into *Asia*, resolved to take also *Cratippus* along with him (15). The latter had brought some learned Men, whom he valued very much, from *Mitylene* to *Athens*. I do not question but that he had educated them. His Disciple writes, as a piece of good News, that he was familiarly acquainted with them. *Utor familiaribus & quotidianis convictoribus, quos secum Mitylenis Cratippus adduxit, hominibus & doctis & illi probatissimis* (16). You may look upon this as a sign that *Cratippus* made good Scholars. I must take notice of a Mistake of *Jonsius*. He says, that *Cicero*'s Son had a great share in that Philosopher's Familiarity at *Athens* in the Year 708 (17). This is a wrong Chronology; for *Cicero's Offices*, written after the Death of *Cæsar*, shew, that this young Man had been then but one Year *Cratippus*'s Scholar at *Athens*.

(14) Epist. 21, lib. 16, Cicer. ad Familiar. pag. 455.

(15) Ibid. Epist. 16, lib. 12.

(16) Ibid. Epist. 21, lib. 16, pag. 457.

(17) Jonsius, de Scriptor. Hist. Philos. pag. 203.

[D] *The Reasons —— to maintain what he retained, were favourable to the Opinions which he did not retain.*] He admitted the Divination of Dreams, and that of Fury; and here is his Hypothesis. He said, that the Soul of Man had it's Original partly from a divine Understanding that is out of us, and that that part of our Soul which feels, moves, and desires, is not separated from the Action of the Body, but that the part, which is endowed with Reason and Understanding, has more vigour, when it is less depending upon Matter (18). He went upon an Opinion of *Aristotle*, which *Averroës* has unfolded, to draw out of it the monstrous Doctrine of an universal Intellect, which is the same in all Men. Afterwards *Cratippus* collected some Instances; he shewed that the Event had confirmed such and such Dreams, such and such Predictions, and then he argued in this manner: We cannot see without Eyes, and it happens sometimes that they do not perform their Duty; but provided they discover the Truth to us once, it is certain, that we have Organs that see it: In like manner, if there was no Divination, no Man could ever divine any thing; but because there is a Divination, it does not follow that a Man can divine always: But Men divine sometimes, and therefore we must believe there exists a Faculty of divining (19). I desire I may be allowed to say, that *Cicero* shews little Exactness in this part of his Work; I do not think that the Opinion of a Man can be more carelessly explained: I could easily prove it, if this was a proper place to shew the Rules of a Parallel, or of Antitheses. He refutes *Cratippus*'s Comparison, and his Consequences more clearly. He says, that the Eyes which discover the Truth are directed by Nature and Sense; but that if our Soul foretells the Truth, either by Dreams, or by Ecstasies, it is a meer chance. *Oculi vera cernentes utuntur natura atque sensu. Animi si quando vel vaticinando vel somniando vera viderunt, usi sunt fortuna atque casu* (20). *Cratippus*'s Consequences were grounded on this Hypothesis, *viz.* That so many Dreams, and so many Predictions, had not proved true by chance. *Cicero* denies that Hypothesis, and maintains against him, that Chance had always done

(18) Cicero, The 1, de Divinat. cap. 32.

(19) Id. ibid.

(20) Id. ibid. lib. 2, cap. 48, D.

(f) He was still at *Mitylene* after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, in 705 (and not in 706, as *Joseſius* says, pag. 203), and no body informs us that he went out of it the Year following.

Moreri says, without any Reaſon for it, that he taught in *Athens in the Year of Rome* 706 (f).

it; and then he makes uſe of an Argument *ad hominem*: You reject, says he, the Divinations of the *Augures*, and of the *Haruſpices*, and thoſe of Aſtrologers, *&c.* nevertheleſs they have been ſometimes confirmed by the Event; and therefore you are in the wrong to reject them, or you muſt admit two kinds of Divination without any reaſon. I cannot ſee what *Cratippus* could have anſwered. *Cicero*'s words deſerve to be ſet down: 'Aſſumit Cratippus 'hoc modo, ſunt autem innumerabiles præſenſiones 'non fortuitæ: ut ego dico nullam. Vide quanta 'ſit controverſia, jam aſſumptione non conceſſa nulla 'concluſio eſt. At impudentes ſumus, qui quod tam 'perſpicuum ſit non concedamus. Quid eſt perſpicuum? Multa vera, inquit, evadere. Quid quod 'multo plura falſa? Nonne ipſa varietas quæ eſt propria fortunæ, fortunam eſſe cauſam non naturam 'eſſe docet? Deinde ſi tua iſta concluſio, Cratippe, 'vera eſt (tecum enim mihi res eſt) nonne intelligis 'eadem uti poſſe & aruſpices, & fulguratores, & 'interpretes oſſentorum, & augures, & ſortilegos, '& Chaldæos, quorum generum nullum eſt, ex quo 'non aliquid ſicut prædictum ſit evaſerit? Ergo aut 'ea quoque genera divinandi ſunt quæ tu rectiſſime 'improbas: aut ſi ea non ſunt, non intelligo quur 'hæc duo ſint quæ relinquis. Qua ergo ratione hæc 'inducis, eadem illa poſſunt eſſe quæ tollis (21). (21) Id. ibid.

'--- Cratippus *proceeds in his Argument thus: There 'are innumerable Preconceptions wherein Chance 'is not concerned. But I ſay now. Conſider the 'Nature of the Queſtion. Where the* Poſtulatum *is 'denied, no Concluſion can be drawn. But it would be 'Impudence not to grant what is ſo ſelf-evident. 'What is ſelf-evident? That many things happen to 'be true. And what if many more happen to be falſe? 'Does not this Variety, which is the peculiar Mark 'of Chance, prove Chance, and not Nature, to be the 'Cauſe? But,* Cratippus, *(for it is with you I am 'engaged) was your Concluſion true, do not you perceive, 'that Soothſayers, Diviners, Interpreters of Prodigies, Augurs, Fortune-tellers,* Chaldeans *(of all 'which ſorts ſome have foretold ſomething which 'happened) might uſe the ſame? Therefore either 'thoſe kinds which you rightly reject are true, or elſe 'I ſee no reaſon to allow thoſe which you except. For 'the reſt may be ſupported by the ſame Arguments, 'which you uſe in the Defence of theſe.*' *Tertullian* reckons one *Cratippus* among thoſe that wrote Books about Dreams (22); and I take him to be the ſame with our *Cratippus*. (22) Tertul. Illa de Anima.

(a) *This is the Opinion of* Imperialis *and* Craſſo; *but* Jerom Boruffaldus, Diſſert. de Poëtis Ferrarenſib. pag. 33, *refutes it, and ſays, that* Cento *is in the* Ferrareſe.

CREMONINUS (Cæsar), who was ſeventeen Years a Profeſſor of Philoſophy at *Ferrara*, and forty Years at *Padua* [A], was born at *Cento* in the *Modeneze* (a), in the Year 1550. He got ſuch a Reputation, that moſt Kings and Princes deſired to have his Picture. His Lectures were very much eſteemed; but his printed Books did not ſell well [B]. He was accounted a Freethinker, who did not believe the Immortality of the Soul [C], and whoſe Opinions about other Matters

[A] *He was Profeſſor of Philoſophy — and forty Years at* Padua.] He was at firſt Colleague of the famous *Piccolomini*, firſt Profeſſor of Philoſophy in the Univerſity of *Padua*, whom he ſucceeded after his Death. His Method was, to explain firſt of all *Ariſtotle*'s Doctrine, and then to clear the Obſcurities of it, either according to his own Thoughts, or according to the Explication of *Alexander Aphrodiſienſis*. He ſeldom mentioned the Diſputes of the Schoolmen; he utterly deſpiſed the Opinions of the Moderns, and made it his Buſineſs to revive the Doctrine of the Ancients. He delivered his Lectures with ſuch a good Grace, and ſo gravely, that it would be a very difficult thing to find any Profeſſors like him. His Converſations with the Scholars were not conſiderable. He diſcourſed of all manner of things, without diving into the bottom of any one of them. His Affability and Politeneſs appeared in them much more than his Learning (1). I do not think that he deſerves to be blamed for it; for, in ſhort, a Man's Mind cannot be always bent; the more pains he takes in his public Lectures, the more he wants ſome Relaxation in his private Converſations, which would be moſt troubleſome, if he was obliged to undertake the Diſcuſſion of ſome particular Matter. One muſt have the Liberty of rambling, and touching ſlightly upon all the things, which the courſe of Converſation brings upon the Carpet. This is the moſt agreeable, and the moſt innocent Diverſion that a Doctor, obliged to teach in public, can have.

(1) Ex Joanne Imperiali in Muſeo Hiſtor. pag. 173.

[B] *His Lectures were very much eſteemed; but his printed Books did not ſell ſo well.*] This wants to be paraphraſed, that my Author's Thought may be thoroughly underſtood. The Books, ſays he, that *Cremoninus* cauſed to be printed, grow muſty in the Bookſellers Shops; but what he dictated to his Scholars, walking, according to the Cuſtom of the Peripatetics, is ſo excellent, that nothing more agreeable, or more perfect, can be deſired for the Diſcovery of the Myſteries of Philoſophy. 'Illud nobis 'mirandum quod elaborata ipſius opera typis excuſa, 'in officinis hactenus evileſcunt: ſcripta verò Peripati more diſcipulis ab ipſo deambulante dictata ſic 'excellunt, ut nihil ad arcana philoſophiæ detegenda 'perfectius ac ſuavius deſiderari poſſit (2).' That a Sermon or a Lecture ſhould be more admired when we hear them, than when we read them (3), is no rare thing; nay it is very common. That a Man who ſpeaks in public ſhould better ſucceed, when without any Preparation he gives a free Scope to his Imagination, than when he compoſes, or meditates what he is to ſay with all the Care imaginable, is not ſo common a thing; but yet it is not very extraordinary. That the Books of an Author ſhould be more eſteemed, whilſt they are read in Manuſcript, than after they are printed, is a thing that happens very often (4); but here is ſomething more extraordinary: What *Cremoninus* dictated to his Scholars had the utmoſt Perfection, and what he publiſhed was read with the utmoſt Contempt. This is what *Imperialis* ſays. To explain this, we may have recourſe to two Hypotheſes; the one is, to ſay, that he was one of thoſe Authors, who ſpoil their own Works by correcting them, and whoſe Strength conſiſts only in the firſt Sallies of the Mind, and grows dull or vaniſhes away in a cloſe and profound Meditation: the other is, to ſay, that *Imperialis* has not expreſſed himſelf well, and that, to relate the thing truly, he ſhould have told us, that *Cremoninus*'s Writings, which were admired in Manuſcript Copies, loſt their Reputation as ſoon as they were printed. This laſt Hypotheſis ſeems more likely to me than the other: for, if *Cremoninus* had ſpoiled his Works by preparing them for the Preſs, the thing might have been remedied by means of the Copies that were in his Scholars Hands. Some officious Friends would have revived his Glory, by publiſhing the incomparable Writings that he had dictated. (4) Varillas *in an Inſtance of it.*

(2) Imper. ibid. pag. 174.

(3) *See, above, Remark* [O] *of the Article* Casius Severus (Titus), *at the end; and below, the Remark* [K] *of the Article* Hortensius (Quintus); *and the Remark* [C] *of the Article* de Narni.

[C] *He was accounted a Freethinker, who did not believe the Immortality of the Soul.*] Several Authors ſay, that this was the Reaſon why he would have theſe words to be put in his Epitaph, *Cæſar Cremoninus hic totus jacet.* ---- Cæſar Cremoninus *lies wholly here.* If we had no other Argument, we could not well convict him of Libertiniſm; for the famous Profeſſor *Gisbert Voëtius*, having alledged that Proof, diſowned it ſome time after, becauſe the ſame Friend, who had ſupplied him with it, ſent him word that it was founded upon a falſe Fact. 'Ante-'hac, *ſays he* (5), ab eruditiſſ. viro & amico mihi 'communicatum erat epitaphium quod dicebatur ſibi 'feciſſe: *Totus Cremoninus hic jacet.* Sed poſtea ab 'eodem aliunde aliter informato monitus revocavi 'illud in prima hujus diſputationis editione.' In the Room of that Proof, he ſubſtitutes another, which does not ſignify much. The thing is this: *Fortunius Licetus* ſays, that, having taken upon him to confute the Opinion of *Alexander Aphrodiſienſis* concerning (5) Voët. ſelectarum diſputationum Theologicarum, Vol. I, pag. 206.

Matters were not in the leaſt conſonant to Chriſtianity [D]. He died of the Plague in the Year 1630, and was buried in the Monaſtery of St *Juſtina*, to which he left all his Eſtate. He was very civil to every body, and knew how to appear kind and obliging: nay, he was too exact an Obſerver of Ceremonies, or Offices of Civility; but at the bottom he did not eſpouſe any one's Intereſts ſincerely or faithfully. He delighted in fomenting Diviſions among the Scholars, and pretended to take no part in their Factions, and diſguiſed himſelf under artificial Careſſes with the utmoſt Facility; and in the mean time he kept up Diſcord with all his Heart, eſpecially to the Diſadvantage of thoſe Students whom he knew not to be in his Intereſt (*b*). We have, in the firſt Volume of the *Mercure Jeſuite* (*c*), the Speech he made in 1591 to the Senate of *Venice*, for the Univerſity of *Padua*, againſt the Jeſuits. His Qualities were not known to one of the Hiſtorians of Count *d'Ulfeld* [E]. Father *Rapin* is miſtaken, when he ſays, that he flouriſhed in the XVth Century (*d*) in the Univerſity of *Piſa* (*e*).

(*b*) *Taken from* Imperialis in Muſeo Hiſtor. pag. 173.

(*c*) Pag. 490.

(*d*) Rapin, Compar. de Platon & d'Ariſtote, pag. m. 399.

(*e*) Id. Reflex. ſur la Philoſophie, pag. m. 360.

cerning the Nature of the Soul, he could not be diſſuaded from that laudable Deſign, by the Menaces of *Cremoninus*, his Colleague, and *Lewis Albertus*, Profeſſor of Divinity, who threatened to write againſt him. They were, ſays he, two Diſciples of *Frederic Pendaſius*, very much addicted to the Opinion of *Alexander Aphrodiſienſis*. 'Ambo doctrinæ Aphrodiſæi cultores 'non ſemel dixerint ſe voluimi meo contradicturos, 'qui nulla contradictione relicta diem obeuntes fato 'ceſſerunt (6). - - - *They were both Advocates for the* 'Doctrines of Aphrodiæus, *and often declared they* 'would anſwer my Diſcourſe, *but died without leav-* 'ing any Anſwer.' It is plain, that, ſince a Profeſſor of Divinity at *Padua* threatened to write in favour of that Opinion, he did not believe that *Alexander Aphrodiſienſis* had maintained the Mortality of the Soul. Common Senſe teaches, that neither in *Italy*, nor in other places, a Divine would be ſo bold as to write in Vindication of an Opinion, if he acknowledged that it is contrary to the Immortality of the Soul. So that, if *Cremoninus* had no other Opinion than that which that Profeſſor of Divinity pretended to vindicate, he was not heterodox as to the Immortality of the Soul: and therefore we want other Proofs. But as I affirm nothing of my own Head, I am not obliged to produce them.

(6) Fortun Liceti, Hiſtor. proprior. Operum, cap. 16, apud Voetium, ibid.

Here is a Paſſage ſomewhat curious. I take it from a Letter of *Balzac*, wherein he recommends one Mr *Drouet* to Mr *de Lorme* the King's Phyſician. 'If you diſcover to him the Myſteries of 'the *Arabians*, (he knows thoſe of the *Greeks* in 'Perfection) he will not hear you, neither as a pro- 'phane Perſon, nor as one newly initiated. His 'Name is in great Letters in the Records of the Un- 'verſity of *Padua*: and when he left the School of 'the great *Cremoninus*, he was almoſt as great and 'as learned as he. Not that he is a blind Follower 'of his Maſter: I can aſſure you that he has only 'embraced his ſound Opinions; and never was a 'Chriſtian better perſuaded than he, *that the God* 'of Abraham, *and of* Iſaac, *is the God of the Liv-* 'ing, *and not of the Dead*, &c (7).'

(7) Balzac Lettres choiſies, pag. 35, Dutch Edit.

Lorenzo Craſſo, whom I had not by me when this Article was firſt printed, is ſince come into my Hands. I find in his Book the Confirmation of a Conjecture that came then into my Mind; which is, that *Cremoninus* did not ſimply and abſolutely maintain the Mortality of the Soul, but only in caſe *Ariſtotle*'s Opinions were to be followed. That Queſtion of Fact, of little Moment at bottom, has been a long time debated in the Schools of *Italy*, and there was no juſt reaſon to place thoſe among the Heterodox, who pretended, that *Ariſtotle* had not taught the Immortality of the Soul. Such was *Cremoninus*'s Reſtriction. 'E veleno d'animo contagioſo 'l'inſegnare, che l'anima dell' Huomo ſoggetto alla 'corruzione non differiſca nella morte dell' Huomo 'da quella de' Bruti, com' egli faceva, ancorche ſa- 'gacemente afferiſſe ſoſtener ciò ſolamente in ſen- 'tenza d'Ariſtotile (8).' *Moreri* has ſuppreſſed that Clauſe of *Lorenzo Craſſo*, which is a capital Omiſſion in this Caſe. Note, that this is almoſt the only thing that *Lorenzo* has added to the Narrative of *Imperialis*. He is ſo much the more to be praiſed for having added it, becauſe he was beſides perſuaded that *Cremoninus*'s Reſtriction is only a Shift. He declares him void of all Religion, and adds, that ſome Perſons thought he was guilty of having inſpired that bad Doctrine into ſeveral of his truſty Scholars. 'Fù ben compoſto di corpo, auſtero di volto, brieve 'di ſonno, ambizioſo di ſaper molto, finto di coſtu- 'mi, LONTANO D'OGNI RELIGIONE, ha- 'vendo ſecondo il parer d'alcuni fatto non pochi al- 'lievi confidenti di queſta prava ſua Dottrina (9).'

(8) Lorenzo Craſſo, Elogii d'Huomini Letterati, Tom. II, pag. 124.

(9) Id. ib. pag. 185.

[D] *His Opinions about other matters were not in the leaſt conſonant to Chriſtianity.*] His Doctrine concerning Fate, the World, and the moving Intelligences of the Heavens, did not appear to be ſound; and it was thought that he maintained them with more Zeal than a Chriſtian ſhould have done (10).

(10) Imperialis, ubi ſupra, pag. 274.

[E] *His Qualities were not known to one of the Hiſtorians of Count* d'Ulfeld.] That Hiſtorian's Name is *Rouſſeau de la Valette*. His hiſtorical Novel, intituled, *Le Comte d'Ulfeld*, was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1677. We find there, that That Count, having, by the Follies of his Youth, deſerved to be turned out of his Father's Houſe, met with *Signor Cremonini, a noble Venetian, at Padua*, that he contracted a very ſtrict Friendſhip with him, and improved ſo much by his Converſation in a Year's time, that he often owned, that he had from him the beſt part of what he knew.

CRESPET (PETER), Friar of the Order of the Celeſtins, and Prior of their Convent at *Soiſſons*, publiſhed, in the XVIth Century, ſeveral Books [A], which made it appear, that he had read much, and had made abundance of Collections, both out of Prophane and Eccleſiaſtical Authors. *Moreri* ſays he was a *Native of Scns* (*a*), and that he died in 1595. Therefore he ſhould not have added, that he lived in an Age, when Learning was very much neglected.

(*a*) He calls himſelf, in the Titles of his Books, *Celeſtin of Paris*, but this may only mean, that he was made a Celeſtin Monk at *Paris*.

[A] *He publiſhed ſeveral Books.*] His *Garden of Pleaſure, and ſpiritual Recreation*, was printed, at *Paris*, in two Volumes, in 8vo, in the Year, 1602. He reviſed, and corrected, this Edition. It is divided into five Parts, containing divers Diſcourſes, 'as well of the Nature, Origin, Conditions, Effects, 'and Enormities of Sins, which ought to be exclud- 'ed or extirpated the Garden of the Soul: as alſo 'of the Nature, admirable Effects, Dignity, and 'Excellence of the Virtues, which ſhould be planted 'and cheriſhed there.' He joined to this Tract, 'An Encomium upon the Excellency of the Virtue 'of Chaſtity, Virginity, and Continence, *although* 'he had already ſufficiently treated of thoſe noble 'Virtues in the ſix Books of Continence, which he 'had tranſlated from the *Latin* of Mr *d'Eſpenſe*, in 'the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the ſaid Book, and again 'in his Myſtical Pomegranate. Treatiſe 1, §. 9. '(1). The Epiſtle Dedicatory of the firſt Volume of this *Garden* is dated *October* 1, 1586, and that of the firſt Volume *May* 1, 1587. He quotes ſometimes, in this Book, his Diſcourſes on the Origin, Excellence, and Immortality, of the Soul. He alſo made Diſcourſes of the Hatred of Satan, which are often cited by *Martin del Rio*, in his *Diſquiſitiones Magicæ*. He publiſhed alſo in *Latin*, *Summa Eccleſiaſticæ Diſciplinæ & totius Juris Canonici*.

(1) Creſpet. Jardin de Plaiſir, &c. Tom. II, *at the end*, pag. 451.

CRISPINUS (John), in *French Crespin*, a famous Printer at *Geneva*, whither he fled for his Religion, in the Year 1548 (*a*), was born in the *Artois* (*b*). He applied himself with great Capacity and Diligence to the printing of several Books (*c*), and particularly of a *Greek* and *Latin* Lexicon [*A*], and of the Martyrology of the Protestants (*d*). He died of the Plague at *Geneva*, in the Year 1572 (*e*). *Eustache Vignon*, his Son-in-law, continued to make that Printing-house flourish (*f*). *Valerius Andreas Desselius* says, that *Crispinus*, the Son of a Civilian of *Arras*, studied five Years at *Louvain*, and that there was a very long Friendship between him and *Francis Baudouin*, and that he writ some Notes on the *Institutes*, and a Treatise of Apostates *&c.* (g) [*B*]. He says nothing of a Book that has been very often reprinted, and which *Baudouin* despised very much [*C*]. You will find some Facts in *Moreri*, which I will not repeat, and some Faults that I shall observe below [*D*]. I shall also observe those of the *History of Printing* [*E*]. *Conrad Badius* printed some time for our *Crispinus* [*F*].

(*a*) Melch. Adam. in vita Theod. Bezæ, pag. 205.

(*b*) Beza, Respons. ad Balduinum, pag. 216, Tom. II, Operum.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Melch. Adam, ubi supra. *Note*, That this Martyrology was first printed in *Latin*, in 8vo, in the Year 1556, and then in 4to, in the Year 1560.

(*e*) Beza, Epist. 64, pag. 278, Tom. III, Operum.

(*f*) Id. Præfat. Tom. II, Operum.

(*f*) Valer. And. Desselius, Bibl. Belg. pag. 487.

[*A*] *He applied himself to the Printing of —— a Greek and Latin Lexicon.*] It was not in the Year 1595, as *Valerius Andreas* (1) and *Konig* (2) say; for he died in the Year 1572. Many Bibliographers commit this Fault: they ascribe to a Man the Editions of his Books that were made after his Death.

(1) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 488.

(2) Konig. Bibl. pag. 223.

[*B*] *He wrote ——— a Treatise of Apostates.*] It is a Commentary on the third Law of the Code *de Apostatis*. He wrote it in favour of *Calvin* against *Baudouin*, and to oppose it to the Commentary of the latter on the Laws *de famosis Libellis*. *Baudouin* complains bitterly of it, and inveighs against that old Friend, who had been his School-fellow (3).

(3) *See his feeond Answer to* John Calvin, pag. 73, & seq. Edit. Colon. 1580.

[*C*] *He says nothing of a Book, that has been very often reprinted, and which* Baudouin *despised very much.*] In this Book, *Crispinus* displays his Zeal against Popery, and for the Instruction of the Reformed. It is intituled, *The State of the Church, with a Discourse of the Times from the Days of the Apostles to this present time*. I have sometimes quoted it. The Edition, that I make use of, is that of *Bergen-op-Zoom* 1605, in 4to, revised and enlarged by *John Taffin*, Minister of the *French* Church at *Flushing*. Here is the abusive Judgment that *Baudouin* made of that Work of *Crispinus*: 'Si qua unquam fuit putida & insulsa farrago vanitatis atque 'ἀνοησιολογίας, illam profecto esse altissima voce pro'fiteri cogimur (4).' Note, that *Baudouin* spoke then as being the Author's Enemy.

(4) Responsio pro Balduino ad Calvinum & Bezam, fol. 98.

[*D*] *You will find some Faults in* Moreri, *which I shall observe below.*] I. *Crispinus* did not go to *Geneva with a design to print Books there*, but on account of Religion. It is true that he and *Beza* designed at first to associate themselves, and to set up a Printing-Press (5); and that, *Beza* having found another Employment, *Crispinus* executed that design alone. But this does not excuse *Moreri*; for his words express nothing less than what he should have informed the Reader of. They plainly signify, that *Crispinus* went to *Geneva* to get some Booksellers, that would print the Books that he had either made or collected. II. It is not true, that, before he went to *Geneva*, he *had already published Hesiod, Nomenclatura Altionum, Institutionum Imperialium lib. iv. &c.* III. Neither is it true, that, being at *Geneva*, Poverty *obliged him to be a Servant for a Livelihood*. IV. Nor, that *Baudouin* says so. The following words of *Valerius Andreas* have occasioned most of those Faults: 'Vixit dein in Galliis professione typo'graphicæ ac literariæ exercitationis clarus: usus 'annos multos amico *Franc. Balduino*, quocum à 'pueris educatus fuerat. *Crispinum* tamen postea 'omnis humanitatis non minus quam juris oblitum 'fuisse, ex quo factus est servus Allobrox, scribit 'Bald. in Responsione sua ad Joan. Calvinum pag. 89 (6). —— *He lived afterwards in* France, *eminent for his Printing, and Studies, with* Fr. Baldouin, *with whom he had been educated from his Infancy*: *But* Balduin *afterwards, in his Answer to* John Calvin, *writes, that* Crespin had abandoned both Humanity and Honesty, since he had submitted to the Yoke of Religious Slavery. This is what made *Moreri* say, that *Crispinus* published some Books before he went to *Geneva*; and that afterwards he was a Servant. He did in no wise apprehend the sense of *Baudouin*'s words. They signify that *Crispinus* had forgot all the Duties of Humanity and Justice, since he had submitted to *Calvin*'s Yoke. I wonder *Moreri* did not believe that *Baudouin* meant, that *Crispinus*, after his Change of Religion, had forgot whatever he knew of the Civil-Law. This would have been wonderful; and it would not be the first time that it hath been said, that Men, by changing their Religion, lose their Wit, Style, Learning, *&c.*

(5) Melch. Adam. in vita Bezæ, pag. 205.

(6) Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 487.

[*E*] *I will also observe the Faults of the* History of Printing.] We find there (7), I. That *Crispinus*, having studied five Years at *Louvain*, *came afterwards into* France *to study the Civil-Law with* Francis Baldwin *his intimate Friend, under* Gabriel Mudé *and other Doctors of the Civil-Law*. II. That he made himself very famous *in the Exercise of the Art of Printing*. III. That he printed there the New Testament in *Greek* very correctly in 1564, and *Homer* and *Theocritus* in 1570. IV. That *he was obliged to retire to* Geneva *on account of Religion, where he composed and printed* Lexicon Crispini *in Folio and Quarto*. V. That *Casaubon was one of his Authors*. One Falsity of *Valerius Andreas* has occasioned many others. He is in the wrong, to say that *Crispinus* made himself famous in *France* by the Exercise of Printing; for he did not begin that Trade till he left *France*. But other Mistakes have been built on that bad Foundation of *Valerius Andreas*. It is supposed that *Crispinus* did not retire to *Geneva* till after the Year 1570; that he printed several Books in *France* before that time, and that his Lexicon came out after the Year 1570. This falls to the Ground, when this Truth is once established, that *Crispinus* went to *Geneva* about the Year 1548, and that his *Lexicon Græco-Latinum* appeared before the Year 1562. 'Tu '—— oblitus te aliquando Lugduni fuisse Sebastiani 'Gryphii mancipium, bono & honesto, id est tui 'penitus dissimili viro (*Crispino*) vitio vertis quod 'Lexicon Græco-Latinum quale ante non editum fuit, 'maximo tum sumptu tum labore in publicum emi'serit (8). —— *Forgetting you were once a Servant to* Sebastian Gryphius, *you object against* Crespin, 'a Man of Honesty and Integrity, (*Principles to* 'which you are a stranger) that, with immense La'bour, and at a vast expence, he had published a 'Lexicon, Greek and Latin, *such as had before been* 'published.' So says *Beza* in the Refutation of a Book, which *Baudouin* had published in the Year 1562. The other Faults of the *History of Printing* are such, that *Valerius Andreas* has no hand in them. He says in very plain terms, that it was at *Louvain*, and not in *France*, that *Crispinus* heard the Lectures of *Gabriel Mudæus* and other Professors. 'Lovanium missus *Gabrielem Mudæum* aliosque ante'cessores quinquennium totum ANTE aditam Gal'liam audivit (9).' He does not say that *Crispinus* went into *France* with *Baudouin*. Take notice, that *Casaubon* was not yet fourteen Years of Age when *Crispinus* died: How then could he be one of his Authors? The origin of this error is probably this: *Theocritus* was reprinted after *Crispinus*'s Death, and *Casaubon*'s Notes were added to that Edition (10), and the Preface of *Crispinus* was kept in it. This made some believe that *Crispinus* had put out that new Edition.

(7) La Caille, Hist. de l'imprimerie, pag. 148.

(8) Beza Resp. ad Francisc. Balduin, pag. 216, Tom. III, Operum.

(9) Valer. Andr. ubi supra.

[*F*] Conrad Badius *printed some time, for our* Crispinus.] I have seen these Words at the end of a little Book in 8vo. *A Geneve, de l'Imprimerie de Jean Crespin par Conrad Badius* 1550. That little Book is a Piece of *Calvin*, intituled, *A most excellent Treatise of the Christian Life*.

(10) Those Notes came out under the Name of *Isaacus Hortus Bonus*. He made them at the Request of *Eustache Vignon*, who reprinted *Theocritus*. They are dated in *August*, 1584.

CRISPUS (John Baptist), a good Divine, and a good Poet, flourished in the XVIth Century, and was born at *Gallipoli*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. The chief of his Books is that which was printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1594, in *folio*, *de Ethnicis Philosophis caute legendis* [*A*]. See *Toppi*'s *Biblioteca Napoletana* (*a*).

(*a*) Pag. 132.

[*A*] *The chief of his Books is that* de Ethnicis Philosophis cautè legendis.] *Possevin* speaks of it. 'Vir vere Philosophus qui nimirum acri & quali Christianum decet, judicio, Philosophiam expendit, librum fat grandem de Philosophis caute legendis ita scripsit, ut quæcunque bæreses à Philosophis minus cautis manarunt, eæ indicatæ, sint ac solidis rationibus confutatæ, ex divinis Scripturis & Patribus, ex Synodorum decretis, ex Scholasticis, quibus cautionibus præmuniti Philosophi sive publici Professores inoffenso pede curriculum hoc decurrent, tantamque ancillam recta adducent ad arcem (1). —— *A true Philosopher, who examined Philosophy with that nicety of Judgment, which becomes a Christian, wrote a considerable Treatise on the caution, which ought to be used in reading the Philosophers, wherein all the errors, which flowed from unguarded Philosophers, are pointed out, and confuted, by solid reasoning from the Holy Scriptures, the Fathers, the Decrees of Councils, and the Schoolmen. With which Precautions, Philosophers, or public Professors, being provided, may safely tread that Path, and lead the handmaid to the Temple.* Father *Mersenne* has inserted a long Passage out of it in one of his Books (2): it is that wherein *Crispus* confutes the mystical Divines. It is not improper to know the reason why Father *Mersenne* inserted that Passage; Because, says he, that Author, who is pretty scarce, has confuted that sort of Divines most elegantly. 'Quod attinet ad secretiores illos Theologos quos Venetus tam importune & tam frequenter inculcat, bene mihi philosophatus videtur Joannes Baptista Crispus, cujus hic ideo integram sententiam libet attexere, præsertim cum autor ille rarissimus esse videatur, & elegantissimo stylo secretiores illos Theologos configat (3). —— *As to those mystical Divines whom* Venetus *mentions so often,* John Baptist Crispus *seems to me to have justly reasoned, whose Opinion I shall here give at large; especially as that Author is very scarce, and as he confutes them with a peculiar Elegance of Stile.*'

(1) Possevin. Appar. Sacr. Tom. II, pag. 117.

(2) *At the end of his* Observationes & Emendationes in Problemata Georgii Veneti in Genesim.

(3) Marinus Mersennus in Problem. Veneti, pag. 428.

The other Works of *Crispus* are two Speeches about the War against the *Turks*, printed at *Rome* in the Year 1594, in 4to. *De Medici laudibus, Oratio ad cives suos Gallipolitanos*, printed at *Rome* in the Year 1591, in quarto. The Life of *Sannazar*, printed at *Rome* in the Year 1583, and reprinted at *Naples* in the Year 1633, in octavo. The Plan of the City of *Gallipoli*, dedicated to *Flaminius Caracciuli* the first of *January* 1591 (4).

(4) *Taken from* Toppi's Biblioteca Napoletana.

CRITIAS, a Disciple of *Socrates*, improved so little by that Philosopher's Instructions, that he became a very wicked Man. He shewed it chiefly, when the City of *Athens*, the Place of his Birth, being subdued by *Lysander*, General of the *Lacedæmonians*, was subjected to thirty Tyrants. He was one of them, and the most unjust of them all (*a*). He did not only design to render the City of *Athens* most miserable, but also to make a Desart of all *Attica* [*A*]. It is said, that his Injustices prejudiced the People against *Socrates* [*B*], because their Resentment against the Scholar reflected upon the Master. *Xenophon* has confuted those, who maliciously imputed to *Socrates* the disorderly Lives of some of his Scholars [*C*]. It is certain, that *Critias* did not love *Socrates*, and that he forbad him to

(*a*) Κριτίας μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πάντων κακοηθέστατός τε καὶ βιαιότατος ἐγένετο. Critias enim quum ad paucos pervenisset civitatis status, unus ex illis factus longe omnium avarissimus ac violentissimus fuit. *Xenophon, de factis & dictis Socratis, lib.* 1, *pag.* m. 415. *See Remark* [*A*].

[*A*] *He designed to make a Desart of all* Attica.] His Rancour against his Country appeared from the time that he retired into *Thessaly*, where he was continually speaking ill of the *Athenians*. He represented them as a People who had the worst Customs in the World. Διαβάλλων δ' Ἀθηναίους ὡς πλεῖστα ἀνθρώπων ἁμαρτάνοιεν. *Athenienses vero perstringens quod præ cæteris errarent maxime* (1). Being returned to *Athens*, he did the *Lacedæmonians* many Services; he put *Lysander* upon demolishing the Walls, and conspired with them to depopulate all *Attica*, and to reduce it into Meadows. Ἐπεὶ λαμπρὰς μὲν ἐλαυνούσῃ, περιδιὰς δὲ τὰ ἱερά, καθύρει δὲ διὰ λουσάρου τὰ τείχη, ὃς δ' ἦλαυνε τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ σῶμα ποι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀφηρεῖτο, πόλεμον ἐκκινῶν εἰπὼν ἐς πόλιας, εἴ τις τὴν Ἀθηναίων φεύγοι ἀρχὴν ἐξελεῖν, ἀμύστιδι τε καὶ μιαιφονίᾳ τοὺς τειχοῦντα ὑπερβάλλοι, βυλιμαλῶς τε αὐτοὺς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ξυνελάμβανεν ὡς μηλόβοσιν ἢ Ἀττικὴν ἀποφανοῦσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγύλως ἐκκινωθεῖσα, κάκιστος ἀνθρώπων ἐμοί γε φαίνεται ξυμπάντων, ὃν ἐπὶ κακίᾳ ὄνομα. Cum ille aperte Lacedæmonis faveret, proderet sacra, per Lysandrum mœnia destrueret, quoque Athenienses expulerat quominus in ulla Græciæ parte consisterent, prohiberet, Laconicum edicens bellum omnibus imminere si quis exulantem Athenien*sem* exciperet, truculentia & cædibus triginta tyrannos superaret, detestabileque consilium cum Lacedæmoniis iniret ut Attica pecorum nutrix efficeretur, virorum armentis spoliata, his de causis mihi omnium hominum pessimus fuisse videtur qui ob scelera fuerunt famosi (2). —— *As he was evidently devoted to the* Lacedæmonians, *had not the least regard for the most sacred things, demolished the Walls by* Lysander, *and forbad the* Athenians, *whom he banished, to remain in any part of* Greece, *threatening all, who should entertain them, with the Arms of* Sparta, *exceeded the whole Thirty in Cruelty and Tyranny, and entered into a most abominable Scheme, with the* Lacedæmonians, *of depopulating* Attica, *and making it a common Pasture; 'I look upon him as the worst of Men, even amongst those who have signalized themselves by their Villanies.* He was the cause of the Death of *Alcibiades*; for *Lysander* did not engage the *Persians* to make away with him, till he had been informed by *Critias*, and the other Tyrants of *Athens*, That the Order which he had established in that City would be soon overturned, if that Man was not destroyed. 'Critias cæterique tyranni Athenienſium certos homines ad Lysandrum in Asiam miserunt, qui eum certiorem facerent, nisi Alcibiadem sustulisset, nihil earum rerum fore ratum quas ipse Athenis constituisset. Quare si suas res gestas manere vellet, illum persequeretur (3). —— 'Critias, *and the other Tyrants of* Athens, *sent to inform* Lysander *in* Asia, *that, unless he dispatched* Alcibiades *out of the way, nothing which they had done at* Athens *would be of any effect. That therefore if he desired the continuance of what he had done, he must destroy him.*'

(1) Philostratus in vitis Sophistarum, pag. 505.

(2) Idem, pag. 504, 505.

(3) Corn. Nepos, in Alcibiade, cap. X. init.

[*B*] *His Injustices prejudiced the People against* Socrates.] The Orator *Æschines* did not question it; for in one of his Orations, he spoke thus to the *Athenians*: Ὑμεῖς δ' Ἀθηναῖοι Σωκράτην μὲν τὸν σοφιστὴν ἀπεκτείνατε ὅτι Κριτίας ἑφδὸν πεπαιδευκὼς ἦν τῶν τειλοκοτῶν, τῶν τὸν δῆμον κατέλυσαν. Vos, Athenienses, Socratem sapientem illum occidistis, quod Critiam instituisset unum XXX. virorum qui populum oppressêrunt (4). —— *Ye, O Men of* Athens, *put the wise* Socrates *to Death, because he had educated* Critias, *one of the XXX Oppressors of the People.*

(4) Æschines Orat. in Timarchum, pag. m. 194. B.

[*C*] Xenophon *has confuted those, who maliciously imputed to* Socrates *the disorderly Life of some of his Scholars.*] The Enemies of that Philosopher imputed to him all the Misery, that *Critias* and *Alcibiades*, two of his Disciples, brought upon the *Athenians*. *Xenophon* shews that this was very unjust: He says, That those two Scholars applyed themselves to *Socrates* to learn the Art of Discourſing, which they intended to make use of to satisfy their exorbitant Ambition (5). He pretends, that tho' they were

(5) Xenoph. de factis & dictis Socratis, lib. 1, pag. m. 415.

to teach any body (b). One of the Crimes, that made him most hated, was his being the most zealous Promoter of the Death of *Theramenes*, and his endeavouring to hinder those, who were expelled from *Athens* by the Faction of the thirty Tyrants, from finding a Place of Refuge in *Greece* (c); for the Towns that should receive them were threatened with War (d). So many Persons were banished as were able to form a kind of a small Army, who resolved to return into the City by force, and to set it at Liberty. They possessed themselves of the *Piræus* under the Conduct of *Thrasybulus*; and, being forced to leave it, they were not disheartened (e), but maintained two Battles with great Vigour, and in the last they killed *Critias*, who fought valiantly (f). Such was the End of that Man, who was otherwise commendable for his Nobility [D], Eloquence [E], and Poetry

(b) Idem, pag. 417.

(c) Id. lib. 2. de Gestis Græcor.

(d) Philostratus in vitis Sophistarum, pag. 503.

(e) Xenoph. de Gestis Græc. lib. 2.

(f) Corn. Nepos in Thrasybulo, cap. 2.

so little inclined to imitate *Socrates*, that, if God had put it to their Choice, either to die, or to be obliged to live as that Philosopher did, they would have chosen the First; yet they behaved themselves decently whilst they were under his Direction; they did not indulge their wicked Inclinations till they had left his School. Καὶ Κριτίας δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἕως μὲν Σωκράτει συῆσαν ἐδυνάσθην ἐκείνῳ χαριζόμενοι συμμέτρως τῶν μὴ καλῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν κρατεῖν. Itaque Critias atque Alcibiades dum Socratis consuetudine utebantur potuerunt illius subsidio pravas superare cupiditates (6). *Critias* fled into *Thessaly*, where he was spoiled by the Conversation he kept with very wicked Men (7). Others question whether he did not corrupt the *Thessalians*; and they affirm, That he endeavoured to establish Tyranny among them (8). It was his Humour; he loved to bring Innovations and Broils in a State: *Xenophon* observes, that *Socrates* was not sparing in his reproofs to this Scholar (9): 'Perceiving 'that *Critias* was fallen in Love with *Euthydemus*, 'and that he endeavoured to obtain from him the 'last Favours which the Voluptuous desire, he endeavoured at first to divert him from that Design; 'telling him, That it was beneath a free Courage, 'and a Man of Honour, continually to importune 'a Man whose Esteem he desired to obtain, and to 'ask the part of a Beggar for a thing dishonest. 'And because *Critias* did not yield to this first Attack, it is reported, that *Socrates* said, in the Presence of several Persons, and even of *Euthydemus*, 'that *Critias* had the Itching of a Swine, and was desirous to rub himself against *Euthydemus* as Swines do against Stones. Ever after, *Critias* bore him an ill Will; and in the Time of the Thirty Tyrants, 'of which Number he was, when he had the care 'of the Policy with *Charicles*, he remembered that 'Affront very well; and, to revenge himself, he made 'a Law, whereby he forbad to teach the Art of 'Reasoning in *Athens*.' I have set down this whole Passage as Mr *Charpentier* of the *French Academy* has translated it. Here is a Piece of it according to the *Greek*: Λέγεται τὸν Σωκράτην, ἄλλων τε πολλῶν παρόντων καὶ τὸ Εὐθυδήμου, εἰπεῖν ὅτι δοκοίη πάσχειν ὁ Κριτίας, ἐπιθυμῶν Εὐθυδήμῳ προσκνᾶσθαι ὥσπερ τὰ ὑΐδια τοῖς λίθοις. *Socratem cum aliis multis præsentibus, tum etiam ipso Euthydemo, dixisse ferunt, Critiam in Euthydemum porcorum more, qui se saxis affricare solent, affici.*

(6) Id. ibid. pag. 416.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Philostratus in vitis Sophistarum, pag. 503, 504.

(9) Xenophon, ubi supra, pag. 417.

[D] *He was commendable for his Nobility.*] He was descended from *Dropides* the Brother of *Solon*. That *Dropides* was the Father of *Critias*, and he of *Calæschrus*, who was the Father of our *Critias*. It is said that *Solon* descended from *Codrus* King of *Athens*, and that going back higher they found *Neleus* and *Neptune* among the Heads of his Race (10). I must observe by the by, that I wonder that *Proclus*, from a Passage of *Plato*, very fit to confute those who assert that *Dropides* was the Brother of *Solon*, should make a Commentary, wherein he declares for that Brotherhood, without answering the Objection which his Text may afford. *Critias* says there (11), That *Solon* had told *Dropides* a certain Story: for, adds he, *Solon* lived familiarly and in good friendship with *Dropides*, ἦν μὲν ἐν οἰκείοις καὶ σφόδρα φίλος. Can such a Reason be alledged concerning two Brothers?

(10) Diog. Laërt. in Platone, lib. 3, p. 1. *See also* Plato in Charmide, pag. m. 463. C.

(11) In Platon. Timæo, pag. m. 1042. C.

[E] *For his Eloquence.*] Here is what *Cicero* says of it: 'Huic ætati suppares Alcibiades, Critias, 'Theramenes, quibus temporibus quod dicendi genus viguerit, ex Thucydidis scriptis qui ipse tum 'fuit intelligi maxime potest: grandes erant verbis, 'crebri sententiis, compressione rerum breves, & ob 'eam ipsam causam interdum subobscuri (12). —— (12) Cicero in Bruto, cap. 7.

'*In this Age, and nearly at the same time, flourished* Alcibiades, Critias, Theramenes; *of the manner of speaking then in vogue, we may be informed in a great measure from* Thucydides, *who was contemporary; they were lofty, sententious, concise, and for that reason sometimes obscure.*' *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* commends *Critias*'s Eloquence (13); but he represents it as quite different from that which *Cicero* has just described. It is plain that *Cicero* pretends, that, in order to know *Critias*'s Eloquence, we need only consider the Style of *Thucydides*. Doubtless he pretends that the concise and sententious way of expressing one's self, that reigns in that famous Historian, was in vogue at that time, and that *Critias*, and the other Orators he names, followed no other Method in their Speeches. On the other side *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* assures us, that *Thucydides*, had no Imitators, and, to prove it, he refers his Readers particularly to *Critias*. 'Ad eos 'autem qui Thucydidis orationem ad veterem atque 'illis temporibus usitatam dicendi rationem referunt, 'neque obscuro neque prolixo mihi sermone opus 'erit. Quibus illud dici potest; cum multi essent 'Athenis & Oratores, & Philosophi, quo tempore 'bellum inter Peloponnenses atque Athenienses gerebatur, neminem tamen repertum esse, qui hunc 'dicendi modum usurparit, neque Andocidem, neque Antiphontem, neque Lysiam, qui Oratores 'erant: neque Critiam, neque Antisthenem, neque 'Xenophontem, qui Socraticam philosophandi rationem sectabantur (14). —— *In answer to those,* (13) See his Opera Rhetorica & Critica, pag. 145, 228, 425. Edit. in 8vo, 1615.

(14) Ibid. pag. 425.

'*who make the Language of* Thucydides *to be the antient and received manner of speaking, I shall neither have Occasion to be prolix or obscure, but only observe, that though, during the War between the* Peloponnesians *and the* Athenians, *there were at* Athens *many both Orators and Philosophers, yet were there none who followed the same Method, neither* Andocides, Antipho, *or* Lysias, *who were Orators, nor* Critias, Antisthenes, *or* Xenophon, *who maintained the Principles of* Socrates.' *Cicero* speaks somewhat differently in another Place: He grants that *Critias* was less concise than *Thucydides*. 'I do not know why he makes 'some Difference, as to the Time, between *Critias* and *Alcibiades*; for they were certainly Cotemporaries. I shall set down *Cicero*'s Words, whereby it will appear, that in his Time they had still some Writings of *Critias*. 'Antiquissimi fere sunt quorum quidem 'scripta constent, Pericles, atque Alcibiades, & eadem ætate Thucydides, subtiles, acuti, breves, sententiis magis, quàm verbis abundantes. Non potuisset accidere, ut unum esset omnium genus, nisi 'aliquem sibi proponerent ad imitandum. Consequuti sunt hos Critias, Theramenes, Lysias. Multæ Lysiæ scriptæ sunt, nonnulla Critiæ, de Theramene audivimus, omnes etiam tum retinebant illum 'Periclis succum, sed erant paulò uberiore file (15). —— *Amongst the most antient of Those, whose Writings are still extant, are* Pericles, Alcibiades, *and their cotemporary* Thucydides; *subtil, keen, concise, rather abounding in Sentences than Words. It were impossible their Styles should be alike, unless they had taken some one for a Model. These were followed by* Critias, Theramenes, *and* Lysias. *There are several pieces of* Lysias, *and some of* Critias *still extant; of* Theramenes *we have heard; they all retained the Spirit of* Pericles, *but something more luxuriant in Style.*' Father *Caussin* reckons *Critias* among the ancient Sophists, and praises him very much. 'Non obscuri quoque nominis inter veteres (15) Cicer. de Oratore, lib. 2, cap. 22.

Poetry [F]. He was more praised by *Plato* than by *Proclus* [G], who commented upon *Plato*. He has been reckoned one of those who dogmatized against the Existence of GOD [H]. I should not be surprized that Authors, indifferently

« Sophistas Critias, qui in gravi genere dicendi exercitatissimus fuit. Nec tamen gravitatem verbis « poeticis aut dithyrambicis metiebatur, sed vocabulis maxime propriis, ut natura postulat, concinnabat orationem. Insigni præterea brevitate & magna Atticismi temperie loquutus, nihil habet insolens « aut ineptum (16). —— Critias *here we inconsiderable rank among the old Sophists, being a perfect Master of the majestic manner of speaking; nor yet did he swell his Discourse with poetical or sounding Expressions, but chose those which were most suitable to the nature of his subject. Besides he spoke with a peculiar conciseness, and a happy mixture of the* Attic *Elegance, so that nothing is uncouth or improper.* He quotes *Hermogenes* in his Favour (17): I had rather inform my Readers, that *Critias* was one of the XXX Tyrants of *Athens*, than meerly call him a Sophist. However, I own that *Philostratus*, giving too great a Latitude to that Word, placed *Critias* among the ancient Sophists. We have seen that he made a profligate Wretch of him; and we shall see that he praises him extreamly for his Eloquence. Τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν τῆ λέξι δοξαλίας ὁ Κεῖτίας καὶ σφοδρυνόμενος, συμφορήσας τὰ ἱκανώτατα, ἐ τὴν διθυραμβώδη συμφορήσιν, οὐδὲ καταφεύγας ἐς τὰ ἐκ ποιητικῆς ὀνόματα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν κυριωτάτων συγκειμένην καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχουσαν, ὁρῶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βραχυλογοῦντα ἱκανῶς καὶ δεινῶς, καθαπτόμενον ἀπολογίας ἴδιε ἀγλωίζοντά τε ἐκ ἀκριτῶς, οὐδὲ ἀκριβολογοῦντα. Genus vero orationis Critiæ fuit sententiarum gravitate & judicio ornatum. Idem in gravi dicendi genere exercitatissimus fuit, quam quidem gravitatem non dithyrambis intonabat, neque ad poetica verba confugiebat, sed vocabulis maxime propriis concinnabat & ut natura postulabat. Video namque hominem dicenti brevitate loquentem, & in defensione alios subtiliter carpentem. Item neque male nequé immoderate Attica lingua differentem (18). - - - Critias, *as to his Manner of writing, was solid and sententious, much inclined to the Majestic, but never rising to Bombast, or affecting Poetical Terms, expressing himself with Propriety, and agreeable to Nature. Methinks I see him speaking with a becoming Gravity, and refuting Objections with strength of Argument, and* Attic *Elegance.* I omit the remaining part of his Character mentioned by *Philostratus*: He loved Paradoxes, and to represent one and the same Idea by several loose Strokes. Καὶ τὸ ἀσυδέτως δὲ χαρίεν παρεβάλετο Κεῖτίν ἄρα. *Critiæ quoque decor ejus scopis dissolutis uni loco inhærere* (19). The Wind of his Eloquence fell often, but it was always softer and more pleasant than the *Zephyrs* (20). One of *Philostratus*'s Letters informs us, that *Critias* and *Thucydides* took *Gorgias* for their Model, and that they were beholding to him for the Loftiness of their Eloquence, attended with Facility in the one, and with Force in the other. Κεῖτίας δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐκ ἀγνοοῦντας τὸ μεγαλόφρονον καὶ τὸν ὄρρυν παρ' αὐτῦ κεκτημένοι· μεταποιῦντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ οἰκεῖον, ὁ μὲν ὑπ' εὐγλωττίας, ὁ δ' αὖ ὑπὸ ῥώμης. *Critias vero & Thucydides non clam est magnitudinem animi & superciliosum ab eo* (Gorgia) *acceptisse. Transtulerunt autem ad propria, alter ad linguæ promptitudinem, alter ad robur* (21).

[F] *And for his Poetry.*] *Plutarch* mentions a Passage of *Critias*'s Elegies, where the Author puts *Alcibiades* in mind that it was he who had caused him to be recalled, I mean, who had proposed to the People of *Athens* the Law that recalled him. It cannot be said, that the Author of those Elegies is another *Critias*, since *Plutarch* surnames him the Son of *Callæschrus*: Κριτίης τε Καλλαίσχρε γράψαντος ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐλεγείαις πεποίηκε. *Ex Critiæ Callæschri filii regatione, ut ipse hisce elegis cecinit.* And also citing the same Work elsewhere, he ascribed it to *Critias* one of the thirty Tyrants. Κριτίας δὲ τῶν τεμνόντα γενόμενος ἐν ταῖς εὐχεται. *Critias ex triginta tyrannis optat in elegiis* (23). There is a Fault in the Life of *Alcibiades* translated by *Amyot*; instead of *Critias the Son of Callæschrus*, there is *Callias the Son of Callæschrus*. The same Fault is in the Translation of *Plato*, by *Serranus*, in the Dialogue, intituled, *Protagoras*. There is Κεκτίας in the Greek, and *Callias* in the Translation. *Plutarch* is not the only Author who has cited the Elegies of *Critias*; you will find several Passages out of them in *Athenæus*: see Book 10, pag. 432, and Book 15. pag. 666. This last Passage informs us, that the Passage of the first Book, pag. 28, is taken from the same Work of *Critias*. I do not question but he composed some other Poems. It is not certainly known whether he was the Author of a Poem, intituled *Piritheüs*; some ascribe it to him, and others to *Euripides* (24). We shall see hereafter whether he ought to be distinguished from the Author of the Book *De Politia Lacedæmoniorum*.

[G] *He was more praised by* Plato *than by* Proclus.] *Every body in this Town knows, that* Critias *is ignorant of none of the things we speak of.* Κεῖτίαν δὲ ἐν πάντες οἱ τῆδε ἴσμεν ἀδεῶς ἰδιώτην ὄντα ἔν λέγομεν. *Critiam vero omnes utique hac in urbe, nullius eorum, quæ dicimus, esse imperitum scimus* (25). This is the Encomium that *Plato* bestows upon him: now he had been speaking of the Advantages that accrue from an excellent Genius, and from the Study of good Philosophy: *Proclus in commentario ad hunc locum*: Ὁ Κεῖτίας ἦν μὲν γενναίας καὶ ἀδρᾶς φύσεως, ἤπλετο δὲ καὶ φιλοσόφων συντυχῶν, καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο ἰδιώτης μὲν ἐν φιλοσόφοις, φιλόσοφος δὲ ἐν ἰδιώταις, ὡς ἡ ἱστορία φησίν. Erat quidem Critias generosa & vehementi indole, nec philosophicarum expers disceptationum; sed its tamen ut idiota inter philosophos, philosophus inter idiotas vocaretur; ut quidem historia testatur. *Quod significat hunc quidem non fuisse perfectum in philosophia, sed tamen ingenio aptum, & multæ eruditionis* (26). ——*Proclus*, in his Commentary on this Place, says: Critias *had a noble and extensive Genius; he had likewise spent some time in Philosophy; but so as to be accounted a Novice amongst Philosophers, and a Philosopher amongst the Novices; an Hippocentaur. Which means, that he was no Adept in Philosophy, but a Man of a ready Genius, and great Learning.* I observe upon these two last words of *Petitus*, that *Proclus*'s Expressions do not seem to signify, that *Critias* had a great deal of Learning. A Man may pass for a Philosopher without it among ignorant People. *Inter cæcos regnat strabus.*

[H] *He has been reckoned one of those that dogmatized against the Existence of* GOD.] *Sextus Empiricus* does not express this in obscure Terms. Θεὸς γάρ, says he (27), οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ φασιν εἶναι· τινὲς δὲ καὶ εἶναι ἄφασι· οἱ περὶ Διαγόραν τὸν Μήλιον, καὶ Θεόδωρον, καὶ Κεῖτίαν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον. *Most People believe that there are Gods, but some, as* Diagoras, Theodorus, *and* CRITIAS *the* Athenian, *say there are none.* He explains that Man's Thoughts in another Book. *Critias*, says he (28), one of the XXX Tyrants of *Athens*, seems to be in the Number of Atheists. He pretends, that the ancient Lawgivers, designing to prevent any one from doing his Neighbour wrong in private, feigned that there is a Providence which takes notice whether Men live well or ill, and punishes them that do evil. According to his System, there had been a time when Men, being as disorderly as Beasts, and neither rewarding good Actions, nor punishing bad ones, followed no other Law than that of the strongest. Afterwards some Men enacted Punishments, and then Justice exercised its Authority over Injustice, like a Master over his Slave. Those were punished that did any Evil. And then, when it was found that the Laws did indeed prevent Men from sinning publickly, but not from doing an ill Action privately, there arose a Man of Parts, who knew that he should do Mankind a very great Service, if he could order it so, that the Wicked should be afraid of being punished even when they should sin privately, or have an ill Design. He therefore invented a God, that is, an immortal Nature, which sees and knows all things: he ascribed to him the Government of the World, the Motion of the Heavens, Lightening and

(16) Cauſſin. de Eloquentia, lib. 1, pag. m. 18, 19.

(17) Ab Hermogene judicatur σεμνὸς καὶ ἀγωνιῶν πρὸς ὄγκον. *Ibid.*

(18) Philostratus in vitis Sophistarum, pag. 505.

(19) Id. ibid. *This may be justly said of* Seneca.

(20) Ibid.

(21) Philostrat. in Epist. ad Julian Augustam, pag. 887.

(22) Plut. in Alcib. pag. 209, E.

(23) Idem, in Cimone, pag. 484, E.

(24) Athen. lib. 11, pag. 496.

(25) Plato in Timæo, pag. m. 1047, E.

(26) Petrus Petitus, Miscellanear. Observat. pag. 6.

(27) Sext. Emp. Pyrrhon. Hypotypof lib. 3, pag. 255.

(28) Id. adversus Mathematicos, pag. 318.

rently verſed in the reading of the Ancients, ſhould be ignorant of that matter of Fact; but I think it ſomewhat ſtrange, that the learned *Tanaquillus Faber* did not

Thunder, and all things in general that Men dread: Thus, concluded he, an ingenious Man made others believe the Exiſtence of a Deity. *Sextus Empiricus* quotes *Critias*'s own words, without naming the Book from which he takes them. We know only that he borrows them from a Poem; for he cites Iambic Verſes. That which perplexes the thing is, that *Plutarch* aſcribes the ſame Verſes to *Euripides*, and ſuppoſes that this Poet, fearing the *Areopagites*, and not daring to publiſh his Atheiſm directly, cauſed this wicked Syſtem to be ſet forth by a Perſon repreſented on the Stage (29). Εὐριπίδης ὁ τραγῳδοποιὸς ἀποκαλύπτασθαι μὲν οὐκ ἠθέλησε, δεδοικὼς τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον· ὑπόφαγε δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. τὸν γὰρ Σίσυφον εἰσήγαγε φησάντων ταύτης τῆς δόξης, καὶ συνηγορεύσαν αὐτῷ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ, Ἦν γάρ χρόνῳ (φησὶν) ὅτε ἄτακτος ἦν ἀνθρώπων βίος, καὶ θηριώδης, ἰσχὺς δ' ὑπῆρχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ φασὶ τὰς ἀρομένας λυθῆναι νόμον εἰσαγαγεῖν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος τὰ φανερὰ τῶν ἀδικημάτων εἴργειν ἐδύνατο, κρύβδα τε ἤδικουν πολλοί, τότε τὶς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ ἐπίσταται ὡς δεῖ δεῖν ψευδεῖ λόγῳ τυφλῶσαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ θηλῶσι τὰς ἀνθρώπους, ὡς ἔστι θεὸν ἀφθίτῳ θάλλον βίῳ, Ὃς ταῦτ' ἀκούει καὶ βλέπει φρουεῖ τ' ἄγαν. Euripides tragicus Poeta aperte quidem profiteri hanc ſententiam non eſt auſus, metuens Areopagiticum judicium: indicavit tamen hac ratione: Siſyphum introduxit, qui eam proferret, ipſeque ei patrocinatus eſt,

(29) Plut. de Placitis Philoſ. lib. 1, quæſt. 7, pag. 880, E.

Incondita olim vita fuit mortalium,
Et beluina, viribuſque ſerviens.

Legibus deinde poſitis ait injuſtitiam fuiſſe repreſſam. Sed cum hæ aperta poſſent flagitia prohibere, multi autem occulte ſcelera perpetrarent, tum quendam callidum virum prodiiſſe, qui docuerit veritati tenebras mendacio offundendas, hominibuſque perſuadendum eſſe,

Quod ſit perenni vita aliquis vigens Deus,
Qui cernat illa, & audiat, atque intelligat.

—— Euripides, *the Tragedian, dreading the Cenſure of the* Areopagites, *dared not publickly declare himſelf; but effected it after this manner. He introduced* Siſyphus *to broach this Opinion, and then patronized it himſelf. His Words are,*

Man like a lordly Savage once untam'd,
Scour'd the wild Deſart, nor would Homage pay
But to ſuperior Power.

He afterwards obſerves, that theſe Irregularities were checked by the introduction of Laws. But whereas thoſe could only reſtrain Men from open Acts of Injuſtice, and Men would ſtill be wicked in the Dark; that then,

Some ſubtil Politician roſe, who taught
To varniſh Falſhood with a ſpecious Dye:

That by likewiſe inſtilled a Notion into the credulous Part of Mankind, that there was

Some God immortal, whoſe all ſeeing Eye,
And ever-open Ear, all Secrets knew.

It is manifeſt, that the Syſtem mentioned by *Sextus Empiricus*, and that which *Plutarch* ſpeaks of, are both alike. They only differ in this, that *Plutarch* does not quote ſo many Verſes as *Sextus Empiricus*, and that he attributes to *Euripides* what the other aſcribes to *Critias*. But the Verſes, quoted by *Plutarch*, are exactly the ſame with ſome of thoſe that *Sextus Empiricus* quotes. An Enquiry may be made upon this, whether, through want of Memory, too frequent among Authors great and ſmall, what belongs to *Euripides* has not been aſcribed to *Critias*, or *vice verſa*; or whether there is any other way of ſolving the Difficulty? It ſeems to me that a Phyſician of *Paris* has been pretty lucky in his Conjectures.

He thinks there is a Gap in *Sextus Empiricus*; I mean, that the Tranſcribers have skipped ſome Periods, which contained what was cited out of *Critias*, and the notice that was given that *Euripides*, imbued with the ſame Opinion, had fully explained it in a Tragedy. 'Mihi probabilius videtur mutilum eſſe Empirici librum quam Plutarchi, nec ea modo quæ ex Critia citabat ævo ſubtracta, ſed etiam ipſius verba illa quibus Euripidem eorum verſuum auctorem laudabat antequam verſus ipſos poneret. Quo ſane factum putandum eſt ut iis qui lacunam non adverterent, iidem verſus Critiæ adſcribi ac nomine ejus citari ab Empirico viderentur (30).' Thoſe who know that ſome very ancient and pretty good Manuſcripts do not contain all that is to be found in others, and yet that no Blanks have been left in them, will own that it is very poſſible that the Manuſcripts of *Empiricus* ſhould be curtailed in that place, though the words are contained. But though I approve *Petitus*'s Conjecture, yet I do not admit of all his Reaſons; and I am going to ſhew thoſe that ſeem to be falſe.

(30) Petrus Petitus, Obſervat. Miſcellan. lib. 2, cap. 1, pag. 72.

I. He ſays, that, according to *Plutarch*, the Reaſon that obliged *Euripides* to put out his Syſtem under the Perſon of *Siſyphus*, was for fear of the *Areopagites*: now, adds he, that Fear is not likely in ſuch a Man as *Critias*, a cruel and violent Tyrant, who laughed both at humane and divine Laws. 'Non videtur is metus in tyrannum cadere qualis fuiſſe Critias dicitur impotens, ſævus, juris humani oblitus, & Deorum contemptor (31).' This Reaſon has no force; for *Critias*'s Tyranny did not begin till after the taking of *Athens*: before that time he was only confidered proportionably to his Intrigues, and was no leſs anſwerable for his Behaviour than another. So that if he would have compoſed a piece for the Stage, he had been obliged to be as cautious as *Euripides* more or leſs. The People and the Tribunals of *Athens* could have brought him as eaſily to reaſon as they did *Alcibiades* under pretence of Impiety (32). It is very probable, that if *Critias* had made Tragedies, it was not after he became one of the XXX Tyrants, but when he was more at leiſure. At the worſt it is very poſſible that he might have made them before he was a Tyrant; which is ſufficient to confute the Reaſon I am here to oppoſe.

PETITUS's Reaſons examined.

(31) Petit, Ibid. pag. 5.

(32) *See* Cornelius Nepos in vita Alcibiadis.

II. Here is another that is not ſtronger. *Critias* was not ſo good a Poet, that one may aſcribe to him ſuch fine Verſes as thoſe quoted by *Empiricus*. How ſhall we reconcile this with *Athenæus*, who quotes ſo many good Verſes of *Critias*, and even calls him a very good Man (33); and laſtly cites a Piece that was looked upon as a Work of *Critias*, or of *Euripides*? When the Public doubts whether a Poem be the Work of one of the firſt rate Authors that are known, or of another, they muſt be perſuaded that That other is a very good Poet.

(33) Ὁ κράτιστος ἀνήρ. Optimus Critias, *Athen. lib.* 13, pag. 600.

III. What *Petitus* adds, that ſince *Plato* (34) reproached *Euripides* with flattering Tyrants, and praiſing Tyranny, the Fear of the *Areopagites* becomes that Poet much better than *Critias*, ſeems to me a wrong Argument: For, generally ſpeaking, there is no Connexion between preferring Monarchy before a Commonwealth, and being afraid of ſpeaking one's Mind about Religion. The Praiſes of Tyranny, for which *Euripides* was reproached, are only ſome Paſſages in his Tragedies, wherein he deſcribes the Advantages of a Monarchial Government: and it is not ſtrange that in a City like *Athens*, wherein the Republican Government was an endleſs cauſe of Revolutions and Confuſions, a Man of Parts ſhould be affected with Maxims favourable to Monarchy. 'Magis profecto Euripidi convenit, quod ait Plutarchus, non auſum metu Areopagi aperire mentem ſuam de Diis, propterea Siſyphi perſonam ab eo inductam. NAM & Plato Euripidi objicit in octavo *de Republica*, quod tyrannis impenſus faveret, & tyrannidem laudaret (35).—*What* Plutarch *advances is more agreeable to the Character of* Euripides, *namely, that out of a fear of the* Areopagites *he durſt not declare himſelf, and therefore introduced the Character of* Siſyphus. FOR *Plato, in the eighth Book* De Republica, *objects againſt* Euripides *for too ſtrenuouſly favouring Tyrants, and commending*

(34) Libr. 8, de Republ.

(35) Petit. lib. 1, pag. 6, 7.

not know it [*I*]. The Place where *Sextus Empiricus* ſpeaks of it has exerciſed one

'*commending Tyranny.*' But to leave this, the Queſtion is not to vindicate *Euripides*'s Notion about Government, but to enquire whether, becauſe he ſpoke ſometimes in Commendation of a Monarchical Government, it was neceſſary for him to uſe the Artifice that *Plutarch* aſcribes to him: which is, that, being afraid of the *Areopagites*, he brought in *Siſyphus*, in one of his Tragedies, venting the impious Doctrine, which he durſt not give out as his own. One cannot eaſily perceive that one of thoſe two things may be the Conſequence of the other: it appears plainly, that, though he had inveighed againſt a Kingly Government, in favour of a Republican one, Prudence would have taught him, that it was neceſſary for him to uſe ſome Art in the publiſhing of an impious Doctrine, to avoid being proſecuted for it by the *Areopagites*. I grant that, if one conſider well the matter, it will appear, that his praiſing a Monarchical Government might have made him unacceptable to the Magiſtrates of *Athens*, and that conſequently he ſhould have thought himſelf obliged to be more cautious than another, and to give no occaſion for a Proſecution. But, at the Bottom, *Petitus*'s Conjecture would be diſputable (36); and however it cannot be denied, that this does not clearly appear to be his meaning, as he has expreſſed himſelf (37).

(36) I ſpeak thus, becauſe it is certain that *Petitus* had no ſuch Thought.

(37) Compare the firſt Edition of this Dictionary with the ſecond.

IV. If *Plato*'s Reproach againſt *Euripides* had been alledged only as a Principle of the Concluſion that I am going to examine, I would not have found fault with *Petitus*'s Arguments in the way I have done; I ſhould eaſily have perceived ſome Connexion between the two things that he concludes the one from the other. He argues thus Since *Euripides* praiſed Tyranny, and warmly maintained the Cauſe of Tyrants, it is probable that he vented upon the Stage the Maxims that are imputed to him; for thoſe Maxims are very pleaſing to Tyrants. 'Quidni igitur 'Euripides tyrannis amicus, & Archelao Macedo- 'num regi haud ſane admodum laudato, in amoribus, 'hanc ſententiam in ea tragœdia tyrannorum mori- 'bus conſentaneam protulerit: utpote quibus religio 'nihil aliud ſit, niſi machina theatralis, qualem poe- 'tæ habent in promptu, ad expediendum fabulæ 'quempiam nodum (38). —— *Why then might not* 'Euripides, *a Friend to Tyrants, and much careſſed* 'by Archelaus, *King of* Macedon, *who does not bear* 'the beſt of Characters, advance this Opinion, agree- 'able to the Manners of Tyrants; who's Religion is 'nothing but a Theatrical Machine, which Poets have 'in readineſs, to ſolve ſome Difficulty in the Play.' Thus far he is in the right; I mean, that whoever admits the Principle, muſt admit the Conſequence: but it falls out unluckily, that there is a falſe Propoſition in that Argument. It is not true, that whoever goes about to take off the Impreſſions of Religion, does a thing acceptable to a Tyrant. Thoſe who are ſo ignorant and ſo unreaſonable, as not to aſcribe the Origin of Religion to the Impreſſions that God himſelf has communicated to Mens minds, find no Suppoſition more plauſible than to ſay, that thoſe who had a Mind to govern have invented Religion, to keep the People more eaſily under the Yoke. Hiſtory affords us a thouſand Inſtances of the Advantages that Princes have drawn from the Superſtitions of the People, whether they were to be encouraged, or terrified. An Oracle of *Delphi*, an Anſwer of the Augurs, the Explication of a Prodigy, have been of great uſe in a thouſand Caſes for the Intereſt of Sovereigns. So that, tho' by the ſame Machines People may be made to revolt (39), it is nevertheleſs probable, that becauſe all the Inconveniences that may ariſe from an Invention cannot be foreſeen, underſtanding and cunning Sovereigns would have forged a Religion, if they had not found one already eſtabliſhed. *Petitus* is therefore in the wrong to ſuppoſe that *Euripides*, in order to make his Court to Tyrants, and particularly to *Archelaus*, King of *Macedonia*, cauſed a long part to be acted on the Stage with deſign to deſtroy Religion. Is any thing more proper to ruin it, than to make People believe that it was only invented to ſerve for a Scarecrow, and that it is a Chimera to pretend that Thunder, Hail, and Storms, are Puniſhments that God makes uſe of againſt wicked Men? *Petitus* has ſo plainly confuted himſelf, that one cannot but wonder at it: Tyrants, ſays he (40), laugh at Religion, they do not mind it; nevertheleſs, they uſe all imaginable means to make their Subjects obedient to Religion: and conſequently, (he may be anſwered) *Euripides* would have made his Court very ill to Tyrants, if he had vented upon the Stage ſuch an impious Doctrine as that mentioned by *Sextus Empiricus* and *Plutarch*.

(38) Petit. lib. 2, pag. 7.

(39) *See above, Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* ABDAS.

(40) Cum enim neque religionis reſpectum habeant, id tamen modis omnibus ſtudent, ut quibus imperant populi, religioni maxime pareant. *Petit. lib. 1, pag.* 7.

It ſeems to me that *Petitus* forgot one of the beſt Reaſons, which prove, that it is *Euripides*, and not *Critias*, who dogmatized in that manner. He ſhould have ſaid, that it is an uſual thing with *Euripides* to bring ſome Perſons on the Stage who utter Impieties. His *Bellerophon* inveighs very boldly againſt the Divine Providence, and concludes againſt it from the Diſorders that are to be ſeen in the World, and the continual Oppreſſion of Innocency (41). To conclude, I ſhall obſerve, that *Petitus* has quoted a long Paſſage of *Seneca*, whereby it appears, that This Philoſopher looked upon what the Ancients have ſaid of *Jupiter*'s Thunderbolt as a pious Fraud. 'Quid tam imperitum eſt, quam 'credere fulmina è nubibus Jovem mittere —— 'ut impunitis ſacrilegis, percuſſis ovibus, incenſis 'aris, pecudes innoxias feriat. —— Si quæris à 'me quid ſentiam, non exiſtimo tam habetes fuiſſe, 'ut crederent Jovem, aut non æquæ voluntatis, aut 'certe minus paratum eſſe. Utrum enim cum emi 'ſit ignes, quibus innoxia capita pereuteret, ſcele- 'rata tranſiret, aut noluit juſtius mittere, aut non 'ſucceſſit? Quid ergo ſecuti ſunt, cum hoc dice- 'rent? ad coërcendos animos imperitorum ſapien- 'tiſſimi viri judicaverunt, inevitabilem metum, ut 'ſupra nos aliquid timeremus. Utile erat in tanta 'audacia ſcelerum, aliquid eſſe adverſum quod nemo 'ſibi ſatis potens videretur. Ad conterrendos itaque 'eos, quibus innocentia niſi metu non placet, po- 'ſuere ſuper caput vindicem & quidem armatum (42). —— *What can be more ridiculous than to* 'imagine, *that* Jupiter *hurls Thunder from the* 'Clouds —— *that he ſhould ſtrike harmleſs Sheep,* 'burn Altars, *and ſuffer impious Wretches to eſcape* 'with Impunity. —— *If you ask my Opinion, I can-* 'not imagine Men to have been ſo ſtupid as to be- 'lieve Jupiter, either partial in his Judgment, or 'defective in Power: For when he throws his Thun- 'der, which ſtrikes the Innocent, and ſpares the 'Guilty, is it want of Juſtice, or does he miſs 'his Aim? Where then is the Conſequence of this 'Aſſertion? In order to check the Minds of the Ig- 'norant, the wiſer ſort thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh 'a dread of ſomething above, and of an inevitable 'Puniſhment: it was of uſe, in a daring Age of 'Impiety, to ſet up ſome Power, which none could 'think himſelf able to oppoſe. Therefore to keep thoſe 'in awe, who chuſe Innocence only out of Fear, they 'placed over their Heads an armed Avenger.' Note, that *Seneca* does not deny that *Jupiter* darts his Thunderbolt, if by *Jupiter* the Soul of the World be underſtood, which produces, governs, and directs all things, which may be called Fate, Providence, Nature, World, and which, properly ſpeaking, is nothing elſe but the Univerſe itſelf, *Ipſe enim eſt totum quod vides, totus ſuis partibus inditus, & ſe ſuſtinens vi ſua* (43). The *Spinoziſts* would eaſily approve this Thought. When *Seneca* is asked why this *Jupiter* ſtrikes what ought to be ſpared, and ſpares what ought to be ſtruck, he deſires ſome time to prepare an Anſwer. *At quare Jupiter aut ferienda tranſit, aut innoxia ferit? In majorem me quæſtionem vocas, cui ſuus locus, ſuus dies dandus eſt* (44).

(41) *See Remark* [*AA*] *of the Article* EURIPIDES. *See alſo* la Mothe le Vayer, Tom. XII, Letter 135, pag. 220, & Athenagoras in Legat. pro Chriſtian. pag. m. 28, & Clem. Alexandrin. in Admonit. ad Gentes, pag. 50.

(42) Seneca Nat. Quæſt. libr. 2. cap. 42.

(43) Seneca, Ibid. cap. 45.

(44) Ibid. cap. 46.

[*I*] Tanaquillus Faber *did not know it.*] He plainly ſhews it in his Note on theſe words of *Plutarch*: Τί δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι ἐκ ἐλαυθάνει Κρονίαν λαζόντες ἢ Διαγόραν νομοθέτην ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, μίτρᾳ τινὶ δεῖν μὴτε δαίμονας νομίζειν ἢ τοιαῦτα ζῶντα οἷα τῷ Κρόνῳ θύουν. Nonne utiliſus erat Carthagineſibus jam inde ab initio Critia vel Diagora ad condendas leges adhibito decernere nullum eſſe Deum, nullum genium: quam talia ſacra facere qualibus illi Saturno operabantur (45). —— *How much better would it have been for the* Carthaginians *to have had a* Critias *and a* Diagoras *for their firſt Legiſlators, who believed neither Gods nor Spirits, than to offer ſuch Sacrifices to* Saturn *as they did?* Here is his Note: 'I know very well that *Critias*

(45) Plut. de Superſt. ſub fin. pag. 172.

(g) Dr Petit, a Physician at Paris. See Remark [H].

one of our modern Critics (g). *Moreri* had but little Information concerning this Particular [K], and *Voſſius* could not ſerve him for a ſufficient Guide [L].

' was a paſſionate, furious, and unjuſt Man; in ' ſhort, the fierceſt of the XXX Tyrants. But the ' Queſtion is here about a Philoſopher, and not a ' Tyrant: Wherefore I believe that inſtead of *Critias* it muſt be read *Theodorus*, who was formerly ' one of the moſt famous Atheiſts of *Greece*. I ſhall ' be told that between theſe two Words Κριτίας ' and Θεόδωρος there is almoſt no reſemblance in ' the Letters that compoſe them; but it muſt be ' remembered, that the *Greek* Tranſcribers do com- ' monly ſo abbreviate the Words that begin with ' Θεο, that they write Θ̸ωρος with a little ſtroke ' on the Θ. However it be, *Critias* is a fault.' Here is a definitive Sentence, that would not have eſcaped that Critic, if he had known what is to be found in *Sextus Empiricus* concerning *Critias*. A Father of the Church (46) has placed this *Critias* among the Atheiſts.

(46) Theophilus ad Autolycum, lib. 2, pag. mihi 108.

[K] Moreri *had but little Information concerning this Particular.*] He ſhould not have ſpoken in the ſingular Number *of an Elegy of* Critias, ſince *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* made uſe of the plural. II. He would not have ſaid, that *the Philoſopher* Sextus *quotes a fine Fragment of his*, if he had known that this Fragment contains an abominable Doctrine, down-right Atheiſm. III. *Critias the Son of Callæſchrus* ſhould not be an Article by it ſelf; he is the ſame *Critias* that was one of the XXX Tyrants. IV. There are no good Reaſons to give us one *Critias*, a *Greek* Hiſtorian, different from the Son of *Callæſchrus*; as we ſhall ſee in the following Remark. V. The Teſtimony mentioned by *Clemens Alexandrinus* is not *very advantageous to that Author*; for that Father cites only (47) ſome Words of *Critias*, to ſhew that he was a Plagiary of *Euripides*. That which deceived *Moreri* is, that he did not underſtand all the force of theſe *Latin* Words of *Voſſius*, *Illuſtre hujus Scriptoris teſtimonium adducit Clemens* (48). This ſignifies only that *Clemens Alexandrinus* cites *Critias*, on a remarkable Subject. Now this does not import that he praiſes and eſteems *Critias*. VI. *Moreri* ſhould not have queſtioned that he, whom *Plutarch* cites in the Life of *Lycurgus*, is the ſame who wrote concerning the Republic of *Sparta*, and whom *Athenæus quotes twice*. We ſhall quickly ſee that it is a certain Truth.

(47) Stromat. lib. 6, pag. 620. D.

(48) Voſſ. de Hiſtor. Græcis, pag. 348.

[L] Voſſius *could not ſerve him for a ſufficient Guide.*] He believed, without any reaſon, that *Critias* the Son of *Callæſchrus* was not the ſame that compoſed Elegies, and who was one of the XXX Tyrants (49). It is eaſy to ſee that it is one and the ſame *Critias*; and I wonder that *Voſſius* did not perceive it: he ſays in expreſs Words, that *Critias* the Tyrant had inſcribed an Elegy to *Alcibiades* (50); now *Plutarch* cites an Elegy of *Critias* the Son of *Callæſchrus*, wherein the Author ſpoke to *Alcibiades* (51); is it not plain then, that *Critias* the Tyrant, and the Elegiac Poet, and the Son of *Callæſchrus*, are one and the ſame Perſon? *Voſſius* was not always ignorant of it; for he acknowledged in his *Greek* Hiſtorians, that *Critias*, whoſe Verſes are mentioned by *Plutarch* in the Life of *Alcibiades*, is the Son of *Callæſchrus* (52). We read alſo in *Athenæus*, that *Critias* the Son of *Callæſchrus* made ſome Elegies. As for *Critias* the Author of a Treatiſe of the Republic of *Lacedæmon*, *Voſſius* ſhould not have thought (53), but known, that it is he whom *Plutarch* quotes in the Life of *Lycurgus* (54). In order to prove it, it is ſufficient to ſay that *Athenæus*, relating the ſame thing that *Plutarch* mentions, alledges *Critias*, Author of the Treatiſe of the Republic of *Lacedæmon*, for his Authority. *Voſſius* ſays, that this *Critias* is not the Son of *Callæſchrus*, but gives no reaſon for it; and therefore as I would not affirm that he is in the wrong, neither would I be poſitive that what he ſays is true. It might be that the ſame *Critias*, who was a Scholar of *Socrates*, and one of the XXX Tyrants, had a mind to ſhew the Public that he was at once a Poet, an Orator, and an Hiſtorian. He left ſome Orations; *Cicero* and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis* had read them: he left ſome Poems; *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* (55) quote them: why ſhould he not be the ſame that compoſed a Treatiſe of the Republic of *Lacedæmon*? I obſerve that *Athenæus* cites a Paſſage out of *Critias*'s Elegies, wherein mention is made of the different ways of drinking at a Feaſt. *Critias* praiſes very much the Cuſtom that was obſerved at *Lacedæmon* in that reſpect: they drank no body's health; they did not drink round; they did not run into any Exceſs; they obſerved a certain Medium that revived the Martial Humour, and the Mirth of the Converſation: in a Word, it was beneficial to the Body and the Mind; it made a Man fit for the Functions of Love, and provoked a good Sleep.

(49) Id. de Poëtis Græcis, pag. 44.

(50) Ibid.

(51) Plut. in Alcib. pag. 209. E.

(52) Voſſ. de Hiſt. Græc. pag. 348.

(53) Puto & eundem Critiam eſſe cujus Plutarchus mentionem facit in Lycurgo. *Id. ib.*

(54) Pag. 45.

(55) Athen. lib. 11, pag. 463.

Οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ χόροι τίνυσι τοσοῦτον,
Ὥστε φρὴν εἰς ἴλαρὸν δοσιδέα σπάσαι ἀνάγειν,
Εἰς τε φιλοφροσύνην γλῶσσαν μάτειόν τε γέλωτα.
Τοιαῦτα δὲ πόσις σώματί τ' ὠφέλιμος,
Τρόμῳ τε, πίνοντα τε καλεῖς εἰς ἔργ' Ἀφροδίτης,
Πρὸς δ' ὕπνον ἥρμοσαι, τὸν καμόντων λιμένα.

Lacedæmonii juvenes ſonſque bibunt,
Ut ad capiendum ſcutum alacres totum animum vertant:
Linguam verò ad hilaritatem, modeſtumque riſum:
Ea nimirum potatio corpori utilis eſt,
Ac menti: juvatque multùm ad Veneris opus,
Nec parum ad ſomnum confert, qui laborum portus eſt (56).

(56) Id. lib. 10, cap. 9, pag. 432.

The Spartan *Youth with caution ſinks the Bowl,*
Not to inflame, but warm his generous Soul.
For moderate cups a genial pow'r diſpenſe,
Health, Vigour, Mirth, ſoft Sleep, and pleaſing Senſe.
By them inſpir'd, the Hero meets th' alarms
Of War's dread GOD, or Beauty's ſofter charms.

(57) Id. lib. 11, cap. 3, pag. 463. Voſſius *thought that* Athenæus *has only quoted that Book twice. I find it quoted three.* Harpocration *quotes it at the Word* Ανκιπργεῖς.

I obſerve alſo, that the ſame Author cites *Critias*'s Work about the Republic of *Lacedæmon* (57), to ſhew the different ways of drinking: and this *Critias* makes the ſame Obſervation that I have already mentioned, which is, that the *Lacedæmonians* drank no Health. This will rather prove that there is here but one *Critias*, than that there are two. Note, that *Julius Pollux*, who quotes *Critias* a great many times, without naming any Book, names the Ἀταλάντη (58) once, and the Treatiſe of Republics once (59).

(58) Κριτίας δὲ ἐν Ἀταλάντῃ. Jul. Pollux, lib. 7, cap. 10.

(59) Παρὰ Κριτίᾳ ἐφ' ἑνὸς τῶν πολιτειῶν. Id. ibid. cap. 13.

CRITO. Several ancient Authors have born This Name. I ſhall not repeat what *Moreri* ſays of them; I ſhall only correct ſome of his Faults [A].

[A] *I ſhall only correct ſome of his Faults.*] I. *Crito* the *Athenian* lived indeed in the XCIVth Olympiad, but not in the 150th Year of *Rome*: *Moreri* ſhould have ſaid the Year 350. II. I own he was one of the Diſciples of *Socrates*; but it is falſe that *Diogenes Laërtius* tells us ſo, and yet he is the only Author that *Moreri* quotes: he ſhould have quoted *Xenophon* (1). I ſhall clear this at the end of this Remark. III. *Crito* had no Son whoſe Name was *Cbaſippus*; it ſhould be *Cteſippus*. IV. *Crito* the Phyſician *did* not *teach an Art of Politeneſs, which* Galen *ſays ought to be excuſed, becauſe he exerciſed Phyſic with Kings and Ladies.* Would not one think that this Phyſician publiſhed ſome Books concerning Civility, not for the uſe of Children, but concerning the Civility of grown Men, and even a higher Civility than that of the *Galateus* of *Monſignor della Caſa*? Would not one think that he was the Chevalier *de Meré* of his time, and that he publiſhed ſome Treatiſes of Delicacy, which deſer-

(1) Xenophon, de Fact. & Dict. Socratis, lib. 1, pag. m. 418. *See alſo* Suidas in Κρίτων.

ved

ved that Title better than Father *Bouhours*'s Apology against *Cleanthes*? And yet he did nothing of all this; he was contented to teach that part of Physic that is called *Cosmetic*. It is that which undertakes to cure the Uglineſs and other Imperfections of the Body, which are apt to give married People a diſguſt of one another. That part of Physic is not the moſt minded; but it is pretended that it may be of great uſe even with reſpect to the Salvation of the Soul, ſince it may prevent Adulteries. 'Ad me-'dicinam etiam pertinet Cosmetice: quæ ars non 'debet reprehendi, ſi quis rectè utatur. Nam & ma-'riti quandoque levibus uxorum vitiis offenſi amo-'rem ad concubinas, vel etiam meretrices, imo & a-'lienas uxores applicant. Quandoque & homines 'bene natos inque honore conſtitutos pudet cum 'ejuſmodi vitiis in publicum prodire. Itaque nec 'Galenus dubitavit in Arte ſua tradere complura, 'quæ ad artem κοσμητικὴν pertinent: ut de iis 'quæ pulcrum vultui colorem conciliant: quæ ma-'culas, ſcabritiem, aut rugas tollant: quæ capillis 'colorem mutent; quæ dentes albos reddant (2). '—— Cosmetics *are a part of Phyſic, which, if* 'rightly applied, *ought not to be condemned; for* 'Husbands *ſometimes taking an Antipathy to their* 'Wives, *from ſome trifling Imperfection, keep com-*'pany with *looſe Women, or other Mens Wives. And* 'ſometimes *Men of diſtinguiſhed Rank and Quality* 'are *aſhamed to appear in public with ſuch Blemiſhes.* 'Wherefore Galen *did not ſtick to inſert amongſt his* 'other *Works, ſeveral things which relate to the* Coſ-'metic *Art, as what will give a lively Colour to the* 'Face, *take away Pimples, Scurf, or Wrinkles,* 'change *the Colour of the Hair, or make the Teeth* 'white.' Phyſicians diſtinguiſh it commonly from that diſhoneſt Art, that ſupplies Painting and all thoſe fine Drugs, which *Ovid* ſet forth in his Poem *De Medicamine Faciei* (3). They have endeavoured to mend that Fault in the *Dutch* Edition of *Moreri*'s Dictionary; but they could not ſucceed in it, becauſe they could not believe that it was ſo groſs as it is. *He taught his Art with a Politeneſs, which* Galen *ſays ought to be excuſed*, &c. This is the Correction of *Moreri*'s Words, which is certainly wrong, but very excuſable; for who could have imagined that, ſince it is ſaid three lines after that *Crito* was the Inventer of the *Coſmetic* Art, they ſhould not have diſtinguiſhed in him Politeneſs from *Coſmetics*. *Moreri*'s Blunder does not appear in it's full extent, unleſs one examine the Author, he pretends to follow, *viz. Voſſius*. Now theſe are *Voſſius*'s Words: 'Hic Crito docuit artem κοσμητικὴν, 'ſive *comtoriam* vel *exornatoriam:* qua in re, ut Ga-'lenus ait, veniam meretur quia apud reges & regi-'nas medicinam fiteeret (4). —— *This* Crito *taught* 'the *Art of* Coſmetics, *or that of beautifying, where-*'in, *as* Galen *ſays, he deſerves to be excuſed, becauſe* 'he was *Phyſician to Kings and Queens.*' By theſe Words it is plain, that the pretended Art of Politeneſs, that *Galen* would have to be excuſed, is nothing elſe but *Coſmetics*. Doubtleſs *Moreri* had read in ſome other Book that *Crito* had taught *artem polliendi cutem*, the Art of making the Skin ſmooth, and taking off the Spots, &c. He took no notice of the Word *cutem*, and from the reſt he made the pretended Art of Politeneſs. But *Voſſius*, who was his uſual Author, and his perpetual Oracle, might eaſily have ſet him right here. V. *Moreri* has not tranſlated *Voſſius* right, when he ſays that *Galen has given the Catalogue of* Crito's *Works* (5). He ſhould have ſaid, that he gave the Summary of them. VI. It is not true, that theſe Words of *Voſſius, docuit artem κοσμητικὴν*, ſignify that *Crito was the firſt Inventer of* Coſmetics: there is a very great Difference between a Phyſician who makes a certain part of Phyſic his chief Study, and a Phyſician who is the firſt Inventer of that part. *Crito* being a Court Phyſician, and perceiving that Princes and Princeſſes are as deſirous to be rid of a Redneſs, or of Freckles, and in general of all the Defects of the Skin, as to be cured of a Diſtemper, applied himſelf altogether to Coſmetics: But this does not prove that no Body had treated of it before him. VII. Laſtly, *Moreri* defines *Coſmetic* very ill: *It is*, ſays he, *the Art that takes care of the Beauty and Ornaments of the Body.* According to this Definition, Coſmetic would contain the Art of Dreſſing the Head, chooſing a proper Dreſs, and ſorting Jewels, in a Word, all the Induſtry of the Women who dreſs a Bride on her Wedding-day. Now this is very falſe.

Let us ſee whether I was in the right as to the ſecond part of this Criticiſm. It has been objected to me (6), that *Diogenes Laërtius, ſpeaking of* Crito's *Affection for* Socrates, *and placing him in the number of the* Socraticians, ſays *clearly enough what* Moreri *attributes to him.* I anſwer, That the Diſciples of a Philoſopher are not the only Perſons that can ſhew him a great deal of Affection; and therefore what *Diogenes Laërtius* relates of *Crito's Affection for Socrates*, is not a Proof that favours *Moreri*. I add, that he has placed ſome Philoſophers between *Socrates* and *Crito*, that were neither *Socrates*'s Scholars nor Followers, and conſequently it cannot be concluded that he *put* Crito *in the number of the* Socraticians; I ſay, it cannot be concluded from the place he gives him in his ſecond Book. Nay he obſerves in expreſs Words, that the Sons of *Crito* were *Socrates*'s Scholars, οἱ παῖδες δὲ αὐτῷ Σωκράτους ἐγένοντο, *ipſius liberi Socratis auditores fuere* (7). Having ſaid nothing like it concerning *Crito*, it is natural to believe that he did not deſign to inform us of the thing, for which he has been cited in *Moreri*'s Dictionary. I even obſerve, that *Plato* introduces *Socrates* ſaying that *Crito* was as old as he, and Father of *Critobulus*, who was his Scholar (8). That Philoſopher had then all the reaſon in the World to place the Father as well as the Son in the number of his Scholars; yet he gives that Quality only to the Son. However, I confeſs that *Plato* gives clearly to underſtand in ſome other places (9), that *Crito* ought to be reckoned among the Scholars of *Socrates*.

(2) Voſſius de Philoſophia, cap. 9, pag. 74.

(3) Suppoſing him to be the Author of that Poem.

(4) Voſſius, ubi ſupra, cap. 11, pag. 86, 87.

(5) Ἀναφαλαίωσιν librorum ejus exhibet Galenus, lib. περὶ τῶν κατὰ τόπους. Voſſius, ibid.

(6) *See* Moreri *of the* Dutch *Edition*, 1698, Tom. II, pag. 293.

(7) Diog. Laërt. lib. 2, n. 121.

(8) Plato in Apologia Socratis, pag. m. 280.

(9) It is not in the Dialogue intituled, *Phædrus*; but it is chiefly in the Dialogue intituled *Phædon*.

CRITON (George) (*a*), a *Scotchman*, was *Greek* Profeſſor in the Royal College at *Paris*. He was a zealous Papiſt [*A*]. He married the Daughter of a *Scotch*

(*a*) Thus he is named in Father *du Breul*'s *Antiquities of Paris*, pag. 564. Father *Labbé*, *Bibliotheca Bibliothec.* pag. m. 71, names him *Williams*. He is called *James* in the *Sorbeviana*. I believe we muſt keep to Father *du Breul*.

[*A*] *He was a zealous Papiſt.*] Mr *Gillot* writes thus to *Scaliger* (1). 'You muſt know, that with-'in theſe few Days, *Criton*, Profeſſor of humane 'Languages, deſiring to be made Doctor of the Ca-'non-Law, propoſed Theſes in the Civil and Ca-'non-Law to diſpute publickly; which having been 'ſeen by the King's Council, they found one of 'them contrary to the old and ſound Doctrine of '*France*, of the *Sorbonne*, and of Truth: to wit, 'Nec Hierarcha Romanus (ad quem ſolum αὐθεντία τῆς ἀποστολικῆς διαδοχῆς Juriſdictio ſpi-'ritualis in Chriſtianos omnes, in patrimonio Eccle-'ſiæ temporalis etiam poteſtas pertinet) nec Princeps 'ſolutus eſt legibus tametſi uterque alios his ſolvere 'poſſit, & hic comitiis, ille Conciliis ſit ſuperior, '&c. —— *Neither the* Roman *Pontiff (to whom ap-*'pertains *the ſpiritual Juriſdiction over all Chri-*'ſtians, *as alſo a Temporal Power, within the Patri-*'mony *of the Church*) *nor any Prince are exempted* 'from *the Laws, though each can exempt others: The* 'one *being ſuperior in Courts, the other in Councils*, '&c.' And in another, ſpeaking of Excommunication, he ſays: Quod nudâ cogitatione nonnunquam 'incurritur, & ob unius noxam familiam omnem & 'civitatem plerumque ferit. —— *That it is ſome-*'times *incurred by mere Thoughts, and often involves* 'a *whole Family or Town, for one Perſon's Crime.* 'Upon which complaining to the Parliament, it 'was ordered that *Criton* ſhould go immediately 'and ſpeak to the Attorney-General, and that the 'Diſpute ſhould be deferred. *Criton* being heard, 'the next Day, as alſo the Doctors of the Canon-'Law, it was ordered that the Parties ſhould have 'ſpeedy Audience; and in the mean time, *Criton* 'was forbid to propoſe, maintain, or diſpute upon, 'the ſaid Theſes. This was done the ſeventeenth 'and eighteenth of this Month of *January*. We 'hope to go farther, and to make a good Decree, 'which ſhall be read in the *Sorbonne*, to forbid the 'Doctors maintaining ſuch Propoſitions againſt the 'Doctrine of the *Gallican* Church.'

(1) Lettres Françoiſes eſcrittes à Scaliger, pag. 256.

[*B*] *His*

a *Scotch* Gentleman, a Counsellor to the Presidial of *Poitiers*, who was afterwards married again to *Francis de la Mothe le Vayer* [*B*], after she had refused a Brother of the Constable *de Luines* [*C*]. *Criton* died the eighth of *April*, 1611 (*b*).

(*b*) Du Boul, pag. 564.

[*B*] *His Widow married again with* Francis de la Mothe le Vayer.] I confess I have this only from the *Sorberiana*: there I find what follows: 'Franciscus Motta Vayerius, of *Mans* (2), married the 'Daughter of *Adam Blackodæus*, Counsellor of *Poitiers*, a learned Man; she was the Widow of *Jacobus Crutonius*, Professor of human Learning at 'Paris. *Le Vayer* had his Collections, which he 'knew how to make good use of.'

(2) It should be of *Paris*; it was his Father who was of *Mans*.

[*C*] *After she had refused a Brother of the Constable* de Luines.] We must not believe she was so delicate at the time that Mr *Luines* was Favourite and High-Constable. If it was true that she would not marry Mr *Cadenet*, it was before Mr *Luines* was taken into Favour. I mention this with an *if*, because I have no other warrant for it than a Collection of Pieces against the Family of *Luines*. Now Writers of this kind of Satires are to be very much suspected: at all hazards I shall put down what I find in that Collection. 'Cadenet's presumption was not less 'gallant in pretending as he did in the Year 1618 'to the Princess of *Orange*, Sister of the first Prince 'of the Blood, and Widow of a Sovereign Prince; 'Cadenet, I say, to whom the King's Nurse would 'not give her Daughter, and whom the Widow 'of *Criton*, a *Greek* Professor of *Paris*, refused to 'marry; and some time after this, you see he aspires to an Alliance with the Royal Blood (3).'

(3) *This is taken from a Satire called*, La Comtadin Provençal, *inserted pag.* 79, *and following, of A Collection of the most curious Pieces made during the Reign of the Constable de Luines, printed in* 1625, *in* 8vo; *the Passage I cite is pag.* 103.

CRITON (William) (*a*), born in *Scotland* in the XVIth Century, turned Jesuit in *France, in the Seminary of* Rheims (*b*). He was Rector of the Jesuits College at *Lyons* (*c*), and made himself famous, not by his Books, for I think he published none, but by State-Machinations, which would have been infinitely more useful, both to his Order, and to the *Roman* Catholic Cause, if they had succeeded, than a hundred Volumes. He often passed and repassed the Sea and the *Alps*, full of Intrigues and Plots, tending to re-establish the *Romish* Religion in *Great Britain*. Nevertheless, if we may believe a Letter he wrote to *Walsingham*, he did not approve of establishing the Kingdom of God by wicked Methods [*A*]; and he utterly condemned the Design of killing Queen *Elizabeth*, upon which he was consulted by *William Parry*. He was taken by the Privateers of

(*a*) *His* Scotch *Name was* Chreichton.

(*b*) De Larrey, Hist. of England, Tom. II, pag. 385.

(*c*) Paquier. Catech. des Jesuites, lib. 3, cap. 2, pag. m. 335.

[*A*] *If we may believe a Letter he wrote to* Walsingham, *he did not approve of establishing the Kingdom of* God *by wicked Method*] I shall produce part of the Narrative, which Mr *de Larrey* gives us of this *William Parry*'s Confession. 'Morgan told 'him that all the Catholic Church expected from his 'Courage some bright Actions; this wretch assured 'him he was ready to stab to the Heart the first 'Lord in the Kingdom. And why not the Queen, 'interrupted *Morgan*? And the Queen also, if they 'can make it appear to me that it is lawful; but the 'Jesuit *Watts*. (1) is not of that Opinion. He added, 'that *Criton*, the *Scotish* Jesuit, also was not of 'that Opinion; and to deter him from it, he alledged, that great Principle, that the natural, as 'well as the Divine, Law teaches all Men not to 'commit a Crime, with an Intention to serve God. 'That he had strongly maintained this Doctrine of 'Morality, insisting upon one Saying, of which he 'made a kind of Demonstration, that God loved 'Adverbs rather than Nouns; that is to say, that he 'was more pleased with that which was well and 'lawfully done, than with that which was good and 'lawful (2). This *William Parry*, being convicted of the execrable Design to kill the Queen, was executed for it the second of *March* 1585 (3). His Trial was first printed at *London*, in *English*; but there is a *French* Translation of it, in the first Volume of the Memoirs of the League, which I have just now consulted; but do not find that *Parry* ever made mention of our *Criton*, either by word of Mouth, or by writing; and I observe, that *Camden*, reporting this Man's Confession, has inserted, by way of Parenthesis (4), what concerns the Opinion of this Jesuit. *Thuanus* does likewise speak of it, not as a thing contained in the Confession of the Criminal, but as an accessory Fact, and discovered another way. However it is true, that the Articles of the Trial discover the Maxims of the Jesuit *Criton*; for they contain a Letter he wrote to *Walsingham* (5), wherein he has explained them very clearly. He was a Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, during *Parry*'s Trial, and being examined by *Walsingham*, 'whether the Accused had ever said any thing to him 'in *France*, or elsewhere, concerning the Question, 'if it was lawful to kill her Majesty, *he answered he 'did not remember that he had*; but afterwards re-'collecting himself, he writ of his own Free-will to 'the Secretary (6), concerning that Fact, and all 'with his own Hand, in the manner following." Then follows his Letter in pag. 42 of the first Volume of the Memoirs of the League.

(1) *Thuanus*, lib. 79, at the end, calls him also a Jesuit, but in *Parry*'s Trial he is only called Priest. *See also* Camden, Ann. pag. m. 393, *at the Year* 1585.

(2) De Larrey, Hist. d'Angleterre, Tom. II, pag. 398.

(3) *Thuanus*, lib. 79, at the end, puts it 1584, not observing that the *English* begin their Year, in the public Records, the 25th of *March*.

(4) It is printed in a character different from what goes before and follows.

(5) *See* Memoirs of the League, Tom. I, pag. 42, *and following*.

(6) *That is to say*, Francis Walsingham.

I wish the same Trial had informed us, whether they communicated this Letter to *William Parry*. Equity required it; for a Declaration made in the Tower of *London* is not much to be depended upon. *Criton* would have been far from confessing in that place that he had approved *Parry*'s Design. To know then if he told the Truth, his Letter ought to have been shewn to the Criminal, or he should have been asked what Conversations he had had with *Criton*, concerning this wicked Attempt. If *Parry* had confessed that the Jesuit had plainly condemned the Proposal of killing the Queen, we should have had a certain Proof of *Criton*'s Orthodoxy on that Head; but the Acts of the Trial furnish us with nothing but the Evidence, which *William Criton*, a Prisoner, gives of himself. However, I suppose, *William Parry* was examined upon this Article, though the Account of the Proceedings against him makes no mention of it; and consequently that what *de Larrey* advances is not without Foundation. For here is what is reported by *Richeome*: 'The Queen —— ordered 'Parry to be asked if he knew *William Criton*, the 'Scotch Jesuit, who answered yes; and that he had 'formerly dissuaded him from this Enterprize, when 'he asked his Advice at *Lyons*. The Queen was 'astonished at this Justification, and, to be better informed, commanded her Secretary, *Francis Walsingham*, to know of *Criton*, if *Parry* had communicated nothing to him in *France*, or elsewhere, 'of his Affair. *Walsingham* immediately went to *Criton* and asked him, &c (7).' *Richeome* adds, what I have said before (8), and gives *Criton*'s Letter entire, taken from the Memoirs of the League, after which he goes on in this manner: 'The Queen having heard the Contents of this Letter. How then? 'says she, they publish that the Jesuits would kill 'me in *England*, and this Jesuit defends me in 'France. She commanded afterwards that he should 'be set at Liberty, and his Letter published, not so 'much to favour him, as to let the People know 'that the Jesuits did not teach it was lawful to kill 'the Queen (9).' There might be more Policy than Sincerity in these words of the Queen: for she well knew *Criton*'s Innocence did not clear the two Jesuits, that *Parry* had named, as Approvers of his Treason (10). Let us say then, that *Richeome* has drawn too extensive a Consequence from the Letter of *Criton*, when he says: 'So far are ours from 'being the Authors of this treasonable Attempt of 'Parry, that, on the contrary, they hindered it 'to the utmost of their Power, according to the 'Evidences even of our Enemies. For the Mi-

(7) Richeome, Plaine Apologetique, pag. 166.

(8) *Citat.* (6).

(9) Richeome, ubi supra, pag. 168, 169.

(10) One was *Beredict. Palmio*: he had consulted him at *Venice*: the other was *Hannibal Codretto*: he had confessed to him at *Paris*.

'story

of *Oſtend*, in the Year 1585, as he was returning into *Scotland*, upon a great Enterprize [*B*], and was *carried, by Order of the Admiral of the States, to the Queen of* England, *who was ſo glad of this Preſent, that ſhe gave him, among other things, a Chain of Gold for a Reward* (*d*). *Criton* was committed Priſoner to the Tower of *London*, where he was kept a long time, but at laſt the Queen ſet him at Liberty, upon his Promiſe never to undertake any thing whatſoever to the Prejudice of *England* (*e*). Nevertheleſs ſhe underſtood, in 1593, that he had made ſeveral Journies into the *Low-Countries*, and into *Spain*, to promote the Deſign which the Catholics of *Scotland* had formed to bring in the *Spaniards*, in order to make a Change in Religion, and to attack *England* (*f*). He accompanied into *Scotland* the Biſhop of *Dublin*, ſent, by Pope *Sixtus* V, thither to make an Offer of the Infanta of *Spain* to the King (*g*). The Conditions of this Marriage were, that the King ſhould turn Papiſt, and ſhould join with the Pope, and with *Spain*, againſt the *Engliſh*. The King of *Scotland*'s Mother had been beheaded ſome time before. The Envoy of *Sixtus* V did not ſucceed in this Negotiation, but was obliged to return Home without having done any thing. He left *Criton* in *Scotland* to ſecond the Deſigns of *Robert Bruce*, whom the Duke of *Parma* had ſent thither by Order of the King of *Spain*. It is ſaid this Jeſuit endeavoured to engage *Robert Bruce* to kill *John Maitland*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, who had broke off the Negotiation with the Biſhop of *Dublin*; and that, not being able to perſuade him to do it, he accuſed him to the Governor of the *Low-Countries* (*b*). This is related at full length in a Book of *Stephen Paſquier*, which I do not know that the Jeſuits have anſwered. *Criton* was yet alive in the Year 1615, as we are informed by a Book, which aſſures us, that *Criton* had great Reaſon to complain of the Jeſuits [*C*].

(*d*) Richeome Plainte Apologetique, cap. 43, pag. 106.

(*e*) Camden's Annals, pag. mo 604, *at the Year* 1592.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

(*g*) Paſquier, ubi ſupra.

(*b*) Idem.

' ſtory and the Letter have been inſerted in the ' Collection of memorable things, which happened ' under the League, publiſhed by thoſe of the pre- ' tended Religion, in the Year 1588 (11).' He would have given more weight to his Remark, if he had ſaid, that That Part of the Collection was only the *French* Tranſlation of an Account, publiſhed in *Engliſh*, at *London*.

(11) Richeome Plainte Apolog. pag. 169. *See alſo* Eudæmon Johannes *in the Apology for* Garnet, pag. 154.

[*B*] *He was taken by the Privateers of* Oſtend, *in* 1585, *as he was returning into* Scotland *upon a great Enterprize.*] ' He had had the Precaution to throw ' his Papers into the Sea, after tearing them to ' pieces; but the Wind kept them up, and even ' threw them back into the Ship, without any part ' being loſt or ſpoilt: which *Criton* could not help ' looking upon as a Miracle in favour of *Elizabeth*. ' They were collected, and carried to *Vaud*, who ' rejoined them ſo artfully, that they found the ' whole Narrative of the Enterprize, the Plan of ' which the *Scotch* Jeſuit was carrying to the Accom- ' plices. There they were informed, that the Pope, ' the King of *Spain*, and the *Guiſes*, were preparing ' Troops, and a Fleet, to make an Invaſion upon ' *England*, which was very ſoon to be put in Execu- ' tion. This writing being made public, the whole ' Kingdom was alarmed at it (12).' *Thuanus* was not well informed, when he ſays, that, whilſt *Parry* was in Priſon, there were ſome who gave notice, that *Criton* was come into *England* in diſguiſe, which was the Cauſe of his being ſeized (13).

(12a) De Larrey, Hiſt. d'Angleterre, Tom. II, pag 385, 386. *See alſo* Camden, pag. m. 384, *at the Year* 1584.

(13) Thuan. lib. 79, *about the end.*

[*C*] *He had great Reaſon to complain of the Jeſuits.*] In the Collection of the Articles, propoſed by *Theophilus Eugenius* to the moſt Chriſtian King, for the Reformation of the Jeſuits in *France* (14), we find the following Paſſage: ' Father *John Fourrier*, Rector ' of the Jeſuits of *Avignon*, will not receive into his ' College Father *Creton*, a *Scotchman*, that venerable ' old Man, whom Queen *Elizabeth* of *England* diſ- ' charged out of Priſon, for having deterred the Par- ricide *Paris* from the Treaſon he had reſolved ' againſt her Royal Perſon. That ſincerely religious ' Man, who cannot ſpeak of Father *Perſonius*, the ' Jeſuit, the great Diſturber of *England*, without ' calling him factious, alienated from his King, the ' preſent King of *Great Britain*, having diſſamed ' him, and neglected his Reduction to the Church, ' to the great Prejudice of the two Kingdoms of ' *England* and *Scotland*: That old Man, who la- ' boured ſo long in *Spain*, to procure the pacific ' Converſion of his Prince, and who would willing- ' ly die with his grey Hair in the Middle of his ' Country: This good Father is driven from the ' College of *Avignon*: they are afraid that he ſhould ' procure Charity for the the poor *Scots*, who are ' baniſhed from their Houſes, for the Holy, Catho- ' lic, Apoſtolic, and Romiſh, Faith. Father *Four-* ' *rier* cannot bear to ſee, at the Gate of his College, ' theſe poor Chriſtians reduced to Poverty, for the ' Cauſe of God. Father *Creton*, the Father of ' theſe perſecuted Confeſſors of our holy Faith, is ' ſent to *Carpentras*, as too heavy a burden to the ' Avarice of Father *Fourrier*, the Rector. He is in ' the Hands of Father *Luce*, an *Italian*, Rector of ' *Carpentras*, who is reſolved to make his Life bitter, ' and to nouriſh him with Anguiſh: he is dying un- ' der the cruel Reign of Father *Luce*. Father *Luce*, ' ſeeing himſelf reproved by Father *Creton* for the ' uneaſineſs he has cauſed to Signior *Coponio* the Bi- ' ſhop, and to the Inhabitants of the City, has no ' patience till he ſee this free and courageous old ' Man out of his College. The proud and contemp- ' tuous Behaviour of Father *Luce* has obliged the ' good old Man to requeſt a Retreat in another ' College. The charitable Rectors deſire to be ex- ' cuſed. He hardly finds one Rector who will re- ' ceive him.'

(14) *Printed in the Year* 1612, *in* 8vo, *pag.* 64, 65.

(*a*) *See* Aldus Manutius *the Son of* Paul, *in the Epiſtle dedicatory of his Notes upon* Tully's *Paradoxes.* Moreri's *Quotation runs two*, Aldus Manutius *in Præf. Cicer. which is wrong. That Commentary of* Aldus Manutius *was dedicated to* James Celsus, *in* 1581.

CRITON (James), born in *Scotland* in the XVIth Century, was one of the moſt prodigious Wits that ever was ſeen (*a*). *Moreri* gives a pretty large Account of him.

CROIUS (John), in *French de Croi*, was one of the moſt learned Miniſters in *France* in the XVIth Century. He was a Native of *Uſez* (*a*), and the Son of a Miniſter [*A*]; he exerciſed his Miniſtry in the Church of *Beziers*, and afterwards in

(*a*) Colomiés Gall. Orient. pag. 184.

[*A*] *He was the Son of a Miniſter.*] His Father's Name was *Francis de Croi* (1) *Colomiés* ſays that he made himſelf known by ſome Books (2). I only know That which he intituled, *Les trois Conformitez, ſavoir l'harmonie & convenance de l'Egliſe Romaine avec le Paganiſme, Judaiſme, & les anciennes Hereſies*, 1605, *in octavo.* — (*The three Conformities, to wit, the Harmony and Agreement of the* Romiſh *Church with Paganiſm, Judaiſm, and the ancient Hereſies.*) I have heard ſay that he was deſcended from the illuſtrious and ancient Family of *Croi*, but by the left ſide. He that told me this, could not well explain to me whether *Francis de Croi* had been a Monk: he told me only that the Miniſter of *Beziers* deſcended from a Monk, who had embraced the Reformation, and who was a Baſtard, or deſcended from

(1) Colomiés, Gall. Orient. pag. 184, *calls him* John.

(2) Johannis, Scriptis quibuſdam clari, filius. *Ibid.*

in that of *Usez*. He published several Books of Controversy in *French* [*B*]; but his *Latin* Works have done him more Honour [*C*], because they made it appear that he was admirably well versed in the Languages, in Critical and Jewish Learning, in Ecclesiastical Antiquity, and in whatever goes by the Name of *Philology* and *Polymathia*. He aimed at being thought an universal Scholar, and even undertook to criticise *Balzac* on his Mother Tongue [*D*]. When the Disputes about Universal Grace were at the Height, each Party endeavoured to gain him. The *Particularists* were the most diligent, and prepossessed him in such a manner against *Universalism*, that he went to the National Synod of *Alençon* full of Threatnings (*b*). Mr *Amyraut* boasted of having brought him over to his Opinion after some Hours Conversation. Others say that *Croius*, finding afterwards that *Amyraut* had put upon him, was very much vexed at it (*c*). He died the Thirty first of *August* 1659.

(by) See the Preface to the Specimen Animadversionum of Mr Amyraut.

(b) See Andrew Rivetus Epist. Apologet. and du Moulin, Præf. Judicii de Amyraldi libro contra Spanhem.

from a Bastard of the House of *Croi*. *Francis de Croi* stiles himself in the Title page of his Book of the *Three Conformities, G. Arth.* that is to say, *Gentil-Bommi Artheſien, a Gentleman of Artois*. He was Minister of *Usez*.

Note, that a very honest Man of that Country sent me Word, that, having wrote from *Amsterdam* to the Son of our *John de Croi* (3) what I had reported of a hear-say concerning his Extraction, he received an answer, that they are lawfully descended from the House of *Croi*, and that they could justify it. I answered, that I would insert, with all my Heart, the Memorial that should be communicated to me as well on this Subject, as on the History and Writings of that able Minister printed, and not printed; but I have not yet received any thing.

(3) He is an Advocate at Usez.

[*B*] *He published several Books of Controversy in* French.] He wrote one to prove the Confession of Faith of *Geneva* by the Scripture, and dedicated it to our Lord JESUS CHRIST. That Book was printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1645, in octavo (4). The second Edition is of the Year 1650, and contains many Additions. The Author promised two other Treatises, the one to confirm that same Confession by the Testimonies of the Fathers; the other to confirm it by the Testimonies of the Adversaries (5). He published a Book at *Geneva* in the Year 1655, intituled *Augustin suppositittious, or Reasons that make it appear that the four Books of the Symbol, that are in the ninth Tome of St Augustin's Works, are none of his, but of several Authors who took his Name, against Father* Bernard Meynier *a Jesuit*. *Colomiés* observes, *that there is also a Book of Mr* de Croi, *intituled* Shemel cohvaincu, *printed at* Geneva *in several Volumes in octavo* (6). I do not believe that this Work contains several Volumes: it serves for an Answer to a very captious Piece, intituled *The holy Liberty of the Children of GOD*. The Jesuit *Meynier*, who is the Author of it (7), speaks in it like a Minister, and for that reason Mr *Drelincourt*, answering that Book, intituled his Answer, *The false Pastor convicted*. It was printed in the Year 1656. Here is what he observes at the end of his Preface: *I understand that M* de Croi, *Pastor of the Church of* Usez, *answers, or has already amply and exactly answered, whatever our false Pastor has put in this last Edition of his Libel. Wherefore I heartily yield him my Pen. For I know his Learning and Merit, and that he has no need of my Assistance*. I have heard of a Book, wherein *Croi* pretends to prove that St *Peter* never was at *Rome*. See *Sarravius*'s One hundred and Twenty fifth Letter, pag. 130, of the *Utrecht* Edition.

(4) Colomiés, ibid, pag. 285.

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Id. ibid. pag. 284.

(7) See Nathaniel Southwell in Bibliothec. Script. Societat. Jesu, pag. 122, where he says, That this Book had been printed twenty times, and that the last Edition was that of *Nismes*, 1660.

[*C*] *His* Latin *Works have done him more Honour.*] In the Year 1632, he published a *Specimen conjecturarum & observationum in quædam Origenis, Irenæi, & Tertulliani loca*. Twelve Years after came out the *Observationes sacræ & historicæ in Novum Testamentum*, wherein *Heinsius* is terribly criticized. In several places of these two Books are promised many others, which it is likely will never appear: it is pity, for one might learn a great many things by them. He was not contented to use *Daniel Heinsius* very ill; but he exercised also his sharp and haughty Criticisms on *Petavius*, who had examined and censured (8) the *Specimen conjecturarum*. That Jesuit would not reply, because, said he, when one writes against the Ministers, it is the right way to get their Salaries increased. 'Is responsorum se negat ideo quod norit annua augeri Ministris contra quos scribitur (9).'

(8) In fine Synesii Operum Græc. & Lat. Edit. 1640.

(9) Grotius apud Colomesium, ubi supra, pag. 285.

His *Observationes sacræ* appeared very learned to *Sarravius*, and such as might ruin *Heinsius*'s Reputation (10). He wrote to *Salmasius*, that the Author had twenty five Books like that, ready for the Press (11). He wrote also to him, that *Heinsius* had endeavoured to hinder the printing of *Croius*'s Book (12), and had desired him in a very civil Letter to deal kindly with him (13).

(10) Sarrav. Epist. 102, pag. 103, 104.

(11) Id. Epist. 103, pag. 105.

[*D*] *He undertook to criticize* Balzac *on his Mother Tongue.*] This was not the true Subject of his Criticisms: he only made some Remarks on the Language by the by, and occasionally. His chief Design was to answer the Censure of the *Herodes infanticida* (14), published by *Balzac*. That Answer was printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1642, and contains One hundred and eighty nine pages in octavo. It is anonymous: but the Author declares at the end of it, that he has not concealed his Name out of fear. 'If *Balzac* will answer it, *says he*, I desire 'him to make use of no other Name than his own, 'and not to appear under a borrowed Name, that 'he may speak of himself with more liberty. I 'have Courage enough to discover my Name to him 'when he shall desire it, and Strength enough to 'enter into the Lists with him if he has a mind to 'it.' What is very surprising in it is, that he speaks for the Interest and Glory of *Heinsius* with all the Zeal of a very good Friend, and praises him excessively: and yet at that very time he was preparing a Volume of sharp and fighting Observations against *Heinsius*. They were published in the Year 1644, as I have already said. *Sarravius* could not understand this Conduct. See his Amazement and Conjectures in the following Words: 'Vidi tua 'Indicia Croii responsionem ad Balsacium pro Heinsio. Plurima certe sapiunt eruditionem altissimam: 'sed linguam Gallicam & stylum quod attinet, fluit 'incultus, dissipatus, inelaboratus, habebitque non 'pauca politissimi ingenii & vibrantis orationis Adversarius, etiam in ipso argumento, quæ regerat. 'Opus itaque laudo non opificem, idem aliquando 'de Garrisolii tui Poemate dicturus. Sed an Crojus 'ipse autor edendi? Vix credam. Scio enim & certo scio, habere eum præ manibus satis amplum volumen Notatorum in Exercitationes Sacras τῦ φοσφιξίδ'ν Leydensis. Ergo quem Gallice, hoc est, quasi intra privatos parietes, opus ob musteum laudaverit, Latine, id est per totum orbem terrarum in re non nauci, suggillabit. Explica quæso mihi istud quidquid est ænigmatis: nisi forsan Gronovius, 'quem istam Diatribam ad vos detulisse audio, voluit 'Heinsium ad quem abiturichat, hac sive arte sive 'officio demereri (15). — *By your Intelligence I 'have read* Croi's *Vindication of* Heinsius, *in Answer to* Balzac. *There are indeed many things which 'shew vast Learning; but as to his Stile, and the 'French Language, it flows rough, unequal, and incorrect; so that his Antagonist, a Man of a ready 'Wit and polite Stile, will find many things, even in 'his Arguments, to retort upon him. I therefore commend the Treatise, not the Author, and may perhaps say the same concerning the Poem of your 'Garrisolus. But was* Croi *himself the Author of 'it's being made public? I can scarcely believe it. 'For I know, and that for certain, that he has by him 'a large Volume of Animadversions upon the* Exercitationes Sacræ τῦ φοσφιξίδ'ν Leydensis. *It is therefore commending a Man in his own Language, 'and at his own House, and exposing him in the tenderest part, through the World in a Language universally approved. I could wish you would unfold 'this Mystery; unless* Gronovius, *who I understand 'forwarded that Dissertation to you, thinks by this 'means to oblige* Heinsius.'

(12) Id. Epist. 102, pag. 103. Vide ejusdem Epist. 94, pag. 94.

(13) Id. Epist. 84, pag. 81.

(14) It is the Title of a Tragedy composed by *Heinsius*.

(15) Sarravius in Epistolâ ad Alex. Morum Scriptæ Lutetiæ Id. Jan. 1642, pag. 30, 40. Edit. Ultraj. 1697.

CURIO (Coelius Secundus), a learned *Piedmontois*, retired into *Switzerland*, after having suffered great Persecution in *Italy*, because he was suspected of being a Protestant. He was very well received in the Canton of *Bern*, where he was made Principal of the College of *Lausanne* (a). He went afterwards to *Basil*, where he was promoted to the Professorship of Eloquence, which he discharged with great Reputation. He published several Books [A]; and one among the rest, wherein he endeavoured to shew that the number of the Predestinated is greater than that of the Reprobate [B]. He died in the Year 1569, aged Sixty seven Years (b). He had lately buried an illustrious Son, whose Name was *AUGUSTINUS SECUNDUS CURIO* [C]. Their Library, which was very fine, was bought by a Duke of *Lunenburg* (c): it makes part of that of *Wolfenbuttel*. You will find several things concerning our *Curio* in *Hofman*'s Lexicon, and in Mr *Teissier*'s Additions to the Elogies taken from *Thuanus*.

(a) *See the Epistle dedicatory of his* Pasquillus Ecstaticus, *printed at Genova, in* 1544.

(b) Hofman in Lexico, Tom. I, pag. 509.

(c) *See* Conringius *in his Treatise of Libraries.*

[A] *He published several Books.*] You will find a List of them in the Additions of Mr *Teissier* to the Elogies taken from *Thuanus* (1): but take the *Historia Sarracenica* out of it; for it is a Work of *Augustin Curio*, the Son of *Cœlius*. As for the War of *Malta*, printed with that Saracen History, *Konig* (2) should not have ascribed it to *Augustin*: it is a Work of *Cœlius*.

(1) Tom. I, pag. 358.

(2) Bibl. vet. & nova, pag. 228.

(3) *Of the* Tergow *Edition* 2614. *The first Edition is of* Basil, 1554.

[B] *And one among the rest, wherein he endeavours to shew, that the number of the Predestinated is greater than that of the Reprobate.*] It is surprising that he durst preach such a Gospel among the *Swiss*: for this Doctrine is very much suspected by the true Reformed, and I do not think that any Professor could maintain it at this time in *Holland* with Impunity. However it be, his Book is intituled, *De Amplitudine beati regni Dei*. He dedicated it to *Sigismund Augustus*, King of *Poland*. He says, in the One hundred and Thirty first Page (3), that he never so well understood the Extent of the Mercy of God, as when his Son *Horace* (4) translated out of *Italian* a Discourse on that matter, written by *Marsilius Andreas* of *Mantua*. See the *Sorberiana* (5), wherein this Book of *Curio* is much slighted, whilst the Author's Intention is praised in it.

(4) Ramus Oratione de Basilea, pag. 57, *says, that* Cœlius Horat. Curio *published, at* Basil, *at fifteen Years of age, a Book* de Amplitudine Divinæ Misericordiæ, *and some Declamations.*

(5) Pag. m. 56.

[C] *He had an illustrious Son, whose Name was* AUGUSTINUS SECUNDUS CURIO.] He was Professor of Eloquence at *Basil*; and though he lived but Twenty eight Years, yet he gave public Proofs of his Learning, having published three Books of the Saracen History, one of the Kingdom of *Morocco*, and one about the Life and Death of his four Sisters (6). One of them was a learned Woman. 'Cujus sororem Angelam præter cætera virginis ornamenta non solum Germanicè, Italicè, Gallicè, sed & Latine loquutam (quod ipsius manuscriptæ declarant Epistolæ) equidem etiam ad patris eximias laudes aggrego. —— *Whose Sister* Angela, *besides the Ornaments of her Sex, spake not only* German, Italian, French, *but* Latin (*as her Manuscript Letters testify*) *and I think justly deserves a place amongst the distinguished Honours of her Father.*' They are *Peter Ramus*'s Words (7).

(6) *Taken from* Petrus Ramus in Oratione de Basilea, pag. m. 53.

(7) Ib. pag. 57.

CURSON. See CORCEONE.

CURTIUS (Quintus), Historian of *Alexander*. See QUINTUS-CURTIUS.

D.

DAILLÉ (John), in *Latin Dallæus* [*A*], Minister of the Church of *Paris*, was one of the most learned Divines of the XVIIth Century [*B*]; and none of the Protestant Controversists was so esteemed by the Catholics as he was. He was born at *Chatelleraut* the sixth of *January*, 1594. *He began to study the* Latin *somewhat late, because his Father designed him for Business, thinking to leave him his Office* (*a*); *but he was obliged to give way to the great Inclination that Nature had given to his Son for Learning, - - - - - So that, at eleven Years of Age, he was sent to* St Maixet, *in* Poitou, *to learn the first Rudiments* (*b*). He continued his Studies at *Poitiers*, *Chatelleraut*, and *Saumur*; and having made an end of his Classical Learning in this last Town, he entered upon Logic at *Poitiers*, at sixteen Years of Age, and finished his Course of Philosophy at *Saumur*, under the famous *Duncan*. He began to study Divinity at *Saumur*, in 1612; and in the Month of *October*, of the same Year, he went to the illustrious Mr *du Plessis-Mornai*, to be Tutor to two of his Grandsons. He had the good fortune to please him, and made a very great Progress in the Conversation of that learned Man, who did him very often the Honour to read with him, and imparted to him all that he knew. Mr *Daillé*, having lived seven Years with such an excellent Master, travelled into *Italy* with his two Pupils (*c*). He found himself very much perplexed when one of them fell sick at *Mantua*; he was obliged to get him carried with all Diligence to *Padua*, where the Protestants have a little more Liberty. The young Gentleman died there soon after, and *a great deal of Address and Credit was necessary to avoid the Oppositions of the Inquisitors*, and to have him carried into *France* to be buried with his Ancestors. The Governor of the Deceased overcame all those Difficulties, but not without the Assistance of Father *Paul*, and continued to travel with his other Pupil. They saw *Switzerland*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *England*, and returned into *France* about the latter end of the Year 1621. Mr *Daillé* made so little account of the Usefulness of travelling, that he regretted all his Life-time the two Years he had spent in it [*C*], and would have regretted them more, had it not been for the Advantage he had of being familiarly acquainted with Father *Paul* [*D*], at *Venice*. He was made a Minister in the Year 1623, and exercised his Office first in the House of Mr *DU PLESSIS MORNAY* (*d*); which did not continue long; for that Lord fell sick a little while after, and died in the Month of

(*a*) It was that of Receiver of the Consignations, which he had at *Poitiers*. *Abridgement of Mr* Daillé's *Life*, *pag.* 2.

(*b*) *Ibid. pag.* 3, 4.

(*c*) They set out from *Saumur* in the beginning of of the Autumn, 1619.

(*d*) At the Castle of *la Forêt* upon *Sarwre* in the Lower *Poitou*.

[*A*] Daillé — *in* Latin Dallæus.] Whilst a Man has not printed his Name, none ought to be blamed for not knowing how to write it; but such an Ignorance cannot be excused in those who have seen that Name in Print: and therefore Mr *de Chaumont* may be taxed with a great Carelessness, for writing always the *Sieur D'Aillé* in a Work wherein he answers a Letter of that Minister. That Letter was printed in the Year 1634, and contains in the Title the Name of *Daillé*. The Author had already put that Name to the Apology for the Reformed Churches, which obliged Mr *de Chaumont* to publish a Piece to which that Letter served for an Answer. Where then were Mr *de Chaumont*'s Eyes when he read the Books that he went about to confute? I have observed in another place, that Father *Southwell* criticizes Mr *Daillé*'s Name (1). The learned *Grotius* has not latinized his Name better, for he calls him *Dalleus* (2). The Abbot *de la Roque* would not have said *Dallié* (3), if he had been better acquainted with that Minister's Works. *Balzac* says generally *Dallé*, as he ought to do; but I have seen *D'Aillé* in the Thirty seventh Letter of the ninth Book (4).

(1) *He calls him* D. Aillon *See above, Rem* [*I*] *of the Article* ADAM (Jouas).

(2) Grot. Epist. 550, Part II, pag. 854.

(3) *In the* Journ. des Sçavans *of the* 2*d of* January 1675.

(4) *Edition in fol.*

[*B*] — *was one of the most learned Divines of the XVIIth Century*.] Those of the Protestant Religion in *France* used to say, that they never had a better Pen since *Calvin*, than that of Mr *Daillé*. 'An honest 'Man of that Party told me, that they never had so 'great a Man since *Calvin* as Mr *Daillé*. I know him. 'The Jews said of their Rabbi *Moses Maimonides*, that '*à Mose antiquo ad Mosem nostrum non surrexit major 'Mose*. I therefore agree to it (5).' These are *Patin*'s Words, who speaks thus in another place: 'They are 'now printing at *Geneva* a new Book of Mr *Daillé*, 'Minister of *Charenton*, whom the *Huguenots* will 'have to be the greatest Man they have had since 'Calvin (6).' What he says in the Four hundred and eighteenth Letter deserves to be set down. He speaks to a Huguenot: 'I do not care for Law Books, 'but I love those concerning your Religion: for 'something may be learned by them, especially when 'they are as good as those of Mr *Daillé* (7).' I have cited, above (8), a Passage of Mr *Arnauld*, to which I refer my Reader. Here is one very considerable of Mr *Colomiés*: 'I went to see Mr *de Valois* (*Valesius*) the 'elder at *Paris*, who told me, among other things, 'that a great many People set up for Authors, but 'that he knew but few that write so well as Mr 'Daillé (9).'

(5) Patin, *Letter* 405, *pag.* 201, *of the* 3*d Tome*, *Edit. Genev. See also the* 527*th Letter.*

(6) *Letter* 501, *pag.* 46 *of the* 3*d Tome.*

(7) Lettres de Patin, Tom. III, pag. 241, 242. *See also pag.* 464, *of the same Tome.*

(8) Citat (10), of the Article AUBERTIN.

(9) Colom. Opusc. pag. 95.

[*C*] *He regretted all his Life-time the two Years that he spent in his Travels*.] We have often heard him, 'whose History we write, regret those two Years, 'which he accounted almost as lost, because he might 'have spent them more usefully in his Closet.' His Son says this in the Abridgment that he made of Mr *Daillé*'s Life (10).

[*D*] *He had the Advantage of being familiarly acquainted with Father* Paul.] Let us continue to hear his Son (11). 'The only Benefit, which he said he 'had reaped from this Journey, was the Acquaintance 'and Conversation of Father *Paul* — M. *du Plessis*, 'with whom he kept Correspondence by Letters, had 'recommended

(10) Abregé de la Vie de Mr Daillé, pag. 8.

(11) Ibid. pag. 9.

of *November*, of the same Year, in the Arms of that new Pastor. That great Man's Memoirs took up Mr *Daillé* the following Year. In 1625 he was Minister of the Church of *Saumur*, and in 1626 he was removed to that of *Paris* (*e*). He spent all the rest of his Life in the Service of this last Church, and became a great Ornament to the whole Body of the Reformed, as well by his Sermons [*E*], as by his Books of Controversy (*f*). As he lived long, and enjoyed a very good Health, and besides had but a small Family [*F*], it is easy to apprehend, that so laborious a Man [*G*], and

(*e*) *He succeeded Mr* Durant.

(*f*) Taken from the Abridgment of his Life, published in 1670.

' recommended his Grandchildren and their Governour to him in a very particular manner; so that he ' was immediately received into his Confidence, and ' no Day passed without visiting him, and having some ' Hours of Conversation with him. The good Father ' conceived such an Affection for him, that he used ' his utmost Endeavours with a *French* Physician of ' our Religion, one of his intimate Friends, whose ' Name was *Asselineau*, to oblige him to stay at *Venice* (11).' He used his Interest *to procure him the necessary safe Conducts and Passports from the Republic* for the dead body, that was to be conveyed into *France* (12). It may be, the Controversists have already made use of this Passage of Mr *Daillé*'s Life, to prove that *Fra-Paolo* concealed, under the Habit of a Monk, a Soul intirely devoted to Protestantism.

(11) Ibid. pag. 9.

(12) Ibid. pag. 8.

[*E*] *By his Sermons.*] He published nineteen Volumes of them, and a little before his Death he sent to *Geneva the last that he had preached on the twelfth Chapter of the Epistle to the* Hebrews. They make the twentieth Volume. There is no profound Learning in those Sermons, as in those of *Mestrezat*; but they are much clearer both in Expression, and in the Disposition of the Subject. He was accused of having stolen many things out of Dr *Davenant*, in his Exposition of the Epistle to the *Colossians*. See what he answered about it to *Cottiby* (13), who also reproached him with many Repetitions.

(13) Daillé Replique à Adam & à Cottiby, Part III, chap. 5. pag. m. 172.

[*F*] *He had but a small Family.*] He married in the Lower *Poitou*, in the Month of *May* 1625 (14). His Wife died the Thirty first of *May* 1632 (15), and left him but one Son, of whom she was delivered at the *Dutch* Embassador's House (16) the Thirty first of *October* 1628 (17). She had fled thither, because the Protestants were afraid that the News of the taking of *Rochelle* would stir the People against them. This only Son, whose name was *Hadrian DAILLÉ*, was made a Minister in the Year 1653. He had been studying Divinity at his Father's for several Years, when the Consistory of *Rochelle* desired to have him (18). ' Both his Father and he were beholding to the Affection and obliging Cares of Messieurs *Drelincourt*, ' the Father and the Son (19), for such an honourable ' Invitation. They accepted of it with Joy, and set ' out together in the Month of *April* 1654, the Father being not willing to leave his Son before he had ' installed him in that holy Office, to which he had ' consecrated him from his Youth. In that Journey ' he saw his old Friends in *Touraine*, *Anjou*, and *Poitou*, and the Church of *Chatellerault*, where he was ' born, that of *Saumur*, and that of *La Forest*, which ' had enjoyed the first Fruits of his Ministry, had again ' the Satisfaction to hear him preach in their Assemblies. He preached also several times at *Rochelle* ' and *la Rochefoucaut*, whither he was obliged to go ' in order to present his Son to the Synod that was ' held there in the farthest part of the Province. And ' the Synod having admitted him after the necessary ' Trials, they returned to *Rochelle*, where that numerous Flock having heard the Probation-Sermons of the ' new Minister, his Father laid his Hands on him, upon a Sunday, the sixth of *July*. Fifteen Days after ' he took leave of the Church with a farewel Sermon, ' and a Collection was made of all the Sermons that he ' preached in that Journey, whereof two Impressions ' have been sold off, one at *Saumur*, and the other at ' *Geneva*. He set out afterwards from *Rochelle*, to return to *Paris* (20). Five Years after he had the Satisfaction to have his Son for his Colleague. *Hadrian Daillé* was chosen in the Year 1658 to be a Minister of *Paris*, in the place of Mr *Mestrezat*. *Cottiby* tells a pleasant Story about Mr *Daillé*'s Son being successively invited by the Church of *Rochelle* and *Paris* (21). ' The Reflexion you cast on my Prayers (*he speaks to the Father*) puts me in mind of your's, in a Journey ' that I made with you from *Paris* to *Chatellerault*. ' Was it not a shameful thing for you, because you ' conducted that dear and only Son of your's to be a ' Minister at *Rochelle*, to compare yourself to the Patriarch *Abraham*, and him to *Isaac*, whom you was ' going to offer up, because you removed him from ' *Paris* (22)? There wanted only (to make the Allegory perfect) an Angel to hold your Arm, and stay the Blow, obliging you to return back again to your House with your Victim. But you have taken care ' of it since: that Angel was one of the King's Secretaries, whose Name I have forgot (23); he went Post from *Paris* to surprize the *Rochellers*, and notwithstanding all the Protestations you had made to the poor People, to consecrate your Son to them without any reserve, and never to re-call him, which you did in opposition to Mr *Drelincourt*, who seemed (as it was said) to have a mind to re-call his; against all those Vows, by which you had devoted his Ministry to this People, and which, being more solemn than those which you say I made to the Protestants at *Poitiers*, ought consequently to be more inviolable; notwithstanding, I say, all these Engagements, that Angel applied himself to the Ministers of *Xaintonge*, already prepossessed by Letters; and without giving the Parties time to speak for themselves, he takes that *Isaac* from them, and gives them occasion to complain for ever, both of the Fidelity of the Father, and of the Loss of the Son, if he deserves to be so long regretted.' Mr *Daillé* calls this a Romance, and a fabulous Story (24).

(20) Abregé de la Vie de Mr Daillé, pag. 30.

(21) Cottiby, Replique à Mr Daillé, pag. 20.

(22) I shall observe, without pretending that this story is true, that the *Parisians* have the Weakness to think, that living in the Provinces is a deplorable Exile.

(23) In Mr *Daillé*'s Life, pag. 32, the Elder of the Consistory of *Charenton*, who was deputed to *Richelieu*, to demand Mr *Daillé*'s Son, is called Mr *Turpin*.

(24) Replique à Adam & à Cottiby, part. III, c. iii p. m. 258.

His Son was yet living when the Edict of *Nantes* was revoked; but by reason of his bodily Infirmities he was dispensed with exercising the Functions of his Ministry. He retired into *Switzerland*, and died at *Zurich*, about the Month of *May* 1690. All his Manuscripts, among which there were several Works of his Father, were carried into the public Library. He had a vast Knowledge of Books; for he did not only know whether they were good, but also whether they sold well: and I have heard say, that the Booksellers were not well pleased with this last Knowledge. Mr *Baillet* makes mention of him in the first Volume of his *Anti*, and justly censures those who said he had a Son who turned Catholic. I set down his words in the Margin: They are taken from a place of his Work, wherein he gives the Titles of several Books which he supposes were designed (25). Note, that Mr *Daillé*, the Father, being a Widower at Thirty seven Years of Age, never married again.

(25) *Conjuration generale des Protestans, & autres* Heretiques du Nord & de l'Occident contre l'Eglise Catholique, concertée sur les visions & les inspirations *du Prophete de* Rotterdam, avec l'Histoire des Visionnaires de l'un & de l'autre sexe que les Protestans ont eu jusqu'ici. Par le Sieur *Jean Daillé R. B. T.* fils d'Adrien, petit fils de Jean. *If I am not mistaken, says Mr* de Brillat, *the Name of the Author is supposititious. It is true that Mr* Daillé, *who is now at* Zurich, *is called* Adrian, *and that his Father's Name was* John; *but I have not heard that he left a Son in* France, *who was converted.* Baill. Tom. I, *of the* Anti, pag. 254.

Mr *Pictet*, Professor of Divinity at *Geneva*, having read what I have said above, that the Manuscripts of Mr *Daillé*'s Son were put into the public Library of *Zurich* (26), was pleased to acquaint me that the Manuscripts of Mr *Daillé*, the Father, were at *Geneva*, in the Hands of a private Person, who had bought them. They are the Explication of the nine first Chapters of the Epistle of St *Paul* to the *Romans*, the Explication of the first Epistle of St *Peter*, several Sermons, the Refutation of the Exposition of the Bishop of *Condom*, and a Treatise of the Eucharist like that of *Aubertin*.

(26) I had read this in a Letter written from *Zurich*, soon after the Death of Mr *Daillé* the Son.

[*G*] *So laborious a Man.*] I am sure the Readers will be glad to find here what I am going to transcribe out of Mr *Daillé*'s Life. ' His Books and his Studies ' were his chief Recreation, and his greatest Delight; ' there he unbent his Mind from Labour, with Pleasure and Profit. He betook himself to his Books, ' when he was weary of Business; and after a long ' Application to sublime and abstruse Matters, he used ' to take some Authors, the reading of which required ' less Attention, and afforded him some Diversion. ' Thus he intermixt serious and pleasant Studies, that ' he might always preserve his Appetite by this Variety ' of Food and Diet. I think also, without flattering ' him, he may deserve the Praise of having been one ' of the Men of his Time that read most, and most ' kind of Books, not only those of his Profession, but ' also of those that seem the farthest from it. It will ' not be hard to conceive this, if it be considered that ' he lived long, and that he husbanded all the Mo-

and so well qualified for Writing, composed many Books. With submission to some Critics, his first Essay was a Masterpiece [H]; and I do not know but it may be said to be his Masterpiece: I mean his Book *de Usu Patrum*, that was printed in the Year 1631 (g). It is a very strong Chain of Arguments, that form a moral Demonstration against those, who would have Differences in Religion to be decided by the Authority of the Fathers. The Author did not begin with such a Book because he knew that the Fathers of the first Centuries favoured the *Roman* Catholics; for he has shewed in several Works, that he desired no better than to reduce Controversies to this Point, *Every Doctrine, that is not consonant to that of the three first Centuries, ought to be rejected as an humane Innovation.* He would not have contested with the Bishop of *Meaux* the Principle of the *History of the Variations* [I]. Never any Minister knew the History and Doctrine of the Fathers better than he. No Man can write in a better *Latin* Stile than he did about the Matters that he treated of. As for his *French* Stile, it cannot be said that he had attained to Perfection in it; but there was no Man of his Age, among the Persons of his Gown, that spoke *French* so well as he; which ought to be ascribed, to the intimate Acquaintance he had, during his long stay at *Paris*, with the famous Mr *Conrart* (b). He presided in the last National Synod that was held in *France*, which is that of *Loudon*, in the Year 1659. He had that Advantage, that his Mind did not decay; for there is as much Fire and Strength of Argument in his Reply to Father *Adam* (i), and in the two Volumes *de Objecto cultus*

(g) The Book-seller put the following Year in the Title as it is usual.

(b) See the Remark [F].

(i) See Remark [I] of the Article ADAM Tome I.

ments of his long Life. He was exceedingly laborious, and, rising very early every Morning, he had by that means five or six Hours free from the common Hurry of Life, which he could spend in his Closet: and therefore it is no wonder if he had leisure enough to get such a Stock of Learning in so many Years; for he was a Man that made an Advantage of every thing, and he read no Book, how despicable soever it might be, but he made some Extracts of it (27), and he knew very well how to make use of them at a proper Time and Place (28).'

(27) Pliny *did the same.* Nihil unquam legi, quod non excerperet, dicere etiam solebat nullum esse librum tam malum, ut non aliqua ex parte prodesset. *Plin. Epist.* 5, *lib.* 3.

(28) Pag. 66, 67.

[H] *With Submission to some Critics, his first Essay was a Masterpiece.*] Here is what we find in a Book of *Colomies* (29). 'People are very much divided in their Opinions about Mr *Daillé*'s Book *de usu Patrum*. The Presbyterians admire it very much, and the *English* Episcoparians value it but little. Speaking formerly of this Book with a learned Man, (who is at present one of the latter) he told me that in his Opinion it was the least of Mr *Daillé*'s Works, and that he wondered that, having a considerable Knowledge of the Fathers, he had made use of his reading to obscure the Merit of the Ancient Church? Mr *Scrivener*, an *English* Divine, is of the same Opinion, in his *Apology for the Fathers against the same* Mr Daillé. Take notice that this Censure is chiefly grounded on this, that it is a Work which may injure Antiquity: this would not be said of an indifferent Book, and therefore those who find fault with this Work do really commend it. I know very well that the *English* Divine (30) who writ against that Work, pretends that Mr *Daillé*'s Reasons are not strong; but he does not make it out, and nothing would be more easy than to confute him. But laying aside that Dispute, I shall only observe, that, by the Confession of that Divine (31), the Book *de usu Patrum* was the Admiration of the Presbyterian Party. Of all Mr *Daillé*'s Works, this was most esteemed by a learned Minister of *Picardy*. These are his words; he speaks to the Author. 'Licet quidquid operum hactenus ediditi, Vir Reverende, mihi plurimùm placuerit, tuaque omnia, cum Latinè tum Gallicè scripta, æquali plausu ab eruditis, atque adeò à pus omnibus, excepta sint, diffiteri tamen non possum, laborum tuorum primitias, Tractatum nempe tuum de *Patrum* in decidendis de *Religione* Controversiis *Usu*, me plurimùm semper cepisse. Non solùm enim opus istud mirâ rerum lectu & scitu jucundissimarum dignissimarumque varietate refertum est, verùm etiam eloquentia orationisque nitor cum rebus ipsis certant, tantâque eruditione & facundiâ argumentum illud pertractasti, ut vix quicquam magis elaboratum erudito hoc seculo prodisse videatur (32). —— *Although I have been extremely delighted with whatever you have hitherto published, and all your Writings, both in* French *and* Latin, *have been received with equal Applause by the learned and religious part of Mankind; Yet I must own, that the first Fruits of your Labours, namely your Treatise concerning the use of the Fathers in deciding Controversies about Religion, has charmed me above the rest. For that Work is not only stored with Variety of Matter, both useful and entertaining, but the Eloquence and Beauty of Stile is kept up to the Dignity of the Subject, which you have handled with so much Learning and Politeness, that nothing, in my Judgment, has appeared more elaborate in this learned Age.*' These are the words of Mr *Mestayer*, who was Minister of St *Quintin*: his *Latin* Translation of that Work of Mr *Daillé* was printed at *Geneva* in the Year 1656 (k). It is said, in the Life of Mr *Daillé* (33), that a learned *Englishman*, whose Name is *Thomas Smith*, translated that same Book into his Mother Tongue: Mr *Mestayer* says the same: but Mr *Scrivener* assures us (34), that he has some very good Witnesses of the contrary, and that he heard Mr *Smith* say, that it was an *Oxford* Man, and not he, who made that Translation: and that Mr *Smith* himself would have confuted that Work if he had thought it worthy of his Notice (35). One thing which cannot be denied is, that there is a Preface, with the Name of that Mr *Smith*, prefixed to the *English* Translation, printed in the Year 1651. Mr *Cottiby* (36) made a Remark against the Book *de usu Patrum*, which the Author did not vouchsafe to examine. See Mr *Daillé*'s Reply, in the eleventh Chapter of the third Part (37).

(29) Bibliothecha sive, pag. 2.

(30) Matthew Scrivener in Apologia pro S. Ecclesiæ patribus adversus Jo. Dallæum, *London*, 1672.

(31) *See his Preface.*

(32) Jo. Mestayer, Epist. dedicat. Tractatus de usu Patrum.

(33) Pag. 14.

(34) Scriven. in Præfat.

(35) Sibi aliquando fuisse in animo contrarios scripto Dallæum refellere, sed rumorum expensis nihil in Dallæanos opere sua dignum opera perpetum. *Id. ib.*

(36) Cottiby ubi supra, pag. 243.

(37) Pag. 209.

This is more than sufficient to prove, that the first Book that Mr *Daillé* published was accounted a very good Book, and one of his best Works: which puts me in mind of a Maxim which a grave Author advanced some Years ago, to prove, that the Advice to the Refugees was the Work of a Writer who had already composed several good Books. His Proof turned into a Maxim amounts to this: *Every Book that is well written, and well turned, is at least the third or fourth Production of it's Author.* This Maxim is false: but when a Man goes about to convert it into a Proof of a Crime of State, he deserves to be more ridiculed than the Author, whom I speak of, was in the *Cabale Chimerique*. Mr *Daillé*, and his Book *de usu Patrum*, have been alledged in this last Piece, among other Examples, to shew, that the first Book that a Man publishes is sometimes a most accomplished Piece.

[(k) As soon as Mr *Daillé*'s *Treatise concerning the right Use of the Fathers* came out, it was received with a general Applause in the Protestant Countries; and particularly in *England*, as it appears by the Advertisement of Mr *Thomas Smith*, prefixed to the *English* Translation of it, containing the *Testimonies of the Lord* Faulkland, *Lord* Digby, *and Dr* Taylor, *concerning this learned Book.* The Appobation of these great Men shews what Judgment is to be made of some hot-headed Divines, such as *Scrivener*, who endeavoued to depreciate it. He affirms, that Mr *Smith* said, *he would have confuted it, if he had thought it worth his while*; but we must charitably believe that he did not know, or had forgot, that the same pious and learned Mr *Smith* set so high a value upon this Work, that he prefixed before it the aforesaid Advertisement. My Lord *Clarendon* was also a great Admirer of that Performance, and has made an excellent Apology for it, in his Answer to *Serenus Cressy*, in which *Scrivener* is used as he deserves. See the *Life of Mr* Chillingworth, pag. 116, *& seq.* REM CRIT.]

[I] He

cultus Religioſi (*k*), as in all his other Works. He openly declared for Univerſal Grace, and writ againſt a Profeſſor of *Leyden* who was an Antagoniſt of Mr *Amyraut* (*l*). He intituled his Book, *An Apology for the Synods of* Alençon *and* Charenton (*m*). That Work raiſed a new War among the Proteſtant Divines. Mr *Daillé* endeavoured to excuſe himſelf, by ſaying that his Book had been publiſhed without his Knowledge; nevertheleſs he anſwered, with all the Sharpneſs imaginable, a Profeſſor of *Groningen*, who had writ againſt him. That Profeſſor (*n*) replied; and though this Diſpute did not continue very long [*K*], yet it produced what is uſual in the like Caſes; I mean, that the Public came to know by them many little Particulars that injure Mr *Daillé*'s Memory [*L*], whether they be true or falſe; for there are but too many Readers, who

(*k*) He was 70 Years old when he publiſhed the firſt.

(*l*) Frederic Spanheim.

(*m*) *It is a* Latin *Book printed at* Amſterdam *in* 1655.

(*n*) *It was* Samuel Maresius.

[*I*] *He would not have conteſted with the Biſhop of* Meaux *the Principle of the* Hiſtory of the Variations.] Here is the Principle I ſpeak of: *The Catholic Truth which comes from* God *has immediately it's Perfection; but Hereſy, the weak Production of human Wit, cannot be made up but of ill ſorted Pieces.* The Author of the *Paſtoral Letters* pretended (38), that this is to argue like a Pagan, and *as the greateſt Enemy of the Chriſtian Religion would do, and that it is to ſuppoſe Matters of Fact, which none can advance but the moſt ignorant of all Mankind:* ſo that one is inclined to believe that the Biſhop of *Meaux* never caſt his Eyes on the Writings *of the Fathers of the firſt four Centuries, ſince it is not poſſible a learned Man can give an Inſtance of ſo profound an Ignorance.* A Piece was publiſhed (39) towards the end of the Year 1688, wherein it was obſerved (40), that theſe Reflexions fell as well on Mr *Daillé* as on the Biſhop of *Meaux*, *who ſeems to have tranſcribed his Maxim from the firſt Lines of one of* Mr Daillé's *beſt Works.* In effect, that Miniſter lays down the Biſhop of *Meaux*'s Principle at the beginning of his Reply to Father *Adam*. See the *Anſwer of the Faithful, that are Captives in* Babylon, to the *Paſtoral Letter* of the firſt of *November* 1694: you will find (41) there Mr *Daillé*'s Words, and the Declaration thoſe Faithful make, that they keep to that Principle, notwithſtanding the Invectives of the Author of the *Paſtoral Letters*. That Anſwer is dated from *Orleans*, the fifteenth of *January* 1695.

(38) *See the Paſtoral Letter of the* 15th *of* Novemb. 1688.

(39) *Intituled,* Reponſe d'un nouveau Converti à la lettre d'un Refugié pour ſervir d'addition au livre de Dom Denys de Ste Marthe.

(40) Pag. 9.

(41) Pag. 5.

[*K*] *This Diſpute did not continue very long.*] 'The 'Quarrel between *Mareſius*, and the Author of the *Apology*, was ſoon ended. And becauſe they had been 'good Friends till then, it was no difficult thing to 'reconcile them: the Agreement was confirmed after- 'wards by their meeting each other at the *Hôtel de* 'Turenne, where they embraced one another; and 'then they viſited each other, when *Mareſius* had occa- 'ſion to go to *Paris* (42).'

(42) Vie de Mr Daillé, pag. 26.

[*L*] *The Public came to know many little Particulars that injure Mr* Daillé's *Memory.*] Read *Mareſius*'s *Prolegomena*, and there you will find a long Train of Artifices, that Mr *Daillé* made uſe of to clear himſelf from the printing of his Book. The Walloon Synod made a great Noiſe about that Book, and complained of it in a Letter to the Synod of the *Iſle of France*. They ſaid that the Title of that Book had been fraudulently ſuppreſſed till after the Publication; that That Title was injurious and ſcandalous; that the Walloon Churches had been very much offended at it; that they believed thoſe of *France* had ſtill more reaſon to be offended at it; that Mr *Daillé*'s Honour was viſibly blemiſhed by it, ſince they had tacked that Title to his Book againſt his Intention. This ſhewed that Mr *Daillé* had writ, or got ſome body to write, to *Holland*, that the Title of his Book was none of his, and that he diſapproved it; and yet it appears by the Anſwer, which the Synod of the *Iſle of France* made to the Walloon Synod, that, except Mr *Spanheim*'s Name, the reſt of the Title was that of Mr *Daillé*'s Original, and that Mr *Daillé* had fully ſatisfied the Synod by the Explanations he had given them. 'Vos ſcitis, Domini ho- 'noratiſſimique fratres, id factum abſque ejus conſenſu 'ipſoque inſcio, & præter id quod ipſi preſcribitis in 'veſtra ad nos epiſtola, ita ſe explicavit in hoc cœtu, 'ut plene nobis ſatisfactum fuerit (43). —— *You know, moſt honoured Brethren, that it was done without his Knowledge or Conſent, and beſides that, which ye have diraſted, in your Letter to us, he has ſo explained himſelf in this Aſſembly, that we are entirely ſatisfied.*' This was plainly to play upon both the *Walloon* Synod and that of the *Iſle of France*: for the thing that gave offence was not that the Name of Mr *Spanheim* had been put to the Title, but that the Work had been intituled, *An Apology for the Synods of* Alençon *and* Charenton. The Letter of the *Walloon* Synod ſhewed it plainly; and therefore, ſince Mr *Daillé* preſided in the Synod of the *Iſle of France*, and cauſed the Anſwer to be drawn up as he pleaſed (44), it was he that played upon the two Synods. 'Dallæum hac in 'parte ſuæ Synodo impoſuiſſe, idque parum & pru- 'denter & pudenter, luce meridiana clarius poſſim 'demonſtrare; nam adoptando priorem partem tituli 'alteram omnino ſuam facit: qui enim, &c. —— 'That Daillé *herein impoſed upon his Synod, and that* 'without either Prudence or Modeſty, I could demon- 'ſtrate moſt evidently: for by not owning the firſt part 'of the Title, he makes the other his own.' If Evaſions were made uſe of about the Title, they were no leſs made uſe of about the Impreſſion of the Book. *Mareſius* does clearly ſhew that Mr *Daillé*'s Excuſes, and thoſe of *Blondel*, and the reſt, being compared together, deſtroy each other; and, in a Word, that to conceal the firſt Lye, they were forced to forge many others. I maintain that this wrongs a great Man's memory; for a great many Perſons, eſpecially in the remoteſt parts of the Kingdom, know thoſe Gentlemen of *Charenton* only by their pious and controverſial Books. They take them to be living Images of the Apoſtles, who would not for any thing in the World uſe any Art and Diſſimulation. So that when a Mr *Daillé* is ſhewed to them, as one who deceives two Synods all at the ſame time, who cauſes Letters to be written as he pleaſes in a Synod whereof he is Moderator, who heaps Subterfuge upon Subterfuge in order to elude the Complaints made againſt his Conduct, he muſt needs looſe a great part of the Reſpect and Veneration that People had for him; and if they have ſtill the ſame eſteem for him, it is rather becauſe they are ſtupidly inſenſible, than that the thing would not naturally produce that effect. It is certainly a ſcandalous thing to ſee how ſome Men, who have a great credit in Synods, get any thing, that they have a mind to, inſerted in the Letters and Acts of thoſe Aſſemblies; and when thoſe Tricks are laid open, as they have been by *Mareſius*, the reading of them muſt needs give great offence.

(43) Maref. Prolegom. Epiſcrif. Theolog. Edit. 1658, in 12mo.

(44) In ſuperiis literis ſuæ Synodi provincialis, cui præfuit, quas curavit fabricari pro ſuo lubitu. *Ibid.*

But this is not all: You will ſee in the ſame *Prolegomena*, that, when Mr *Daillé* ſaw the Animadverſions made upon his Book, he conceived a furious ſpite againſt *Mareſius*, diſperſed every where thundering Menaces, and made a Confederacy with *Curcellæus*, an *Arminian* Profeſſor, whereby that Profeſſor engaged to attack *Mareſius* on the one ſide, whilſt Mr *Daillé* made his Attack on the other. 'Dallæus inſtar Tigrorum, 'qui dicuntur in rabiem agi ad pulſum tympanorum, 'ita efferbuit ad iſtius opuſculi conſpectum, ac ſi tres 'illæ Exercitationes in tres Furias abiiſſent, quæ ver- 'bere ſerdo ipſum interdiu noctuque exagitarent; nam 'illicò cœpit dira quæque mihi minitari, & hinc inde 'ad amicos ſcriptitando, in me evomere quicquid ipſi 'ſplendida ſua bilis ſuggerebat, reſponſionem eam mi- 'natus quâ me pro merito depexeret —— primum ex 'aſtu politico pactus eſt cum Curcellæo, publico hoſte 'Eccleſiarum reformatarum, ut arma ſua conjungerent, '& me communi impetu adorirentur (45). —— Daillé *like the Tigers, who are ſaid to grow furious by* 'the beating of a Drum, *was as much enraged at* 'the ſight of that Piece, as if thoſe three Diſſertations 'had been changed into three Furies, and laſhed him 'with continual ſtripes, both Night and Day. He im- 'mediately began to thunder out his Menaces, and writ- 'ing circular Letters to all his Friends, ſolicited them 'to lead me with all the Calumny their Malice could 'invent. He threatened me likewiſe with an Anſwer, 'which ſhould expoſe me as I deſerved. —— *And firſt by* 'a Piece of political Craft he entered into a Confederacy 'with Curcellæus, *a profeſſed Enemy of the Reformed* 'Churches,

(45) Mareſius, ubi ſupra.

who, not being able to discern a Truth from a Falsity, will believe what they find in the Book of a famous Man. It were to be wished that the Disputes about *Universalism* and *Particularism* had been looked upon in those Days as they are now [*M*]. Mr *Daillé* had a great share in *Balzac*'s Esteem [*N*]. He died at *Paris* the 15th of *April* 1670, leaving a Son of whom I shall speak in the Remarks (*o*). The Knavery

(*o*) *In Rem.* [*F*].

'*Churches, to attack me with their United Forces.*' They ascribe this Anger to the Presumption he had conceived by being Minister of the capital City of *France*; as if a Pastor of that Church ought to enjoy the Privileges of a little Papacy. 'Iniquius fert sibi contradici & pro celebritate Ecclesiæ qui servit, δεῖ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐμοὶνον, hæc de veteri Roma loquuntur Patres Concilii Chalcedonensis *Can. penult.* Non solum τὸ πρεσβεῖον sibi deberi putat, sed etiam τὸ πρωτεῖον; ac subinde Archiepiscopaturit vel Papaturit (46).' The same Author quotes a piece of the Case, which M. *de Fauquemburge*, Minister of the Church of *Senlis*, had published against Mr *Daillé*, which contains a Fact that shews an insufferable Pride. 'Nolim omnibus ita credere, quæ de ipso publice scripsit unus ex suis in eadem Provincia symmistis, Fauquembergius; aut illum eo feritatis processisse, ut cùm sibi narraretur hunc pro concione liberiùs notasse quendam ex Ecclesiæ suæ membris, qui dicebatur falso modio usus fuisse, statim eum inauditum damnaverit, nec solum censurâ dignum pronunciaverit, sed etiam in hanc tyrannicam vocem proruperit, (*Il lui faut bailler les estrivieres du haut en bas*;) quo atrocius & contumeliosius, ut norunt qui Gallicè norunt, (sic enim agitur demum cum vilissimis mancipiis,) nihil à Verbi Divini Ministro, de suo fratre in eadem dignitate constituto, dici potest (47). —— *I would not believe all those things, which* Fauquemberg, *one of his Brother Divines in the same Province, has published concerning him, or that he was arrived at that pitch of Haughtiness, that, when it was told him, that* Fauquemberg *had reprimanded, in a manner too severe for a Sermon, one of the Members of his Congregation, who was said to have used false Measures, he should condemn him unheard, and not only proclaim him worthy of censure; but break out into this tyrannical Expression. He should have the* Bastinado *from Head to Foot. Than which nothing more barbarous or contumelious could be spoken by a Minister of GOD's Word concerning a Brother in the same Dignity with himself: For such treatment is given to the vilest Slaves.*' They affirm that several of Mr *Daillé*'s Brethren complained of his Haughtiness, and conclude with saying, that commonly those who see themselves in a fine Post, and applauded by Flatterers, forget themselves, and cannot bear to be contradicted. 'Ut dudum est quod ψιλοκυρτολίνει, nec pristinæ ferulæ memoriam penitus deposuit, ita affatus typho sæculi paulatim affuevit κατηχεύειν τῶν πλησίον, ut multi sint ejusdem secum ordinis in Gallia, qui majorem moderationem, & nimis sublimium spirituum aliquam repressionem, in ipso desiderent. Verùm id solet iis evenire qui in loco celsiori consistunt, ut facile tententur vertigine, & aliorum blandimentis deliniti, sibi quid sumant de Pharisæorum supercilio, quod postea tonsoris novaculam non vult admittere (48). —— *As his Elevation is of no long standing, and the late Ferule is still fresh in his Memory, he is so elate with Pride, and has so accustomed himself to tyrannize over the Clergy, that there are many of the same Order in* France, *who wish to see a greater Moderation, and a check given to his too haughty Temper: but it is usual for those, who are placed on a summit, to have their Heads suddenly turned, and, by being flattered by others, to contract a Pride which cannot suffer a favourite sore to be touched, tho' ever so gently.*'

(46) Id. Ibid.

(47) Id. Ibid.

(48) Id. Ibid.

It is certain that those things may very much contribute to lessen the Esteem that People had conceived for Mr *Daillé*. In most of the Provinces of *France* he was only known by a great number of Sermons full of an excellent Morality, and edifying Piety, and by Books of Controversy, wherein his Zeal for Truth, and his Wisdom and Judgment, shine no less than his Learning. When People know a Person only by such a conspicuous Merit, they have the greatest Veneration for him, because they are prepossessed with this favourable Opinion, that his Life is answerable to his Doctrine: and therefore they must needs have a worse Opinion of him, when they come to know that he who teaches others Humility, and the forgiving of Injuries, is puffed up with Pride, cannot bear to be refuted, and horribly inveighs against his Censurers. It is doubtless a great Misfortune for such Persons, as Mr *Daillé* was, to engage in personal Disputes. One would think that their evil Genius brings them to those unlucky Circumstances. They grow hot, and in their Anger they discover more Faults in a Month than they had been able to conceal in twenty Years. The worst is, that their Enemies reveal whatever may tend to their Disreputation, and publish a hundred things that would have been unknown. Remember the Clause that I have put in the Text of this Article, *whether they be true or false*. I decide nothing here upon the matter of Fact; and, on the other side, I say nothing but what is to be found in a public Book.

[*M*] *It were to be wished, that the Disputes about* Universalism *and* Particularism *had been looked upon in those Days, as they are now.*] We have seen how the *Walloon* Synod stirred themselves against Mr *Daillé*'s Book, and that they made great Complaints of it to the Synod of the *Isle of France*. The very Title of it (*Apology for the Synods of* Alençon *and* Charenton,) appeared to them very scandalous. How comes it then that the *Walloon* Synod, that drew up a Form of Subscription, in the Year 1686, for the Ministers that came from *France*, did not inform themselves whether they were for Universal or Particular Grace? Had that Doctrine changed it's nature since the Printing of Mr *Daillé*'s Book? That Question is not very difficult. In order to resolve it one needs but remember that all the Party Leaders, either in *France* or *Holland*, were dead a long time before. *M. Peter du Moulin*, *Andrew Rivet*, *Frederic Spanheim*, *Samuel Des-Marets*, (*Maresius*), *Moses Amyraut*, had been living in the Year 1686, the Disputes about Universal Grace would have been accounted very important; but, as they had not been able for a considerable time to communicate to any body the Spirit wherewith they were animated, the overflown Waters were returned into their Channel, and ran softly and smoothly; and at that time they judged better of the nature of things. How many Sins and Scandals would have been avoided, if those Waters had never overflowed those Banks (49)!

(49) *See the Remark* [*E*] *of the Article* AMYRAULT.

[*N*] *He had a great share in* Balzac's *Esteem.*] Mr *Conrart* procured that Acquaintance to Mr *Daillé*. From the Year 1639 there was a mutual Correspondence by Letters between them. Among *Balzac*'s choice Letters, we find an Answer he made to Mr *Daillé* the Twenty fourth of *December* 1639 (50). Mr *Daillé* is often mentioned in *Balzac*'s Letters to Mr *Conrart* (51), and commonly with great Praises. See the tenth Letter of the second Book, wherein a Sermon of Mr *Daillé* is extolled to the Sky. In the sixteenth Letter of the fourth Book *Balzac* mentions a Visit that he received from him, and complains obligingly, that it had lasted but two Hours. This is an Encomium upon that Minister, which is very glorious to him. Mr *Daillé* went to see *Balzac* in the Year 1653, in the Journey that I spoke of before (52). This appears by the date of the fifteenth Letter of the fourth Book. Here is something that shews the Friendship between Mr *Daillé* and Mr *Conrart*: 'The *Friday* after his last Sermon (53), he only went abroad in the Neighbourhood to see his intimate Friend the illustrious Mr *Conrart*, who was a Man truly according to his Heart, and whose charming Conversation was one of the chief Delights of his Life, and in whose Affection he had just reason to glory; for there never was a more strict or more indissolvable Friendship than theirs ever since their first Acquaintance. One would have thought that he had a mind to take his Leave of that dear Friend; and as if he had known that it was to be their last Farewel, his Visit was longer than usual, and he did not come away till after a most pleasant Conversation, which lasted two Hours (54).'

(50) *It is the* 13th *of the* 1st *Book of the* 2d *Part.*

(51) *See the* 1st *Letter of the* 1st *Book, pag.* 26, *of the* Dutch *Edit.* 1659, *and moreover the* 8th *Letter of the* 2d *Book, pag.* 107. *See also pag.* 249.

(52) *In Remark* [*F*].

(53) That is, the Sermon which he preached on *Thursday*, the 10th of *April* 1670. It has been printed with the Abridgment of his Life.

(54) Abridgm. of his Life, pag. 47.

very of the Miſſionaries concerning a Paſſage of Mr *Daillé*, about the taking away of the Cup, cannot be ſufficiently admired [O].

[O] *The Knavery of the Miſſionaries concerning a Paſſage of Mr* Daillé, *about the taking away of the Cup, cannot be ſufficiently admired.*] They have ſaid and repeated a thouſand times, that Mr *Daille* had acknowledged (55), that the retrenching of the Cup was of no, or of very ſmall, Importance. I ſay they have repeated it on all occaſions, though they had been often anſwered, that Mr *Daille* did not ſpeak of the retrenching of the Cup, but of the Reaſons that moved the Church of *Rome* to retrench it. See the Letter (56) that he wrote to Mr *de Langle*, Miniſter of *Rouen*, who had very well cleared that Equivocation in a printed Sermon.

(55) In his Apology for the Reformed Churches.

(56) It is dated the firſt of *May* 1655, and printed with two Sermons of Mr *de Langle* upon the firſt Epiſt. to the *Corinth.* cap. 2, ver. 32.

DALMATIN (GEORGE), a Lutheran Miniſter at *Laubech*, in *Carniola*, in the XVIth Century, tranſlated all the Bible into the *Sclavonian* Tongue, and publiſhed his Verſion at *Wittemberg* (*a*). The Epiſtle dedicatory, which informs me of this, is dated the Twenty eighth of *March* 1586, not long after the ſaid Edition came out. *Calviſius* (*b*) ſays, that this Verſion of the Bible was printed in the Year 1584 (*c*), and that *Adam Bochoritz* was concerned in it with *Dalmatin*. The latter had ſtudied at *Tubingen*, in the College where the Duke of *Wirtemberg* kept a certain Number of Scholars (*d*).

(*a*) Philip. Haibrun. Epiſt. Dedic. Comm. in Jerem.

(*b*) *At the Year* 1584.

(*c*) It muſt then be diſtinguiſhed from that which, according to the *Oxford* Catalogue, at the Word *Biblia*, was printed *Oſtrobiæ*, in 1581.

(*d*) Haibrunn. Epiſt. dedicat. Com. in Jerem.

§. DALMATIN (GEORGE) (*a*), Maſter of Arts, a Lutheran Miniſter in Upper *Carniola*, a ſkillful, active, learned Man. In 1568 he tranſlated *Luther*'s *German* Bible into the *Sclavonian* or *Carniolian* Tongue, and as this Language is uſed in ſeveral Places, as in *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, the States of the Country concluded it ſhould be printed in this Language; wherefore they calculated the Expence with a Printer at *Laybach* (*b*) [*A*]. But *Charles*, Archduke of *Auſtria*, hearing of it, forbad the Printer, in the Year 1580, to print the ſaid Bible. However, the States of the Country reſolving to print it ſomewhere elſe, they ſent *George Dalmatin* to *Gratz*, there to reviſe and correct it; but it was found convenient to reviſe it at *Laybach*, which was done accordingly [*B*]. And as they might eaſily conclude, that the Impreſſion of this Bible would not be permitted in the Dominions of *Auſtria*, they ſent, the tenth of *April*, 1583, the ſaid *Dalmatin*, and *Adam Boboritſch* [*C*] to *Wittemberg*, with a Recommendation to the Elector of *Saxony*, where the Impreſſion was begun [*D*] the Twenty eighth of *May*, 1583, and finiſhed in ſix Months; ſo that the whole Work was compleated the firſt Day of the Year 1584 [*E*]. *Dalmatin* dedicated it to the States of *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, and afterwards returned with his Companion into his own Country with the Copies, after having been at *Dreſden* to thank the Elector for his Protection. This Tranſlation is ſtill uſed in *Carniola*, among the Clergy who are allowed to read it, that they may be able to pronounce well the Paſſages of Holy Scripture, according to the *Carniolian* Tongue, becauſe there is no other *Sclavonian* Verſion [*F*]. For the Work of *Primus Truber* is alſo a Lutheran Performance, and which, as they ſay, was not altogether

(*a*) This Article was communicated by Mr *Breſler*.

(*b*) Valvaſor, The Glory of the Duchy of *Carniola*, lib. 6, cap. 21, num. 21, pag. 348.

[*A*] *With a Printer*, &c.] The Printer's Name was *John Manlius*, and he had been brought into the Country by *Primus Truber*, about the Year 1561. He was the firſt that ſet up a Printing-Preſs at *Laybach*, and who began to print the *Sclavonian* Language in *Latin* Letters, which was the Invention of the ſaid *Truber*, whereas before they were uſed to write in *Glagoliſtic*, or *Cyrillic*, Characters (1).

(1) Valvaſor, The Glory of the Duchy of *Carniola*, pag. 240.

[*B*] *Which was done accordingly.*] On the Twenty fourth of *Auguſt* of the Year 1581, the following Divines aſſembled for this purpoſe at *Laybach*, who were well verſed in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin*, and *Sclavonian* Tongues, and were deputed, from their reſpective Countries, to reviſe this Work, to wit, *Jeremiah Hamburger*, Doctor of Divinity, Paſtor, and Superintendant of the *Lutheran* Churches at *Gratz* in *Stiria*; *Bernard Steiner*, Paſtor at *Clagenfurt* in *Carinthia*; and *George Dalmatin*, the Tranſlator, together with *Chriſtopher Spindler*, Paſtor, and Superintendant of the Church of *Laybach*; *Adam Boboritſch*, *John Schweiger*, and *Felician Truber* of *Carniola* (2).

(2) Valvaſor, ibid. pag. 348.

[*C*] *Adam Boboritſch*,] As they write it in *High-Dutch*, or *Boborizh*, according to the way of writing in his Country. He was a Native of *Carniola*, and Evangelic Rector at *Laybach*. When he lived at *Wittemberg* he publiſhed a Book, intituled, *Artiſicæ Horulæ ſucceſſivæ de Latino-Carniolana Literatura, ad Latinæ Linguæ analogiam accommodata, unde Moſcbovitica, Ruthenica, Polonica, Boëmica, Luſatica Linguæ cum Dalmatica & Croatica cognatio facile deprehenditur, Wittembergæ* 1584. This Book, which ſerves for a Grammar, was made with a great deal of Application, and the Epiſtle Dedicatory is, *ad Illuſtrium Styriæ, Carinthiæ, & Carniolæ Principum filios, univerſi equeſtris ordinis ingenuam juventutem. Wittemb. Cal. Jan.* 1584 (3).

(3) Ibid.

[*D*] *The Impreſſion was begun.*] They agreed with *Samuel Seelfiſch*, Bookſellor at *Wittemberg*, to print 1500 Copies, and each Copy to contain 280 Sheets, of the largeſt Paper, in a fine Character, with Figures carved in Wood. The States of *Carniola* were to pay 20 Florins for every Bale of 500 Sheets. The Charge of the Impreſſion of this Bible came to about 8000 Florins, of which the States of *Stiria* paid 1000 Florins, thoſe of *Carinthia* 900, and the Evangelic States of *Carniola* 6100 (4).

(4) Ibid.

[*E*] *The Year* 1584.] Under the Title of *Biblia tu je uſe ſuetu piſmu, ſtariga inu noviga Teſtamenta Slovenſki, tolmazhena Skuſi Juria Dalmatina*, &c. That is to ſay, *The Bible, or the Holy Scriptures, of the Old and New Teſtament, tranſlated into the* Sclavonian *Tongue, by* George Dalmatin, printed at *Wittemberg*, in the Electorate of *Saxony*, by the Heirs of *John Krafft* 1584 (5).

(5) Ibid.

[*F*] *Sclavonian Verſion.*] *Stephen Gerlach* (6) indeed mentions, that, in the Month of *June*, 1578, there was found at *Vedreno*, a Village of *Bulgaria*, upon the Frontiers of *Thrace*, the Bible in the *Sclavonian*, or *Illyric*, Tongue, at the Houſe of a Clergyman of that Place; but in all Appearance it is neither printed in *Latin* Characters, nor agrees with the Dialect of the Bible I have been ſpeaking of.

(6) In the Account of his Travels to *Turkey*.

[*G*] *Primus Truber.*] *Primus Truber* deſerves to be treated of more fully. At firſt, he was Canon of *Laybach*, and began, in the Year 1331, to preach publickly, in the Cathedral of that City, the Doctrine of *Luther* of the two Kinds in the Euchariſt, and to approve of Prieſts marrying. So that he embraced *Luther*'s Party, and

gether publiſhed for the public Good. *Dalmatin* was afterwards preſented to the Benefice of St *Khaziam* [*H*] by *Chriſtopher*, Baron of *Aurſperg*, in the Year 1585, and tho' the Catholics had given him an ignominious Name [*I*], and had alſo baniſhed him in the Year 1598, yet the Baron of *Aurſperg* kept him concealed in his Houſe [*K*].

and retired from *Carniola* into the Empire, where he was choſen by the City of *Kempſon* to be their Paſtor. He preached in this place for fourteen Years, and deſerved well of his Country by his Tranſlations. For he tranſlated into the *Carniolian* Tongue, with *Latin* Characters, not only, 1. The Goſpels, according to *Luther*'s Tranſlation, 2. With his Cathechiſm, but alſo 3. All the New Teſtament, and 4. The Pſalms of *David* 1553. At laſt the States of *Carniola* recalled him into his own Country. He tranſlated alſo into his Mother-Tongue the *Auſburg* Confeſſion; and *Luther*'s *German* Sermons, whoſe laſt Book was printed at *Tubingen*. *Hermannus Fabricius Moſemannus* (7) ſpeaks of *Truber*'s Tranſlation, with ſome other Circumſtances as follows. 'John Ungnad, Baron of *Sonneck* (8) in *Croatia*, at the time of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion, got the Bible tranſlated into the *Sclavonian* Tongue, at *Auraeh*, in the Duchy of *Wirtemberg*. He employed three learned *Sclavonians* in this Tranſlation; the firſt was *Primus Truber*, the ſecond *Anthony Dalmata*, and the third *Stephen Conſul*: But theſe Books were ſtopt upon the Road, and are ſtill ſhut up in Caske at *Neuſtad* in *Auſtria*. The Character is altogether new, almoſt like an *Aſiatic*, or *Syriac*, Character, with pretty large and ſquare Letters. A Copy of this Bible is to be ſeen in the Library of the Landgrave of *Heſſe*; and there are ſome Copies of it in *Sclavonia*.' *Thus far* Fabricius. Theſe Bibles no doubt were printed in *Cyrillic* Characters: but as to *Truber*, he was baniſhed a ſecond time from *Carniola*, and died in the Year 1586, according to *Martin Zeiler* (9). The ſame Year he ſubſcribed himſelf in this manner, in a Letter he wrote to the Deputies of *Carniola*, which Subſcription contains his whole Life. 'Primus Truber, formerly Canon in Ordinary, called and confirmed at *Laybach*, Paſtor at *Lack*, at *Tuffer* near *Ratſthach*, and in St *Bartholomew*'s Field, Chaplain to St *Maximilian de Cilly*, *Sclavonian* Preacher at *Trieſte*, after the firſt Perſecution Preacher at *Röſemburg* upon the *Tauber*, Paſtor at *Kempten* and at *Aurais*, afterwards Preacher of the States of *Carniola*, and at *Rubia*, in the County of *Georgh*, after the ſecond Perſecution Paſtor at *Cauffen*, and now at *Deredingen* near *Tubingen* (10).'

(7) In his Abridgment of the Hiſtory of the World.

(8) He was the Emperor's Governor in *Styria*, and General of the three Provinces of *Styria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, and died the 27th of *December*, 1564, aged 71 Years. *Valvaſor*, *ubi ſupra*, *lib.* 12, *cap.* 9, *pag.* 52, *and lib.* 15, *cap.* 20, *pag.* 467. *Matth. Dreſſerus* He wrote a Hiſtory of the Family of *Ungnad*, and chiefly of this *John Ungnad*. *Leipſ.* 1602, *in* 4to.

(9) *Ibi Epiſtle.*

(10) Valvaſor, ubi ſupra, pag. 348.

[*H*] *Of St* Khaziam] Or St *Catiani* near *Aurſperg*, in the Diocese of the Patriarch of *Aquileia*. *Gregory*, the Patriarch, in the Year 1260, gave the Right of Preſentation, with all the Dependances of this Benefice, to *Gebhard* of *Aurſperg* (11).

(11) Id. lib. 8. pag 729.

[*I*] *Gave him an ignominious Name.*] They called him *Jure Kobilà*, which is to ſay, *George Mare*. This was done by miſtake, becauſe they had nicked-named *George Tereſchitch*, another *Lutheran* Miniſter, *Jure Kobila*, on account of a Mare that was given him: For *Jure* ſignifies, in the *Carniolian* Tongue, *George*, and *Kobila* a *Mare*; for this Reaſon ſeveral of the Reformed have ignorantly called our *Dalmatin*, *Jure Kobila* (12).

(12) Ibid. pag. 349.

[*K*] *Concealed in his Houſe.*] To wit, in a Vault, under the Stable, before the Caſtle; and this private Vault is called to this Day, *Jure Kobila, the Preacher's Hole* (13).

(13) Ibid. pag. 349, and 729.

DAMASCEN (JOHN), one of the moſt illuſtrious Fathers of the Lower Empire, flouriſhed in the VIIIth Century [*A*]. He was born at *Damaſcus*, where his Father, though a good Chriſtian [*B*], had an Office of Counſellor of State to the Calif of the *Saracens*. He was a very rich and charitable Man; and his chief Delight was to redeem Captives. One day he redeemed a very learned Man; whoſe Name was *Coſmus*, who had been taken at Sea, and made him Tutor to his only Son. The Child did very much improve under that excellent Tutor, both in Learning and Zeal for Religion. He became very zealous for Images, and diſperſed ſome Letters in the Empire, which did wonderfully ſupport the Cauſe againſt the Emperor; I mean the Emperor *Leo Iſauricus*, a great Enemy to Images. It is ſaid, that this Prince, burning with Deſire to be revenged of *John Damaſcen*, who exerciſed at that time the Office of Counſellor of State to the Calif, which his Father had exerciſed, made uſe of a forged Letter [*C*] with

[*A*] *He flouriſhed in the VIIIth Century.*] *Alphonſus de Caſtro* deſerves to be cenſured for two Reaſons, ſince he ſaid (1) that, according to *Trithemius*, our *John Damaſcen* muſt be placed in the Empire of *Theodoſius* the younger, about the Year 450. It is not true that *Trithemius* ſaid ſo: he tranſcribed *Sigebert*, who ſpoke of the Diſputes of *John Damaſcen* againſt the Emperor *Leo*; this belongs to the Year 730 (2). But if it were true, that *Trithemius* had been of that Opinion, *Alphonſus de Caſtro* would not be excuſed; for he ſhould have rectified him, inſtead of adopting his pretended Ignorance. We are going to ſee ſuch another Anachroniſm.

(1) In libris adverſ. Hæreſes, apud *Philippum Labbe*, *de Script. Eccleſ. T. m. I*, *pag.* 557.

(2) *There is* 830 *in Father* Labbe, *ibid.*

[*B*] *His Father was a good Chriſtian.*] *John*, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, having cauſed ſome Informations to be made concerning *John Damaſcen*'s Family, found that his Father and Mother were Chriſtians, and that they had bred him up in the Chriſtian Faith. From whence one may conclude, that it is not true that That Father of the Church was ever converted from the *Jewiſh* to the Chriſtian Religion; for he could not have done it without having firſt renounced his Baptiſm and the Goſpel. Now thoſe that have writ his Life ſay nothing like it, and it appears that he always had a very great Affection for the Goſpel, ſuch as it was then taught by the Bigots or Zealots: I mean chiefly the Monks infatuated with Images. A certain Author, called *Peter Galiſſard* (3), is therefore guilty of two Overſights, when he ſays that, in the Year 470, *John Damaſcen* abjured Judaiſm, and embraced the Goſpel. The firſt Miſtake concerns the pretended Converſion, the ſecond conſiſts in the Time; for if this Man was converted, or perverted, it would not be in the Year 470, ſince he lived in the VIIIth Century.

(3) In Chronographia apud *Theophilum Raynaudum* Hopoth Sect. 2, Serie 1, cap. 3, pag. m. 53.

[*C*] *Leo Iſauricus made uſe of a forged Letter.*] Some of the Letters, that *John Damaſcen* had writ againſt the *Iconoclaſts*, fell into *Leo*'s Hands, who 'cauſed a 'Man very well ſkilled in the Art of counterfeiting and 'falſifying Writings, to imitate his Hand ſo well, that 'it was impoſſible to diſtinguiſh the true one from the 'falſe one (4).' Whereupon he cauſed a Letter to be written (5), wherein he ſuppoſed, that *John Damaſcen* exhorted him to draw his Forces towards *Damaſcus*, promiſing him, in the Quality of Governor of the Place, to diſpoſe all things in ſuch a manner, that the taking of it would be infallible. He ſent that Letter to the Prince of the *Saracens*, and gloried in taking no Advantage of the Perfidiouſneſs of a Traitor, and in being ſo generous as to diſcover to the Calif the Treaſon of one of his Subjects. The Calif, without hearing the Proteſtations of Innocence that *John Damaſcen* made, and without giving him leave to diſcover *Leo*'s Trick, 'cauſed his Right-Hand to be cut off immediately, 'wherewith he pretended, that he had writ ſo treaſon-'able a Letter, and commanded it to be expoſed on a 'Gibbet in the public Place, in ſight of the whole 'City (6).' *Damaſcen* retired home, and petitioned the Calif to give him his Hand again, which was granted: he proſtrated himſelf before an Image of the Virgin, and 'having applied his Hand to the Place where 'it was before, he ſupplicated the Holy Virgin to make 'uſe of her powerful Interceſſion with her Son, that he 'might have it reſtored, in order to maintain the Cauſe 'which he had hitherto ſo happily defended againſt the 'Iconoclaſts (7).' He fell aſleep in his Prayer, and thought he ſaw in a Dream the Holy Virgin, who aſſured him, that his Prayer was heard. 'Whereupon 'awaking on a ſudden, he found his Hand ſo perfectly

(4) Maimbourg, Hiſtoire des Iconoclaſtes, lib. 2, pag. m. 116.

(5) It is to be found at length with that of *Leo* in *Maimbourg*'s Hiſtory of the *Iconoclaſts*, *ibid.* He quotes the Life of *John Damaſcen*, written by *John*, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*.

(6) Maimbourg, ibid. pag. 122.

(7) Ibid. pag. 123.

'reſtored,

with such great Success, that the Calif caused his Counsellor's Hand to be cut off. It is also said, that *John Damascen*, having recommended himself to the Prayers of the Holy Virgin, recovered his Hand, and fully vindicated his Innocence. The Minister, who answered *Maimbourg*'s History of Calvinism, rejected, with Contempt, that Story as an impertinent Fable, and, not contented with that, made use of an Argument, which, properly speaking, is Blasphemy [*D*]. It is a ridiculous Conceit of *Bzovius* to place *Damascen* among the Physicians that have been famous for their Sanctity [*E*]. There is more reason to say, that it was he, who began, among the *Greeks*, to handle a Subject according to the Scholastic Method [*F*]. This appears chiefly from his four Books of the *Orthodox Faith*. He left the Court of the Prince of the *Saracens* after the Miracle that I have mentioned, and shut himself up in the Monastery of *St Sabas* at *Jerusalem*

' restored, that he had the free use of it as before,
' with a little Circle about his Wrist, which shewed the
' place where it had been cut from his Arm, lest it
' should be said that another Man had voluntarily sub-
' stituted himself in his place, and suffered that Pu-
' nishment for him. The whole Town —— ran in
' the Morning to see that Spectacle. The Calif, being
' informed of such a surprizing Wonder —— would
' see it with his own Eyes, —— confessed his In-
' justice and Precipitation, detested the Emperor's
' infamous Treason (8),' and would have restored *Damascen* to all his Dignities, but he found him resolved to lead a solitary Life.

(8) Ibid. pag. 124, 125.

[*D*] *A Minister —— made use of an Argument, which, properly speaking, is Blasphemy.*] No body can think it strange that the Protestants should not believe the Miracle that I have just now mentioned; for it is certain, that a great many Catholics do not believe it: and the Writers for the Cause of Images have so composed their Histories, that they are only fit to make those very things suspected which they truly report. So that Mr *Jurieu* would have done nothing but what is reasonable, if he had been contented to reject what is said of *John Damascen*'s Hand as a Monkish Story. His Reflexion upon the slight Punishment that was inflicted on him, is very good; for a Prince is not contented to have a Governour's Hand cut off when he promises to deliver a Place to the Enemies. But when that Minister adds, that, since the *Saracens* were not converted at the sight of such a Miracle, and the City of *Damascus* did not renounce Mahometism, it must be concluded, that what is said of *John Damascen* is false; he will permit me to tell him, that he advances an Impiety. ' The Saracens of those times were
' very hard hearted, *says he* (9); for I am persuaded
' that, if such a Miracle was wrought at *Mecca*, they
' would turn Christians immediately.' Is not this to supply the Infidels with Weapons to refute all the Miracles of *Moses* and Jesus Christ? *The* Egyptians *and the* Jews *of those times were very hard hearted*; (might one say) *if such Miracles had been wrought in* Athens, *and* Rome, *they would have immediately turned Jews, and afterwards Christians.* It is somewhat strange that a Divine should suffer himself to be dazzled by a Reason, that is as strong against the Gospel Truths, as against the Monkish Fables; but if we consider how much the first Thoughts that come into the Mind work upon Men of a quick Imagination, we shall not wonder that the Minister of whom I speak should have argued as he has done. That which is very wonderful is, that there is but one Man, who has made it appear that he has observed that dangerous Doctrine: and it is a remarkable thing that no body seems to know that the Public was told of it. It is also a very remarkable thing, that Mr *Jurieu*, who might easily have saved his Orthodoxy, by declaring that he had advanced this unwarily, and without perceiving the Consequences of it, but that being sensible of the ill tendency of it, since he was censured upon that account, he disowns that pernicious Maxim: I say, it is very remarkable that That Author has neglected this short and easy way of shewing his Innocence, and has rather chosen, by being silent, to give a lawful Pretence to accuse him of persisting in the same Persuasion, *viz.* that if at this present time a Hand that is cut off should be restored at *Mecca*, that Town would immediately turn Christian. ' Nothing
' can be more impious (*they are the words of him who*
' *has informed against some of Mr* Jurieu's *Errors* (10);
' for it is to declare openly in the sight of Heaven and
' Earth, that he is persuaded that all the Miracles of
' *Moses*, and of Jesus Christ and his Apostles,
' are meer Fables, and consequently that the Scripture
' of the Old and New Testament is but a Romance
' and a Legend. Who can hear this without horror?
' Might not Judaism and Christianity be overthrown
' by a like Argument? If the Miracle mentioned by
' Father *Maimbourg* is false, because the whole City of
' *Damascus* was not converted by it, it follows from
' thence, will the Unbelievers say, that *Moses* did no
' Miracles in *Egypt*, that Jesus Christ did none
' in *Judæa*, that St *Peter* did not make the Cripple
' walk, who asked Alms of him in the midst of *Jeru-*
' *salem*; for neither the *Egyptians* nor the *Jews* were
' converted.' Note, that this lame Man was daily carried to the Gate of the Temple, and that afterwards *all the People* saw him walk, and knew him to be the same Man who had been lame (11), and that he was known to be the same by the Magistrates (12), and yet *Jerusalem* was not converted. The Miracle of *John Damascen*, such as it is related, had nothing more glaring than that of the lame Man, and was not attended with a pathetical Exhortation, as that was.

(9) Apologie pour les Reformat. Tom. I, pag. 22.

(10) *See the Book intituled*, Declaration de Mr touchant un petit écrit qui vient de paroître sous le titre de *Courte revûë des maximes de morale*, &c. *pag.* 15. *It was printed in* 1691.

(11) Acts of the Apostles, cap. III. ver. 9, 10, 11.

(12) Ibid. cap. iv, ver. 14.

[*E*] Bzovius *has placed him among the Physicians that have been famous for their Sanctity.*] *Bzovius* affirms, in his little Book about Physicians who have been holy Men, that *John Damascen* is one of them. The Conformity that is between *Mansur* and *Mesue* seems to some to be the Cause of that Mistake (13). *John Damascen* was called *Mansur*, that is to say, *Redeemed*; *Constantin Copronymus*, who hated him, called him *Manser*, that is to say, *Bastard* (14). *Bzovius* might have confounded *Mansur* or *Manser* with *Mesue*, and imagined that *John Mansur* of *Damascus* is the same with *John Mesue*, also of *Damascus*; and that, since the latter is a Physician, the other must needs be so. But he might easily have avoided that Fault, if he had remembred that *John Damascen* lived in the VIIIth Century, and that *Mesue* lived after the Year 1140. *William du Val* (15) follows *Bzovius*'s Error, as *Bzovius* has followed that of some other Authors. Take notice of what *Gesner* says; for, having spoken of one *John Damascen* a Monk and a Priest, Author of the four Books of the Orthodox Faith, he quotes a Passage of *Symphorian Champier*, importing that he was a learned Physician, *Vir fuit in Medicinis doctus*, and who for his Learning, and the Purity of his Life, was elected Superior of a Monastery in *Constantinople*. Afterwards *Gesner* speaks of one *John Damascen* surnamed *Mansur*, who, among other Works, wrote several Parallels on the Scripture. He confutes those who take this *John Damascen* for *Mesue*, or who believe that those two Persons were cotemporary; I say, he confutes them by a Chronological Reason, which is, says he, that *Mesue* lived several hundred Years after the other, for he lived under *Frederic Barbarossa* in the Year 1163. He gives the Titles of *John Mesue*'s Books, and says that they had been published not long before at *Basil*, under the Name of *Janus Damascenus*. Lastly, he speaks of one *John Damascen*, Author of the Books of the Orthodox Faith, and of the Parallels. Every body sees that this is to confound and multiply Authors prodigiously. *Torquellus* has a little intangled himself; for he reckons (16) one *John Damascen Mansur* among the Physicians. The word *Mansur* is the Proof of his Error, since it doth not permit us to say, that he only meant *John Mesue*, whose Works were printed at *Basil* under the Name of *Janus Damascenus*.

(13) *See* Theophilus Raynaud de malis ac bonis libris, Partit. I, Exercitat. 10, n. 214, pag. mi. 737.

(14) Idem. Hoplotheca, pag. 53.

(15) In Historia Monogramma SS. Medicorum, apud Th Raynaud. de malis ac bonis libris, pag. 238.

(16) In Opere de Nobilitate, apud Theophil Raynaud. Hoplotheca, pag. 53.

[*F*] *It was he, among the* Greeks, *who began to handle a Subject according to the Scholastic Method.*] Mr *Arnauld* observes, that ' St *John Damascen* was as it were
' the St *Thomas* of the *Greeks, and that* they followed
' his Opinions more than those of any other Father
' (17). This is so certain, *adds he*, that St *John Da-*
' *mascen* has always been the Rule of their Belief con-
' cerning their Eucharist, that *Euthimius*, to represent
' the

(17) Arnauld, perpetuité defendue, Tom. I, Book 2, chap 6, pag. 229, *of the* Brussels *Edition in* 12mo.

rusalem, where the Monk, that was chosen to conduct him, ordered him to keep a perpetual Silence. That Monk was so severe, that, because his Disciple did not observe that Order, he turned him out of his Cell, and for a Pennance ordered him to empty the Filth of the Monastery: but seeing him ready to obey, he dispensed with it, and embraced him. *John Damascen* was ordained a Priest about the latter end of his Life by the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, and immediately returned to his Monastery. He died about the Year 750. *James de Billi* caused that Father's Works to be printed in the Year 1577: that Edition was reprinted in the Year 1619. Several Treatises are wanting in it, which *Leo Allatius* communicated to Mr *Aubert*, who designed a new Edition of *John Damascen* (*a*). Father *Labbe* had also promised one (*b*).

(*a*) *Taken from Mr* Du Pin's Bibliotheque des Auteurs Eccle siastiques, Tom. VI, pag. 101, & seq. *of the* Dutch *Edit.*

(*b*) *See the Book he published in* 1652, *intituled*, Conspectus novæ editionis omnium S. Joannis Damasceni Operum in quatuor partes tributorum, *wherein he speaks of the foregoing Edition.*

'the Doctrine of the *Greek* Church concerning that 'Mystery against the Here y of the *Paulicians*, mentions only the famous Passage of S. *Gregory Nyssen* in 'his *Catechesis*, and a Passage of S. *John Damascen*, 'wherein that Error of the *Stercoranists* is formally re-'jected.' Mr *Claude*, in his Answer to Mr *Arnauld*, acknowledges the same: 'It is certain, *says he* (18), 'that, to judge well of the Opinion of the Modern 'Greeks, we must go back as far as *John Damascen*.' He explains, some few Pages (19) after, the Opinion of that Author, which is no ways consonant to that of the Reformed; but he does not admit of Transubstantiation. It is an incomprehensible Nonsense, and such will ever be the Fate of those who go about to explain too particularly the mode of Mysteries. The best way would be to keep to the most general Expressions. There are some things, the Explication whereof does but increase their Obscurity: the greatest Divines shou'd be put in mind of the common Saying, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*, considering the Sublimity of some Doctrines.

(18) Claude Reponse à la perpetuite de la foy, Book II cap 13, pag. m. 497.

(19) Id. pag. 515, & seq.

DAMIAN (PETER), Cardinal, Bishop of *Ostia*, flourished in the XIth Century. He had been a Benedictin; and it is thought he would always have preferred a solitary Life before the Dignities of the Church, had he not been, as it were, forced to accept of them. He openly condemned the Liberty which the Popes took to oppose the Emperors with temporal Arms [*A*], and made a lively Description of the enormous Vices of his Age in many of his Works. That which he intituled *Gomorrhæus* is commonly alledged: The Controversists speak much of it [*B*]. Pope *Alexander* II suppressed

[*A*] *He openly condemned the Liberty that the Popes took to oppose the Emperors with temporal Arms.*] His Doctrine is very orthodox upon this Head, and he confirms it by the Practice of the Primitive Church (1). 'He maintains, that the Offices of Emperor and Pope are 'distinct, and that the Emperors ought not to concern 'themselves with what belongs to the Popes, nor the 'Popes with what belongs to the Emperors, as, to 'handle Arms, make War, *&c.* *As*, says he, *the Son of GOD overcame all the Obstacles of the World, not by the Severity of Revenge, but by the lively Majesty of an invincible Patience; so he has taught us rather stedfastly to endure the Rage of the World, than to take up Arms against those who offend us: especially considering that there is such a distinction of Offices between the Royalty and the Priesthood, that it belongs to the King to make use of temporal Arms, and to the Priest to gird himself with the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of GOD*, &c —— *Do we read that St* Gregory *ever did, or writ, such a thing; he who suffered so many Outrages from the* Lombards? *Did St* Ambrose *take up Arms against the* Arians, *who thwarted him, and cruelly tormented his Church? Can we find that any of the holy Pontifs did ever appear in Arms? Let therefore the Ecclesiastical Causes be decided by the Laws of Justice, or by the Decrees of a Council of Bishops, lest what ought to be done in a Court of Judges, or in an Assembly of Prelates, should tend to our Confusion by a Conflict of Arms.*' Can any thing be more reasonable? And yet *Baronius* does not scruple to say, that this Doctrine of *Peter Damian* is erroneous, and even a Scion of the Doctrine of *Julian* the Apostate. These are the Words of that Cardinal, 'Errore lapsus convincitur Petrus quem communi totius Ecclesiæ Catholicæ consensu constat esse damnatum. Post Tertullianum Julianus Apostata fuisse convincitur originarius sator erroris, ex quo & iste nascitur propagatus (2). —— *We cannot therefore*, says he, *nor ought to, excuse him for having fallen into an Error which the Church has condemned. After* Tertullian, Julian *the Apostate is known to be the original Author of the Error from which That of* Damian *springs.*' This is pitiful, since that Apostate Prince did only put the Christians in mind of the evident Maxims which their Master had left them.

(1) Coëffeteau, Reponse au Mystere d'Iniquité, pag. 667.

(2) Id. lb. pag. 669. *He quotes* Baronius, ad ann 1053.

[*B*] *He intituled one of his Works* Gomorrhæus; *The Controversists speak much of it.*] 'By this Law 'of Celibacy Sodomy does so much prevail among the 'Romish Clergy, that *Peter Damian*, who was then in his Hermitage, was obliged to write a Book about it, 'intituled *Gomorrhæus*, wherein he laid open the 'several kinds of it, and dedicated it to *Leo* IX, intreating him to apply a Remedy. And *Baronius* himself confesses it in these Words; *Briars and Nettles had over-run the Field of the Father of the Family; all Flesh had corrupted it's way, and Men deserved, not only a washing Deluge, but also a consuming Fire from Heaven, like that of* Gomorrah *. Whereupon Pope *Leo* made some Regulations, and ordered some Penalties: But soon after *Damian* lost his Favour; and *Alexander* II, coming to be Pope, stole his Book from him under pretence of giving it to the Abbot of *St Saviour* to be transcribed, saying, that he had spoke too filthily of the matter, as if those Ordures could be stirred without Stink. The good Man complained bitterly of it in one of his Epistles to Cardinal *Hildebrand* and Cardinal *Stephen*, and told them, not without a plain Irony, *It is in truth a sign of the Sacerdotal Cleanness, or rather an Argument of the Papal Purity* (3).' That my Reader may be sure that this Passage contains no Falsities (4), I shall set down *Coëffeteau*'s Answer to it (5). 'That in 'those times the Ecclesiastical Laws were not the 'cause of the Scandal which *Damian* bewails, is plain 'enough from the Letter which Pope *Leo* IX writ 'to him after he had received his Book, which he 'highly praised.' The Clergy, *says he* †, of whose most filthy Life you have discoursed in doleful Terms, but full of Reason, do not certainly belong to the Lot of the Lord's Inheritance, from which they separate themselves by such a dissolute Life. If their Conversation was chaste, they would not only be called the Temple of GOD, but also the Sanctuary wherein the Lamb, whose Whiteness exceeds that of Snow, and who takes away the Sins of the World, is offered up, *&c.* —— ‡. 'As for *Alexander* II, who used 'some Art to suppress *Peter Damian*'s Book, wherein 'that horrid Lewdness was expressed a little too 'freely, any Man, who does but love civil Honesty, 'will never take it ill: for certainly, it is a sign of 'great Purity to be offended at the very Words that represent any Obscenity, though they be used to 'make it detested. The Pope was not the only one 'that was offended at it, but all good Men were generally displeased with such a Liberty; for that 'Filth could not be stirred without leaving an ill Smell 'behind it: and therefore the Pope's Artifice deserved to be praised for punishing those that were 'guilty, and suppressing such an obscene Book. But 'because sometimes we love our Works inconsiderately ‡. *Peter Damian* could not bear that this Fruit of his 'Mind should be stifled, which he said he had produced with extraordinary Labour; for which reason he 'spoke of it with Passion. Nevertheless, after having 'taken the liberty to speak against the Pope, he cor-

* Baron. Vol. XI, ann. 1049, art. 10. & seq. Petri Damiani, lib. qui inscribitur Gomorrhæus cui præfixa Epist. Leonis IX.

(3) Du Plessis, mystere d'Iniquité, pag. 228.

(4) That is, as to Matters of Fact.

(5) Coëffeteau, ubi supra, pag. 648.

† Epist. Leon. ad Damian præfixa Gomorrhæo, extat apud Baron. ad ann. 1049.

‡ Du Plessis, pag. 228, lib 34.

‡ Pet. Damian. Epist. ad Stephan. & Hildebran. Card.

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suppressed it; nevertheless it is extant to this Day (a). The Author of the *Prejugez legitimes contra le Papisme* would be hard put to it, if he was to answer the Author who criticized him [C]. It appears from a Letter of *Peter Damian* (b), that some of the Clergy taught that Priests might be married. He ought to be praised on account of the great Zeal he expressed for the re-establishment of good Discipline, which might be a Bar to the Vices of the Monks and the Clergy: but the Credulity wherewith he compiled many Examples of Apparitions of Bishops, or other Persons, condemned to the Torments of Hell, or to those of Purgatory (c), is inexcusable. He had a great Devotion for the holy Virgin. You will find his Country, the time of his Death, and some other Circumstances of his Life, in *Moreri*'s Dictionary.

(a) See the Remark [C].

(b) It is the 13th of the 5th Book.

(c) See the 19th and 20th of his small Pieces.

'rects himself at the end of his Epistles: he confesses 'that there is some Presumption in him, that he went 'too far, and that the Pride of his Lips deserves to be 'punished.'

[C] *This Book is extant to this Day. The Author of the* Prejugez contre le Papisme *would be hard put to it, if he was to answer the Author who criticized him.*] These are the Words of the Author of the *Prejudices* (6). 'It is from Cardinal 'Baronius that we know that *Peter Damian*, Cardinal of the Church of *Rome* at that time, writ a 'Book intituled *Gomorrhæus*, which he addressed to 'Leo IX, wherein he described the Manners of his 'Age, and particularly of the Clergy; and it may be 'guessed by the Title what it was; *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* 'came into the Description of those horrid things.' *Baronius* says, that, besides the Crime of Simony, the Field of the LORD had been over-run with Thorns and Nettles, which shamefully came out of the Stink of the Flesh through the Dung of Corruption: for all Flesh had corrupted it's way, so that it did not seem that a Deluge could be sufficient to wash off that Filth. Those horrid Sins called for the Fire of *Gomorrah*, which consumed the Country where the five Cities stood. For which reason *Peter Damian*, then a Hermit of *Mount-Avellan* in *Umbria*, thought himself obliged to inform the new Pope of all those things, writing a Book to him which he intituled *Gomorrhæus*, wherein he represented, as clearly as he could, the four sorts of carnal Sins that prevailed in the Church, desiring him that he would pierce through those infamous Men with the Sword of *Phinees*, and restore the Church to it's former Purity. 'That Disorder had 'already continued an hundred and fifty Years, (*viz.*) 'from the beginning of the Xth Century to the middle of the XIth: If there was nothing but this, 'would it not be a sufficient Reason to be prepossessed against the Latin Church and Popery? Would 'GOD have suffered that the true Church, without 'ceasing to be the Spouse of JESUS CHRIST, should 'become a *Sodom* and a *Gomorrah*, and be sunk in the 'four Sins of the Flesh that are most enormous, and 'remain under that Deluge near two hundred Years?' That Minister had already said in another Book (7), 'We produce for example *Peter Damian*, who wrote 'a Book in the XIth Century, intituled *Gomorrhæi*; 'wherein he pretends to convict the Clergy of that 'time of the horrid Sin for which *Sodom* was burnt. 'The Book is lost, but we have the Monuments of it 'in the Annals of their great *Baronius*, who says that 'this *Peter Damian*, in that Book *, *Quadripertita 'vitia carnis quibus Ecclesia obruretur, ut decuit quam 'potuit honestè insinuasse*, pointed out as modestly as he 'could the four Vices of the Flesh wherewith the 'Church was overwhelmed.'

(6) Jurieu, Prejugez legitimes contre le Papisme, Tom. I, pag. 319.

(7) Jurieu, Apologie pour les Reformateurs, Tom. I, cap. 9, pag. 152.

* Anno 1049, n. 10.

The following Censure hits *Baronius* no less than Mr *Jurieu*; for the Abbot *Richard* affirms that *Peter Damian* did not represent those Disorders as an Evil which had over-run the Church, but as the Corruption of some particular Persons. It is very remarkable, that the Abbot, instead of insulting Mr *Jurieu*, excuses him as much as he can. 'Mr *Jurieu*, says he (8), ingenuously confesses, that he never read that Book. — It 'is therefore no wonder if he is mistaken in the Idea 'which he formed of a Work that he never saw, and 'which he thinks to be lost. It is no wonder if judging 'of it only by the Title, and by what *Baronius* says 'of it in general, he imagined, &c.' Afterwards the Abbot shews him, '1. That that Book is not lost; '2. That it does not treat of the Manners of the Age, 'nor of the Clergy in general; and that it does not represent the *Latin* Church like a *Sodom* or a *Gomorrah*; 3. That, according to the Testimony of the same 'Peter Damian, there were many eminent Men in 'that Age.' I shall not mention the Proofs of the third Point, being contented to transcribe in part those that concern the other two. These are the Words of the Abbot *Richard*: (9) 'As to the first, It is so far from 'being true that this Work is lost, that I have it among 'my Books; and it was printed with the other Works 'of that Saint, in the beginning of this Age: nay, he 'that took care to publish them, dedicated them to 'Pope *Paul* V, who granted a Licence for that Edition in the Year 1606. If Mr *Jurieu* had been more careful to examine the Truth of the Proof that he brings, and to see it in the Original; and if he had enquired for the Book whence it is taken; the Booksellers of *Paris* would have supplied him with as many Copies of it as he had pleased, and would have informed him, that the *Gomorrhæus* of *Peter Damian* is so far from being lost, that it is not much above 'twenty Years since it has been reprinted, with all the 'other Works of that Cardinal. For the second, If 'Mr *Jurieu* had been more careful to seek into the Original of the Truth of what he advances, and if he 'had read the Book which *Peter Damian* intituled *Gomorrhæus*, he would have found there, that this Cardinal does not endeavour to convict the Clergy of 'that time of the horrid Sin that drew Fire from Heaven on the City of *Gomorrah*; and that he does 'not describe the Manners of the Age, nor of the Clergy in general; and lastly, that it is not true that 'he represents the Latin Church as a *Sodom* and a *Gomorrah*. For he would have found, that *Peter Damian* did only acquaint Pope *Leo* IX with the Lewdness of certain Clergymen of his Neighbourhood, 'that is, about Mount *Apennine*, whither he had retired, and where he lived with Anchorites. *A certain horrid and infamous Vice is spread IN THESE 'PARTS*, says he to that Pope, mentioning the Reasons which obliged him to write that Piece, in the Sequel of which we do not find he extends that 'Disorder and Corruption farther. Can it be said, with any Shew of Reason, that a Vice, which crept among the Clergy about Mount *Apennine*, is the 'Vice of the Age and of all the Clergy? And can all the Latin Church be, with any Justice, accused of a Sin, which some Clergymen of a particular Province were guilty of? How truly then, and how equitably, could Mr *Jurieu* have said, that *Peter Damian* endeavoured, in his *Gomorrhianus* (10), to convict *the Clergy* of that time of the most horrid of all Sins, to describe the Inclinations of the Age and of the Clergy, and to represent the Latin Church as a new *Sodom* and a new *Gomorrah*, if he had known that in all that Book *Peter Damian* does only mention to the Pope the Impurities of some of the Clergy of a particular Province? So that Mr *Jurieu*, as well as *Baronius*, has alledged the Testimony of that Book, which says nothing of what he makes it say, only because he never read it, and believed it 'was lost.'

(8) The Abbot Richard, Examen des Prejugez de Mr Jurieu, cap. 28, pag. 238.

(9) Id. ib. pag. 239, 240.

(10) This is not the Title mentioned by Mr *Jurieu*. We have in this Remark [C] an Instance of the Care essence that I shall speak of in the Remark [B] of the Article DEMETRIUS.

From hence we may learn, how much an Author is to be pitied when his Library is not furnished with all sorts of Books, and how much he is to be blamed, when, notwithstanding this, he boldly affirms, that such and such Books are not extant. Let us learn also, with what Caution we ought to speak of a Work that we know only by the report of others. Who would have thought that *Baronius* would have deceived the Protestants in the Idea of the *Gomorrhæus* of *Peter Damian*, I say, have deceived them to the Disadvantage of his own Communion? But, will some say, is it a convincing Proof of *Baronius*'s Error, to say, that the Abbot *Richard* maintains the contrary? No, it is only a strong Suspicion, that comes near a good Proof, since the Author of the *Prejugez* has not endeavoured to maintain what he had advanced. It is thought he would not have digested such an Affront, if he had been able to make his Apology. After all, do not we see that the Abbot *Richard* points at the Fountain head? He mentions an Edition of *Peter Damian*'s Works

Works printed at *Paris* in the Year 1663. If any body is incredulous, let him read the Work in question. Mr *Du Pin* speaks briefly of it, and observes, that it is to the 7th of *Peter Damian's Opuscula*, in the third Tome of his Works [11].

(11) Du Pin Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccles. du XI. Siecle, pag. m. 94.

DANAE, the Daughter of *Leontium*. See the Remark of the Article LEONTIUM.

DANDINI (JEROM), an *Italian* Jesuit, born at *Cesena* in the Ecclesiastical State, is the first of his Order, who taught Philosophy at *Paris*. He had many honorable Offices in the Society; for, besides his teaching Divinity at *Padua* [*A*], he was Rector of several Colleges, as *Ferrara*, *Forli*, *Bologna*, *Parma*, and *Milan*; Visitor in the Provinces of *Venice*, *Toulouse*, and *Guienne*; and Provincial in *Poland*, and in the *Milanese*. *Clement* VIII sent him to the *Maronites* of Mount *Libanus*. He died very old [*B*], at *Forli*, the 29th of *November*, 1634. His Commentary on the three Books of *Aristotle*, *de Anima*, were printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1611, in *folio*; and after his Death, his Morals were published. It is a Book in *folio*, that was printed at *Cesena* in the Year 1651, with this Title, *Ethica sacra, hoc est de virtutibus & vitiis* (*a*). This is all that the Historians of the Jesuits say of him (*b*). If we consider the great Character that Father *Simon* gives him, we shall find that those Historians have not flattered him too much, nor set him off to the greatest Advantage. *Dandini*, says Father *Simon*, *was of a noble* Italian *Family, whereof there are still Counts of the same Name living at* Cesena; he was a Man 'who had a penetrating Wit, a solid Judgment, and a great 'Experience - - - - - who, besides School Divinity, which he understood perfectly 'well, was also Master of the Theology of the Fathers, especially Moral Theology, 'of which he composed an excellent Work - - - - so that the Pope could not choose a 'Man better qualified to treat with the *Maronites*. It is true he wanted the Knowledge 'of the Oriental Languages; but he easily supplied that Want by means of the Interpreters 'that he made use of (*c*).' I omit the other Praises that he gives him [*C*]. There is no reason to suspect them, because it is usual with those that translate, or comment upon, a Book, to be extreamly prepossessed in favour of the Author, and to make themselves the perpetual Protectors, or even the Panegyrists of his Opinions; for no Man can take more Liberty with an Author, than Father *Simon* has done with Father *Dandini* [*D*]: he criticizes him and confutes him on a thousand Occasions in the Remarks that he has added to the Translation of the *Journey to Mount Libanus*. This Book was unknown to Father *Southwell*. It was printed at *Cesena*, in 1656, with this Title, *Missione Apostolica al Patriarca e Maroniti del Monte Libano*. It contains the Relation of that Jesuit's Travels to the *Maronites*, and to *Jerusalem*. Father *Dandini* taught Philosophy at *Perugia* (*d*), in 1596 (*e*), when he was chosen by *Clement* VIII for the Nunciature of Mount *Libanus*. He took shipping at *Venice*, the fourteenth of *July* 1596, and returned to *Rome*, in the Month of *August* the following Year. Soon after he went from thence again, to exercise the Office of Provincial in *Poland*. The *French* Translation, that was made of his Travels by Father *Simon*, was printed at *Paris*, in the Year 1675, and reprinted at the *Hague*, in 1685. It does not contain his Journey to *Jerusalem* [*E*].

(*a*) There is a Mistake in the *Acta Eruditorum*, 1685, *pag.* 284, where it is said, that the Author published that Book at *Paris*.

(*b*) Alegambe & Southwell.

(*c*) Simon, *Preface to the* Voyage du Mont Liban, *which he has translated into* French, *from the* Italian *of this Jesuit*.

(*d*) *See his Relation.*

(*e*) In the *Dutch* Edition there is 1509, which is a fault.

[*A*] *He taught Divinity at* Padua.] I durst not say that he was the first Jesuit who taught that Science in *Padua*; and yet it would have been the best thing that a Translator could have done, if those who write in Latin prescribed as rigorous a Law to themselves as that of our French Grammarians: but the Latin Writers take so little Care to avoid Equivocations, that a Translator who applies himself to the most obvious and exact Sense of their Words, is sometimes led into an Error. However it be, these are *Alegambe's* Words: 'Hanc *(Philosophiam)* etiam professus est primus à nostris Lutetiæ Parisiorum; Theologiam verò Patavii (†).——*He was the first of our Society who taught Philosophy at* Paris, *and Divinity at* Padua.' Father *Southwell* made no Alteration in them. The Reader may do as he pleases; he may understand them, as if no body had taught Divinity at *Padua* before that Jesuit.

(†) Alegambe, Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu, pag. 182.

[*B*] *He died very old.*] Father *Alegambe* made him Eighty Years old. 'Obiit demum Forlivii octogenarius die 29 Novembris anno salutis 1634 (z).——*He died at* Forli *aged eighty Years, the Twenty ninth of* November 1634.' Father *Southwell* made no Alteration in those Words, and yet he should not have left them as he found them: for here is what he adds to the Text of his Predecessor: 'Co optatus in societatem anno salutis 1569, ætatis 18, vota quatuor solemnia nuncupavit (3).—— *In the Year* 1569 *he was admitted into the Society, being then eighteen Years of Age, and made the four solemn Vows.*' To say after this, that he died at eighty Years of Age, the Twenty ninth of *November* 1634, is not consistent with an exact Historian.

(z) Id. ibid.

(3) Sotuel, de Script. Societ. Jesu, pag. 338.

[*C*] *I omit the other Praises Father* Simon *gives him.*] 'Father *Dandini*, *says he* (4), endeavoured to 'cast off all the Prejudices that he ascribes to those, 'who had been at Mount *Libanus* before him. He did 'not altogether trust to the Pope's Bulls, though 'they made the best part of his Instructions, be'cause he did not think they were infallible with re'spect to the Facts in question: but he heard with 'great Patience the Patriarch and the chief *Ma'ronites*, who complained of some Jesuits who had 'been before him in that Employment: and all those 'Precautions are convincing Proofs of his wise Con'duct. Neither did he seem to have had any thing 'else in view, than to discover the true Relief of the '*Maronites*. And yet his Penetration and prudent 'Conduct could not hinder him from being imposed 'upon, as will appear in the Remarks that I have added to my Translation.'

(4) Simon, Preface to the *French* Translation of the journey to Mount *Libanus*.

[*D*] *No man can take more liberty with an Author, than Father* Simon *has done with Father* Dandini.] The last Words of the foregoing Citation are an Instance of it. Let us see the Judgment he makes of that Jesuit's Style. 'His Style, *says he* (5), is sometimes so careless, and so full of superfluous Words, 'useless Epithets, and Exaggerations, that I thought it 'more proper to give his Sense than his Words, tho' 'on the other side I almost every where preserve some'thing of his Character. And to write, with greater 'Clearness, I have been often obliged to make two or 'three Periods of one of his.'

(5) Id. ibid.

[*E*] *It does not contain his Travels to* Jerusalem.] The Reason that the Translator gives for it is, that 'as we 'have many such Relations, he thought he might be 'excused from publishing this, because it contains al'most nothing that has not been already observed by 'other Travellers.'

DANTE,

DANTE, one of the first Poets of *Italy*, was born at *Florence*, the Twenty seventh of *May* (a), in the Year 1265 (b). He was of a good Family [*A*], and carefully educated in polite Literature (c). Among other Masters, he had the famous *Brunetti* (d), who was one of the most learned Men of those times. He soon shewed the Inclination that Nature had given him for Poetry (e); and, as he fell in love as soon as his Age did permit it [*B*], he made many Verses in his Youth. He consecrated the First-fruits of his Muse to amorous Verses (f); but afterwards he undertook a more serious Work. He began it in *Latin* Verse, and ended it in *Italian* Verse. The Reason of that Change was, that he felt too much Slowness in the Motion of his Poetical Vein, when he made use of the ancient *Roman* Language. He did well to make use of his Mother-Tongue, since he excelled in the Tuscan Poetry (g). He would have been more happy if he had not meddled with any thing else; for being an ambitious Man, and having been promoted to the highest Posts of the Republic, he sunk under the Ruins of the Faction which he embraced. The City of *Florence* being divided into two Factions, the one called the *White*, and the other the *Black*, found itself reduced to such a tumultuous Condition, that Pope *Boniface* VIII sent *Charles de Valois* (h) thither in the Year 1301, to restore the public Tranquillity. No better way was found to pacify the City, than to drive the *White* Faction out of it. This is the Reason why our *Dante*, who had favoured

(a) Rosmini Istorio, pag. 82.

(b) Volaterran. Comment. Urbanor lib. 21, pag. m. 770.

(c) Id. ibid.

(d) Michael Poccianius, de Scriptor. Florentinis, pag. 33, 34. *See Remark* [*K*].

(e) Volaterr ubi supra, pag. 771.

(f) Pappr. Masso, Elogior. Tom II, pag. 28.

(g) Id. ibid.

(h) *Brother to* Philip the Fair, *King of* France.

[*A*] *He was of a good Family*] It is pretended that *Cacciaguida*, his great great Grandfather (1), was the Son, or Grandson (2), of *Elisha Frangipani*, and that he married a *Ferrarese* Lady of the Family of the *Aligheri*. They add, that the Son of *Cacciaguida*, and of that Lady, took his Mother's Name and Arms, and that this is the Reason why the Family of *Dante* had the Surname of *Alighieri* (3). Note, that *Cacciaguida* was born at *Florence* in the Year 1160 (4). The Ancestors of *Dante*, being very much addicted to the Party of the *Guelphs*, were twice driven out of *Florence* by the *Ghibelins* (5). Some pretend that he ought to be called *Dante d'Alighieri del Bello*, and that *Alighieri* was his Father's Name, and *Bello* the Name of his Family. See the Proofs that *Vincent Buonanni* gives of it (6). For the rest, our Poet's Name was *Durantes*, which by Abbreviation was made *Dantes*, whilst he was yet a Child (7). *Grangier* is plainly mistaken in the Passage that I am going to quote; it serves for a Commentary to some Verses wherein *Cacciaguida* declares (8), that he had better say nothing of his Ancestors, nor of the Place they left to come to *Florence*, than to speak of it. *This he says out of Modesty*, (they are *Grangier*'s Words (9), *not that he did not know any other more ancient Original of his Family, or that beyond* Cacciaguida *it was but of a mean, obscure, and ignoble Descent. For* Dante *seems to intimate in his* Inferno, *that his Ancestors descended from the ancient* Romans *who built* Florence, *after having left the Colony of* Fiezola. *Complaining of his exile in the 15th Canto, and of the Wrong the* Florentines *had done him, he makes* Ser Brunetto Latini *speak thus:*

Faccian le bestie Fiezolane strame
Di lor medesme, & non tocchin la pianta
S'alcuna surge ancor nel lor letame,
In cui riviva la sementa santa
Di que i Roman, che vi rimaser quando
Fu fatto il nido di malitia tanta.

Perish thy brutal Sons, a Dunghil-Breed,
O Fiezola, nor mingle with the Seed
Of Romans, *who in* Florence *dwelt, when she*
Became the Nest of so much Villany.

It is certain that *Dante* does not design to say there any thing particular in praise of his Ancestors; and that he only means that there were some Families in *Florence* that descended from the the ancient *Romans*. How many Towns are there among those that have been *Roman* Colonies, wherein meer Tradesmen, descended from the Dregs of the People for twenty Generations, would not lye if they should say at a venture, that they are descended from the ancient *Romans*? What would this signify to prove that their Family is illustrious, and of an eminent Nobility?

[*B*] *He fell in love as soon as his Age did permit it.*] Thus I thought I might translate these words of *Volaterran*: *amavit in adolescentia Beatricem* (10). This *Beatrix* was the Daughter of *Folco Portinari* (11): Some pretend that our Poet loved her very modestly, but that when she died he gave himself over to a lascivious Love (12). Others say, *that the chaste Love he had for her, was the Reason why, after her Death, he turned a real thing into a Poetic Fancy, making* Beatrix *to be Theology* (13). Those, who have read his Poems, know that *Beatrix* moralizes very much in it, and that she acts the Part of a grave Doctor. Read what follows, wherein you will find moreover, that she was only his second Mistress, but do not trust to that. 'It is observed, that he had two Mistresses in his 'younger Years: the one was called *Gentucca*, with 'whom he fell in Love when he was in the City of 'Lucca; the other, *Beatrix Portinaria*, the Daughter 'of *Folco Portinaria*, whom he loved with an ardent, 'but chaste Affection. That Love often mixed itself 'with the sublime Conceptions of his Mind; which 'was the Reason why he went about to immortalize 'her by his Verses, wherein Theology is veiled under 'the fine Name of *Beatrix*. Desiring to follow *Virgil*'s Steps in the Descent of his *Æneas* into Hell, 'he introduces this Daughter of the Empyrean Heaven, coming to him and giving him that Prince of the 'Latin Poets as a Guide in such dark and uneasy 'ways (14).' It is certain that this *Gentucca* was not *Dante*'s first Mistress; he did not love her till after his having been exiled, and during his Abode at *Lucca* after his Banishment (15). Note, that the Names of his Mistresses have been better preserved than those of his three Wives. *Papyrius Massо* confesses that he does not know the Names of those three Wives. *Uxores tres habuisse dicitur quarum incertum est nomen & mihi prorsus obscurum* (16). He adds, that *Dante* left a Son who was a Lawyer and settled at *Verona*, and whose Posterity was illustrious. He mentions one *PETER DANTE* among his Descendants, to whom it is said that *Philelphus* dedicated the Life of our Poets; and another *Dante*, the third of that Name, who was exhorted by the *Florentines* to return to *Florence* in the Year 1495, but refused to do it. He says also that they all left the Name of *Aligheri*, and took only that of *Dante*, whereby they shewed, that the Glory of their Family came only from that great Poet (17). It is likely he did not know what *Pierius Valerianus* tells us of this third *DANTE*, which is, that he died exceeding poor. He was learned, and made good Latin Verses. When he began to digest his Composures, in order to publish them as a *Viaticum* of his Immortality, *Scripta sua ceperat in classes instruere, & immortalitati suæ viaticum comparare* (18), the Enemies, whom *Julius II* had raised against the *Venetians*, took *Verona* (19). *Dante*, who fled with his Wife and Children to *Mantua*, found himself reduced to Poverty; and because Old-age made him more unfit to bear the Hardships of so sad a Condition, he fell sick, and died miserably in this Exile, after he had endured tedious Pains (20). *Gyraldus* mentions one *Dante*, who was reckoned the fifth: 'Fuere ex eadem familia, *says he*, (21), & alii, in quibus Veronæ natus 'Danthis & ipse nomine qui, ut audivi, quintus ab 'illo est, & latine & vernacula lingua non sine laude 'versus scribit. —— *There were others of the same Family, amongst whom one* Dante, *born at* Verona, *is 'the fifth as I am informed, and is much admired for 'his Verses, both in* Latin *and* Italian.'

(1) He says he is the Father of *Dante*'s Great Grandfather, in the 15th Canto of That Poet's *Paradise*, pag. 333.

(2) Vel nepos vel filius. *Papyr. Masso, in Elog. Tom. II, pag.* 26. Bullart, Academ. des Scien. Tom. II, pag. 336, *should not have said the* Nephew.

(3) *See* Dante's Paradise, Canto 26, pag. m. 339.

(4) Ibid. pag. m. 350.

(5) Id. Canto 10, *of the* Inferno.

(6) *In his* Discorso sopra l'Inferno de Dante, pag. 2, 3, & 184.

(7) Volater, lib. 21, pag. 770.

(8) *In the 10th* Canto *of the* Paradise.

(9) Grangier Commentaire sur le Paradis de Dante, pag. 337, 338.

(10) Volaterr. Com. Urban. lib. 21, pag. 771.

(11) Grangier *upon the 30th* Canto *of* Dante's Purgatorio, *pag.* 524.

(12) Vincenzio Buonanni, Discorso sopra l'Inferno de Dante, pag. 19.

(13) Grangier, ubi supra.

(14) Bullart, Academ. des Sciences, Tome II, pag. 308.

(15) *See his* Purgatorio, Canto 24, pag. m. 418.

(16) Pappr. Masso, ubi supra, pag. 27.

(17) Id. ib. pag. 28.

(18) Pierius Valer. de Litterator. Infelicit. pag. 37.

(19) *The third* Dante *was born there.*

(20) Ex Pierio Valeriano, ibid.

(21) Lilius Gyraldus de Poet. Histor. Dial. 5, pag. 308.

[C] Our

(i) *In the Article* CAPET.

voured it, was sent into Exile [*C*]. I have observed elsewhere (*i*), that this made him publish a ridiculous Falshood relating to *Hugh Capet*'s Extraction. He did not bear that Disgrace with Resolution: his Resentment was very great: he endeavoured to revenge himself to the Prejudice of his Country; and would willingly have seen it involved in a bloody War [*D*]. All his Endeavours to be recalled proved ineffectual; for he could never return thither: he died in his Exile, in the Month of *July* 1321. He had Strength enough to compose his Epitaph, in *Latin* Verse, a little before he expired [*E*]. It must be remembered, that he applied himself diligently to study, during the time of his Banishment, and that he wrote some Books with more Life and Spirit, than he could have done if he had enjoyed a more quiet Life [*F*]. It is thought that the Indignation

[*C*] *Our* Dante —— *was sent into Exile.*] The Presence of *Charles de Valois* was so far from pacifying the Troubles of that City, that it served only to encrease them. The Faction of the *Blacks*, finding themselves favoured by that Prince, committed a thousand Violences; they drove away those of the contrary Faction, and burned or pulled down their Houses, not without murdering several People. Our *Dante*, who was then of the Council of Eight (22), and one of the chief Persons of the City that were called *Priors*, had been deputed to the Pope to negotiate a Peace. In his Absence he was condemned to Banishment, his House was pulled down, and all his Lands plundered (23).

(22) Ostorinali, Suprême potestatis magistratu infignem. *Paulus Jovius Elog. cap. 4, pag. m. 29.*

(23) *See* Spondanus, Annal. Eccles. ad ann. 1302, n. 3, & 4. *He quotes* Villani, lib. 8, cap. 42.

[*D*] *He would willingly have seen his Country involved in a bloody War.*] He animated *Can de la Scala*, Prince of *Verona*, to make War with the *Florentines* (24), and brought the Emperor to the Siege of *Florence* (25). Mention is made of a Letter that he wrote to that Prince during the Siege of *Brescia* (26) I fancy he made a pathetic Description of the Injustices that he had suffered in his Country, and exhorted the Emperor to punish it.

(24) Volaterr. ubi supra, pag. 771.

(25) *It is* Volterranus's *Expression*: Etiam Henricum sextum ad Florentiæ obsidionem DUCENDO. *Id. ib. It should be* septimum *and not* sextum.

[*E*] *He died in his Exile.* —— *He had Strength enough to compose his Epitaph* —— *a little before he died.*] He died at *Ravenna*, and it is thought that he died of Grief. He enjoyed an honourable Retreat with *Guy Polentan* Prince of *Ravenna*, when the Republic of *Venice* made Preparations for War against that Prince (27). The latter sent him to treat of a Peace at *Venice*. The *Venetians* behaved haughtily, and would neither receive nor hear *Dante*, so that he returned to *Ravenna*, his Journey having proved fruitless, and a little while after he fell into the Sickness of which he died, and Grief was thought to be the cause of it. *Revertens itaque Ravennam rebus infelicis paulo post morbo contracto uti existimatur ex animi dolore extinctus est* (28). *Papyrius Masso* speaks of that Embassy without saying any thing of the ill Success of it: he insinuates, on the contrary, that *Dante* was well received; for, he pretends that they shewed him the Arsenal, which *Dante* himself relates. 'Lustravitque navalem apparatum urbis & armamentarium sumptu atque opere visendum, ut primis statim verbis Cantici vigesimi primi inferorum indicat (29). —— *He viewed the Naval Stores and Arsenal, famed for their Sumptuosity and Workmanship, as he owns in the beginning of his Twenty first* Canto of Hell.' There is nothing more false than this last Assertion: and it may be the other is not truer. As for the Epitaph, this is my Authority for it (30). 'Obiit, adeo mentis compos quod sex versus in extremo vitæ suæ edidit postmodum in proprio tumulo inciso: & sunt hi,

(27) Volaterr. ubi supra.

(28) Id. ib.

(29) Papyr. Masso, ubi supra, pag. 241.

(30) Pocciantius, ubi supra, pag. 45, 46. *See also* Paul Jovius, ubi supra, pag 91. *I have corrected the Errors of the Press, that are in the Verses of the Epitaph in* Pocciantii.

Jura monarchiæ, superos, phlegetonta, lacusque
Lustrando cecini, voluerunt fata quousque:
Sed quia pars cessit melioribus hospita castris,
Auctoremque suum petiit, felicior astris
Hic claudor Dantes patriis extorris ab oris,
Quem genuit parvi Florentia mater amoris.

'—— *His Senses continued so strong to the last, that at the point of Death he composed six Verses, which were afterwards inscribed on his Tomb, and are these.*

Whilst Fate allow'd, I sung of Kings and Gods,
Of Lethe's *Lake, and* Pluto's *dire abodes.*
But now the better Part has wing'd it's Flight
To it's great Author, and the Realms of Light.
My Name was Dante; *my Birth fair* Florence *gave,*
But exil'd thence a Foreign Clime's my Grave.

Moreri should not have forgot the Circumstance of the Time, when he said that *Dante himself composed that Epitaph*. He adds, that *Bernard Bembo caused the Tomb to be repaired in the beginning of the XVIth Century*. This does not agree with *Poccianti*, who observes, that That Reparation was made in the Year 1433 (31). But there are so many Errors of the Press in the Book of that *Italian* Author, that I would not warrant the Truth of that Date.

(31) Pocciant. ibid. pag. 46.

[*F*] *He wrote some Books with more Life and Spirit, than he could have done, if he had enjoyed a quiet Life.*] This is *Paul Jovius*'s Observation. 'Sed exilium, *says he* (32), vel toto Etruriæ principatu ei majus, & gloriosius fuit, quum illam sub amara cogitatione excitatam, occulti, divinique ingenii vim exacuerit, & inflammarit. Enata siquidem est in exilio comœdia triplex Platonicæ eruditionis lumine perillustris, ut abdicata patria totius Italiæ civitate donaretur. —— *But his Banishment*, says he, *procured him greater Honour, than the Dominion of all* Etruria *could have done; for under the bitterness of Reflexion, he pointed and improved the force of a great and surprising Genius. In his Exile was produced his tripple Comedy, beautifully enriched with* Platonic *Learning, which, though he was banished his own Country, intituled him to the Freedom of all* Italy.' *Lætomus* explains the same Thought in the six Verses he made upon *Dante*, which you may see in *Paul Jovius* (33). The Question is, whether the Remembrance of his Exile did not too much excite his Anger; for it often falls out, that those, who write in such a Condition, carry their Satirical Bitterness too far. Let us hear Mr *Bullart*'s Paraphrase (34): 'He resolved to take that signal revenge on the Authors of his Exile, which he executed in his tripple Poem of *Paradise, Purgatory*, and *Hell*. He dipped his Pen as much in the Gall of his Anger, as in the Springs of *Helicon*: he added the Bitterness of his Soul, to the Sweetness of his Poetry: he was animated at the same time by his learned Muse, and his Resentment. The Partialities of great Men, and the Corruption of Manners, affording him all the Matter he could desire for such a Subject; he displayed that wonderful Satire in the sight of all *Italy*, which being levelled at Popes, Emperors, and Kings, discovers their private Actions with a Liberty that shews he was not afraid of their Power nor of their Indignation. He blackens particularly the Reputation of Pope *Boniface* VIII. because he had sided with his Persecutors. By his Verses he blemishes the Memory and the Race of *Charles de Valois*, the chief Instrument of his Exile; saying that *Hugh Capet* was a Butcher's Son. —— *Dante* expresses also, in that Poem, his Indignation against the City of *Florence*, comparing it to a Nest of Thieves, and to a prostituted Woman, because they sold all Public Offices, and changed continually their Magistrates, their Coin, and their Customs, to bear the Inconveniencies of their Government with less trouble.' Mr *Bullart* should have added, that he cries down *Florence* as a City, wherein Women give themselves over to Lewdness. He introduces *Forese* (35) wondering, in Purgatory, that his Widow should live chastly in the midst of so many lewd Women. I shall set down his Words according to *Grangier*'s Translation:

(32) Jovius, ubi supra, pag. 19.

(33) Ibid. pag. 20.

(34) Bullart, ubi supra, pag. 307.

(35) He was Uncle by the Father's Side to the Civilian *Forese Accursius*. Grangier, ubi infra, pag. 401.

A Dieu tant plus est chere, & tant plus agréable
Ma vefve, que beaucoup au monde j'ay aymé,
Que plus seule à bien faire elle est par trop loüable.
Pour ce que le pays de Sardaigne estimé
Barbare, est bien plus chaste en ce qui est des femmes,
Que là où je la laisse au milieu des in[illegible]es.

O frere

Indignation he conceived againſt his Country gave a new Vigour to his Imagination and Pen. Some queſtion what is ſaid, that he went to ſtudy at *Paris* when he found himſelf exiled (*k*). The moſt conſiderable of his Works is the Poem intituled, *The Comedy of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradiſe*. It has been commented upon by ſome Authors [*G*], and has furniſhed Matter of Diſpute to ſeveral Critics [*H*]. It contains ſome things

(*k*) *See the Remark* [*K*].

O frere bon & doux que veux tu que je dye?
Desjà le temps futur m'eſt au devant des yeux,
Qui faivrà non de loing l'heure qui nous manie.
Lors l'on interdira pour adviſer au mieux
En la chaire publicque aux Dames Florentines
De monſtrer leurs tetins, & leurs molles poitrines (36).

(36) Dante, Canto 23, *of his* Purgatory, pag. m. 196.

The widdow'd Charmer, who my Bed did ſhare,
Merits by Virtue Heaven's peculiar Care:
Who chaſtly lives amidſt a wanton Race,
Lewder than Thoſe Sardinia's *Coaſts embrace.*
What ſhall I ſay? Hope riſes in my Breaſt,
And to my Sight the future ſtands confeſs'd.
I ſee reform'd the Ladies of the Town,
And Pulpits preach each wanton Faſhion down.

(37) Grangier, Commentaire ſur le Purgatoire de Dante, pag. 404.

Here follows the Tranſlator's Paraphraſe (37). 'The time will ſpeedily come, *ſays he*, that the Wrath of 'GOD will overflow in ſuch a degree, to the great 'unhappineſs of the Republic of *Florence*, for the Lewd-'neſs and Filthineſs of the *Florentine* Ladies, that, in 'order to appeaſe his Anger, the Preachers will be 'obliged to forbid them publickly to appear abroad 'with their Necks and Breaſts uncovered. This is 'what he means by *Nel qual farà in Pergamo* (ſo he 'calls the Pulpit of Truth) *interdetto A le ſfaciate 'donne Fiorentine*, properly ſhameleſs, *L'andar mo-'ſtrando con le poppe il petto*, that is to ſay, to walk 'abroad open-breaſted to ſhew their full Breaſts, and 'high Cheſts.' A *French* Writer of the XVIth Century expreſſed in a more lively manner this ſort of Nakedneſs, for which he blames the *French* Women. 'As for our Women, *ſays he* (38), they have learned the 'Faſhion of the Soldiers of theſe times, who make a ſhew 'of their gilded and ſhining Breaſt-plates when they 'are muſtered: for, going to Maſs, or walking abroad 'to Orchards or Gardens, or other private Places, not 'fit to be named, they ſhew their naked Breaſts, their 'Diaphragma, Heart, Lungs, and other pectoral Parts 'that have a perpetual Motion, which thoſe good 'Ladies move by Rule and Compaſs, like a Watch, 'or rather like a Smith's Bellows that kindles the Fire 'of a Forge. It is juſt ſo with our Ladies, who, with 'the blowing or reſpiration of their Lungs, kindle a 'Fire in the Hearts of the *Heliogabaliſts* of our Court, 'who are already but too much effeminated, and heat-'ed in their Luſts. But to inflame them the better 'or to burn them altogether, our Court *Medea*'s in-'vent all the Arts that Nature could produce for the 'good of Mankind, and convert them into laſcivious, 'infamous, and baſe things.' The Abuſe was not ſo great ſome Years after (39).

(38) Nicolas de Montand, Miroir des François, Book I. pag. 17, 18, Edit. 1581.

(39) *See, in the Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* DEMPSTER, *the Scandal of the* Pariſians.

The Proteſtants have laid great ſtreſs on *Dante*'s Invectives againſt the Abuſes of the Court of *Rome* (40). See below the Remark [*I*].

(40) *See among others* Flacius Illyricus in Catalogo Teſtium Veritatis, & Wolfius *in the firſt Volume* Lectionum memorabilium & reconditarum, pag. m. 612.

[*G*] *The Poem of Hell, &c. has been commented upon by ſome Authors.*] See the Edition that was made of his *Italian* Poems at *Venice* in the Year 1564, in Folio, by the Care of *Francis Sanſovino* (41): you will find in it the Notes of *Chriſtopher Landinus*, and thoſe of *Alexander Vellutelli*. Thoſe of *Vincenzo Buonanni*, on that Poet's *Hell*, are lately come to my hands: they were printed at *Florence*, in quarto, in the Year 1572, and dedicated to *Francis de Mediciis*, Prince of *Tuſcany* (42). The Author promiſed a like Commentary on *Dante*'s *Purgatory* and *Paradiſe*: I cannot tell whether he kept his Word: but I know that *Bernardine Daniello* made a Comment upon all thoſe three Poems, and that *Benvenuto* of *Imola* had done the ſame long before, with great Wit and Learning. 'Benevenutus 'ſummus Philoſophus & poëta Comœdiarum Dantis 'interpres, qua in re cum excellenti ingenio doctrinam 'quoque ſummam oſtendit (43).—— Benvenuto, *an 'eminent Philoſopher and Poet, commented upon the 'Comedies of* Dante, *in which undertaking he has mani-'feſted an uncommon Learning, and force of Genius.*' *Grangier*, the King's Counſellor and Almoner, and Abbot of *St Bartholomew* at *Noyon*, put them *into French Rhime*, and commented upon them. His Work was printed at *Paris* in the Year 1597, in three Volumes in twelves. Mr *Baillet* (44) will inform you of the Judgment that the Critics have made of thoſe three Poems. He ſays, that in *Caſtelvetro*'s Opinion they ought to paſs for an Epic Poem, though the *Italians* call them a Comedy. You muſt obſerve, that the Author himſelf called them ſo (45). For the reſt, thoſe who, in order to prove that he had begun that Work before his Baniſhment, ſhould tell us that the twenty firſt Canto of his *Hell* was compoſed in the Year 1300, would alledge but a weak Proof; for he played with Dates according to his Fancy. Does he not introduce ſome Perſons, who foretel him what had already happened to him (46): and therefore he carries his Fancy to a Time anterior to that wherein he made his Poem.

(41) I have ſeen an Edition of *Venice*, printed (I think) from that of 1578, in *folio*, dedicated, the 20th of *June*, 1578, by *Gio. Ant. Rampazetto*, to *William* of *Gonzaga*, Duke of *Mantua*.

(42) *And not to the Great Duke* Coſmo, *as* Michael Poccianti de Scriptor. Flor. pag. 169, *affirms*.

(43) Leand. Albert. in Deſcript. Ital. pag. 493.

[*H*] *And furniſhed matter of Diſpute to ſeveral Critics.*] Some have cenſured *Dante*, and others have writ his Apology. *James Mazzoni* is accounted one of the moſt learned of his Apologiſts. He publiſhed two Volumes againſt one *Caſtravilla*, who had criticized *Dante* (47). A learned Man of *Siena*, whoſe Name was *Belliſarius Bulgarini*, made ſome Notes againſt that Work of *Mazzoni*, at the Requeſt of *Horace Capponi* Biſhop of *Carpentras*. Some body ſtole them from him, and publiſhed them under his own Name, with the Title of *Brevis atque ingenioſa contra Dantis opus diſputatio*. He was ſo plainly convicted of his Theft, that he was obliged to make a Recantation, which he publiſhed with a Book wherein he anſwered *Bulgarini*'s Objections againſt *Dante*. A learned Man of *Bologna*, whoſe Name was *Jerom Zobbius*, concerned himſelf in this Quarrel, and publiſhed a Book in the Year 1583, which he intituled, *Dantes & Petrarcha ab Hieronymo Zobbio defenſi*. *Bulgarini*, taking hold of this opportunity to ſhew more plainly the Fraud of his Plagiary, put out another Book, wherein he refuted what *Capponi* had oppoſed to the four firſt Parts of his Remarks againſt *Mazzoni*. He publiſhed two other Books, one againſt that of *Zobbius*, and another againſt the Recantation and Apology of the Plagiary. Here are already four Works of *Bulgarini*. He publiſhed another in *Italian*, wherein he refuted what *Zobbius* had writ in Defence of *Dante* concerning the Poetical Particles. The Title of his ſixth Book is, *Belliſarii Bulgarini, Aperti, Academici intronati, notæ ad primam Dantis defenſi partem Jacobi Mazzoni.* Laſtly, he printed a Book againſt a Manuſcript that was falſly aſcribed to *Speron Sperone*, wherein *Dante*'s Cauſe was maintained (48). It is pretended that he came off victorious from this long Combat, and that by the ſtrength of his Reaſons he made it appear that *Dante*'s Comedy did not belong to any ſpecies of Poem, ſince it was not conformable to *Ariſtotle*'s Precepts. 'Ne 'multis morer, finis fuit ejuſmodi, ut Bulgarinus cer-'taminis victor diſcederet, cum, certiſſimis validiſſimiſ-'que rationibus, adverſariorum copias, pro Dante pro-'pugnantes, profligaſſet, obtinuiſſetque, illius com-'mœdiam veram poëmatis cujuſpiam rationem non 'habere, quod ab Ariſtotelis præceptis longiſſime aber-'raret (49).—— *To conclude, the event was this*: Bul-'garini *gained the Victory, having by moſt certain and 'convincing Reaſons defeated his Antagoniſt's Forces, 'and proved that this Comedy was inconſiſtent with the 'true nature of any ſort of Poetry, being intirely repug-'nant to the Rules of* Ariſtotle.' *Ugurgieri* informs us, that *Dante*'s Comedy raiſed one of the moſt memorable Wars among the learned and *Virtuoſi* of *Italy* that ever was ſeen of that kind (50). He adds, that the Work of *Mazzoni* added Fuel to that Fire, and that the Piece that was ſtolen from *Bulgarini*, and which the Plagiary printed with his own Name to it, was the ſtumbling-block. *Bulgarini* reclaimed his own by publiſhing that Piece, and ſetting his Name to it. He was refuted by the Plagiary; but he returned to the Charge, and took Advantage of the Confeſſion of the Theft. His Reply was printed at *Siena* in the Year 1588. I ſet down the Title of it, that the Name of this Plagiary may be known, who has not yet appeared

(44) *At the beginning of the third Part of his* Jugemens ſur les Poëtes.

(45) *See the 16th and 21ſt* Canto's *of* Hell.

(46) *See Citation* (76), *below*.

(47) Nicius Erythræus, Pinac. 1, pag. 68.

(48) *Taken from* Erythræus, Pinacoth. 2, pag. 72, 73.

(49) Id. ibid. pag. 73.

(50) Ugurgieri nelle pompe Senesi, apud Lorenzo Craſſo Iſtoria de Poëti Greci, pag. 85, 86.

things, which those that favour the Popes are not pleased with, and which seem to signify, that *Rome* is the Seat of Antichrist (*l*). The Court of *Rome* was very much displeased with another Book of *Dante*, and cried him down as an Heretic [*l*]. I must not

(*l*) *See the Remark* [*l*].

in the List of that sort of Thieves. ' Il Bolgarino avvantagiotosi nella causa per la confessione del furto ' rispose all' Avversario con un libro stampato per Luca ' Bonetti in Siena l'anno 1588 che fu intitolato; Di' fese in risposta dell' apologia e palinodia di Monsignor ' Alessandro Cariero Padovano in proposito della Com' media di Dante (51).' *Lilius Gyraldus* speaks of an *Augustin* Monk, who had been prepossessed in *Dante's* Favour from his Youth, and who, upon all occasions, confuted those who criticized that Poet. ' Certe in ' eo (*Danthe*) poëticam dispositionem majoremque dili' gentiam plerosque desiderare video, ejusque linguæ ' nitorem: quos Joannes Stephanus eremita, & amicus ' charissimus, & municeps noster, qua est eruditione, ' & quo à teneris erga Danthem fuit studio, mirabiliter ' solitus est refellere (52).—— *It is true that many complain of* Dante's *want of a Poetical Disposition, Care, and Purity of Language; whom* John Stephanus, *the Hermit, my Fellow Citizen, and most intimate Friend has, out of an early respect for* Dante, *with great Learning often answered.*' I do not find this *John Stephanus* in the *Apparato de gli huomini illustri della Citta di Ferrara*, published in the Year 1620 by *Agostino Superbi da Ferrara Theologo e Predicatore da Minori Conventuali*. *Gyraldus* adds, that the *Olivetan* Monks very carefully preserved the *Latin* Translation, that one of them had made of *Dante's* Poems into Hexameter Verses: ' Vidi qui Latinum Danthem fecerat ' carmine hexametro, ex Olivetanis videlicet fodalibus ' Pistoriensem quendam eorum temporum: quem li' brum (proh summe optime Deus, quanta custodia af' servatum in Olivetano cœnobio) ipsi non sine ambi' bitione mihi, tanquam rem sacram aliquam ostende' rant (53). —— *Amongst the* Olivetan *Monks, I saw one born at* Pistoia *who had translated* Dante *into Hexameter Verse; which Book is kept with as much veneration, as the most sacred Relique in their Monastery, and which they took no little Pride in shewing me.*'

(51) Id. ibid. apud eundem Crasso, pag. 86.

(52) Lilius Gyraldus, Histor. Poetar. dial. 5. sub. fin. pag. m. 308.

(53) Id. ibid.

[*l*] *Another Book —— made him pass for an Heretic.*] It is his Book *de Monarchia*, wherein he maintains, that the Authority of the Emperors ought not to depend on that of the Popes. This is his Heresy: ' (54) Scripsit præter hæc opusculum de Monarchia, ' ubi ejus fuit opinio quod imperium ab ecclesia mini' me dependeret. Cujus rei gratia tanquam hæreticus ' post ejus exitum damnatus est, cum aliorum, tum ' Bartoli jurisperiti sententia super lege 1. c. præsules. lib. Digestorum de Inquisendis reis (55). —— *He wrote, besides these, a small Treatise upon Monarchy, wherein he is of Opinion, that the Temporal Power is independant of the Church; for which he was condemned as an Heretic after his Death by several, and expressly by* Bartholus, &c.' *Spondanus*, a *French* Bishop, appears upon this Occasion altogether *Ultramontane*; for he mentions this Remark of *Volaterranus* without adding any Corrective to it: He quotes the first Book of *Volaterranus's Anthropologia* (56). This Quotation transcribed by *Moreri* is wrong; for this *Anthropologia* is not divided into particular Books; it reaches from the thirteenth Book of the Author's Commentaries inclusive, to the twenty fourth exclusive; what is alledged by *Spondanus* is to be found in the twenty first Book. *Spondanus* also does the like by citing St *Antoninus*, who, he says, refuted at large the chiefest Error that is to be found in that Poet's Writings, which is his lessening the Pope's Power over the Temporalities of Kings. ' Quem *(Dantem)* egre' gias animi dotes ac scientiæ laudem & præclara ' scripta, tum aliis erroribus maculasse observavit sanctus Antoninus *; tum eo maxime, quo tertia parte ' tractatus sui de Monarchia conatus est deprimere au' ctoritatem Romani Pontificis supra Imperatores seu ' Reges Romanorum in temporalibus, quem idem Antoninus pluribus confutat (57).——Dante, *as St Antoninus observes, disgraced the noble Qualities of his Mind, his great Knowledge and excellent Writings, with many Errors, but more especially in endeavouring, in the third part of his Treatise on Monarchy, to depress the Authority of the Popes over the* Roman *Emperors in Temporals. Whom the same* Antoninus *largely confutes.*' A true Disciple of the *Sorbonne*, and a true Son of the *Gallican* Church, would not have spoke in that manner. Observe, that this Annalist dares not specify the other Errors that St *Antoninus* observed in our Poet. *Pecciantì* was not so discreet; for he informs us, that St *Antoninus* censured *Dante*, for having forgot the *Limbo* of little Children, and for having looked upon the voluntary Abdication of Pope *Celestinus*, as a Meanness of Soul (58). He adds, that in this, and in the Doctrine concerning the Independance of Emperors, that great Poet deserves to be blamed. *In his culpandus venit vates iste perglorioſissimus* (59). He is so silly as to affirm, that both Divine and Humane Writings shew every where, how much the Opinion of Independency is erroneous; for, says he, as the Moon is enlightened by the Sun, so the Temporal Power is illuminated by the Spiritual Power. I shall set down his Words, lest my Readers should suspect the Truth of what I say. ' Cæterum in tertia ' parte monarchiæ affirmat Romanos Imperatores nul' lam dependentiam habere à Papa, sed à solo Deo, nisi ' in spectantibus ad forum animarum, non autem in re' bus temporalibus, quod quam erroneum sit ubique lo' corum in humanis & divinis literis explicatur, sicut ' namque luna illuminatur à sole, ita potestas tempora' lis à spirituali (60).—— *In the third part of his* Monarchy *he maintains, that the* Roman *Emperors have no dependance upon the Pope, but only on God, in temporal things, which how erroneous it is, is every where clearly proved, both in sacred and human Writings; for as the Moon is enlightened by the Sun, so is the Temporal Power by the Spiritual.*'

(54) Raphael Volaterranus, lib. 22, pag. 771.

(55) *Moreri's* Quotation is wrong; for he quotes *Bartoli, lib. 1. de Inquisitoris*, which implies these three Faults; I. The Reader thinks he is referred, not to the Civilian *Bartolus*, but to the Jesuit *Bartoli*. II. *Moreri* should have quoted *lege 1*, and not *libro 1*. The IIId Fault lies in saying *inquisitoris* instead of *inquirendis*.

(56) Spondan. ad ann. 1302, n. 7.

* Anton. Tit. 22, cap. 5, §. 2.

(57) Spondan. ad ann. 1321, n. 7.

Du Plessis Mornai mentions several Opinions of *Dante*, that are but little conformable to Popery. ' (61) ' He wrote a Treatise intituled *de Monarchia*, wherein ' he proves, that the Pope is not above the Emperor, ' and has no manner of Right over the Empire; which ' is plainly against the *Clementine Pastoralis*, which as' serts both: nay, he goes so far as to say, in his *Pur*' *gatory*,

(61) Du Plessis, Mystere d'Iniquité, pag. 419, 420.

Di hoggi mai che la Chiesa di Roma
Per confonder in se due reggimenti
Cade nel fango & se bruta & la soma.

Rome, *which two Governments erects in one,*
Is by her own ambitious Pride undone.

' He confutes also the Donation of *Constantine*, which ' he maintains to be fictitious and infignificant, if it ' were true: and therefore he was looked upon by ' some as an Heretic. He says, *That the* Decretists, ' *Men that are ignorant of sound Divinity and Philoso*' *phy, affirm that the Traditions of the Church are the* ' *Foundation of Faith; which is an execrable thing,* ' *since it cannot be questioned, that those who before the* ' *Traditions of the Church believed in Christ the Son of* ' *God, either to come, or already come to suffer for us,* ' *and have been fervent in Charity, are his Coheirs in* ' *eternal Life.*' He complains in his *Paradise*, that the Pope is become a Wolf instead of a Shepherd, and makes the Sheep run astray; that for that Reason the Gospel and the Doctors are laid aside, and the Decretals are only minded; that the Pope and Cardinals are only intent upon that, and go no more with their Thoughts to *Nazareth*, where the Angel *Gabriel* opened his Wings, but to the Vatican, and other choice places of *Rome*, which have been the Burying Ground to St *Peter's* Followers, whose Doctrine they have buried at *Rome*; that formerly War was made against the Church with the Sword, but that at present they do it by taking from her the Bread that God gives her, and which he denies nobody, to wit, the preaching of his Word. '*But thou*, says he, speaking to the Pope, *who writest only to blot out, or by a Chancellor, think that* Peter *and* Paul, *who died for the Lord's Vineyard which thou spoilest, are yet living; but thou knowest neither the one, nor the other.* He says in another place, That it is a shameful thing, that the divine Scripture should be altogether laid aside, or wrested; that they do not consider how much Blood was shed to plant it in the World; how pleasant it is to him that reads it ' with Humility; that, on the contrary, every one

(58) Pecciantius de Scriptor. Florent. pag. m. 45.

(59) Id. ibid.

(60) Id. ibid.

endeavours

not forget that this great Poet found some illustrious Patrons in his Misfortune; but he could not always preserve their Affection [K]; for, tho' he was a Man of few Words, yet

'endeavours to set up his own Inventions, and the 'Gospel is silent. Vain Questions, and fabulous Sto-'ries, eccho all the Year round from the Pulpit, 'and the poor Sheep go away fed with Wind. I 'might quote several Passages out of this Poet against 'the Pope's Pardons and Indulgences, and other A-'buses of the *Romish* Church, which he describes in 'such a manner, as plainly shews that he knew very 'well the Whore mentioned in the *Revelations* †.' *Coëffeteau*, answering this Passage (62), observes, 1. 'That *Dante* was a *Gibelin* (63), and full of Resent-'ment for the Mischief the contrary Faction had done 'him. 2. That *Dante* acknowledges the Donation 'and the Cause that is alledged for it, to wit, the heal-'ing of *Constantine*'s Leprosy. It is true that he en-'deavoured to prove in his Book *de Monarchia* (‡), 'that *Constantine* could not make it, because it was to 'dismember the Empire; but a Poet is not a Judge of 'such a Matter of State. 3. That there is no Harm 'in what he said about Traditions, provided it be 'rightly understood. 4. That he only blames the 'Popes of his Time, whom he treats like his Ene-'mies, and the Persecutors of his Faction. 5. That 'when he speaks of those Pontifs, he protests that he 'reverences their Dignity, tho' he blames their Per-'sons. 6. That he only condemned the Impostors, 'who preached false Indulgences, or made a sordid 'Traffic of the true ones.' Here are some of *Dante*'s Verses alledged by *Coëffeteau* as a Proof of his Orthodoxy concerning the Submission that is due to the Pope.

† Dante, del Paradiso, Cant. 9, & 29, & del Purgatorio, Cant. 23.

(62) Coëffeteau, Reponse au Myst're d'Iniquité, pag. 1032, 1033.

(63) The *Gibelins* were the Faction contrary to the Popes.

‡ Dantes Allegh. 3, de Monarch. cap. ult.

(64) Grangier *translates this first Verse thus:* Pour les vœux, ô Chrestiens, soyez d'un cœur plus grave. *The Poet had been speaking of rash Vows.*

Siate Christiani à movervi più tardi (64),
Non siate come penne ad ogni vento,
Et non crediate ch'ogni acqua vi lavi,
Havete il vechio, el novo testamento,
El pastor de la chiesa, che vi guida:
Questo vi basti à vostro salvamento ‡.

Ye Christians, learn more Constancy to know,
Nor turn, like Feathers, with all Winds that blow.
Think not, in every common Stream you may
Wash the infectious Stains of Guilt away.
The sacred Oracles will be your Guide:
The Church her Pastor offers you beside.
These to direct a Christian's Steps are given
Along the thorny Way, that leads to Heav'n.

‡ Cant. 5, del Paradiso.

(65) Rivet, Remarques sur la Reponse au Myst're d'iniquité, 1. part. pag. 434, & seq.

Rivet answers to this (65), 'That the Author of the 'little *Italian* Book intituled, *Avviso piacevole dato à la Bella Italia*, had collected the chief Pieces, out 'of which *Bellarmin* furnished *Coëffeteau* with Ar-'guments; so that the Reader, who enters upon the 'Examination of those things, must compare the 'Animadversions of the learned *Junius* with *Bel-'larmin*, wherein he will find some solid Confir-'mations against all those Illusions and Shifts, and 'will clearly see, that That Man saw Antichrist in a 'Seat respected by him, whose Profanation he deplo-'red; in short, the Man of Sin whom he detested, in 'the Temple of God which he reverenced.' *Rivet* exhorts his Adversaries to take notice of these Verses of *Dante:*

Di voi Pastor s'accorse l'Uvangelista
Quando colei che siede sopra l'acque
Puttaneggiar co' i Regi à lui fu vista
Quella che con le sette teste nacque
Et da le dieci corna hebbe argomento
Fin che virtute al suo marito piacque *.

To you, O Pope, St John *apply'd his Words,*
When he beheld the Harlot on the Floods,
Who, with seven heads and ten horns from her birth,
Whores with the Kings and Monarchs of the Earth.

* Cant. 19, del Inferno.

(66) Rivet, ubi supra, pag. 495.

'There certainly, *continues that Minister* (66), he ac-'knowledges, that St *John* spoke of the Pope in the 'seventeenth of the *Revelations*, under the name of 'the Whore seated on the Waters, and of the Beast 'with seven Heads and ten Horns, notwithstanding 'what he says of the Seat and Power of the Keys: 'No body denies that those things considered in them-'selves are very recommendable in all Churches: but 'if they are usurped by a Tyrant, there is no reason 'why he should not be described such as he is.....

'As for *Constantine's Donation*, any one that minds it 'will find, that he mentions the common Opinion 'that was received in his Time (67), by way of Con-'cession, and not as believing it; for he never gave 'Credit to such an Absurdity.' As for the six Verses quoted by *Coëffeteau*, they are thus translated by his Antagonist: 'Christians, be more slow to move; be 'not driven like a Feather with every Wind, and do 'not believe that any Water will cleanse you: you 'have the Old and New Testament, the Pastor of the 'Church that guides you; this is sufficient for your 'Salvation.' After which *Rivet* speaks thus: 'Would '*Coëffeteau* willingly advise all Christians to take the 'Old and the New Testament to settle their Faith? 'He will take care not to do it. But he is not asha-'med to say, that the Pope is *the Pastor that is suffi-'cient for Salvation:* He could willingly wish that '*Dante* had uttered the same Blasphemy; but doubt-'less he meant the true Saviour, who guides us with 'the Old and the New Testament.' We have here a remarkable Instance of the Illusions into which we may fall, when we stick to the first Sense that the Expressi-ons of a Man offer to our Mind. They who read those six Verses of *Dante*, and take them *in sensu obvio quem ipsamet propositionum verba præ se ferunt* (68), and un-derstand them, I say, in such a manner as *Innocent* XII will have the five Propositions of *Jansenius* to be un-derstood, believe that this Poet meant, that, in order to be saved, we need only conform ourselves to the Old and New Testament, and follow the way that the Pope, as Pastor of the Church, shews us. But per-haps this is not *Dante*'s true Meaning, and his Words are to be understood as *Rivet* explains them. Let us learn from hence, that an Author, who has a mind to expres himself in such a manner, that what he says may not be differently construed in future Ages, de-sires a thing that is almost impossible. If a Man could foresee the Controversies that will arise three or four hundred Years hence, he would express himself more exactly: but I cannot tell whether Languages would supply as many Words as would be necessary to pre-vent Equivocations and Cavils.

(67) *See* Cant. 19, *of* Hell, pag. m. 236.

(68) These Words are taken from a Brief of *Innocent* XII to the Bishops of the *Low Countries*, dated the 6th of *Feb.* 1684.

Take notice of one thing, which is, that *Dante* af-fords some Proofs to those who say that he was a good Catholic, and to those who say he was not. The Au-thor of the *Avviso à la bella Italia* has collected the latter; *Bellarmin* has collected the former, and besides, he has eluded all the Passages of that *Avviso* as well as he could. *Gretser* refers us to that Cardinal; and it is almost all the Answer that he makes to the Passage of *Du Plessis*. 'In Dante, *says he* (69), luculentissima testi-'monia pro Pontificis Romani auctoritate, proque om-'nibus illis capitibus, quæ Plessæus & Illyricus attin-'gunt, inveniantur. Qua de re operæ pretium erit 'legere Bellarminum in libello proprio contra Italum 'quendam calumniatorem, qui ex Dante potissimum, 'Romani Pontificis majestatem labefactare nitebatur: 'Ad omnia enim profani hominis objecta respondit il-'lustrissimus Bellarminus: & cap. 19, plurima loca ex 'Dante producit, quæ cum Plessæi & Illyrici delira-'tionibus non magis consonant, quàm dies cum nocte, 'æther cum Tartaro.——*In* Dante, says he, *we meet 'with very clear Proofs for the Pope's Authority, and 'all those Points which* Du Plessis *and* Illyricus *handle. 'Wherefore it would be worth while to read* Bellar-'min's *Answer to a certain* Italian *Libeller, who en-'deavoured, chiefly from* Dante, *to weaken the Pope's 'Power. The Great* Bellarmin *answers all his Objec-'tions, and in the 19th chapter quotes many Passages 'from* Dante, *which have no more resemblance to the 'wild Imaginations of* Du Plessis *or* Illyricus, *than Day 'has to Night, or Heaven to Hell.*'

(69) Gretserus, Exam. Mysterii Plessæani, pag. 463.

[K] *He found illustrious Patrons in his Misfortunes, but he could not always preserve their Affection.*] I find some Confusion in the Accounts that concern his Travels after his Banishment. Some Authors say, that, being banished, he earnestly desired to improve his Learning, and that he went first of all to *Bo-logna* to apply himself to the most sublime Sciences, and

yet on some Occasions he gave his Tongue a little too much Liberty (*m*). He left some Children

(*m*) Erat morosiſſimus & Philoſophorum inſtar, ut qui triſtitiam præ ſe ferre videretur, nec facile loqui & breviſſimè conceptiones animi exprimere ſolebat. *Papyr. Maſſo, Elog. Tom. II, pag.* 28.

and afterwards to *Paris*. 'Exulem ubi ſe vidit, 'tum verò magis incenſus eſt ſtudio liberalium Artium, 'ac Bononiæ primùm dedit operam gravioribus ſcientiis, indèque Lutetiam Pariſiorum profectus eſt.' This is what *Papyrius Maſſo* tells us (70). Mr *Bullart* will have it, *that he went from* Bologna *to* Paris, *to learn Philoſophy and the Principles of Divinity* (71). *Naudé* ſays (72), that *Boccace* has *left us in writing, that* Dante, *being expelled from* Florence *by the Violence of the black and white Faction* (73), *went to* Paris, *and frequented the Univerſity very much*: * ubi ſæpiſſimè adverſus quoſcumque circa quamcumque facultatem volentes reſponſionibus aut poſitionibus objicere diſputans intravit Gymnaſium: *and in the tenth* Canto *of his* Paradiſe, *he himſelf expreſſes a great Eſteem for one* Seguier, *an excellent Philoſopher and Dialectician, who read in his time in the great Schools of the* Rue aux Fouarres, *whoſe Doctrine was not, as he ſays, without envy.*

(70) Papyr. Maſſ. ubi ſupra, pag. 28.

(71) Bullart, ubi ſupra, pag. 307.

(72) Naudé, Addit. à l'Hiſtoire de Louis XI, pag. 275, 276.

(73) He was only expelled by the Faction of the *Blacks*.

* Lib 15, Genealog. cap. 6.

Queſti, ond' à me ritorna il tuo riguardo
E' il lume d'uno ſpirto che'n penſieri
Gravi à morir, gli parv' eſſer tardo.
Eſſa è la luce eterna di *Siggieri*
Che leggendo nel vico de li ſtrami
Sillogizzo invidioſi veri.

He on the left, where now you turn your Eyes,
Is the Great Siggieri, *learn'd and wiſe,*
Who, ſick of Life and the World's empty Show,
Chid tardy Death, and thought he mov'd too ſlow.
In Lectures, he deliver'd from the Chair
Such wond'rous Truths, as Envy pin'd to hear.

To know whether the Words of *Boccace* prove invincibly that out Poet ſtudied at *Paris* after his Exile, it is neceſſary to conſider what goes before. *Boccace* had been ſaying, 'Fuit inter cives ſuos egregia nobilitate 'verendus: & quantumcunque tenues eſſent illi ſubſtantiæ, & à cura familiari, & poſtremo à longo exilio angeretur, ſemper tamen Phyſicis atque Theologicis imbutus vacavit ſtudiis, & adhuc Julia fatetur Pariſiis, in eadem ſæpiſſimè adverſus quoſcunque, 'Ec (74). —— *He was of the firſt rank in his City, and though his Circumſtances were very narrow, and he was oppreſſed with the care of a Family, and at laſt with a long Baniſhment, yet he always ſet apart time for his Phyſical and Theological Studies, and diſputed very often at* Paris, *as appears*, &c.' It is plain, that, according to this Paſſage, *Dante* in his Exile uſed to diſpute ſtoutly in the Colleges of *Paris*. Nevertheleſs, I know ſome Perſons, who fancy that *Boccace* is miſtaken in the time: they cannot believe that *Dante*, who had been one of the chief Governors of the *Florentines*, and who was extremely deſirous to re-eſtabliſh his Faction, ſhould have trifled away his time in wrangling in ſeveral Colleges, being above thirty five Years of age (75), and therefore they are of Opinion that he did not diſpute in the Schools of *Paris*, but when he was a young Scholar, and before his being promoted to the Council of Eight. They ſay that he was a Scholar of *Brunettus* at *Paris*, who died before *Dante* was baniſhed. They prove it by the Tenth *Canto* of *Hell* (76). It is certain that we find there, that our *Dante* had been a Scholar of the late *Brunetto Latinus*.

(74) Boccatius de Geneal Deorum, lib. 14, cap. 6, apud Papyr Maſſon. ubi ſupra, pag. 219.

(75) According to *Buonanni*, who places his Birth in the Year 1260, he muſt have been above 41 Years of Age. *See his Diſcourſe upon* Canto 21, *of the* Inferno, *pag.* 237.

Se foſſe tutto pieno il mio dimando
Riſpos' io lui, voi non ſareſte anchora
Dell' humana natura poſto in bando,
Che'n la mente m'è fitta, & hor m'accora
La cara buona imagine paterna
Di voi, quando nel mondo ad hora ad hora
Mi inſtravate, come l'huom s'eterna,
Et quant'io l'habbia a grato mentr'io vivo
Convien, che nella mia lingua ſi ſcerna (77).

(76) *Dante* ſuppoſes that he found him in Hell; now he ſuppoſes that he travelled into Hell in the Year 1300, and he was not baniſhed before the Year 1302.

O! had the Gods in pity (I reply'd)
Heard Dante's *ardent Wiſh, you had not dy'd:*
The World had ſtill enjoy'd it's Wonder, and it's Pride.
Paternal Likeneſs I behold in you,
And all your Father riſes to my view.

(77) Dante, Canto 15, del Inferno, pag. m. 216.

First in my Mem'ry lives your pious Care,
Which taught me firſt immortal Fame to ſhare:
His Gratitude let Dante's *Pen declare.*

But we do not find there, in what City he had him for his Maſter. However it be, I ſhall ſet down *Grangier*'s Note on theſe Words of *Dante*, *Siete voi qui ſer Brunetto*. 'Brunetto Latinus was a Notary or Secre-'tary of *Florence*, very much eſteemed and verſed in 'his Art, but a Man of a bad Conſcience. Being ac-'cuſed of ſeveral Impoſtures, he went to live at *Paris*; 'where, reading public Lectures of Phyſics, he became '*Dante*'s Maſter, and, as a Mathematician, or Aſtrolo-'ger, he foretold him that he ſhould be one of the 'moſt learned Men of his time. Our Poet feigns that 'he found him damned in that Place with the Sodo-'mites, for the Crime of Sodomy (78).' Add to this, that *Dante* ſuppoſes (79) that the Profeſſor *Seguier* was dead. It is therefore likely that he heard and knew him before the time, wherein he feigns to have been led into Paradiſe. Now this was before his Baniſhment. Laſtly, it may be obſerved, that many Authors, who ſpeak of what he did after his Misfortune, do only ſay that he went to ſeek retreat among ſome Princes of *Italy*.

(78) Grangier upon Canto 15 of the Inferno, pag. 166, 167.

(79) In Cant. 10, of the Paradiſo, pag. m. 230.

According to *Volaterranus* (80), he went firſt with thoſe of his Faction to *Martel de Maleſpina*; he went afterwards to *Can della Scala* at *Verona*; and at laſt to *Guy Polentan* at *Ravenna*, four Years after his Baniſhment. Order and Time have not been well obſerved in this Account. We have it from *Dante* himſelf, that he went firſt of all to a Lord *della Scala* at *Verona* (81):

(80) Volater. ubi ſupra, pag. 771.

Il primo tuo rifuggio, e'l primo hoſtello
Sara la cortesia del gran Lombardo,
Che'n ſu la ſcala porta il ſanto ucello:
C'haura in te ſi benigno riguardo:
Che del far & del chieder tra voi due
Fia prima quel, che tra gli altri è piu tardo (82).

(81) *Grangier*, upon this Place of *Dante*, calls him *Albuin*, and ſays he was the elder Brother to *Can the Great*.

(82) Dante *in* Cant. 17 *of his* Paradiſo, *pag. m.* 445.

For Refuge to the Lombard King repair,
Whoſe Arms an Eagle on a Ladder are.
This Prince ſhall firſt your wand'ring Steps receive,
And Favours, foſter, than you aſk them, give.

and that he had been baniſhed near ſix Years (83) when he fled to the Marquis *de Maleſpina*. *Freherus* ſays, that he retired firſt to *Paris*, and that he went from thence to the King of *Arragon*, who had invited him, and loaded him with Favours; and that he was afterwards invited by *Can della Scala* who took Delight in the Converſation of learned Men, and gave him ſeveral Marks of his Liberality (84). This Account is not better than that of *Volaterranus*. I confeſs that *Boccace* obſerves, that *Dante* was very well beloved by *Frederic* of *Arragon* King of *Sicily* (85).

(83) *See* Dante, Canto 8 *of his* Purgatory, *pag.* 138.

(84) Paulus Freher. in Theatro, pag. 1432. *He quotes the* 90 *Lives of* Boiſſard.

To make an end of my Commentary, I muſt farther ſay, that *Dante* had not the good Fortune to pleaſe his Patron at *Verona*. The Great *Can della Scala* gave him to underſtand, that he was weary of him, and told him one Day, It is a wonderful thing that ſuch a one, who is a Fool, ſhould pleaſe us all, and make himſelf beloved by every body, which you, that are accounted a wiſe Man, cannot do. This is not to be wondered at, anſwered *Dante*; you would not admire ſuch a thing, if you knew how much the Conformity of Characters is the ſource of Friendſhip. Every body ſees that this Anſwer was too ſhocking not to put the Prince of *Verona* quite out of Conceit with our Poet. You may ſee this more at large in the following Paſſage. 'Dantes Aligherius, (*they are* Petrarch's *Words* (86), '& ipſe concivis nuper meus, vir vulgari eloquio cla-'riſſimus fuit, ſed moribus parùm per contumaciam, '& orationè liberior quàm delicatis ac ſtudioſis ætatis 'noſtræ principum auribus atque oculis acceptum foret. 'Is igitur exul patria, cùm apud Canem magnum, 'commune tunc afflictorum ſolamen ac profugium, 'verſaretur, primo quidem in honore habitus, deinde 'pedetentim retrocedere cœperat, minúſque in dies 'domino placere. Erant in eodem convictu hiſtriones 'ac nebulones omnis generis, ut mos eſt, quorum unus 'procaciſſimus obſcœnis verbis ac geſtibus, multùm

(85) Boccat. Geneal. Deor. lib. 14, cap. 11, apud. Papyr. Maſſon, ubi ſupra, pag. 218.

(86) Petrarcha Rerum memorandarum, lib 4, apud Papyr. Maſſonem, ubi ſupra, pag. 22, 23.

Children (*n*). A remarkable thing is related concerning his Application in reading [*L*].

(*n*) *See the Remark* [*B*].

' apud omnes loci ac gratiæ tenebat. Quod moleſtè ' ferre Dantem ſuſpicatus Canis, producto illo in me- ' dium, & magnis laudibus concelebrato, verſus in Dan- ' tem: Miror, inquit, quid cauſæ ſubſit, cur hic cùm ' ſit demens, nobis tamen omnibus placere novit, & ' ab omnibus diligitur, quod tu qui ſapiens diceris non ' potes? Ille autem: Minimè, inquit, mirareris, ſi ' noſſes quòd morum paritas & ſimilitudo animorum a- ' micitiæ cauſa eſt. —— Dante Aligheri, *lately my Fel- ' low Citizen, was a Man famed for his Eloquence, ' but in Morals and Converſation too free for the delicate ' Eyes and Ears of the Princes of our Age. Being ba- ' niſhed his Country, and having retired to the Grand ' Can, the common Sanctuary and Support of the unfor- ' tunate, he was at firſt in great Eſteem, but he decli- ' ned by Degrees in his Favour, and began to be daily ' leſs acceptable to his Patron. There were in the ſame ' Society, Strollers, and Cheats of all Degrees, as is ' cuſtomary, one of whom, diſtinguiſhed for his Ribaldry ' and Obſcenity, was much careſſed by the reſt; which ' Can ſuſpecting* Dante *not to be pleaſed with, ordered ' that Man to come near him, and having highly extol- ' led him, turned to* Dante, *and ſaid, I wonder that ' this Man, who is mad, ſhould have found out the ſecret ' to pleaſe us all, and make himſelf beloved, which you ' who paſs for a Man of Senſe have not hit upon; where- ' upon* Dante *replied, You would ceaſe to wonder at the ' cauſe, if you conſidered how much Friendſhip depends ' upon a Conformity of Manners, and Parity of Inclina- ' tions.'*

[*L*] *A remarkable thing is related concerning his Application in reading.*] He went one Day to a Book-ſeller, whoſe Shop looked into the great Place of the City: His Deſign was to ſee ſome public Games that were to be celebrated there; but having met with a Book that he had a mind to conſult, he applied himſelf ſo earneſtly to the reading of it, that, as he was going home, he proteſted and ſwore that he had neither heard nor ſeen any thing of what had been done and ſaid in the Celebration of the Games. ' Dantem Flo- ' rentinum ferunt ad ſpectacula ductum apud bibliopo- ' lam, quod ex ejus taberna in forum proſpectus eſſet, ' conſediſſe, librumque, cujus fuiſſet cupidus, inve- ' niſſe; quem tàm avidè attenteque legerit, ut domum ' rediens juramento teſtatus ſit, nihil ſe vidiſſe aut audi- ' iſſe ex iis, quæ in foro dicta factaque eſſent, quemad- ' modum de eo ſcribit Æneas Sylvius (87).'

(87) Philippus Carolus, Animad. in Aul Gellium pag. 592.

DANTE (Peter Vincent), a Native of *Perugia*, and of the Family of the *Rainaldi*, was a Man of a great deal of Wit. He underſtood polite Learning, Mathematics, and Architecture; and compoſed ſuch fine Verſes in Imitation of *Dante*, that it was thought he revived, in ſome manner, the Sublimity of that great Genius. They gave him the Sirname of *Dante*; which ſo pleaſed his Family, that his Deſcendants left the Name of *Rainaldi*, and took that of *Dante*. Our *Peter Vincent* invented ſome Machines that were admired by the beſt Judges, and compoſed a Commentary, in *Italian*, on the Sphere of *John de Sacroboſco* (*a*). He died very old in the Year 1512, and left a Son and a Daughter (*b*) [*A*], of whom I ſhall ſpeak in the Remark.

(*a*) It was printed at *Perugia* in 1554, and reprinted there in 1574, enlarged with Notes, and with a Letter of the Author to *Alpha us*, his Tutor. *Oldoini, ubi infra.*

(*b*) *Taken from the* Athenæum Auguſtum *of* Auguſtin Oldoini *a Jeſuit, pag.* 283.

[*A*] *He left a Son and a Daughter, of whom I ſhall ſpeak.*] *JULIUS DANTE*, his Son, was well verſed in Architecture and Mathematics: He wrote a Book *de Alluvione Tyberis*, and ſome Notes *in ornamenta Architecturæ*. He died in the Year 1575. I ſhall make a ſeparate Article for his Son *Ignatius Dante*; wherein I ſhall ſpeak of *Vincent Dante*, who was alſo his Son. *Theodora DANTE*, his Siſter, being retired into the Country in the Year 1497, to avoid the Plague wherewith the City of *Perugia* was afflicted, was ſo well inſtructed by her Father in the Mathematics, that ſhe deſerved an honourable Rank among the moſt famous Mathematicians of the time. She compoſed ſome Books on that Science, and taught it to her Nephew *Ignatius* with great Succeſs (1). The Abbot *de la Roque* was in the wrong to ſay that ſhe flouriſhed towards the End of the XVIth Century. See his *Journal des Sçavans* of the twelfth of *December* 1678, pag. 460, *Dutch* Edition.

(1) *Taken from the* Athenæum Auguſtum *of* Auguſtin Oldoini, pag. 198, 313, 314.

DANTE (Ignatius), Grandſon of the preceding, born at *Perugia*, was a Jacobin Monk. He was well verſed in Philoſophy and Divinity, and much more in the Mathematics. Being invited to *Florence*, by the Great Duke *Coſmo* I, he explained to him the Sphere, and *Ptolomy*'s Books. He read public Lectures on the ſame Subject, and had many Hearers, when he explained Geography and Coſmography in the Univerſity of *Bologna*. Being returned to *Perugia*, he made a fine Map of that City, and of all it's Territory. The Reputation of his Learning moved *Gregory* XIII to invite him to *Rome*: he gave him a Commiſſion to make Geographical Maps and Plans. Which he performed ſo well, that this Pontif thought himſelf obliged to make him a Biſhop. He gave him the Biſhopric of *Alatri* near *Rome*. That new Prelate did not fail to reſide in it; but *Sixtus* V, who ſucceeded *Gregory* XIII, would have him with him, and ordered him to return to *Rome*. *Dante* was preparing himſelf for that Journey, when Death made him take a longer one, on the nineteenth of *October*, 1586 (*a*). He wrote ſome Books [*A*]. I ſhall ſpeak of his Brother in a Remark [*B*].

(*a*) *Taken from* Oldoini, ubi ſupra, pag. 161, 162.

[*A*] *He wrote ſome Books.*] In the Year 1569 he publiſhed at *Florence* a Treatiſe of the Conſtruction and Uſe of the Aſtrolabe. He alſo wrote ſome Notes on the Sphere of *Sacroboſco*, on the Aſtrolabe, and the univerſal Planiſphere. He made a Sphere of the World in five Tables. Add to this his Optics of *Euclid*, and of *Heliodorus Lariſſæus*, and his Commentary on the two Rules of *James Barrozzi*. Theſe two laſt Works are in *Italian* (1). *Voſſius* did not know that Author. We only find, in the Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library, the *Commentario alle regole della proſpettiva di Jac. Barozzi*, printed at *Rome* in the Year 1583.

(1) *Taken from* Oldoini, ubi ſupra, pag. 162.

[*B*] *I ſhall ſpeak of his Brother in a Remark.*] I mean *Vincent DANTE* the Son of *Julius*, and Grandſon of *Peter Vincent*, and Nephew of the learned *Theodora*. He applied himſelf to the Studies of their Family, in which he did very well ſucceed; for he was a good Architect, and a good Mathematician. He was, beſides, an excellent Sculptor and Painter. He made a Statue of *Julius* III at *Perugia*. *Philip* II, King of *Spain*, would have made uſe of him to finiſh the *Eſcurial*, and offered him great Penſions; but *Dante* wanted Health to undertake that Journey. He continued in the Place of his Birth (2), where he applied himſelf to Poetry and the Mathematics. He compoſed ſeveral Works, and, among others, the Lives of thoſe who excelled in the Deſign of Statues. *Monumenta plura reliquit, inter quæ connumerantur Vitæ Italico idiomate cælatorum ſtatuarum illuſtrium* (3). He died at *Perugia* in the Year 1576, at the Age of Forty ſix Years (4).

(2) *That is, at* Perugia.

(3) Oldoini, ubi ſupra, pag 329.

(4) *Taken from* Oldoini, ibid.

DANTE (John Baptist), born at *Perugia*, was an excellent Mathematician. One of his most subtil Inventions was, to make Wings so exactly proportioned to the Weight of his Body, that he made use of them to fly. He made several times an Experiment of it [*A*] on the Lake *Thrasimenus*, with so good a Success, that he resolved to give that Diversion to the whole Town of *Perugia*. The Time he made choice of, was the Solemnity of the Marriage of *Bartholomew d'Alviana* with the Sister of *John Paul Ballioni*. When the Crowd of the Spectators was assembled in the Great Place, on a sudden our *Dante*, soaring up from the highest Place of the City, appeared covered all over with Feathers, and fluttering with two large Wings, in the middle of the Air. He directed his Flight over the Place, and struck the People with Admiration. But it fell out unluckily, that the Iron, wherewith he directed one of his Wings, broke; and being no longer able to ballance the Weight of his Body, he fell on our Lady's Church, and broke one of his Thighs. It was set again by the Chirurgeons. He was afterwards invited to teach Mathematics at *Venice*. He died of Sickness before the Age of forty Years (*a*). It is needless to say why he was surnamed *Dædalus*. I do not question that he was related to the other *Dantes* of *Perugia*, whom I have mentioned; and I am surprized that *Oldoini*, who supplies me with this Article, says nothing either of the Family, or of the Age (*b*) that this *Dædalus* lived in.

(*a*) *Taken from* Oldoini, Athenæum August. pag. 168, 169.

(*b*) It appears from the Circumstance of the Marriage of *Bartholomew d'Alviana*, that he flourished towards the end of the XVth Century.

[*A*] *He made Wings so exactly proportioned to the Weight of his Body, that he could fly with them. He made several times an Experiment of it.*] Fancy that several of my Readers will not believe it; and yet it is said that such a thing has been practised in other places. See the last *Journal des Sçavans* of the Year 1678.

DARIUS, the first of the Name, King of *Persia*, was the Son of *Hystaspes* (*a*). He was one of the seven Lords, who put an end to the Tyranny of the *Magi*; and it was he who killed the pretended *Smerdis* (*b*) [*A*]. Not to repeat what may be found in *Moreri*'s Dictionary, I shall only say, that the Epitaph of that King of *Persia* contained a very remarkable Singularity [*B*]. *Darius* had more Wives than *Moreri* gives him [*C*]. That Author has reckoned very ill this Prince's Expeditions [*D*].

(*a*) *He was Governor of* Persia, Herod. lib 3, cap. 70.

(*b*) Herod. ibid. cap. 78.

[*A*] *It was he who killed the pretended* Smerdis.] I do not apprehend what *Moreri* tells us, that the Design, which the seven great Lords formed to dethrone *Smerdis*, *was happily performed by* Cambyses, *who died a little while after*. For, I. It was not *Smerdis* who usurped the Crown. *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus* had been put to Death by the Order of his Brother *Cambyses*. The Usurper was a *Magus*, who gave himself out for *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*. II. The same Lords, who formed the Design of dethroning that Usurper, were those who put it in execution: and therefore all the Honour of that execution should not have been given to one *Cambyses*. This is less pardonable in *Moreri*, because he has not told us whether his pretended *Cambyses* was one of those Lords. III. There was no *Cambyses* concerned either in the Design of driving away the *Magi*, or in the Execution of that Enterprize. IV. Lastly, None of those who executed it died very soon after, and before they proceeded to the Election of a new Monarch.

[*B*] *The Epitaph of that King of* Persia *contained a remarkable Singularity.*] *Darius* boasts in his Epitaph of having been a great Drinker,

Titulo res digna sepulchri.

A Title for a Tomb Stone fit.

Ἱκανὸν καὶ οἶνον πίνειν πολὺν, καὶ τοῦτον φέρειν καλῶς (1). *I could drink a great deal of Wine, and bear it well.* It cannot be denied but that, physically speaking, it is a good Quality that *Darius* boasted of: for in short it is Strength, it is Power, it is the effect of a strong Constitution: but, besides, that it is a Quality most commonly attended with a moral Irregularity, I do not see why we should more value the Faculty of Drinking much, than that of Eating much. Now it is certain, that we have I know not what natural Aversion for great Eaters. *Demosthenes* was in the right, to tell those who praised *Philip* King of *Macedonia* as a great Drinker (2), *that it was not a Royal Quality, but the Property of a Sponge* (3). But as every Nation has it's particular Taste, that of the *Persians* was to esteem those who could bear a great deal of Wine. *Cyrus* the younger boasted of it, as of a thing that made him more worthy of the Scepter than his elder Brother (4).

(1) Athen. lib. 10. cap. 9, pag. m. 434.

(2) Ὅτι ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἐγκωμιαστικὸν, ἢ τοῦτο προσήκειν σπόγγῳ. Argumentum profecto comparationem. *Plut. in Demosth. pag.* 853.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) *Cited.* (29) *of the Article* CYRUS.

[*C*] Darius *had more Wives than* Moreri *gives him.*] *Moreri* says, 'that, according to *Herodotus*, he had 'two Wives, *Atossa* and *Artystona*:' but if he had looked into *Herodotus*, he would have found there, that *Darius* had three or four other Wives besides those two. That Prince's first Wife was the Daughter of *Gobryas*: he married her before he ascended the Throne, and had three Sons by her, whereof *Artabazanes*, the eldest, was excluded from the Succession in favour of *Xerxes*, who was the eldest by the second Wife. The Mother of *Xerxes* being the Daughter of *Cyrus*, and he being born after his Father reigned, he was preferred before *Artabazanes*, whose Mother was no Princess, and who was born before *Darius* reigned. This is what is found in the First Chapters of the seventh Book of *Herodotus*: and here are already two of *Darius*'s Wives, the Daughter of *Gobryas*, whose Name I know not, and *Atossa* the Daughter of *Cyrus*, and the Mother of *Xerxes*. This Daughter of *Cyrus* had already been the Wife of his Brother *Cambyses* (5), and afterwards of the *Magus*, who usurped the Crown under the false Name of *Smerdis*. She had a Sister still unmarried, whose Name was *Artystona*, whom *Darius* likewise married (6). Moreover, he married the Princess *Parmys*, Daughter of *Smerdis* Son of *Cyrus*, and *Phædima* the Daughter of *Otanes*, one of the seven Lords who destroyed the pretended *Smerdis* (7). This *Phædima* had belonged to *Cambyses*, and was part of the Succession which the pretended *Smerdis* usurped; for he did not forget to take all the Wives of *Cambyses* This Woman, by her Father's Advice, lying with that Usurper, discovered that he had no Ears: which plainly shewed the Imposture (8). *Darius* took also *Phrataguna* to Wife: she was the only Daughter and sole Heiress of *Ataernes*, who was *Darius*'s Brother (9). Here then are fairly six of that Monarch's Wives mentioned by *Herodotus*. It it said that he had a seventh Wife, whose Name was *Pantapla*, and who had belonged to the pretended *Smerdis* (10).

(5) Herodot. lib. 3, cap. 88.

(6) Id. ibid.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Id. ibid. cap. 68, 69.

(9) Id. lib. 7, cap. 224.

(10) Hieronymus in cap. 11 Danielis, apud Christianum Matthæum in Theatro quatuor Monarchiar. pag. m. 207.

[*D*] Moreri *has reckoned this Prince's Expeditions very ill.*] What I am to say now against *Moreri*, is not grounded on what he says, that *Darius made considerable Expeditions*, but on his mentioning only three, *viz.* those of *Samos*, *Babylon*, and *Scythia*, though he had spoken of five. Those who will find out the other two, will be obliged to reckon that for the fourth, which is but a Branch or Consequence of the third, and to add to it the Campaign of *Marathon*. After which, they must take the Punishment of the revolted *Egyptians* for the fifth. Thus by guessing at *Moreri*'s Meaning, notwithstanding the Confusion of his Narrative, one may find the promised Number, I mean, the five Expeditions; but at the same time *Moreri* will appear guilty of several Blunders. These are his words:

'*Darius*, returning from *Scythia*, left his General *Megabyzus*, with Eighty thousand Men, to conquer *Europe*. It (11) is memorable for the Defeat of the *Persians* in the Battle of *Marathon* —— his Army, composed of above Five hundred thousand Men, was defeated by Twelve thousand *Athenians*.' If *Megabyzus* was left in *Europe* with a Detachment (12) of *Darius*'s Army, it is but a Consequence of the Expedition of *Scythia*. To reduce the Exploits of *Megabyzus* and the Battle of *Marathon* to a single Expedition, is to confound things prodigiously. There is an Interval of twenty Years between the Expedition of *Scythia* and the Battle of *Marathon*: in which Interval Authors commonly place the fourth Expedition of *Darius* (13), which is the War of *Ionia* (14), during which the *Athenians* assisted the Rebel *Aristagoras*, and helped him to burn the City of *Sardis*. And it was to be revenged of that Affront, that *Darius* sent a formidable Army into *Greece*, that was defeated in the Plain of *Marathon*. This is reckoned *Darius*'s fifth Expedition. As for what concerns the Revolt of the *Egyptians*, he died as he was making Preparations to punish it (15). He did not therefore employ any Troops against them, as *Moreri* affirms.

(11) This Word cannot relate to any thing that goes before.

(12) So a Body of Eighty thousand Men may be called, with respect to the whole Army of *Darius*.

(13) *See* Christiani Matthiæ Theatrum, pag. m. 205.

(14) Moreri *says nothing of it.*

(15) Herodot. lib. 7, cap. 4.

DASSOUCI, or D'ASSOUCI (Charles Coypeau, *Sieur*) a Musician, and a *French* Poet, in the XVIIth Century. He himself published his Adventures, which are very odd, in a kind of buffoon Stile. He says that he was born at *Paris* (*a*); that his Father *Gregory Coypeau* Sieur *d'Assouci*, Advocate in the Parliament (*b*), the Son of a *Cremonese* Cavalier, called *d'Agnanis*, an excellent Maker of Violins (*c*), was of *Sens*, in *Burgundy* (*d*); that his Mother was of *Lorrain* (*e*), a very little Woman, and very choleric, and that she and her Husband could not agree [*A*], so that, *having divided their Children and their Effects, they parted by mutual Consent* (*f*); that he lived with his Father in *Paris*, and that he was so ill used by the Maid-Servant, that it made him play *many wild Pranks* (*g*); and that at nine Years of Age (*h*) he *took his Flight as far as* Calais (*i*), where he made the People believe that he understood Astrology, and *that he was the Son of that Great and Famous Nativity-Calculator* (*k*) *called* Cæsar (*l*); that having by a little cunning Trick cured an imaginary sick Person, he passed for a famous Magician (*m*), though he was yet but nine Years of *Age*; that those, who *received him into their Houses, having had a Hint that the foolish Mobb would throw him into the Sea* - - - - *sent him privately out of* Calais (*n*). I have not found the Sequel of his Adventures 'till the time

(*a*) D'Assouci, *in the 2d Tome of his* Avantures, *pag.* 35.

(*b*) Ib. pag. 57.

(*c*) Ib. pag. 56.

(*d*) Ib. pag. 54.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ib. pag. 62.

(*g*) Ib. pag. 64

(*h*) Ib. pag. 69.

(*i*) Ib. pag. 68.

(*k*) Ib. pag. 73.

(*l*) *See the Article* RUGGERI, *Remark* [*E*], *at the beginning.*

(*m*) D'Assouci, ib. pag 89.

(*n*) Ib. pag. 90.

[*A*] *His Mother was —— a very little Woman, and very choleric, and that she and her Husband could not well agree*] Here is an Instance of the Irregularity of those Authors, who set up for Jesters and Burlesque Writers. They find themselves obliged to divert the Public at their own Cost, and to play the Buffoons against themselves, and to the Prejudice of those whom they ought most to spare. See here how our *D'Assouci* speaks of his Mother: 'She was a little bit of an *Amazon*, hasty and passionate, who, to make up her want of Stature, wore such high Pattins, that if they had been split, and the Cork taken out, it would have made good School Billets; so that whenever she put them off, she lost just one half of her illustrious Person: upon which account my Father, who was none of the most witty Men, used to say, that my Mother was so little that she lost herself in Bed; and not finding her between the Sheets, he complained that she had no Body, and that she was all Spirit. But, on the other side, she sung like an Angel, and plaid admirably well on the Lute; she was endowed with such a wonderful Spirit of Contradiction, and with such an imperious Humour, that not having agreed with my Father, the Advocate, about any thing, for the Space of Forty Years, he durst scarce open his Mouth any more for fear of exposing himself. And though I was yet very young, I remember, that my Father speaking one day of the Laws, and my Mother having also a Mind to speak of them, they had such a furious Dispute about a Passage of *Justinian*, that both took Sword in hand, and fought a Duel for the Explication of the Law, *Frater à fratre* (1).' A little lower, he makes no difficulty to say, that his Father had made a Concubine of his Maid. 'Being exposed to the Caprices of a Servant-Maid, I began to taste the Sourness of Life before I had tasted the Sweets of it: for that Servant, or rather that Mistress, who took such Freedoms with my Father, which are rather to be imagined than expressed, hated me as much as I hated her, and so we were at Daggers drawing every Hour of the day (2).'

(1) D'Assouci, Tom. II, *of his* Avantures, pag. 58, & seq.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 62, 63.

Doubtless a Man of his Humour had read Father *Garasse*'s Works; and I imagine that he took from thence what he relates concerning his Mother's Pattins. For here is a Passage of the *Doctrine Curieuse* of that Jesuit. 'St *Vincent Ferrier* relates in one of his Sermons, that a Man of Honour in his time having married a Woman by Proxy, whom perhaps he had never seen, but only her Picture, and who seemed to be of a good size, found himself much deceived when he saw her in his Chamber without Pattins; for she was shorter by half; which frighted him so much, that he spoke these Words to her somewhat angrily, *Ubi posuisti reliquum personæ tuæ? —— Where have you left the remaining part of your Person?* She had left off her Pattins, that made her appear twice as tall as she really was (3).' If *D'Assouci* had read *Brantome*'s Memoirs, it is likely he would have added to what he says of his Mother's Pattins, some Allusion to *Hercules*'s Club, had it only been to conceal his Theft. Read this Passage: 'I remember, that once a Lady of the Court, very handsome and very tall, looking upon a fine and magnificent Hunting-Piece of Tapestry, wherein *Diana*, and all her Retinue of Hunting-Virgins, were very naturally represented, and being all dressed shewed their handsome Feet and Legs, had one of her Friends with her, a Woman of a very low and small Stature, who was also looking upon those Hangings, to whom she said, Ha, little one! if we were all dressed in that manner, you would be a great Loser by it; for your large Pattins would discover you, and you would not have so good a Grace in walking, and shewing your Legs, as we that are tall; and therefore you would be forced to hide yourself, and appear but seldom abroad: So that you are obliged to the Times, and to the long Cloaths we wear, which cover your Legs so dexterously, that, together with your Pattins, a Foot high, they look rather like Clubs than Legs; for if one had nothing to fight with, it is but cutting off one of your Legs, and taking it by the upper end, and with your Foot, armed with your large Pattin, one might do Wonders (4).' *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* observes, that the Women of *Italy* wore very high Pattins; and that his Father used to say, that the Men who had such Wives found but half of them in Bed, the other half remaining in their Pattins. 'Soccus humilis est. Italas mulieres altissimis usas vidimus, quarum diminutiva voce dicant Socculos. Patris mei perfacetum dictum memini, ejusmodi uxorum dimidio tantum in lectis frui maritos, altero dimidio in sceeis deposito (5). One of those Husbands made a pleasant Complaint, that he had married a Wife divided into two parts, half Wood and half Flesh (6). *Scioppius* thinks to have found in *Juvenal*, that the two parts of that Division were not equal, in some Women, and that the humane Body ought to be considered only as an Appendix The Words of *Juvenal* run thus, in the printed Editions:

—— si breve parvi
Sortita est lateris spatium, brevioraque videtur
Virgine Pygmææ, nullis adjuta cothurnis,
Et levis erecta consurgit ad oscula planta (7).

(3) Garasse, Doctrine Curieuse, pag. 323.

(4) Brantome, Dames galantes Tom. I, pag. 340, 341.

(5) Jul. Cæsar Scaliger, Poetic. lib. 1, cap. 13, pag. m. 48.

(6) Unde etiam cujusdam querela, qui se uxorem semilligneam duxisse dicebat. *Comment. in Alciati, Emblem. pag. m.* 589.

(7) Juven. Sat. VI, ver. 502.

—— *but*

time that the Duke of *St Simon* made him ſing before *Lewis* XIII at *St Germains* (o) [*B*]. He hit the *Humour* of that Prince (*p*) by a drunken Song that he made, and which every Body ſung at Court. The King *liſtened to his Songs ever after, and permitted him to come freely into his Cloſet*, and *D'Aſſouci* was called *Phœbus Warderobin, becauſe he had always his Lutes in the King's Wardrobe* (*q*). He continued that Trade under the Minority of *Lewis* XIV. That young Prince *read the Verſes* of this Poet *at his going to bed, and always laughed to the Purpoſe at the Jeſts, which many Courtiers, who laughed unſeaſonably, could not apprehend* (*r*). He *vouchſafed to lend an Ear to his Songs, and to ſing them himſelf* (*s*). *D'Aſſouci*, having a mind to return to their Royal Highneſſes at *Turin* (*t*), ſet out from *Paris*, about the Year 1655, *with ſo much haſte that he had ſcarce time to pay part of his Debts* (*u*). He had two Muſic-Pages along with him (*x*). He arrived at *Lyons*, after having undergone ſeveral unlucky Accidents, and got acquainted with a Man mentioned in a bye place of Mr *Boileau's* Satires, and who for that Reaſon deſerves a Place in my Commentary [*C*]. He found many Charms at *Lyons*: he entertained with his Muſic *all the Convents of the ſinging Nuns*, and *there was none of thoſe devout Maids but had already a Copy of his* Ovid in a merry Humour (*y*): ſo he intituled the Work wherein he tranſlated part of *Ovid's Metamorphoſes* into Burleſque Verſes. He ſtaid three Months at *Lyons*, in the midſt of Sports, Comedies, and Feaſts (*z*), very much careſſed by *Moliere* and the *Bejars* (*aa*); and then he went with *Moliere* to *Avignon* (*bb*), and from thence to *Pezenas*, where the States of *Languedoc* were aſſembled (*cc*). He was maintained a whole Winter by thoſe Comedians (*dd*), and he received conſiderable Preſents from the Prince of *Conti*, Mr *de Guilleragues*, and ſeveral Perſons of that Court (*ee*). He had loſt one of his Muſic-Pages, and *finding himſelf in the Province of* France, *which produces the beſt Voices as well as the beſt Fruits*, he would not return into *Piedmont* before he endeavoured to fill up the Vacancy. He followed *Moliere* as far as *Narbonne* (*ff*); from whence he went to *Montpellier*, where he ran the hazard of his Life. That Accident ſhall

(o) Ib. pag. 47.

(p) Ib pag. 48

(q) Ib. pag. 47.

(r) Ibid. *In the Epiſtle dedicatory to the King.*

(s) Ibid Tom. II, pag. 12.

(t) He ſays, in the 3d Tome of his *Relations*, pag. 153, that the Count *d'Harcourt* had formerly given him to the Duch-ſs Dowager of *Savoy*.

(u) D'Aſſouci, Tom I, pag. 2.

(x) Ib. pag. 3.

(y) Ib. pag. 269.

(z) Ibid.

(aa) They were Comedians and Moliere's Partners.

(bb) D'Aſſouci, Tom. I, pag. 302.

(cc) Ibid. pag. 315.

(dd) Ibid pag. 316.

(ee) Ib. pag. 318.

(ff) Ibid. pag. 319.

——— *but look behind*
And then ſhe dwindles to the Pygmy Kind.
Duck legg'd, ſhort-waiſted, ſuch a Dwarf ſhe is,
That ſhe muſt riſe on tip-toes for a Kiſs.

DRYDEN.

But *Scioppius*, inſtead of *adjuta*, will have it to be *adjuncta*, and confirms his Conjecture by an Example: ‘ Parvam puellæ ſtaturam exprimit dum eam cothurnis ‘ adjunctam ait, ſicut Cicero de genero ſuo, *quis meum ‘ generum alligavit gladio?* (8) ——— *He expreſſes the diminutive Size of the Woman, by ſaying ſhe was faſtened to her Buſkins: as* Cicero, *ſpeaking of his Son-in-law, ſaid*, who tied my Son-in law to a Sword?’

(8) Scioppius, Verè mit lib. 4, cap. 10, pag. m. 148, 149.

[*B*] *The Duke of* St Simon *made him ſing before* Lewis XIII.] If we keep to the Author's Narrative, that Advantage was procured him in the Year 1640, more or leſs; for he ſuppoſes that in the Year 1655 one of the King's Footmen told him, *I have known you above theſe fifteen Years; for it was I who went for you, when the Duke of* St Simon *made you ſing before the King at* St Germains (9). This ſhews that *D'Aſſouci* had not been admitted to that Prince before that time. How comes it then, that he ſays in another place (10), that *he diverted King* Lewis XIII *for twenty Years*. It is not the firſt time I have obſerved that Authors are no good Chronologers in their own Hiſtory. Note, that he informs us (11), that he had been in the Service of Mr *d'Angoulême*, Natural Son of *Charles* IX, and that he conquered all the Endeavours that were made to turn him out.

(9) D'Aſſouci, Tom I, pag. 47.

(10) Id. Tom. II, pag. 14.

(11) Ib. pag. 10.

[*C*] *He got acquainted with a Man mentioned in a place of Mr* Boileau's *Satires, and who for that reaſon deſerves a place in my Commentary.*] *D'Aſſouci* tells us, in the Relation of his Journey from *Chalons* on the River *Saone* to *Lyons*, that, *having made his Muſic Pages ſing ſeveral paſſionate and moving Songs* (12), a blind man came to him, *who had very large Ears, ſo fine and ſo red, that tho' his Noſe was no leſs high-coloured, yet it was hard to judge which carried the Prize, the Purple of his Noſe, or the Cinnabar of his Ears* (13). Being aſked who he was? he anſwered, (14) ‘ I am ——, ‘ one of the Deſcendants of *Homer*, and I dare ſay ‘ that I have ſome Advantage over that Divine Man; ‘ for though he was blind as I am, and ſung his ‘ Verſes publickly from door to door as I do mine, he ‘ had only his Legs hairy; but I am as hairy as a Bear ‘ all over my Body —— I am a famous Poet and Songſter, but a Songſter endowed with ſuch a powerful Organ, and ſuch a mighty and ſtrong Voice, ‘ that provided I drink but a Dram of Brandy, if I ‘ ſhould ſing on the *Auguſtins Key*, the King might ‘ hear me from the Windows of his *Louvre*. Having ‘ ſaid this, without being deſired, he took a little Book ‘ covered with blue Paper out of his Pocket, giving ‘ it to a young Boy that ſerved him for a Guide: they ‘ united their Voices, and with their Hats hanging ‘ over their Ears, they ſung theſe agreeable Songs.

(12) Id. Tom. I, pag. 247.

(13) Ibid. pag. 249.

(14) Ibid. pag. 251.

Helas mon amy doux, &c.
Alas dear friend, &c.

‘ And this which *Gautier-Garguille* ſung formerly:

Baiſez-moy Julienne.
Jean Julien je ne puis.

Kiſs me, Juliana.
That cannot I, John Julian.

‘ After that, he ſung one of his own making, newly ‘ coined; the Title whereof was this; *A lamentable ‘ and recreative Song on the Death of a Shoemaker, who ‘ cut his Throat with his Paring Knife, to be revenged ‘ on the Unfaithfulneſs of his Wife.*’ He was deſired to tell his Name and the Place where he held his *Parnaſſus*. *My Name*, ſaid he, *is* Philippot, *at your Service*, alias *the* Savoyard: *and if ever you go over the* Pontneuf, *you will ſee my* Parnaſſus *on the ſteps of that Bridge; the Brazen Horſe is my* Pegaſus, *and the* Samaritaine *the Fountain of my* Helicon (15). He preſented a Book of his Songs to *D'Aſſouci* (16). *My late Father*, added he (17), *to whom God give Peace, has ſung* Guedron's, *and the late* Boeſſet's *Songs, a thouſand times.*

(15) Ibid. pag. 257.

(16) Ibid. pag. 259.

If *Boileau's* Satires remain an hundred Years without a Commentary upon them, there will be ſome Paſſages in them leſs intelligible, than the moſt obſcure that are to be found in the *Catholic Confeſſion of Sanci*, and in the *Catholicon*. And I am perſuaded, that a Commentator on thoſe Satires in the XIXth Century would be very glad to meet with this ſmall piece of the Hiſtory of a famous Singer of the *Pontneuf*, and that he would willingly adorn with it his Notes on this place:

(17) Ibid. pag. 260.

Le bel honneur pour vous, en voiant vos Ouvrages
Occuper le loiſir des Laquais & des Pages,
Et ſouvent dans un coin renvoiez à l'écart
Servir de ſecond tome aux airs du Savoiard (18).

(18) Boileau, Satire IX, ver 5.

What envy'd Honour, that your Works engage
Th'Attention of each Footman and each Page,

Or

is become very famous by the Account of *Bachaumont*'s and *Chapelle*'s Travels [*D*]. I shall speak of it in the Remarks. He remained three Months longer at *Montpellier* after he was releaſed out of Priſon (*gg*), and compoſed there a *Relation of that Tragi Comical Adventure*; but he did not publiſh it, tho' the Chief Judge, who had ſeen it, had given him (22).

(22) Idem. Tom. II. pag. 164.

Or in ſome Place remote, at Wakes and Fairs,
Furniſh a ſecond Tome to the Savoyard's Airs!

[*D*] *He ran the Hazard of his Life at* Montpellier. *That Accident is become very famous by the Account of* Bachaumont's *and* Chapelle's *Travels.*] This Account being in every body's hands, I ſhall only take the Subſtance of it, which concerns our Muſician. Mr *de Bachaumont* and Mr *Chapelle* relate, that they came to *Montpellier* on the Day that *D'Aſſouci was to be burnt for a Crime that is abhorred by the Women.* They deſcribe the Indignation of the fair Sex very pleaſantly; they ſay, that *a Man of Quality had procured that wretched Man's Eſcape*, and upon that Account the Women raiſed a Sedition in the City, *and had already torn two or three Perſons in pieces, for being only ſuſpected to know D'Aſſouci* that they were afraid of being alſo taken for his Friends, and went ſuddenly out of that City; that *they met him with a pretty handſome Page following him*; that he told them all his Misfortunes in a few Words; that, after they had ſeen ſeveral Towns of *Provence*, they went to *Avignon*, and that *one Evening, as they were taking the freſh Air on the Banks of the* Rhone, *in a clear Moonſhine*, they met the Sieur *D'Aſſouci*, and asked him, maliciouſly enough,

Ce petit garçon qui vous ſuit,
Et qui derriere vous ſe gliſſe,
Que ſçait il? en quel exercice,
En quel art l'avez vous inſtruit?
Il ſçait tout, dit-il; s'il vous duit,
Il eſt bien à vôtre ſervice.

The Youth, who after you comes trudging,
(He's an apt Scholar, we imagine)
What has he learn'd, ſince here you brought him?
What Exerciſes have you taught him?
O Gentlemen, the Spark replied,
The Boy's a knowing Boy, and tried;
Yet I can part with him with eaſe:
He's at your Service, if you pleaſe.

We thanked him then very civilly, as you would have done, and made him only this Anſwer:

Adieu, bon ſoir, & bonne nuit:
De vôtre Page qui vous ſuit,
Et qui derriere vous ſe gliſſe,
Et de tout ce qu'il ſçait auſſi,
Grandmerci Monſieur d'Aſſoucy;
D'un ſi bel offre de ſervice,
Monſieur d'Aſſoucy grandmercy (19).

(19) Voiage de Bachaumont & la Chapelle, pag. m. 75.

Adieu, good Monſieur D'Aſſoucy;
Thank you for your Civility;
But keep your Page, and all he knows:
Once more, Monſieur, A good Repoſe!

Few ingenious Books have been ſo much read and admired as the Account of thoſe two Gentlemens Travels, whereby they have more contributed to make the Name of the Sieur *D'Aſſouci* odious, contemptible, and abominable than any body elſe. It has been ſaid, *that his Enemies ſhewed* that Account *to Pope* Clement IX, *to undo him* (20). This was a nice Buſineſs; for it contains a Paſſage ſomewhat malicious, and very capable to diſpleaſe the Court of *Rome*. It is that, wherein it is ſuppoſed that *D'Aſſouci*, having eſcaped the Flames of *Montpellier*, is out of all Fear ſince he is come to *Avignon*:

(20) D'Aſſouci, ubi ſupra, Tom. II, pag. 272.

Mais enfin me voila ſauvé;
CAR je ſuis en terre Papale (21).

(21) Voiage de Bachaumont, ubi ſupra.

At length a ſafe Retreat I've found;
For now I ſtand on Popiſh Ground.

The unfortunate *d'Aſſouci* experimented the Prejudice that the Relation of Mr *Bachaumont* and Mr *Chapelle* did him (22): he wrote againſt the latter, and gave him many hard Words; and, as he pretended to be the Perſon who had taught him to make Verſes, and that ſome Poems had been ſeen in his Praiſe compoſed by Mr *Chapelle*, he charged him both with Ingratitude and Inconſtancy (23). He maintained that it was falſe that he had been met by thoſe Travellers either near *Montpellier* or at *Avignon* (24); he proteſted that he left *Montpellier* but three Months after his Releaſe; ſo that they had publiſhed a great Lye, when they ſaid that they had found him out of that Town the ſame Day that he was ſet at Liberty (25). He pretends that they did not go to *Montpellier* till two Years after his Adventure; from whence he concludes that they made uſe of a moſt malicious Fiction againſt him (26). The Miſchief is, that, though he makes it appear that they repreſented the Matter as unfaithfully as the Writers of Romances, yet he cannot deny the main thing; for he owns that he was put into a Dungeon at *Montpellier*, and accuſed of an infamous Commerce. 'Inſtead of aſcribing to my Art, *ſays he* (27), the 'care I took to find a Singing-boy for the Service of the 'Ducheſs Dowager of *Savoy*, *the People* ſaid it was to 'make a Trade of him with the Princes of *Italy*, *or* 'that, under pretence of Muſic (28), I travelled thus in 'the World, looking for Children, not to teach them 'to ſing, but to ſell them to the Chirurgeons of *Mont-* 'pellier, to make Anatomies of them —— (29). Nay, 'the Catholics called me *Parpaillet* (30), and the 'Parpaillots called me an Atheiſt; but the gallant Wo- 'men, more fond of their Intereſt, and more ſpecu- 'lative, called me an *Heretic*, not in point of Reli- 'gion, but in point of Love, and without remembring 'the many Serenades I had given them, and the 'great Affection I expreſſed, for them when in 'my younger Years, coming to *Montpellier*, I taught 'them to play on the Lute. They accuſed me unjuſt- 'ly of the Cruelties that *Orpheus* had formerly for the 'Bacchants, and all this without any other ground 'than their chimerical Imagination, already propoſſeſ- 'ſed by what they heard of my having been long ac- 'quainted with *C.* and the late *D B.* and the late *C.* 'and fomented by the Malice of thoſe angry Perſons.' Note, that he aſſigns for the cauſe of all this Perſecution, the Anger of a Lady, who was adored. This Lady, 'who was adored by every Body at *Montpellier* (31), 'employed all her wit and utmoſt endeavours to undo 'him (32). *Several preciſe Women* took that Angry 'Woman's Part, and ſwore by their Patches, and their 'Painting, never to paint again before they had cauſed 'his Aſhes to be thrown into the Air (33).' He was ſo imprudent as to uſe them roughly in a Poem that he handed about with this Title, *Articles de paix aux preticuſes de* Montpellier (*Articles of Peace to the preciſe Ladies of* Montpellier). They were very offenſive and ſatirical Verſes. Thoſe Women were the more offended at it, becauſe he freely diſcovered the true Reaſon why, as he pretended, they perſecuted him, and required that his Puniſhment might be a warning to others. He promiſed them to be more gallant for the future, and made an offer of his Services, though weakened a little by Age.

(22) D'Aſſouci, Tom. II, pag. 332, 333.

(23) Ibid. pag. 262, 264.

(24) Id. ibid. pag. 255.

(25) Ibid. pag. 164.

(26) Ibid. pag. 156.

(27) Ibid. pag. 108.

(28) Ibid. pag. 110.

(29) Ibid. pag. 128.

(30) *That is*, Huguenot.

(31) Ibid. Tom. II, pag. 200.

(32) Ibid. pag. 108.

(33) Ibid. pag. 118.

Mais r'aſſurez vos cœurs jaloux,
Eſclave des charmes plus doux,
J'adore par tout ſa nature
Sans m'appliquer à la torture,
Que la plus belle d'entre vous
Vienne un peu tenter l'avanture;
Je veux mourir ſous l'impoſture,
Si je n'appaiſe ſon courroux.
Sec & paſſé comme je ſuis,
Et non du tout ſi beau qu'un Ange,
Je ſais pourtant ce que je puis,
Je ne ſuis pas un maſle étrange;
Garçon loyal & bon Chrétien,
J'aime plus que voſtre entretien.

him leave to do it (*bb*). He travelled afterwards through several Towns in *Provence*; he waited, at *Monaco*, upon the Prince of *Morgues*, who gave him thirty Pistoles; he went over the *Col de Tende*, &c (*ii*). Being come to *Turin*, he had much ado to refute, by his Presence, the false News of his Punishment, which they had read in the *Burlesque Gazette*. He used his utmost Endeavours to settle himself in that Court (*kk*); and he thinks he might have succeeded in it, if he had not spent his time in making Verses, if he had not been contented to make his Court to the chief Deities, and if he had not made the Musicians of the Country jealous of him (*ll*). He pretends that the Beauty of his Poems exposed him to the Indignation of a Poet of *Auvergne*, who set up for a considerable Man at *Turin*, and affected to criticize, and to persecute him (*mm*). He adds, that having neglected the Favourites, because he was so imprudent as to fancy that it was sufficient to make his Court to their Royal Highnesses [*E*], he exposed himself to the ill Offices of several Persons, which did him great Prejudice. He perceived that they grew cold towards him, and the worst was, that having desired his Dismission, or a Settlement (*nn*), he obtained the former to his great Grief (*oo*). I cannot give the Continuation of his Adventures; for I have only had the three first Parts of the History that he wrote of them. I remember, that, about the Year 1674, he published two small Volumes, which he had composed in the Prison of the *Chatelet* of *Paris*, where he was still, and I do not know the Particulars of his Enlargement. There is no need to consult the Satirical Writings of his Enemies to have a very ill Opinion of him. What he himself owns and relates, is sufficient for it. I cannot tell whether a Licence could be now (*pp*) obtained at *Paris* for printing a Book like the Relations of our

(*bb*) Ib. pag. 163.

(*ii*) D'Assouci, Avantures d'Italie, pag. 74.

(*kk*) *See the Remark* [*E*].

(*ll*) Avantures d'Italie, pag. 330, *&* seq.

(*mm*) Ibid. pag. 383.

(*nn*) Ibid. pag. 338.

(*oo*) Ibid. pag. 342.

(*pp*) *I write this* in October, 1699.

Pourquoy donc seze au teint de roze,
Quand la charité vous impose
La loy d'aimer voſtre prochain,
Me pouvez-vous haïr sans cauſe,
Moy qui ne vous fis jamais rien.
Ha! pour mon honneur je voy bien
Qu'il vous faut faire quelque choſe (34).

This jealous Rage, ye Fair, give o'er;
Your Charms, I swear, I still adore;
Let but the fairest try my Love,
If to her Will I fail to prove
May future Ages, to my Shame,
Brand me with an Impoſter's Name.
'Tis true, the Verge of Age I touch,
Nor can I brag of Beauty much:
Yet I do, Ladies, what I can;
And who does more, is more than Man.
The Fair, I vow, I never baulk,
And can do something more than talk.
Why then this cauſeleſs Hate to me,
Who ne'er did ought? — Ha! now I ſee,
'Tis That's my Crime (and I repent me);
I muſt DO ſomething, to content ye.

(34) Id. Ibid. pag. 122.

For the rest, he accuses *Chapelle* of having robbed him of that Thought (35). See the Margin (36). Do not mind the Reflexions of some invidious Men.

They say that Incontinency being the strongest Pillar of the Empire of *Gallantry*, it is in vain to ask in a State of Disgrace, *But what have I done? What Crime can I be accused of? I do not find my self guilty of any wicked Attempt, I have been quiet, I have done nothing.* A wrong way to justify one's self; for it is chiefly by Quietism, or Inaction, that a Man appears guilty to those who govern that Empire. Lazy Men are looked upon there as very bad Subjects: Idleness is the greatest Felony that can be committed; it is the highest degree of Treason: The Sins of Commission are much more inconsiderable in that Country than the Sins of Omission: these are never venial; they are unpardonable Faults. Tyrants will be sooner deposed in a Political State, than those who are sluggish; but in the Empire whereof I speak, the most just Reason for deposing, banishing, &c. is that which the *French* alledged against the Kings of the first Races and it were better for a Man to commit several Violences, than to deserve the Epithet that was given to a certain Prince (37). These are the Slanders which I advise you not to regard: but rather consider of the Reflexions that may be made on a Remark that I shall touch upon hereafter (38).

(35) Ibid. pag. 128.

(36) *Here is a Passage of Chapelle's Account:* Seeing these Bacchants with dishevelled Hair, one would have thought that, at least, Mr *D'Assouci* had ravished them all, *and yet he had never done any thing to them.*

(37) Ludovicus nihil fecit. — — *Lewis did nothing.* He was the last King of *France* of the second Race.

(38) In the Remark [*C*] of the Article HENRY III.

[*E*] *He was so imprudent as to fancy that it was sufficient to make his Court to their Royal Highnesses*] What he says upon this is very judicious, and is as good, not for the Phrases, but for the Thoughts, as one of the most solid Passages of our new *Theophrastus* (39). 'Having no other aim, *says he* (40), than to please 'their Royal Highnesses, because, in order to satisfy 'my small Ambition, I thought it was sufficient to 'deserve their Esteem, instead of making my Court 'to those who could help me, and more still to those 'who could prejudice me; I did not so much as wait 'upon the Marchioness *de Lans*, nor Madam *Seroien*, 'my chief Protectress; I neglected also all those that 'were in favour, and the Favourite himself. A great 'Folly indeed, and well deserving the Punishment I 'received for it, and which those must expect, who, 'like me, will be so high-spirited as to attempt to 'scale Heaven, and enter Paradise in spite of the 'Saints. A great Folly for a Man to trust to his 'Merit, to make his Fortune with Princes; and so 'much the greater, because most Princes, who think 'themselves free (because they command others), see 'but little, and even this with other Men's Eyes, and 'hardly command any thing but what they are ordered 'to command, so that they are most commonly the 'Slave of their Slaves, and consequently the great-'est Slaves of all Mankind. I found it by experience 'in that Court, when, instead of caressing those that 'were in Favour, and kissing my Poet's Hands and 'Feet, admiring his Wit and Verses, and getting them 'printed in Golden Letters, I, a poor Mirmidon, 'fighting with a Giant in Favour, fought against my 'self, since as many Victories as I obtained over his 'Pen, were so many Trophies erected to his Glory, 'and as many Precipices that I digged for my For-'tune. I was a greater Fool than *John des Vignes*; 'for instead of abstaining from making Verses, or instead 'of making some like my Curate, who vexed no Body, 'I went about to contend with a Poet, who wore a 'Sword, and who was as noble as the King, and as 'Valiant as *Cæsar*. — Princes, as I have already 'said, see most things with other Men's Eyes, and 'consider People only as much as they are beloved 'by those whom they love. If I did not find my self 'quite forsaken, I found my self at least as much 'neglected as I had neglected others. The Pre-'sent, that used to come every Week, came but 'once a Month; and, observing a certain Coldness 'mixed with the ordinary Bounties of those gra-'cious Stars (which did not agree with my hopes 'of a Settlement) I did, &c (41).' A good Courtier does not imitate the *Huguenots*, who in-voke none but God, but imitates the Votaries of the *Roman* Communion, who apply themselves much more to the Worship of Saints, than to the Worship of God. *D'Assouci* conformed his Devotion to the Notions of the Protestants, and did not find that it turned to good account. Here follows something of the Description he made of his Zeal for the Duchess Royal. 'It is 'scarce credible how much pains I took, for the space 'of fourteen Months that I was in that Court, in or-'der to deserve a Settlement. I omitted no occasion 'to make my self necessary: though I had already but

(39) Mr de la Bruyere.

(40) D'Assouci, Avantures d'Italie, pag. 332, *&* seq.

(41) Ibid. pag. 337.

too

our Burlesque Poet; for they are intermixed with prophane Things. And it is to be observed, that, among other Crimes, he was accused of Impiety; yet he glories to have written in Defence of the Church of *Rome* [F]. He complains of Mr *Boileau*, who nevertheless said nothing against *Burlesque* but what was very reasonable [G]. The Place

'too much Business in that Princess's Chamber, and 'though I had heard say many times that no Body 'goes into Heaven in spite of the Saints, yet I enter- 'tained her with Music in her Chapel. Whether she 'heard Mass in her Chamber, in the Church of the 'Holy Winding Sheet, or in any other Church, I 'followed her every where like a shagged Dog; my 'Lute, and my Boy *Pierrotin*, were always seen in 'her Attendance. By this means I became, in a little 'time, the most devout Person in the World; for 'you must know that this pious Princess, who used to 'weep at the Altars, was not contented with one 'Mass; she heard every Day two at least, and most 'time three, during which time I made a very long 'and very devout Music, always kneeling on both 'Knees. Let the Reader judge whether I was not a 'very devout Man; and yet I assure you that the 'Thing, that was least in my Thoughts, was to put up 'Prayers to GOD: *Apollo*, who held me fast every 'where, was still more hard upon me in that Holy 'Place: My Imagination was at all times taken up 'with some fine *Motet*; and though the Words that I 'muttered were altogether Holy and Sacred, it was 'not so much for the Glory of GOD that I sung 'them, as for the satisfaction of that Mortal Deity, 'whom at that time I would have preferred to GOD 'himself, such a wretched Man I was (42). See the Margin (43).

(42) Ibid. pag. 268, & seq.

(43) My Zeal was so great towards these benign Powers, *says he*, *pag.* 176, that if I had had as much towards GOD, I doubt not but that he would have rewarded me with Heaven before this time.

[F] *He glories to have written in Defence of the Church of* Rome.] One of the extravagant things, for which he blames his Enemies, is their accusing him of Irreligion. 'You have been so wicked and so 'foolish, *says he* (44), as to represent, —— as an Im- 'pious Man, a Person, whom GOD only exposed to 'your Persecutions, in order to refine him in the 'Exercise of Piety; and as a Writer, that is an Enemy 'to Holy Things, a Man, who in his Writings has de- 'fended *Rome* against the Attempts of the Enemies of 'it's Glory, and of it's Altars, and who has spent his 'Ink and Incense in favour of it's Holy Ministers and 'sacred Prelates.' He should not have made it a matter of Merit to have undertaken such a Work: Had Devotion any share in it? Was it not rather to obtain some Reward? It is the Pole Star of such Writers; they pass from a Prophane Subject to a Divine one, as soon as the Hopes of Gain appear on that side (45):

(44) D'Assouci, Tom. II, pag. 20.

(45) Si dolosi spes affulserit nummi. *Persius in Prologo. See the Conduct of Aretin, in Rem.* [I] *of the Article* ARETIN (PETER).

Græculus esuriens in cœlum jusseris, ibit (46).

(46) Juven. Sat. III. v. 78.

[G] *He complains of Mr* Boileau, *who nevertheless said nothing against* Burlesque, *but what was very reasonable.*] These words of Mr *Boileau*, D'*Assouci* refutes as well as he can (47).

(47) D'Assouci, Avantures d'Italie, pag. 241.

—— qu'enfin la Cour desabusée
Mepriſa de ces vers l'extravagance aisée.

—— *At length the Court, being undeceived, despised the easy Extravagance of those Verses.*

(48) Ibid pag. 252.

'It is very easy, *says he* (48), to affect a Scoundrel, 'who laughs at every thing; but it is very hard to 'move a constipated Stoic, who laughs at nothing: 'wherefore whatever may be said of the Heroic Stile, 'it is far from being so difficult as the fine Burlesque, 'which is the utmost Effort of the Imagination, and 'the Touch-Stone of Wit. Nor is it sufficient to have 'Wit in order to succeed in it: one must also be en- 'dowed with a particular Genius, which is so rare, 'chiefly in our Climate, that, except two Persons, of 'whom *France* will have me to be one, every Body 'knows that all those who meddled with this sort of 'Burlesque have only wasted Paper. —— If I be ask- 'ed why this Burlesque, which has so many excellent 'Parts and so many pleasant Turns, has ceased to divert 'our Court, after having diverted *France* so long; it is 'because *Scarron* has ceased to live, and I have ceased 'to write. If I would continue my *Ovid in a merry 'Humour*, that same Court, which is pleased to this 'Day with the Verses that I present it with, would 'be pleased with it as before, and my Booksellers, who 'have re-printed that Work so often, would again 'make as many Editions of it (49).' A Person, who declares so openly the high Opinion he has conceived of his Poems, may be looked upon as a Witness little to be credited, with respect to the Praises he bestows upon himself; but when he declares that he has been very sensible of the Injury contained in those words of Mr *Boileau*,

(49) Ibid. pag. 261.

Et jusqu'à d'Assouci tout trouva des Lecteurs,

And even D'Assouci *could Readers find*,

he ought to be accounted a very sincere Witness. 'Ah! 'dear Reader, if thou didst but know how this *even 'D'Assouci* sticks to my Heart, thou wouldest pity my 'Fate; I am inconsolable, and cannot recover from 'my Fainting, especially when I consider that by that 'Verse, which looks like a Decree of the Court of 'Parliament, I find my self deprived of all my Ho- 'nours, and that this *Charles d'Assouci* Emperor of the 'Burlesque, the first of that Name, is nothing at pre- 'sent, if you will believe him, but the meanest Reptile 'of *Parnassus*, and the Scullion of the Muses. Reader, 'what is to be done in this Extremity: after the Ex- 'communication that he has fulminated against this 'poor disgraced Burlesque, who will vouchsafe to read 'it, or so much as to look upon it (50)?' He com- forts himself with the Thought, that Jealousy was the Cause of that thundering Censure (51): 'Thus you 'see, dear Reader, what one gets by making good 'Burlesque Verses: for if I had made as bad ones as 'my Poet (52), he (53) would have spared me as well 'as the Author of the *Buffoon Ovid*: But it is no new 'thing to see jealous People rail against excellent 'Things, and blame what goes beyond their Capaci- 'ty.' I shall set down the Judgment that he made of the most impertinent Poetry. 'It makes People laugh, 'says he (54), — but it is not enough to hit upon that 'Impertinence in it's highest Degree, which is so ne- 'cessary to that kind of Verses; it must also be attend- 'ed with a certain Simplicity, which the best Wits 'cannot attain to; and the more excellent a Man is, 'the less he can imitate it; as plainly appears from 'the great Bible of the *Christmas Carols*; for though 'several Wits have tried to imitate, in their new Ca- 'rols, those precious Carols of Antiquity, no Body 'has found, or will ever find, the Secret of it; and 'the old Carols, which are upon all Occasions preferred 'before the new, will be always so much the more 'esteemed in all Ages, as they are more foolish and 'more excellently full of that admirable kind of Im- 'pertinency and Simplicity. For in short, is there 'any Man of Sense that knows for what, and when to 'laugh, that will not heartily do it, when he reads 'these Verses, which I have taken out of a Book, 'that was sold for twenty Pistols at an Auction, intl- 'tuled, *Les Pets Pileż*. CHRIST takes his leave of St *Matthew* in these Words.

(50) Ibid. pag. 263.

(51) Ibid. pag. 265.

(52) That is, a Poet of *Auvergne*, who was at Turin.

(53) That is, Mr Boileau.

(54) D'Assouci, Avantures d'Italie, pag 320.

DIALOGUE.

C. Adieu Matthieu.
M. Adieu, Dieu.
C. Prens ta lance & ton épieu,
Et t'en vas en Galilée.
M. Prendray je aussi mon épée?
C. Et quoy donc?
M. Adieu donc.

C. Adieu, Matthew.
M. Adieu, God.
C. Take thy Lance and Javelin, and go into Galilee.
M. Shall I also take my Sword?
C. And what then?
M. Adieu, then.

'Is there any thing more foolish and more imper- 'tinent, than to make those Heavenly Persons speak in

'this

(qq) Avantures d'Italie, pag. 273, & seq.

(rr) The Pieces against *Sorcidas*, that are in his Works, concern *D'Assouci*.

Place, wherein he speaks of four foolish Poets (*qq*), is diverting; I shall only set down what concerns him whom he names, and who is an Author in Print [*H*]. *Cyrano de Bergerac* (*rr*), and *Loret*, were two of his Enemies. The latter abused him on all Occasions, in his *Burlesque Gazette*, and was so ready to spread any News to the Prejudice of *D'Assouci* [*I*], that he several times published an Account of his Death, tho' he was still living.

'this manner? Yet is there any thing more pleasant 'or more natural? You must needs grant me that 'those Verses, which would make St *Matthew* laugh, 'and even GOD himself, if he was still on Earth, are 'better than all the Verses in the World, which taste 'neither of Salt nor Sage.'

[*H*] *I shall set down what concerns a foolish Poet — who is an Author in Print.*] 'But who can better 'make this authentic Folly authentic, than the poor 'deceased *Rogueneau*? *Rogueneau* known to all *Par-*'*nassus*, *Rogueneau* beloved by all the Poets, and che-'rished by all the Comedians. Lastly, that famous 'Pastry-cook *Rogueneau*, who being always at Work 'with six Men in his Shop near a continal Fire, in a 'well accustomed Oven, laughed at all the Pastry-'cooks in *Paris*; that famous Pastry-cook *Rogueneau*, 'who caused nothing but dainty Pies to rain on *Par-*'*nassus*. That Nursing Father of the Muses, after ha-'ving well fed those ungrateful Maids, alas! What is 'become of him? I ask it of you, *Bois*, who inspired 'him with the Folly of making Verses; you, *Bois*, 'who took the most excellent Pastry-cook of *Paris* 'from us, to make him the worst Poet in the World. 'It is you, barbarous Wretch, who shall one Day be 'accountable for this harmless Creature: for, in short, 'he was the best natured Man in the World; he trust-'ed the whole *Parnassus*, and when they had no Mo-'ney, he was over paid, satisfied, and contented, when 'they vouchsafed to applaud his Works with the wink 'of an Eye. I remember that, for having only had 'the patience to hear one of his Pindaric Odes, he 'trusted me above three Months without ever asking 'a penny of me — (55). Being not paid by any 'Body, and his Creditors coming upon him for Mo-'ney, poor *Rogueneau* was intirely buried under the 'Ruins of his Oven. It was a sad and lamentable Day 'for the Poets, who very early in the Morning were 'met wiping their Mouths, after they had got their 'last Breakfast at his House; it was, I say, a sad Day, 'when a Company of hungry Bailiffs, in the face of 'Apollo, whose Beard was still greasy with the Fat of 'so many delicate Patties, were so bold as to arrest 'and seize his well beloved *Rogueneau*, and to clap 'him up, without any respect for his Verses, or Muses, 'into Prison, from whence (after a Year of Captivity) 'he came out to impart to the World the excellent 'Works, which, in imitation of *Theophile*, he had 'composed there: but he found no Poet in *Paris* that 'would feed him in his turn, nor so much as hear 'one of his Verses: nor any Pastry-cook that would 'trust him with so much as a Pie on one of his Son-'nets. Cursing the Age, and storming against the 'Ignorance of the Times, he left *Paris* with his Wife 'and Children, being in all five Persons, and a little 'Ass loaded with Epigrams, to go and seek his For-'tune in *Languedoc*, where, having met with a Com-'pany of Players who wanted a Man to act a *Swiss*, 'he entred himself with them as an Underling; and 'though his Part was never above four Verses at most, 'he performed it so ill, that within less than a Year 'he had the Reputation of the worst Actor in the 'World; insomuch that the Players, not knowing 'what to employ him in, would make him snuff the 'Candles; but he would not except that Employment, 'as being repugnant to the Honour and Quality of a 'Poet. After which, not being able to resist the Power 'of his Destiny, I have seen him snuff the Candles 'very neatly with another Gang: this is the Fate of 'Fools when they turn Poets, and the Fate of Poets 'when they grow mad (56).

(55) Ibid. pag. 288, & seq.

(56) Idem. Ibid.

[*I*] Loret — *was* — *ready to spread News to the Prejudice of* D'Assouci] 'As soon as I was arrested, 'my Enemies — sent immediately the News of my 'Death to *Paris*, which being not at all displeasing 'to the late *Loret*, without staying for the Confirma-'tion of it, inspired him to make those fine Verses in 'my Praise, which to his Confusion we have seen 'rambling in his Gazette. Now this bad Poet is 'gone to tell Lies in the other World, and I am 'still in this (57):' Here is another Passage: 'They 'are the same Fools, who, repeating meer Hear-say's, 'have kill'd me so many times in their Gazettes, and 'who, having drowned me at *Ferrara* and *Venice*, be-'fore I had set a Foot there, have taken me out of 'the Sea, and of all it's Rivers, to roast me at *Mont-*'*pellier*, and who at last, after having thrown me 'from the Frying-Pan into the Fire, bowelled, slewed 'and minced me, have restored me to my first State, 'to fry me again at *Avignon*; from whence of their 'Favour they have removed me without any Harm or 'Solution of Continuity, to confine me for the rest 'of my Days in the Inquisition, from whence I am 'nevertheless return'd as bright and as sound as if I 'was newly born, without losing one Hair in all 'those Travels which those Fools have described (58).' He reveng'd himself of *Loret* as 'much as he could, 'and accus'd him of an egregious Fraud. 'These are 'his words: '"What had I done to that Billingsgate 'Rhimer, that he should so haughtily insult the Ho-'nour of my Muses, who are more knowing and ho-'nest than his? Tho' his Trade of cheating at Play 'might very well excuse him for making such bad 'Verses: Did I call him a Sharper? Did I call him 'a Poetaster? Did not I always call him *Loret*? Did 'not he rob me of my Money with his false Cards, 'when I play'd with him at the late Mareschal *de* '*Schomberg's*? Why must he rob me also of my 'Honour and Fortune with his false Rhimes? Did 'my *Ovid in a merry Humour* so vex him, that he 'must revenge himself on my Verses, to the preju-'dice of my Reputation? Yet this barbarous Rhimer 'has reveng'd himself of them in that manner, since 'it is on that very thing that the foolish Mob, more 'barbarous than he, have since grounded their many 'Slanders, in order to persecute me in every place, 'as well as so many honest People, who will believe 'till the Day of the last Doom, that I have been most 'strangely abused at *Montpellier*, if my Writings, at 'least as lasting as his, did not verify the contrary. 'Yes, this Scoundrel has revenged himself in that 'manner; for it is he who supplied all my Enemies 'with Weapons, and all those that envied me with a 'pretence of Calumny, who has destroyed my Fortune 'and my Hopes, who made my best Friend my Per-'secutor, and who, in short, has exposed me to so 'many Dangers and mortal Disgraces. Good God! can 'any Body see such Assassinations without Horror? and 'can *France* suffer such Assassins without Shame (59)?' I think it was also published that he had been hanged in Effigy; for he complains that they represented him *as a Man whose Picture had served for a Scare-crow in a* Hemp-close, *and for a public Terror to the wicked:* but he maintains that this Print *was never seen but at the Booksellers Shops of the Palace, that it appears still gloriously before all his Works, and that the most curious Painters look for it at this present Time, as an Original that deserves to be copied* (60). I do not believe they will do it to draw a fine Face by't: for that of *D'Assouci* is far from being such. I have not found in the Relation of *Bachaumont* and *Chapelle*, that he was represented as *the Thersites of our Age* (61). Yet he complains of it (62), and alledges, against that injurious Reflexion, the Verses that were made upon his Picture.

(57) D'Assouci, Tom. II, pag. 155.

(58) Id. ibid. pag. 23, & seq.

(59) Idem. Avantures d'Italie, pag. 87, & seq.

(60) Ib. Tom. II, pag. 41. of his Adventures.

(61) Ibid. page 259.

(62) Ibid pag. 257.

On vous avertit que voicy
Le Portrait du grand d'Assoucy,
Cette merveille de nostre âge.
Contemplez le donc bien; & si
A peu prés aux traits du visage
Vous croyez qu'un tel personnage
Ne peut qu'avoir bien réüssi,
Achetez viste son ouvrage,
Et vous verrez qu'il est ainsi. CHAPELLE.

You are inform'd, that here you see
The Portrait of Great D'Assoucy.
View him, and, if his Looks proclaim
He must have gain'd immortal Fame,
Purchase his Work, and you will see
That it is just as I tell ye.

DATI (Carlo), Professor of Philology at *Florence*, where he was born, became very famous, as well for his Works, as for the Elogies which many Writers bestowed upon him [*A*]. He was very civil and officious to all learned Travellers who went to *Florence*; many of them expressed their Acknowledgment for it in their Writings (*a*). He was a Member of the Academy *della Crusca*, and in that quality he took the Name of *Smarrito*. He made a Panegyric upon *Lewis* XIV, in *Italian*, and published it at *Florence*, in the Year 1669 (*b*). The *French* Translation of it, was printed at *Rome* the Year following. He had already published some *Italian* Poems in praise of that Prince (*c*). You may thereby learn in what Time he flourished.

(*a*) *See* Leti's *Italie Regnante*, Partie 3. pag. 369, & seq. *Konig* refers us to pag. 170 of that Book. He has committed two Faults; for he does not specify the Volume, and quotes the Page wrong.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 367.

(*c*) Ibid. pag. 363, 367.

[*A*] *He became very famous, as well for his Works, as for the Elogies that many Writers bestowed upon him.*] You may find the Commentary, that this Text requires, in the third Volume of *Leti's Italia Regnante*: I shall only transcribe a few Lines out of it. *Leti* (1) observes, that the Book intituled, *Lettera di Timauro Antiate à Filalteti, della vera fisaria della cicloide, e della famosissima esperienza dell' argento vivo*, was written by *Carlo Dati*: he refers us to the One hundred and forty ninth page of *Placcius's Treatise, De Scriptis & Scriptoribus anonymis atque pseudonymis*. This Reference is right; for we find in that Page, that the pretended *Timauro Antiate* is *Carlo Dati*, and that this appears plainly from the Twenty sixth Page of the Letter. We find there also, that this Piece was printed at *Florence* in the Year 1663, and that the Author proves two things: the one, that Father *Mersenne* is not the Inventer of the Cycloid, as is said in the History of the Cycloid, but that the Glory of that Invention belongs to *Galileo*; the other, that *Torricelli* is innocent of the Plagiarism imputed to him concerning the Hypothesis, whereby the Suspension of the Quick-silver is explained by the Pressure of the Air. He was the first Author of that Hypothesis, if we believe *Carlo Dati*. It is very likely, that *Monconys* confounds things, when he says, *The Sieur* Carlo Dati *gave me his printed Letter to prove that* Torricelli *was the first that found out the* Cycloid (2). The chief Work, to which our *Dati* applied himself, was That *della Pittura antica*. He published an Essay, or a Piece of it, in the Year 1667. I will cite it hereafter (3). The Encomium that *Chimentelli* bestowed upon this Writer, is the only one that I shall transcribe among many others alledged by *Leti*. 'Nec secus inter rarissimos numerandus, qui Librum utendum permisit Clarissimus & amicissimus D. Carolus Datus nostræ flos illibatus Urbis, suadæque Etruscæ medulla, quam omni literarum paratu quotidie auget, atque illustrat. Parum enim mereri putat, qui per se tàm egregiè meretur, nisi ad benè merendum de Republica Literaria alios quoque omni ope & consilio adjuvet. Nihil ut minus suum habeat, quam quod in usum & gloriam eruditionis impendi possit; penè ipsum se sibi subtrahens, nedum temporis, aut operæ parcus (4). —— *Nor is* Carlo Dati, *an eminent Scholar, and a most obliging Friend, who favoured me with the Use of the Book, to be mentioned without the highest Esteem, as being the* unsullied Flower of our City, *the Soul of* Tuscan *Eloquence, which he daily improves and embellishes with acquisitions from all parts of Learning. Yet he esteems his Merit small, unless he assists others with all his Abilities to deserve well of the Common-Wealth of Learning; so that he may be said to have nothing less his own, than that which may be employed for the Advancement or Honour of Learning, and to overact his Strength, neither sparing Time nor Labour.*'

(1) Leti, *Italia Regnante*, Tom. III, pag. 363, 364.

(2) Monconys, *Voyage*, Part. II. pag. 483, *at the Year* 1664.

(3) *In the Remark* [L] *of the Article* Zeuxis.

(4) Chimentelli de honore Bibliai, pag. 86, apud Leti *Italia Regnante*, Tom. III, pag. 373.

DAVID, King of the *Jews*, was one of the greatest Men in the World, even tho' we should not consider him as a Royal Prophet, who was after God's own Heart. The first time that the Scripture makes him appear on the Stage of the World (*a*), is to inform us that *Samuel* appointed him King, and performed the Ceremony of anointing him. *David* was then but a meer Shepherd. He was the youngest of the eight Sons of *Jesse* the *Bethlehemite* [*A*]. Afterwards the Scripture tells us, that he was sent to King *Saul* (*b*), to cure him of his Fits of Frenzy, by the Sound of his Musical Instruments. A Service of that Importance made him so much beloved by *Saul*, that he kept him in his House, and made him his Armour-Bearer (*c*). The Scripture says afterwards (*d*), that *David* used to go home from time to time to take care of his Father's Flocks, and that his Father sent him one Day to *Saul's* Camp, with some Provisions for three of his Sons that were in the Army. *David*, performing that Order, heard the Challenge that a *Philistine*, called *Goliah*, proud of his Strength and gigantic Stature, made daily to the *Israelites*, which none among them durst to accept. He expressed his great Desire to fight that Giant; whereupon he was brought to the King, and assured him that he should triumph over That *Philistine*. *Saul* gave him his Armour; but *David*, finding it troublesome, put it off, and resolved to make use only of his Sling; which he did so happily, that he brought down that Swaggerer with a Stone (*e*), and killed him

(*a*) 1 Sam. xvi, 13.

(*b*) Ibid. ver. 10.

(*c*) Ibid. ver. 21.

(*d*) Ibid. chap. xvii, ver. 15.

(*e*) Ibid. ver. 49, 50.

[*A*] *He was the youngest of the Sons of* Jesse *the* Bethlehemite.] *Jesse* descended in a direct Line from *Judah*, one of the twelve Sons of *Jacob*, and dwelt at *Bethlehem*, a small City of the Tribe of *Judah*. Some Modern *Rabbins* say, that, when *David* was conceived, his Father *Jesse* did not think that he lay with his Wife, but with his Servant Maid, and thereby explain the seventh verse of the Fifty first Psalm, wherein *David* affirms, that *he was shapen in Iniquity, and that his Mother conceived him in Sin*. This, say they, signifies that *his Father* Jesse *committed an Adultery in begetting him, because, though he begot him by his Wife, he believed that he begot him by his Servant Maid, upon whose Chastity he had made an Attempt* (1). This Explication does not well agree with the Doctrine of Original Sin, and for that reason Father *Bartolocci* (2), having mentioned that Opinion of the Modern *Rabbins*, thought himself obliged to examine whether the ancient Jews acknowledged the Truth of that Doctrine. If the Supposition of those *Rabbins* was true, they would be in the right to say, that *Jesse* had committed Adultery; but on the other side it must be said, that he would not have been guilty of it, if, sincerely believing that he was enjoying his Wife, he had got his Servant Maid with Child. This Rabbinical Supposition is very different from the Tradition mentioned by St *Jerom*. He says, that it was believed that *Jesse*, the Father of *David*, did never commit any actual Sin, and that there was no kind of Uncleanness in him but what he brought from his Mother's Womb. 'Mirum est quod de Isai patre Davidis refert Hieronymus, illum nunquam aliud peccatum commisisse quam quod ex origine contraxit. Quo enim loco legimus: *Amasa † ingressus est ad Abigail filiam Naas sororem Saroiæ*; sic Hieronymus ‖. *Naas interpretatur. coluber, quia eum nullum admisisse morsiferum perhibent peccatum, nisi quod originaliter de serpente antiquo contraxit. Est autem Naas qui & Isai pater David.* Eamdem traditionem refert Abulensis ‡, & monet Naas eumdem esse qui & Jesse sive Isai patrem Davidis, quod quidem & antea Eusebius * docuerat (3). —— *St. Jerom relates something very*

(1) *See the* Journal des Sçavans, July 14, 1692, pag. 425, Dutch Edit.

(2) In *Bibliotheca magna Rabbinica*, Part. II, pag. 4. apud *Journal des Sçavans*, ibid.

† Lib. II, Reg. 17, 25.

‖ Hieron. Trad. Hebr. in lib. 2. Reg. cap. 17.

‡ To'at. 2. Reg. 17, Quæst. 27.

* Euseb. Ibid.

(3) *They are Father* Lamart's *Words, and Quotations, pag.* 126, 127, de rebus gestis Eliæ.

him afterwards with his own Sword, and cut off his Head, which he presented to *Saul* [*B*]. That Prince asked his General, when he saw *David* go against *Goliah*, *Whose Son is this Youth* (*f*) [*C*]? The General answered, that he did not know, and received Orders from *Saul* to enquire about it: but *Saul* heard it himself from that young Man; for, being brought to him after the Victory, he asked him, *Whose Son art thou?* and *David* answered him, that he was the Son of *Jesse* (*g*). Then *Saul* kept him in his Service, without suffering him to return to his Father (*h*). But because the Songs, that were sung in all the Cities, on the Defeat of the *Philistines*, ascribed ten times more Glory to *David* than to *Saul* (*i*), the King conceived a violent Jealousy, which increased daily, because the Employments, that he gave to *David* to keep him from Court, served only to make him more illustrious, and to procure him the Affection and Admiration of the *Jews*. By a false Policy he would make him his Son-in-law: he was in hopes that the Condition, on which he was to give him his second Daughter, would deliver him from that Object of his Aversion; but he was deceived in his Cunning. He asked an hundred Foreskins of the *Philistines* for his Daughter's Dowry; *David* brought him two hundred in full tale (*k*): So that, instead of perishing in the Enterprize, as *Saul* hoped, he returned with a new Addition of Glory. He married *Saul*'s Daughter, whereby he became still more formidable to the King (*l*): all his Expeditions against the *Philistines* were very prosperous; his Name grew famous; he was in very great Esteem (*m*); insomuch that *Saul*, who knew his Son-in-law's Virtue much less, than the Humour of the People, imagined that the Death of *David* was the only thing that could secure him from being dethroned. He resolved then to be rid of him, and trusted his eldest Son with that Design, who, far from siding with his Father's Jealousy, gave *David* notice of that black Conspiracy (*n*). *David* fled, and was pursued from Place to Place, till he had given undeniable Proofs of his Probity and Fidelity to his Father-in-law, to whom he did no manner of harm on two favourable Opportunities (*o*), wherein he might easily have killed him; upon which *Saul* resolved to let him alone. But as *David* feared this Prince might resume his wicked Designs, he still kept upon his Guard. Nay, he provided himself a safer Place of Refuge, than before, in the Land of the *Philistines* (*p*). He asked of the King of *Gath* a Town to dwell in, from whence he made frequent Incursions into the Countries round about [*D*]; and had he obtained his Desire, he would have fought

(*f*) Ib. ver. 55.

(*g*) Ib. ver. 58.

(*h*) Ibid. chap. xviii, ver. 2.

(*i*) And the Women answered one another, as they played, and said, *Saul hath slain his Thousands, and David his Ten Thousands.* Ib. ver. 7.

(*k*) Ibid. ver. 27.

(*l*) Ibid. ver. 29.

(*m*) Ibid. ver. 30.

(*n*) Ibid. chap. xix, ver. 1, 2.

(*o*) Ibid. chap. xxiv, and xxvi

(*p*) Ibid. chap. xxvii.

'*very singular of* Jesse, *Father of* David, *that he never* '*was guilty of any Sin, except that which is called O-*'*riginal. For when we read*, that *Amosa* went into *A-*'*bigail*, the Daughter of *Nabosh*, Sister to *Zeruiah*; '*Thus St* Jerom *interprets it: Nabash* signifies a Ser-'pent; for it is said, that he never committed any 'deadly Sin, but what he originally contracted from 'the old Serpent, and *Nabash* is the same with *Jesse* 'David's Father. Abulensis *relates the same Tradition*, '*and observes*, that *Nabash* was the same with *Jsai* or *Jesse* 'David's Father; which *Lyranus* had already observed.' For the rest, those, who would adopt the Impertinence of the *Rabbins* concerning *David*'s Conception, might easily admit another impertinent thing, which would be to place *David* in the number of illustrious Bastards. The Physical Reason, that is alledged, why Bastards are born so often with such great Natural Talents, might take place here on the Father's Part.

[*B*] *He killed* Goliah *with his own Sword, and cut off his Head, which he presented to* Saul.] *Goliah*'s Weapons were preserved as a Monument of the Glory of the *Israelites*. *David* carried them first into his Tent (4); but it is likely they were afterwards in a consecrated Place; for we read (5) that *David*, having asked the Priest *Abimelech* whether he had not a Spear or Sword for him, that Priest answered him: *the Sword of* Goliah *is here wrapped up in a Cloth behind the* Ephod; *if thou wilt take that, take it. David* caused it to be given him. As for the Head of *Goliah*, it was carried to *Jerusalem* (6), when *David* had chosen that City for the Capital of his Kingdom. *Josephus* says positively, that *David* himself consecrated *Goliah*'s Sword to GOD (7).

(4) 1 Sam. xvii, 54.

(5) Ibid. chap. xxi, ver. 8, 9.

(6) Ibid. chap. xvii, ver. 54.

(7) Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 6, cap. 23, & 24.

[*C*] Saul *asked his General* —— *whose Son is this Youth?*] It is somewhat strange that *Saul* did not know *David* that Day, since that young Man had played several times on his Musical Instruments before him, to disperse those black Vapours that molested him. If such a Narrative as this should be found in *Thucydides*, or in *Livy*, all the Critics would unanimously conclude, that the Transcribers had transposed the Pages, forgot something in one Place, repeated something in another, or inserted some preposterous Additions in the Author's Work. But no such Suspicions ought to be entertained of the Bible. Nevertheless some have been so bold as to pretend, that all the Chapters, or all the Verses of the first Book of *Samuel*, are not placed as they were at first. It seems to me that the Abbot *de Choisi* removes the Difficulty much better. '*David* was brought be-'fore *Saul*, *says he* (8), who did not know him at 'first, though he had seen him several times, when he 'sent for him to play on the *Harp*: but as this was 'many Years before, and *David* was very young, and 'came to Court in the Quality of a Musician, and 'was then dressed like a Shepherd, it can be no 'wonder that a King, full of Business, and whose Mind 'was distempered, should forget the Features of a 'young Man's Face, who had nothing considerable in 'him.' I only wish he had not said, I. That *Saul* had not seen *David* for many Years. II. That *David was very young* when he came to *Saul*'s Court in the Quality of a Musician. There is no likelihood that he was much younger when he killed *Goliah*, than when he came the first time to *Saul*'s Court; for when he made his first Journey, he *was a mighty valiant Man, and a Man of War, and prudent in Matters* (9), he was but Thirty Years of Age, when he was elected King after the Death of *Saul*; and there must be necessarily an Interval of many Years between the Death of *Goliah*, and that of *Saul*. See the Remark, wherein I criticize *Moreri*, and the Remark [*L*].

(8) Choisi, *Histoire de la Vie de David*, pag 8, o. Dutch Edit. 1692.

(9) 1 Sam. xvi, 18.

[*D*] *He asked of the King of* Gath *a Town*, —— *from whence he made frequent Incursions into the Countries round about*] *David*, having dwelt some time in the chief City of King *Achish*, with his little Band of Six hundred bold Adventurers, was afraid of putting this Prince to Charges, and begged he would assign him some other place of Abode. *Achish* gave him the Town of *Ziklag*. *David* removed thither with his Adventurers, and suffered not their Swords to rust in their Scabbards. He often led them out in Parties, and killed, without Mercy, both Men and Women. He left nothing alive but Cattle, which was the only Booty he returned with. He was afraid, least the Prisoners should discover the whole Mystery to *Achish*, and therefore he carried none of them away, but put all to the Sword, both Male and Female. The Secret, he would not have revealed, was, that the Ravages were committed not upon the Country of the *Israelites*, as he made the King of *Gath* believe, but upon the Lands of the ancient Inhabitants of *Palestine* (10). To speak plainly, this Conduct was very unjustifiable: in order to conceal one Fault, he committed a greater. He imposed upon a King, to whom he had Obligations, and exercised great Cruelty, to cover that Imposition. If any one had asked *David*, *by what Authority*

(10) 1 Sam. chap. xxvii.

fought under the Banner of this *Philiſtine* Prince againſt the *Iſraelites* [*E*], in that unhappy War wherein *Saul* periſhed. After the Death of *Saul*, he returned into *Judea*, and was there proclaimed King by the Tribe of *Judah* (*q*). Nevertheleſs, the other Tribes ſubmitted to *Iſhboſheth*, the Son of *Saul*, which was effected by *Abner*'s Fidelity (*r*). *Abner*, who had been General of the *Army* under King *Saul*, placed *Iſhboſheth* upon the Throne, and ſupported him on it againſt the Attempts of *David*: but being full of Reſentment, becauſe *Iſhboſheth* reproved him for having taken one of *Saul*'s Concubines (*s*), he entered into a Treaty with *David* to procure him the Kingdom of *Iſhboſheth*. The Negociation would have been ſoon concluded, to the Satisfaction of *David*, if *Joab* (*t*), to revenge a private Quarrel, had not killed *Abner*. The Death of *Abner* only haſtened the Ruin of the unfortunate *Iſhboſheth*. Two of his chief Captains ſlew him, and brought his Head to *David*, who, far from rewarding them for it, as they expected, ordered them both to be put to death (*u*). The Subjects of *Iſhboſheth* quickly ſubmitted themſelves to *David*. This Prince had reigned ſeven Years and a half over the Tribe of *Judah*: afterwards he reigned about thirty Years over all *Iſrael* (*x*). This long Reign was remarkable for great Succeſs, and glorious Conqueſts. It was not much diſturbed but by the wicked Attempts of this Prince's own Children [*F*]. Theſe are commonly the Enemies which Sovereigns have moſt reaſon to fear. *David* was very near being reduced

(*q*) 2 Sam. chap. ii, ver. 4.

(*r*) Ibid. ver. 8.

(*s*) Ib. chap. iii.

(*t*) He was General of *David*'s Army.

(*u*) 2 Sam. chap. iv.

(*x*) Ibid. chap. v, ver. 5.

thority doſt thou theſe things? what could he have anſwered? Can a private perſon, as he was, a Fugitive, who finds ſhelter in the Dominions of a neighbouring Prince, have a Right to commit Hoſtilities for his own Advantage, and without a Commiſſion from the Sovereign of the Country? Had *David* any ſuch Commiſſion? on the contrary, did he not act in Oppoſition to the Intentions and Intereſt of the King of *Gath*? If a private Man, how great ſoever by Birth, ſhould behave himſelf now a-days, as *David* did on this Occaſion, he would, undoubtedly, be called by Names of little Honour. I know the moſt renowned Heroes, the moſt famous Prophets of the Old Teſtament, have ſometimes approved the putting to the Sword every thing that had Life; and therefore I ſhould be very far from calling that Cruelty, which *David* did, had he been warranted by the Order of any Prophet, or if GOD, by Inſpiration, had commanded him to do ſo: But it evidently appears, from the ſilence of the Scripture, that he did all this of his own accord.

REFLEXION upon the Conduct of *David* towards *Nabal*.

I ſhall add one Word in relation to what he had determined to do to *Nabal*. Whilſt *Nabal*, who had vaſt Riches, was ſhearing his Sheep, *David* ſent to beg of him ſome Gratuity, in a very obliging manner. The Meſſengers did not fail to tell him, that his Shepherds had never been injured by *David*'s People. *Nabal*, being very churliſh, asked, rudely, who *David* was, and upbraided him with having ſhaken off his Maſter's Yoak. In a Word, he declared he was not ſo imprudent as to give to Strangers and Vagabonds, what he had provided for his own Servants. *David*, enraged at this Anſwer, ordered Four hundred of his Men to arm, and put himſelf at their Head, being firmly reſolved not to ſave a Soul alive, but to ſlay them all with the Sword. He even bound himſelf to it by an Oath, and if he did not execute this bloody Reſolution, it was owing to *Abigail*, who came to pacify him with Preſents and fair Words (11). *Abigail* was *Nabal*'s Wife, a Woman of great Merit, handſome, witty, and ſo agreeable to *David*, that he married her after her Husband's Death (12). Now let us deal plainly: Is it not manifeſt, beyond Contradiction, that *David* was about to do a very criminal Action? He had no right to the Goods of *Nabal*, nor any Authority to puniſh him for his Incivility. He was roving up and down the World with a Gang of truſty Friends: He might, indeed, have aſked ſome Gratuity of thoſe who could afford it; but if they refuſed, he ought to have taken it patiently, and he could not compel them to it by Military Execution, without plunging the World again into the dreadful Confuſion, which they call the State of Nature, where no Law obtained but that of the ſtronger. What would one ſay now of a Prince of the Blood of *France*, who, being out of Favour at Court, ſhould make his Eſcape, with ſuch Friends as would be willing to ſhare his Fortune? What Opinion, I ſay, could we entertain of him, if he went about raiſing Contributions in the Countries where he cantoned, and put to the Sword, in thoſe Diſtricts, all that refuſed to pay his Taxes? What would we ſay, if this Prince ſhould fit out ſome Veſſels to infeſt the Seas, in order to ſeize all the Merchant-Ships he could lay hold of? In truth, had *David* any more right to exact Contributions of *Nabal*, to maſſacre all the Men and Women in the Country of the *Amalekites*, &c. and to carry away all the Cattle he found there? If one ſhould anſwer, that the Law of Nations, the *Jus Belli & Pacis*, about which ſo many fine Syſtems have been made, are now better known than formerly: and, therefore, ſuch a Conduct was more excuſeable, in thoſe Days, than now. I grant it; but, at the ſame time, the profound Reſpect we ought to have for this great Prince, this great Prophet, ſhould not hinder us from diſapproving the Blemiſhes that occur in his Life: otherwiſe we ſhall give occaſion to Libertines to reproach us, and ſay, that, to determine an Action juſt, it is ſufficient that it ſhould be done by certain Perſons we reverence. Nothing can be more prejudicial to Chriſtian Morality. It is of great Importance to the true Religion, that the Lives of the Orthodox be judged by the general Notions of Juſtice and Order.

(11) 1 Sam. chap. xxv.

(12) Ib. ver. 42.

[*E*] *Had he obtained his Deſire, he would have fought againſt the* Iſraelites.] Whilſt *David*, with his little flying Camp, was employed in ravaging the Countries of the Infidels, wherever he could penetrate, the *Philiſtines* were preparing for War againſt the *Iſraelites*. They gathered all their Forces together. *David*, and his bold Adventurers, joined the Army of *Achiſh*, and would have fought like Lions againſt their Brethren, if the jealous *Philiſtines* had not obliged *Achiſh* to diſmiſs them. They were afraid that *David*, and his Men, in the Heat of Battle, would fall upon them, in order to make their Peace with *Saul*. When *David* underſtood that he muſt quit the Army becauſe of theſe Suſpicions, he was extremly concerned (13). He had a Mind, then, to contribute, with all his Might, to the Victory of the uncircumciſed *Philiſtines* over his own Brethren, the People of GOD, the Profeſſors of the true Religion. I leave it to nice Caſuiſts to determine, whether or no theſe Sentiments became a true *Iſraelite*.

(13) And *David* ſaid unto *Achiſh*, But what have I done? and what haſt thou found in thy ſervant, ſo long as I have been with thee unto this day, that I may not go fight againſt the enemies of my Lord the King? 1 Sam. chap. xxix, verſ. 8.

[*F*] *His Reign was not diſturbed, but by the wicked Attempts of his own Children.*] The moſt remarkable of their wicked Attempts, was the Revolt of *Abſalom*, who forced this great Prince to fly from *Jeruſalem* in a mournful Condition. He went with his Head covered, bear-footed, melting in Tears, and his Ears filled with the Lamentations of his faithful Subjects (14). *Abſalom* entered *Jeruſalem* as in Triumph; and, that his Party might not abate of their Zeal, from a Notion that this Difference between Father and Son would be made up, he did one thing ſufficient to make them believe he ſhould never be reconciled to *David*. He lay with the ten Concubines of This Prince, in the ſight of every body (15). It is very likely, this Crime would have been forgiven: the extreme Affliction, into which his Death threw *David*, is a Proof of it. *David* was the beſt Father that ever lived: his Indulgence to his Children was exceſſive, and he himſelf was the firſt that ſuffered for it. For, had he puniſhed the infamous Action of his Son *Ammon*, as it deſerved (16), he would not have had the Shame and Sorrow to ſee another revenge the Injury done to *Tamar*: and had he chaſtized, as he ought, the Perſon who revenged this Injury, he would not have run the hazard of being entirely dethroned. *David* had the Fate of

(14) 2 Sam. chap. xv.

(15) Ibid. chap. xvi.

(16) He raviſhed *Tamar*, and was killed for this Crime by the Order of *Abſalom*, who was *Tamar*'s own Brother, both by Father and Mother. *Ibid. chap. xiii.*

duced to the low Condition, in which *Samuel* found him. Humanly speaking, this Reverse of Fortune would have been unavoidable [*G*], if he had not found some Persons about his Son *Absalom*, who acted the Part of Traitors (5). *David*'s Piety is so conspicuous in his *Psalms*, and in many of his Actions, that we cannot sufficiently admire it. But there is another thing no less wonderful in his Conduct, viz. that he knew so happily how to reconcile so much Piety with the loose Maxims of the Art of Governing. It is generally believed, that his Adultery with *Bathsheba*, the Murder of *Uriah*, and the Numbering of the People, are the only Faults he can be charged with. But it is a great Mistake. There are many other things in his Life that deserve Censure [*H*]. He is a Sun of Holiness in the Church: he there diffuses, by his Writings, a fruitful Light of Consolation

(5) Ibid. chap. xv, ver. 34, &c.

of the most part of great Princes: he was unfortunate in his own Family. His eldest Son ravished his own Sister, and was killed by one of his Brothers for that Incest: the Author of this Fratricide lay with the Concubines of *David*. What Scandal is here given to pious Souls, to see so much Infamy in the Family of this King!

[*G*] *He was very near being reduced to the Condition —— in which* Samuel *found him —— this reverse of Fortune was unavoidable.*] We may see by this Example, that there is no depending upon the Fidelity of the People; for, in short, *David* was both a great and good King. He was beloved, he was esteemed, and had all imaginable Zeal for the Religion of his Country. His Subjects, therefore, had reason to be satisfied, and if they had been to chuse a Prince, could they have wished him better qualified? Nevertheless, they were so unsteady in their Duty to *David*, that his Son *Absalom*, in order to get himself declared King, needed only to make himself popular for some time, and keep some Emissaries in each Tribe. This Maxim, *Casta est quam nemo rogavit, —— She is a chaste Woman that has never been solicited*, may very well be applied to the People. The reason we do not see Princes oftener dethroned, is, because the People have not been solicited to revolt by Intrigues well enough managed. Nothing else is necessary: if the Prince be not wicked, it is they know how to make him pass for such, or for a Slave to wicked Counsel. Pretences are never wanting, and provided they be artfully supported, they pass for a just Reason, how weak soever they are in themselves.

[*H*] *It is generally believed, that his Adultery, &c. are the only Faults he can be charged with. —— There are many other things in his Life that deserve censure.*] I have already taken notice of some of them, which happened while he was a private Person. here are others which relate to the time of his Reign.

I. His Polygamy cannot well be excused: for, tho' God permitted it in those Days, we must not think one might stretch it very far, without indulging too much to Sensuality. *Michal*, the second Daughter of *Saul*, was *David*'s first Wife: She was taken from him during his Disgrace (17); he married successively several others (18), and still continued to demand back the first. Before she could be restored to him, she must be forced from a Husband that loved her exceedingly, and who followed her as far as he could, crying like a Child (19). *David* did not scruple to match with a Daughter of an uncircumcised Prince (20): and tho' he had Children by several Wives, yet he took Concubines at *Jerusalem*. Undoubtedly, he chose the handsomest he could find: so we cannot say, with regard to the Pleasures of Love, that he took much pains to mortify Nature.

(17) 1 Sam. chap. xxv, ver. 44.

(18) 2 Sam. chap. iii, and v.

(19) Ibid. chap. iii, ver. 16.

(20) Talmai, *King of* Gethur. Ibid. ver. 3.

II. When he heard of *Saul*'s Death, he bethought himself, without loss of Time, how to secure the Succession. He went to *Hebron, and as soon as he arrived there, the whole Tribe of* Judah, *whereof he had* GAINED THE CHIEF MEN BY PRESENTS, *owned him for King* (21). If *Abner* had not preserved the rest of the Succession for the Son of *Saul*, doubtless, by the same Method, I mean, the *gaining the chief Men by Presents*, *David* would have been King of all *Israel*. But what happened after *Abner* by his Fidelity had kept eleven entire Tribes for *Ishbosheth*? the very same thing that would happen between two infidel and most ambitious Kings. *David* and *Ishbosheth*, made continual War upon each other (22), to see which of the two should get the other's Portion, in order to enjoy the whole Kingdom without Division. What I am going to say is much worse. *Abner*, displeased with the King his Master, contrives to strip him of his Dominions, and to deliver them up to *David*: He communicates his Design to *David*: He goes to him himself to concert with him the means of bringing it about. *David* lends an Ear to this treacherous Villain, and is well pleased to get a Kingdom by Intrigues of this nature (23). Can it be said these are the Actions of a Saint? I own there is nothing in them but what is agreeable to the Maxims of Policy, and the Ways of human Prudence; but it can never be proved, that the strict Laws of Equity, and rigid Morals of a faithful Servant of God, can allow of this Conduct. It is to be observed, *David* did not pretend that the Son of *Saul* reigned by Usurpation: he granted he was a righteous Man (24), and consequently a lawful King.

(21) *Histoire de la Vie de David par l'Abbé de Choisi*, pag. 47.

(22) 2 Sam. chap. iii, ver. 1.

(23) Ibid. chap. iii.

(24) Ibid. chap. iv, ver. 11.

III. I am of the same Mind, as to the Cunning *David* made use of, during *Absalom*'s Revolt. He would not suffer *Hushai*, one of his best Friends, to accompany him; he ordered him to go over to the Party of *Absalom*, that he might give bad Counsels to this rebellious Son, and be able to inform *David* of all the Designs of the new King (25). This Cunning, without doubt, is very commendable, if we judge of things according to human Prudence, and the Policy of Princes. It saved *David*, and from that Age, even to our own inclusively, has produced a Multitude of Adventures, beneficial to some and destructive to others; but a rigid Casuist will never take this Cunning for an Action worthy of a Prophet, a Saint, a righteous Man. A good Man, as such, will rather lose a Crown, than be the Cause of his Friend's Damnation: now, it is to damn our Friend, as much as in us lies, to push him on to commit a Crime; and it is a crime to pretend, with Zeal, to espouse the Party of a man: to pretend it, I say, with a view to ruin that man, by giving him bad Counsels, and discovering all the Secrets of his Cabinet. Is it possible for one to act a more treacherous part than *Hushai* did? As soon as he perceives *Absalom*, he cries out *God save the King, God save the King*; and when he was asked, how he came to be so ungrateful, as not to accompany his intimate Friend, he gives himself devout Airs, and alledges reasons of conscience, *His will I be*, says he, *whom the Lord hath chosen* (26).

(25) Ib. ch. xv.

(26) Ibid. chap. xvi, ver. 18.

IV. When *David*, by reason of old age, could not be warmed by all the cloaths they covered him with, it was thought proper to seek for a young virgin, who might take care of and lie with him. He suffered them to bring to him for this purpose, the most beautiful girl they could find (27). Now, can this be said to be the action of a very chaste man? Will a man who is filled with the Ideas of Purity, and intirely resolved to do what Order and good Morals require of him, ever consent to these remedies? Is it possible to consent to them without preferring the instincts of Nature, and the interests of the flesh to those of the Spirit of God?

(27) 1 Kings, chap. i.

V. *David* has been blamed long since, for having committed a flagrant piece of Injustice against *Mephibosheth*, the Son of his dear Friend *Jonathan*. The fact is, *David* no longer fearing the Faction of King *Saul*, was pleased to shew himself liberal to all those who might still remain of that Family. He heard, that a poor lame man called *Mephibosheth*, the Son of *Jonathan*, was yet alive: he sent for him, and gave him all the Land that had belonged to King *Saul*, and commanded *Ziba*, an old Servant of that Family, to improve it for him, and for the Maintenance of *Mephibosheth*'s Son: as to *Mephibosheth* himself, he was to eat as long as he lived at King *David*'s Table (28). When this Prince made his escape from *Jerusalem*, that he might not fall into the hands of *Absalom*, he met *Ziba*, who brought him some Provisions, and told him in one word, that *Mephibosheth* staid at *Jerusalem*, in hopes of recovering the Kingdom amidst these Revolutions. Upon which, *David* gave him all that belonged to *Mephibosheth* (29). After the death of *Absalom*,

(28) 2 Sam. chap. ix.

(29) Ib. ch. xvi.

solation and Piety, which cannot be enough admired; but that Sun had it's Spots, and even in his dying Words we find the Obliquities of Politics [I]. The Holy Scripture relates

salom, he found *Ziba* had been a false Accuser, and yet took from him but the half of what he had given him, and restored to *Mephibosheth* only the half of his Estate. Some Authors pretend that this Injustice, which was so much the greater as *David* had been infinitely obliged to *Jonathan*, was the reason God permitted *Jeroboam* to rend in two the Kingdom of *Israel* (30). But it is certain, the Sins of *Solomon* were the Cause that God permitted this Division (31). All the Interpreters have not left *David* without Apology. Some pretend, that *Ziba*'s Accusation was not unjust, or at least it was grounded upon so much probability, that one might give credit to it without being guilty of a rash judgment (32). But there are not many of this Opinion. Most of the Fathers and Moderns believe, that *Ziba* was a Slanderer, and that *David* suffered himself to be imposed on. The Opinion of Pope *Gregory* is to be taken particular notice of: he owns *Mephibosheth* was falsly accused, and yet pretends that the Sentence which deprived him of all his Estate was just. This he maintains for two Reasons: First, because *David* pronounced it; secondly, because a secret Judgment of God interposed in it. ' Non me ' latet, præter Interpretes in contrarium supra adductos, ' S. Gregorium contra Davidem stare lib. 1, Dialo. ' c. 4. Quamvis enim ait, latam a Davide contra innocentem Jonathæ filium sententiam, quia per Davidem ' lata est, & occulto Dei judicio pronunciata, justam ' credi, tamen diserte agnoscit Mephibosethum fuisse ' innocentem. Ex quo aperte sequitur sententiam Davidis non fuisse justam. In quo cogimur S. Gregorio ' non adhærere; cum compertissima sit Davidis sanctitas; nec eum posset sarcisse hujusmodi dispendium ' aliunde constet (33).'——*Besides the Interpreters above quoted for the contrary Opinion, I know St Gregory is against David l. 1. dialog. cap. 4. For tho' he says, the Sentence of David against the innocent Son of Jonathan is believed to be just, because it was passed by David, and pronounced by the secret Judgment of God, yet he expressly acknowledges that Mephibosheth was innocent. From whence it evidently follows, that the Sentence of David was not just. In which I am forced to differ from S. Gregory; since the Holiness of David is very well known, and it does not appear that he afterwards repaired this Injury.* The Author I quote goes another way to work; since the Holiness of *David*, says he, is very well known, and since he never ordered that Satisfaction should be made for the wrong done to *Mephibosheth*, we must conclude the Sentence was just. This is to establish a very dangerous Principle: one would be no longer at liberty to examine by the Notions of Morality the Actions of the ancient Prophets, in order to condemn those which are not conformable thereto; and so, Libertines might accuse our Casuists of approving certain Actions, which are manifestly unjust: of approving them, I say, in favour of some Men, and thro' respect of Persons. Let us say rather, and apply to the Saints what has been said of great Wits, *Nullum fine venia placuit ingenium*. The greatest Saints have sometimes need of a Pardon.

VI. I shall say nothing of what *Michal*, one of *David*'s Wives, reproached him with, in regard to the Figure he made when he danced in public. If he had uncovered his Nakedness, the Action might pass for an ill one, morally speaking: but if he only made himself contemptible by his Postures, and by not supporting the Dignity of his Character, it was at most but an imprudence, and not a crime. We must consider well upon what occasion he danced: it was when the Ark was brought up to *Jerusalem* (34); and consequently the excess of his Joy, and of his Capers, testified his Attachment and Sensibility for holy things. A modern Author has endeavoured to justify the Nakedness of *Francis of Assise* by that of *David*: *Michal, David's wife*, says he (35), *having seen from a window her husband, who, being transported with an holy fervour, leaped and danced before the Ark of the Lord, despised him in her heart, and, rallying him, said*, How glorious was the King of Israël to day, who uncovered himself in the eyes of the handmaids of his servants, as one of the vain fellows shamelessly uncovereth himself! *These last words of the Holy Text seem to intimate that David stripped himself stark naked; however, as the same text* (ver. 14.), *speaking of David's dance before the Ark, says he was girded with a linnen ephod, I do not think he was quite naked. But he uncovered himself so much, that he seemed to be naked, and that it was thought unbecoming the Gravity and Majesty of a King; especially as it was done publickly and before a great multitude. The action of David, attended with all these Circumstances, is not more justifiable than that of St Francis, who had very few Spectators* (36): *so that if the action of the one deserves censure, that of the other cannot be exempted from it; and indeed we read that Michal derided him for it. But let us see whether the Holy Spirit did so; and we shall judge by that whether we ought to ridicule the action of St Francis.* Afterwards he relates the Answer *David* made to *Michal*, and what the Scripture observes concerning her Barrenness. A great many Ladies would deserve to be barren, if the having *Michal*'s Taste were a sufficient reason for it. It would be thought very strange all over *Europe*, if, upon a Day of Procession of the Holy Sacrament, Kings should dance in the Streets without any thing but a little Sash round the waist.

VII. The Conquests of *David* shall be the subject of my last Observation. There are some rigid Casuists, who do not think a Christian Prince can lawfully engage in a War, thro' a Desire only of aggrandizing himself. These Casuists approve of no Wars but those that are defensive, or in general such as tend only to restore to every one his own. At this rate, *David* had frequently undertaken unjust Wars: for, besides that the holy Scripture represents him pretty often as the Aggressor, we find he *extended the bounds of his empire from Egypt to the Euphrates* (37). That we may not then condemn *David*, it is better to say that Conquests may sometimes be permitted; and therefore we ought to take care, lest, in exclaiming against modern Princes, we should inadvertently asperse this great Prophet.

But if, generally speaking, the Conquests of this holy Monarch were glorious to him, without prejudice to his Justice, we can hardly agree they were so when we come to Particulars. Let us not by Conjectures rake into Secrets, which History has not revealed: Let us not conclude, that because *David* was pleased to make an Advantage of *Abner*'s and *Husai*'s Treachery, therefore he practised all manner of Cunning against the Infidel Princes, whom he subdued. Let us confine ourselves intirely to what the sacred History tells us of the way in which he treated the Conquered. *And he brought forth the people that were in* Rabbah (38), *and put them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made them pass through the brick-kiln: and thus he did unto all the cities of the children of Ammon* (39). The *Geneva* Bible observes in the Margin of this Verse, *that these were kinds of capital Punishments used in former times.* Let us see how he treated the *Moabites*: *He measured them with a line casting them down to the ground; even with two lines measured he, to put to death: and with one full line to keep alive* (40). That is, he had a mind to put to death exactly two thirds, neither more nor less (41). *Idumea* met with rougher Usage; for there he ordered all the Males to be slain. *six months did Joab remain there with all Israel, until he had cut off every male in Edom* (42). Can one say, this way of making War is not to be condemned? Have not even the *Turks* and *Tartars* a little more Humanity? And if an infinite number of Pamphlets exclaim every day against the military Executions of our own time, which are indeed harsh, and much to be blamed, but gentle when compared with those of *David*, what would the Authors of these Pamphlets say, if they had the Saws, the Harrows, the Brick-kilns of *David* to complain of, and the general Massacre of all Males, old and young?

[I] *And even in his dying Words we find the obliquities of Politics.*] Understand me right: I do not mean that *David* in this condition did not speak according to his Mind: but that the plain and free manner, in which he opened his Heart, shews he had formerly, upon two remarkable Occasions, sacrificed Justice to Interest. He knew very well *Joab* deserved Death, and to let the Murders, whereof he had been guilty, go unpunished, was

(30) Id gravis peccati injustitiæ erga innoxium Mephibosethum, damnant Abulensis 2 Reg 26, q. 6, &c. 32, q. 29, & Richelius, ac Cajetanus ibi: nec non Salianus anno mundi 3010, n. 11 ar. & alii plerique anteri res, ut Lyranus Hugo, Rabanus, aliique quibus ob hanc injustitiam in Mephibosethum, nexa cum infidelitate magna & ingratitudine in Jonathan ejus patrem, visum est se Rim esse sub Roboamo Dividis regnum. Et ita videtur asseri apud Hieronymum in Traditi. Hebr. ad lib. 2, Reg. cap. 19. *Theoph. Raynaudus, Hoplotheca.* Sect. 2, Serie, 2, cap. x, pag. m. 231.

(31) 1 Kings, chap xi, ver. 11.

(32) Vide Petrum Joannem Olivi apud Th. Raynaud. Hopl. Sect. 4, chap. 3, pag. 533, & ip sum Raynaud. pag 232.

(33) Theoph. Raynaud. pag. 232.

(34) 2 Sam. chap. vi.

(35) Ferrand, Reponse à l'Apologie pour la Reformation, pag. 364, 365.

(36) *Francis of Assise* being brought by his Father to the Bishop to renounce his Patrimony, and give up every thing he had, he delivered to his Father his very Cloaths, and stripped himself stark naked before the Company. The Bishop rose from his Seat, and covered him with his Cloak. *Bonaventure, Life of St Francis*, quoted by *Ferrand, Reponse à l'Apologie pour la Reformation*, pag. 363, 364.

(37) L'Abbé de Choisi, Histoire de la Vie de David, pag. 64.

(38) This was the chief City of the Ammonites.

(39) 2 Sam. ch. xii, ver. 31.

(40) Ibid. chap. viii, ver. 2.

(41) *See the Note of the* Geneva Bible.

(42) 1 Kings, chap. xi, ver. 15.

lates them only historically, and therefore every one is at liberty to pass a Judgment upon them (z). Let us conclude with saying, that the History of *David* may comfort many crowned Heads against the Alarms, which rigid Casuists may give them, in maintaining, that it is hardly possible for a King to be saved. The Life of that great Prince, published by the Abbot *de Choisi*, is a good Book, and would be much more useful, if he had taken the Pains to set down in the Margin the Year of each Fact, and the Places of the Bible, or *Josephus*, upon which he grounds his Assertions. A Reader would be glad to know, whether what he reads flows from a sacred or prophane Source. I shall not observe many Faults in *Moreri* [*K*]. The Article

(z) *See Remark* [*I*] *towards the end.*

was a manifest injustice against Law and Reason. Nevertheless, *Joab* had kept his Posts, his Credit, and Authority. He was a brave Man; he served the King his Master faithfully, and to good purpose: and there was reason to fear some mutiny, if they had attempted to punish him. These were political Reasons, which made the Laws give place to Advantage. But, when *David* had no further Occasion for this General, he ordered him to be put to Death: This was one of the Articles of his last Will (43). *Solomon* his Successor was charged with the like order against *Shimei*. This Man, knowing *David* had made his escape from *Jerusalem* in great disorder, upon the account of *Absalom*'s Revolt, came to insult him by the way, and used reproaches yet harder than the Stones he threw at him (44). *David* bore this injury very patiently; he acknowledged and adored the Hand of GOD in it, with marks of singular Piety; and when his Affairs were re-established, he pardoned *Shimei*, who was one of the first that came to submit themselves, and implore his Mercy (45). *David* swore to him he would not put him to Death, and kept his Word to his Deathbed; but finding himself in this condition, he gave a charge to his Son to kill him (46); a plain Proof that he suffered him to live only to get himself at first the Name of a merciful Prince, and afterwards to avoid being reproached to his Face for having broken his promise. I should be glad to know, whether, in strictness of Speech, a Man, who promises Life to his Enemy, performs his promise, when by his last Will he orders him to be put to Death.

(43) 1 Kings, chap. ii, ver. 6.

(44) 2 Sam. chap. xvi, ver. 5. &c.

(45) Ibid. chap. xix, ver. 19, &c.

(46) 1 Kings, chap. ii, ver. 9.

From what I have said, in this and the foregoing Remarks, it may be easily inferred, that if the *Syrians* had been such Libel-Makers, as the *Europeans* are now-a-days, they would have strangely disfigured the glory of *David*. With what Epithets, with what infamous Names would they have branded that Troop of Banditti, that came to join him, after he retired from the Court of *Saul*? The Scripture informs us, that all those who were persecuted by their Creditors, all Maleconteats, and all those who were in Distress, gathered themselves unto him, and he became their Captain (47). Nothing can be liable to a worse Construction than this. The Historians of *Catiline* and *Cæsar* would furnish Colours enough for a satirical Picture. History has preserved a small Specimen of the reproaches, to which *David* was exposed among *Saul*'s Friends. This Specimen shews they accused him of being a Man of Blood, and that they considered the revolt of *Absalom*, as a just Punishment for the Mischief, which they said he had done to *Saul*, and to all his House. I put the Words of Scripture in the Margin (48): and here follow those of *Josephus* (49): Δαβίδη δὲ γενομένῳ κατὰ χωρισμὸν ἅπαν μελέτημα τάχος ἐπήρχετο τῆ Σαοὺλ συγγενεῖ· ὅτε μὲν γὰρ Σαμεὶ τ[illegible] καὶ λιθοις τε ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐπωνυμίαις φίλων καὶ συστρατίωτων ἐτί μᾶλλον θλασφημίαν διεβάλλετο, μιαιφόνος καὶ πολλῶν ἀρχηγὸν κακῶν ἀποκαλῶν· ἀλλ' ὅτε καὶ τῆς γῆς, ἧς ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ ἐτράφθαι ἐξῆναι, καὶ τῷ θεῷ χάριν ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνων τῆς βασιλείας αὐτὸν ἀφῃρῆσθαι, καὶ διὰ παιδὸς ἰδίου τὴν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἥμαρτεν εἰς δικαιοσύνην δίκην αὐτῷ διαπεπραγμένου. Davidi vero juxta locum Bachoram supervenit cognatus Sauli nomine Semeis . . . . ixis eum simul & convitiis impetens, cumque amici eum protegerent, magis etiam exasperatus ad convitia sanguinarium & multorum malorum causam appellabat, jubens ut impurus ac execrabilis regione excederet: gratulsque agebat Deo quod per proprium filium pœnam peccatorum ab illo exigeret, & eorum quæ olim in dominum suum commiserat. —— *But a Kinsman of* Saul, *whose Name was* Shimei, *came out upon* David *near* Bahurim, ... *falling upon him at once with Stones and Curses; and as his Friends protested him, the more he reviled him, calling him a bloody Man, and the Author of much mischief, and thanked* GOD *for taking the Kingdom from him, and for making his own Son the Instrument of his Punishment, because of those things he had done against his Master.* But they exaggerated Matters: It is true, *David* according to the Testimony of GOD himself was a Man of Blood; and therefore GOD would not permit him to build the Temple (50). It is true likewise, that, to pacify the *Gibeonites*, he delivered to them two Sons, and five Grandsons of *Saul*, who were all seven hanged (51). But it is false, that he ever made an attempt, either upon the Life or the Crown of *Saul*.

(47) 1 Sam. ch. xxii, ver. 2.

(48) *The Words of* Shimei, *according to the Scriptures, are these*: Come out, come out, thou bloody man, and thou man of Belial: the Lord hath returned upon thee all the Blood of the House of *Saul*, in whose stead thou hast reigned, and the Lord hath delivered the kingdom into the hands of *Absalom* thy son, and behold thou art taken in thy mischief, because thou art a bloody man. 2 Sam. chap. xvi, ver. 7. 8.

(49) Antiq lib. 7. chap. 8. pag. 232.

(50) 1 Chron. chap xxii, ver. 8, and ch. xxviii, ver 3.

(51) 2 Sam. chap. xxi, ver. 6.

Those, who shall think it strange that I speak my Mind about some Actions of *David*, compared with natural Morality, are desired to consider three Things: I. They themselves are obliged to own, that the conduct of this Prince towards *Uriah*, is one of the greatest Crimes which can be committed. There is then only a difference of more to less between them and me: For, I agree with them, that the other Faults of this Prophet did not hinder his being filled with Piety, and a great Zeal for the glory of GOD. He was subject alternately to Passions and Grace. This is a Misfortune attending our Nature since the Fall of *Adam*. The Grace of GOD very often directed him: but on several Occasions Passion got the better: Policy silenced Religion. II. It is very allowable for private Persons, like me, to judge of Facts contained in Scripture, when they are not expressly characterized by the holy Spirit. If the Scripture in relating an Action condemns or praises it, none can appeal from this judgment; every one ought to regulate his Approbation or Censure upon the Model of Scripture. I have not acted contrary to this Rule: the Facts, upon which I have advanced my humble Opinion, are related in the holy Scripture, without any mark of Approbation affixed by the Spirit of GOD (52). III. It would be doing an injury to the Eternal Laws, and consequently to the true Religion, to give Libertines Occasion to object, that when a Man has been once inspired by GOD, we look upon his Conduct as the Rule of Manners, so that we should not dare to condemn the Actions of People, though most opposite to the notions of Equity, when such an one has done them. There is no Medium in this Case; either these Actions are not good, or Actions like them are not evil: now, since we must chuse either the one or the other, is it not better to take care of the Interests of Morality, than the glory of a private Person? Otherwise, will it not be evident, that one chuses rather to expose the Honour of GOD than that of a mortal Man?

A most important Advice upon what has been said above.

(52) I have observed, the Scripture informs us, that *David* consulted and followed the Orders of God, when he was to repel the Aggressors, 1 *Sam. chap xxiii and xxx*; but that he did not consult God, when he intended to destroy *Nabal*, nor when he was going to destroy the Neighbours of King *Achish*, and made him believe he ravaged the Dominions of *Saul's* This is a Sign God did not approve such kind of Actions.

[*K*] *I shall not observe many Faults in* Moreri.] Only five.

I. *David* was Twenty two Years of Age, when *Samuel anointed him with the Oil designed for the Consecration of Kings*. This is inconsistent with what follows, and with what goes before. That Author had been saying that *David* was born in the Year of the World 2950; and a little while after he tells us, that *David* conquered *Goliah* in the Year of the World 2971. It is plain, that the Victory over *Goliah* was obtained after the Anointing of *David*; whereas, according to *Moreri*, the Ceremony of the Unction was not performed till a Year after that Victory. To mend this Fault, it must be said, that *David* received the Unction at twenty Years of Age (53). The rest needs no correction; for it is true that *David* conquered *Goliah* the Year after his Unction.

(53) According to *Calvisius*, he was born in the Year of the World 2860, and anointed by *Samuel* in the Year of the World 2880 and he killed *Goliah* the Year after.

II. It is not true that *Saul* renewed his Persecution against *David*, when the latter had twice abstained from doing him the least Harm, having the most favourable Opportunity in the World for it. It is somewhat surprising, that the Scripture, in order to aggravate *Saul*'s Crime, does not observe that he soon repented of his Reconciliation with *David*, and that he made himself guilty of a black Ingratitude. In the

Twenty

Article of *David*, which I have just read in the Dictionary of the Bible, will supply me with Matter enough for a Remark [*L*]. I forgot to observe, that *David* ought not to be

Twenty fourth Chapter of the First Book of *Samuel*, he is informed, that *David*, having it in his Power to kill him in a Cave, would do him no kind of Harm: he admires that Generosity; he desires God to reward it; he acknowledges that the Crown is designed for *David*; he recommends his Family to him, and returns to his House. In the Twenty sixth Chapter of the same Book, he hears, that *David*, having it in his Power to kill him in the Night in his Tent, goes away without doing him any harm; he admires that Generosity; he gives *David* his Blessing; he foretels him all manner of Prosperity, and goes Home. *Moreri* pretends that these two things, so like one another, happened in one Year. I repeat it again. It is somewhat surprising, that the Scripture does not make use of the first of those two Facts, to make *Saul*'s Obstinacy in persecuting his Son in-law more odious. Two or three lines would have had a great effect: The Reader would have been shocked to see that *Saul*, indebted to his Son in law for his Life, praises him, admires him, gives him a thousand Blessings, and yet a little while after pursues him to destroy him. Doubtless the Laws of a Narration require, that, in speaking of this new Pursuit, it should be observed, that it was a Violation of that solemn Agreement that followed the Adventure of the Cave; and yet there is not one title in the Scripture concerning that Circumstance. Here are other Subjects of surprise. *David*, representing to *Saul* that he did not deserve the Persecution he suffered, and that he could have killed him in his Tent, did not represent that it was the second time he had the King's Life in his Hands, and that the King had soon forgot what had happened in the Cave. *Saul* on his part, who owns himself in the wrong, and who speaks to *David* in most obliging Terms, does not observe that it is the second time that he owes his Life to him. It must be confessed that such Circumstances do not use to be forgotten. Moreover we see that, in the first of those two Adventures, *David* and *Saul* use almost the same Words as in the second. If I saw two Narratives of this Nature either in *Ælian*, or in *Valerius Maximus*, I should make no difficulty to believe that it is one and the same Fact, which having been reported two different ways, served for the Subject of two Articles, or of two Chapters. The Fact would be this: *David*, having *Saul*'s Life in his Hands, who was his cruel Persecutor, did carefully preserve it. The two ways of relating it, would be, I. That *Saul*, being obliged by a natural necessity to go aside from his Men, went into a Cave where *David* was. II. That *David* slipt in the Night into *Saul*'s Tent, the Guards being in a deep Sleep. I leave it to Father *Simon*, and the Critics of his Rank, to examine whether it be possible, that the Historical Books of the Old Testament should relate the same thing twice. It seems to me that the Action of the *Ziphites*, related in the Twenty third Chapter of the First Book of *Samuel*, is not different from that which is related in the Twenty sixth Chapter of the same Book. Whoever goes about to compare those two Accounts, will doubtless be of my Opinion. What is very certain, is, that *Saul* did not persecute *David* after the second Reconciliation. This is *Moreri*'s second Fault.

Observations upon a Narration in the Books of *Samuel*.

The IIId consists in his saying, that *David was so well received by* Achish, *King of* Gath, *that his new Favour was like to make the Grandees rebel*. There is not one Word of Truth in all this, and I see nothing that might occasion that Falsity, but the Suspicions that were entertained of *David*, when they saw him with his Men in the Rear of the Army of the *Philistines*. The Commanders would absolutely have had him return into the City that was given him (54): There was a great Difference between those Commanders, and the Grandees of the King of *Gath*'s Court.

(54) 1 Sam. chap. 29.

IV. The pretended Discontent of the Grandees did not oblige *David* to retire from that Court. But he retired out of Respect: he feared that he and his Men should incommode the Prince by their Abode in the chief City: therefore he desired *Achish* to assign him another Place to live in, which was granted him. This happened before the Commanders of the *Philistines* required that *David* should march out of their Camp.

V. *Moreri* should not have said, that *David returned to Ziklag*, since he had not said that he had already sojourned there.

[*L*] *The Article of* DAVID *in the* Dictionary of the Bible *will supply me with Matter for a Remark.*] The Printers were come thus far, when a Dictionary was shewed me (55), which I consulted immediately at the Article of the Prophet *David*, and I find some Passages in it that give me occasion to make the following Observations. I. It is not true that *David* was born One hundred and ten Years before the Birth of JESUS CHRIST: there is above One thousand Years (56) between the Birth of the one and the Birth of the other. II He ought not to have suppressed the Incursions made by *David* on the Allies of his Patron, nor the Lye he made use of, in persuading King *Achish*, that he made them on the Lands of the *Israelites*. Neither ought he to have suppressed the unjust War he made on That People: he put to the Sword both Men and Women. It is not allowable, in a Dictionary, to imitate the Panegyrists, who take only the fair side of a Character. The Author should act the Historian; he should relate both the Good and the Bad; it is what the Scripture has done. III One cannot then approve the Affectation, which appears here, of saying nothing of *David*'s Artifices, both against *Ishbosheth*, and against *Absalom*, and of mentioning only the Wars, in which *David* was first attacked. Should not some notice have been taken of Those, in which the Scripture represents him as the Aggressor, and of the astonishing Severity with which he treated the Vanquished? IV. The Author does worse than suppress; he supposes, without the Authority of the Scripture, that *the* Syrians, *the* Ammonites, *the* Moabites, *and the other neighbouring People, attacked* David. The sacred History plainly intimates, that they only endeavoured to defend themselves, in which they failed of Success (57). V. He supposes likewise, with as little Foundation in the Scripture, that this Prince married the young Girl, who was brought to him, to endeavour to keep him warm. I could excuse him this, without injuring what I have said concerning this fine Method of reviving the natural Heat. The least rigid of our modern Casuists, I believe, would not judge it fit that an old Man, utterly incapable of consummating the Marriage, should wed a young Girl, with the sole view of warming his Feet and Hands by her Side. Without doubt, they would think him guilty of a Sin, and that he would cause his Consort to sin likewise. VI The Author strives to remove the Difficulty that is obvious to all Readers, when they consider that *Saul* did not know *David* on the Day that *Goliah* was killed; I say he strives to remove it, and intangles himself more than he should; for he says in one place (58), that *David*, being seventeen Years of Age, went to play on the Harp before *Saul*; and, in another (59), he gives him but fourteen or fifteen Years, and the Stature of a *very little Boy*. A little after, going about to refute those who say, that the Fight with *Goliah* preceeded the *playing on the Harp*, he raises a specious Objection against himself, grounded on this, *viz.* That those who proposed *David* as a fit Person to drive away, with his Music, the evil spirit that afflicted *Saul*, gave him the Character of a valiant Man and a good Warrior (60). *I answer*, says he, *that it ought not to be concluded from these two words*, Fortissimum & Bellicosum, *that the Fight was before the playing on the Harp, since the Name of strong may be given to any one that is truly so according to his Age. Is it not a sign of great Strength to pursue Bears and Lions, and to fight with and cheek them?* This Answer supposes that *David* being, as yet *very little, and a Youth of fourteen or fifteen Years of Age*, fought with Lions, took them running, and strangled them, and might be called a strong Man, a Warrior and a Man that spoke well. This Difficulty is great enough to deserve to be solved; how comes it then that our Author does not seem to have the least glimpse of it? Notwithstanding his Silence, the discerning Readers will easily perceive, that since *David* fought with *Goliah* at the Age of twenty one Years (61), he must have been near twenty Years of Age the first time he went to *Saul*'s Court. And thus the

(55) It is the *Dictionary of the Bible* composed by Mr *Simon*, Priest, and Doctor of Divinity, and printed at *Lyons*, 1693, in *folio*.

(56) 1090, *according to* Calvisius.

(57) 1 Kings, chap. 1.

(58) Pag. 249.

(59) Pag. 259.

(60) Et responderi posse unus de pueris ait, ecce vidi filium Isai Bethlemiten scientem psallere, & fortissimum robore, virum bellicosum, &c. *Ibid. pag.* 249.

(61) It is the Supposition of the Author of the Dictionary of the Bible, pag. 249.

Reason

be blamed for excluding his eldeſt Son from the Succeſſion [M].

Reaſon that our Author gives for the beſt, why *Saul* did not know *David* the Day he fought with *Goliah*, is inſignificant (61). That Reaſon is, that a little Boy alters ſo much in his Face in ſeven Years time, that thoſe who do not ſee him till after an Abſence of ſeven Years do not know him again. This is not *David*'s Caſe, and therefore ſome other Reaſons muſt be alledged. The Author mentions thoſe which ſeveral Commentators have imagined. If they do not fully ſatisfy thoſe, whom it is no eaſy thing to ſatisfy, it muſt be aſcribed to the nature of the Queſtion. VII. The Author forgets the ſtrongeſt Proof, that can be alledged, againſt thoſe who will have it that *David* was not ſent for to drive away the evil Spirit from *Saul*, till after his Fight with *Goliah*. He does not ſay that they confound the Order in which things are related in the Scripture; he does not ſay that *Saul*'s Servant, who praiſed *David* for being ſtrong, valiant, eloquent, and handſome, did not ſpeak of the Victory obtained over *Goliah*. Now it is impoſſible to apprehend that thoſe, who had a mind to recommend him to the King after that Combat, ſhould have been ſo ſtupid as not to tell the Prince, in a Word, *That ſame young Man, who killed* Goliah, *plays well upon Inſtruments, and he will cure you*.

(61) He quotes the Author of the Hiſtory of the Bible, who reckons eight Years between the firſt and the ſecond time that *Saul* ſaw *David*, and who ſuppoſes that *David* was but fifteen Years of Age the firſt time.

For fear of being too long, I ſhall not examine whether the Author has wanted Exactneſs in the reſt of the Article. He has avoided the Inconveniency which I have obſerved in the Abbot *de Choiſi*; for he ſets down the Years wherein *David* did ſuch and ſuch things.

[M] *He ought not to be blamed for excluding his eldeſt Son.*] *David* left his Kingdom to *Solomon*, in prejudice of the Right of Primogeniture; a right, which in hereditary Crowns ought to be inviolably preſerved, unleſs we would open a Door to a thouſand Civil-Wars. Nevertheleſs, *David* had very good Reaſons to ſet aſide this Right, ſince *Adonijah* his eldeſt Son had been ſo impatient to reign, that he mounted the Throne before *David*'s Breath was out of his Body (62). This good Father durſt not ſhew his reſentment againſt an Impatience, which in reality differed nothing from Uſurpation: he had always been very indulgent to his Children; and his almoſt decrepit age was not very proper to correct the eaſineſs which accompanies tender Hearts; but *Solomon*'s Mother, incited and directed by a Prophet (63), whom *Adonijah* had not invited to a Royal Feſtival (64), fruſtrated the Deſign: ſhe and the Prophet obliged *David* to declare himſelf in favour of *Solomon*, and to give all neceſſary Orders for the Inauguration of this young Prince. *Adonijah* thought he was undone, and fled for Refuge to the horns of the Altar; but *Solomon* aſſured him he would do him no hurt, provided he behaved himſelf well (65). However, he cauſed him to be put to Death, for a Reaſon that ſeems frivolous enough: I mean becauſe *Adonijah* had asked in Marriage the *Shunamite*, who had ſerved to cheriſh *David* (66). This confirms what I ſaid before, that this Royal Prophet was unfortunate in his Children. They had no natural affection, neither to him, nor one another. Here the wiſeſt of them all ſheds the Blood of his eldeſt Brother for a trifle: for, we muſt not imagine he would have put him to Death becauſe of the Irregularity of his Love. All the Sons of *David* ſhould have looked on the *Shunamite* as forbidden Fruit. Her Virginity had belonged to their Father; and he would actually have taken Poſſeſſion of it, had he been able. *Adonijah* was therefore to blame to caſt his Eyes upon this Girl; but it was not for this Reaſon his Brother killed him: it was becauſe his demand roused the Jealouſy of *Solomon*, and made him fear, that by the frequent practice of asking favours, he would ſoon bethink himſelf to make the beſt of his Birthright (67). A policy, in ſome reſpects, like that of the *Ottomans*, made him loſe his Life.

(62) 1 Kings, chap. i.

(63) *By the Prophet* Nathan.

(64) 1 Kings, chap. i, ver. 10, and 26.

(65) Ibid. ver. 51, 52.

(66) Ib. chap. ii.

(67) 1 Kings, chap. ii, ver. 25.

Some EXCEPTIONS *having been made by the Conſiſtory of the* Walloon *Church of* Rotterdam *to the preceeding Article of* DAVID, *as it was drawn up in the firſt Edition of this Dictionary*; *Mr* BAYLE, *in compliance to the Deſire of the Conſiſtory, left out, in the ſecond Edition, what he conceived had been diſagreeable, and printed it in the following manner.* (*We have inſerted both, as the ſame has been done in the ſubſequent Editions*; viz. *at* Geneva 1715, Rotterdam 1720, Amſterdam 1730, *and in* France 1734.)

DAVID, King of the *Jews*, was one of the greateſt Men in the World, even tho' we ſhould not conſider him as a Royal Prophet, who was after GOD's own Heart. The firſt time that the Scripture makes him appear on the Stage of the World (a), is to inform us that *Samuel* appointed him King, and performed the Ceremony of anointing him. *David* was then but a meer Shepherd. He was the youngeſt of the eight Sons of *Jeſſe* the *Bethlehemite* [A]. Afterwards the Scripture tells us, that he was ſent to King

(a) 1 Sam xvi, 13.

[A] *He was the youngeſt of the Sons of* Jeſſe *the* Bethlehemite.] *Jeſſe* deſcended in a direct Line from *Judah*, one of the twelve Sons of *Jacob*, and dwelt at *Bethlehem*, a ſmall City of the Tribe of *Judah*. Some Modern *Rabbins* ſay, that, when *David* was conceived, his Father *Jeſſe* did not think that he lay with his Wife, but with his Servant Maid, and thereby explain the ſeventh verſe of the Fifty firſt Pſalm, wherein *David* affirms, that *he was ſhapen in Iniquity, and that his Mother conceived him in Sin*. This, ſay they, ſignifies that *his Father* Jeſſe *committed an Adultery in begetting him, becauſe, though he begot him on his Wife, he believed that he begot him on his Servant Maid, upon whoſe Chaſtity he had made an Attempt* (1). This Explication does not well agree with the Doctrine of Original Sin, and for that reaſon Father *Bartolocci* (2), having mentioned that Opinion of the Modern *Rabbins*, thought himſelf obliged to examine whether the ancient Jews acknowledged the Truth of that Doctrine. If the Suppoſition of thoſe *Rabbins* was true, they would be in the right to ſay, that *Jeſſe* had committed Adultery; but on the other ſide it muſt be ſaid, that he would not have been guilty of it, if, ſincerely believing that he was enjoying his Wife, he had got his Servant Maid with Child. This Rabbinical Suppoſition is very different from the Tradition mentioned by St *Jerom*. He ſays, that it was believed that *Jeſſe*, the Father of *David*, did never commit any actual Sin, and that there was no kind of Uncleanneſs in him but what he brought from his Mother's Womb. ' Mirum eſt quod de Iſai patre Davidis re-
' fert Hieronymus, illum nunquam aliud peccatum
' commiſiſſe quam quod ex origine contraxit. Quo
' enim loco legimus: *Amaſa* † *ingreſſus eſt ad Abigail*
' *filiam Naas ſororem Sarviæ*; ſic Hieronymus ‡, *Naas*
' *interpretatur colubet, quia eum nullum admiſiſſe mon-*
' *ſtrorum perhibent peccatum, niſi quod originaliter de*
' *ſerpente antiquo contraxit. Eſt autem Naas qui &*
' *Iſai pater Davidi.* Eamdem traditionem refert Abu-
' lenſis ‡; & monet Naas eumdem eſſe qui & Jeſſe
' ſive Iſai patrem Davidis, quod quidem & antea Lira-
' nus * docuerat (3). —— St Jerom *relates ſomething very ſingular of* Jeſſe, *Father of* David, *that he never was guilty of any Sin, except that which is called Original. For when we read, that Amaſa* went in to *Abigail*, the Daughter of *Nahaſh*, Siſter to *Zeruiah*; *Thou St* Jerom *interprets it: Nahaſh* ſignifies a Serpent; for it is ſaid, that he never committed any deadly Sin, but what he originally contracted from the old Serpent, and *Nahaſh* is the ſame with *Jeſſe* ' *David's*

(1) *See the* Journal des Sçavans, July 14, 1692, pag. 405, Dutch Edit.

(2) In *Bibliotheca magna Rabbinica*, Part. II, pag. 4, apud *Journal des Sçavans*, ibid.

† Lib. II, Reg. 17, 25.

‡ Hieron. Trad. Heb. in lib. 2. Reg. cap. 17.

‡ Toſtat. 2. Reg. 17, Queſt. 27.

* Liran. ibid.

(3) *They are Father* Camart's *Words*, pag. 126, 127, de rebus geſtis Eliæ.

King *Saul* (*b*), to cure him of his Fits of Frenzy, by the Sound of his Musical Instruments [*B*]. A Service of that Importance made him so much beloved by *Saul*, that he kept him in his House, and made him his Armour-Bearer (*c*). The Scripture says afterwards (*d*), that *David* used to go home from time to time to take care of his Father's Flocks, and that his Father sent him one Day to *Saul*'s Camp, with some Provisions for three of his Sons that were in the Army. *David*, performing that Order, heard the Challenge that a *Philistine*, called *Goliah*, proud of his Strength and gigantic Stature, made daily to the *Israelites*, which none among them durst to accept. He expressed his great Desire to fight that Giant; whereupon he was brought to the King, and assured him that he should triumph over That *Philistine*. *Saul* gave him his Armour; but *David*, finding it troublesome, put it off, and resolved to make use only of his Sling; which he did so happily, that he brought down that Swaggerer with a Stone (*e*), and killed him afterwards with his own Sword, and cut off his Head, which he presented to *Saul* [*C*]. That Prince asked his General, when he saw *David* go against *Goliah*, *Whose Son is this Youth* (*f*) [*D*]? The General answered, that he did not know, and received Orders from *Saul* to enquire about it: but *Saul* heard it himself from that young Man; for, being brought to him after the Victory, he asked him, *Whose Son art thou?* and *David* answered him, that he was the Son of *Jesse* (*g*). Then *Saul* kept him in his Service, without suffering him to return to his Father (*h*). But because the Songs, that were sung in all the Cities, on the Defeat of the *Philistines*, ascribed ten times more Glory to *David* than to *Saul* (*i*), the King conceived a violent Jealousy, which increased daily, because the Employments, that he gave to *David* to keep him from Court, served only to make him more illustrious, and to procure him the Affection and Admiration of the *Jews*. By a false Policy he would make him his Son-in-law: he was in hopes that the Condition, on which he was to give him his second Daughter, would deliver him from that Object of his Aversion; but he was deceived in his Cunning. He asked an hundred Foreskins of the *Philistines* for his Daughter's Dowry; *David* brought him two hundred in full tale (*k*): So that, instead of perishing in the Enterprize, as *Saul* hoped, he returned with a new Addition of Glory. He married *Saul*'s Daughter, whereby he became

(*b*) Ibid. ver. 20.

(*c*) Ibid. ver. 21.

(*d*) Ibid. chap. xvii, ver. 15.

(*e*) Ibid. ver. 49, 50.

(*f*) Ibid. ver. 55.

(*g*) Ib. ver. 58.

(*h*) Ibid. chap. xviii, ver. 2.

(*i*) And the Women answered one another, as they played, and said, *Saul hath slain his Thousands, and David his Ten Thousands*. Ib. ver. 7.

(*k*) Ibid. ver. 27.

' *David*'s Father. Abulensis *relates the same Tradition*, ' *and* observes, that *Nahash* was the same with *Isai* or *Jesse* ' *David*'s Father; which *Liranus* had already observed.' For the rest, those, who would adopt the Impertinence of the *Rabbins* concerning *David*'s Conception, might easily admit another impertinent thing, which would be to place *David* in the number of illustrious Bastards. The Physical Reason, that is alledged, why Bastards are born so often with such great Natural Talents, might take place here on the Father's Part.

(4) *That Book is mentioned*, Precetti da esser imparati dal e donne Ebree. *See above, Rem.* [*A*] *of the Article* AARODON.

I have just now read an *Italian* Book (4), wherein this Story of the *Rabbins* is related in this manner. *David*'s Father loved his Servant Maid, and after having cajolled her several times, he told her at last, that she should prepare her self to lie with him that Night. She, being no less virtuous than beautiful, complained to her Mistress, that she could not be quiet for *Jesse*'s Sollicitations. *Che non poteva haver riposo, rispetto che il patrone continuamente la tentava per far la giacere una notte con lui* (5). Promise him to satisfy him this Night, answered her Mistress, and I will put my self in your place. This was done two or three Nights one after another. When *Jesse* perceived that his Wife, with whom he had not lain a long time, was nevertheless with Child, he accused her of Adultery, and would not believe what she told him of the Agreement she made with her Maid. Neither he nor his Sons would see the Child she brought into the World, but looked upon him as a Bastard; he treated her with the utmost Scorn, and caused the Child to be brought up among the Shepherds in the Country. He did not reveal this Mystery to his Neighbours, but concealed his Shame for his Childrens sake. Things remained in that state, till the Prophet *Samuel* went to look for a King in the Family of *Jesse*. His Choice not falling on any of the Sons that were shewed him, *David* was sent for: it was done with Reluctancy, because they feared that a shameful Secret would be discovered (6); but when they found that this pretended Bastard was the Person that the Prophet looked for, their Thoughts were altered, and nothing was heard but fine Songs. *David* began with a *Te Deum*; he praised God that he had heard his Prayers, and delivered him from the Scandal of Bastardy. *Jesse* went on and said; *the Stone that the Builders have refused, is become the Corner Stone, that shall support all the House*. His other Sons, *Samuel*, &c. spoke also some Sentences. The *Rabbi* adds, that *Jesse*'s Design was good, his Wife was old, and his Maid was young, and he desired to get more Children. *Il pensiero d'Isai era buono perche essendo la patrona vecchia, e la massera giovane, haveva desiderio di haver altri figlivoli* (7). A fine Apology this! If such Excuses would do, what a multitude of lewd Women would be secured from Censure! Was there ever any Doctrine about the direction of the Intention more convenient than this?

(5) Precetti da esser imparati, cap. 100, pag. 67.

(6) Ancora che Isai non lo facesse con buona volunta dubitando che si publicasse sua vergogna. *Ibid.* pag. 68.

(7) Ib. pag. 69.

[*B*] *He was sent to King* Saul *to cure him of his Fits of Frenzy, by the sound of his Musical Instruments.*] Many things might be said on this Subject; but I refer you to the Collection of *Caspar Laetiberus*, Professor of Divinity at *Wittemberg*. Consult his *Dissertatio Historico-Theologica de Saule per Musicam Curato*. It was printed at *Wittemberg* in the Year 1688.

[*C*] *He killed* Goliah *with his own Sword, and cut off his Head, which he presented to* Saul.] *Goliah*'s Weapons were preserved as a Monument of the Glory of the *Israelites*. *David* carried them first into his Tent (8); but it is likely they were afterwards in a consecrated Place; for we read (9) that *David*, having asked the Priest *Abimelech* whether he had not a Spear or Sword for him, that Priest answered him: *the Sword of* Goliah *is here wrapped up in a Cloth behind the* Ephod; *if thou wilt take that, take it.* *David* caused it to be given him. As for the Head of *Goliah*, it was carried to *Jerusalem* (10), when *David* had chosen that City for the Capital of his Kingdom. *Josephus* says positively, that *David* himself consecrated *Goliah*'s Sword to God (11).

(8) 1 Sam. xli, 54.

(9) Ibid. chap. xxi, ver. 8, 9.

(10) Ibid. cap. xvii, ver. 54.

(11) Joseph. *Antiq.* lib. 6, cap. 12, & 14.

[*D*] Saul *asked his General — whose Son is this Youth?*] It is somewhat strange that *Saul* did not know *David* that Day, since that young Man had played several times on his Musical Instruments before him, to disperse those black Vapours that molested him. If such a Narrative as this should be found in *Thucydides*, or in *Livy*, all the Critics would unanimously conclude, that the Transcribers had transposed the Pages, forgot something in one Place, repeated something in another, or inserted some preposterous Additions in the Author's Work. But no such Suspicions ought to be entertained of the Bible. Nevertheless some have been so bold as to pretend, that all the Chapters, or all the Verses of the first Book of *Samuel*, are not placed as they were at first. It seems to me that the Abbot *de Choisi* removes the Difficulty much better. ' *David* was brought be- ' fore *Saul*, says he (12), who did not know him at ' first, though he had seen him several times, when he ' sent for him to play on the *Harp*: but as this was ' many Years before, and *David* was very young, and ' came to Court in the Quality of a Musician, and ' was then dressed like a Shepherd, it can be no ' wonder

(12) Choisi, *Histoire de la Vie de David*, pag. 8, 9, Dutch Edit. 1692.

became ſtill more formidable to the King (*l*): all his Expeditions againſt the *Philiſtines* were very proſperous; his Name grew famous; he was in very great Eſteem (*m*); inſomuch that *Saul*, who knew his Son-in-law's Virtue much leſs, than the Humour of the People, imagined that the Death of *David* was the only thing that could ſecure him from being dethroned. He reſolved then to be rid of him, and truſted his eldeſt Son with that Deſign, who, far from ſiding with his Father's Jealouſy, gave *David* notice of that black Conſpiracy (*n*). *David* fled, and was purſued from Place to Place, till he had given undeniable Proofs of his Probity and Fidelity to his Father-in-law, to whom he did no manner of harm on two favourable Opportunities (*o*), wherein he might eaſily have killed him; upon which *Saul* reſolved to let him alone. But as *David* feared this Prince might reſume his wicked Deſigns, he ſtill kept upon his Guard. Nay, he provided himſelf a ſafer Place of Refuge, than before, in the Land of the *Philiſtines* (*p*). He aſked of the King of *Gath* a Town to dwell in, from whence he made frequent Incurſions into the Countries round about. After the Death of *Saul*, he returned into *Judea*, and was there proclaimed King by the Tribe of *Judah* (*q*). Nevertheleſs, the other Tribes ſubmitted to *Iſhboſheth*, the Son of *Saul*, which was effected by *Abner*'s Fidelity (*r*). *Abner*, who had been General of the *Army* under King *Saul*, placed *Iſhboſheth* upon the Throne, and ſupported him on it againſt the Attempts of *David*: but being full of Reſentment, becauſe *Iſhboſheth* reproved him for having taken one of *Saul*'s Concubines (*s*), he entered into a Treaty with *David* to procure him the Kingdom of *Iſhboſheth*. The Negociation would have been ſoon concluded, to the Satisfaction of *David*, if *Joab* (*t*), to revenge a private Quarrel, had not killed *Abner*. The Death of *Abner* only haſtened the Ruin of the unfortunate *Iſhboſheth*. Two of his chief Captains ſlew him, and brought his Head to *David*, who, far from rewarding them for it, as they expected, ordered them both to be put to death (*u*). The Subjects of *Iſhboſheth* quickly ſubmitted themſelves to *David*. This Prince had reigned ſeven Years and a half over the Tribe of *Judah*: afterwards he reigned about thirty Years over all *Iſrael* (*x*). This long Reign was remarkable for great Succeſs, and glorious Conqueſts. It was not much diſturbed but by the wicked Attempts of this Prince's own Children [*E*]. Theſe are commonly the Enemies which Sovereigns have moſt reaſon to fear. *David* was very near being reduced to the low Condition, in which *Samuel* found him. Humanly ſpeaking, this Reverſe of Fortune would have been unavoidable [*F*], if he had not found ſome Perſons about his Son *Abſalom*, who acted the Part of Traitors (*y*). *David*'s Piety is ſo conſpicuous in his *Pſalms*, and in many of his Actions, that we cannot ſufficiently admire it. He is a Sun of Holineſs in the Church: he there diffuſes, by his Writings, a fruitful Light of Conſolation and Piety, which cannot be enough admired; but that Sun had it's Spots [*G*]. The Life of that great Prince, publiſhed by the Abbot *de Choiſi*, is a good Book, and would be much more uſeful, if he had taken the Pains to ſet down in the Margin the Year of

(*l*) Ibid. ver. 29.

(*m*) Ibid. ver. 30.

(*n*) Ibid. chap. xix, ver. 1, 2.

(*o*) Ibid. chap. xxiv, and xxvi.

(*p*) Ibid. chap. xxvii.

(*q*) 2 Sam. chap. ii, ver. 4.

(*r*) Ibid. ver. 8.

(*s*) Ib. chap. iii.

(*t*) He was General of *David*'s Army.

(*u*) 2 Sam. chap. iv.

(*x*) Ibid. chap. v, ver. 5.

(*y*) Ibid. chap. xv, ver. 34, &c.

* wonder that a King, full of Buſineſs, and whoſe Mind * was diſtempered, ſhould forget the Features of a * young Man's Face, who had nothing conſiderable in * him." I only wiſh he had not ſaid, I. That *Saul* had not ſeen *David* for many Years. II. That *David was very young* when he came to *Saul*'s Court in the Quality of a Muſician. There is no likelihood that he was much younger when he killed *Goliah*, than when he came the firſt time to *Saul*'s Court; for when he made his firſt Journey, he *was a mighty valiant Man, and a Man of War, and prudent in Matters* (13); he was but Thirty Years of Age, when he was elected King after the Death of *Saul*: and there muſt be neceſſarily an Interval of many Years between the Death of *Goliah*, and that of *Saul*. See the Remark, wherein I criticize *Meteri*, and the Remark [*I*].

(13) 1 Sam. xvi, 18.

[*F*] *His Reign was not diſturbed, but by the wicked Attempts of his own Children.*] The moſt remarkable of their wicked Attempts, was the Revolt of *Abſalom*, who forced this great Prince to fly from *Jeruſalem* in a mournful Condition. He went with his Head covered, bare-footed, melting in Tears, and his Ears filled with the Lamentations of his faithful Subjects (14). *Abſalom* entered *Jeruſalem* as in Triumph; and, that his Party might not abate of their Zeal, from a Notion that this Difference between Father and Son would be made up, he did one thing ſufficient to make them believe he ſhould never be reconciled to *David*. He lay with the ten Concubines of This Prince, in the ſight of every body (15). It is very likely, this Crime would have been forgiven: the extreme Affliction, into which his Death threw *David*, is a Proof of it. *David* was the beſt Father that ever lived: his Indulgence to his Children was exceſſive, and he himſelf was the firſt that ſuffered for it. For, had he puniſhed the infamous Action of his Son *Amnon*, as it deſerved (16), he would not have had the Shame and Sorrow to ſee another revenge the Injury done to *Tamar*: and had he chaſtized, as he ought, the Perſon who revenged this Injury, he would not have run the hazzard of being entirely dethroned. *David* had the Fate of the moſt part of great Princes: he was unfortunate in his own Family. His eldeſt Son raviſhed his own Siſter, and was killed by one of his Brothers for that Inceſt: the Author of this Fratricide lay with the Concubines of *David*.

(14) 2 Sam. chap. xv.

(15) Ibid. chap. xvi.

(16) He raviſhed *Tamar*, and was killed for this Crime by the Order of *Abſalom*, who was *Tamar*'s own Brother, both by Father and Mother. *Ibid. chap. xiii.*

[*G*] David *was a Sun of Holineſs in the Church of* GOD ---- *but that Sun had it's Spots.*] The numbering of the People was a thing which GOD looked upon as a great Sin (17). His Amour with the Wife of *Uriah*, and the Orders he gave to cauſe the ſame *Uriah* to be killed (18), are two very enormous Crimes. But he was ſo troubled for them, and attoned by ſo

(17) 2 Sam. chap. xxiv.

(18) Ibid. chap. xi.

admirable

of each Fact, and the Places of the Bible, or *Josephus*, upon which he grounds his Assertions. A Reader would be glad to know, whether what he reads flows from a sacred or a prophane Source. I shall not observe many Faults in *Moreri* [*H*]. The Article of *David*, which I have just read in the Dictionary of the Bible, will supply me with Matter enough for a Remark [*I*].

admirable a Repentance, that this Passage of his Life does not a little contribute to the Instruction and Edification of faithful Souls. We learn by it the Frailty of the Saints, and it is a Precept for Vigilance: We may learn thereby in what manner to lament our Sins, and it is an excellent Example. As to the Remarks, which some Critics would make, to shew that in some other Actions of his Life he deserved to be much blamed, I suppress them in this Edition, and with the more Pleasure, because some Persons, who are much more knowing in these kind of Matters than I, have assured me that all those Clouds of Objections are easily dispersed when it is remembred: I. That he was King by Divine Right during the Life of *Saul*, II. That he had with him the High Priest, who consulted GOD to know what was to be done. III. That the Order given to *Joshua*, to exterminate the Idolaters of *Palestine*, was still subsisting. IV. That many other Circumstances drawn from Scripture may convince us of *David*'s Innocence in a Conduct, which considered in general seems to be an ill one, and which would be so at this time.

[*H*] *I shall not observe many Faults in* Moreri.] Only five.

I. *David* was Twenty two Years of Age, when *Samuel anointed him with the Oil designed for the Consecration of Kings*. This is inconsistent with what follows, and with what goes before. That Author had been saying that *David* was born in the Year of the World 2950; and a little while after he tells us, that *David* conquered *Goliah* in the Year of the World 2971. It is plain, that the Victory over *Goliah* was obtained after the Anointing of *David*; whereas, according to *Moreri*, the Ceremony of the Unction was not performed till a Year after that Victory. To mend this Fault, it must be said, that *David* received the Unction at twenty Years of Age (19). The rest needs no correction; for it is true that *David* conquered *Goliah*, the Year after his Unction

(19) According to *Josephus*, he was born in the Year of the World 2860, and anointed by *Samuel* in the Year of the World 2880, and he killed *Goliah* the Year after.

II. It is not true that *Saul* renewed his Persecution against *David*, when the latter had twice abstained from doing him the least Harm, having the most favourable Opportunity in the World for it. It is somewhat surprising, that the Scripture, in order to aggravate *Saul*'s Crime, does not observe that he soon repented of his Reconciliation with *David*, and that he made himself guilty of a black Ingratitude. In the Twenty fourth Chapter of the First Book of *Samuel*, he is informed, that *David*, having it in his Power to kill him in a Cave, would do him no kind of Harm: he admires that Generosity; he desires GOD to reward it; he acknowledges that the Crown is designed for *David*; he recommends his Family to him, and returns to his House. In the Twenty sixth Chapter of the same Book, he hears, that *David*, having it in his Power to kill him in the Night in his Tent, goes away without doing him any harm; he admires that Generosity; he gives *David* his Blessing; he foretels him all manner of Prosperity, and goes Home. *Moreri* pretends that these two things, so like one another, happened in one Year. I repeat it again. It is somewhat surprising, that the Scripture does not make use of the first of those two Facts, to make *Saul*'s Obstinacy in persecuting his Son-in-law more odious. Two or three lines would have had a great effect: The Reader would have been shocked to see that *Saul*, indebted to his Son in law for his Life, praises him, admires him, gives him a thousand Blessings, and yet a little while after pursues him to destroy him. Doubtless the Laws of a Narration require, that, in speaking of this new Pursuit, it should be observed, that it was a Violation of that solemn Agreement that followed the Adventure of the Cave; and yet there is not one tittle in the Scripture concerning that Circumstance. Here are other Subjects of surprise. *David*, representing to *Saul* that he did not deserve the Persecution he suffered, and that he could have killed him in his Tent, did not represent that it was the second time he had the King's Life in his Hands, and that the King had soon forgot what had happened in the Cave. *Saul* on his part, who owns himself in the wrong, and who speaks to *David* in most obliging Terms, does not observe that it is the second time that he owes his Life to him. It must be confessed that such Circumstances do not use to be forgotten. Moreover we see that, in the first of those two Adventures, *David* and *Saul* use almost the same Words as in the second. If I saw two Narratives of this Nature either in *Ælian*, or in *Valerius Maximus*, I should make no difficulty to believe that it is one and the same Fact, which having been reported two different ways, served for the Subject of two Articles, or of two Chapters. The Fact would be this: *David*, having *Saul*'s Life in his Hands, who was his cruel Persecutor, did carefully preserve it. The two ways of relating it, would be, I. That *Saul*, being obliged by a natural necessity to go aside from his Men, went into a Cave where *David* was. II. That *David* slipt in the Night into *Saul*'s Tent, the Guards being in a deep Sleep. I leave it to Father *Simon*, and the Critics of his Rank, to examine whether it be possible, that the Historical Books of the Old Testament should relate the same thing twice. It seems to me that the Action of the *Ziphites*, related in the Twenty third Chapter of the First Book of *Samuel*, is not different from that which is related in the Twenty sixth Chapter of the same Book. Whoever goes about to compare those two Accounts, will doubtless be of my Opinion. What is very certain, is, that *Saul* did not persecute *David* after the second Reconciliation. This is *Moreri*'s second Fault.

Observations upon a Narration in the Books of *Samuel*.

The IIId consists in his saying, that *David was so well received by* Achish, *King of* Gath, *that his new Favour was like to make the Grandees rebel*. There is not one Word of Truth in all this, and I see nothing that might occasion that Falsity, but the Suspicions that were entertained of *David*, when they saw him with his Men in the Rear of the Army of the *Philistines*. The Commanders would absolutely have had him return into the City that was given him (20). There was a great Difference between those Commanders, and the Grandees of the King of Gath's Court.

(20) 1 Sam. chap. 29.

IV. The pretended Discontent of the Grandees did not oblige *David* to retire from that Court. But he retired out of Respect: he feared that he and his Men should incommode the Prince by their Abode in the chief City: therefore he desired *Achish* to assign him another Place to live in, which was granted him. This happened before the Commanders of the *Philistines* required that *David* should march out of their Camp.

V. *Moreri* should not have said, that *David returned to Ziklag*, since he had not said that he had already sojourned there.

[*I*] *The Article of* DAVID *in the* Dictionary of the Bible *will supply me with Matter for a Remark.*] The Printers were come thus far, when a Dictionary was shewed me (21), which I consulted immediately at the Article of the Prophet *David*, and I find some Passages in it that give me occasion to make the following Observations. I. It is not true that *David* was born One hundred and ten Years before the Birth of JESUS CHRIST: there is above One thousand Years (22) between the Birth of the one and the Birth of the other. II. The Author strives to remove the Difficulty that is obvious to all Readers, when they consider that *Saul* did not know *David* on the Day that *Goliah* was killed; I say he strives to remove it, and intangles himself more than he should; for he says in one place (23), that *David*, being seventeen Years of Age, went to play on the Harp before *Saul*; and, in another (24), he gives him but fourteen or fifteen Years, and the Stature of a *very little Boy*. A little after, going about to refute those who say, that the Fight with *Goliah* preceeded the *playing on the Harp*, he raises a specious Objection against himself, grounded on this, *viz.* That those who proposed *David* as a fit Person to drive away, with his Music, the evil spirit that afflicted *Saul*, gave him the Character of a valiant Man and a good Warrior (25). *I answer*, says he, *that it ought not to be concluded from these two words*, Fortissimum & Bellicosum, *that the Fight was before the playing on the Harp, since the Name of strong may be given to any one that is truly so according to his Age. Is it not a sign of great Strength to*

(21) It is the *Dictionary of the Bible* composed by Mr *Simon*, Priest, and Doctor of Divinity, and printed at *Lyons*, 1693, *in folio*.

(22) 1090, *according to* Calvisius.

(23) Pag. 249.

(24) Pag. 259.

(25) Et respondens unus de pueris ait, ecce vidi filium Isai Bethlemitem sciente psallere, & fortissimum robore, virum bellicosum, &c. *Ibid. pag.* 249.

to pursue Bears and Lions, and to fight with and choak them? This Answer supposes that *David* being, as yet *very little, and a Youth of fourteen or fifteen Years of Age*, fought with Lions, took them running, and strangled them, and might be called a strong Man, a Warrior and a Man that spoke well. This Difficulty is great enough to deserve to be solved; how comes it then that our Author does not seem to have the least glimpse of it? Notwithstanding his Silence, the discerning Readers will easily perceive, that since *David* fought with *Goliah* at the Age of twenty one Years (60), he must have been near twenty Years of Age the first time he went to *Saul's* Court. And thus the Reason that our Author gives for the Best, why *Saul* did not know *David* the Day he fought with *Goliah*, is insignificant (61). That Reason is, that a little Boy alters so much in his Face in seven Years time, that those who do not see him till after an Absence of seven Years do not know him again. This is not *David's* Case, and therefore some other Reasons must be alledged. The Author mentions those which several Commentators have imagined. If they do not fully satisfy those, whom it is no easy thing to satisfy, it must be ascribed to the nature of the Question. III. The Author forgets the strongest Proof, that can be alledged, against those who will have it that *David* was not sent for to drive away the evil Spirit from *Saul*, till after his Fight with *Goliah*. He does not say that they confound the Order in which things are related in the Scripture; he does not say that *Saul's* Servant, who praised *David* for being strong, valiant, eloquent, and handsome, did not speak of the Victory obtained over *Goliah*. Now it is impossible to apprehend that those, who had a mind to recommend him to the King after that Combat, should have been so stupid as not to tell the Prince, in a Word, *That same young Man, who killed* Goliah, *plays well upon Instruments, and he will cure you.*

(60) It is the Supposition of the Author of the Dictionary of the Bible, pag. 249.

(61) He quotes the Author of the History of the Bible, who reckons eight Years between the first and the second time that *Saul* saw *David*, and who supposes that *David* was but fifteen Years of Age the first time.

For fear of being too long, I shall not examine whether the Author has wanted Exactness in the rest of the Article. He has avoided the Inconveniency which I have observed in the Abbot *de Choisi*; for he sets down the Years wherein *David* did such and such things.

DAURAT (*a*) (JOHN), in *Latin Auratus*, a learned Humanist, and a very good Poet, was a *Limosin* [*A*], and of an ancient Family. It is said, that he left his Family-Name [*B*], to take another, which occasioned a great many Puns [*C*]. Being gone to the chief City of the Kingdom (*b*), to finish his Studies, he made an extraordinary Progress in Learning, and distinguished himself in such a manner by his Knowledge of the *Greek* Tongue, and his Genius for Poetry, that he became one of the Professors of the University of *Paris*. He is said to have succeeded *John Stracellus*, in the Year 1560, in the Office of the King's Reader, and Professor of the *Greek* Tongue (*c*); but before that

(*a*) *He is also called* Aurat. d'Aurat, Dorat.

(*b*) Papyr. Masso in Elog. Jo. Aurati.

(*c*) Du Breul, Antiq. de Paris, pag. m. 565.

[*A*] *He was a* Limosin.] *Thuanus, la Croix du Maine, du Verdier*, Mr *Menage*, and several others make him a Native of *Limoges*. It may be question'd whether they are well grounded, since *Papyrius Masso* says, he was born near the Head of the *Vienne* (1). If he was born in the chief City of *Limosin*, I do not think that his Friends, in their Encomiums upon him, would have assign'd, for the Place of his Birth, a Village, which they do not so much as name.

(1) Papyr. Masso, in Elogio Jo. Aurati.

[*B*] *Of an ancient Family; whose Name, they say, he quitted.*] He was of the Family of *Dinemandi* and *Bremondais* (2). It is said (3), that the Name *Dinemandi* signifying, in the Language of the Country, *Disne matin*, (a Morning-Dinner) and having something mean in it, (4) did not please him, and that he chang'd it into that of *Daurat*, which signifies in *Gascon* the same thing as the French word *doré* (*gilded*), and was formerly given to one of his Ancestors, because of his light Hair. Others pretend, that our Poet took that new Name, because the Place of his Birth was situated on the little River *Aurance* (5). Mr *Menage* informs me, that *Daurat's* Mother was of the Family of *Bermondet* (6); and therefore *la Croix du Maine* is wrong, who calls it *Bremondais*. *Naudé* does not forget our *Daurat*, when he speaks (7) of those, who changed their family Names: *Illud — pro Joanne Mansfio, Auratum — exhibet.* Mr *Menage* denotes *Daurat* under the Name of *Ornithophagus*, in his Metamorphosis of *Gargilius Macro*. See hereafter the Remark [*D*] of the Article GOULU (NICHOLAS).

(2) La Croix du Maine Bibliot. pag. 201.

(3) Menage, Remarq. sur la vie d'Ayrault, pag. 280. Baillet, Auteurs deguisés, pag. 155.

(4) Viz. *The Custom of dining too soon.*

(5) Coulon, Rivieres de France, Paris, 8. pag. 343.

(6) Menage, ubi supra, pag. 286. 499.

(7) Naud. Præf. in Opusc. Niphi.

[*C*] *To take another Name, which occasioned a great many Puns.*] They could not fail of it in an Age, wherein Equivocations, Quibbles, and Puns, were in Fashion; but now they are quite out of Doors. We find in *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* (8) a Sonnet full of Gilding, or Allusions to Gold, in Honour of *John Dorat*. The Learned *Francis Hotman* thought, without doubt, that he had met with a happy Turn, when he made this Distich against him:

(8) Bibl. pag. 685, 686.

Ex solido esse prius vulgus quem credidit auro,
Extorsum auratus, plumbeus intus erat. (9).

He, whom Mankind pure Gold *esteem'd before,*
Proves but a lump of Lead *just* gilded *o'er.*

(9) Matagonis de Matagonibus ad Italogallum Matharelli, pag. m. 248.

Neither *Daurat*, nor his Disciple *Ronsard*, found their Account in turning their Muses against the Protestants; the Match was not even. *Daurat*, using a very mean Metaphor, writ against the Frogs of the great Lake of *Geneva*, and compared them to the Frogs mentioned in the *Revelation*. Wisely done, indeed, to mention to them the *Revelation!* The Protestants feigned, among other Things, in their Answer, that their Frogs, instead of croaking, cried out, AU RAT, AU RAT, *de Limouzin*, (the word *Rat* is an allusion to *Daurat*), and complained of the RONSES (*Briars*) of *Vandomois* (10). (*Ronses* is an Allusion to *Ronsard*.) They returned also his abuse in Specie, for they call'd him the *Limosin* Frog. (11) *Hotman* calls him *Turnip-eater* (§ *a*). 'Vidi multos, *says he* '(12), qui dicebant quod illa carmina melius valebant 'aureum quam omnia poëtastrorum epigrammata in 'fine tui libri posita duos denarios, etiam sine excipi- 'endo suum vicinum Lemovicem raphanophagum Joh. 'Auratum. —— *I have seen many*, says he, *who maintained, those Verses were better worth a piece of Gold, than all the Pettasters Epigrams, placed at the end of your Book, were worth two Pence, not excepting those of their Neighbour John Daurat, the Turnip-Eater of Limosin.*' I cannot tell whether *Daurat* ever put into Verse the Answer that he made use of against a Minister of *Geneva*, who had told him, *that the sign of the Cross, which the* Catholics *make, seems to be intended to drive away the Flies. Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, who relates (13) that Answer (14) with great Approbation, pretends that *Daurat*, coming through *Geneva*, in his Return from *Italy*, was solliciled to embrace *Calvinism*, and that they promised him *a good Salary, but that he could not use himself to that Doctrine.* Doubtless it was after that Journey, that he wrote that Poem, that drew a shower of Allusions upon him.

(10) *See* Garasse, Doctrine Curieuse, pag. 127.

(11) Le Labourer, *Additions to* Castelnau, Tom. 2. pag. 674.

(12) Ubi supra, pag. 247.

(13) Prosopographie, Tom. III. pag. 2575.

(14) *It turns upon this, that* Beelzebub *signifies* Prince of the Flies.

[§ *a*] The Word *Raphanophagus*, used by *Francis Hotman*, ought to be rendered by *mâche-rabe (Turnip-Eater)* which is the nick-name of the People of the Country of *Limoges*, particularly the Peasants, such as *Daurat*, to judge of this Man by his rustic outside. *The Devil take this Turnip-Eater* (mâche-rabe) says *Pantagruel*, in *Rabelais*, book 2. chap. 6. speaking of a School-Boy of *Limoges*, who *bebit his breeches*, whilst That Giant was preparing to devour him. We know besides the *Magnificat* of the Peasants of *Limoges*: 'Monsiour S. Marsau nostre bon fondatour, Prega 'pour nous nostre Seignour, qu'il nous veuille bien 'garda nostra raba, nostra caftagna, nostra fama. Al- 'leluia. *i. e. Monsr. St Marsau, our good Founder, pray 'for us to our Lord, that he will be pleased to preserve 'our Turnips, our Chesnuts, and our Wives. Alleluia.*' As the Peasants of *Limoges* are very poor, and, for want of Corn, feed upon a sort of Turnips, or large Navews, which they give themselves not even time to boil, hence came this Nick-name, which reproaches these poor People with their Poverty, and the ill Blasts one is exposed to, when near them. *John de la Bruiere-Champier, lib. 9. cap. 2.* of his Book *De re cibaria*, where

that time he had been Principal of the College of *Coqueret* (*d*), after he had been Tutor to *John Antony de Baif*, at his Father *Lazarus de Baif*'s House, who was Master of the Requests. He continued to instruct his Pupil in the College of *Coqueret*, and there also the famous *Ronsard* was seven Years his Scholar (*e*). It is a just and glorious Encomium upon *Daurat*, that a great Number of learned Men came out of his School (*f*). He had a good Method of teaching, and his rustic and disagreeable Aspect [*D*] did not stop the Success of his Lectures. He was accessible to every body, he loved witty Sayings, and even gave sometimes great Entertainments, appearing on all Occasions a great Enemy to Avarice [*E*], which, together with the Fatality attending his Profession, might be the Cause of the Poverty to which he found himself reduced [*F*], and which gave him a Place in the List of the learned who have almost died of Hunger (*g*). Nevertheless *Charles* IX honoured him with the Quality of his Poet, and took great Pleasure in his Conversation [*G*]. It was not in his Reign, but in the Reign of *Henry* II (*b*), that

(*d*) Dinet, Vie de Ronsard.

(*e*) *Ronsard* began to study in that College about the Year 1545, since he was then above twenty Years of Age.

(*f*) Docuit diu summa cum gloria & discipulos habuit omnes fer. præsta tiores Galliæ viros, ac totarumque gentium lectissimus. *Papyr. Mass. ubi supra.* See also Thuan. lib. 89. Sammarth. Elog. lib. 3, pag. m. 55.

(*g*) See Maturin Simonius, de literis peregrinis, apud Barthium in Stat. pag. 4470

(*b*) About the Year 1544. See Thuanus, lib. 13, sub fin. pag. m. 278. See also the Remark [*N*] of the Article LORRAIN.

where he speaks of several Species of this sort of Turnips. ‘ Sabaudis ac Lemovicis palma tribuitur, ut olim ‘ apud Romanos Norsinis. Vulgus Gallicum Sabaudis ‘ atque Lemovicis reliis ad rustim climat. ubi rapa ‘ gelu exusta fierint, aut aliqua injuria læsa cœlive ‘ perierint..... Inflationes crudiora minatque cocta ‘ facere creduntur. Unde crepitus Ventris ingentes ‘ vescentibus sunt. *i. e. The best are Those of Savoy and ‘ Limoges, as were Those of Nursia among the Romans. ‘ The common People of France have a Saying, That the ‘ People of Savoy and Limoges may go hang themselves, ‘ when their Turnips are blighted with Frost, or perish ‘ thro' any injury of the Soil or Climate..... When ‘ raw and unboiled, they are thought to cause Wind; ‘ whence those who eat them are subject to loud Explosions ‘ from behind.’ *Rabelais*, who, *Book* 2. *ch.* 27 speaking of those thick short Persons, that we call *Nobotes (Sbrimps)*, compares them to this kind of Navews, might furnish Mr *Menage* with an Authority for the Etymology he gives of this Word. R.S.M. CRIT.]

[*D*] *He had a rustic and disagreeable Aspect.*] *Moreri* has stretched too far these words of *Papyrius Massо*: ‘ Tametsi vultu subrustico & insuavi erat; which he renders, ‘ *Those, who made his Elogy, confess that he ‘ was very ill shaped, and looked like a Country Clown*’. This is a great Falsification, to the Prejudice of that famous Poet Laureat. The Latin Words, that you have just now read, differ but by one half from what has been said of *Voiture*. It has been said of the latter, that *he had a simple Look, but nevertheless agreeable* (15). I am willing to believe, that *Daurat* was infinitely short of the exquisite Politeness of *Voiture*; but I don't think that he was destitute of that Knowledge of the World, and of those Graces of Conversation, which the Learned ought to have, to be esteemed in a Court; for we shall see hereafter, that *Charles* IX took an extraordinary delight in hearing him, and that he admired his good Stories and Repartees; and we are informed by *Brantome*, that *Daurat* visited People of Quality. *The first time*, says he (16), *that I heard the Story* of the Ephesian Matron, *it was from Mr* d' Aurat, *who told it to the brave* Monsieur du Gua, *and to some others who din'd with him.* He adds, that *Mr* d' *Aurat said, he had it from* Lampridius; but he had it from *Petronius*, and I had rather impute that slip of Memory to *Brantome* than to our Poet. *Du Verdier* observes, that *Daurat was a little Man in Stature and Mien, but great by his Wit* (17).

(15) Histoire de l'Acad. Franç. pag. m. 301.

(16) Dames Galant. Tom. II, pag. 140.

(17) Prosograph. Tom. III, pag. 2575.

[*E*] *He was a great Enemy to Avarice.*] This Encomium, and the proceeding ones, are altogether inconsistent with what *Scaliger* says of him. *He was*, says he (18), *very Fantastical & sordidus like* Moncaud, *sed non tam. He cut off all the Margins of his* Bartholus, *and writ upon them. He has few Books.* How shall we reconcile this with *Papyrius Massо*, who maintains, that this Poet valued Money no more than Dirt, and that he thought no Man deserv'd to be a Poet, who was too good a Husband? To which I add *Thuanus*'s Testimony, which may be seen in the following Remark. If it be considered, that *Scaliger* praised *Daurat* very much for his Poetry and Critical Learning, one cannot believe that he was prepossessed against him; but, on the other side, how can one rely upon his Words? He affirms that *Daurat* had a Salary of 1200 Crowns at *Padua* or at *Pisa*; and yet who will believe that *Daurat* had ever a Professorship in either of those two Towns? *Scaliger* speaks as if *Daurat* had been still living; but how can this be consistent with a thousand other things that are in the *Scaligerana*, and which cannot have been said but ten or twelve Years after *Scaliger* had settled himself at *Leyden*, whither he came in 1593, five Years after *Daurat*'s Death? To remove these Difficulties, must we not suppose a thing that is false, (*viz*) that the two Nephews of *Peter Pithou*, who collected the *Scaligerana*, liv'd fifteen or twenty Years with *Scaliger*? One of these two things must be true, either that *Scaliger*'s Memory failed him often, in the Conversations he had with those young Men, or that they confounded what they heard him say. For the rest, it cannot be denied that he had seen *Daurat*: He tells us (19), that they went together to make a Visit to *la Croix du Maine*, and that *Daurat*, who could not pronounce a *B*, said to him, as they went out, *oscura diligentia*. Such was his Opinion of the Works of the Man, whom they had visited. I had forgot a very strong Objection, which alone is sufficient to convince us, that there is a Mistake in the Words of *Scaliger*. Can it be said of *Daurat*, who minded nothing but Poetry and the *Greek* Tongue, that *Bartholus* was his Book? It belongs to a Professor of Law to signalize his sordid Avarice by writing on the Clippings of his *Bartholus*.

(18) *In the* 2d Scaligerana, *at the Word* Auratus.

(19) Scaligerana, pag. m. 148.

[*F*] *Which might be the cause of the Poverty to which he found himself reduced.*] *Thuanus*, who says, on one side, that *Daurat* enjoyed, to his Death, the Pension that was allowed him, when he laid down his Office, confesses on the other, that he always neglected his Interests, and that for a long time he found himself reduced to a deplorable Necessity: ‘ Vir ad alio- ‘ rum studia ac commoda promovenda natus, qui rem ‘ familiarem tota vita neglexerat, deplorandæ jam pri- ‘ dem egestate premeretur (20). —— *Born to promote ‘ the Interest of others, he had constantly neglected ‘ his own, and had been long reduced to the most mi- ‘ serable Circumstances.*’ *Papyrius Massо* acknowledges that he left no Estate, tho' King *Charles* IX had been a good Benefactor to him in his old Age. ‘ Excessit ‘ è vita dives opibus, ils præsertim quas virtus parit, ‘ non quibus mortalium genus avidum explori nequit ‘ (21). —— *He left behind him great Riches, such in- ‘ deed as Virtue gives, but not those of which Mankind ‘ is so infatuately fond.*’ This invincibly refutes the pretended Stinginess that he is charged with in the *Scaligerana*, nor can the Policy of *Charles* IX, with respect to Poets, be objected against it. *Brantome* (22) tells us, that this Prince ‘ was a great Lover of Verses, ‘ and did not reward those, who presented him ‘ with their Poems, all at once, but by little and ‘ little, that they might always be obliged to behave ‘ well, saying, that Poets were like Horses, that are to ‘ be fed, and not over stuffed and fattened, for then they ‘ are good for nothing.’ This would be an insignificant Objection; for tho' the King had been never so sparing of his Gratifications to his Poet, he would at least have prevented the Poverty of a Man of a sordid Avarice.

(20) Thuan. lib. 89, pag. 175.

(21) Papyr. Massо, Elog. Tom. II, pag. 290.

(22) Vie de Charles IX.

[*G*] Charles IX *took great pleasure in his Conversation.*] I shall set down the whole Passage of *Papyrius Massо*: it will afford me matter for a Criticism. ‘ Carolo nono, *says he* (23), Regi Christianissimo charissi- ‘ mus atque acceptissimus fuit (*Auratus*). Is enim in ‘ decrepita ætate facetiis hominis & argutias mirabatur, ‘ honestabatque præmiis poëtæ sui venerabilem senectam. —— D'Aurat *was highly caressed by the most ‘ Christian King Charles the IXth, who admired his ‘ Wit and Humour in his old Age, and honourably re- ‘ warded his venerable Bard.*’ It seems to me that this Writer is very much in the wrong to represent our

(23) Papyr. Massо, ubi supra.

that *Daurat* was Preceptor to the King's Pages for a Year [*H*]. I cannot tell whether the Vexations, that made him leave that Poſt, came altogether, or in part, from the Petulancy of thoſe Youths. Conſidering the Age he lived in, we ought to forgive him the Taſte he had for Anagrams, of which he was the firſt Reſtorer (*i*); ſome will have it that he found the Pattern in *Lycophron*. He brought them ſo much into Faſhion, that every body went upon them. He was accounted a great Conjurer in that kind, and ſeveral Illuſtrious Perſons gave him their Names to be anagrammatized. He alſo undertook to explain the Centuries of *Noſtradamus*, which he did ſo ſucceſsfully [*I*], as ſome ſay, that he ſeemed to be inveſted with the Character of his Interpreter, or Sub-Prophet. Theſe are not the moſt ſhining Parts of his Life (§ *a*). It is better ſtill to ſee him married again, in an extream old Age, to a Maid of nineteen Years [*K*], and to hear him ſay, for his Reaſon, that it was a Poetical Licence (*k*), and that, being to die by the Stroke of a Sword, he thought it more proper to perform the Execution with a bright, than a ruſty one (*l*). That new Marriage proved fruitful; he got a Son by it, and uſed to play a thouſand wanton Tricks with him (*m*). If *Thuanus* and his Tranſlator had conſidered this, they had doubtleſs been more careful of their Expreſſions, for the Honour of the young Spouſe [*L*]. *Daurat* had, among other Children, a Son by his firſt Wife, whoſe *French* Verſes were printed (*n*), and a Daughter, whom he gave in Marriage to a learned Man, whoſe Name was *Nicolas Goulu* (*o*), to whom he reſigned the Place of Regius Profeſſor in the *Greek* Tongue [*M*]. He made many *Latin*, *Greek*, and even *French* Poems.

(*a*) They are in the Collection of the Verſes of his Father; and if we believe the Title Page, they were made by the Author at ten Years of Age. *Menage. Remarq. ſur la Vie d'Ayrault, pag.* 187.

(*b*) Sammarth. in ejus Elogio. La Croix du Maine, pag. 201. *This Daughter was very learned, as you may ſee in the Article* GOULU (Nicolas).

(*c*) Papyr. Maſſo, ibid. Claudius Verderius, Cent. I. in Auctor. pag. 43. Dinet, Vie de Ronſard.

(*d*) Sammarth. in ejus Elog.

(*e*) Papyr. Maſſo, ubi ſupra. *I ſhall ſet down his Words in the Remark* [*G*].

(*f*) Id. ibid.

our Poet as a decrepit old Man in the Reign of *Charles* IX. This cannot be ſaid of a Man, who is but ſixty or ſixty five Years of Age, who lives above eighty Years almoſt without any Sickneſs, and who gets Children a few Years before his Death. Now this is *Daurat*'s Caſe, according to *Papyrius Maſſo*, whoſe Words are theſe (24): 'Prope octogenarius aliquot jam 'pridem procreatis liberis, amiſſaque priori conjuge a- 'doleſcentulam duxit, ex eaque Polycarpum, ſenilis 'delicias, filioſum incredibili gaudio ſuſcepit, blandi- 'uſculè cum eo colludens, & inſtar ſimiæ manibus 'efferens .... (25) deceſſit proſpera fere ſemper uſus 'valetudine .... anno Domini 1588 .... major octo- 'genario. — *Being near eighty, having had ſome* 'Children, *and loſt his former Wife, he married a* 'young one, *and bad by her, to his incredible Satisfa-* 'ction, Polycarp, *the delight of his grey Hairs, with* 'which Infant he uſed to play like a Child, or like a 'Monkey dandle him in his Arms. Having for above 'four ſcore Years enjoyed his Health without any conſide- 'rable Interruption, he died in the Year* 1588.' On the other hand it is notorious, that the Reign of *Charles* IX extends no farther than from the Year 1561 to the Year 1574. To conclude, I ſhall obſerve, that *Lorenzo Craſſo*, who thought that King *Henry* III conferred the Title of *Poëta Regius* (26) on *Daurat*, did not know that this Honour was of a more antient Date. You ſee *Papyrius Maſſo* ſays, that *Charles* IX uſed *Daurat* as his Poet.

(24) Id. ibid. pag. 289.

(25) Id. ibid. pag. 290.

(26) Iſaac. de Poetl, pag. 265.

[*H*] *He was Preceptor to the King's Pages for a Year.*] *Thuanus* does not ſay how long that Employment laſted; he only ſays, that *Daurat* exerciſed it before he was Profeſſor: *Primum pueris regiis erudiendis admotus, dein .... in regio gymnaſio diu profeſſor*: a Paſſage wherein the Tranſlator has committed a Miſtake: for he renders it thus; *he was firſt intruſted with the Education of the King's Sons* (27); but Mr *Menage* cites (28) ſome of *Daurat*'s Verſes, whereby it appears that he did not continue in that Poſt above a Year, and that it had given him a great deal of Vexation:

(27) *See* Teiſſier, Elog. Tom. II, pag. 108.

(28) *Remarks upon* Ayrault's *Life*, pag. 187.

Aulica nam paſſus faſtidia mille per annum;
Hunc tandem in portum ventis jactatus & undis,
Nauſeam ut evomerem tanti maris, alter Ulyſſes
Evaſi.

Twelve tedious Months their courtly Snarls I bore,
E'er Fortune threw me on the wiſh'd for Shore,
On which I might diſcharge the nauſeous load
Like Ithacus of old.

Mr *Menage* adds, that *Papyrius Maſſo* ſpeaks of that Tutorſhip: I find no ſuch thing in the Elogies of *Papyrius Maſſo*.

(29) Teiſſier, ibid. pag. 110.

[*I*] *He undertook to explain the Centuries of* Noſtradamus, ... *which he did ſucceſsfully.*] Mr Teiſſier (29) quotes *Papyrius Maſſo*, and *Sainte Marthe* for this, who ſay nothing of it: he ſhould have cited *la Croix du Maine* (30) and *du Verdier Vau Privas*. The words of the latter are remarkable; *Dorat*, ſays he (31), *ſet up for an Interpreter of Dreams: he ſet a great value upon the Centuries of* Noſtradamus, *containing certain Propheries to which he gave Interpretations, confirmed by ſeveral Events, and he uſed to ſay that an Angel had dictated them to* Michael Noſtradamus.

(30) Biblioth. pag. 330.

(31) Proſopograph. Tom. III, pag. 2575.

[*K*] *He married a Maid of nineteen Years.*] So theſe words of *Ste. Marthe, undevigenti annorum puella*, muſt be tranſlated. *Moreri*, Teiſſier (32), and *Baillet* (33), who ſay ſhe was twenty two Years of Age, would doubtleſs find it hard to quote a cotemporary Author for it, as credible as the Writer, whom I oppoſe to them. Mr *Menage* ſays ſhe was but eighteen (34).

(32) Teiſſier, ubi ſupra.

(33) Bull. Acad. des Scienc. Vol. II. pag. 360.

(34) *Remarks upon* Aynult's *Life*, pag. 187.

[*L*] *For the Honour of the young Spouſe.*] In effect. *Thuanus* ſays, *that the thing that moderated the Grief of* Daurat's *Death, was that Old Age had made him incapable of all the Functions of his Office* (35). Who would not believe from theſe words, that he was not able to get a Child? Who would believe that a good old Man, who had not Spirit enough to explain a Verſe of *Homer* to his Scholars, had the neceſſary Vigour to conſummate a Marriage with a young Maid? And therefore one could not literally give any Credit to *Thuanus*'s Narration, without entertaining ſtrong Suſpicions of our Poet's young Wife, as if ſhe had practiſed this Maxim, *that a skillful Woman never wants Heirs*, or as if her Husband might have applied to himſelf this old Saying,

(35) *So theſe* Latin *Words*, Obſenium inutilia ejus opera eſſe captiſſet, *have been rendred.*

Qu'autant vieillard à la barbe fleurie,
Pour ſes voiſins que pour lui ſe marie.

An old Man marries as much for the benefit of his Neighbours, as for his own.

So *Amiot* renders theſe *Greek* words ſpoken by an Old Man: Ταμῷ γάμῳ, ὦ ὦδε, καὶ τοῖς γείτοσι. *Duco uxorem, probe ſcio, vicinis quoque* (36). Truly nothing would appear more contradictory to thoſe, who pay the Penſions of Profeſſors and Miniſters, than to ſee, that, in order to get a Man declared *Emeritus*, whoſe Wife ſhould be big with Child, they ſhould alledge that Age had rendered him intirely unfit to mount the Chair.

(36) Plut. an ſeni ſit gerenda reſpub. pag. 789.

Note, That ſome ſay (37) that, ſome time before he died, *he married a young Servant Maid, though he was eighty Years of Age .... and that it is not ſaid that he had any Children by her* (38), *as he had by a very honeſt Lady who was his firſt Wife.* Thus here is a Man to be placed in the Catalogue mentioned by Mr *Menage* (39).

(37) Peter de Romuald Journal. Chronol. & Hiſtor. *of the ſixth of* Odtob. pag. m. 396. *He places* Ronſard's *Death on that Day*, 1589.

(38) *That is not true. See the Remark* [*G*], *Citat.* (24).

[*M*] *A Daughter whom he gave in Marriage to .... Nicolas Goulu, in whoſe favour he reſigned his Place of Regius Profeſſor in the* Greek *Tongue.*] *Sainte Marthe*, without ſetting down the Time, ſays, that *Daurat* having been made *Poëta Regius*, reſigned his Profeſſorſhip to *Goulu* his Son-in-law. *Thuanus* ſpeaks of it in a more undeterminate manner: he only ſays (40) that *Daurat*, having for a long time diſcharged the Duties of his Profeſſorſhip in the *Royal College*, became *Emeritus*, laid down that Employ, and had a Penſion that was paid him till he died. But *de Breul* ſets down the Time; for he ſays, that *Nicolas Goulu was provided with*

(39) Teiſſier, Elog. Tom. II, pag. 108.

(40) Lib. 89, fub. fin.

French Verſes [*N*]; and indeed he made too many; for whenever a Book was printed, or a Perſon of Note died, he made Verſes on that Subject, as if he had been the common Poet of the Kingdom, or his Muſe had been a hired Mourner. This was the Reaſon, why, if his poetical Vein was not drained to the Lees, it was at leaſt like a low pierced Caſk [*O*], whoſe Wine, being deſtitute of the beſt Part of it's Spirits, runs but faintly.

(41) Antiquitez de Paris, pag. 565.

with Daurat's *Place by the King's Writ, the eighth Day of* November 1567 (41). I ſhall make make two Remarks upon this; one is, that *Thuanus* ſhould not have ſaid that the Loſs of our Poet was leſs lamented, becauſe Old Age and the Civil War, which had driven all the Youth from *Paris*, began to make his Labours unneceſſary. This ſignifies that he might ſtill have been ſerviceable, if there had been any Scholars in *Paris*, and that he had actually been ſo, till he was overwhelmed by the Infirmities of Old Age. He had not therefore quitted the functions of his Profeſſorſhip in the Year 1567, in which his Son-in-law ſucceeded him; for if he had done it at that time, the two Reaſons alledged by *Thuanus*, why the Loſs of that Profeſſor was leſs lamented, would be very falſe: it ſeems therefore that this great Hiſtorian contradicts himſelf, with regard to *Daurat*. He ſays ſomewhere, that this Profeſſor laid down his Profeſſorſhip before the Death of *Turnebus* (42), and retired to the Suburb of *St Victor*, whither he (*Thuanus*) went often to ſee him. 'Jam Joannes Auratus profeſſioni renunciaverat, & in 'Sanvictorianum ſuburbium conceſſerat; quo frequens 'itabat Thuanus, ex ejuſque colloquiis ſemper inſtru- 'ctior redibat, de Budæo quem ille puer viderat, Ger- 'mano Brixio, Jacobo Tuſano ſedulo eum perconta- 'tus (43). —— John Daurat *had now quitted his Pro- 'feſſorſhip, and retired into the Suburbs of* St Victor, *'whither* Thuanus *often went, and returned always 'improved by his Converſation, having enquired of him 'particularly concerning* Budæus, *whom he had ſeen 'when a Boy, as alſo concerning* Germanus Brixius, *'and* Jacobus Tuſanus.' My ſecond Remark is, that *la Croix du Maine* declares, in 1584, *That* Aurat *ſtill reads every Day the uſual Lectures of his Profeſſion at* Paris; *ſo great is his Deſire of being uſeful to the Public, and of making Scholars. Thuanus*, or *la Croix du Maine*, muſt needs have been miſtaken. What ſeems moſt probable to me is, that *Daurat*, having obtained leave to reſign his Profeſſorſhip to his Son-in-law, did nevertheleſs teach as before, at leaſt in private.

(42) *That it is before* 1572.

(43) Thuan. de vita ſua, lib. 2.

[*N*] *He made many Verſes.*] It is likely that *Du Verdier Vau-Privas* tells us a meer Story, when he ſays (44) *that the Odes, Epigrams, Hymns, and other Poems in* Greek *and* Latin, *compoſed by* Dorat, *were above Fifty thouſand Verſes*; but, though you abate as much as you pleaſe, yet it is certain, that he wrote a great many Poems in thoſe two Languages, to which we muſt add thoſe which he writ in *French*: for the ſame *Du Verdier* obſerves, that, although he applied himſelf wholly to *Greek* and *Latin* Poetry, *yet he alſo made* French *Verſes of which but very few have been printed.* He gives the Titles of two *French* Poems, and Mr *Teiſſier* gives the Title of the *Latin*. See the Margin (45). Moreover Mr *Menage* had no reaſon to ſay, *that* Daurat *made no* French *Verſes*, and to maintain thereby that Mr *Baillet* was in the wrong to affirm, that the *Pleiad*, imagined by *Ronſard*, was only made up of *French* Poets (46). If what Mr *Menage* aſſerts was true, *viz. That* Daurat *the chief of this Pleiad made no* French *Verſes*, Mr *Baillet* would have been juſtly criticiſed: but this Aſſertion is falſe; for beſides what hath been juſt now cited out of *Du Verdier Vau-Privas*, we find in *la Croix du Maine*, *that* D'Aurat *wrote many very learned Poems, as well in* Greek *and* Latin, *as in* French. We find elſewhere (47), that *Ronſard gave the Name* Pleiad *to* John Antony de Bayf, Joachim du Bellai, Pontus de Tyard, Stephen Jodelle, Remi Belleau, Dorat, *and himſelf, becauſe they were the firſt and the moſt excellent, by whoſe Diligence the* FRENCH *Poetry was raiſed to the higheſt pitch.* Agreeably to this, Mr *Menage* himſelf had ſaid in his Remarks on *Malherbe, that, in imitation of the Pleiad of the* Greek *Poets*, Ronſard *made one of the* French *Poets that were in his time . . . and that thoſe* French *Poets were* Ronſard, du Bellai, Pontus de Tyard, Jodelle, Belleau, Baif, *and* Dorat. And I find the following Words in the One hundred and eighty ſixth Page of his Remarks on the Life of *Peter Ayraults*: Dorat *is the firſt Poet of the* Pleiad; *for all thoſe, who have mentioned theſe Poets, name them in this order*, Daurat, Ronſard, Du-Bellay, Belleau, Antony de Baif, Pontus de Tyard, *and* Jodelle. I will not make uſe of *Thuanus*'s Authority, who ſays (48) that *Ronſard* and *Daurat* made ſome Verſes that were ſung by the Queen's Maids, at the famous Interlude that was repreſented for the Entertainment of the Embaſſadors of *Poland* in the Year 1573. For it may very well be, that on ſuch an occaſion the Verſes ſung by the Ladies were in *Latin*, and ſome Authors ſay in expreſs Words, that *D'Aurat made the* Latin *Verſes that were recited at the Interlude, that was repreſented in the* Thuillieries *in the Year* 1573, *when the Duke of* Anjou *was declared King of* Poland (49). But though it be certain that *Daurat* made Verſes in his Mother Tongue, it muſt be confeſſed that his Merit did not appear ſo much by that Poetry, as by his *Latin* Verſes. It is alſo in the Quality of a *Latin* Poet that he made himſelf famous in the Republic of Learning, notwithſtanding the groſs Faults that eſcaped him ſometimes againſt the Rules of Quantity. *Berthius* gives him that ſtroke by the by, in the One thouſand five hundred and ſixty ninth Page of his Commentary on *Statius*, and adds one thing of him that deſerves to be related (50); which is, that he admired this Epigram of *Auſonius* (Epigr. 105.)

(44) Biblioth. pag. 685.

(45) See the Judgment which *Thuanus* paſſed upon the Collection of the *Latin* Poems; and *M. Baillet. Jugem. ſur les Poet.* n. 1337. *Thuanus* ſays, the Bookſellers added ſome Verſes, to it, that were none of *Daurat*'s.

(46) Anti Baillet, Tom. II, pag. 28.

(47) *In* Ronſard's Life.

(48) Lib. 57.

(49) Du Breul, Antiq. de Paris, pag. 565.

(50) *He had mentioned this before, pag.* 94.

Dum dubitat natura, marem faceretne puellam,
Factus es, ô pulcher, pene puella puer,

Nature, in forming thee, O lovely Boy,
Doubted ſo long, which Sex ſhe ſhou'd employ,
That both ſhe blended in thy gentle Frame,
And Boy *and* Girl, *in thee, are but the ſame.*

to ſuch a degree, that he maintained that ſome Dæmon was the Author of it (§ a).

[(§ a) We find, at Page 339 of a Book, intituled *Veterum Illyenburgicæ, ſive Amorum Hortus &c. Opera Damaſi Illyenburgii Batavi. Dordraci*, 1600, in 8vo, theſe Verſes of a Poet called, *Evangeliſta*, which are an imitation of thoſe of *Auſonius*:

Dum dubitat, faceretne Deam, faceretne puellam,
Juppiter, ecce Dea es facta, puella ſimul.
Sed Dea dum fieres, dubitat, Venus, anne Minerva,
Virgo, fores; ſubito es facta Minerva, Venus. &c.

Thus paraphraſed,

Long did great Jove the weighty Point debate,
Uncertain, Nymph, or Goddeſs, to create.
Irreſolute, he cry'd, what muſt be done?
We'll form a Nymph and Goddeſs both in one.
But from what Pattern of cœleſtial Race
The Features of her Heav'nly Part to trace?
Shall lovely Venus to the Picture ſit;
Or ſhall we copy Pallas' Mein and Wit?
Still unreſolv'd, thus to the Heav'nly Maid,
As from his hand ſhe roſe, he both at once, he ſaid.
Hence both in thy lov'd Compoſition meet,
As Pallas graceful, and as Venus ſweet.

Theſe Verſes are addreſſed, *Ad Helenam Vendraminam Virginem Venetam.* —*To Helena Vendramino, a young Venetian Lady.* REM. CRIT.]

[*O*] *His poetical Vein was reduced to the condition of a low pierced Caſk.*] Here is a Paſſage of *Sainte Marthe*. 'Nullus novus liber in lucem exibat, quin ſibi 'commendatricem Aurati Muſam pro Mercurio itine- 'ris duce & auſpice depoſceret. 'Nullus in tota Gallia 'paulo nobilior è vivis excedebat, quin ab Aurati lu- 'gubribus Camœnis tanquam Præficis ſolemnes funeri 'queſtus & lacrymæ ſufficerentur: quo fiebat ut in tan- 'ta ſimilium argumentorum multitudine beata illa quon- 'dam uberioris ingenii vena non areſceret quidem, ſed 'fundo propior languidius negligentiuſque flueret ac 'trahe-

faintly. He was so good a Critic, that *Scaliger* knew none but him and *Cujacius* that were able to restore the ancient Authors (*p*); but he published few Things of that nature [*P*]. According to *Scaliger*, *He began to be trifling* [*Q*], *and pretended to find all the Bible in Homer.* He died at *Paris*, the first of *November*, 1588, being above eighty Years of Age [*R*]. The Collection that was made of his Verses, was not for his Honour: the Booksellers had more regard to Their Interest than to his Reputation. They foisted in some Poems which were none of his, and some Pieces that he would not have owned for his, though he was the Author of them (*q*).

(*p*) Scaligerana 1, pag. m. 18. *See* Guil. Canterus in Lycophron. ver. 308.

(*q*) Thuan. Hist. lib. 89. sub fin.

[§ (*a*) The Memoirs of the State of *France*, *&c. Tom. I. fol.* 28, *verso*, after having spoken of the Massacre of the Admiral *Châtillon*, and the manner in which the Body of That Lord was dressed up by the Mob: John Dorat, *the Poet*, *wrote some* Latin *Verses*, *in which he derides the Admiral*, *blazoning each of the Members of his mutilated Body*. I question whether This Passage of the Life of *Daurat* be more to his Credit, than others, with which he has been reproached. REM. CRIT.]

(51) Sammarth. Elog. lib. 3. pag. m. 55, 56.

'traheret (51). —— *No new Treatise was published, but it's Author requested of Daurat some Commendatory Verses, like a Gentleman-Usher to introduce it to the World; and no Person of Quality in all France died, but D'Aurat's Elegies, like Mourners, attended his Corpse: whence it happened, in such variety of similar Subjects, that his happy Vein of copious Wit was not indeed drained, but, being reduced nearer to the Bottom, flowed with less Force and Ease.*' I have said in the Remark [*D*] of the Article AFER (DOMITIUS,) that Poets should leave *Apollo*'s Service betimes. I add, that if they feel the Return of any Poetical Fit, they should take it for a temptation of an evil Genius, and put up the same Prayer to the Goddesses of *Parnassus*, that one of their Brethren addressed to the Goddess of Love:

—— parce, precor, precor,
Non sum qualis eram bonæ
Sub regno Cynaræ. Desine, dulcium
Mater sæva Cupidinum,
Circa lustra decem flectere mollibus
Jam durum imperiis: abi
Quò blandæ juvenum te revocant preces (52).

(52) Horat. Od. 2, lib. 4. ver. 1.

O spare, for pity, Venus, spare!
I am not what I was
In lovely Cynara's easy Reign,
When Heat warm'd every Vein,
And manly Beauty fill'd my Face.

Cease, Queen of soft Desires,
To bend my Mind grown stiff with Age,
And fifty Years engage
To crackle in thy wanton Fires:
But Youth and Beauty bear.

CREECH.

The Service of the Muses is in many things like the Service of the Ladies: it is better to leave it too soon than too late, and to say in time, with a firm Resolution to keep one's Word:

Vixi puellis nuper idoneus,
Et militavi non sine gloria:
Nunc arma, defunctumque bello
Barbiton hic paries habebit (53).

(53) Id. Od. 26, lib. 3. ver. 1.

Once I was gay and great in Charms,
Success still waited on my Arms,
In Venus Battles bravely float,
I fought and conquer'd when I fought.
But now my Arms and wanton Lyre,
Whose Tunes could spread harmonious Fires,
In Venus Shrine unheeded lie,
With all my Love's Artillery.

CREECH.

(54) Remember that you are a Mortal Man. *This is said of* Philip *of* Macedon. Remember the *Athenians*. *Herodotus*, lib. 7. cap 105, concerning *Darius* Son of *Hystaspes*.

It is said, that certain Kings ordered some of their Domestics to tell them every Day, *remember such a Business* (54). If it be allowable to compare little things with great ones, old Poets should have somebody to tell them every Morning, *Remember your Age*. *Horace* boasts of having had such Advices given him.

Est mihi purgatam crebro qui personet aurem,
Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus & ilia ducat (55).

(55) Hor. Epist. 1, lib. 1, ver. 7.

And still methinks sounds thro' my well purg'd Ear
A little Voice, fond Horace have a care:
And while 'tis well release thy aged Horse,
Lest, when he runs, but with unequal Force,
And stretches hard to win, he break his Wind,
Derided, distanc'd, basely lag behind.

And here is what I find in the *Menagiana*. 'Mr *du* 'Perier desired his Friends formerly to be so kind as 'to tell him, when his Poetical Vein should grow faint, 'and he should no longer be in a condition to make 'Verses to his Honour. It is time to do it (56). If *Daurat* had used such a Precaution, he would not have out-lived his own Glory. But nothing did him more harm than his undertaking to versify on all the Books that were printed. *What a sad thing is it*, said Balzac (57), *to be obliged to praise all new printed Books, that is to say, to be in a worse condition in Prose, than* Auratus Poeta Regius *was, who did willingly, what I do as a Criminal and Slave.* There has been a *French* Poet of later date (58), who prepared Sonnets for Books that were to come out. See how he is bantered in the Continuation of the *Parnasse Reformé*.

(56) Menagiana, pag. m. 384.

(57) Letter 25 to Chapelain, Book 4, pag. m. 194.

(58) *His Name was* Pelletier. *See* la guerre des Auteurs, pag. m. 163.

[*P*] *He was . . . . a good Critic . . . . but he has published but few things of that nature.*] Some of his Critical Remarks on the Verses of the Sibyls, are to be seen in the Edition of *Opsopæus*. He had much laboured that Subject in his Lectures, as a Letter of *Stuckius* to *Goldast* informs us (59). 'Quam doctò, 'says he, me Jo. Aurati præceptoris mei viri ingenio- 'sissimi, & in emendandis antiquis Poëtis Græcis acu- 'tissimi dicta, & annotationes in illa carmina ante multos 'annos, & ejus ore calamo exceptas cum aliis nonnul- 'lis meis libris Lutetiæ amisisse! —— *What concern is 'it to me to have lost at Paris among other Books the 'Dictates of John Daurat, my most ingenious Master, 'a Man peculiarly happy in his emendations of the old 'Greek Poets, as also his Annotations on these Verses 'which I long ago copied from his own Mouth.*'

(59) It is the 13th of the Collection of the Letters, written to *Goldast*, published at *Francfort*, in 1688.

[*Q*] *He began to be trifling.*] *Scaliger* speaks in the Present Tense, *he begins to be trifling*, &c. Upon which see the Remark [*E*] of this Article.

[*R*] *He died . . . . . above eighty Years of Age.*] *La Croix du Maine* gives *Daurat* ten Years less than others do: he places his Birth in the Year 1517, and therefore he must have believed that *Daurat* died at Seventy one Years of Age. Mr *Baillet* (60) was in the right not to rely much on that Opinion to the Prejudice of that of *Papyrius Massa*, *Thuanus*, *and Scævola de Sainte Marthe*, *who all knew* Daurat *very particularly*, since it is certain that *la Croix du Maine* is mistaken. Here are four Verses of *Daurat* that demonstrate it: they were made on the Death of *Leodegarius à Quercu*, who had lived eighty five Years.

(60) Jugem. sur les Poet. Tome III, pag. 403.

Octoginta annos quo natus quinque supraque,
Officio functus, plenus honoris obit.
At tuus Auratus pare pœnè ætate superstes,
Hos elegos tumulo donat habere tuo.

A wondrous Stage! Years, eighty five and more,
Roll'd on, yet he fresh wreaths of Honour wore.
Almost æqueval I this Tribute send
To weep the parting of a much lov'd Friend.

Mr *Menage*

Mr *Menage* makes use of them (61) to prove that *Durat* lived above eighty Years, in which he is incomparably better grounded than when he accuses Mr *Baillet* (62) of having said, that that Poet lived but Seventy-one Years: for it is true that Mr *Baillet* says it, as a different thing from the common Opinion; but he observes at the same time, that this common Opinion is preferable to that of *la Croix du Maine*. I shall observe another small Mistake of Mr *Menage*. He says that all the Poets of the time made Verses on the Death of *Dourat*; and among the rest, *Ronsard*, his beloved Scholar (63). But it is certain that *Ronsard* died (64) some Years before his Master; and if he had but cast his eyes on these words of *Papyrius Masso*, he would have known that That Scholar could not do any poetical Service to *Dourat*'s Memory. ' O si hodie ' discipulus ejus Petrus Ronsardus insignis Poëta vi- ' veret, quas ille nænias, aut quæ epitaphia scriberet? ' —— *Was his Scholar* Peter Ronsard, *that excellent* ' *Poet, still living, what Elegies, and what Epitaphs* ' *would he write?* ' I chuse rather to follow *Papyrius Masso* than *Thuanus*. The latter says, *Dourat* died about the end of *November*, being near eighty Years old.

(61) Remarq. for la Vie d'Ayrault, pag. 499.

(62) Anti-Baill. Tom. I, pag. 269.

(63) Remarq. for la Vie d'Ayrault, pag. 187.

(64) *The 27th of* Dec. 1585.

DAUSQUEIUS, or DAUSQUIUS, or D'AUSQUEIUS (*a*) CLAUDIUS), Canon of *Tournay*, was born at *St Omer*, the fifth of *December* 1566 (*b*). He entered into the Society of Jesuits I cannot tell when, and left it, I know not when neither, nor for what Reason. He was still in it, when Father *Scribanius* published his *Amphitheatrum Honoris*, in the Year 1607. He was praised in that Work as one of the most learned Men of his Age (*c*). It is certain that he was learned both in *Greek* and *Latin*, and in all which is called Literature; but he did not write well: his Stile is too affected, too obscure, and too full of obsolete Phrases. He is praised for having been a good Preacher (*d*). His Father *Robert DAUSQUEIUS*, the fourth Son of *Antony DAUSQUEIUS*, Bailiff of *St Omer*, was killed in the King of *Spain*'s Service, during the War that the Duke of *Alençon* raised in the *Netherlands* (*e*). I shall speak of the Canon of *Tournay*'s Writings [*A*], without forgetting the Imposture of a Bookseller of *Paris* [*B*].

(*a*) *He Latinized his Name (which was* d'Auquoy, *as Swertius says,* Athen Belg *pag.* 288) *three several ways.*

(*b*) Valer. Andreas, Bibl Belg. pag. 140.

(*c*) Amphitheatr. Honoris, lib. 2. cap. 13.

(*d*) Valer. Andr. ibid.

(*e*) Claud. Dausquius in S. Josephi sanctificatione, pag 228, 229.

[*A*] *I shall speak of* Claudius Dausqueius's *Writings.*] He made a *Latin* Translation of the forty Homilies of St *Basil* of *Seleucia*, and published it with Notes in the Year 1604, in 8vo. It is not good, if we rely on the Judgment of the Dominican *Combefis* (1). He published some Notes on *Quintus Calaber* in the Year 1614, and *Silius Italicus*, with a large Commentary, in the Year 1611, in 4to. His *Scutum D. Mariæ Assertalis*, and his *Justi Lipsii jactum adversus Agricolæ Thracii satyricas petitiones*, were printed at *Douay* in the Year 1616, in 8vo. The Approbation of those two Books, and the Epistle Dedicatory, being dated in the Year 1616, I cannot but believe that there is a Fault in the Place, where *Alegambe* (2) and *Valerius Andreas Desselius* (3) affirm that they were printed in the Year 1610. They are moreover mistaken in saying that they were composed *adversus Agricolam Thracium*. That *Agricola Thracius* is no other than *George Thomson*, a *Scotchman*, who published a Book at *London*, in the Year 1606, against *Lipsius*. This is the Piece which *Dausquejus* confuted. He had a Quarrel with some *Franciscans*, who maintained that St *Paul* and St *Joseph* had been holy in their Mothers Womb. Upon this he published his *Sancti Pauli sanctitudo in utero, extra, in solo, & in cœlo*, at Paris 1627, in 8vo; and his *Sancti Josephi sanctificatio extra uterum, seu binotium adversus F. Marchantii Minoritæ Exprovincialis inanias, item Aphysiarum F. Minorum Audomaropolitanorum spongia*, at *Lyons* 1631, in 8vo. His two best Books are those of which I shall speak in the following Remark.

(1) *See* Baillet, Jugem des Sçavans, Tom. IV, pag. 493.

(2) Alegambe, Biblioth. Societ. Jesu, pag. 84.

(3) Val. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 140.

[*B*] *Without forgetting the Imposture of a Bookseller of* Paris.] Mr *Chevillier* tells us wherein it consists. ' They give themselves too much liberty, and play a ' thousand Tricks with printed Books, without any ' regard to Sincerity. Whatever the Bookseller may ' say, who, since the Year 1677, sells *Dausquius*'s Book ' intituled *Antiqui novique Latii Orthographica* (4), he ' should not have suppressed the fine Print, wherein ' are engraved ten Persons, Authors of the *Latin* ' Tongue, and wherein we read that the Book was ' printed at *Tournay* by *Adrian Quinqué* in the Year ' 1632: neither ought he to have left out some other ' Leaves, whereby one might have known the time of ' the Impression. And it is no good Reason to say, ' that the King having taken *Tourney*, *Dausquius*, who ' was kept there, is become a *Frenchman*; *De Hispano* ' *factus jam Gallus*. Hereupon he takes the liberty to ' substitute a first Leaf, wherein he puts his Cypher, ' and his Sign, with this Subscription, *Parisiis apud*, ' *&c.* 1677. As if Victory extended also her Empire ' over the Difference of Times, and the Distance of ' Places, or had the Power to make the Year 1632 to ' be 1677, and the City of *Tournay* in the County of ' *Flanders* to be that of *Paris* in the *Isle of France*. I ' defy those who have bought his *Dausquius*, and have ' seen no other Copy of it, to say who is the Printer ' of it, and out of what Printing house it came. Yet ' this is what our Kings would have us to know *. ' These are the words of their Ordinances, *in such a* ' *manner that the Buyers of Books may easily know in* ' *what Printing-house the Books have been printed.* ' All that he could do, having got into his hands the ' Copies of that Author that were still left, was to put ' them off with a Leaf containing these words, *Venundat Parisiis apud*, &c. but without altering or ' leaving out any thing in the Title; letting the Reader see that it was printed at *Tournay* by *Adrian* ' *Quinqué* in the Year 1602. The most learned Library-keepers have much ado to discover all the ' Booksellers Tricks: it is a difficult thing not to be ' deceived by them. The Library-keeper of the Archbishop of *Reims* was not imposed upon in his *Dausqueius* by this Trick; he writes the Date of this ' Book in his printed Catalogue in these words, which ' are a Reproach to that Bookseller, *Parisiis 1677.* ' *vel potius Tornaci* 1632, in folio (5). I think such another Fraud was made use of with respect to another Work, which *Dausquius* caused to be printed at *Tournay* in 4to in the Year 1633, with this Title, *Terra & aqua, seu terræ fluctuantes*; for the *Journal des Sçavans* spoke of that Work (6), and of the *Antiqui novique Latii Orthographica* (7), as if they had been but newly printed. I must observe, that *Salmasius* thought that the *Antiqui novique Latii Orthographica* was worth reading. See what he writ to *Vossius* about it, in his Sixty fifth Letter. See also the Praises that *Vossius* bestowed upon the same Book (8), and consult Mr *Baillet*, who believed that this Book had been reprinted in the Year 1676 (9).

(4) *It is a Work in two Volumes in folio.*

* *Edicts of* Francis I, *at* Fontainebleau, *the* 28*th of* Dec. 1541. *and of* Charles IX, *at* Guillon *in* May 1571, *inserted among the Edicts and Ordinances collected by* Fontanon, *pag.* 468, *and* 473, *Tom.* IV, *Edit. of* 1611.

(5) Chevillier, Origine de l'Imprimerie de Paris, pag. 210.

(6) Journ. des Sçavans, August 2, 1677, pag. 233. *Dutch Edit.*

(7) Ib. Febr. 25, 1677, pag. 55.

(8) Vossius de Philologia, pag. 29.

(9) Baillet. Jugem des Sçavans, Tom. IV, pag. 22, 23.

DECIUS (PHILIP) natural Son of *Tristan de Dexio* [*A*], who made a pretty good Figure in the Court of the Dukes of *Milan*, was a very famous Civilian. He was born in the Year 1454, and was carefully instructed in Philological Learning at *Milan*. The Plague having obliged him to leave that City, he retired to his Brother, who

(2) Panzirolus, de Claris Legum Interpretibus, lib. 2, cap. 135, pag. m. 299.

[*A*] *He was natural Son of* Tristan de Dexio.] His Ancestors, having left the Village of *Dexio* (1), settled at *Milan*, and took the Name of the Village, where they were born (2). That Family had continued above three hundred Years (3) at *Milan*, with some lustre, when our *Tristan* was born.

(1) *Near* Milan.

(3) Ultra CCC. annos cum dignitate vixerunt, *Id. ibid.*

who was Professor of the Civil-Law at *Pavia* [*B*]. He began to study the same Science at seventeen Years of Age, and gave a great deal of Trouble, by his disputing Humour, to *Jason Mainus* and *James Puteus*, his Masters [*C*]. He puzzled them several times with his Objections. He also tired his Brothers in such a manner with his Objections, that the Censures he received from him forced him to seek for the Solution of his Doubts elsewhere. He maintained some public Theses, with very good Success, in the second Year of his Studies of the Civil-Law, and succeeded perfectly well. The next Year he went to *Pisa* with his Brother, who was invited thither to be Professor of the Civil-Law. He gave so many Proofs of his great Parts and Knowledge in that University, that at the Age of Twenty one Years he was made Professor, to teach the *Institutes*. He had a great many Auditors, and, among other things, he was admired for his witty Sayings in his public Disputations (*a*). His Reputation encreased, when, some time after, he was promoted to the Place of Extraordinary Professor of the Civil-Law; nevertheless he was not contented, and complained of the Smallness of his Salary [*D*]. *Francis Accolti*, who had been alone Ordinary-Professor for the Evening Lectures, having been dispensed

(*a*) Plura alia quæ provocarunt perlepida dicteria, jocosaque scommata inter disputandum dicebat faceius ex capta pro jucunditate vulgo recitantur *Panzirolus, ubi infra, pag.* 301. *See also* Forsterus, Hist. Juris Civil. lib. 3. cap. 39. pag. m. 533.

[*B*] *He retired to his Brother, who was Professor of the Civil-Law, at* Padua.] He was born in Swedlock, and his Name was *Lancelot*. He died at *Pavia* in the Year 1500 (4).

(4) Id. ibid.

[*C*] *And gave a great deal of Trouble by his disputing Humour to . . . his Masters.*] *Panzirolus* speaks of it thus. 'Quos argumentis quandoque exagitavit, atque vexantes reliquit. Fratri quoque assiduis interrogationibus molestus non semel cum objurgatione rejectus est (5). — *Whom he sometime puzzled with his Arguments, and left in Confusion, being likewise often reprimanded by his Brother, whom he perpetually teized with Questions.*' There is nothing more troublesome, than a young Scholar, who has Wit, and loves disputing, and therefore I do not wonder that this young man was reprimanded by his Brother. It is likely that he chid him very much, since the young man durst no more harass his Brother, and even did not consult him when he undertook a public Disputation (6). *Lancelot* gave him a new Reproof, and called him a rash young man, and disputed with him, thinking, if I am not mistaken, to run him down and humble him; but he was repulsed so warmly, that, being struck with Admiration, he confessed before the Assembly, that his Brother would speedily out-do him. Such an Acknowledgment would not be so hard to a Father as to an elder Brother. *Impugnanti problemata Lancelloto tanto acumine argumenta rejecit, ut admiratus tetam assistibus se brevi ab illo superatum iri prædixerit* (7). *Paul Jovius*, speaking, as an Eye-witness, says, that our *Philip* disputed with more eagerness than any body else. *Enarrabat subtilissime, & ut sæpe vidimus, longe omnium acerrime disputabat* (8). I shall mention another Particular: *Decius*, being Professor at *Pisa*, made *Laurence Pucci* (9) dispute against the Thesis, which *Bartholomew Socinus* had advised a Scholar to maintain publickly. The next Day after the Disputation, a Paper was posted up, importing, that, within a Week, those same Theses, converted into Problems, would be maintain'd, on both Sides, by *Pucci*, among the Students, and by *Decius* among the Doctors. People were alarmed at it, and feared the Consequences of it; for they were sensible that such a Proceeding tended to the Dishonour of the other Regent Doctors. For which Reason, the Principal of the College forbad *Decius* to proceed any further upon pain of Imprisonment (10).

(5) Id. ibid.

(6) Inconsulto fratre propositiones publice disputandas edinerit. *Id. ibid.*

(7) Id. ib. pag. 300.

(8) Paul. Jovius, Elog cap 88. pag. m. 299.

(9) *Who was afterwards Cardinal.*

(10) Panzirolus, ubi supra, pag. 301, 302.

[*D*] *And complained of the smallness of his Salary.*] This Passage reflects upon his Memory: I confess it would be a greater Blot, if this Fault did not appear often: but in short the great number of mercenary Professors, too self interested, and soliciting too warmly an increase of Salary, does not excuse the blame of such Conduct. However it be, our *Philip*, tho' crowned with Glory, and honoured with the public Applause, vexed himself, thinking he had not a sufficient Salary, and complained of it to the Curators of the University. One of them gave him very good hopes; for, said he, I am very well persuaded of your Merit. The Professor answered, I had rather you should have a mean Opinion of me. Being desired to tell the Reason of such an extraordinary Answer; It is, replied he, because if you had an ill Opinion of me, I should hope for a better Salary by undeceiving you: But since my Pension is very small whilst you have an Esteem for me, I have nothing to hope for. *Panzirolus* expresses this much better; and therefore I shall set down his own words. 'Cum 'tenui stipendio se alii apud Gymnasii Præfectos quere-'retur, Alomaunque Renutius inter alios senior eum 'bono animo esse jussisset, quod benè apud se audi-'ret; *Philippus*, Malum, *inquit*, ut finistram de me 'opinionem haberetis. *Illis responsi novitatem mirantibus, & rationem perquirentibus*, Si de me, *respondit*, 'prava concepta esset opinio, detecto errore, amplius 'stipendium sperare possem; sed cum benè audiens parvo 'adhuc digner honorario, nihil mihi spei reliquum esse 'potest (11)'. I have observed a thousand Times, in the Lives of the Civilians, written by *Panzirolus*, that, to heighten the Glory of the Professors, he takes an exact notice of the Augmentations of their Salaries. This shews, that they were looked upon as Men well qualified to raise the Lustre of an University: 'tis therefore a sign of their great Parts and Ability. Self love, always ready to justify itself, and more ingenious on that Point than can be expressed, does not fail to make use of this fine Turn, and by that means to elude the Reproaches of Venality and Avarice; but it can hardly remove these two Difficulties. The one is, that those Amplifications of Wages are commonly an Effect of the importunate Complaints and Solicitations of those that are gratified with them, or of their threatning to retire, in order to get a more profitable Place (12). The other is, that those Places, which are more profitable, would not be offered to such as are thought to be disinterested, and only sensible of true Glory. This was not the Character of our *Decius*. He, like a Buck, leaped from place to place, and from one University to another; he went out, and returned according to the Value of the Pensions that were promised him, and he himself thought fit to set down in his Epitaph, that his Wages amounted at last to fifteen hundred Gold Pieces. He was afraid that the word *aureus* would not sufficiently express the great Price that his Lectures had cost; and therefore he added the barbarous words *in auro*. 'Philippus Decius . . . re-'vocatus in Italiam ab excelsa Florentinorum Rep. po-'steaquam stipendium M. D. aureorum in auro pro 'lectura consecutus fuisset, de morte cogitans, hoc 'sepulchrum sibi fabricari curavit. (13) — *Philip Decius, 'being recalled into Italy by the Republic of Florence, 'and having obtained a Salary of fifteen hundred 'Crowns of Gold, thought of Death, and caused this 'Monument to be raised.*' He intimates that he did not think of Death till he had attained to that great Pension. *Titulo res digna sepulchri*. That Epitaph was more liable to Censure upon that Account, than for the Grossness of the Style (14). It must not be said that he refused the thousand Crowns of Gold, which the Senate of *Milan*, the City of *Bologna*, and the Republic of *Venice*, offered him, when he had but eight hundred at *Pisa*; for doubtless he refused them in hopes to be paid, for his Refusal, with Usury; and indeed, it appears, that the University of *Pisa* augmented his Pension, and made it much more considerable than any he could have got in other Universities. 'Demum Pisas cum DCCC. aureorum 'stipendio omnium supremos conductus est, ubi &à 'Mediolanensi Senatu, & à Bononiensibus, Venetisque mille aureorum annua promissione frustra solici-'tatus per multos annos perseveravit, donec ad MD. 'aureorum honorarium pervenit(15) 'Note, by the bye, that Mr *Wharton* is somewhat unexact, when he says, that the *Florentines* recalled him into *Italy* by a Pension of fifteen hundred Crowns of Gold (16).

(11) Ibid. pag. 301.

(12) *Compare this with what is said in Rem.* [*A*] *of the Article* ACCARISI (Francis); *and in Rem.* [*G*] *of the Article* ALCIAT (Andrew).

(13) Panzirolus ubi supra, pag. 309.

(14) *It was ridiculed. See* Paul. Jovius, ubi supra, pag. 208.

(15) Panzir. pag. 308.

(16) Henricus Wharton, in Appendice ad Historiam Literariam Guilielmi Cave, pag. 208.

[*E*] *He*

penſed with on Account of his old Age, *Bartholomew Socinus* was put in his Place. Our *Decius* left no Stone unturned to ſhare that Employment, and had already obtained his Wiſh [*E*]; but he was deprived of it, when it was known, that *Socinus* threatened to retire, if it was divided. To make *Decius* amends, they gave him the Profeſſorſhip of the Canon-Law. This was done by the Intrigues of *Socinus* (*b*), who was in hopes that *Felinus*, who had taught the Canon-Law for a long time, and underſtood it perfectly, would have all the Glory of that Function. *Socinus* was miſtaken in his Conjectures; for *Decius* was more followed than *Felinus*, who was ſo vexed at his Superiority of Glory, that he abſented himſelf. *Felinus* retired abruptly (*c*). The Curators of the Univerſity, knowing the Reaſon of his Retreat, were very angry with *Decius*, and deprived him of his Places. They were reproved for it by *Laurence de Medicis*; which was the Reaſon, that, when he went to *Florence* to receive his Salary, they told him angrily, that he might return to *Piſa*. He anſwered that he would not, ſince he had accepted the Profeſſorſhip, which thoſe of *Siena* had offered him; but he was forced to reſign it, and to take up again his Employs at *Piſa*, for they threatened to keep from him the Arrears of his Penſion, and forbad him to remove his Effects. They granted him ſome Favours, and promiſed to aſſociate him with *Socinus* at two Years end. *Socinus*, who was at *Siena*, having heard this, ſent word that he would not return to *Piſa*, if that Promiſe was performed. This Menace made ſuch an Impreſſion, that they declared to our *Philip*, that he might retire, if *Socinus* ſhould come to reſume his Profeſſorſhip. Accordingly, as ſoon as *Socinus* returned, he retired to *Siena*, where he was Profeſſor of the Canon, and afterwards of the Civil-Law. He went to *Rome* about the Year 1490, where he was appointed Auditor of the *Rota* by *Innocent* VIII. He conſecrated himſelf to the Eccleſiaſtical State; but, having received the firſt Orders, he could proceed no farther, becauſe he was a Baſtard. Some Authors ſuppreſſed this Obſtacle, and choſe rather to ſay, that out of Complaiſance to his Father and Brother, and being weary of repeating his Breviary every day, he left *Rome*, and returned to *Siena* (*d*). He found himſelf expoſed there to the Envy of ſome other Profeſſors, which obliged him to go to *Piſa*, where he taught ſometimes the Canon, and ſometimes the Civil-Law, but not without many Quarrels [*F*]. He was invited to *Padua*, to be firſt Profeſſor of the Canon-Law, in the Year 1502. *Lewis* XII, looking upon him as his Subject, and having a mind to make him Profeſſor at *Pavia*, demanded him of the *Venetians*; who, after a great Oppoſition, yeilded at laſt to that King's Deſire [*G*]. *Decius* came to *Pavia* about the End of the Year 1505, where he anſwered the Expectation of *Lewis* XII. After he had been Profeſſor ſeven Years, he obtained a Salary of two thouſand Livres, which was more than any Profeſſor ever had in that Univerſity. The Differences between *France* and the Court of *Rome*, brought many Misfortunes upon him. Being conſulted by *Lewis* XII about the Convocation of a Council, his Opinion was, that a ſmall Number of Cardinals had a Right to call one; and he wrote

(*b*) *See* Forſterus, Hiſt. Juris Civil. lib. 3, cap. 39, pag. m. 534.

(*c*) *About the Year* 1483.

(*d*) Alii ejus natales celantes rem aliter narrant. Cum Triſtanus pater, & Lancellotus frater factum non probarent, & ipſe in canonicis horis quotidie recitandis tædio afficeretur, relicta Roma, iterum ad Senenſes remeavit. *Panzirolus, ibid.* pag. 305.

[*E*] *He left no Stone unturned to ſhare the Employment of Accolti, and had already obtained his Wiſh.*] Some affirm, that he actually exerciſed the Functions of that Place, and that it was not taken from him till after *Socinus*, who was vexed to ſee his School empty, deſired, that He, or *Decius*, ſhould be diſmiſſed. ' Bartholomæus Socinus Juris Cæſarei in eodem Gymnaſio Profeſſor, cum ſe diſcipulis viduatum doleret, aut ſemetipſum aut Philippum munere ſuo dimitti petiit (17).' I find the Narrative of *Panzirolus* more likely, which is, that *Socinus* deſired this, as ſoon as he heard of the Promiſe that was made to our *Philip*, and before he could have obſerved, that ſuch a Competitor was prejudicial to him.

(17) Id. ibid. pag. 203.

[*F*] *He taught at* Piſa, *but not without many Quarrels.*] *Socinus* was not the only Perſon that would not have him for an Antagoniſt: I mean, that would not make his Lectures on the ſame Subject, and at the very ſame Hour with him. It appears by *Panzirolus*'s Work, that, in the Univerſities of *Italy*, they match'd Profeſſors in that manner; and that thoſe, who were thus matched, paſſed for Rivals, Competitors, and Antagoniſts of one another. They were commonly in open War; and ſometimes they grew ſo hot, and ſo furious, in their public Diſputes, that People went to them, as if it had been a Fight of Gladiators. Our *Decius* had made himſelf ſo dreadful, that few Profeſſors would be matched with him. They complained of his Slanders, and of the Artifice he made uſe of to get Auditors. ' Ibi (*Piſis*) eum omnes concurrentem recuſare, hominem ut maledicum, maliſque artibus auditores captantem criminari (18). *Antony Coccus* had the Courage to enter the Liſts with him; they engaged in a violent Quarrel, and raiſed at one another in a moſt ſhameful manner, unworthy the Gravity of their Character. ' Mox ad matutinam ejuſdem Juris (*Pontificii*) ſedem tranſlatus Antonium ' Coccum Florentinum ob veterem æmulationem durum ' adverſarium concurrentem invenit. In ea contentione ' ita ſe exagitarunt, ut nec fœdis ſcommatibus præter ' omnem gravitatem abſtinuerint (19).' *Jaſon Mainus*, being appointed Profeſſor of the Civil-Law, would not have *Decius* for his Antagoniſt; he repreſented, that Decency would not permit that two Profeſſors, born in the ſame City, ſhould oppoſe each other: whereupon it was ordered, that our *Philip* ſhould teach again the Canon-Law (20). *Mainus* was not always ſo reſerved; for he had a violent Quarrel with *Decius* (21).

(18) Panzirolus, ubi ſupra, pag. 305.

(19) Id. ibid.

(20) Id. ibid.

(21) *See the Article* MAINUS, *Rem.* [*F*].

[*G*] Lewis the XIIth *demanded him of the* Venetians.] The *French* Embaſſador made ſuch preſſing Inſtances in the Senate of *Venice* to obtain *Decius*, that the Envoy of the *Florentines* could not forbear ſaying he would make a Report of it to his Maſters. He found the thing ſomewhat ſingular. ' Ludovicus Gallorum Rex Decium, velut ſubjectum, Ticinum revocat, ſed Venetis eum dimittere recuſantibus, Regius Orator maximam in Senatu contentionem exercuit, quod admiratus Joannes Bernardi Oricellarius, qui ibi pro Florentinis Legatus aderat, ſe ingentem ob unum hominem inter Excelſos Principes ortam altercationem vidiſſe Florentinis relaturum dixit (22). ' —— *Lewis, King of France, demanded Decius, as his* ' *Subject, to return to Pavia; but the Venetians refuſing* ' *to let him depart the King's Embaſſador raiſed an* ' *extraordinary Diſpute, at which John Bernardi, who* ' *was there as Embaſſador from the Florentines, being* ' *ſurprized, declared he would inform the Florentines,* ' *that he had ſeen a hot Diſpute between two mighty* ' *Powers for one Man.*' This ſhews that *Paul Jovius* is miſtaken; for he ſays, that the *French* Governour cauſed our *Decius* to come from *Piſa* to *Pavia* (23). *Mr Wharton* has committed the ſame Miſtake (24).

(22) Panzirolus, ibid. pag. 307.

(23) Ab Iſpſis Piſis ubi uxorem duxerat Ticinum à Gallo præfide opimis ſtipendiis evocatus. *Jovius ubi ſupra*, pag. 207.

(24) Wharton, ubi ſupra, pag. 202.

[*H*] *They*

wrote a Book on that Subject. Pursuant to that Doctrine, a Council was held at *Pisa*, and he followed the Prelates of the *French* Party thither, which so exasperated *Julius* II, that he excommunicated him. It is likely he bore it more patiently than the plundering of his House when *Pavia* was taken [*H*]. Not finding himself safe in *Italy*, he retired into *France*, where he was made Counsellor in the Parliament of *Grenoble* [*I*]. By the King's Order, he went to join the Remainder of the Assembly of *Pisa* at *Lyons*; and afterwards he taught the Civil-Law in the University of *Valence* (*e*). After the Death of *Julius* II, he was absolved by *Leo* X, who offered to make him Professor of the Canon-Law at *Rome*. But being afraid of displeasing the King, if he should accept those Offers, he refused them (*f*). After the Death of *Lewis* XII, he was invited to *Pisa*; but *Francis* I would not permit him to go thither, and sent him to *Pavia* to teach there the Canon-Law. He left that Town because his Salary was not paid, and, seeing that *Milan* was besieged by the Emperor *Maximilian*'s Forces, he returned to *Pisa*, where his Professor's Salary amounted at first to Eight hundred Crowns of *Gold*, and at last to Fifteen hundred. He died at *Siena*, the thirteenth of October 1535, being Eighty one Years old, and was buried at *Pisa*, in the Marble Tomb that he had caused to be made for himself. He had a natural Daughter, whom he loved very much, and who was very lewd [*K*]. His Memory was much decayed in the last Years of his Life (*g*) [*L*]: There are several Books of his writing: it is observed, that he wrested the Interpreters, and that sometimes his Quotations were false (*b*). His Commentaries on the Decretals are very much esteemed (*i*). I will take notice of some of *Moreri*'s Mistakes [*M*].

(*e*) *See the Remark* [*I*].

(*f*) *Mr* Doujat Præn. Canon. pag. 617, *did not rightly apprehend this; for he says, that* Decius *accepted them.*

(*g*) *Taken from* Panzirolus de claris Legum interpretibus, lib. 3. cap. 135.

(*b*) Id. Ibid.

(*i*) Doujat. Præn. Canon. 618.

[*H*] *They plundered* Decius's *House when* Pavia *was taken.*] *Pavia* being taken, the Cardinal of *Sion* caused *Decius*'s House to be plundered; his Library was dispersed. Nay, they had a mind to take that Professor's Daughter out of St *Andrew*'s Nunnery, though she was but ten Years of Age; but they left her there at the Request of the Nuns, after having taken all her Estate from her. To compleat their Revenge, it was ordered that *Decius*'s Effects should be delivered to the Public (25). *Paul Jovius* says, that the Cardinal of *Sion* suffered none but *Decius*'s House to be plundered in *Pavia* (26). This happened in the Year 1512. *Forsterus* is therefore grossly mistaken; for, after having said, that this great Civilian complains, 'so egregium hospem, a patria ejectum, fortunis omnibus absque sua culpa spoliatum, præter spem (quicum miserorum solatium) nihil habere, & adde, hanc autem pessas est anno 1498 (27). *— That he was reduced to Poverty and want, expelled his Country, unjustly plundered of all his Fortune, and had nothing left but hope, the sole comfort of Persons in his Circumstances. These Misfortunes befel him in the Year* 1498. *Varillas* should have mentioned that Misfortune, since he thought fit to mention a lesser one. '*Philip Decius*, says he (28), was not free from *Julius*'s Resentment. He had exasperated the Court of *Rome* to the highest degree, by offering the Council of *Pisa* to digest the Matters of which they were to treat, and to afford the Authorities necessary to support them. The Court of *Rome* was also afraid that he would write in favour of the Resolutions that should be taken in that Council, and that his Authority would make them acceptable where-ever it was respected. An Excommunication was fulminated against him to prevent it; and he was put into such a condition, that though he was generally beloved and esteemed in *Milan*, where he discharged so worthily the first Professorship of the Civil-Law, he durst but seldom stir out of his House, and then very well attended.' He is mistaken when he says that *Decius* was Professor of the Civil-Law in *Milan*.

[*I*] *He was made Counsellor in the Parliament of* Grenoble.] That City does not belong to the *Gallia Narbonensis*, as *Panzirolus* pretends. *In Narbonensi, Provincia*, (says he) *Gratianopoli cum CCL aureorum honorario Senator est declaratus* (29). He does not mention the Year. I cannot tell whether Mr *Allard* mentions it right, when he says that *Decius* was honoured with that Office in 1514 (30). And I question what *Panzirolus* says, that *Decius* taught the Civil-Law at *Valence*, after having been Counsellor in the Parliament of *Grenoble*. I should rather believe that he was Counsellor in that Parliament after he had professed the Law in the University of *Valence*.

[*K*] *He had a natural Daughter — who was very lewd.*] It is said that her Lewdness was attended with Imprudence, so that her Father had the Grief to know it, but pretended to be ignorant of it. She had not the Power to salve Appearances: she used to play wanton Tricks with Boys in the Streets; which is not an equivocal sign of Lewdness in *Italy*, as in some other Places, but a convincing Proof of it. Here is another Disorder: instead of getting Money by her ill Behaviour, she spent much by it; for she bought the Caresses of young Men very dear. I shall cite *Panzirolus*'s Words: 'Filiam naturalem in deliciis habuit, quæ 'citharam edocta, dissimulante patre, minus honestam 'cum adolescentibus, quos magna etiam pecunia conducebat, vitam egisse dicitur, & cum illis in publico jocari non erubescebat (31).' We may rank *Decius* in the Catalogue that I have mentioned in another place (32). For the rest, if we believe *Paul Jovius*, his only Daughter (33) was married to a noble *Sienese*

[*L*] *His Memory was much decayed in the last Years of his Life.*] It failed him when he was to confer the Doctor's Degree on *Corras* (34). Others say, that he could no longer remember any Paragraph, or any Law, and that he could hardly speak a word of *Latin*. 'Sub finem vitæ adeo factus est obliviosus ut nullius legis 'vel paragraphi reminisci, & vix Latine quid prolo'qui potuerit (35).' I have not found these Words in the Author quoted by *Freherus*; but I find the whole Matter somewhat at large in a Work of *Corras* himself. These are his Words (36): 'Quin & nostra 'hac ætate Philippus Decius, egregius Jurisconsultus, 'anno 1536 (37) (quo tempore me in Senensi Academia Doctoratus titulo donavit) adeo senectute emarcuerat, ut nullius legis aut paragraphi ex jure nostro 'recordaretur: imo ægre quicquam Latine proloqui 'posset. Quare quum mihi ipsa gradus insignia conferre conaretur, alium quendam e collegis oportuerit 'prodire, qui verba solita nuncuparet. — *And in our own time* Philip Decius, *an eminent Civilian, in the Year* 1536 *(from whom at that time I received the Degree of Doctor in the University of* Siena*) was so impaired by Age, that he remembered no Chapter or Paragraph of our Law, nay, could scarcely speak a word of Latin; insomuch that when he attempted to have conferred the Degree upon me, another was obliged to appear and speak for him.*'

[*M*] *I will take notice of some of* Moreri's *Mistakes.*] Exactness will not permit one to say, that *Decius lived in the beginning* of the XVIth Century; for he was born in the Year 1454, and had got a great Reputation before he was thirty Years of Age. II. He studied first under his Brother at *Pavia*, and afterwards at *Pisa*: and therefore *Moreri* ought not only to have mentioned *Pisa*. III. *Jason*, *Bartholomew Socinus*, and *Jerom Zanetini*, were not his Preceptors: he heard their public Lectures; but that is not what is meant in our Language, when we say that such a one had such and such Preceptors. IV. I question whether he was married: *Panzirolus* says nothing of it, tho' he follows him step by step in the least Passages of his Life, and says, in express Words, that he had a natural Daughter. This negative Argument seems to me to be preferable to the Affirmation of *Paul Jovius* (38). V. *Decius* did not retire to *Pavia*; for he was invited thither by *Lewis* XII. VI. He did not go to *Pavia* when he left *Pisa*: for he was Professor at *Padua* when *Lewis* XII sent for him to *Pavia*. *Paul Jovius* has deceived many People; 'As ipsis Pisis, 'says

(25) *Taken from* Panzirolus, ubi supra, pag. 307, 308.

(26) Unam omnium Urbi domum ... ripuit ... edit. Jovii, ab Jo. Wimpheling, ubi supra, *says the same*, pag. 302.

(27) Forsterus, ubi supra, pag. 53. *He quotes the Epistle dedicatory of* Decius's Consilia.

(28) Varillas, Histor. de Louis XII, lib. 8, sub fin pag. m. 85, ed. an. 1512.

(29) Panzir. ubi supra, pag. 308.

(30) Allard, Biblioth. de Dauphiné, pag. 87.

(31) Panzir. ubi supra, pag 308.

(32) *In the Article* STILPO, *Rem* [*G*].

(33) Jovius, ubi supra, pag 207.

(34) Senio confectus memoriam adeo infirmæ fuit ut Joannis Corrasio insignia Doctorum tradituro defecerit. *Panzir. ubi supra, pag.* 309.

(35) Freherus in Theatro, pag. 814. *He quotes* Forsterus in Hist. Juris Civ. Roman. lib. 2, cap. 39.

(36) Joh. Corasius Notis in Arrestum Parlamenti Tholosani, pag. m. 71. *I have not the* French *Edition, and therefore I quote the* Latin *Version made by* Hugh Sureau.

(37) *Panzirolus, and all the other Biographers, place the Death of* Decius *in the Year* 1535.

(38) Pisis ubi uxorem duxerat. *Jovius Elogiorum, pag.* 207.

(39) Jovius, ib. Wharton, Freher Theatr. Vir. illust. pag. 124, *says the same.*

(40) In civitate Bituricum jus divinum edocuit per duos ferme annos. *Jovius Elog. pag.* 207. Wharton, Freher, &c. *say the same.*

says he (39), ubi uxorem duxerat, Ticinum à Gallo præside, opimis stipendiis evocatus. —— *He removed*, says he, *from Pisa, where he married a Wife, to* Pavia *by the Persuasion of the* French *Governor, and a large Salary.* ' VII Being retired into *France* after the plundering of his House, he did not *stay two Years at* Bourges, as *Moreri* affirms after *Paul Jovius* (40). *Panzirolus*'s silence seems to me demonstrative against it; and besides, the Chronology is not favourable to *Moreri*. He will have it, that *Decius*, after two years Stay at *Bourges*, was sent for to *Valence*, by *Lewis* XII, and honoured with a Place of Counsellor in the Parliament. The House of that learned Civilian was plundered in the Year 1512; and it is very likely that he did not come into *France* 'till towards the end of the same Year. Now *Lewis* XII died the *first day of January* 1515. It is better to believe those, who say that *Decius* was provided with a Counsellor's Place at his Arrival in the Kingdom. Mr *Doujat* is mistaken in placing this in the Year 1510 (41). VIII *Decius* was not buried at *Pavia*, but at *Pisa*. IX. Instead of *nimis venustè*, in *Latomus*'s Verses, it should be *minus venustè*.

(41) Doujat. Prænot. Canon. pag. 617.

Take notice of another Fault in *Paul Jovius*. He says, that *Decius*, being returned into *Italy*, engaged himself in the Service of the University of *Siena*. It was in the Service of that of *Pisa*. Note also a Mistake of Mr *le Laboureur*: he says, that *John James de Mènes*, Professor of the Law at *Toulouse*, had *Philip Decius* for his Colleague (42). But the latter never taught there.

(42) Le Laboureur, *Additions to* Castelnau's *Memoirs*, Tom. II, pag. 835.

DEJOTARUS, one of the Tetrarchs of *Galatia*, aggrandized himself by degrees in such a manner, that he encroached upon most of the Rights of the other Tetrarchs, and obtained the Title of King, and the lesser *Armenia*, from the Senate of *Rome* (*a*). He became at last the only Tetrarch (*b*). He did the *Romans* good Services in all their Wars in *Asia* [*A*]; and not doubting but that *Pompey*'s Party was the Cause of the People of *Rome*, and that those who favoured *Cæsar* were Rebels, he declared for *Pompey* [*B*], and brought him a good body of Troops. He was severely censured for it some time after, when *Cæsar*, returning from *Egypt* to fight with *Pharnaces*, King of *Pontus*, drew near *Galatia*. *Dejotarus*, intending to make him forget his Attachment to *Pompey*, and to be supported against the other Tetrarchs, had supplied him with a great deal of Money (*c*), and quartered *Domitius Calvinus*'s Forces in his Dominions (*d*). This was not unserviceable; for, after some sharp Reprimands, he found favour with *Cæsar* [*C*]. He asked his Pardon; and, to do it with more Humility, he put off his Royal Robes. *Cæsar* made him put them on again, and forgave him what was past (*e*), and confirmed the Title of King to him and his Son (*f*); but took him along with him to the War against *Pharnaces* (*g*), and afterwards he took *Armenia*, and Part of *Galatia* from him (*h*). Some time after, *Dejotarus* had a troublesome Affair at *Rome*. He was accused of an Attempt against *Cæsar*'s Life. It was maintained, that, when *Cæsar* lodged at the House of *Dejotarus*, the latter had a Design to kill him. *Castor*, the Son of *Dejotarus*'s

(*a*) Hirtius, de Bello Alexand. cap. 67.

(*b*) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 390.

(*c*) Cicero, Orat. pro Dejotaro, cap. 5.

(*d*) *He was* Cæsar's *Lieutenant in* Asia.

(*e*) Hirtius, ibid. cap. 68.

(*f*) Cicero, ubi supra, cap. 6ii.

(*g*) Hirtius, ubi supra.

(*h*) Cicero de Divinat. lib. 2, cap. 8, & 36, & Philipp. 2, cap. 38.

[*A*] *He did the* Romans *good Services in all their Wars in* Asia.] *Cicero* speaks magnificently of it. These are his Words (1): ' Quid de patre (Dejotaro) dicam? ' cujus benevolentia in populum Romanum est ipsius ' æqualis ætati: qui non solum socius imperatorum ' nostrorum fuit in bellis, verum etiam dux copiarum ' suarum. Quæ de illo viro Sulla, quæ Morena, quæ ' Servilius, quæ Lucullus, quam ornate, quam honorifice, quam graviter sæpe in senatu prædicaverunt? ' Quid de Cn. Pompeio loquar? qui unum Dejotarum ' in toto orbe terrarum ex animo amicum, vereque ' benevolum, unum fidelem populo R. judicavit. ' Fuimus imperatores ego, & M. Bibulus in propinquis finitimisque provinciis: ab eodem rege adjuti ' sumus, & equitatu, & pedestribus copiis. - - - - *What shall I say of the Father (Dejotarus), whose attachment to the Roman People is equal to his Age, who was not only our Ally in War, but who also headed his own Forces? With what Force, Esteem, and Eloquence, have Sulla, Murena, Servilius, and Lucullus, often extolled him in the Senate? What shall I say of Cneius Pompey, who looked upon Dejotarus above all Mankind as a sincere Friend, and a hearty Well-wisher to the Roman People; I and M. Bibulus have commanded in the neighbouring Provinces, and have received, from the same Prince, Assistance, both of Horse and Foot.*' See also what he writ whilst he commanded in *Cilicia* (2).

(1) Philipp. 11, cap. 12.

(2) Id. Epist. 4, lib. 15, ad Famil. pag. m. 388.

[*B*] Dejotarus *declared for* Pompey.] Immediately after the foregoing Passage, which I have just now set down, *Cicero* goes on thus: ' Secutum hoc est acerbissimum ' & calamitosissimum civile bellum: in quo quid faciendum Dejotaro? quid omnino rectius fuerit dicere non est necesse, præsertim cum contra ac Dejotarus sensit victoria belli judicarit. Quo in bello si fuit error, communis ei fuit cum Senatu: sin recta ' sententia, ne victa quidem causa vituperanda est. ' —— *After this, burst out that most bloody and destructive Civil-War. What part was Dejotarus then to act? It is needless to say what had been the fittest, especially since Fortune declared herself quite contrary to the Sentiments of Dejotarus. In which War, if he was guilty of Error, it was the same Error which the Senate followed; but if his Opinion was just, the Cause ought not to be condemned because it wanted Success.*' These Words inform us, that *Dejotarus* believed that *Pompey* would overcome: so that he engaged in that Party as well for political Reasons, as out of a Principle of Justice. We shall see in the following Remarks, that he always believed he had declared for the good Cause, but that he took care not to speak his Thoughts before *Cæsar*.

[*C*] *After some sharp Reprimands, he found Favour with* Cæsar.] He asked *Cæsar* Pardon for having fought against him in the Battle of *Pharsalia*: he represented to him the Situation of his Country, which was such, that he could not be maintained by *Cæsar*'s Forces: he added, that it did not belong to him to be a Judge of the Differences of the *Roman* People, but to obey those, on all Occasions, that were in Possession of the Command. To speak the Truth, they were false Excuses: for he had been fully persuaded that *Pompey*'s Cause was that of the *Roman* People, and that *Cæsar* was a rebellious Subject: and therefore he had behaved himself like a Judge of the Differences of the *Romans*. Nevertheless, it ought not to be thought strange that he concealed his Thoughts; for there is hardly any Man, except the Saints of the highest Order, or Philosophers full of Contempt for worldly Things, that would have been more ingenuous than he was. All his Excuses were rejected; and he was told that his Imprudence was visible, and that he could not be ignorant that *Cæsar* was Master of *Rome*, that is, of the Seat of the Senate, and the Center of the Authority of the *Roman* People. Let this be said in favour of those, who do not understand *Latin*; for they, who understand it, will rather desire that I should cite *Hirtius*'s Words, which are as follows (3): ' Cum propius Pontum finesque Gallogræciæ accessisset (Cæsar), Dejotarus, Tetrarches ' Gallogræciæ tunc quidem penè totius, quod ei neque legibus neque moribus concessum esse cæteri ' Tetrarchæ contendebant: sine dubio autem Rex Armeniæ minoris à Senatu appellatus, depositis Regiis ' insignibus, neque tantum privato vestitu, sed etiam reorum habitu supplex ad Cæsarem venit oratum, ut ' sibi ignosceret, quod in ea parte positus terrarum, ' quæ nulla præsidia Cæsaris habuisset, exercitibus imperiisque in Cn. Pompeii castris affuisset. Neque enim se debuisse judicem esse controversiarum populi Romani, sed parere præsentibus imperiis. Contra quem Cæsar, cum plurima sua commemorasset ' officia, quæ consili ei domestici publicis tribuisset, cum-

(3) Hirtius de Bello Alexandr. cap. 67.

Dejotarus's Son-in-law, carried on that Accusation, and suborned the Physician (*i*) of his Grandfather, by the Mother's side, to depose against his Master. *Cicero* pleaded the Cause of the Accused (*k*), and succeeded admirably well; nevertheless he did not gain the Cause; *Cæsar* would decide nothing on the one side or the other [*D*]: those who

(*i*) *He was come to Rome with the Ambassadors of* Dejotarus.

(*k*) Vide Orationem Ciceronis pro Dejotaro, passim.

'que defensionem ejus nullam posse excusationem imprudentiæ recipere coarguisset, quod homo tantæ prudentiæ ac diligentiæ scire potuisset quis urbem Italiamque teneret, ubi Senatus populusque Romanus, ubi Respublica esset, quis deinde post L. Lentulum & M. Marcellum consul esset: tamen se concedere id factum superioribus suis beneficiis, veteri hospitio & amicitiæ, ac dignitati ætatique hominis, precibus eorum qui frequentes concurrissent hospites atque amici Dejotari ad deprecandum. De controversiis Tetrarchiarum posteà se cognituram esse dixit: regium vestitum ei restituit. Legionem autem unam quam ex genere civium suorum Dejotarus natura disciplinaque nostra constitutam habebat, equitatumque omnem ad bellum gerendum adducere jussit. —— *When he* [*Cæsar*] *was arrived near Pontus, on the Confines of Galatia, Dejotarus, undoubted King of Armenia the Less, though his Title to the Tetrarchat of Galatia was disputed by the other Tetrarchs as being repugnant to Law and Equity, having put off not only his Regal Ornaments, but even the Habit of a private Gentleman, attended Cæsar in a Supplicant's Habit, humbly begging Pardon, that, since Fortune had placed him in a Country, where Cæsar had no Forces, he had assisted Pompey: for it did not belong to him to decide the Controversies of the Roman People, but to obey the present Power. To which, Cæsar, first reminding him of the many friendly Offices he had done him during his Consulate, to convince him the Defence, he had made, was no Excuse for what he had done, replied, it was impossible for a Person of his Prudence and Experience to be ignorant who was Master of Rome and Italy, where the Senate, People, and Republic were, or who was elected Consul after L. Lentulus, and M. Marcellus: however he forgave him for the former Services he had done, the ancient Acquaintance there had been between them, the Supplicant's Dignity, his Age, and the Entreaties of Numbers of People (Dejotarus's Friends) who interceded for him. Having restored him his kingly Apparel, he declared he would hereafter decide the Dispute about the Tetrarchat, but commanded Dejotarus to attend him to the War, with all his Cavalry, and the Legion which he had raised to be inspected in the Roman Discipline.'

[*D*] *He was accused of an Attempt on Cæsar's Life* . . . . . Cæsar *would pronounce a thing on the one side or the other*] I can only cite Father *Abram* on this Subject: he says, 'Videtur Cæsar sententiam distulisse, dum ut statueret primo quoque tempore proficisceretur in Orientem: certe non fuit absolutus, ut constat ex 2 Philippica (4). —— *Cæsar*, says he, *seems to have deferred his Sentence, till, according to a Design which he had formed, he should go into the East. It is plain from the second Philippic that he was not acquitted.*' I here insert the Words that he quotes out of the second *Philippic*. 'Quis enim quisquam inimicior quam Dejotaro Cæsar? . . . a quo vivo nec absens nec absens quicquam æqui bonive impetravit . . . at ille nunquam (semper enim absenti affui Dejotaro) quicquam sibi quod nos pro illo postularemus, æquum dixit videri (5). —— *Who was ever more an Enemy to another than Cæsar to Dejotarus? who neither present or absent could obtain Justice from him whilst he lived. . . . I had an intimate Correspondance with Dejotarus, but Cæsar never assented to what we moved in his Favour.*' This puts in mind of a thing I have observed elsewhere (6), which is, that Advocates are very often subject to contradict themselves, because they make use of one and the same Fact, or of one and the same Reason, sometimes in one sense, and sometimes in another, according as the Causes they have in hand require. When *Cicero* confuted the Accusers of *Dejotarus*, he said that it was no ways credible, that a Prince, who had received so many Benefits from *Julius Cæsar*, should conspire his Death. 'Quæ quidem à te in eam partem accepta sunt, C. Cæsar, ut eum amplissimo regis honore & nomine affeceris. Is igitur non modo à te periculo liberatus, sed etiam honore amplissimo ornatus arguitur domi te suæ interficere voluisse, quod tu, nisi eum furiosissimum judicas, suspicari profecto non potes. Ut enim omittam cujus . . . . tam inhumani & INGRATI animi à quo rex appellatus esset in eum tyrannum inveniri? —— *Which Services, O Cæsar, were so acceptable to you, that you distinguished him by the greatest Marks of Honour, and the Name of King; it is he therefore, whom you saved from Danger, and loaded with Honours, who is accused of an Intent to murder you at his own House; of which crime you cannot suspect him guilty, unless you think him distracted. For, not to insist on the Inhumanity and* INGRATITUDE *That Man must be guilty of, who proves a Tyrant to him that made him a King.*' But when, some Months after, he undertook to prove a Decree to be spurious, which was put forth under the Name of *Julius Cæsar*, he argued in this manner: This Decree is favourable to *Dejotarus*, and therefore *Cæsar* is not the Author of it, since he was always against *Dejotarus*, and never did him any Favour nor Justice; and thereupon he alledged particularly how *Dejotarus* had been hardly used by *Cæsar* even in the midst of *Galatia*, that is to say, where and when *Dejotarus* had a mind to kill him, as the Accusers said. 'Compellarat hospitem præsens, computarat pecuniam imperarat, in ejus tetrarchia unum ex Græcis cognitionibus suis collocarat: Armeniam abstulerat à Senatu datam (8). —— *He had made a positive demand, calculated, and given orders for levying the money, had placed one of his Attendants, a Greek, in his Tetrarchat, and had deprived him of Armenia, which the Senate had given him.*' Thus *Cicero* made use of *Cæsar*'s Behaviour towards *Dejotarus* to different purposes. When there was occasion to prove, that *Dejotarus* was very much obliged to *Cæsar*, he said that *Cæsar* had been very kind to him; but when there was occasion to prove, that *Dejotarus* never had any share in *Cæsar*'s Friendship, he said that the latter had behaved himself very unkindly towards him. What had been favourable to *Dejotarus* in *Cæsar*'s Conduct, served for a Proof against the Accusers; and what had been contrary to that Prince, served for a Proof against *Marc-Antony*. I would fain know what *Cicero* would have answered to a Man who had told him: *You understand by your second Philippic, that when Cæsar went through Galatia, he treated* Dejotarus *very harshly: 'tis therefore probable that* Dejotarus, *to be revenged, conspired against Cæsar: you must therefore strike out of the Plea for Dejotarus, the Proof that you made use of against his Accusers, grounded upon the Gratitude which the great Favours of Julius Cæsar inspired him with.*

If the Cunning of Politicians was not well known, it would be a wonder to see that *Cæsar* did not give a Sentence of Absolution in *Dejotarus*'s Cause; for if we judge of the Accusation by the Answer of the accused, there was never a greater Calumny forged than that of *Dejotarus*'s Accusers. Besides, one of that King's Embassadors offered *Cæsar* to surrender himself a Prisoner, and to answer for his Master's Innocency, Body for Body: *Hieron quidem caussam eandem suscipit, & criminibus illis prò rege se supponit reum* (9). It seems to me that the most likely thing the Accusers said was, that, during the War of *Africa*, *Dejotarus* was very inquisitive after News from that Country, and desirous to hear some bad news concerning *Cæsar*. 'Reliqua pars accusationis duplex fuit: una Regem semper in speculis fuisse . . . sequutum est bellum Africanum, graves de te rumores qui etiam furiosum illum Cœlium excitaverunt. . . . Eo, inquit, tempore ipso Nicæam, Ephesumque mittebat qui rumores Africanos exciperent, & celeriter ad se referrent (10). —— *The remaining part of the Accusation consists of two heads, the first that the King was always very curious in learning what passed . . . . . After this the War in Africa broke out, which was attended with Reports injurious to you, which stirred up the furious Clelius . . . . at which time, says he, he sent Persons to Nice and Ephesus to receive the Rumours from Africa, and bring them back to him.*' It concerned him to be no longer in fear of him, that fear being the only thing that hindered him from re-assuming the Possession of what he had lost. *Cæsar* did not question it; and for that Reason he had no mind to acquit him; by that means he kept him in awe, and encouraged

(3) Cicero pro Dejotaro, cap. 5.

(8) Idem Philipp 2, cap. 37.

Why *Cæsar* decided nothing on either side.

(9) Cicero pro Dejotaro, sub fin.

(10) Id. ibid. cap. viii.

(4) Abram, in Cicer. Orat. on. Tom. II, pag. 467.

(5) Cicer. Philipp. 2, cap. 37.

(6) *Before, in the Remark* [*B*] *and* [*C*] *of the Article* ANTONY (MARC) *the Orator.*

A CONTRADICTION of *Cicero.*

who affirm the contrary, are miſtaken [E]. Some Months after, he was murdered. As ſoon as *Dejotarus* heard of it, he retook all that *Cæſar* had taken from him (*l*). His great Age did not hinder him from joining *Brutus* in *Aſia* (*m*); and by that Action he confirmed the Promiſes of his good Deſigns that were made to the Senate (*n*). He was not ſo good-natured as his Orator repreſents him [F]; he cauſed his Daughter and

(*l*) Cicero, Philipp. 2.

(*m*) Dio, lib. 47, pag. 388.

(*n*) Cicero, Philip. 12, cap. 12.

encouraged Spies and Accuſers. It was his Intereſt, that the Puniſhment of the Calumny in that caſe ſhould not free his Enemies from the Apprehenſion they might be ſo of being calumniated. It is not improper to keep up ſuch a Fear, when one is in ſuch a Poſt as *Cæſar* was. What *Cicero* repreſented is very fine: if it be permitted to ſuborn Domeſtics to depoſe againſt their Maſters, and if thoſe falſe Accuſers are not puniſhed, it will be declaring War againſt all heads of Families, no Man will be ſafe in his own Houſe, and by a ſtrange Metamorphoſis, Maſters will be Slaves to their Servants, and the latter will become Tyrants over their Maſters. 'Servum ſollicitare verbis, ſpe, 'præmuſque corrumpere, abducere domum, contra 'dominum armare, hoc eſt non uni propinquo, ſed 'omnibus ſimili bellum nefarium indicere. Nam 'iſta corruptela ſervi, ſi non modo impunita fuerit, 'ſed etiam à tanta auctoritate approbata, nulli parie-'tes noſtram ſalutem, nullæ leges, nulla jura cuſto-'dient: ubi enim id quod intus eſt atque noſtrum 'impune evolare poteſt, conatque nos pugnare, ſit in 'dominatu ſervitus, in ſervitute dominatus. O tem-'pora, ô mores (11)! —— *To inveigle Servants with* 'hopes and promiſes, to corrupt them with Preſents, to 'decoy them from and arm them againſt their Maſters, 'is not only declaring open War againſt one, but all 'the principal Members of Society; for if the debauching 'of Servants does not only paſs with Impunity, but re-'ceives alſo the Sanction of ſuch Authority, it will be in 'vain for a Man to hope for ſecurity in his own Houſe, 'or expect it from the Laws. For where the ſecrets of 'Families are ſuffered to be divulged, and riſe up a-'gainſt their Maſters, the World muſt be turned upſide 'down, Servants become Maſters, and Maſters Servants.' *Cicero* was not aware that the Diſorder he ſpoke of will ever be fomented by Tyrants and Uſurpers. They would have us fear leſt the Walls and the Floors of our Chambers ſhould witneſs againſt us. Obſerve, that Spies and Informers have at all times taken notice of the manner how People talk of News. It was one of the Crimes that was objected againſt *Dejotarus*.

(11) Id. Ibid. cap. 11.

[E] *Thoſe who affirm the contrary are miſtaken.*] A Political Diſcourſe printed in the Year 1660, *ſhewing the Reaſons of one of the Courts of Attompts of* France *for ratifying the Patents of the Naturalization of Foreigners*, though *Proteſtants*, contains theſe Words (12): *If you had read thoſe Pamphlets, perhaps the Opinion, that you have brought with you from home, would drop as eaſily as the Caſe of* Cæſar's *Condemnation againſt* Dejotarus, *after he had heard the Great* Cicero *ſpeak ſo eloquently and ſtrongly for his Diſcharge*. The Author of theſe Words has taken *Dejotarus* for *Ligarius*. See the Article LIGARIUS, Remark [*A*].

(12) In the Leaf A 5 verſo.

[F] *He was not ſo good-natured as* Cicero *repreſents him.*] It was objected againſt *Dejotarus*, that he had applied a Verſe to two Pieces of News which he had received at the ſame time, one good, and the other bad: one was, that his Friend *Domitius* had been caſt away at Sea; and the other, that *Cæſar* was beſieged in a Caſtle. *Cicero*, in order to ſhew that this was a Calumny, ſays, among other things, that *Dejotarus* was a good-natured Man, and that the Verſe in queſtion is the moſt barbarous in the World. *Let our Friends periſh, provided our Enemies periſh likewiſe.* This is the Senſe of that Verſe. 'Quum eſſet ei nun-'ciatum Domitium naufragio periiſſe, te in caſtello vir-'cumſideri, de Domitio dixit verſum Græcum eadem 'ſententia qua etiam nos habemus Latinum, *Pereant* 'amici dum una inimici intereidant. Quod ille ſi eſſet 'tibi inimiciſſimus nunquam tamen dixiſſet: ipſe enim 'manſuetus, verſus immanis (13).' *Plutarch* gives us a quite different Notion of *Dejotarus*. According to *Chryſippus*, ſays he, 'God reſembles *Dejotarus* King of *Galatia*, who, having ſeveral Children, killed them all, except him to whom he deſigned to leave his Kingdom. To underſtand this, the Reader muſt ſee ſomewhat at length what goes before and what follows. 'As Cities over-charged with People ſend forth Colo-'nies into other Places, and make War upon ſome, 'ſo does God, according to *Chryſippus*, ſend the begin-'ning of ſome Mortality. And he brings in *Euripides* 'for a Witneſs with others, who ſays, that the *Trojan* 'War was cauſed by the Gods, to exhauſt the Multi-'tude of Men. . . . . Conſider, how *Chryſippus* always 'attributes to the Gods ſpecious and kind Appella-'tions; but at the ſame time, cruel, barbarous, and 'Galatian Deeds. For thoſe ſo great Slaughters and 'Carnages, as were the Productions of the *Trojan* 'War, and again of the *Median* and *Peloponneſian*, 'were no way like Colonies, unleſs theſe Men know 'of ſome Cities built in Hell, and under the Earth. 'But *Chryſippus* makes God like to *Dejotarus*, the 'Galatian King, who, having many Sons, and being 'deſirous to leave his Kingdom and Houſe to one of 'them, killed all the reſt; as he that cuts and prunes 'away all the other Branches from the Vine, that one, 'which he leaves remaining, may grow ſtrong and 'great: but the Vine-dreſſer does this, the Sprigs be-'ing ſlender and weak. Τῷ Γαλάτῃ Δηιοτάρῳ 'παῖδι χρυσοστόμῳ ὅμοιον τὸν θεὸν, ὃς πλείο-'νων αὐτῷ παίδων γεγενήτων, ἵνα βελόμενος 'τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ τὸν οἶκον, ἅπαντας 'ἐκείνος ἀπέφαξεν, ὥσπερ ἀμπέλου βλαστὸς ἀ-'πέλιμόν καὶ κολόνας, ἵνα εἷς ὁ λειοθεὶς ἰσχυ-'ρὸς γένηται καὶ μέγας. *Dejotaro Galatæ ſimi-lem deum Chryſippus facit. Qui cum haberet complures filios, cum vellet ut regnum domumque relinquere, cateros omnes necavit: tanquam vitis palmites & præ-cidaret, ut unus aliquis ſuperſtes, validus magnuſque fieret* (14). And we, to favour a Bitch, take from her many of her new-born Puppies, whilſt they are yet blind. But *Jupiter*, having not only ſuffered and ſeen Men to grow up, but having alſo both created and increaſed them, plagues them afterwards, deviſing Occaſions of their Deſtruction and Corruption; whereas he ſhould rather not have given them any Cauſes and Beginnings of Generation (15).' Theſe words of *Plutarch* contain a Compariſon, which puts me in mind of an Impertinence of *Venini*, which I have read in the *Doctrine Curieuſe* of Father *Garaſſe*, pag. 815. 'As for Men, ſaid he, we ſhould do with 'them as the Fellers of Wood do in great Foreſts; 'they go and view them, to ſee the dead and green 'Wood, they cut off all that is uſeleſs and ſuperfluous, 'or prejudicial, and keep only good Trees, or young 'hopeful Tillers. In like manner, ſaid that wicked A-'theiſt, a ſtrict ſearch ought to be made every Year 'of all the Inhabitants of great and populous Cities; 'and thoſe that are uſeleſs, and hinder the reſt from 'living, ſhould be put to Death: ſuch as thoſe who 'have no Profeſſion uſeful to the Public, decayed old 'Men, Vagabonds, and idle Fellows: Nature ought 'to be pruned, and Cities cleared; a Million of Peo-'ple ſhould be put to death every Year, that are like 'Briars and Brambles to the reſt, and hinder them 'from growing.'

(13) Cicero, lib. 9. pag. 650.

(14) Plutarch de Stoic. Repugn. pag. 1049. C.

(15) Idem Ibid.

The Action, which *Plutarch* imputes to *Dejotarus*, does not ſeem very certain, when compared with the Praiſes that *Cicero* beſtowed upon this King of *Galatia*, and with the Silence of the Accuſers concerning ſuch an Inhumanity. Would *Cicero* have ſaid that *Dejotarus* was a very good Father, *optimus pater familias* (16), if his Grandſon *Cæſar* could have reproached him with the Murder of his Children? Would he have ſaid that his Probity, known to every body, was a ſufficient Confutation of the Calumny? 'Hoc loco Dejotarum 'non tam ingenio & prudentia, quam fide & religione 'vitæ defendendum puto. Nota tibi eſt, C. Cæſar, 'hominis probitas, noti mores, nota conſtantia: cui 'porro, qui modo populi Romani nomen audivit, De-'jotari probitas, integritas, gravitas, virtus, fides non 'ſit audita (17)? —— *Herein* Dejotarus *may be defend-ed, not ſo much for his great Capacity, and Wiſ-dom, as his Integrity, and Sanctity of Life. You, O 'Cæſar, are no Stranger to his Honeſty, his Morals, or 'his Conſtancy: and who, that has ever heard the leaſt 'mention of the Roman People, has not alſo heard of the 'Honeſty, Sincerity, Conſtancy, Virtue, and Integrity 'of Dejotarus?* Obſerve, that *Dejotarus* had but one Son at the time of the Accuſation. Nay, he had but one when *Cæſar* lodged in his Houſe (18). I may be told

(16) Cicero *calls him ſo*, pro Dejotaro cap. 9.

(17) Ibid. cap. 6.

(18) Ib. cap. 3.

and his Son-in-law to be put to Death, and demolished the Fortreſs where they lived. It is very likely that *Caſtor* eſcaped from him [G]; and that it was he, who obtained, in the Seven hundred and fourteenth Year of *Rome*, the Country, that *Dejotarus* and *Attalus* left vacant by their Death in *Galatia*. *Dejotarus* had another Son-in-law, againſt whom he undertook a Religious War [H]; for, being the Patron of the Temple, and of the Prieſts of the Goddeſs *Cybele*, he could not endure that his Son-in-law *Brogitarus* ſhould prophane that ſacred Place: he armed againſt him, and drove him from thence. He was

(19) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 391.

told that *Strabo* (19) mentions a thing that favours *Plutarch*, which is, that *Dejotarus*, having taken the chief City of his Son in-law *Saocondarius*, cauſed him to be put to death, as he did his Daughter, the Wife of *Saocondarius*, demoliſhed the Fortreſs, and plundered moſt of the Houſes. I anſwer, that this is very different from *Plutarch's* Narrative. Doubtleſs *Dejotarus* did this, to revenge the horrid Treaſon of that Son in law, who, probably, had been the chief Director of the Accuſation againſt *Dejotarus*.

(20) Ibid. pag. 387.

(21) Ibid. pag. 390.

(22) Pro Dejotaro, cap. 7.

(23) *Others read* Luceium.

(24) Cicero pro Dejotaro, cap. 6.

(25) Id. ad. Attic. Epiſt. 17. lib 5, pag. m. 526.

(26) Id. pro Dejotaro, cap. 3.

(27) Id. Epiſt. 21, ad Attic. lib. 5.

(28) Idem Philipp. 11, cap. 7, 36.

(29) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 390.

(30) Dio, lib. 40, pag. 409.

(31) Philipp. ubi ſupra.

(32) Appian. de Bell. Civil. lib. 3, pag. 615.

(33) Dio, lib. 48, pag. 479.

(34) Id. lib. 48, pag. 430.

(35) Poſt pugnam ad Philippos victa Dio, lib. 48, *Caſſius eodem die cum Dejotaro in Gallo-graecia defunctum dicit*. A. U. 714 debuit ideo *Dejotaro* non Caſtori. Dio non ſemel fictos alio nomine vidit. Licet patrum eorundem appellat. . . . *Dion ſays, lib 48, that after the Battle of Philippi, the Tetrarchies of Attalus and Dejotarus, who died in Galatia, were given to one Caſtor in the Year of Rome, 714. He ought to have ſaid to Dejotarus, and not to Caſtor. Dion often gives to the Son the Name of their Fathers.*

Noris, Cenotaph. Piſ. pag. 209.

(36) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 387.

(37) Dio. lib. 50, pag. 488.

(38) Strabo, ubi ſupra.

(39) Lib. 12, pag. 391.

I will not end this Remark without informing the Reader, that when I ſpoke of *Saocondarius*, *Dejotarus's* Son in law, I underſtood *Strabo's* Words otherwiſe than they are commonly underſtood. Τὸ τῆ Κάσ-ρῳ βασίλειον τῦ Σαοκονδαρίε, ἐν ᾧ γαμβρὸν ὤντα τέκνου ἀπέφαξε Δηϊότα-ρος, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑαυτῦ. They are *Strabo's* Words (39), which may ſignify, either *The Chief City of* Caſtor Saocondarius, *wherein his Father-in-law* Dejotarus *cauſed him and his Wife to be put to Death*, or elſe *The chief City of* Caſtor *the Son of* Saocondarius, *in which the latter was put to Death with his Wife by* Dejotarus *his Father-in-law*. This laſt Tranſlation (40) ſeemed better to me than the other, becauſe I am certain that *Caſtor* was the Son of *Dejotarus's* Daughter, and that, not knowing his Father's Name, I may be allowed to call him *Saocondarius*, as well as by any other Name. Note, by the bye, an advantage of our Language over the *Greek*. The latter allowed of a Diſpoſition of Words, wherein a Name might as well be taken for the Sir-name, as for the Father of a Man.

(40) Father *Abram* keeps to it all along in his Commentary upon *Cicero's* Oration for *Dejotarus*.

Perhaps *Suidas* may be alledged againſt me, who called *Dejotarus's* Son in law, *Caſtor*; but *Suidas's* Authority is of no Weight in this Caſe. He ſuppoſes that *Dejotarus* was accuſed before *Cæſar* by his Son-in-law, which is a very unexact Account. *Cicero* the Advocate of the accuſed, and conſequently infinitely more credible than a hundred thouſand *Suidas's*, ſays plainly and expreſsly in ſeveral places of his Plea, that *Caſtor*, Grandſon of *Dejotarus*, was the Accuſer, and ſpeaks but faintly and indirectly of *Caſtor's* Father in relation to the Plot. 'Tmake no doubt that the Son had his Father's Approbation, and that *Dejotarus* made uſe of it as a Pretence for the Barbarity wherewith he uſed his Son-in-law; but after all, Exactneſs requires that here we ſhould follow the Teſtimony of *Cicero*. Moreover does not good *Suidas* ſay, that *Dejotarus* was a *Roman* Senator? Is it not ſuch a groſs Ignorance as makes him altogether unworthy to be believed on this Head? We ſhall ſee hereafter whether *Dejotarus's* Son-in-law was learned, and Author of ſeveral Books.

[G] *It is very likely that* Caſtor *eſcaped from him.*] *Caſtor* was the Promoter of the Accuſation at *Rome*, where he ſuborned *Dejotarus's* Phyſician to make him depoſe againſt his Maſter (24). Judge whether *Dejotarus*, who did not ſpare his Daughter, would have ſpared ſuch a Grandſon? We muſt therefore believe that *Caſtor* did not fall into his Hands. I cannot tell what became of *Dejotarus's* Son, for he did not ſucceed his Father: he had obtained the Title of King from the Senate (25), and afterwards from *Cæſar* (26), and was to marry a Daughter of *Artovaſdes* King of *Armenia* (27). *Cicero* praiſes him very much (28). He, who ſucceeded *Dejotarus*, was called *Amyntas*, if we believe *Strab.* (29). Now this *Amyntas* had been *Dejotarus's* Secretary (30), and afterwards General of his Forces in *Brutus's* Army (31). He forſook *Bruteus's* Party, and went over to *Antony's* Camp. Doubtleſs that was it which moved *Antony* to give him *Piſidia* in 714 (32), and *Galatia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pamphilia* in 718 (33). Now becauſe *Dion* ſays, that, in 714, the *Triumviri* gave *Caſtor* the Dominions of *Dejotarus*, deceaſed in *Galatia*, and thoſe of *Attalus*, deceaſed in the ſame Country (34), I could eaſily believe that *Strabo* is miſtaken when he ſays, that *Amyntas* was *Dejotarus's* immediate Succeſſor. I think it is better to ſay, with *Dion*, that *Caſtor* ſucceeded *Dejotarus*, and then we may ſay that *Amyntas* ſucceeded *Caſtor*. Though Father *Noris* ſhews by ſome Examples, that it is uſual with *Dion* to give a Son the Name of his Father, yet I cannot believe that this happened as to *Caſtor*; and if it were ſo, Father *Noris* would nevertheleſs have committed a Fault (35). for in ſuch a caſe *Dion* could not have taken *Caſtor* for *Dejotarus*, ſince *Caſtor* was not the Son of *Dejotarus*, but only his Daughter's Son. It is likely that *Caſtor*, who accuſed his Grandfather at *Rome* of having attempted upon *Cæſar's* Life, is he, whom *Dion* mentions, as having ſucceeded *Dejotarus*. As for *Dejotarus Philadelphus* King of *Paphlagonia*, the Son of *Caſtor* (36), I confeſs I know not from whence to derive his Extraction. I cannot tell whether his Father is the ſame *Caſtor* who accuſed his Grandfather: that might be: I only know that he left *Marc Antony* in the War of *Actium*, to join *Octavius* (37), and that he was the laſt King of *Paphlagonia* (38).

[H] *He had a . . . . Son-in-law, againſt whom he undertook a Religious War.*] The abominable *Clodius*, having found a Man in *Phrygia* ready to give a good Sum of Money, upon condition that he ſhould be inveſted with the Pontificate of *Peſſinus*, gave him a Patent for it. That Man was married to a Daughter of *Dejotarus*, and his Name was *Brogitarus*. He was put in poſſeſſion of the Temple, and the Prieſts were expelled. But *Dejotarus*, full of Zeal for the Worſhip of *Cybele*, drove out that Uſurper, who prophaned all thoſe Holy Ceremonies. See how *Cicero* diſplayed his Eloquence upon that Occaſion. 'Sed quid ' ego id admiror? *he directs his Speech to Clodius* (41), qui accepta pecunia Peſſinuntem ipſum, ſedem, ' domicilium que Matris deorum vaſtaris, & Brogitaro (42) Gallogræco impuro homini ac neſario totum ' illum locum ſanumque vendideris: facerdotem ab ' ipſis aris pulvinaribuſque detraxeris: omnia illa quæ ' vetuſtas, quæ Perſæ, quæ Syri, quæ reges omnes ' qui Europam Aſiamque tenuerunt, ſemper ſumma ' religione coluerunt, perverteris? quæ denique noſtri ' majores, &c. Quod quum Dejotarus religione ſua ' caſtiſſime tueretur, quem unum habemus in orbe terrarum fideliſſimum huic imperio atque amantiſſimum ' noſtri nominis, Brogitaro, ut ante dixi, addictum pecunia tradidiſti. —— Quum multa regia ſunt in Dejotaro, tum illa maxime, quod tibi nullum munus dedit: quod eam partem legis tuæ, quæ congruebat ' cum judicio Senatus, ut iple rex eſſet, non repudiavit: quod Peſſinuntem per ſcelus à te violatum, & ſacerdote ſacriſque ſpoliatum recuperavit, ut in priſtina religione ſervaret: quod ceremonias ab omni veſtuſtate acceptas à Brogitaro pollui non ſinit, mavultque generum ſuum munere tuo, quàm illud ſanum ' antiquitate religionis carere. —— *But why ſhould I wonder at that? (ſays he, addreſſing himſelf to Clodius) when for Money you gave up Peſſinus it ſelf, the ſacred ſeat of Cybele, to plunder, ſelling the Place and Temple to Brogitarus, a Galatian profane and villanous, tearing the Prieſt from the Altar, and laying your ſacrilegious Hands on thoſe things, which the Perſians, Syrians, and all the Kings of Europe and Aſia for many Ages, had honoured with uncommon Zeal, nay, and our own Anceſtors, &c. which though Dejotarus, the moſt ſincere Friend of this Empire, and who has the moſt tender Affection for the Roman*

(41) Cicero, Orat. de Haruſpicum reſponſe, cap. 13.

(42) *Add to this the following Paſſage out of the Oration for Sextus, cap. 26.* Lege tribunitia Matris Magnæ Peſſinuntius illa ſacerdos expulſus, & ſpoliatus ſacerdotio eſt; ſanumque ſanctiſſimarum, atque antiquiſſimarum religionum vendidum pecun a grandi Brogitaro, impuro homini, atque indigno illa rel gione, præſert m cum ea ſibi illa non colendi, ſed violand. cauſſa appetiviſſet. . . . *By the Tribunitian Law, the Prieſt of Cybele, at Peſſinus, was deprived of his Office, and that ancient and venerable Temple ſold for a round Sum of Money to Brogitarus, a Wretch unworthy of ſo ſacred a Charge, eſpecially as he did not act it for the ſake of Religion, but of Plunder.*

' Name,

was most superstitiously fatuated to Auguries [*I*]. *Cicero* has made very good Reflexions upon this [*K*]. It does not well appear at what time *Brutus* pleaded *Dejotarus*'s Cause

' *Name, had with a sacred awe maintained, yet, as I* ' *said before, you basely sold to Brogitarus for Money.* ' . . . . . *Though Dejotarus has many Royal Virtues,* ' *yet that of his never bribing you deserves especial No-* ' *tice, his not abolishing that part of your Laws, which* ' *was agreeable to the Senate, his recovering Pessinus,* ' *which you had impiously profaned, and plundered, His* ' *not suffering it's Rites, which had through unknown* ' *Ages been religiously kept, to be trampled on by Bro-* ' *gitarus, and his choosing that his Son-in-law should* ' *rather loose his Money, than that the Temple should* ' *be deprived of that Veneration it had always en-* ' *joyed.*'

[*I*] Dejotarus *was most superstitiously fatuated to Auguries*] He undertook nothing without consulting the Flight of Birds, and he was so governed by that kind of Auspices, that he often interrupted his Journies, and went Home again after he had been several Days in March. He had no other Reasons to do so, but the Presages which he discovered in his Way. The flight of an Eagle once hindred him from pursuing his Journey; and it was well for him, for, if he had continued it, he had been buried under the Ruins of the Chamber, that was designed for him. It fell the following Night. Being very well skilled in those things, he was his own Prophet, and Soothsayer. He did not forget to furnish himself with the most necessary Qualification for that Profession; which is, never to be at a stand, never to confess he is mistaken, and have always some Evasion at Hand. He found a Subterfuge that was full of Morality, when he lost the greatest part of his Dominions, and a great Sum of Money, for having been in Arms against *Cæsar*. He led his Forces to *Pompey*; the March was long, and he had always good Omens on the Way; which made him flatter himself that *Cæsar* would be defeated. Things turned quite otherwise; *Cæsar* was victorious, and made *Dejotarus* feel his Resentment in a very troublesome manner. What did *Dejotarus*? Had he Honesty enough to acknowledge that his Science had deluded him? Did he shew any Sorrow, or Repentance, for his too great Credulity? None at all; but he had recourse to the finest Maxims of Morality: he said that the Auguries, which had moved him to continue his March to *Pompey*'s Camp, were truly good Auguries, since under their direction he had followed the Party of Justice. It is true that it cost him the best Part of his Dominions; but, said he, the Glory of having performed my Duty is dearer to me than all the Riches of the World. For fear I should be suspected to sophisticate this Passage of *Cicero*, I insert it at length. ' Quid ego hospitem nostrum clarissimum atque optimum virum Dejotarum ' commemorem, qui nihil unquam nisi auspicato gerit? ' qui quum ex itinere quodam proposito & constituto ' revertisset, aquilæ admonitus volatu, conclave illud ' ubi erat mansurus si ire perrexisset proxima nocte ' corruit. Itaque ut ex ipso audiebam, persæpe re- ' vertit ex itinere, quum jam progressus esset multo- ' rum dierum viam. Cujus quidem hoc præclarissi- ' mum est, quod postea quam a Cæsare tetrarchiæ ' regno, pecuniaque mulctatus est, negat se tamen ' eorum auspiciorum, quæ sibi ad Pompejum proficis- ' centi, secunda evenerunt pœnitere. Senatus enim ' autoritatem & P. R. libertatem atque imperii digni- ' tatem, suis armis esse defensam, sibique eas aves, ' quibus autoribus officium & fidem secutus esset, bene ' consuluisse: antiquiorem enim sibi fuisse possessioni- ' bus suis gloriam (43). —— *Why should I mention that* ' *great good Man Dejotarus, who never undertakes any* ' *thing without first consulting Omens? Who, warned by* ' *the flying of an Eagle, returned from a Journey he* ' *had begun, when the Room wherein he designed* ' *to have lodged, had be proceeded, the next Night fell* ' *down. So that, as I have heard him often say, he* ' *has many times turned back, though he has been ad-* ' *vanced several Days Journey. Of whom there is one* ' *thing very singular. That, after his being deprived of* ' *his Tetrarchat, and fined by Cæsar, he denies ever to* ' *have repented the Omens of Success, which attended* ' *his going to join Pompey; since the Authority of the* ' *Senate and Roman People had been supported by his* ' *Arms, and those Birds, which had directed him to fol-* ' *low what his Duty and Honour demanded, had advi-* ' *sed him well, for that his Glory was Prior to his De-* ' *minions.*' Observe that this Man, who had such a religious Respect for the Orders of Providence, as to the Doctrine of Auguries, made no difficulty to usurp his Neighbours Dominions, and to put his Son-in-law and his Daughter to Death for Quarrels, which doubtless Ambition had created. It is likely he would not have spared his Father in a like Case.

(43) Cicero, de Divinat. lib. 1, cap. 15.

[*K*] Cicero *has made very good Reflexions upon this.*] He observes, that the Principles of the *Romans* in the Science of Auguries differed strangely from those of *Dejotarus*, and that in some things they were quite contrary. This is a very strong Observation against the doctrine of Presages; for since God only knows things to come, it is he alone that sends them. Now God does not contradict himself, and therefore he does not make the same things serve to foretel Good and Evil. ' Solebat ex me Dejotarus percontari nostri augu- ' rii disciplinam, & ego ex illo sui. O dii immorta- ' les quantum differebat, ut quædam essent etiam con- ' traria (44)! —— *Dejotarus frequently enquired of me* ' *Principles of our Augury, and I of him those of theirs,* ' *but, O heavens! how widely did they differ! nay in* ' *some cases were directly contrary.*' Here is a Consideration of greater weight. Could *Dejotarus* say any thing more frivolous, than to maintain, that he did not repent of having followed the Auspices which Heaven had offered him, whilst he marched to join *Pompey*; that he did not repent, I say, since he had always preferred Glory before the Possession of a Kingdom? What is this to the Auspices? Did you not know, before they were pretented to you, what you owed to the Friendship of the *Roman* People; what Fidelity and Justice required from you? Was you not fully persuaded that Glory, Honour, and Virtue, are preferable to a Crown? The croaking of a Crow in your March was not therefore designed to teach you those Truths. You knew them before as well as now. Auguries do not teach Moral Doctrines, but good or bad Events: if they promised you a good Success, they deceived you: you fled with *Pompey*, and the Conqueror deprived you of your Dominions. ' Nam illud admodum ri- ' diculum, quod negas Dejotarum, auspiciorum quæ ' sibi ad Pompejum proficiscenti facta sunt, non pœni- ' tere, quod fidem secutus, amicitiamque Po. Ro. fun- ' ctus sit officio. Antiquiorem enim sibi fuisse laudem ' & gloriam quàm regnum & possessiones suas. Cre- ' do id quidem, sed hoc nihil ad auspicia. Nec enim ' ei cornix canere poterat recte eum facere, quod Po. ' Ro libertatem defendere pararet: ipse hoc sentiebat ' sicuti sensit. Aves eventus significant aut adversos, ' aut secundos. Virtutis auspicia video esse usum De- ' jotarum, quæ vetat spectare fortunam dum præstetur ' fides. Aves vero si prosperos eventus ostenderunt, ' fefellerunt. Fugit è prælio cum Pompejo, grave ' tempus: discessit ab eo, luctuosa res: Cæsarem eodem ' tempore & hostem & hospitem vidit &c. (45).—— *It is very ridiculous to say, Dejotarus never repented the* ' *Omens he had, when he went to join Pompey, that* ' *he had followed the dictates of Honour and Friend-* ' *ship to the Roman people, and had therein discharged* ' *his duty, for that Honour and Fame were dearer* ' *to him than his Kingdom and Territories. I be-* ' *lieve so, but what relation has this to Augury? For* ' *neither could the Crow tell him he did well, in en-* ' *deavouring to defend the Liberty of the Roman people.* ' *He was equally sensible of this at that time as at* ' *this. The Birds denote good or bad Success. But* ' *Dejotarus followed the dictates of Honour, which al-* ' *lows no enquiry into the Success, but the Justice of* ' *the Cause. If the Birds promised him Success, they* ' *deceived him; he fled with Pompey from the Battle;* ' *dreadful day! He parted from him, a melancholy Cir-* ' *cumstance! He saw Cæsar at the same time his Ene-* ' *my and his Guest.*' It is most certain, that *Dejotarus* did not examine the Auspices, to know whether by joining with *Pompey* he should embrace the Good Cause, but to learn whether his Journey should be attended with good Success. He only consulted and studied the Auguries, to know whether he acted prudently: he was fully persuaded that he acted justly; for if, after having seen the entire Ruin of the Republican Party, he continued firmly persuaded that *Pompey*'s Party was the just Side, he could not doubt of it, when *Pompey* was in a prosperous Condition. It was therefore an unfair thing in him, and an effect of an ill-grounded

(44) Ibid. lib. 2, cap. 8, & 36.

(45) Ibid. cap. 36.

Cause before *Cæsar* [*L*]. If the Women of the Old Testament might be compared with those of *Paganism*, we may compare *Sarah*, the Wife of *Abraham*, with *Stratonice*, the Wife of *Dejotarus* [*M*]. The latter made an ingenious Answer to *Crassus*'s Raillery concerning his old Age [*N*]. *Moreri* is very short upon *Dejotarus*, tho' he had plenty of Matter, and nothing to do but collect it. Notwithstanding his Brevity, he has committed gross Mistakes [*O*]. I shall mention them in the last Remark.

ill-grounded Shame to make use of this shift: the Auguries have not deceived me, since I am better pleased for having acted like a good Man, and a Man of Honour, than if I had purchased a Kingdom. This puts me in mind of a very common Subterfuge among those who, during the Wars for Religion, preach to their People that God promises them good Success, that all Presages are favourable to them, *&c.* It frequently happens, that all those fine Promises are attended with the Loss of a Battle. The Preacher is not disturbed at it; but finds an hundred admirable Evasions: had we been victorious, says he, we had trusted too much to the Arm of Flesh, we too much praised our Strength; a Defeat teaches us that we are not humble enough; the Finger of God will be more sensible hereafter: after all, the Presages were happy, since the Victory will become fatal to the Conqueror, and the Vanquished will learn the better to trust in him who is the Rock of Ages.

[*L*] *It does not well appear at what time Brutus pleaded Dejotarus's Cause.*] *Cicero* speaks of it in this manner: 'Erat à me mentio facta causæ Dejotari fidelissimi atque optimi regis ornatissimè & copiosissimè à Bruto me audisse esse defensam (46) —— *I have observed before, that I have heard the Cause of Dejotarus, a King of uncommon Honour and Fidelity, gallantly, and with great Eloquence, defended by Brutus.*' It is not questioned but that the Book, wherein he speaks thus, was written before the Death of *Cato Uticensis* (47): and therefore it must be said that *Brutus* did not plead for *Dejotarus* in *Cæsar*'s Accusation, for it was at the Return from *Spain*, and after the War of *Africa*, that *Cæsar* examined that Accusation. Nay, we may be sure that *Brutus* did not plead for *Dejotarus* at *Rome*, but at *Nicæa*; and therefore there is reason to believe that he only justified *Dejotarus* for bearing Arms against *Cæsar* in *Pompey*'s Army. 'De (Bruto) Cæsarem solitum dicere, magni refert hic quid velit: sed quidquid volt, valde volt, idque animadvertisse, cum pro Dejotaro Nicæ dixerit, valde vehementer eum visum & libere dicere (48). —— *Cæsar used to say of Brutus, that he never intermeddled but in Affairs of Consequence, but that whatever he undertook, he prosecuted in earnest, and that he had made this Observation, when he pleaded for Dejotarus at Nice, when he spoke with great Freedom, and an uncommon Resolution.*' That Speech of *Brutus* is not so much praised by the Author of the Dialogue *de Causis corruptæ eloquentiæ* as by *Cicero*. *Plutarch*'s Memory did not serve him well upon this Occasion. he tells us of a King of *Libya*, whose Cause was stoutly maintained by *Brutus*. He could not justify him; the Crimes were too great, and too evident; but by his many Intercessions he secured him part of his Kingdom (49). This does not concern a King of *Libya*, but *Dejotarus*.

[*M*] *Sarah, the Wife of Abraham, may be compared with Stratonice, the Wife of Dejotarus.*] *Stratonice*, Wife of *Dejotarus*, was barren, and being informed that her Husband passionately desired to have Children, that might succeed him in his Kingdom, she advised him to make Use of another Woman, and promised him to own the Children he should get by her. He admired that Counsel, and declared that he would do what she pleased. Upon which she made choice of a very beautiful Maid among the Captives (50), dressed and adorned her, and presented her to *Dejotarus*. She owned all the Children that were born in that manner, and educated them tenderly and splendidly (51). *Plutarch* in another Place calls *Dejotarus*'s Wife *Berenice*, Βερενικην. He says one thing of her, which the Sceptics make use of: Which is, that a Woman of *Lacedæmon* coming near *Berenice*, it happened that those two Women turned their Heads from each other immediately; *Berenice*, because she could not indure the smell of Butter; and the other, because she could not endure the smell of Perfumes. Πρὸς δὲ Βερενίκην τὴν Δηιοτάρου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου τινὰ γυναῖκα φοιτῆσαι λέγουσιν· ἃς δὲ ἀγνοῦς ἀλλήλαις προσῆλθον, ἐνθὺς ἀποστρέφεται, τὴν μὲν τὸ μύρον, ἃς τοῖχε, τὴν δὲ τὸ βούτυρον δυσχεράνασαν. *Et ferunt Spartanam quandam mulierem accessisse ad Berenicen Dejotari uxorem, cumque invicem appropinquassent, aversas fuisse, quod unguentum altera, altera butyrum olfaciens aversaretur* (52). The *Greek* Termination of *Stratonice* and *Berenice* might perhaps confound *Plutarch*'s Ideas, so far as to give the same Queen sometimes the first of those Names, and sometimes the last. It may be also, that *Dejotarus* had two Wives, one called *Stratonice*, and the other *Berenice*.

[*N*] *He made an ingenious answer to Crassus's Raillery concerning his old Age.*] That *Roman* Captain went thro' *Galatia*, in his Expedition against the *Parthians*, and found King *Dejotarus* there, 'who, though a very 'old Man, was building a new City. He told him 'in Jest, it appears to me, Sir, that you begin very 'late to build, since you begin at the last Hour of the 'Day. That King of *Galatia* immediately answered 'him, neither are you set out very early to make War 'against the *Parthians*. For *Crassus* was above sixty 'Years old, and his Face made him look older (53).' *Dejotarus* must needs have been very old then; for *Cicero*, speaking of a time very near that, says, that it was a Wonder how that Prince had the Strength to keep on Horse-back, after several Persons had set him on, *Dejotarum quum plures in equum sustulissent, quod hæres in eo senex posset admirari? solebamus* (54). It was when *Cicero* commanded in *Cilicia* in the Year 702. *Crassus* had been defeated two Years before. *Cicero* contracted a very strict Friendship with King *Dejotarus* whilst he was in *Cilicia*, and received all manner of Assistances from him (55). He gave his Son and his Nephew to *Dejotarus* the Son, who carried them into *Galatia* (56). I have another proof of *Dejotarus*'s old Age. He was already an old Man when *Pompey* made War against *Mithridates*. He recommended his Children and his House to *Cato* of *Utica* (57). We have seen above (58) that he had but one Son in the time of the War against *Pharnaces*.

[*O*] *Moreri has committed gross Faults.*] It is not true, I. That Dejotarus *was accused of having caused his Daughter and his Son-in-law* Castor *to be put to Death.* II. *And that this gave* Cicero *an occasion to make that admirable Oration in his Defence which is still extant.* The true Subject of the Accusation, and of *Cicero*'s Oration has been mentioned in the Text of this Article. III. It is very unlikely that *Castor the Historian* was the Son of *Dejotarus*'s Son-in-law. Why then does *Moreri* affirm it as an undoubted thing? *Scaliger* (59), *Vossius* (60), Father *Hardouin* (61), and several other great Men, are of Opinion that *Castor*, surnamed the *Chronographer* by *Josephus* (62), is the Son-in-law of *Dejotarus*. Three Reasons hinder me from adopting that Opinion. The first is, that this *Castor*, as they own, wrote a Book intituled, χρονικὰ ἀγνοήματα, *Chronological Ignorances*. Now that Work was cited by *Apollodorus* (63), who flourished under *Ptolemy Evergetes* the second of that Name (64): it must needs be then that *Castor* flourished at latest in the same Reign. How then could he be the Son-in-law of *Dejotarus*? for that Son-in law was still living when *Cicero* pleaded for *Dejotarus* (65), that is to say, in the Year of *Rome* 709, or thereabout. Could a Man, who had flourished in the Reign of *Evergetes*, which extends from the Year of *Rome* 608, to the Year 636, be yet living in the Year 709? I draw my second Reason from this, that *Castor* the Chronographer had composed many Books, on Matters that required the whole Time of a Man. An Author like him must needs have studied extreamly, and done almost nothing else. This does not suit *Dejotarus*'s Son-in-law. He is spoken of as a Man who warmly espoused *Pompey*'s Party, insomuch that his Son out of Complaisance for him was unwilling to lay down his Arms after the Defeat of *Pharsalia*, though *Cicero* did his best to persuade him to it. 'Hic vero adolescens . . . . cum 'in illo nostro exercitu equitaret cum suis delectis 'equitibus, quos una cum eo ad Pompejum pater miserat, quos concursus facere solebat? quam se jactare? quam se ostentare? quam nemini in illa causâ studio & cupiditate

(46) Cicero in Bruto, cap. 5.

(47) *See* Fabricius *in the Life of* Cicero, *ad ann.* 707.

(48) Cicero ad Attic. Epist. 1, lib. 14.

(49) Plut. in Bruto, pag. 986.

(50) *Her Name was* Erestion.

(51) *Taken from* Plutarch, *in his Treatise* de Virtutibus Mulierum, *pag.* 258.

(52) Plut. adversus Colotem, pag. 1109. B.

(53) Id. in vita Crassi, pag. 553.

(54) Cicero pro Dejot. cap. 10.

(55) *See the 4th Letter of the 15th Book* ad Familiares, *and the Oration* pro Dejot. cap. 13.

(56) Epist. 17 & 18, lib. 5, ad Atticum.

(57) Plut. in Catone minore, pag. 763. E. *He uses the plural Number* παίδας.

(58) *In the Remark* [F], *Citat.* (18).

(59) Animadv. in Euseb. pag. 16, & 56.

(60) Vossius de Histor Græc. pag. 159.

(61) In Indice Autorum Plinii.

(62) In Apolog. lib. 2.

WHETHER *Castor*, Author of several Books, is the Son-in-law of *Dejotarus*.

(63) Biblioth. lib. 2, pag. mi. 75.

(64) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 132.

(65) *Cicero, pro Dejot.* cap. 10, where directing his Speech to *Castor*, he clearly intimates, that his Father had a Hand in the Accusation. He had said a little before, that *Castor*, after the Battle of *Pharsalia*, persisted in *Pompey*'s Party to please his Father. This you will see in the next Quotation.

& cupiditate concedere? Cum vero, exercitu amisso, ego, qui pacis auctor semper, post Pharsalicum prælium, suasor fuissem armorum non deponendorum, sed abjiciendorum, hunc ad meam auctoritatem non potui adducere; quod & ipse ardebat studio ipsius belli, & patri satisfaciendum esse arbitrabatur (66). —— *What noble Sallies did that brave Youth make in our Army at the head of his chosen Horse, which his Father had sent to Pompey? With what a Majestic Mien, with what a Grace, with what an Ardor and generous Ambition did he enrol himself in that Cause! When the Army was lost in the Battle of Pharsalia, I, who was always an Advocate for Peace, and advised them not only to lay down their Arms, but cast them away, could not prevail upon him to listen to my Authority: his Soul glowed with heroic Ardor, and stood resolved to answer his Father's Expectations.*' Add to this, that *Cicero*, in his Plea for *Dejotarus*, does not say a word whereby it appears that the Son-in-law of that Prince was a Man of Letters. He could not well have been silent about it, if that Son-in-law has been as illustrious by his Books as the Chronographer *Castor* was. I may be told that this Silence was an Address of *Cicero*'s Rhetoric; he was afraid that the Father's Doctrine would be a favourable Presumption for the Son, who was *Dejotarus*'s Accuser; but this Objection is of no force. *Cicero* might have aggravated the Fault of the Son a thousand ways, and even that of the Father, by the Consideration of the Learning of the latter. I may be told again, that perhaps *Dejotarus*'s Son in-law had not yet published his Books. But how comes he then to be cited by *Apollodorus*? And when was it that he published them? Did not *Dejotarus*, who did not survive the Process he had at *Rome* above three or four Years at most, cause him to be put to Death (67)? Besides, I observe that *Cicero* lays it down for matter of Fact, that *Dejotarus*'s Son-in-law was not known in the World, but by the Honour *Dejotarus* did him to grant him his Daughter. Before that time, he was an obscure Man. A great Author is not thus spoken of. The vast, and prodigious Distance that is between him and Sovereigns, is not a Reason to say that he is unknown, and that he lives in Obscurity; and nothing would persuade me more that he had got a very great Reputation, than to see a Prince make choice of him for his Son-in-law. So that I believe, that if the learned *Castor* had married *Dejotarus*'s Daughter, he would have attained to that Honour by the Lustre of his Learning, and consequently that *Cicero* had not dared to say of him what he did say: 'Rex Dejotarus vestram familiam abjectam & obscuram de tenebris in lucem vocavit: quis tuum patrem antea qui esset, quam cujus gener esset, audivit (68)? —— *King Dejotarus raised your Family mean and obscure: who ever heard of your Father till it was known whose Father-in-law he was?*' My third Reason is, that, though several ancient Writers have cited *Castor*, yet none calls him *Dejotarus*'s Son-in law: Yet such a Quality is seldom forgotten: for as it is very rare among Authors, and the Lustre it gives to the Person that has it, spreads itself in some manner over all the Common-Wealth of Learning, a Writer takes Pleasure in saying, when he can do it, that the Author, whom he cites, is the Son, or the Son-in-law of a King. If ever such a rare Circumstance ought to have been remembered, it is when a Royal Father-in-law has been as well known to the learned, as *Dejotarus* was since *Cicero*'s Harangue. How comes it then that the Son-in-law of *Dejotarus* is never cited under that Title? *Varro* (69), *Josephus*, *Plutarch*, *Justin Martyr*, *Tatian*, *Eusebius*, St *Cyril*, *Ausonius*, and *Stephanus Byzantinus* have cited *Castor*, but none of them calls him *Dejotarus*'s Son in-law. If I am not mistaken, none but *Suidas* has done it. But who is ignorant of the prodigious confusion of his Dictionary: almost every thing is in disorder: How many times doth he divide what ought to be joined, and join what ought to be divided? We have seen already that *Suidas* takes *Dejotarus* for a *Roman* Senator.

What I have said, that *Castor* must needs have continually applied to his Studies, will appear most likely to all those, who shall consider the nature of his Works. It appears that he undertook to reform Chronology, and to observe the Errors of the ancient Historians. He is cited (70) concerning the Kingdoms of *Sicyon*, *Argos*, and *Athens*, and concerning the Monarchy of the *Assyrians*. He wrote a Book concerning the City of *Babylon*, and concerning the Nations which had been successively Masters of the Sea (71). He wrote a Treatise concerning the *Nile*, and another wherein he compared the Customs of the *Romans* with those of the Sect of *Pythagoras* (72). I do not mention the Rhetorical Books that *Suidas* ascribes to him, for it may be that they are of another *Castor*. All good Judges will easily grant that, of all the Productions of the Pen, none requires more Time, Application, and Patience, than those wherein a Man proposes to himself to rectify Chronology, and to criticize the Historians. This is what *Castor* did: Witness his *Errata* of Chronologers, χρονικὰ ἀσυνήμαλα, and the Book hinted at by *Ausonius* (73).

I have been not a little surprized to see, that *Antonius CASTOR*, mentioned by *Pliny*, has been confounded with the Son-in-law of *Dejotarus*. This Father *Hardouin* has done (74), not considering that *Antonius Castor* lived in *Pliny*'s time, and above an hundred Years. He was an excellent Botanist, who cultivated a very great number of Plants in his Garden, and spoke learnedly of them. He had never been sick, and being above a hundred Years old, he had still a good Memory, and a great deal of Vigour. *Pliny* had seen that Garden, and learned a great deal from that Botanist. 'Nobis certe, exceptis admodum paucis, 'contigit reliquas contemplari scientia Antonii Castoris, 'cui summa auctoritas erat in ea arte nostro ævo, vi'sendo hortulo ejus, in quo plurimas alebat; centesi'mum ætatis annum excedens, nullum corporis ma'lum expertus, ac ne ætate quidem memoria aut vi'gore concussis (75).' Can this suit with the Son-in-law of *Dejotarus*? Was he not killed with his Wife by his Father-in-law before the Seven hundred and fourteenth Year of *Rome*, and above fifty Years before *Pliny* was born (76)? When Father *Hardouin* conjectures from a Passage of *Pliny*, that *Antonius Castor* composed some Volumes concerning Plants, he is much more in the right: nevertheless it may be, that *Pliny*'s words (77) signify only that *Castor* shewed the Plant in question in his Garden, or that he made the Description of it to the Curious that went to see it. What makes me doubt of the Conjecture of that learned Commentator, is, that if *Castor* had published some Books of Botany, *Pliny* would have said something of it, when he speaks of that Man's Garden, and Knowledge (78). However it be, Father *Hardouin* has been more lucky than *Vossius*: he applies the Passage of the twentieth Book of *Pliny* to *Antonius Castor*, whereas *Vossius* understood it of *Castor* the Chronographer cited by *Apollodorus*.

(66) Cicero, Ib. pag. 654.

(67) Strabo, lib. 12, pag. 391.

(68) Cicero, ubi supra, cap. 12.

(69) In libris de Vita Populi Romani. Vossius de Hist. Græc. pag. 158, 159. *We'll tell you in what Places the other Authors mentioned by us have cited Castor.*

(70) Eusebius in Chron.

(71) Περὶ θαλασσοκρατόρων.

(72) Plutarch, in Quæstionibus Romanis, cites it.

(73) Quod Castor cunctis de Regibus ambiguis. *Ausonius in Professor Burdig. Epig. 23, ver. 7.*

(74) In Indice Author. Plinii.

(75) Plinius, lib. 25, cap. 2. Moreri *quotes the 1st Chap. of the 15th Book.*

(76) He was born in the 714th Year of *Rome*, and he died, being about 56 Years of Age, more or less, in the Year 832.

(77) They are at the beginning of the 17th chapter of the 20th Book.

(78) In the 2d chap. of the 25th Book.

DELLIUS (QUINTUS), a *Greek* Historian. *Plutarch* mentions him twice: I. When he relates that *Marc Antony* sent to signify to *Cleopatra*, that she should come into *Cilicia* to justify her Conduct (*a*), for she was accused of having supplied *Brutus* and *Cassius* with Succours. II. When he mentions the Disgrace of some of *Marc Antony*'s good Servants (*b*). The first Passage informs us, that *Dellius* was sent to *Cleopatra*, to notify to her the Order to come into *Cilicia*: the second tells us, that *Dellius* withdrew from *Marc Antony*'s Court, on the Advice he received that *Cleopatra* designed to have him killed. In the first Case *Plutarch* makes him act a cunning Part [*A*]; and

(*a*) Plut. in Marc. Antonio, pag. 926.

(*b*) Ib. pag. 942.

[*A*] *Plutarch . . . . makes him act a cunning Part.*] As soon as he saw and heard that beautiful Queen, he judged there would be quickly occasion for her, and that her Beauty, assisted by her Eloquence, would give her an intire ascendant over *Marc Antony*. For which Reason he began to make his court to *Cleopatra*, and advised her to appear in *Cilicia*, with all her Ornaments. He assured her that she had nothing to fear from such a polite and courteous General as he that sent for her. She found her self wonderfully confirmed by this Discourse in the hopes she had conceived of making her self beloved by *Marc Antony*. She argued

and in the second, represents him as guilty of a great Indiscretion [B], in relation to what is called good Fortune in point of Galantry. It is in this last Passage that we learn that *Dellius* was an Historian [C], and that he published the Reason why he withdrew from *Marc Antony*'s Court. He did it in a Circumstance of Time very favourable to *Augustus*. It was a little before the Battle of *Actium*, and he was well acquainted with *Marc Antony*'s Designs, and able to inform *Augustus* of the Condition the Enemy was in (c). *Seneca*, the Father, relates several things, which are not to the Honour of *Dellius* [D]. It is thought, with great Probability, that the *Dellius* mentioned in the third Ode of the second Book of *Horace*, is the same with him that is mentioned by *Plutarch* [E], and who was sent several times Embassador by *Marc Antony* (d). I shall put together, in one Remark, the Faults I have observed upon this Article [F].

(c) Dio, lib. 50. pag. m. 495.

(d) See the Remark [C], at the end.

gued with her self in this manner since *Cæsar*, and the Son of the great *Pompey* (1), who only saw me when I was a young unexperienced Girl, and unacquainted with the World, became nevertheless my Conquest, what may I not expect at present, now that my Beauty and my Wit are in their full Perfection? Ἡ δὲ καὶ ἑλληνίς πως θάῤῥος, καὶ τοῖς πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Γναῖον τὸν Πομπηίου παῖδα πρότερον αὐτῇ γεγονόσιν ἀφ' ὥρας συμβολαίοις τεκμαιρομένη, ῥᾳδίως ἐπαίρεσθαι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐκέλευε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔτι κόρη καὶ πραγμάτων ἄπειρον ἔγνωσαν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον ἤμελλε φοιτήσειν, ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα καιρὸν γυναῖκες ἄγειν τε λαμπρότατον ἔχουσι καὶ τῷ φέροντι ἀκμάζουσι. *Illa hinc ab Dellio inducta, hinc conjecturam auctus ex prioribus suis formæ cum Cæsare & Cneo Pompeii filio commercits, facile Antonium speravit se juba luram: quando puellam adhuc illi & rerum rudem cognoverant, ad hunc vero veniebat prout quo maximè tempore speciem habent fœminæ florentissimam & ingenio vigent* (2). This way of arguing is much better than those imagine, who speak only of Girls of fifteen Years of Age, of Roses half blown, and in whose Opinion twenty Years is an entrance into Old Age. Impertinent People, who may easily know, both by what passes in their Time, and by the Histories of past Ages, that the Ladies, who have most charmed great Princes, and who made the greatest Noise in a Court, were of an Age that permitted them to acquire the experience of Affairs, and to perfect their Wit; and that there are but few whose Empire is of any long continuance, if the charms of the Body are not assisted by Graces of the Mind. *Plutarch* observes that *Cleopatra* was more Charming by the agreeableness of her Words and Conversation, than by her Beauty, which was not extraordinary. Καὶ γὰρ ἦν (ὡς λέγουσιν) αὐτὴ μὲν καθ' αὑτὴν τὸ κάλλος οὐδὲν ἢ πάνυ δυσπαράβλητον, οὐδ' ἕλοι τὸν ἑκάστου τὴν ὄψιν. Neque enim erat (ut perhibent) figura ejus per se usque adeo incomparabilis, neque ut obstupefaceret spectatores (3). —— *Her Beauty (by report) was not in itself so surprizingly great, or such as could dazzle the Spectators.*

(1) This puzzles the Critics, for it does not appear at what time *Pompey*'s Son could be in Love with *Cleopatra*, before the Defeat of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. See Mark Velleius's Letters.

(2) Plut. In Marc. Antonio, pag. 926, 927.

(3) Ibid. pag. 927. D.

[B] *As guilty of a great Indiscretion.*] He complained at Table that they made them drink Vinegar, whilst *Sarmentus* drank the most delicious Wine at *Rome*. This *Sarmentus* was a young Boy whom *Augustus* loved passionately. That Comparison went far, and *Cleopatra* was offended at it; it is a Sign that *Dellius* had complained that this Queen did not well entertain those, who made her taste the Sweets of Love. This is somewhat extraordinary; for when a Woman is able to buy the most juicy Meats and the best Liquors for such Men, she willingly does it to increase or revive their Vigour. *Plutarch* does not say in what Author he had read that Cause of *Cleopatra*'s Anger against *Dellius*: It is not likely that it was to be found in the History of the latter, as it was found there that a Physician, whose Name was *Glaucus*, gave *Dellius* notice that *Cleopatra* had a Design upon his Life. However it be, *Plutarch* (4) observes that *Dellius* was one of those, who forsook *Marc Antony*, being moved to it by the Injuries and the Scurrility of *Cleopatra*'s Flatterers. We shall see, by and by, a Passage of *Seneca*, which is a Proof that there was an amorous Intrigue between *Dellius* and that Queen. *Dion* (5) speaks of a much more criminal Conversation. Κύιντον τινὰ Δέλλιον παιδικὰ ποτὲ ἑαυτῇ γενόμενον πέμψας. Missio ad eum Q. quodam Dellio exoleto suo (6). —— *Sending to him one Quintus Dellius who had been a Catamite.*

(4) See his Words in the Remark [F], Cuat. (16).

(5) Lib. 49, pag. 474.

(6) Text is of Marc Antony.

[C] *Plutarch says that Dellius was an Historian.*] *Vossius* (7) approves *Casaubon*'s Conjecture on a Passage of *Strabo* (8), wherein *Adelphius* is cited as the Author of the History of *Marc Antony*'s Expedition against the *Parthians*. *Strabo* adds, that the Author of that History had commanded part of the Forces in that Expedition, and that he was a good Friend to *Marc Antony*. All this agrees with *Dellius*; so that there being no Writer that mentions the Historian *Adelphius*, it is likely, as *Casaubon* conjectures, that we should read *Dellius*, and not *Adelphius*, in that Passage of *Strabo*. When I say *all this agrees with* Dellius, I do not mean that there is any Authority, whereby it appears that he had a command in the War that *Marc Antony* made against the *Parthians*. I only mean, that it is very likely he had. And indeed we know that *Marc Antony* took him along with him in the Expedition of *Armenia* in the Year of *Rome* 720. (9), and that he sent him twice to negociate with *Artavasdes*.

(7) Vossius de Hist. Græcis, pag. 477.

(8) Lib. 17, pag. 760.

[D] *Seneca, the Father, relates several things that are not for the Honour of Dellius.*] The Name that was given to *Dellius* can hardly be expressed in the *French* Language; *Quem Messala Corvinus desultorem bellorum civilium vocat* (10): They called him the *Runner of Civil-Wars*. He sided with all Parties, and turned like a Weather-cock. He left *Delabella* to join *Cassius*; he had his Life promised him provided he killed *Dolabella*. He left *Cassius* to side with *Marc Antony*, and lastly, he left *Marc Antony*, and embraced *Augustus*'s Party. It is he, adds *Seneca*, of whom there are some lascivious Letters written to *Cleopatra* (11). *Seneca* calls him *Deillius*. Doubtless it is of him that *Seneca* the Philosopher speaks, when he says that *Augustus* had so much Clemency, that he made Choice in the Enemies Army of those, whom he intended to admit to his greatest familiarity, the *Cocceius*'s, the *Dellius*'s, &c (12). According to the Remark of *Lipsius* it must not be read *Dullius*, but *Deillius*, or rather *Dellius* (13). If the Reader remembers what I have said in the Remark [A] of the Article of CHARLES the Fifth, he will be persuaded that *Augustus*'s Clemency was mixed with exquisite Policy.

(9) Dio, lib. 49, pag. m. 474.

(10) Seneca Pater, Suasoria 1, pag. m. 120.

(11) Hic est Dellius cujus epistolæ lascivæ ad Cleopatram feruntur. *Id. ibi.*

(12) Coccejos & Dullios & totam cohortem primæ admissionis ex adversariorum castris conscripsit. *Seneca de Clementia, lib. 1, cap. 10.*

(13) Lipsius, in Tacit. Annal. lib. 1.

[E] *Dellius, mentioned in the third Ode of the second Book of Horace, is the same with him who is mentioned by Plutarch.*] This is Mr *Dacier*'s Opinion. What he adds does not seem to me in all respects so probable. ' It ' is probable, *says he* (14), that he had a share in the ' Favours, which he pretended to manage for his Ma- ' ster, and that he received from *Cleopatra* the same ' Pleasure, which she furnished to *Antony*; for *Seneca* ' speaks of some very free Letters which he had writ ' to that Princess.' This Passage contains two principal Facts. The one is that *Dellius* used his skill with *Cleopatra* to make her comply with *Marc Antony*'s Loves; the other is, that he sollicited for himself at the same time, and not unsuccessfully. The first is not very likely; *Marc Antony* had no need of a Sollicitor: *Cleopatra* went to him as to her Judge, and notwithstanding the good Opinion she had of her Beauty and Wit, she conceived new Hopes from what *Dellius* had told her of *Marc Antony*'s Humour: She dressed herself to the best advantage, and at the first Interview, she omitted nothing to make a Lover of him, and easily succeeded in it: so that a third Person would have been as needless as all times, as he would have been troublesome in some Cases. As to the second Fact, I find it very likely; and after all I do not question, but that if *Dellius* had acted the Part of a Sollicitor for his Master, he would have done what most others do in the like Case: he would have paid himself with his own Hands; and if he had not imitated those who are employed to buy Wine, and who taste it first, he would at least have imitated the Domestics of the second Rank, who eat what comes from their Master's Table.

(14) *Remarks upon the 3d Ode of the 2d Book of* Horace.

[F] *I shall put together the Faults I have observed.*] *Andreas Schottus* says, that *Dion* gives *Dellius* the Title of

of Historian, and that *Plutarch* reckoned him among *Cleopatra*'s Flatterers: *Qui Δέλλιος ὁ ἱστορικὸς Dionis lib* 50 *& Plutarcho in Antonio inter Cleopatræ adulatores numeratur* (15). These two Facts are false. *Plutarch*'s Words have not been well understood by *Andreas Schottus*; he refers the Relative ἓν to κόλακες, but it ought to be referred to φίλων. The Sequel of the Discourse shews it plainly. See what trouble the Languages give, whose Grammar is not so rigorous as that of the *French*. I insert the Words quoted by *Andreas Schottus*, and I add the *Latin* Translation to it. Πολλὰς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων φίλων οἱ Κλεοπάτρας κόλακες ἐξέβαλον, τὰς παρανίας καὶ βωμολοχίας ἀφ' ὑπομένοντας, ὃν καὶ Μάγνης ὁ Σίλλιος καὶ Δέλλιος ὁ ἱστορικός. *Complures alios illius amicos expulere Cleopatræ adulatores, quod contumelias & procacitatem eorum non sustinerent: in quibus M. Syllanus fuit, & Dellius historicus* (16). It will appear from them that *Plutarch* is so far from placing *Dellius* among *Cleopatra*'s Flatterers, that he says the Flatterers of that Queen drove him away. *Lipsius*, having cited *Plutarch*'s Words, adds, *eadem Dio, quinquagesimo libro* (17). But it is not true that *Dion* says the same things; he does not speak of *Cleopatra*'s Flatterers; he does not say that *Dellius* was an Historian, nor why he retired.

(15) Schott. in Senecæ, Suasor. 1, n 39, pag. m. 19.

(16) Plut. in Antonio, pag. 943.

(17) Lipſ. ubi ſupra.

DELPHINUS (PETER), General of the Order of *Camaldoli* in the beginning of the XVIth Century. There are some Letters of his that were written before he was General, in the Time that passed from the Year 1462 to the Year 1480 (*a*). A curious Passage was left out in the printed Edition, which is to be found in a Manuscript of those Letters [*A*]. *Delphinus* died the fifteenth of *January* 1525, and was buried at *Murano*, near *Venice*, in the Monastery (*b*) of St *Michael* (*c*).

(*a*) Mabillon, Museum Italic. Tom. I, pag. 202.

(*b*) *Of the Order of* Camaldoli.

(*c*) Mabillon, ib.

[*A*] *They have left out . . . a curious Passage, which is to be found in a Manuscript of those Letters.*] The curious and learned Father *Mabillon* tells us what it is (1). The Passage that was left out was in the Thirty fifth Letter of the seventh Book, and contains this. The Inhabitants of *Arezzo* had thrown into a Well a Lion (2) of Stone, that was at the top of the great Church. When the *French* entered that Town under *Charles* VIII, the Lion was taken out of the Well, and placed in the middle of the great Street; and all the Inhabitants of *Arezzo*, that went by, were obliged to kneel before that Lion, and ask Pardon for their Revolt.

(1) Mabillon, Museum Ital. Tom. I, pag. 279.

(2) *It was the Arms of* Florence.

DEMETRIUS (MAGNES), a *Greek* Author, cotemporary with *Cicero* [*A*], writ some Books, the Loss whereof is very grievous to those, who apply themselves to know, or compose, the Lives of the ancient Writers. He wrote a Book concerning Authors and Towns of the same Name [*B*]. That Work was useful and necessary, considering

[*A*] *Cotemporary with Cicero.*] This may be proved by these words: 'Memini librum tibi afferri a Demetrio Magnete (ad te missum scio) περὶ ὁμοιότητος. Eum mihi velim mittas. Vides quam caussam mediter (1). —— *I remember you received (for I know it was sent) a Treatise on* CONCORD *from Demetrius Magnes. As you know what I am employed about, you would oblige me by sending it.*' What follows is a much clearer proof: 'Hæc igitur videbis, & quod ad te ante scripsi, Demetrii Magnetis librum quem ad te misit de concordia, velim mihi mittas (2). —— *You shall see these things: And I again desire you to send me the Treatise on* CONCORD, *which Demetrius Magnes sent you.*' You see there that *Demetrius* had sent his Book on *Concord* to *Pomponius Atticus*: and therefore he lived at the same time with that good Friend of *Cicero*. If *Vossius* had remembered the second Passage that I have cited, there had been no occasion for him to use any Arguments to prove (3), that in the first Passage we must read ὁμοιότης and not ὁμωνύμων. The learned *Mussat* was for this last Reading. 'Ego dico restituendum περὶ ὁμωνύμων, de hoc enim opere loqui voluit Cicero. De Concordia autem scripsisse Demetrium illum adhuc non legi (4).' He did not therefore remember that he had read *Cicero*'s Letter, wherein the same Book of *Demetrius* is intituled, *De Concordia*. Let us learn by this Example how apt the most learned Critics are to give us very false Corrections. *Henricus Valesius* takes no notice of this Fault of *Mussat*. Let us observe a Mistake of *Jonsius*: he says that *Cicero* reckons *Demetrius Magnes* among those who taught him Rhetoric, and he cites the *Brutus* of *Cicero* (5). I have consulted that Work, but have not found this in it: I only find that *Cicero* frequented the School of *Demetrius* the *Syrian*, and that *Dionysius Magnes* was constantly with him. 'Eodem tempore Athenis apud Demetrium Syrum, veterem & non ignobilem dicendi Magistrum studiose exerceri solebam . . . . (6) assiduissime autem mecum fuit Dionysius Magnes (7).' You will find in *Plutarch* (8), that one of *Cicero*'s Masters in the Art of Oratory was called *Dionysius Magnes*. It is easy to see from whence *Jonsius*'s Mistake proceeds: his Memory transposed the Surnames of the two Persons mentioned by *Cicero* in the same Page. *Mollerus* follows *Jonsius*'s Error (9).

(1) Cicero ad Atticum Epist. 12, lib. 8, pag. 388, 389. Edit. Grev.

(2) Id. Epist. 12, ejusd. libri, pag 399.

(3) Vossius de Histor. Græc. lib. 1, cap. 23. pag. 149, 150.

(4) Mauss. not. ad Harpocrat. voce μεθώνη.

(5) Jonsius de Script. Hist. Philos. pag. 207.

(6) Cicero in Brutu, cap. 91.

(7) Id. ibid.

(8) Plut. in Cicer. pag. 862. *E.*

(9) Mollerus de Script. Homonymis, pag. 901.

[*B*] *He wrote a Book concerning Authors of the same Name.*] *Diogenes Laërtius* gives the Title of it: Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὁμωνύμων Ποιητῶν τε καὶ Συγγραφέων. *Demetrius Magnesius in libro de Poëtis ac Scriptoribus æquivocis* (10). In another place (11) he observes, that the Author had mentioned six Persons who were called *Thales*. I omit the other Passages wherein he cites him. A learned Commentator (12) was of Opinion that the Word ὁμωνύμων ought to be inserted instead of συνωνύμων in this Passage of *Plutarch* (13): Οὐ μὴν ἔγημε ταύτην, ἀλλὰ Σαμίᾳ τινὶ συνώκησεν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ συνωνύμων. Non duxit eam tamen uxorem (*Demosthenes*) sed Samiam quandam, ut tradit Demetrius Magnesius in libris de synonymis, in matrimonio habuit. — *He was not married to her, but to a Samian, as Demetrius Magnes relates in his Treatise of Authors, who bore the same Name.* The same Commentator observes, that *Demetrius* was not the only Person that writ on that Matter, and that the *Greeks* cite *Dionysius* the *Sinopian* in ὁμωνύμοις and one *Simaretus* in συνωνύμοις (14). The first of those two Observations has been very ill understood by *Vossius*, or rather he trusted too much to his Memory, and it failed him. He pretends (15) that *Casaubon* said, that instead of reading περὶ συνωνύμων in *Diogenes Laërtius*, it must be read περὶ ὁμωνύμων. He adds, that nothing must be changed, since *Demetrius* wrote some Books upon those two Subjects. He proves it by *Plutarch*'s Words above cited. This is to suppose, that there is περὶ συνωνύμων in *Diogenes Laërtius*, which is false. Nor is it true that *Casaubon* would have introduced that Term there; it was only in the Life of *Demosthenes* composed by *Plutarch*. *Menage* (16) has taken notice of those two Faults of *Vossius*, which nevertheless made a learned Man (17) say lately, that *Casaubon* was in the wrong to pretend that ὁμωνύμων must be put in *Laërtius*'s Life of *Thales*. He accuses *Jonsius* wrongfully of having pretended the same thing. *Menage* might have observed a third Mistake of *Vossius*, for under pretence that *Plutarch* quotes the Work *de Synonymis*, it must not be imagined, that it is a different Book from that which others quote with this Title, *de homonymis*. *Casaubon* should not therefore have desired that an Alteration should be made in *Plutarch*'s Text. It is very likely that *Plutarch* writ those Words ἐν τοῖς περὶ συνωνύμων. An Historian, who quotes many Books, does not confine himself to denote them precisely by the same word that the Authors of them made choice of in their Titles; he is contented to denote them by Words that signify the same thing: now it is certain that in the common Language the word *Synonymous* was as much made use of as the word *Homonymous*, when one had a mind

(10) Diog. Laërt. lib. 1, in Epimenide, n. 112, & lib. 5, in Aristot. n. 3.

(11) Id. lib. 1, in Thalete, n. 38.

(12) Isaac. Casaubon. in Diog. Laërt. lib. 3, n 38.

(13) Plut. in Demosthene, pag. 853. *A. He cites him also pag.* 858. *F. without mentioning the Title of the Book, and pag.* 859. *B. without surnaming him* Magnes.

(14) *See below, Citat.* 27.

(15) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 150.

(16) Menag. in Laert. lib. 1, n. 38.

(17) Joh. Molleros de Script. Homonymis, pag. 902.

fidering the many Poets, and Philoſophers, *&c.* who had the ſame Name. *Plutarch*, *Diogenes Laërtius*, *Stephanus Byzantinus*, *Harpocration*, &c. have cited this *Demetrius*. The

mind to ſay that ſuch and ſuch Poets, ſuch and ſuch Towns, *&c.* had the ſame Name. It was only in the Logical Books that they made a difference between ὁμώνυμα *homonymous*, and συνώνυμα *ſynonymous*. At preſent, by the caprice of Cuſtom, we are brought to another Method: we cannot ſay indifferently, *ſuch a Man made a Treatiſe of Equivocal Writers, or of Synonymous Writers, or of Writers of the ſame Name* (18). The Ideas that are annexed to the Word *equivocal*, do not allow of ſuch an indifference, and conſequently in the common Language, as well as in Logical Books, we ought to make ſome Diſtinction between ὁμώνυμα *æquivoca*, and συνώνυμα *ſynonyma*, when we have a mind to expreſs the Senſe of thoſe Terms. *Plutarch*, as I have already ſaid, needed not make any ſuch Diſtinction upon ſuch an occaſion. He was as free to quote the ſame Book of *Demetrius*, either with the word ὁμωνύμων, or with the word συνωνύμων, as we are free to quote the ſame Work of Father *Rapin*, either with the Title of *A Compariſon between* Plato *and* Ariſtotle, or with the Title of *A Parallel between* Plato *and* Ariſtotle. A perfect exactneſs would require, that in quoting a Book the very words of the Title ſhould be made uſe of, inſtead of ſome that are equivalent, but moſt Authors cannot confine themſelves to it. Some remember Things better than Words: as for example, they remember that *David Blondel* wrote a Book on the *Euchariſt*, and do not remember that this Book is intituled *Eclairciſſement ſamithers de la controverſe de l'Euchariſtie*. Nay, they fancy that inſtead of the word *Euchariſt*, the Author made uſe of the word *Lord's-Supper*; ſo that without any ſcruple they cite *Blondel in his Treatiſe of the Lord's Supper*, as ſoon as *Blondel in his Treatiſe of the Euchariſt*, or *Blondel* in his *éclairciſſemens ſur la controverſe de l'Euchariſtie*. Some queſtion whether there is *Lord's-Supper*, or *Euchariſt*, in the Title, but fearing to loſe ſome precious Moments, if they ſhould lay down the Pen to clear the Matter by opening the Book, they are contented with an equivalent Term. Let us apply this to *Plutarch* as to the difference that is between him and *Diogenes Laërtius*, with reſpect to the Book of *Demetrius Magnes*. He minded the Thing itſelf more than the Word: he knew that That Author had compoſed a Book about the Writers of the ſame Name, and that there was in it a Circumſtance of *Demoſthenes*'s Marriage; he knew that the Word συνώνυμα was as good to repreſent the Matter of that Book, as the Word ὁμώνυμα, and that was ſufficient for him; he did not think the thing was worth the trouble of interrupting himſelf, even though he had doubted whether the Author's Title was περὶ ὁμωνύμων, and not περὶ συνωνύμων. I would not have enlarged on theſe little things, had I not thought it might ſerve to ſhew us the Illuſions of the Critics. How often do they think that certain Paſſages ought to be corrected under Pretence of ſome difference of Letters? How often, ſay I, do they believe it without any Reaſon, and how often do they unjuſtly exclaim againſt the Tranſcribers? What ſhall I ſay of ſo many Authors, and of ſo many Books, which they wrongfully multiply, under Pretence, that they do not find the ſame Orthography in the Ancients who cite them? Oh, what ſtrange Blunders would be committed by virtue of thoſe Rules a thouſand Years hence in commenting upon our Writers, who with the utmoſt Negligence ſpell the Names of Authors (19), and mention the Titles of Books, juſt as they pleaſe (20).

If the learned *Mauſſac* had ſufficiently conſidered this, he would not have thought that the Book of *Demetrius Magnes*, quoted by *Plutarch* περὶ συνωνύμων, differs from that which others quote περὶ ὁμωνύμων (21). It is in vain for him to alledge, as a Proof of his Opinion, the Paſſage of *Stephanus Byzantinus*, wherein *Demetrius* is cited, ἐν συνωνύμοις (22). I wonder he did not cite *Harpocration* (23), who obſerves that *Demetrius Magnes* ἐν τοῖς συνωνύμοις φῶλαι, *in opere de urbibus ſynonymis*, ſaid, that there were four Cities called *Methone*. We may infer from thence, that thoſe two Titles ſuppoſe no difference, and that in the Notion of thoſe, who quoted them, ὁμώνυμα and συνώνυμα, are the ſame thing. One may alſo maintain, that if the Author made uſe of one of theſe two Words to intitle one of his Books, and of the other for the Title of the other Book, it was not with a Deſign to ſhew any Diſtinction; for it is plain that the Notion, according to which one writes a Treatiſe of Towns that are called *Antioch*, is the ſame Notion that is followed in writing a Book concerning Authors named *Thales*, or *Ariſtophanes*; ſo that the Diſtinction of Logicians between ὁμώνυμα *æquivoca*, and συνώνυμα *univoca*, can have no place here. *Mauſſac* ſhould have remembered that the Book quoted by *Stephanus Byzantinus* and *Harpocration*, ἐν τοῖς συνωνύμοις, treated of Cities that were called by the ſame Name. Now it is not likely, that *Plutarch* meant that Book; doubtleſs he quoted the Book wherein *Demetrius* ſpoke of the Perſons who had the Name of *Demoſthenes*: and therefore *Mauſſac* has not well confuted *Caſaubon*'s Conjecture by ſaying, *Stephanus Byzantinus* has cited *Demetrius Magnes* ἐν συνωνύμοις; therefore the Term συνωνύμων, *muſt be left in* Plutarch. 'Compoſuerat & hic autor libros περὶ συνωνύμων, ut teſtatur Plutarchus in vita Demoſthenis. male enim illo loco vir quidam doctiſſimus legendum cenſet Δημήτριος Μάγνης ἐν τοῖς περὶ ὁμωνύμων pro συνωνύμων, autor Stephanus apud quem voce Δίλαζών citatur idem Demetrius ἐν συνωνύμοις (24).' The Confutation would not be ſo bad, if it could be maintained that the Book, the Title whereof is to be found in *Diogenes Laërtius*, is not that which *Plutarch* mentioned. But this cannot be maintained without offending againſt Probability; and it is certain, that *Caſaubon* looked upon the Books mentioned by *Plutarch* and *Diogenes Laërtius* as one and the ſame Book; he ought therefore to be attacked on that ſide. Note one particular thing: *Berkelius* had no Notion of our *Demetrius Magnes*, as it appears from the Note he made on theſe Words of *Stephanus Byzantinus*, 'Δαμήτριος ἐν συνωνύμοις, Fortaſſis intelligendus Demetrius cognomento Ixion, qui ut Suidas auctor eſt quædam ad Grammaticam ſpectantia conſcripſit (25) —— *Perhaps we are to underſtand* Demetrius, *ſirnamed* Ixion, *who, as* Suidas *has obſerved, wrote ſomething relating to Grammar.*' It is a ſurpriſing thing that his Memory could not ſupply him with any thing concerning our *Demetrius*, of whom ſeveral ancient and modern Authors have ſaid many things; beſides, he is liable to cenſure for believing that *Stephanus Byzantinus* quotes a Grammatical Book. It was more natural to ſay that it was a Treatiſe that related to Hiſtory or Geography, for *Stephanus* quotes him about the Name of a City and of a River. This ſort of *Homonymous* or *Synonymous* Words do not belong to a Grammarian as ſuch I add this Reſtriction, becauſe there is a kind of *Homonymies* or *Synonymies*, that belong only to Grammar, and about which the Ancients publiſhed ſome Treatiſes. *Mauſſac* (26) is in the right to obſerve, that when the Multitude of Books compoſed by Authors of the ſame Name, or upon the ſame Matter, cauſed the Writings of one Man to be confounded with thoſe of another, the Critics, who made it their only Buſineſs to diſcern whether a Work was ſuppoſititious or genuine, had then a new Task, which was to diſcern the Works that belonged to each of the *Homonymous* Writers. He names three Authors, who applied themſelves to that part of the Critical Art; the firſt is our *Demetrius Magnes*: he calls the ſecond *Simareſtus*, and the third *Dionyſius Sinopenſis*. 'Ita Simareſtus quidam libros περὶ συνωνύμων compoſuerat. Hinc etiam Dionyſii Sinopenſis περὶ ὁμωνύμων tractatus apud Ulpianum Demoſthenis ἐξηγητὴν (27).' Conſult *Wowerus* in the ſixteenth Chapter of his Treatiſe *de Polymathia* (28). But I muſt not forget what *Jonſius* obſerves, (29), *viz.* that the Work of *Dionyſius Sinopenſis* was a Comedy (30), and that of *Simareſtus* a Grammatical Performance (31), and therefore *Caſaubon* and *Mauſſac* have matched them wrong with *Demetrius Magnes*. They would have done better if they had matched him with *Agreſſon* (32), mentioned by *Suidas* (33). They make no mention of him: this Omiſſion is leſs pardonable than their omitting what *Aulus Gellius* tells us concerning a Book, wherein the Author examined, among other things, *quot fuerint Pythagoræ nobiles, quot Hippocratæ* (34).

Of

(18) *See above, Rem.* [F]. *of the Article* ALATIUS.

(19) *See the* Republic of Letters, *Sept.* 1685. *Art.* IX. *pag.* 1024, *and following.*

(20) *See, above, the Article* DAMEN, *Cotat.* (20).

(21) Mauſſ. Diſſertat. Critica de Harpocrat. pag. m. 398.

(22) Steph. Byzant. in Ἄλαβα.

(23) Harpocrat. in Μεθώνη.

(24) Mauſſac, ubi ſupra.

(25) Berkel. in Steph. Byzant. pag. 87.

(26) Mauſſac, ubi ſupra.

(27) Id. ibid.

(28) Pag. 126.

(29) Jonſius, de Scriptor. Hiſtor. Philoſoph. pag. 250.

(30) *See* Athenæus, lib. 9. cap. 7. pag. 381.

(31) Jonſius, ubi ſupra, pag. 448.

(32) *See, above, Remark* [H] *of the Article* APOLLONIUS TYANAEUS.

(33) Suidas in Ἀγχολλίωνος.

(34) Aulus Gellius, lib. 14. cap. 6.

The thing for which *Athenæus* quoted him is very remarkable, *viz.* that *Theotimus*, who had writ against *Epicurus*, was accused by *Zeno* the *Epicurean*, and condemned to Death (*a*). There is a Passage in *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, of which I shall speak [*C*].

(*a*) Athen. lib. 13, pag. 611.

Of all the Moderns, who have applied themselves to that part of Critical Learning, which concerns the ancient Authors of the same Name, none has been so successful in it as *Maurius* and *Jonsius* (35). But because the Conformity of Names has not occasioned fewer Mistakes among the Authors of the later Ages, it was necessary to write something on that Subject. A learned *German* (36) went about it with good Success. His Design takes in the ancient and modern *Homonymous* Writers. His Book (37) was printed at *Hamburgh* in the Year 1698. He has observed a vast number of Faults which consist in ascribing a Book to an Author who did not write it, and who had nothing common with the true Author but the Name, *&c.*

(35) *Do not forget what I have said of* ALLATIUS, *in the Remark* [*F*] *of his Article.*

(36) Joannes Molterus, Flensburgo Cimber.

(37) *It is intituled* Homonymosopia Historico-Philologico-Critica, sive schediasma exhibens Homonymis quadripartitum, *&c. in* 8*vo.*

[*C*] *There is a Passage in* Dionysius Halicarnassensis *of which I shall speak.*] That Author, who was both a Critic and a good Historian, observes, that *Callimachus*, and the other Grammarians of *Pergamum* had writ nothing but what was very imperfect concerning the Orator *Dinarchus*. He adds, that *Demetrius Magnes*, who was accounted a very learned Man, and who had given a very great Character of that same Orator in his Work of the *Homonymous* Writers, was nevertheless mistaken (38). He sets down the whole Passage, whereby it appears that *Demetrius* first of all observed that there were four *Dinarchus*'s, and that afterwards he said something of each of them, beginning with the Orator. We find also in that Passage all that he said of that Orator. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* makes a very good Criticism upon it: he complains that *Demetrius* says nothing of *Dinarchus*'s Birth, or of the Time he lived in, or of the Country where his Eloquence was made use of. *Demetrius* might have been very well informed of those things, if he had taken the Pains to inquire into them. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* proves it by setting forth what he had discovered upon that Subject by his Inquiries. I am very well pleased to have had a like taste before I read that Passage of *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*; I did not know that he had observed those Defects in our *Demetrius*'s Narrative, when I blamed the one who write an Elogy upon a Man without mentioning the Place, or the time of his Birth and Death, *&c.* (39). Notwithstanding those Defects, we ought to be sorry for the loss of that Author's Writings; for his Narratives, tho' imperfect, would be of great use to us.

(38) Δήμας (*read* Δημήτριος) ὁ Μάγνης δε ἴδοξε σαλυέσερ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ὁμωνύμων πραγματείᾳ, Demetrius Magnesius qui polyhistor fuisse visus est, in tractatu de homonymis, *&c. Dionys. Halicarn. in judicio de Dinarcho, pag. m.* 349.

(39) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republic des Lettres, *June* 1684, *Art.* V, *pag.* 500, *Edit.* 1686.

DEMOCRITUS, one of the greatest Philosophers of Antiquity, was born at *Abdera* in *Thrace* (*a*). He was educated by the *Magi* [*A*], who taught him Theology and Astrology. Afterwards he heard *Leucippus*, and learned of him the System of Atoms, and a *Vacuum*. The extraordinary Inclination he had for Learning moved him to travel in all the Parts of the World where he hoped to find some great Men. He went to the Priests of *Egypt*; he consulted the *Chaldæans*, and the *Persian* Philosophers; and it is said that he went far into *India* and *Æthiopia*, to confer with the *Gymnosophists*. In those Travels he spent all his Patrimony, which was worth above a hundred Talents (*b*), after which he was obliged to his Brother for his Maintenance; and if he had not given sensible Proofs of his great Parts, he would have incurred a Note of Infamy for not preserving his Estate [*B*]. The Spirit of great Travellers was predominant

(*a*) *See the Remark* [*A*].

(*b*) A Talent is worth about 600 *French* Crowns.

[*A*] *He was educated by the* Magi.] *Xerxes*, King of *Persia*, having lodged in the House of *Demetrius*'s Father, presented him with some *Magi*, who were the Preceptors of *Democritus* (1). Now as there is a very great difference between lodging King *Xerxes*, and treating his Army, one cannot excuse the Author, who says that *Democritus*'s Father feasted that Monarch's Army without incommoding himself (2). *Meseri* was trapped here, which he would not have been if he had minded the words of *Diogenes Laërtius*: but he does not seem to have consulted him. If he had, would he have said, that, according to *Diogenes Laërtius*, *Democritus* was a Native of *Miletus*? *Laërtius* does not say so; he says only that it is the Opinion of some. I shall observe by the bye that *Meseri* should not have cited *Herodotus* without some further Addition. His Readers would be apt to fancy that the thing he speaks of is to be found in the Muses of *Herodotus*. Which is not true, and it is not likely that *Diogenes Laërtius* meant the Author of those Muses. I believe that in that place, and in some others, he means a different *Herodotus* from him that is extant.

(1) Diog. Laërt. in vita Democriti, lib. 9, n. 34.

(2) Val. Maxim. lib. 8, cap. 7, n. 4. exter.

[*B*] *If he had not given proofs of his great Parts, he would have incurred a note of Infamy for not preserving his Estate.*] The Laws of the Country enjoined that those who spent their Patrimony should not be buried among their Ancestors. To avoid the Reproaches and Vexations of those, who envied him, and the trouble which they might have given him, in consequence of those Laws, he endeavoured to free himself from the Punishment which he might have incurred. For that end he chose among his Works that which surpassed all the rest (3), and read it to the Magistrates. They were so charmed with it, that they made him a Present of five hundred Talents, and erected Statues to him, and ordered that after his Death the Public should take care of his Funeral. Which was performed (4). The account which *Diogenes Laërtius* gives of it is so short, that I have thought fit to add here some small Circumstances. *Athenæus* (5) relates the thing better: He says that *Democritus* was formally accused, and obliged to plead his Cause, and that having read one of his Books (6), and represented that the Expences he had been at to qualify himself to compose it, had swallowed up his Patrimony, he was acquitted. Every Body knows *Horace*'s Verses, which show how careless *Democritus* was in relation to worldly Goods:

(3) *It was intituled* Μέγας Διάκοσμος.

(4) Diog. Laërt. ibid. n. 39.

(5) Athen. lib. 4, cap. 39, pag. 168.

(6) *It was the Great* Diacosmos, *and the History of Hell,* περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου. Id. ibid.

Mirmur ô Democriti pecus edit agellos
Cultaque, dum peregre est animus sine corpore velox (7).

(7) Horat. Epist. 12, lib. 1, var. 28.

(8) *See* Lambin *upon that Passage of* Horace.

—— *Is it strange to find*
Democritus grown poorer, whilst his Mind
Was gone abroad, and left his Limbs behind?

Simon Bosius (8) was wrong to think that, by a slip of his Memory, *Horace* said of *Democritus* what he should have said of *Anaxagoras*. It is true that *Plutarch* informs us, that *Anaxagoras* left his Lands untilled (9); and so might *Democritus* too for any thing we know. Did not *Cicero* say so before *Horace*? 'Democritus, 'qui (vere falsi ne quæreramus) dicitur oculis se privasse, certe ut quam minime animus a cogitationibus 'abduceretur, patrimonium neglexit, agros deseruit 'incultos, quid quæreres aliud nisi beatam vitam (10)? '—— *Democritus, who is reported to have put out 'his own Eyes, that his Mind might be the less diverted from Contemplation, neglected his Estate, and suffered it to lie waste. What could he propose by this but 'an happy Life?' Pibilo testifies, that the Greeks said that *Anaxagoras* and *Democritus* had left their Lands untilled, that they might with less distraction apply themselves to the Study of Wisdom (11). But how, will some say, can this be reconciled with the Narrative of some Authors, who said (12) that *Democritus*, dividing his Father's Estate with his two Brothers, chose the least share which consisted in Money, and consequently was fitter for a Traveller? I answer that we ought to be contented to know the several Accounts that are given of those things: it were most times too difficult to reconcile them, and to chuse the best. *Valerius Maximus* tells us that *Democritus* gave all his Estate to his Country, except a very small Sum. He represents that Patrimony as a prodigious Estate, and makes no mention of *Democritus*'s Brothers. This is to relate things very

(9) Ὅτι Ἀναξαγόρας τὴν χώραν καταλίπε μηλόβοτον. Anaxagoras agrum ovibus pascendum reliquit. *Plut. de virtande aere alieno, pag.* 831. *E.* Τὴν οἰκίαν ἐκόσμησε καὶ ἐξέλιπε, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀφῆκεν ἀργὴν καὶ μηλόβοτον ὡς ἐνθουσιαζέσης καὶ μεγαλοφρονούσης. Hic nuncupatis affatu & animi ductus cœlestudine domum deseruit, & agrum reliquit incultum vastumque. *Id. in Pericle, pag.* 162. *B. See the Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* ANAXAGORAS.

(10) De finibus, lib. 5.

(11) De vita contemplat. pag. 891.

(12) Apud Laërt. in Democrito, n. 35. *See also* Ælian, lib. 4, cap. 20.

dominant in him; he travelled to the furtheſt Parts of *India* in queſt of the Riches of Learning, and cared but little for the Treaſures that were almoſt at his Door. If we believe ſome Authors, he was never at *Athens* (c); or if he was there, as ſome others affirm, he did not diſcover himſelf to any Body. He gave two Proofs of an extraordinary Sagacity [C], which made him admired by the great *Hippocrates*. But we muſt not

(c) See *Valerius Maximus* criticized upon this Account, towards the end of the Remark [E].

very carelefsly. There are ſome other Faults in the account he gives of it. 'Democritus cum divitiis cenſeri 'poſſet, quæ tantæ fuerunt, ut pater ejus Xerxis exer-'citui epulum dare ex facili potuerit, quo magis va-'cuo animo ſtudiis literarum eſſet operatus, parva ad-'modum ſumma retenta, patrimonium ſuum patriæ 'donavit. Athenis autem compluribus annis moratus, 'omnia temporum momenta ad percipiendam & exer-'cendam doctrinam conferens, ignotus illi urbi vixit: 'quod ipſe in quodam volumine teſtatur (13). —— 'Democritus, whoſe Fortune was ſo great, that his 'Father could with Eaſe furniſh out an Entertain-'ment for Xerxes's Army, gave his Patrimony to his 'Country, reſerving only an inconſiderable part to him-'ſelf, to diſengage his Mind from every thing but 'Study, which he proſecuted for many Years, with the 'utmoſt Application, at Athens, unobſerved, as he owns 'in one of his Works.' I have already cenſured what the Hiſtorian ſays of the Entertainment of that prodigious Army. It is not probable that *Democritus* made a long ſtay at *Athens*, ſince ſome Authors ſay that he never was there. The great Travels of that Philoſopher, wholly omitted by *Valerius Maximus*, deſerved to be mentioned much more than his Stay at *Athens*. The ſame Author ſays nothing of a wonderful Circumſtance of it. He ſhould have particularly taken notice of the Contempt, which *Democritus* expreſſed for the Glory he might have acquired, if he had been willing to make himſelf known.

(13) Valer. Maximus, lib 8, cap. 7, extern. n. 4.

[C] *He gave two proofs of an extraordinary Sagacity.*] *Democritus* went to viſit *Hippocrates*, who called for ſome Milk. It is not ſaid whether he did it to try *Democritus*'s Skill; it is only affirmed that *Democritus* poſitively determined that it was the Milk of a black Goat that never had but one Kid. *Hippocrates* had brought a Female with him: the firſt time that *Democritus* ſaw her, he called her Maid, but the next Day he called her Woman; and it came to be known that ſhe had been deflowered the preceding Night. This no doubt was a very penetrating Wit, and I ſhould not wonder that *Hippocrates* admired him for it. If I ſhould be asked what I think of this Story, I ſhould anſwer without any heſitation that I take it to be falſe. Not but that I think it poſſible, that the cauſe of the blackneſs of a Beaſt, and a reiterated Teeming ſhould produce a particular Quality in Milk. It is not impoſſible that it ſhould be ſo, and on the other ſide it is poſſible that it ſhould not be ſo. The ſame may be ſaid of the other Article. It is poſſible that the loſs of Virginity ſhould produce ſome alteration in the out ſide of a Woman, and it is poſſible it ſhould produce none. Theſe two oppoſite things being poſſible, let us ſuppoſe that there is a particular Quality in the Milk of a black She-Goat that never bred but once, which ariſes from the Blackneſs and the Firſt-bearing, is it poſſible for a Man to know that Quality? I anſwer that this does not ſeem impoſſible to me; but I do not believe that hitherto any Man has attained to that degree of Knowledge. It is ſaid that Bees have the Faculty of diſcerning, among ſeveral Perſons that come near their Hives, thoſe who have lately taſted the Venereal Pleaſure (14). There is nothing in this but what is probable; for the Organs of Inſects are ſo nice that an Emanation of Corpuſcles, which excites no Senſation in a Man (15), may provoke the ſmell of Bees and Ants. But *Democritus*'s Knowledge would ſurpaſs that of Bees, ſince it is not ſaid that they can diſcern whether it be the firſt time that the Venereal Act has been performed or not. I ſay then, that tho' all that is ſaid of Bees were true, and though it were certain that the loſs of Virginity makes ſome alteration in the out ſide, it could not be inferred from thence that ever any Man knew that Alteration. However it be, I am perſuaded that *Democritus* did not know the two things in queſtion. Nevertheleſs I may relate them without being guilty of a Lie; for I only alledge what I find in *Diogenes Laërtius*.

(14) Plutarch. in Præc. Conjug. pag. 144.

(15) *However, for what is ſaid of Father* Cotton *in the Rem.* [C] *of the Article* MARIANA.

I ſhould be leſs innocent than I am, if I ſhould venture to relate this Story with ſome Additions not to be found in old Authors; and therefore here charge thoſe with a Lie and a Falſification, who ſay that *Democritus* knew by the Eyes of the Maid, that waited on *Hippocrates*, that ſhe had ſpent the Night with a Man. 'Puellam Hippocratis comitem virginem primo, ſe-'quenti verò die fœminam ſalutavit, quod nocturnæ 'defloration is veſtigia in ejus oculis perciperet, inviſa 'generis humani dimidio ſagacitate (16).' What they add, that this Sagacity is odious to one half of Humankind, might paſs, if they did not take it from a falſe Suppoſition; for it is certain that it would be a moſt troubleſome thing, to be afraid of People, that ſhould know by a Maid's Eyes whether ſhe has loſt her Virginity or not. Thoſe, who love pious Frauds, ſhould endeavour to make it believed that many Perſons know this; but it were to be feared that this Error would be more ſtrenuouſly and effectually oppoſed than any Superſtition. A great many People would believe nothing of it, and would not fail to ſhow their diſbelief by oppoſing that pious Fraud. Some ſay that *Democritus* knew the deflowering of that Maid by her Voice (17). He obſerved, ſay they, that the Tone of her Voice was not as it was the Day before; and hereupon they tell us that *Albertus Magnus* diſcovered the miſ-conduct of a Servant Maid, without coming out of his Cloſet. She had been ſent to fetch Wine at a Tavern; and came back ſinging. *Albertus*, though intent upon his Studies, obſerved that the Voice of that Maid was not ſo clear as it was before, and concluded from thence that ſhe had loſt her Maiden-head in that ſmall Journey. 'Nec minus vocis mutationem 'ob eandem fere cauſam, quo tantum ſigno ferunt 'Albertum Magnum ex muſæo ſuo puellam ex œcono-'poſio vinum pro hero apportantem in itinere vitiatam 'ſuiſſet deprehendiſſe, quod in reditu ſubinde can-'tantis ex acuta in graviorem mutatam vocem agno-'viſſet (18).' See the laſt Paragraph of this Remark.

(16) Jo. Chryſoſtomus Magnenus in vita Democriti, pag. 7.

(17) Gaſpar à Reies, in Elyſio jucundar quæſt. Campo, quæſt. 39, n. 7, pag. m. 474.

(18) Id. Ibid.

I have nothing to ſay againſt *le Mothe le Vaier*; for if he ſays that *Democritus* knew the Qualities of the She-Goat by the ſmell of the Milk, he tells us at the ſame time, that, according to *Diogenes Laërtius*, it was the Sight, and not the Smell, that diſcovered it to *Democritus*. So that *le Mothe le Vaier* does not deceive us; he does not give room to believe that his Conjecture is a Fact that he took out of ancient Authors. It will not be unacceptable to the Reader to find here the grounds of his Conjecture. 'Democri-'tus, ſays he (19), made himſelf admired in his Con-'ference with *Hippocrates*, judging in like manner '(20) that the Milk that was brought to them was of 'a black She-Goat, which had never bred but once. 'I know very well that the Writer of his Life * men-'tions this judgment as an effect of the ſight. But 'what we read, in *Philoſtratus*, of a young Shepherd, 'who knew by the ſmell that ſome Milk was not 'pure, makes me think the ſame thing of this Action 'of *Democritus*. That Clown, who was a very tall 'and ſtrong Man, and whoſe Name was *Agathion*, 'deſired the Sophiſt *Herod* to get him the next Day a 'Veſſel of pure Milk in his Opinion, that is to ſay, 'not milked by a Woman's Hand. But as ſoon as it 'was brought to him, he perceived that it was not 'ſuch as he had deſired, proteſting that the Scent 'of her Hands who had milked it offended his Noſe. '*Philoſtratus* calls him a Diviner upon that ac-'count.'

(19) Tom. X, Letter 4, pag. 31.

(20) *That is, as* Pherecydes *had* foretold an Earthquake by the Smell of Well-waters.

* Diog. Laërt.

Though the Story which I have related of *Albertus Magnus*'s Diſcovery be never ſo frivolous, yet ſome learned Phyſicians do carefully examine the Relations which they pretend to obſerve between the Organs of Generation, and the Throat; and it is not an uncommon thing to ſee ſome Perſons, even among the common People, who obſerve that a Preacher the firſt Year of his Marriage has a more dry, broken, and hoarſe Voice than he had before. *Meurſius* ſays, that in ancient Times the Nurſes meaſured every Morning, with a Thread, the Necks of the Maids whom they had under their care, to know whether they had loſt their Virginity, or not (21). He proves this by a Paſſage of *Catullus*: but I had rather ſay, that this Paſſage ſhews

(21) Meurſ. Auct. Philoſ. cap. 36, apud Almelov. Specim. Antiquit. è ſacris profanarum, pag. 67.

not believe what has been said about it: there is more Reason to think that the History of the ancient Philosophers has been intermixed with as many prodigious Adventures as that of the Knights Errant, and it is certain that, in point of Bravery, the Exploits of the Famous *Roland* would not be more admirable, than those two Discoveries of *Democritus* with respect to the Secrets of Nature. Some say that he lived One hundred and nine Years [*D*]; and that he put off his Death for some Days on his Sister's Account [*E*]. He wrote many Books (*d*): which ought not to be wondered at, even tho' he had not lived so long; for he loved a retired Life, and applied himself to study after a very singular manner [*F*]. Besides, he had a fine Genius, a vast Understanding, and

(*d*) *Taken from* Diogenes Laertius, *Book* 9, in vita Democriti, n. 34, & seq.

shews only that their Necks were measured on their Wedding-day, and the Day after. See the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* for *January* 1686, p. 27. *Isaac Vossius*, commenting upon this Passage, makes a Note, wherein he mentions a pretended Book of *Democritus*, which shews how the Neck ought to be measured: and therefore this of right belongs to this part of my Commentary. 'In veteri scripto de sympathia & antipathia, quod perperam tribuitur Democrito, ita hæc referuntur; Λαβὼν βιβλάριον καταμήτρησον ἀπὸ ὠτὸς εἰς ὠτίον. κἂν μὲν ἴσον ᾖ, παρθένιον· εἰ δὲ μή, ἐφθαρται. Nempe si filum aut funiculum ex lino aut papyro accipias, & anterioris colli spatium ab aure ad aurem, & deinceps cervicem seu aversam metiaris colli partem similiter ad aures, fuerintque hæc intervalla inæqualia, defloratam esse sponsam, contra si æquales fuerint isti semicirculi, esse etiamnum virginem. Aliud quoque addit signum, scilicet si collum fuerit calidum & nates frigidæ, & hoc quoque amissæ virginitatis esse indicium (22). —— *In an old Treatise of Sympathy and Antipathy, which is falsly ascribed to Democritus, There is this* Nostrum. *Take a String, Cord, or slip of Paper, and measure the fore Part of the Neck from Ear to Ear, and afterward the back Part in the same manner; if these Semicircles be equal, then is she a Virgin, otherwise not. To this he adds another Criterion; namely, if the Neck be warm, and the Nates cold, it is a sign of lost Virginity.*' There was another Method of measuring: *Severin Pineau* speaks of it in the fifth Chapter of the first Book *de notis Virginitatis*, and *Gaspar à Reies* in his Thirty eighth Question.

(22) If. Vossius in hæc verba Catulli Epith. Peleï & Thetid. *Non illam nutrix orienti luce revisens Hesperno collum portat circumdare filo.*

When the pleas'd Goddess next Morn from Bed,
Th' officious Nurse in vain essay'd the Thread, *pag.* 245.

[*D*] *Some say that he lived One hundred and nine Years.*] We have no certain Account of the time of his Birth, or of the time of his Death: and therefore *Scaliger* does only shew wherein Authors contradict themselves (23). According to the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, *Democritus* flourished in the beginning of the LXXth Olympiad, and died in the second Year of the XCIIId (24). By this Account he must have lived much above One hundred and nine Years, or flourished from his nineteenth Year. *Diodorus Siculus* says, he died being ninety Years old, in the first Year of the XCIVth Olympiad (25). *Lucian* affirms, that *Democritus* starved himself to death at the age of One hundred and four Years (26). If we had any thing certain about the Age of *Anaxagoras*, we should better know the Chronology of *Democritus*; for the latter said, in one of his Works (27), that he was forty Years younger than *Anaxagoras*. But the Authors, who mention the time of *Anaxagoras*, do not agree together. It is said he was Thirty two Years of Age (28) when *Xerxes* went into *Europe*, and that he lived Seventy two Years, and died the first Year of the LXXVIIIth Olympiad. I omit several other Confusions, which are no less difficult to be cleared. One may boldly affirm, that *Ælian* is mistaken (29) in supposing that *Democritus* laughed at *Alexander's* Uneasiness for not having yet conquered one World, there being an infinite number of them, according to that Philosopher. The One hundred and nine Years, which are ascribed to him, cannot bring him to *Alexander's* Conquests. *Aulus Gellius's* Opinion is solid: he came by it the right way: he says, that *Socrates* was younger than *Democritus* (30). Now *Socrates* died the first Year of the XCVth Olympiad, at seventy Years of Age (31): therefore *Democritus* must have been then at least eighty Years old: so that he would have been above One hundred and forty Years of Age, if he had been alive when *Alexander* ascended the Throne the first Year of the CXIth Olympiad. I will not forget that *Marcus Antoninus* (32) says, contrary to all other Writers, that *Democritus* died of the louse Distemper: it is likely he took *Pherecydes* for *Democritus*. You will see several Authorities in the Remark [*E*] concerning our Philosopher's voluntary Death. They may be added to these three Verses of *Lucretius*:

(23) Scalig. in Euseb. n. 1626, pag. 109.

(24) Menage, Not. in Laert. lib. 9, n. 41, *says, that* Eusebius *places the Death of* Democritus *in the fourth Year of the XCIVth Olympiad.* Jonsius, *who says so, pag.* 23, *deceived him.*

(25) Diod Sicul. lib. 14, cap. 11.

(26) Lucian, in Macrobiis, pag. m. 639, 640, Tom. II.

(27) In parvo Diacosmo, apud Laertium in Democrito, n. 41.

(28) Laërt. lib. 2, n. 7.

(29) Ælian. Histor. diversi. lib. 4, cap. ult.

(30) Aul. Gell lib. 17, cap. 21.

(31) *See his Life, written by Mr* Charpentier, *pag.* 284.

(32) Περὶ τῶν εἰς ἑαυτὸν, lib. 3, sect. 3.

Denique Democritum postquam matura vetustas
Admonuit memorem motus languescere mentis,
Sponte sua leto caput obvius obtulit ipse (33).

(33) Lucret. lib. 3, ver. 1052.

Democritus perceiving Age invade,
His Body weaken'd, and his Mind decay'd,
Obey'd the Summons with a chearful pace,
Made haste to welcome Death, and met him half the Race.

DRYDEN.

[*E*] *He put off his Death for some days on his Sister's account.*] His Sister did grieve, not to see his Resolution to die, but because his Death would prevent her being at the Feast of *Ceres*. To ease her of that Trouble, he caused hot Bread to be brought to him every Morning; and only with the Steam of that Bread he kept himself alive till the three Days of the Feast (34) were over: after which, he softly fell into the Arms of Death. Thus *Diogenes Laërtius* relates the Matter (35), which looks very much like an idle Story. *Athenæus* does not relate the Thing with the same Circumstances. He says that *Democritus*, weary of his Old-age, resolved to hasten his Death by lessening his Diet every Day. The Festival of *Ceres* was at hand, and the Women of the House were very much afraid he should die during that Anniversary; for they could not have assisted at that Ceremony if he had died at that time. Wherefore they desired him to put off his Death till after the Feast, that they might joyfully celebrate same: he consented to it, and ordered a Pot of Honey to be brought to him. The Smell of that Honey alone kept him alive for some Days: after which he had it taken away, and died (36). A modern Author has rashly attempted to criticize *Athenæus* (37). He makes him say that *Democritus's* Sister, who was a Priestess of *Ceres*, desired her Brother not to die during the Feast, and that *Democritus* caused a great Pot of Honey to be brought to him, and eat nothing but Honey for several Days. This is not probable, says the modern Author; it is much more likely that this good old Man, being ready to expire, and uncapable of Nourishment, prolonged his Life only by the Smell of Honey, as my Country-Man *Cælius Rhodiginus* affirms: 'Et hæc quidem minus probabiliter Athenæus, cum vero sit propius moribundum senem omnisque alimenti incapacem non ipso melle, sed sola mellis evaporatione vitam produxisse, ut asseruit Rhodiginus meus (lib. 21. cap. 3.) (38).' Who can forbear laughing in reading this? For, I. It is not true that *Athenæus* says that *Democritus* did eat Honey: he says that That Philosopher only received the Scent of it. Διαζῆσαι ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλιτος ἀναφορᾷ μόνῃ χρώμενον: *He lived many Days by the Scent of Honey alone* (39). II. It is not true that the Smell of Honey is more proper to prolong a Man's Life for some Days than the Honey it self. Suppose that Man within an inch of his Grave, I will not recall my words. III. *Athenæus* does not speak of *Democritus's* Sister, so far is he from making her a Priestess of *Ceres*, a Dignity which *Laërtius* does not give her. It is this last Historian who mentions the Intreaties of *Democritus's* Sister. IV. Lastly, It is ridiculous to cite *Cælius Rhodiginus* for a Matter of Fact that happened above Two thousand Years ago.

(34) *It lasted nine Days, according to* Ovid; *four, according to* Hesychius; *five, according to* Aristophanes. *See* Castellanus de festis Græcorum, pag. 173. Casaubon, in Laërt. lib. 9, n. 43, *will have it, that that Festival lasted but three Days in the Place where* Democritus *lived; but that it was otherwise at* Athens: *and yet, in his Notes upon* Athenæus, *pag.* 537, *he says, that it lasted but three Days at* Athens.

(35) In ejus vita, lib. 9, n. 43.

(36) Athen. lib. 2, cap. 7, pag. m. 46.

(37) *He quotes* Athenæus, lib. 2, cap. 3: *it should be* cap. 7.

(38) Balthas. Bonifacius. Hist. Ludicra, lib. 1, cap. 11, pag. m. 13.

(39) Athen. ubi supra.

[*F*] *He applied himself to Study after a very singular manner.*] He made choice of a Room in a House seated in the middle of a Garden, and shut himself up in that Room, with so little concern for every thing that was done round about him, that when they came

and a penetrating Wit. He ſtudied every thing: Natural and Moral Philoſophy, the Mathematics, polite Learning, and the fine Arts, were all within the Sphere of his Activity. He got a very great Skill in all thoſe things, ſo far as to raiſe himſelf to the Glory of Invention, as we read in *Seneca* [G]. I have read in ſome modern Authors, that his long Life was an effect of his Chaſtity [H]; but I do not find it in the Ancients.

came to call him one Day to a Sacrifice, he had neither perceived that the Ox that was to be killed was tied near his Chamber, nor that his Father was come to give Orders for that Ceremony (40). He muſt needs have been a great Lover of Solitude, ſince he took delight in ſhutting himſelf up in the Tombs. Ἤρξατο δὲ καὶ ποικίλως δοκιμάζειν τὰς φαντασίας ἐρημάζων ἐνίοτε καὶ τοῖς τάφοις ἐνδιατρίβων. *Nitabatur autem etiam varie probare imaginationes, ſæpe ſolitarius vivens atque etiam ſepulcra incolens* (41). He did it to try the Strength of his Imagination, and the different ways it might be employed. *Lucian* tells a pretty Story upon this: he ſays, that *Democritus* ſhut himſelf up in a Tomb without the City, where he ſpent Days and Nights in Studying and Writing. Some young Men endeavoured to fright him; they appeared in the Diſguiſe of dead Bodies, and put on the moſt frightful Vizards they could get; they came skipping and capering about him. He did not ſo much as look upon them; and ſaid only, as he was writing, Leave off playing the Fool. Ὁ δὲ ὥτε εἶδεν τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν, ὥτε ὅλως ἐνέβλεψε πρὸς αὐτούς· ἀλλὰ μιᾷ γράφων, παύσασθε ἔφη παίζοντες. ὅτω βεβαίως ἐπίστευε μηδὲν εἶναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἔτι ἐξιούσας τῶν σωμάτων. *Hic neque ipſorum ſimulationem timuerit, neque ipſos omnino reſpexerit: ſed inter ſcribendum dixerit, deſinite ineptire: adeo firmiter credidit animas nihil eſſe poſtquam è corporibus exierint* (42). He appeared undaunted, ſays *Lucian*, becauſe he was fully perſuaded that the Soul dies with the Body, and conſequently, that what is ſaid of Apparitions and Ghoſts, and the return of Spirits, is a meer Chimera. There is ſcarce any one who has heard of *Democritus*, but knows that *Hippocrates* was called to cure him. Some very good Critics (43) are perſuaded, that the Letters that are to be ſeen upon this, amongſt thoſe of *Hippocrates*, are ſuppoſititious: but it cannot be doubted, that this is a very ancient Fiction. For they feign a long while ago, that the *Abderites* wrote to *Hippocrates*, to deſire him to come and ſee *Democritus*. They were afraid he would grow mad, and that his great Knowledge would impair his Brains: which they looked upon as a great Misfortune to the Public. ‘ Hic præ multa quæ detinet ipſum ſapientia ægrotat, ut timor ſit ne noſtra ‘ urbe Abderitarum peſſumdetur, ſi Democritus mente ‘ fuerit motus (44).’ They ſaw that *Democritus* cared for nothing, and laughed at every thing: he ſaid that the Air was full of Images: he enquired what the Birds ſaid, and boaſted that ſometimes he travelled in the imminente Space of things. It appears by one of thoſe Letters of *Hippocrates*, that the love of Solitude had expoſed *Democritus* to the bad Reports that were ſpread of him. ‘ In veritatis regione quam ſapientia ‘ colluſtrat, non eſt pater, nec mater, uxorve, aut cognati, non liberi, nec fratres, neque famuli, fortunaque, ‘ vel aliud ex his quæ tumultum faciunt. Democritus illuc præ ſapientia comm gravit, & inſania teneri ‘ creditur ob ſolitudinis amorem (45). —— *In the Region of Truth, illuminated by Wiſdom, there is neither Father nor Mother, Wife nor Relations, neither Children, Brethren, Servants, Fortune, or any thing elſe which here creates ſuch a buſtle; Democritus took up his abode there, and was from his love of Solitude accounted a Madman.*’ For the reſt, Notwithſtanding the Forgery of thoſe Letters, I would not deny that *Hippocrates* was ſent for by the *Abderites*, and that he who forged thoſe Letters built upon a Matter of Fact, grounded upon a good Tradition (46). But here is ſomething yet ſtronger. Dr *Drelincourt*, Profeſſor of Phyſic at *Leyden*, one of the moſt learned Men of our Age, aſſured me, that there is no room to doubt whether the Letters that concern *Democritus*, among thoſe of *Hippocrates*, are genuine. This he ſays is the common Opinion of Phyſicians.

(40) Diog. Laërt. ubi ſupra, n. 36.

(41) Ib. n. 38.

(42) Lucian. in Philopſeude, Tom. II, pag. 498.

(43) Menag. in Laërt. lib. 9, n. 4.

(44) Apud Hippocrat. in Epiſt. 5 citante Magneno, ubi ſupra, pag. 84.

(45) Magnen. ibid. pag. 26.

(46) I do not then deſtroy what I ſaid before in Citation (47) of the Article ABDERA.

[G] *Got a very great Skill . . . . . ſo far as to raiſe himſelf to the Glory of Invention, as we read in Seneca.*] Here follows the Elogy beſtowed upon him by his Hiſtorian: Ἦν δὲ δαιμόνως ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ πάντα ὅλος. τὰ γὰρ φυσικὰ, καὶ τὰ ἠθικὰ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ μαθηματικὰ, καὶ τὰς ἐγκυκλίους λόγους καὶ περὶ τέχνῶν πᾶσαν εἶχεν ἀκριβείαν. *Erat revera in Philoſophia quinquè certaminum peritus. Namque naturalia, moralia, mathematica, liberalium diſciplinarum orbem, artiumque omnem peritiam celebat* (47). —— *He was actually a great Maſter of Natural and Moral Philoſophy, Mathematics, Languages, and the liberal Arts.* As for the things that he invented, you will not find that *Seneca* praiſes him much for them. ‘ Democritus, inquit, inveniſſe dicitur fornicem, ut lapidum curvatura paulatim inclinatorum medio ſaxo alligaretur. Hoc dicam falſum eſſe. Neceſſe eſt enim ante Democritum, & pontes, & portas fuiſſe, quarum fere ſumma curvantur. Excidit porro vobis, eumdem Democritum inveniſſe, quemadmodum ebur molliretur, quemadmodum decoctus calculus in ſmaragdum converteretur, qua hodieque cōctura inventi lapides coctiles colorantur. Illa ſapiens licet invenerit, non qua ſapiens erat, invenit. Multa enim facit, quæ ab imprudentiſſimis aut æquè fieri videmus, aut peritiùs, aut exercitatius (48). —— *Democritus*, ſays he, *is reported to have invented Arches, that, by a regular Inclination of the Stones, the whole Curvature might be compoſed by the middle Stone, which I dare affirm to be falſe: for there muſt undoubtedly have been Bridges and Gates before his time, whoſe ſummits are moſt commonly Curves. You ſeem to have forgot that the ſame Democritus invented the Method of ſoftening Ivory, how a Pebble might be changed into an Emerald by boiling, and by what Methods Stones might be coloured. Though theſe things were invented by a wiſe Man, the Invention is no proof of his Wiſdom. For we have ſeen the moſt ignorant ſucceed in ſuch things as happily, nay, have brought them to greater Perfection.*’

(47) Laërt. lib. 9, n. 37.

(48) Seneca, Epiſt. 90, pag. m. 378.

[H] *I have read in ſome Modern Authors, that his long Life was the conſequence of his Chaſtity.*] An Author, whom I have already confuted (49), affirms, that *Democritus*, who owed his long Life of above a hundred Years to Honey, and to his exact Continency, deteſted the Work of Love as a thing that made a Man come out of a Man. He quotes *Pliny* in the ſixth Chapter of the Twenty eighth Book; but you will only find theſe Words in *Pliny*: *Veterem damnavit Democritus, ut in qua homo alius exſiliret ex homine* (50). Not a Word of the Virtue of Honey, or of Continency, with reſpect to the long Life of *Democritus*. As for the Honey, our modern Authors might have found an Authority for it, ſince *Athenæus* aſſures us, that *Democritus* had always been a great Lover of Honey, and that he thought, that, to preſerve one's Health, one ought to apply Honey to the inward Parts, and Oil to the outward (51): nay, it ſeems that this Philoſopher even promiſed a Reſurrection to Bodies buried in Honey; for it is very likely that theſe Words of *Pliny*, ‘ Similis & de aſſervandis corporibus homīum ac reviviſcendi promiſſa Democrito vanitas qui ‘ non revixit ipſe (52), —— *Of the ſame ſtamp is the Folly of preſerving human Bodies, in expectation of their coming to Life again, as Democritus would have perſuaded, but the Experiment miſcarried on himſelf;*’ have a Relation to the following Paſſage of *Varro*. ‘ Quare Heraclides Ponticus plus ſapit qui præcepit ut ‘ comburerentur, quam Democritus qui ut in melle ſervarent: quem ſi vulgus ſecutus eſſet, peream ſi centum denariis callicem mulſi emere poſſemus (53). — *Wherefore Heraclides Ponticus, who ordered them to be burnt, was more in the right than Democritus, who would have them preſerved in Honey; for had the People followed his Opinion, a Cup of honeyed Wine would bear an exorbitant Price.*’ As for the other Head, I cannot tell where our Modern could find an Authority for it. Give him leave to argue; he will not attain his aim: if he ſays that *Democritus* blamed the Sport of Love, only becauſe he found much good by abſtaining from it, he will ſuppoſe a falſe Principle, ſince a great many Perſons adviſe Chaſtity, becauſe they experience the ſad Conſequences of Incontinency. Another Modern goes too far, when he ſays, that *Democritus* recommended, both by Reaſons and by his Example, to come very ſeldom near the Fair Sex. ‘ *Morum præterea integritas pudicitiaque ſanta, ut ratiōnibus exemploque rerum Veneris uſum commendaret* (54). He cites *Pliny*, and the fourth Chapter of the third Book

(49) Balthaſ. Bonifacius, Hiſt. Lodiera, lib. 11, cap. 5, pag. 317.

(50) Dr Drelincourt has acquainted me with two ſuch like Paſſages, the one in Galen, Comm. 3, in 6 Epidemior. pag. 478, lib. 7: the other of Tertullian de Anima, cap. 27. Sæ alſo Clem. Alexandrin. lib. 2, Pædag. pag. 193. D.

(51) Athen. lib. 2, cap. 7, pag. 46.

(52) Plin. lib. 7, cap. 55.

(53) Varro in libro περὶ γεωργίας apud Nonium, voce *vulgus*.

(54) Magnenus in vita Democriti, pag. 8.

clients. If all that is cited of him was taken from his true Writings, it cannot be denied but that in some respects he fed himself with Chimeras [*I*]; for it is pretended that he had a Secret to understand the Singing of Birds. We must also believe that he

Book of *Rederitus à Castro de Natura Mulierum* He does not say what place of *Pliny* must be consulted; but without doubt he means the Words which I have cited out of the sixth Chapter of the Twenty eighth Book, wherein we do not find that *Democritus* gave himself for an Example. *Rederitus à Castro* does not say that *Democritus* alledged himself: and if he should say so, he would be but a blind Man who leads another blind Man.

I do not say this to reflect in the least upon the Continency of *Democritus*: I would only make modern Authors sensible of the Obligation they lie under, to advance nothing but what they find credible Witnesses for. We shall see hereafter (55) that *Tertullian* gives him no good Testimony on this Head.

(55) *In Remark* [*K*].

[*I*] *It cannot be denied but that in some respects he fed himself with Chimeras.*] *Columella* (56) quotes the Book which *Democritus* writ concerning Antipathies. *Democritus* said in that Book, that if a Woman, in the time of her Terms, walks three times round each Knot in a Garden, bare-footed, and with her Hair loose, she would destroy all the Caterpillars in it. 'Sed Democritus in eo libro qui Græce in-'scribitur περὶ ἀντιπαθῶν, affirmat has ipsas bestio-'las enecari, si mulier, quæ in menstruis est, solutis 'crinibus, & nudo pede unamquamque aream ter cir-'cumeat, post hoc enim decidere omnes vermiculos, '& ita emori.' Can any thing favour of a greater Superstition? *Democritus* said likewise that, to make a Woman confess the Truth, the Tongue of a Frog must be applied to her Heart when she is asleep. 'De-'mocritus quidem tradit, si quis extrahat ranæ viven-'ti linguam, nulla alia corporis parte adherente, ipsa-'que dimissa in aquam, imponat supra cordis palpi-'tationem mulieri dormienti, quæcumque interroga-'verit, vera responsuram (57).' But it must be a Tongue plucked out of a living Frog, without holding the Frog by any other part (58). Moreover, the Frog was to be put into the Water again. If you desire to know what Judgment *Pliny* made of that Operation, you need only consult him in the Place where he relates such a like Virtue that was attributed to the Heart of an Owl. It was pretended that, when put on the left Breast of a Woman asleep, it made her tell all her Secrets: 'Nec omittam in hac quoque alite '(*bubone*) exemplum magicæ vanitatis: quippe præter 'reliqua portentosa mendacia, cor ejus impositum 'mammæ mulieris dormientis sinistræ tradunt efficere 'ut omnia secreta pronunciet (59). - - - - - *Nor, a-*'*mongst other monstrous Absurdities of magical Va-*'*nity, will I omit that, which it reported concerning* '*the Owl's Heart, which, they pretend, being laid* '*on the left Breast of a Woman asleep, will make her* '*discover all her Secrets.*' *Pliny* calls it Magical Romancing: doubtless he made the same Judgment of *Democritus*'s Story; for he observes, immediately after, that the Magicians added some other things, which, if true, would make Frogs more useful to human kind than the Laws. Frogs would supply an infallible Expedient to make Galantry cease among Women. *Pliny*'s Words are not clear enough, either with respect to the Application of the Remedy, or with respect to a notable Circumstance He does not say whether the Expedient prevented Cuckoldom, or whether it only hindered a Woman from persisting in Adultery. This is no Logical Distinction; the thing is of great Consequence. all the Words should have been weighed, and the least Ambiguities should have been avoided. They should also have been avoided as to the manner of applying the Expedient. it will appear from the Passage of *Pliny* that they have not been avoided. 'Addunt etiamnum alia Magi, quæ si vera sunt, 'multo utiliores vitæ existimentur ranæ, quàm leges. 'Namque arundine transfixa natura per os, si furcu-'lus in menstruis defigatur à marito, adulteriorum tæ-'dium fieri (60).' Du Pinet *renders those Words thus:* If a Frog is spitted upon a Reed from the Head to the Pudenda. *Father* Hardouin *supposes that one was to begin with the Pudenda,* arundine transfixa per ranæ pudenda ad os usque. *Pliny is therefore obscure as to the Ceremonial. I omit his other Obscurities.*

(56) De Re Rustica, lib. 11, sub fin.

(57) Plin. lib. 32, cap. 5, pag. 846.

(58) Or rather, without any other Part remaining fastened to it.

(59) Plin. lib. 29, cap. 4.

(60) Idem, lib. XXXII, cap. V.

Here follow some other idle Conceits of *Democritus*. He said, that the Blood of certain Birds, which he named, being mixed, would produce a Serpent of such

an admirable Virtue, that whosoever did eat it might understand what the Birds said to each other. *Pliny* is in the right to laugh at this Chimera. 'Qui cre-'dit ista, & Melampodi profecto aures lambendo de-'disse intellectum avium sermonis dracones non ab-'nuet: vel quæ Democritus tradit nominando aves 'quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur, quem 'quisquis ederit, intellecturus sit avium colloquia (61).' Since he finds him so credulous that he thinks he may justly insult him, and applaud himself for not adopting such Fooleries, no doubt *Democritus*'s Stories must have been very strange. The Book, which that Philosopher had composed concerning the Cameleon, was, I think, one of the best Magazines of his extream Credulity. 'Jungemus illis, *says* Pliny (62), si-'millima & peregrina æque animalia: priusque cha-'mæleonem peculiari volumine dignum existimatum 'Democrito, ac per singula membra defecatum, non 'sine magna voluptate nostra cognitis proditisque men-'daciis Græcæ vanitatis. —— *Let us add to these,* 'says *Pliny, some other Animals of the same Class,* '*and equally Strangers to our Country; and first the* '*Cameleon, which Democritus, in a whole Treatise,* '*has thoroughly anatomized, and has afforded us no* '*small Entertainment by his absurd Series of Grecian* '*Impertinence.*' After this Preamble, *Pliny* gives some ridiculous Extracts of that Book; and then ends thus: 'Utinam eo ramo contactus esset Democritus, quo-'niam ita loquacitates immodicas promisit inhiberi: 'palamque est virum alias sagacem & vitæ utilissi-'mum nimio juvandi mortales studio prolapsum (63). —— *I wish Democritus had himself had a Touch with* '*that famed Bough, since it has, as he pretends,* '*such a Virtue in restraining immoderate talking. It* '*is plain the Man, otherwise sagacious enough,* '*and a useful Member of Society, had lost himself in* '*an overfond Desire of benefitting Mankind.*' We shall see some other Passages in the following Remark.

(61) Plinius, lib. 10, cap. 49. *See also* lib. 29, cap. 4.

(62) Id. lib. 28, cap. 8.

(63) Ibid.

Pliny is to be praised for mentioning the pretended occult Virtues of the Cameleon, in order only to decry, and laugh at them: but he would be still more worthy of Praise, if he had kept part of his Incredulity for *Democritus*: I mean if he had not too lightly believed that Philosopher to be the Author of that Work, and of several others that went unjustly under his Name. *Aulus Gellius*'s Thought seems very reasonable to me, *viz.* That *Democritus* is not the Author of those Stories concerning the Cameleon, and the understanding of the Singing of Birds, but that some Quacks had covered themselves with the Authority of that famous Philosopher. 'Librum esse 'Democriti nobilissimi Philosophorum de vi & natura 'chamæleontis; eumque se legisse Plinius Secundus 'in naturalis historiæ vicesimo octavo refert; multaque 'vana atque intoleranda auribus deinde quasi à De-'mocrito scripta tradit. . . . . His portentis atque 'præstigiis à Plinio Secundo scriptis non dignum esse 'cognomen Democriti puto. . . . . Multa autem vi-'dentur ab hominibus istis male sollertibus hujusce-'modi commenta in Democriti nomen data, nobili-'tatis auctoritatisque ejus profugio utentibus (64). —— *Pliny, the Younger, relates that there was then ex-*'*tant a Treatise of Democritus, an eminent Philoso-*'*pher, on the Virtue and Nature of the Cameleon,* '*and that he himself had read it; then quotes several* '*monstrous Absurdities from it, as though they had* '*been wrote by Democritus; but the Name of Demo-*'*critus ought never to be put to such palpable Fictions.* '*They seem rather to be the Imposition of some Quack,* '*who strove to shelter them under the Protection of so* '*awful a Name.*' We cannot but make this Judgment, when we remember the Character that *Lucian* gave him He reckons *Democritus, Epicurus, Metrodorus,* among those flubborn Free-Thinkers, who will by no means give credit to those that would make them believe Prodigies. According to his Account, *Democritus* remains always persuaded, that the makers of Miracles do nothing but by Artifice; he endeavours to find out their way of deceiving Men, and though he cannot find it out, he believes it is all Imposture: Ὥστε πάνυ τὸ μηχάνημα ἐφίστο Δημοκρίτῳ τινὸς . . . . ἀδαιμονίαν πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντι ὡς ἀπιστήσας. Ut res plane Democritum aliquem requireret . . . qui

(64) Aul. Gell. lib. 10, cap. 12.

adversus

he was very much addicted to Magic [K]; I mean the Magic that is grounded upon a Compact with the Devil. I do not think he was such an Enthusiast as to put out his

adversus hæc & similia mentem haberet adamantinam ut non crederetur, &c (65). —— *It would require the Incredulity of a Democritus, whose Mind was steeled against the Belief of these and such like miraculous Performances*, &c.

[K] *We must also believe, that he was very much addicted to Magic.*] This does not at all agree with the Words of *Lucian*, which I have just now alledged. However it is just to hear *Pliny* (66). 'Certè 'Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, Plato ad hanc '(Magicen) discendam navigavere, exsiliis verius, 'quam peregrinationibus, susceptis. Hanc reverti 'prædicavere, hanc in arcanis habuere. Democritus 'Apollobechem Coptiten, & Dardanum è Phœnice 'illustravit: voluminibus Dardani in sepulcrum ejus 'petitis: suis (67) verò ex disciplina eorum editis: 'quæ recepta ab aliis hominum, atque transiisse per 'memoriam, æque ac nihil in vita, mirandum est. 'In tantum fides illis falsque omne deest, adeo ut ii 'qui cæteris in viro illo probant, hæc ejus esse 'opera inficientur. Sed frustra. Hunc enim maxi- 'mè affixisse animis eam dulcedinem constat. Ple- 'numque miraculi & hoc, pariter utrasque artes ef- 'floruisse: Medicinam dico, Magicenque, eadem ætate 'illam Hippocrate, hanc Democrito illustrantibus. '—— *Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, and Plato, went abroad to learn Magic, and may be rather 'said to have banished themselves, than to have un- 'dertaken Voyages. At their return they boasted of 'what they had learned, and proclaimed it a Mystery. 'Democritus explained the Works of Apollobeches the 'Coptite, and Dardanus the Phœnician. The Works 'of Dardanus were deposited in his Grave, but his 'own were founded upon his Books. It is matter of 'the greatest wonder to me how they have been handed 'down to us. Truth and Probability are such entire 'Strangers to them, that they, who approve his other 'Works, deny these to be his. But to no end. For it is cer- 'tain his Mind was strangely addicted to such Reveries. 'Nor does it seem less than a Miracle to me, that Magic and 'Physic should flourish together, the former under Deme- 'critus, and the other under Hippocrates.*' I have set down this Passage somewhat at length to inform my Reader, I That the Favourers of *Democritus* have always denied that he was the Author of the Magical Books ascribed to him. II. That *Pliny* maintains against them, that are in the wrong to deny it. Let us proceed to another Passage of *Pliny* (68). 'In promisso 'herbarum mirabilium occurrit aliqua dicere & de 'magicis: quæ enim mirabiliores sunt? Primi eas in 'nostro orbe celebravere Pythagoras atque Democritus 'confectati magos. —— *In his Narrative of uncom- 'mon Plants, he makes mention of the magical ones. For 'what can be more uncommon than they? Pythagoras and 'Democritus, in Imitation of the Magi, were the first, 'in this Quarter of the World, who ever busied them- 'selves about them.*' He observes, a little after, that some denied that certain Books, ascribed to those two great Men, were written by them: to which he answers: 'Nec me fallit hoc volumen ejus à quibusdam 'Cleemporo Medico adscribi: Pythagoræ pertinax 'fama antiquitasque vindicavit. Et id ipsum auctori- 'tatem voluminibus affert (69), si quis alius curæ 'fuæ opus illo viro dignum judicavit: quod feciisse 'Cleemporum cum alia suo & nomine ederet, quis 'credat? Democriti certe chirocmeta esse constat. 'At in his ille post Pythagoram magorum studiosis- 'simus quæsto portentosiora tradit? —— *Nor am I 'ignorant that this Part of his Works is ascribed to 'Cleemporus the Physician. But all Ages have con- 'fidently asserted the Title of Pythagoras. This like- 'wise may be another Argument. Had Cleemporus 'judged a Treatise of his own worthy Democritus, he 'would have published it under his own Name, as 'he did others. It is certain the Chirocmeta is De- 'mocritus's, who after Pythagoras was the greatest 'Admirer of the Magi, but what more monstrous 'things does he publish than his Predecessor?*'

(65) Lucianus in Pseudom. pag. 273. Tom. I.

(66) Plin. lib. 30, cap. 1.

(67) *Father Hardouin cites, upon this Occasion*, Clemens Alexandrinus, lib. 1, Strom. pag. 303, *who says that* Democritus *explained a Column of* Acicarl, *a Babylonian Author, and inserted the Explication of it in his Writings.*

(68) Plin. lib. 24, cap. 17.

(69) *This is a weak Reason; for how many bad Books come out under great Names, especially in point of Magic?*

SOME Remarks concerning the Book intituled, CHIROCMETA.

Before I proceed farther, I shall dwell a little upon the Title of the Book just now mentioned by *Pliny*. *Salmasius* happily found out that this Book ought not to be intituled *Chirocmeta*; and therefore he corrected that Word which was in *Pliny*'s Editions, and shewed that *Chirocmeta* must be put in the room of it. He corrected at the same time a Passage of *Vitruvius*, wherein the same Work of *Democritus* is mentioned: 'Multas res attendens, *says* Vitruvius (70), 'admiror etiam Democriti de rerum naturæ voluminа, '& ejus commentarium quod inscribitur χειρογμήτων, in quo utebatur annulo signans cera molli 'quæ esset expertus. —— *Among other things, says 'Vitruvius, I admire Democritus's Treatises on the 'Nature of Things, and his Commentary intituled, 'χειρογμήτων, wherein he sealed, with soft Wax, 'all those Accounts which he himself had experienced 'to be true.*' We read before, in *Vitruvius*, χειρογνωμὸν in quo etiam utebatur annulo signans cera ex milio quæ esset expertus. By the same means *Salmasius* corrects a Passage of *Diogenes Laërtius*, where it is said that *Democritus* composed χειρικὰ ἢ φυσικὰ προσλήμματα. It ought to be χειρογμήτα ἢ φυσικὰ προσλήμματα (71). *Casaubon*'s Criticism went no farther than to conjecture, that perhaps the Passage of *Diogenes Laërtius* might be mended by the *Chirocmeta* of *Pliny* (72). But this had been to drive out one Evil by another. Those, who believe that the Word *Chirocmeta* ought to be left in *Pliny*, explain it according to their Fancy: Some say that That Title signifies, that the Work was to be handled often (73); others believe that this Book was so intituled, *because it was to be handled with great Ceremony* (74). *Hesychius* wonderfully confirms *Salmasius*'s Corrections; for he informs us, that the Critics put a Piece of Wax upon such Places of a Book as seemed obscure to them, and worthy to be further examined. There remains a great Objection. If the *Chirocmeta* of *Democritus* was a Work, wherein he had put his Seal on all the things of which he spoke by experience, how came that Book to be so full of Fables, and ridiculous and superstitious Stories? *Pliny* is not contented to say in general, *In his Democritus post Pythagoram magorum studiosissimus quanta portentosiora tradit?* but he quotes several things out of it which favour of black Magic.

I find something very perplexing in all this, and I think the best Expedient is the NON LIQUET, or the ἀπέχω of the Sceptics. It may be that *Democritus*, without too nicely examining the Consequences of his System, was in hopes to discover several occult Qualities, and the Art of doing a thousand extraordinary things by the help of Magic. This being once granted, we may imagine that he eagerly read all the Books of Magic, and compiled all the pretended Wonders that he saw in them, and those that he might hear *viva voce*. He might have made some surprising Experiments of the Virtue of certain Herbs, and put his Seal to the Passages of his *Chirocmeta* wherein he set forth his Experiments. That Book might have been intituled in that manner, though most things contained in it were not approved by the Author; and so *Pliny* might have found many Fables in it. This is one way of explaining the thing; but it is not that which seems to me the best. I had rather say that *Democritus* did not write the superstitious, fabulous, and magical Books that went under his Name. *Diogenes Laërtius* gives a long List of that Philosopher's Works, and then adds, that others were falsly attributed to him (75). *Columella* (76) acknowledges it as to a certain Book, whereof the true Author was one *Dellus* (77) *Mendesius*. It seems *Suidas* assigns but a very small number of Books for the true Works of *Democritus*. We have seen, above, the Complaint that *Aulus Gellius* makes. Lastly, It may be said, that, if *Diogenes Laërtius* did not reject more, it proves only that there were some Impostors, who, a little after *Democritus*'s Death, published several Books under his Name; they were looked upon as genuine, and the following Ages believed it likewise: this was sufficient for *Pliny* (78), and *Diogenes Laërtius* (79), to receive those Works as the genuine Productions of *Democritus*. And what easily deceived People at first is, that the excessive Curiosity of that Philosopher, his Love of Solitude, his Application to Experiments, and the Success of some of his Predictions, easily persuaded them that he had left in writing all the Secrets and Remarks that were seen in the Books which appeared under his Name.

Petronius says, that *Democritus* spent his Life in making Experiments on Vegetables and Minerals: 'Omnium herbarum succos Democritus expressit: & ne lapidum

(70) Vitruv. lib. 9, cap. 3.

(71) Salmasius in Exercit. Plinianis, pag. 1100, 1101.

(72) Casaubon. in Laërt. lib. 9, n 49.

(73) Nec melius interpretantur ita dictum quod assidue manibus tractandæ essent. *Salmasius, ibid. pag.* 1100. C.

(74) Du Pinet *in the Margin of his* French *Translation of* Pliny.

(75) In ejus vitæ, sub fin.

(76) Colum. de Re Rustica, lib. 7, cap. 5.

(77) *Or rather* Bolus *according to* Suidas.

(78) Pythagoras pernax fama antiquitasque vindicant. *It is the Proof alledged by* Pliny, lib. 24, cap. 17.

(79) The Works rejected by him are those, which had been rejected by a general consent, ὁμολογουμένως ἐζω ἀλλότρια, *omnino aliena consensu omnium sunt.*

his own Eyes [*L*], as ſome have ſaid. His manner of comforting *Darius* was ingenious

'lapidum virgultorumque vis lateret, ætatem inter ex-
'perimenta conſumpſit. —— *Democritus extracted*
'*the Juices of every Herb, and, to diſcover the Virtues*
'*alſo of Foſſils and Shrubs, ſpent his whole Life in ma-*
'*king Experiments.*' It is ſaid that, having foreſeen that it would be a bad Year for Olive Trees, he bought a great Quantity of Oil at a low Price, and got prodigiouſly by it; of which nevertheleſs he made no advantage, being contented to make it appear that he might be rich if he would. People wondered that a Man, who was never ſeen to mind any thing beſides his Studies, ſhould on a ſudden concern himſelf with Trade: Doubtleſs when the Reaſon of it came to be known, many looked upon him as a Magician: Others thought he deſerved Divine Honours. Ὡς δὲ φησιν τινα τῶν μελλόντων εὐδοκίμησε, λοιπὸν ἐνθεν δόξης παρὰ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἠξιώθη (80). Ubi vero futura quædam prædixerat, ſequenſque rerum eventus fidem fecerat, divinis jam honoribus dignus à pleriſque judicatus eſt. —— *Having foretold certain things, which accordingly came to paſs, he was eſteemed by ſome worthy of divine Honours.* Here is a Paſſage that concerns his trading in Oil, and the reſt: 'Ferunt Democritum, qui primus intellexit, oſtenditque cum terris cœli ſocietatem, ſpernentibus hanc curam ejus opulentiſſimis civium, præviſa olei caritate ex futuro Vergiliarum ortu, quæ diximus ratione, oſtendemuſque jam plenius, magna tum vilitate propter ſpem olivæ, cuëmiſſe in toto tractu omne oleum (81), mirantibus qui paupertatem & quietem doctrinarum ei ſcicbant in primis cordi eſſe. Atque ut apparuit cauſa, & ingens divitiarum curſus, reſtituiſſe mercedem anxiæ & avidæ dominorum pœnitentiæ, contentum ita probaſſe, opes ſibi in facili, cum vellet, fore (82). —— *It is ſaid that Democritus, who firſt diſcovered and demonſtrated that the Heavens had an influence upon the Earth, foreſeeing, from the riſing of particular Stars, that Oil would be very dear, notwithſtanding the promiſing Proſpect of Plenty, bought up great Quantities at a cheap Rate, to the Admiration and Aſtoniſhment of all who knew his fondneſs for Poverty, and a retired ſtudious Life: but when the reaſon appeared, and a vaſt profit offered itſelf, he generouſly reſtored it to the Perſons from whom he had purchaſed the Oil, who being now convinced of their Error had heartily repented, and meanly begged for Reliefs, contenting himſelf with ſhewing them that Riches were at his call, whenever he pleaſed to command them.*' Another time he adviſed his Brother to ſet all his Reapers to work, to carry into the Barn what Corn was already cut down, for he foreſaw a furious Storm, which happened ſoon after. 'Tradunt eumdem Democritum, metente fratre ejus Damaſo ardentiſſimo æſtu, oraſſe ut reliquæ ſegeti parceret, raperetque deſecta ſub tectum, paucis mox horis ſævo imbre vaticinatione approbata (83). —— *The ſame Democritus is reported to have deſired his Brother Damaſus, who was reaping on an exceſſive hot day, to leave the reſt of the Corn ſtanding, and carry what was cut into the Barn, foreſeeing that a terrible Storm would immediately follow, which accordingly did.*' I have been told that a Gentleman of *Normandy*, perceiving by his Barometer that it would quickly rain, houſed his Hay whilſt it was very fine Weather, which made the Country People of the neighbouring Villages ſay that he kept Correſpondence with the Devil, ſince he could ſo well foreſee the alteration of the Weather. Were People leſs raſh in their Judgments upon their Neighbours in the Age of *Democritus*? Were not the Secrets of Nature in fewer Hands at that time than they are now? *Democritus* was therefore more expoſed to magical Suſpicions than he would be at preſent.

I ſhall occaſionally obſerve, that *Salmaſius* does not ſeem to confute *Solinus* well, concerning the conteſt of *Democritus* with the *Magi*. *Solinus* ſays, that That Philoſopher made uſe of the Stone *Catochites* to advantage againſt them. 'Accipimus Democritum Abderiten oſtentatione ſcrupuli hujus frequenter uſum ad probandam occultam naturæ potentiam in certaminibus quæ contra magos habuit (84). —— *I am informed that Democritus often made uſe of this Stone, to prove the hidden Power of Nature in his diſputes with the Magi.*' *Salmaſius* (85) alledges againſt *Solinus* ſeveral Paſſages of *Pliny*, which, as we have ſeen in this Remark, ſhew that *Democritus* applied himſelf very much to the Magicians. But who told *Salmaſius* that Emulation does not prevail among ſuch People? Is it not very likely that they contend for Reputation? Is not this confirmed by our Demonographical Writers? Do they not tell us that ſome Magicians can undo what others do? It is likely that *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who reſiſted *Moſes* (86), took him for a Magician. In like manner *Democritus* might for a conſiderable time have been an humble Sectator of the Magicians, and then, when he thought he knew as much or more than others, have contradicted thoſe he met with, to raiſe his Reputation above theirs.

[*L*] *I do not think he was ſuch an Enthuſiaſt as to put out his Eyes.*] Several Authors mention this fooliſh Story. The moſt common Reaſon that is given why he did ſo, is, that he hoped to meditate more profoundly, when the Objects of Sight ſhould create no Diverſion to the Intellectual Power of the Soul (87). 'Democritum Philoſophum in monumentis hiſtoriæ 'Græcæ ſcriptum eſt . . . . . luminibus oculorum ſua 'ſponte ſe privaſſe, quia exiſtimaret cogitationes commentationeſque animi ſui in contemplandis naturæ 'rationibus vegetiores & exactiores fore, ſi eas viden-'di illecebris, & oculorum impedimentis liberaſſet (88). '—— *In the Hiſtory of Greece it is recorded, that Democritus voluntarily deprived himſelf of Sight, thinking that the Operations of his Mind would be more vigorous and regular, when freed from the Impediments and bewitching Diverſion which the Eyes occaſion.*' Was it not ſufficient for him to ſhut himſelf up in a dark Place, or to keep his Eyes ſhut during the time of his Meditation? *Laberius*, in a Dramatic Piece, feigned that That Philoſopher blinded himſelf, that he might no longer ſee the Proſperity of the wicked. I ſay, *Laberius* feigned this without any other Reaſon, but becauſe that Hypotheſis was convenient for him to act the Part he had in hand. He even explained how *Democritus* had blinded himſelf; it was, ſaid he, by expoſing himſelf to the Light, which a Shield reflected upon him (89). 'Cauſam voluntariæ 'cœcitatis finxit aliam Laberius (90) veritque in eam 'rem, quam tum agebat, non inconcinniter. Eſt enim 'perſona, quæ hæc apud Laberium dicit, divitis avari '& parci ſumptum plurimum ſectamque adoleſcentis 'vici deplorantis.

Democritus Abderites phyſicus philoſophus
Clypeum conſtituit contra exortum Hyperionis,
Oculos effodere ut poſſet ſplendore æreo.
Ita radiis ſolis aciem effodit luminis,
Malis bene eſſe ne videret civibus.
Sic ego fulgentis ſplendorem pecuniæ
Volo elucificare exitum ætati meæ;
Ne in re bona eſſe videam nequam filium.

'*Laberius aſſigns another cauſe of this voluntary Blindneſs, and turns it agreably to his Subject. The Perſon, whom Laberius introduces, ſpeaks in this manner of a rich old Miſer, fretting at the prodigality of a raiſh Son.*

When Virtue griev'd, and Vice triumphant rode,
Abdera's Sage with Indignation glow'd.
His honeſt Heart was mov'd; with eager haſte,
Full in the Sun a beamy Shield he plac'd.
Then, from ſuch Sights to free his troubl'd Mind,
Catch'd the full Blaze, and as he look'd grew blind.
So ſhall my Gold, the Rival of it's Sire,
Pour on theſe Eyes an ever ſtreaming Fire,
Till Sight be loſt for I will never bear
To ſee it ſquander'd by a wanton Heir.

Plutarch had heard ſay that *Democritus* had made uſe of Burning-Glaſſes, upon which he fixed his Eyes that no Object might hinder his Meditation. Ὅθεν ἐκεῖνο μὲν ψεῦδός ἐστι τὸ Δημόκριτον ἑκουσίως σβέσαι τὰς ὄψεις ἀναπεισάμενον ἐις ἔσοπτρα πυρωθέντα καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀνάκλασιν ἐξάμενον. Equidem falſum eſt quod dicitur Democritum ſponte ſua oculos extinxiſſe in ignitum ſpeculum eos detinentem luminiſque reflexionem accipientem (91). —— *So the Report, which ſays, that Democritus voluntarily deprived himſelf of Sight, by catching the Reflexion of a Burning-*

(80) Diog. Laërt. lib. 9, n. 39.

(81) Cicero lib. 1, de Divinatione, cap. 3. Ariſtotle, lib. 1, Politic. cap. 7. Diogenes Laërt. in Thalete, after he had told to Thales, but with this Difference, that Thales bought the Oyl to ſome according to Cicero, and the Oyl Preſſes according to Ariſtotle and Diogenes Laertius. See Father Hardouin upon this Paſſage of Pliny, and Menage upon Laertius, lib. 1, n. 26.

(82) Plin. lib. 18, cap. 28, pag. 524.

(83) Plin. ibid. cap. 35.

(84) Solin cap. 3, ſub fin.

(85) Salmaſ. in Exercitat. Plin. pag. 98, 99.

(86) 2 Tim. chap. iii, vers. 8.

(87) *Cicero, de finib. lib. 5, cap. xxix.* neither affirms nor denies the thing; but if he had affirmed it, he would have given this Reaſon for it.

(88) Aul. Gell. lib. 10, cap. 17.

(89) Idem. Ibid.

(90) In mimo quem ſcripſit Reſtionem. *Ibid.*

(91) Plut. de curioſitate, pag. 521. C.

nious enough [*M*]. His laughing at human Life may be excused [*N*]: it was better for him to do so, than to imitate *Heraclitus*, who cried continually. He was the Forerunner of *Epicurus* [*O*]; for the System of the latter differs only from that of *Democritus* in some Amendments. It is also *Democritus*, who supplied the Sceptics with what they said against the Testimony of the Senses; for, besides that he used to say, that Truth was hid in the bottom of a Well, he maintained that there was nothing real but the Atoms and *Vacuum*, and that every thing else consisted only in Opinion (*e*). This is what the *Cartesians* say now concerning the corporeal Qualities, Colour, Smell, Sound, Savour, Heat, Cold; they are only, say they, Modifications of the Soul. *Democritus* was very far from being orthodox concerning the Divine Nature [*P*], and he believed

(*e*) Laërt. ubi supra, n. 44. Sext. Empiricus adv. Mathemat. p. 163. *See above*, Citat. (62) *of the Article* ARCESILAS.

Burning-Glass, is false. But he rejects this as a mere Fable. The Author of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, having mentioned the Reason, which, according to *Laberius*, moved that Philosopher to blind himself, adds, 'Others say that he blinded himself to 'meditate with less distraction. This is more probable, 'though perhaps false: for is it likely that *Democritus*, 'who laughed at every thing, should have been vexed 'at the Prosperity of a wicked Man? Such a thing 'must needs be a Subject of Diversion to such a Philo'sopher as he, who made it his Business to turn the 'World into Ridicule (92).' He might thereby have fed himself with an imaginary Triumph over Religion.

(92) Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres for February. 1686, pag. 155.

Quare religio pedibus subjecta vicissim
Obteritur, nos exequat victoria cœlo (93).

(93) Lucret. lib. 1, ver. 79.

Thus by his Conquest we our Right regain:
Religion he subdued, and we now reign.

Tertullian alledges another Reason of that Philosopher's Conduct. He pretends, that *Democritus* could neither look upon a Woman without desiring to enjoy her, nor miss the Enjoyment, without vexing and tormenting himself, and therefore he thought the best Way was to deprive himself of his Sight. *Tertullian* gives this as an Instance of the Triumph of the Faithful over the wise Heathens. 'Democritus excœcando semetipsum 'quod mulieres sine concupiscentia aspicere non posset, '& doleret si non esset potitus, incontinentiam emen'dasse profitetur (94).' It is a very imaginary Triumph; for what we most certainly know concerning *Democritus* overthrows *Tertullian*'s Supposition. He was a Man weaned from his Senses, given to Meditation, who despised Honour and Riches, and travelled till the Age of eighty Years (95). But a Man will hardly undertake great Journies when he is blind; and if those, who are above eighty Years old, stood in need of losing their Eyes, it would not be because the sight of Women kindles the Fire of Love in them. A desire, attended with vexation for not enjoying the beloved Object, will not be cured by the loss of one's sight: the Lewdness of the Heart wants another Remedy. *Clemens Alexandrinus* says a thing, which, if we take it right, irrefragably confutes *Tertullian*. I have mentioned it at the end of the Text of this Article. These are that Father's own words: Δημόκριτος δὲ γάμον καὶ παιδοποιΐαν παραιτεῖται, διὰ τὰς περιττὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνάγκας τε καὶ περιοχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτέρων. 'Democritus autem repudiat 'matrimonium & procreationem liberorum propter multas quæ ex ipsis oriuntur molestias, & quod abstrahant ab iis quæ sunt magis necessaria (96). —— *Democritus was averse to Matrimony, and the encrease of a Family, from the Troubles which attend them, and because they divert the Mind from things of greater Consequence.*

(94) Tertull. in Apologet. cap. 46.

(95) *He himself says so*, apud Clem. Alexandrinum, Stromat. lib. 1, pag. 304, & apud Euseb. Præpar. lib. 10, cap. 4, pag. m. 478.

(96) Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 2, pag. 421.

[*M*] *His manner of comforting Darius was ingenious enough.*] I shall not mention it; it may be read in *Moreri*, and in an Author, whose Books are to be had every where (97). The latter has a little flourished upon it. He quotes no Body; and therefore, to supply that Fault, I shall observe, that this Story is only to be found in a Letter of the Emperor *Julian*.

(97) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. VIII, pag. 340. *See also Father* Gerasse, Doctrine curieuse, pag. 897.

[*N*] *His laughing at human Life may be excused.*] See upon this *Montagne* (98), quoted by the Author of the new Letters against *Maimbourg*'s History of *Calvinism* (99).

(98) Essais, lib. 2, cap. 50.

(99) Letter 21, pag. 715.

[*O*] *He was the Forerunner of Epicurus.*] I cannot approve those who say, that the few Innovations, that were seen in the System of *Democritus*, after it was adopted by *Epicurus*, are as many Depravations (100). But I own, that *Epicurus* did not add many things to it, and that he spoiled some of them. 'Quid est in 'Physicis Epicuri non a Democrito? Nam etsi quæ'dam commutavit, ut quod paulo ante de inclinatione 'atomorum dixi, tamen pleraque dicit eadem, atomos, 'inane, imagines, infinitatem locorum, innumerabili'tatemque mundorum, eorum ortus & interitus, om'nia fere quibus naturæ ratio continetur . . . (101). 'Democritus vir magnus in primis cujus fontibus Epi'curus hortulos suos irrigavit (102). —— *What is there in the Physics of Epicurus that is not to be found in Democritus? For though he has altered some few things, as I observed above, concerning the Inclination of Atoms; yet in general, where Nature is concerned, they agree, viz. in Atoms, Vacuum, Images, Infinity of Space, Infinity of Worlds, with their Formation and Dissolution . . . Democritus was an eminent Philosopher, from whose Fountain Epicurus watered his own Nurseries.* He did himself wrong in not owning his Obligations to *Democritus*, and in calling him a Dotard, or a trifling Man, ληρολογον, *nugarum censor*. This was one of his Quibbles.

(100) Cicero de Nat. Deorum, lib. 1, cap. 12, 26, & 43.

(101) Ibid. cap. 33. *See also* Plutarch. adversus Coloten, pag. 1108.

(102) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1, cap. 12, & 38.

[*P*] *He was very far from being orthodox concerning the Divine Nature.*] If he had only said, that God was a Spirit placed in a Sphere of Fire, and the Soul of the World (103), he would be an hundred times less intolerable than he is; but I find that other Doctrines much more dangerous are attributed to him in *Cicero*'s Books. 'Quid? Democritus, qui tum ima'gines, earumque circuitus in Deorum numero refert, 'cum illam naturam quæ imagines fundat ac mittat, 'tum scientiam intelligentiamque nostram, nonne in 'maximo errore versatur? cumque idem omnino, quia 'nihil semper suo statu maneat, neget esse quicquam 'sempiternum, nonne Deum ita tollit omnino ut nul'lam opinionem ejus reliquam faciat (104). —— *Is not Democritus guilty of an egregious Error, when he reckons both the Images of Objects, which present themselves all around us, and that Nature from which these Images flow, as also our Knowledge and Perception, in the number of Gods? Does he not likewise destroy the Being, nay, the very Idea of a God, in denying any thing to be eternal, because every thing he sees is placed in a fleeting State?*' These are the Doctrines, which *Velleius*, one of *Cicero*'s Interlocutors, attributes to *Democritus*: they are such, that it may be affirmed of those who embrace them, that they are truly in the case of him, who said, O *Jupiter*, I know nothing of thee but thy Name (105). For Nature, which *Democritus* called God, had neither Unity, nor Eternity, nor Immutability, nor the other Attributes that are essential to the divine Nature. He lavished the Name of God upon the Images and Ideas of Objects, and upon the Act of our Understanding whereby we know Objects. I dare say that this Error, though never so gross, will never come from a Man of mean Understanding, and that none but Men of a great Genius are able to produce it. I cannot tell whether any Body took notice, that the Opinion of one of the most sublime Wits of this Age, *That we see all things in the Infinite Being, in God*, is *Democritus*'s Doctrine unfolded and mended. Observe that *Democritus* taught, that the Images of Objects, which are scattered round about us, or which turn on every side to present themselves to our Senses, are Emanations from God, and are themselves a God, and that the actual Idea of our Soul is a God. Is there a great difference between this Thought, and saying, as Father *Malebranche* does, that our Ideas are in God, and that they cannot be a Modification of a created Spirit? Does it not follow from thence, that our Ideas are God himself? Now our Ideas and our Knowledge may easily pass for the same thing. Though *Cicero* brings in one of his Interlocutors, saying, that those Thoughts of *Democritus* became an *Abderite*, that is a Sot, and a Fool, I am sure that a Man of mean Parts will never form

(103) Plut. de Plac. Philosoph. lib. 1, cap. 7, pag. 880. *D.* Δημόκριτος νοῦν τὸν θεὸν σῶμα συγκρισιν, τὴν τοῦ κόσμου ψυχήν. Democritus means Deum in igne globoso, mundi animam.

(104) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1, cap. 12, & 38.

(105) *See* Plutarch's *Treatise of Love*, cap. 12.

lieved that our ultimate End is the Tranquillity of the Mind (f). *Plato* hated him, and was very near burning all *Democritus*'s Books; which seems to me to be more glorious

(f) Cicero de finib. lib. 5.

form them. In order to form them, a Man must comprehend the whole extent of Power that belongs to a Nature capable of representing in our Minds the Images of Objects. 'Democritus . . . . tum censet 'imagines divinitate præditas ineſſe univerſitati rerum: 'tum principia menteſque quæ ſunt in eodem uni'verſo Deos eſſe dicit: tum animantes imagines, quæ 'vel prodeſſe nobis ſolent vel nocere: tum ingentes 'quaſdam imagines, tantaſque ut univerſum mundum 'complectantur extrinſecus. Quæ quidem omnia ſunt 'patria Democriti quam Democrito digniora (106).

(106) Cicero de Nat. Deorum, lib. 1, cap. 43.

'—— *Democritus thought the whole Univerſe was 'filled with Images, endued with a divine Nature, 'and ſays, that the Principles and Spirits, which exiſt 'in the ſame Univerſe, are Gods, as alſo thoſe Images 'which are endued with an animal Virtue, and are ac'cuſtomed to affect us with Pleaſure or Pain: to theſe 'he adds certain Images of immenſe ſize, capable of con'taining the whole Univerſe. All which Imaginations 'are more worthy of Democritus's Country than of him'ſelf.' The *Species Intentionales* of the School-men are the ſhame of the Peripatetics: a Man muſt be I know not what to perſuade himſelf, that a Tree produces it's Image round about in all Parts of the Air, to the very Brains of an infinite number of Spectators. The Cauſe that produces all thoſe Images is quite another thing than a Tree. Seek for it as long as you pleaſe; if you find it any where but in the Infinite Being, it is a ſign that you do not underſtand that matter well. I do not deny that thoſe Doctrines of *Democritus* are at the bottom very abſurd. St *Auguſtin* has ſolidly confuted them, and ſhewn a difference between *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, which few Authors have mentioned. He obſerves, that, according to *Democritus*, there was in the Atoms either an animated and ſpiritual Virtue, whereby the Images of Objects partook of the divine Nature, or at leaſt a Soul capable to do us good or harm; but *Epicurus* acknowledged only the nature of Atoms or Corpuſcles in his Principles. 'Democritus hoc diſtare in naturalibus quæſtio'nibus ab Epicuro dicitur, quòd iſte ſenſit, ineſſe 'concurſioni atomorum vim quandam animalem & 'ſpiritalem: quâ vi eum, credo, & imagines ipſas di'vinitate præditas dicere, non omnes omnium rerum, 'ſed deorum, & principia mentis eſſe in univerſis, qui'bus divinitatem tribuit; & animantes imagines, quæ 'vel prodeſſe nobis ſoleant, vel nocere: Epicurus vero 'neque aliquid in principiis rerum ponit, præter ato'mos (107).

(107) Auguſt. Epiſt. 56, pag. m. 273.

—— *Democritus, in his natural Queſtions, 'is ſaid to have differed in this from Epicurus, that 'he thought that there was an Animal and Spiritual 'Nature in the concourſe of Atoms, by the Virtue of 'which, I think, he makes the Images themſelves to be 'endued with Divinity, not all the Images of all things, 'but of the Gods; and that the Principles of Spirit are 'inherent in all, to which he allows a divine Nature, 'and Images invigorated with Soul, which are capable 'of doing us good or harm: Whereas Epicurus in his 'Principles ſuppoſes nothing but Atoms.'* I cannot tell whether St *Auguſtin* did well underſtand the words of *Cicero* which he paraphraſes. He would be excuſable if he had not underſtood them; for *Cicero* did not explain himſelf very clearly. However here is a piece of St *Auguſtin*'s paraphraſe: 'Quanto meliùs ne au'diſſem quidem nomen Democriti, quàm cum dolore 'cogitarem, neſcio quem, ſuis temporibus *magnum* 'putatum, qui deos eſſe arbitraretur imagines, quæ de 'ſolidis corporibus fluerent, ſolidasque ipſas non eſſent, 'eaſque hac atque hac motu proprio circumeundo at'que illabendo in animas hominum facere, ut vis di'vina cogitetur; cùm profectò illud corpus, unde ima'go flueret, quanto ſolidius eſt, tanto præſtantius quo'que eſſe judicetur? Ideoque fluctuavit, ſicut illi di'cunt, *nutavitque* ſententia, ut aliquando naturam 'quandam, de qua fluerent imagines, DEUM eſſe 'diceret; qui tamen cogitari non poſſet; niſi per eas 'imagines, quas ſundit ac emittit, id eſt, quæ de illa 'natura, quam, neſcio quam, corpoream & ſempiter'nam, ac etiam per hoc divinam, putat: quaſi vaporis 'ſimilitudine continuâ velut emanatione ferrentur, & 'venirent atque intrarent in animos noſtros, ut Deum 'vel Deos cogitare poſſemus (108).

(108) Id. ibid.

—— *It had been 'infinitely better, I had never heard the Name of De'mocritus, than with Grief to reflect, that one, who in 'his own time was eſteemed* EMINENT, *ſhould imagine to be Gods thoſe Images which flow from ſolid 'Bodies, and are not themſelves ſolid, and by winding 'themſelves in a peculiar manner round us, and making 'their way into our Souls, ſhould give us the Idea of a 'divine Nature, when in reality the Body, from which 'the Image flows, is by ſo much more excellent, as it 'is more ſolid. Therefore he doubted, as they ſay, and 'wavered in his Opinion, whether he ought not to have 'made that Nature, from which the Images flowed, a 'God, but in what manner it is impoſſible to conceive, 'unleſs thoſe Images which it emits, that is, which 'from that Nature (which he imagines to be ſomehow 'Corporeal, Eternal, and Divine) riſe like Vapours by 'a continual Emanation, come and preſent themſelves to 'our Souls, and give us an Idea of a God or Gods.'* See the Margin (109).

(109) We ſhall ſee, in the Remark (E) of the Article LEUCIPPUS, a Paſſage of *Plutarch*, whereby it appears, that *Democritus* ſeems to have aſcribed ſome Senſation to the Atoms.

[Q] *Plato hated Democritus, and was very near burning all his Books.*] He carefully collected them, and was going to throw them into the Fire, when two *Pythagorean* Philoſophers repreſented to him, that it would be to no purpoſe, becauſe ſeveral People were already furniſhed with them. *Plato*'s Hatred to *Democritus* appears by this; he mentioned almoſt all the antient Philoſophers, and yet he never cited him, no, not in thoſe Places where he contradicted him. *Diogenes Laërtius*, who ſays this, adds, that it was a well contrived Policy, ſince by that means no Body knew that *Plato* contradicted the moſt excellent of all Philoſophers. It is likely that Hiſtorian had better hit the Mark, if he had made uſe of a Thought of Mr *Salo*, when he made the Extract of a Book (110). 'People 'find fault with that Cardinal, *ſays he* (111), becauſe 'he makes it appear that his chief Deſign is to ſhew 'all the Faults that are in *Fra Paolo*, and becauſe he 'names that Author almoſt in every Chapter. It is 'ſaid that *Baronius* went more cunningly to work; 'becauſe, though he undertook his Annals to oppoſe 'the Hereſies and Falſities of the Centuriators of *Mag'deburg*, yet he took care not to contradict them vi'ſibly in his Book: But he compoſed his Hiſtory 'without naming them otherwiſe than by the general 'Name of Heretics and Innovators. And the Reaſon 'why he did ſo, is, that he thought the leſs they 'were ſpoken of, the better it would be; for fear of 'raiſing the Curioſity of the Readers, and exciting a 'deſire to ſee a Book, whoſe reading is always dange'rous: Whereas Cardinal *Palavicini* uſed ſuch a Me'thod, that his Book cannot be underſtood without 'reading that of *Fra Paolo*. And then it is to be 'feared that *Fra Paolo*'s Hiſtory, which is very well 'done, will be preferred before that of the Cardinal, 'which may be more true, but is not more proba'ble.' It ſeems to me that the Inconvenience, which *Baronius* intended to avoid, is the ſame with that which *Plato* was aware of. This is all the Cunning *Diogenes Laërtius* was little acquainted with the Stratagems of Authors, ſince he did not mention this, ſpeaking of *Plato*'s Conduct. It has been ſaid, that *Ariſtotle* did really what *Plato* had a mind to do, and that, in order to be the only Philoſopher that Poſterity ſhould have the Knowledge of, and to appropriate to himſelf with Impunity the Treaſures of thoſe, who had philoſophized before him, he burned all their Writings. A Profeſſor of *Pavia* ſays this as a certain Truth, and pretends that *Pliny* ſpeaks plainly of it. 'Quod Plato 'deſignaverat, exequutus eſt Alexandri ope Ariſtoteles, 'quaſi parum eſſet Alexandro, ſi ſe monarcham red'deret Aſiæ, niſi Ariſtoteli jus in philoſophos daret, 'qui quod ſua tantum de tot antiquis monumenta 'ſupereſſe voluit, tyrannidem in ingenia videtur affe'ctaſſe. . . . . Dum itaque Regum fortunas unica vin'cendi libidine duktus everteret Alexander, ſuperbiſ'ſimo furore ambitioſus nomina Ariſtoteles in philoſo'phorum Principes eſt debacchatus, unoque incendio 'congeſtas triginta ſex ſeculis tot ſapientiæ divitias ab'ſumpſit, & ſi quæ voluit ſupereſſe funeri, ea omnium 'ludibrio dicteriiſque laceſſenda tradidit poſteris, dum 'in optimorum bona invectus, abſciſſis perditiſque ſa'pientiæ ſtaturam capitibus, ſuum impoſuit ſingulis: 'neque obſcure literarii peculatus reum facit Ariſtote'lem curioſiſſimus Plinius, in præfat. ad D. Veſpaſia'num Imp. (112). —— *What Plato deſigned, Ariſtotle, 'by the help of Alexander, performed; as though Alexander*

(110) *The Hiſtory of the Council of Trent, by Cardinal* Palavicini.

(111) Journal des Sçavans, March 23, 1665.

(112) Jo. Chryſoſtomus Magnenus in Prolegomenis Democriti reviviſcentis, pag. 23.

rious than prejudicial to the latter. The Syſtem of Atoms is not by much ſo abſurd as Spinoziſm [R]: but what *Moreri* ſays, that, according to *Democritus*, the Atoms were *infinitely great*, is very comical: for on the contrary they were of an unconceiveable Smallneſs. I ſhall ſay, in the Remark [K], that many Books have been aſcribed to him, which are none of his. Doubtleſs we might ſee more clearly into this matter, if we had the Treatiſe of *Callimachus* (g), or the Treatiſe of *Thraſyllus* concerning his Works (b). I cannot tell whether *Peter Borel* (i), who promiſed three Volumes in *folio*, *De Vita & Philoſophia Democriti*, could have given us any light into it. If *Ælian* (k) ſaid, that *Protagoras* was the Son of *Democritus*, he is miſtaken. *Democritus* did not approve of Marriage, or of amuſing one's ſelf to get Children; which, ſays he, occaſions a great deal of Trouble, and keeps a Man off from more neceſſary Employment. See the Remark [L], towards the end. He ſaid alſo that the Pleaſure of Love was a little Epilepſy [S].

What they ſay of the Diſpleaſure his Servant-maid did him, by informing him of a thing, for which he was ſeeking a natural Reaſon, is curious enough [T].

(g) Suidas mentions it.

(b) See Laertius, n. 47.

(i) He was a Phyſician of Caſtres in Languedoc. The Catalogue of the Books he promiſed, is prefixed to his Antiq. Gauloiſes, printed at Paris, in 1655. See alſo the Preface to the ſecond Century of his Obſervationes Medico-Phyſicæ.

(k) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 23.

'xander thought it too little to make himſelf Monarch 'of Aſia, unleſs he likewiſe eſtabliſhed Ariſtotle's Supre-'macy over the other Philoſophers, who ſeems to have 'uſurped a Tyranny over the learned World, by deſtroy-'ing ſo many Monuments of Antiquity, that his own 'might be the only remaining. . . . . Whilſt the Thirſt 'of Victory ſolely prompted Alexander to overturn 'Kingdoms, the ſame ambitious Spirit lighted up the 'Flames to thoſe Treaſures of Learning, the Labours of 'the Princes of Philoſophers for Thirty ſix Ages, which 'Ariſtotle conſumed in one Pile; and thoſe which he 'ſpared, he ſpared out of Cruelty, reſerving them only 'for the ſecret and ridicule of Poſterity; On the moſt va-'luable he exerciſed his ſacrilegious Hand, by cutting 'off the Heads of Buſtos conſecrated to Wiſdom, and pla-'cing his own on their Shoulders. *Pliny*, in his Pre-'face to Veſpaſian, plainly convicts Ariſtotle of Plagia-'riſm.' He is miſtaken as to the ſecond Head. *Pliny* ſays nothing whereby it may appear that he makes *Ariſtotle* a Plagiary rather than any other Author, and I do not queſtion but that he is miſtaken as to the burning of the Books. See what *Charles Emanuel Vizzani* obſerves upon this in his Commentary on *Ocellus Lucanus* (113). The Jews tell a fooliſh Story, that *Ariſtotle*, having learned all his Philoſophy in the Books of *Solomon*, that were found in *Jeruſalem* when *Alexander* made himſelf Maſter of that City, burnt them to appropriate to himſelf *the Wiſdom contained in them* (114).

(113) Pag. m. 144.

(114) Bartolocci In Biblioth. Rabbin. *in the Journ. des Sçavans*, 1692, pag. 464. *See above* Citat. (27) *of the Article* ARISTOTLE.

[R] *The Syſtem of Atoms is not . . . . . ſo abſurd as Spinoziſm.* For the Atomiſts acknowledge at leaſt a real Diſtinction between the things that compoſe the Univerſe; and ſo it is not incomprehenſible that whilſt it is cold in one Country, it ſhould be hot Weather in another, and that, whilſt one Man enjoys a perfect Health, another ſhould be ſick. In *Spinoziſm*, according to which the whole Univerſe is but one Subſtance, it is a perfect Contradiction: I ſay it is ſuch a Contradiction, as to maintain that *Peter* is a learned Man, whilſt *William* is an ignorant Man, and ſo with all ſorts of contrary Attributes that are verified all at once in many Perſons, ſome in one and ſome in another. Suppoſing an infinite number of Atoms really diſtinct from each other, and all eſſentially endowed with an active Principle, one may conceive Action and Re-action, and the continual changes that are obſerved in Nature: but where there is but one only Principle, there can be no Action and Re-action, nor any change of Scenes. So that he, who departs from the right Way, which is the Syſtem of a God, who freely created the World, muſt neceſſarily admit of a multiplicity of Principles, acknowledge Antipathies and Sympathies among them, and ſuppoſe them independant from each other as to their Exiſtence and Power of Acting, and yet capable to annoy each other by Action and Re-action. Do not ask why in certain Caſes the affect of Re-action is rather this than that; for no Reaſon can be given of the Properties of a thing, but when it has been made freely by a Cauſe, that had ſome Reaſons and Motives in producing it.

[S] *He ſaid, that the pleaſure of Love was a little Epilepſy.*] This Thought was aſcribed to *Democritus*, if we believe *Galen*. Τίς γὰρ ἀνάγκη γράφειν Δημόκριτον μὲν σφηνῶσαι μικρὰν ἐπιληψίαν εἶναι τὴν συνουσίαν (115). *Where is the Neceſſity of ſaying, that Democritus maintained Enjoyment to be a little Epilepſy.* *Clemens Alexandrinus* meant the ſame thing (116): for his Sophiſt of *Abdera* is no other than *Democritus*: but he did not underſtand that Philoſopher's meaning; for he ſays that *Democritus* gave to underſtand by it, that the Venereal Act is a Diſtemper that cannot be cured (117). *Aulus Gellius* aſcribes the Definition I ſpeak of to *Hippocrates*, and not to *Democritus*. Theſe are his words. 'Hippocrates autem, 'divina vir ſcientia, de coïtu venereo ita exiſtimabat, 'partem eſſe quamdam morbi teterrimi, quem noſtri 'comitialem dixerunt, namque ipſius verba hæc tra-'duntur, τὴν συνουσίαν εἶναι μικρὰν ἐπιληψίαν (118). —— *Hippocrates, a Man of more than human Knowledge, thought thus of Enjoyment, that it was a 'branch of a very bad Diſtemper, which he calls Epi-'lepſy, &c.* *Macrobius* (119) has tranſcribed this whole Paſſage of *Aulus Gellius* word for word according to his Cuſtom, ſo that there is but one Evidence for aſcribing this Thought to the great *Hippocrates*, viz. *Aulus Gellius*. Now the Authority of *Aulus Gellius* is not comparable to that of *Galen* upon ſuch a matter of Fact as this. No Body knew better than *Galen* whether *Hippocrates* had not ſaid ſuch a thing; and therefore, ſince he aſcribes it to *Democritus*, it is a ſtrong Preſumption that it came from that Philoſopher, and not from the Phyſician *Hippocrates*. The learned Perſon, whom I have cited before (120), has done me the Honour to write to me, that he does not doubt *Aulus Gellius* is miſtaken. His reaſon is, that *Galen*'s exactneſs in a thing relating to Phyſic is much more likely than that of *Aulus Gellius*. Beſides, thoſe words are not to be found in any Book of *Hippocrates*, tho' it is true that he inſinuates that Opinion in ſome Places of his Works (121): and further, we ſee that *Clemens Alexandrinus* agrees with *Galen*, and not with *Aulus Gellius*. I ſee alſo that *Menage* declares for *Galen* againſt *Aulus Gellius*. He cites *Stobæus*, who attributes that Definition of the Venereal Act not only to *Eraſiſtratus*, but alſo to *Democritus* (122).

(115) Galen. Commentar. 1, in librum 3, Epidemiorum Hippocratis.

(116) Μικρὰν ἐπιληψίαν, τὴν συνουσίαν ἔλεγε Δημόκριτος ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης ἰατρός. Parvam epilepſiam dicebat coïtum Sophiſta Abderites. *Clem. Alex. lib. 2. Pædag. pag. 193. D.*

(117) Νόσον ἀνίατον ἡγούμενος. Morbum immedicabilem exiſtimans. *Id. ibid.*

(118) Aul. Gell. lib. 19, cap. 2.

(119) Macrob. lib. 2. Saturn. cap. 3.

(120) Dr *Dreſincourt*, Profeſſor of Phyſic at *Leyden*. See the Remark [G], towards the end, and the Remark [H], Citat. (50).

[T] *What they tell of the Diſpleaſure his Maid-Servant did him . . . . . is curious enough.*] I have as yet found no Modern that cites any antient Author for this: thus *Montagne* tells the Story. 'Democritus, ha-'ving eat at his Table ſome Figs, which ſmelled of 'Honey, immediately began to revolve in his Mind: 'whence this unuſual Sweetneſs ſhould proceed, and, 'to find out the Reaſon of it, he aroſe from Table to 'ſee the Situation of the Place where the Figs were 'gathered. His Maid, hearing the Reaſon of this ri-'ſing, told him laughing, that he need not trouble him-'ſelf, for ſhe had put them into a Veſſel that had 'had Honey in it. He was vexed that ſhe had depri-'ved him of a Subject for his Curioſity. Go, ſaid 'he, you have vexed me; I ſhall nevertheleſs enquire 'into the Cauſe, as if it was a natural one; and 'he would not have failed finding ſome true Reaſon 'for a falſe and imaginary effect.' Mr *Kuhnius* relates the ſame Story (123), without citing any Author. He might have cited *Plutarch* (124).

(121) Sub initium, lib. de Genit. pag 27, lin. 35, & lib. de Oſſ. nat. pag. 62, lin. 19. I am no leſs certain that theſe Quotations are right, than if I had verified them. I give them as I find them in Dr *Dreſincourt*'s Letter to me.

(122) Menag. in Laert. lib. 9, n. 45, pag. 410, 411.

(123) Kuhnius, in Diog. Laert. lib. 9, n. 38, pag. 539.

(124) Plut. Sympoſ lib. 1, cap. 10.

DEMONTJOSIUS, or DEMONTJOSUS (Lewis). See MONTJOSIEU.

DEMPSTER (THOMAS), taught Classical Learning at *Paris*, towards the beginning of the XVIIth Century. He was a *Scotchman*, and said, when he came into *France*, that he had left a great Estate in his Country for the Catholic Religion. He boasted also of a great Nobility. Though his Business was to teach a School, he was as quick at drawing his Sword, and as quarrelsome as a professed Duellist. He either fought with a Sword, or boxed almost every Day, insomuch that he was the Terror of all the Schoolmasters. He did a courageous Action at *Paris*, in the College of *Beauvais* [*A*]; which brought him into great Trouble, that he durst not hazard the Consequences of; therefore he retired into *England*, where he found, not only a Place of Refuge, but also a handsome Wife, whom he carried with him to *Paris*, when he returned thither. One day, as he was going along the Streets with that Woman, who shewed her fine naked Breast and white Shoulders [*B*], he found himself surrounded with so many People, that it is likely the Crowd would have smothered them both, if they had not retired into a House. A Beauty, thus set forth in a Country, where such a thing was not practised, drew in that multitude of gazing Fools. He went into *Italy*, and taught Philological Learning in the University of *Pisa* with a good Salary. Returning one day from the College, he found that his Wife had been stolen away; his own Scholars had lent an helping Hand to that Elopement. He bore it patiently like a Stoic. Perhaps he was not sorry to be rid of a Treasure, the keeping whereof was so troublesome to him. He removed to *Bologna*, where he was Professor the remaining part of his Life. He was also admitted there into the Academy *della notte* (*a*). There are several Books of his writing [*C*]. He died in the Year 1625, according to *Moreri*'s Dictionary, where you will find several Universities, wherein he taught, but not all [*D*]. He was a Man of a prodigious Memory [*E*], indefatigable, a zealous Friend, and a violent Enemy (*b*): he had no great Judgment (*c*), nor much Honesty,

(*a*) *Taken from* Nicius Erythræus, Pinac. 1, pag. 24, 25.

(*b*) Moribus apertis & simulandi nescius, sive amore odiove quemquam prosequeretur utrumque palam. Ut amicis obsequentissimus, ita inimicis maxime infensus - - - - *He was of an open Temper, an entire Stranger to Dissimulation, professing his Hatred or Respect to all the World; a hearty Friend, and an inveterate Enemy.* Aub. Miræus in Script. Sæc. XVI. pag. 262.

(*c*) Homo multæ lectionis, sed nullius planè judicii. *Usserius Antiq. Brit. Eccl.* cap. 1.

[*A*] *He did a courageous Action in the College of Beauvais.*] *Grangier*, Principal of that College, being obliged to go a Journey, made *Dempster* his Substitute. The latter exercised Justice on a Scholar, who had challenged one of his School-fellows to fight a Duel: he ordered him to be taken up upon the Shoulders of a lusty Fellow, and whipped him severely in a full Class. The Scholar, to revenge this Affront, brought three Gentlemen of his Relations, who were Life-guards, into the College. *Dempster* made the whole College take up Arms, ham-stringed the Horses of those three Guards before the Gate of the College, and put himself into such a posture of Defence, that those three Gentlemen were forced to beg Quarter. He granted them their Lives, but had them dragged into the Belfry, where he kept them Prisoners, and did not release them till some Days after. They went another way to revenge themselves, and caused an Information to be made of *Dempster*'s Life and Behaviour, and had some Witnesses heard against him: which obliged him to go for *England* (1).

(1) Ex Nicio Erythræo, Pinacoth, I, pag. 24.

[*B*] *His Wife shewed her fine naked Breast and white Shoulders.*] I shall cite *Nicius Erythræus*. 'Ubi (in Anglia) non modo tutum ab insectatoribus suis perfugium, verum etiam mulierem nactus est, forma & vultu, adeo liberali, adeo venusto, ut nihil supra, quam in uxoris habuit loco. Quæ mulier, cum luce quadam, Parisiis, quo rursus Thomas cum ea se recepérat, conspecta esset, & quia forma præstabat, ut diximus, & quia habitu erat dementissimo; nam & pectus & scapulas, nive ipsa candidiores, omnium oculis expositas habebat; tantus, visendi gratia, hominum concursus factus est, ut nisi se in domum cujusdam, una cum viro, recepisset, nihil propius factum esset, quam ut ambo à multitudine opprimerentur (2). —— *In England he not only found Refuge from his Persecutors, but a Woman also of incomparable Beauty, and of an air so noble and graceful, that nothing could be more charming, whom he took for his Wife. As she was one Day seen at Paris, whither Dempster had carried her in his return, and being as I said extremely beautiful, and in a most enchanting dress, exposing to public view a Neck and Breast, whiter than the purest Snow, such a crowd of People flocked together from all sides to her, that, had they not taken shelter in a neighbouring House, it is more than probable they would have both been crushed to death.*' From this we may learn how much it concerns every Body to conform to the Customs of the Places where they are, particularly with respect to public Decency.

(2) Id. ibid. pag. 25.

(3) Erythræus has committed a Fault here; instead of Coripum he says Critpum.

[*C*] *There are several Books of his writing.*] His Supplements to *Rosinus de Antiquitatibus Romanis* shew that he was a Man of great reading. He wrote Commentaries upon *Claudian*, and *Coripus* (3); four Books of Letters; several *Dramatic* Pieces, and some other Poems (4); some Law Books; an *Apparatus* to the History of *Scotland*, a Martyrology of *Scotland*, and a List of the *Scotch* Writers (5): I may truly call it a List, for he only names those Writers.

(4) Erythræus, pag. 26.

(5) Miræus de Script. Sæc XVI. pag. 262.

[*D*] *You will find in Moreri several Universities, where he taught, but not all.*] *Moreri* does not mention the Academy of *Nimes*, where *Dempster* disputed for a Professor's Chair, and carried it, as he himself informs us (6): 'Quem (locum Virgilii) ut nodum mihi 'insolubilem objecit quidam, dum professionem in Re'gia Nemausensium Academia, disputationi commissam, 'magno licet concursu, obtinui, rejectisque aliis, so'lus, quod inter plures dividere volebant quidam ar'dediones, summo cum honore consequebar, senatu fa'ventissimo, unico Barnerio in tot egregiis viris, & 'omni literarum genere eminentibus, contradicente, 'maximo consensu Consulum, Civiumque aliorum, 'exceptis quibusdam, quos si mererentur nominarem; 'nunc quia indigni sunt tanto honore, cum suo livore, 'imo & malignitate callida intermori patiar, potius 'quam nominibus compellatos vivere meo beneficio 'velim. —— *Which Passage of Virgil was objected to 'me as a difficulty not to be solved, when I obtained the 'Chair in the Royal Academy of Nimes, by Disputation, 'from a Multitude of Candidates; and, with the uni'versal Applause and Favour of the Senate, alone car'ried off the prize, which some busy People would have 'had divided, Barnerius being the only one, amongst so 'many eminent and learned Men, who opposed it; The 'Consuls and all the Citizens applauding the choice, 'except a few, whom I shall not mention, because they 'are unworthy of that Honour, but suffer their Malice and 'Envy to be buried in Oblivion, rather than cause 'them to live by taking notice of them.*' The Passage that was proposed to him as an indissoluble Knot is this:

(6) Dempster. Paralipom. ad Antiq Romanas Rosini, pag. m. 872.

Non ego te, mensæ & diis accepta secundis
Transferam, Rhodia, & tumidis, Bumaste, racemis (7).

(7) Virgil. Georgic. lib. 2, vers. 101.

The Rhodian, grateful to the Gods above,
In second Services is pour'd to Jove:
Nor must Bumastus his old Honours lose,
In length and largeness like the dugs of Cows.

It is very likely that he was then accounted a *Huguenot* (8); for the Academy of *Nimes* was only designed for the Protestants.

(8) Hanklius de Script Rer. lib. 2, pag. 1-4, says, *that* Dempster *left his Estate for having preferred the Reformed Religion to the Romish*: *but he has put a wrong Sense upon the Words of* Nicius Erythræus.

[*E*] *He was a Man of a prodigious Memory.*] He said that he did not know what it was to forget any thing. 'Mentis acumine satis valuit, sed memoriæ ex'acutate longe plurimum, adeo ut multoties diceret 'ignorare se quid sit oblivio (9). —— *His Conception was ready enough, but his strength of Memory was most surprising, being often heard to say, he knew not*

(9) Miræus, ubi supra.

Honesty; for he publiſhed I know not how many Fables without Shame [*F*]. Some of his Books were condemned by the Inquiſition of *Rome* [*G*]. His paſſionate way of writing could not but bring ſuch a Diſgrace upon him.

'*what it was to forget.*' I can hardly forbear taking this for a Romance. We are told that he remembered the moſt hidden Paſſages of Antiquity. 'Nihil adeo 'abditum in antiquitatis monumentis cujus non memi- 'niſſet, ita ut Franciſcus Cupius vir in literis omni 'comparatione major Dempſterum magnam Bibliothe- 'cam loquentem compellare conſueverit (10). —— '*There was nothing in the Monuments of Antiquity* '*ſo hidden but what he remembered, inſomuch, that F.* '*Cupius, a Man of incomparable Learning, uſed to call* '*him the great ſpeaking Library.*' This being ſo, he very well deſerved to be called a ſpeaking Library, as ſome Authors have called him. Beſides being extreamly laborious, for he uſed to read fourteen Hours every Day without Intermiſſion (11), he could not but know a vaſt number of things. If his great Reading would have permitted him to write with great Politeneſs, and with all the Beauties of a very exquiſite Judgment, he would have been a greater Prodigy than his Memory was: but he could not write judiciouſly and politely (12). I remember a Paſſage of *Balzac*, which I cannot produce upon a better Occaſion. 'If our Courtiers, *ſays he*, cannot indure our young Doctor, who 'ſacrificed to the Graces, how would they treat the 'wild *Heinſius*, if he ſhould appear amongſt them? 'With how many hootings would they have driven 'away the naſty *Craſſot*, and the clowniſh *Dempſter*? 'Who could ſecure from their inſults thoſe two Anti- 'Courtiers, *Frederic Morellus*, and *Theodorus Marci-* 'lius, who always ſeemed to come from another 'World, and ſpoke a Language, that was neither hu- 'man, nor articulate, ſo far was it from being com- 'mon, and intelligible. Thoſe Men were unpolite and 'wild, yet they had their Value, as well as rough 'Diamonds (13).'

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Erat hic, uti refert Matthæus Peregrinus indefeſſus in legendo, ita ut quatuordecim diei horas in librorum lectione continuare ſolet. *Id. ibid.*

(12) Stylus ei copioſus, confragoſus tamen. *Ib.*

(13) Balzac, Letter 3, *to* Chapelain, *Book 4, page m* 209.

[*F*] *He publiſhed I know not how many Fables without ſhame.*] In his Catalogue of *Scotch* Writers, he not only mentions many Authors, who were *Engliſh* or *Iriſh*, but alſo many Books that were never extant. 'Dempſterus in ſuum ſcriptorum Scotiæ Catalogum 'pro libidine ſua Anglos, Wallos, & Hibernos paſſim 'retulit, & ad aſſertiones ſuas firmandas finxit ſæpiſſi- 'me authores, opera, locos & tempora (14). —— '*Dempſter, in his Catalogue of Scotch Authors, has not* '*only often inſerted thoſe of England, Wales, and Ire-* '*land, in a peremptory manner, but, to prove his Aſſer-* '*tions, has alſo very frequently quoted imaginary Au-* '*thors, fictitious Treatiſes, Times, and Places.*' See what the learned Archbiſhop *Uſher* ſaid of *Dempſter*. 'Commenti genus eſt illi homini non minus familiare, 'quam librorum qui nunquam ſcripti ſunt ex ipſius 'otioſo deprompta cerebro recenſio (15). —— *There is* '*a ſort of Invention no leſs familiar to him, than that* '*of his mentioning Authors, which never exiſted, but in* '*his own Brain.*' Here follow the words of a third Author: 'Quod verò Dempſterus Hiſt. Scot. lib. vi. 'num. 536. affirmat Paſſidium noſtrum Scotorum 'Chronicon ſcripſiſſe, id homini nugivendulo, & in 'gentis ſuæ rebus pene ſemper ineptienti condonan- 'dum eſt (16). —— *What Dempſter affirms in his Hiſ-* *tory of Scotland, Book VI. Num.* 536. *That our Paſſidius wrote a Chronicle of the Scots, may be pardoned* *in a retailer of Trifles, and a Man that is always* *playing the Fool with the Affairs of his own Nation.*' It cannot be ſaid, that they are only *Engliſh* Authors, who judge ſo diſadvantageouſly of him; for their Judgment is approved by the Catholics of other Nations. I ſhall only quote Mr *Baillet*, a *French* Prieſt. '*Thomas* 'Dempſter, *ſays he* (17), has given us an Eccleſiaſtical 'Hiſtory of *Scotland* in nineteen Books, wherein he 'very much ſpeaks of the learned Men of that Coun- 'try. But though he was a Man of Learning, he had 'not a more ſolid Judgment, nor a better Conſcience 'for it. He could have wiſhed that all learned Men 'had been *Scotchmen*; he forged ſeveral Titles of Books, 'that never appeared in the World, to ſet off the Glory 'of his Country, and committed ſeveral other Cheats, 'that have cried him down among the Learned. Theſe 'are in ſome meaſure the Complaints, that *Uſher* *, 'Ware †, Father *Labbe* ‡, *Sandius* ‖, *Nicolas Antonius* 'ⁿⁿ, &c make of him.' Father *Labbe* obſerves in the place quoted by *Baillet*, that he never ſaw the *Judicium de omnibus omnium Gentium & Temporum Hiſtoricis*, which is aſcribed to *Dempſter*. I believe the Title is not well ſet down, and that Father *Labbe* only means the Judgment, which *Dempſter* made of a great many Authors, and that in very few words, prefixed to his Supplement to *Roſinus*.

(14) Jac. Waræus de Scriptor. Hiberniæ, cap. 10. apud Blount, Cenſura Author. pag. 643.

(15) Jac. Uſſerius de Britan. Eccleſ. Primord. pag. 463, apud eumd. ib.

(16) Gul. Cave ad ann. Chr. 223, apud eumd. ib.

(17) Jugem. des Sçavans, Tom. II, pag. 188.

* Jac. Uſſer. de Britann. Eccl. Primord. cap. 13, pag. 463.

† Jac. Waræus, Rer. Hibernic.

‡ Ph. Labbe Biblioth. Bibl. pag. 159.

‖ Chriſtoph. Sand An madv. in Voſſ. pag. 175.

ⁿⁿ Nic. Anton. Biblioth Hiſp. Præfat. pag. 34.

[*G*] *Some of his Books were condemned by the Inquiſition.*] You will find, in the Decree of the ſixteenth of *March* 1621, *Thomæ Dempſteri de Antiquitate Romanorum, donec corrigatur*: and in the Decree of the ſeventeenth of *December* 1623, *Scotia illuſtrior, ſeu Mendicabula repreſſa modeſta parechaſi Thomæ Dempſteri*. Sir *Thomas Pope Blount* ſays (18), that in this latter Decree is found, *Liber inſcriptus Hiberniæ ſive antiquioris Scotiæ vindiciæ adverſus immodeſtam paræchaſim Thomæ Dempſteri*. This is not to be found in my Edition (19). We ſee in the *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum* of Father *Labbe* (20), that the Author of the Book intituled, *Hibernia ſive Antiquioris Scotiæ Vindiciæ*, is called G. F. *Federicus Hibernus*, and that his Book was printed at *Antwerp* in the Year 1621, in octavo.

(18) Ubi ſupra, pag. 643.

(19) *That of* Geneva, 1667, *printed from that of* Rome *of the ſame Year.*

(20) Pag. 198, Edit. Rhotomag. 1708: *the Paſſage is miſplaced.*

DES-BARREAUX (JAMES DE VALLÉE, *Lord*), born at *Paris* in 1602, of a very noble Family [*A*], was one of the Wits of the XVIIth Century. He made a great Progreſs in his Studies, under the Jeſuits, who, perceiving he had a Genius capable of the greateſt things, endeavoured to get him into their Society; but neither he nor his Family would hearken to ſuch a Propoſal. He did not love them, and would ſometimes inveigh againſt them very agreeably. His Intimacy with *Theophile* [*B*] no doubt contributed very much to this, as well as to the Libertiniſm which made him ſo famous. He was yet very young, when his Father procured him a Counſellor's Place in the Parliament of *Paris*. His Wit was admired there, though he would never report a Cauſe [*C*]. We ſhall ſee, in the Remarks, what obliged him to quit this Poſt

[*A*] *He was of a very noble Family*]. He was the Son of JAMES DE VALLÉE Lord *Des-Barreaux*, who died Maſter of the Requeſts, and Preſident of the Great Council, and Grandſon of JAMES DE VALLÉE, Knight, Lord *des Barreaux*, *Chateauneuf*, and *Chenailles*, Comptroller-General of the *Finances*, a Man ſo conſidered in the Reign of *Henry* III, and the beginning of the following Reign, that he had a great ſhare in the Councils, and the King often held a Council at his houſe, and frequently wrote to him with his own hand upon important Affairs. Mr *Des-Barreaux*, who is the Subject of this Article, was ſecond Couſin to Mr *de Lauberſpine Chateauneuf*, Keeper of the Seals, and by his Mother's ſide he was firſt Couſin to the Counteſs of *Bentiville* (1), and conſequently Uncle, after the cuſtom of *Bretagne*, to the Marſhal *de Luxembourg*, and to the Ducheſs of *Mecklemburg*. *Mary de Vallée*, his eldeſt Siſter, left no Children by her Marriage with the Preſident *Viole*. *Elizabeth de Vallée*, his other Siſter, was married to Mr *du Boulai-Favier*, Maſter of the Requeſts, Intendant in *Normandy*. From this Marriage proceeded two Daughters, one of which was married to Mr *Talon*, (2), and the other to Count *de Tilliere* and *de Carouge*.

(1) Mother of the Marſhal *de Luxembourg*. She died, not as the Gazettes publiſhed in *January* 1691, but in *Auguſt* 1696, at 92 Years of Age, having been 68 Years a Widow. *See the* Hiſtorical Letters of *the Month of* Sept. 1696, pag. 327, 328.

[*B*] *He had a great intimacy with* Theophile]. He was a very beautiful Youth, and it is pretended that *Theophile* loved him, and ſometimes was jealous of him. That Poet, ſpeaking of him, ſomewhere, ſays *Falleuz noſter qui fuit olim meus*. Some ſay he had abuſed him; but we are aſſured by perſons, who are intimate-

(2) Advocate-General, and afterwards *Preſident au Mortier*, in the Parliament of *Paris*.

Poſt [D]. He was too great a Lover of Pleaſure and Liberty not to think himſelf happy in parting with the Gown. He made abundance of *French* and *Latin* Verſes, and ſome very pretty Songs; but he never publiſhed any thing, minding nothing but good Chear and Diverſions. He was admirably entertaining at Table, known and beloved by the greateſt Lords, and the moſt worthy Men in the Kingdom. He had his particular Friends in every Province, whom he viſited very often, taking a Pleaſure in changing his Quarters according to the Seaſons of the Year [E]. Four or five Years before his Death, he entirely reformed his diſorderly Life, paid his Debts, and gave up to his Siſters the Remainder of his Eſtate (a), reſerving to himſelf an Annuity of Four thouſand Livres; and retired to *Chalon* upon the *Soane*, which was, he ſaid, the beſt and pureſt Air in *France*. Here he hired a ſmall Houſe, and was viſited by the beſt ſort of People, and particularly by the Biſhop, who gave him a good Character. He died at this Place like a good Chriſtian, in 1674. Two or three Years before his Death, he made a devout Sonnet, which is an excellent one, and known by every body [F]. Neither

(a) His Share of his Father's and Mother's Eſtate amounted to above 400,000 Livres, beſides ſome collateral Succeſſion.

ly acquainted with Mr *Des-Barreaux*, that he always abhorred that unnatural Sin, and that *nec agens nec patiens voluit unquam inſervire præpoſteræ libidini*. See the margin (3).

[C] *His Father procured him a Counſellor's Place . . . he would never report a Cauſe.*] He ſaid it was a ſordid Employment, and unworthy a Man of ſenſe, to apply himſelf to unravel wrangling papers. Once he undertook to report a Cauſe: it was of no great Conſequence; but, being preſſed by the Parties concerned, he ſent for them, and burnt the Writings in their preſence, paying the money that was demanded.

[D] *We ſhall ſee in the Remarks what obliged him to quit this Poſt.*] It was, they ſay, an Amour of Cardinal *Richelieu* with the famous *Marion de Lorme*, who was in love with our *Des-Barreaux*. I ſhall produce my Author. 'The Cardinal ſaw *Marion de Lorme* 'without being ſeen by her, and found her a thouſand 'times more charming than he had imagined. He 'deſired to know whether *St Mars* was loved by her, 'and ordered *Bois-robert* to find it out. The Abbot 'immediately gave his Eminence all the Information 'he deſired, acquainting him, that Vanity had a greater 'ſhare in *Marion de Lormes*'s Complaiſance for the King's 'Favourite than Love, but that ſhe had a real tenderneſs 'for *Des Barreaux*, Counſellor in the Parliament, a 'young man of Wit, well made, and of a lively Con'verſation, but debauched and impious to the laſt de'gree. The Cardinal bid *Bois-robert* offer *Des-Bar'reaux*, that, if he would yield up his Miſtreſs to him, 'and engage her to be favourable, he would gratefully 'accept the Sacrifice, and do any thing to promote 'his Fortune that he ſhould deſire. *Bois robert* diſ'charged his Commiſſion with the greateſt addreſs; 'but *Des-Barreaux* only anſwered in a jeſting way, 'always pretending to believe the Cardinal incapable 'of ſuch a weakneſs: this provoked the Cardinal to 'ſuch degree, that he perſecuted *Des-Barreaux* as 'long as he lived, and forced him to lay down his 'Office, and leave the Kingdom (4).'

(4) Galanteries des Rois de France, Tom. II, pag. 189, Edit. Holland. 1695.

He that furniſhed me with ſome Memoirs concerning *Des-Barreaux*, had promiſed to confute this Paſſage in the *Gallantries of the Kings of France*; but a long Sickneſs has hindered him from doing it.

[E] *He took a pleaſure in changing his quarters according to the Seaſons of the Year.*] He went to ſeek the beſt Fruits, and the beſt Wines, in the climates where they excelled, but eſpecially he went in Winter to enjoy the warmth of the Sun upon the Coaſts of *Provence*. The three worſt months of the Year he ſpent at *Marſeilles*. The Houſe, that he called his favourite Houſe, was in *Languedoc*: It was that of the Count *de Clermont de Lodeve*, where he uſed to ſay, good Chear and Liberty were upon their Throne. He had in *Anjou* the houſe of *Lude*, which was formerly the reſort of the greateſt Wits, and the beſt ſort of People. He went ſometimes to viſit Mr *de Balzac* (5) upon the banks of the *Charante*; but his chief Poſt was at *Chenailles* upon the *Loire*, an agreeable Houſe and formerly a Houſe of Pleaſure and good Chear. It belonged to one of his Uncles, and afterwards to Mr *de Chenailles*, his firſt Couſin, Counſellor in the Parliament of *Paris* (6). I muſt add that ſometimes the pleaſures of the Mind were the cauſe of his Journies, as when he went on purpoſe to *Holland* to ſee his Friend Mr *des Cartes*, and to improve by the Inſtructions of that great Genius (7).

(5) See *Balzac*'s Letter to him of *Octob.* 12, 1641: it is the 45th of the 2d Book of the 2d Part of his *Lettres Choiſies*: the Couſin he mentions, that would not marry again, is doubtleſs the Counteſs of *Bouteville*.

(6) He retired to the *Hague* for his Religion, in 1694.

(7) Baillet Vie de Des Cartes, Tom. II, pag. 276.

[F] *He made a devout Sonnet . . . . which is known by every body.*] I ſhall inſert it here at length.

Grand Dieu, tes jugemens ſont remplis d'Equité;
Toûjours tu prens plaiſir à nous être propice:
Mais j'ai tant fait de mal, que jamais ta bonté
Ne me pardonnera ſans choquer ta juſtice.
Oüy, Mon Dieu, la grandeur de mon impiété
Ne laiſſe à ton pouvoir que le choix du ſupplice:
Ton intereſt s'oppoſe à ma félicité,
Et ta clémence même attend que je périſſe.
Contente ton deſir puis qu'il t'eſt glorieux;
Offenſe toy des pleurs qui coulent de mes yeux;
Tonne, frappe, il eſt temps, viens moi guerre pour guerre:
J'adore en périſſant la raiſon qui t'aigrit:
Mais deſſus quel endroit tombera ton tonnerre,
Que ne ſoit tout couvert du ſang de JESUS-CHRIST.

Great God, thy Judgments equitable are:
Mercy is ſtill thy darling Attribute:
Yet ſuch a Wretch, ſo full of Guilt am I,
Tho' Mercy pleads, Juſtice forbids to ſave.
Yes, yes, my God! my great Impiety
Leaves thee the choice of Puniſhment alone:
Thy Intereſt is againſt my Happineſs,
And even thy Clemency awaits my Fall.
Then ſatisfy thy Glory's juſt demand,
And let my falling Tears provoke thy Wrath:
Now, thunder, ſtrike, and give me War for War:
Falling, I own the Juſtice of the Blow:
But, marked for Vengeance, let me not deſpair;
Fall where thy Thunders will, the Blood of Chriſt is there.

The Author of the Art of ſpeaking finds the Sonnet *admirable*. He inſerts it in his Book as an example of the figure Rhetoricians call *Epiſtrophe*, or *Conſent* (8). We find this Sonnet in a letter of Mr *Bourſault*. The Title of this letter ſhews it was written to Mr *Des-Barreaux*; 'who did not believe 'in GOD, but when he was ſick (9).' The Author mentions to him 'the death of an unhappy Woman, 'who was the diſgrace of her Sex, and who left Chil'dren the heirs of her Infamy.' He pretends, that by her death 'GOD had removed the Obſtacles 'which hindered *Des-Barreaux* from drawing near to 'him.' From hence we conclude, that this Woman had been *Des-Barreaux*'s Miſtreſs. He adds, 'that 'he did not doubt, but by the mutual ill Examples 'they gave one another, ſhe had alſo learned from 'him to believe in GOD, *only in time of ſickneſs*.' He repreſents to him what the Mercy of GOD had often done for him. 'Was is not that Mercy, ſays 'he him (10), which, in order to reclaim you from 'your diſorders, ſent you the laſt Sickneſs you had, 'when, touched by the greatneſs of your Sins, you 'made that Sonnet, which has procured you as 'much Glory, as one day it will cauſe Confuſion to 'you, that, having had a Capacity of thinking ſo well, 'you ſhould be ſo unhappy as to live ſo ill. Let us for a 'moment lay aſide the Chriſtian, and ſpeak only of the 'honeſt Man. Tell me, I beſeech you, whether a Man 'who ſhould have ſaid to another what you ſay to 'GOD, and ſhould have baſely violated his word as 'you do to him, could be an honeſt Man? . . . . What 'are you going to do, with death that follows within 'two,

(8) Art of Speaking, lib. 2, cap. 3, pag. 100, *Dutch Edit.* 1679.

(9) Lettres Nouvelles de Mr Bourſault, pag. 18, *Dutch Edit.* 1698.

(10) Ibid. pag. 21.

Neither his Friends nor Relations can deny that he was a great Libertine

' two steps of you, to day at the Capuchins, to
' morrow at the Menims, but seek what you ought
' to shun, and, if I dare say so, insult GOD where
' others adore him (11).' He refers him to the Fable of the sick Falcon, and maintains ' that if there is
' any thing in the World more extravagant than not to
' believe in GOD, it is to have the weakness to in-
' voke him without believing in him; and as he is
' no more GOD when we are sick than when we are
' well, there is neither more nor less reason to be-
' lieve in him one time than another (12).' He supposes this to be the answer of the Falcon's Dam; and declares, ' that he knows none but *Æsop* that could
' put such a judicious Answer into her Mouth.' *Lastly*, he earnestly exhorts Mr *Des-Barreaux* not to weary the Divine Mercy. *Note*, the Fable of the Falcon, or, to say better, of the Kite, runs thus in the new Edition of *Phædrus*.

(11) Ib. pag. 22.

(12) Ib. pag. 24.

Multos cum menses ægrotasset milvius,
Nec jam videret esse vitæ spem suæ,
Matrem rogabat, sancta circumiret loca,
Et pro salute vota faceret maxima.
Faciam, inquit, fili; sed opem ne non impetrem
Vehementer vereor; sed qui delubra omnia
Vastando, cuncta polluisti altaria
Sacrificiis nullis parcens, nunc quid vis rogem (13)?

Kite had lain ill three months or more,
And all the Quacks had giv'n him o'er.
Mamma he calls, then thus began,
All Flesh is Grass, and Life a Span,
But Prayers, perhaps, may still prevail,
The Gods can cure, when Doctors fail.
I'd pray, my Son, Mamma reply'd,
But fear, alas, to be deny'd.
They'll say, this sudden Reformation,
Is nought but base Dissimulation.

(13) *See the* Phædrus, *printed at* Amsterdam, 1698, pag. 325, *of the Commentary of* Gudius, Append. Fab. 1, In Edit. P. Burm.

I do not find this Fable among those which are attributed immediately to *Æsop* in *Nevelet*'s Edition; but I have found it among those, which are turned into Verse by an anonymous Author (14), and which he gives as the genuine Fables of *Æsop*: but I can see no footsteps in it of the Thought Mr *Bourfault* mentions, and which he believes *Æsop* alone capable of inspiring. This is by the by.

(14) They are in the same Edition of *Nevelet*.

He is in the right to say, that it would be the utmost Extravagance to direct Prayers to a Deity, that we do not believe to exist; but I do not know that ever *Des-Barreaux* was guilty of such a Folly. St *Paul* seems to suppose, that such an Extravagancy is not to be found among Men. *How shall they call*, says he (15), *on him, in whom they have not believed?* It seems to me possible enough that those, who are come to no positive Determination, either for or against the Existence of GOD, should address their Prayers and Vows to him upon the sight of imminent Danger. Now this is the Condition of almost all the Incredulous. They doubt of the Being of a GOD; they do not clearly know that he exists; but then they are not certain that he does not exist. The Bishop of *Tournay* begins his Reflections upon Religion with this Thought. It is natural for such Men, at the approach of Death, to take the surest side, and *ad majorem Cautelam* to recommend themselves to the Divine Favour and Mercy (16): They hope for something from their Prayers, in case there is a Being that hears them, and can help them; and they have nothing to fear in case there is no such Being. But if any one was arrived to such a degree of Infidelity, as to be firmly persuaded of meer Atheism, and should continue in that Persuasion till he is seized by a dangerous Sickness, I do not conceive it possible for such a one, from the bottom of his heart, to call upon GOD. Let us not imagine then, that *Des-Barreaux* fell into the Extravagance he is charged with of crying to GOD, without believing there was a GOD; but rather say, that his Custom of praying to GOD in his Sickness is a sign that either in the time of his health he did not doubt of the Existence of GOD, as the Memoirs which are sent me, assure me, or that, at most, he made a Problem of it, the affirmative of which he embraced when he was afraid he should die. His Inclination to Pleasure made him return to his former Course and Language, when his health was restored. This does not prove that he was really an Atheist. It only proves, either that he rejected all the particular Doctrines of positive Religion, or that, thro' a Principle of Pride, he was afraid of being rallied for quitting the Title of a Free-thinker, if he did not continue to talk as a Libertine. It is probable enough that those who, in Company, affect to oppose the most common Truths of Religion, say more than they think. Vanity has a greater share than Conscience in their Disputes: they imagine the singularity or boldness of the Sentiments they maintain will procure them the Reputation of great Wits. Thus they are tempted, against their own Persuasion, to expose the difficulties, to which the Doctrines of *Providence*, and the Gospel are subject. By little and little, they get a habit of impious Talk, and, if their Vanity is attended with a sensual Life, they make a swift Progress in Wickedness. This ill habit, contracted on one hand under the guidance of Pride, and on the other prompted by Sensuality, deadens the Impressions of Education. I mean that it suppresses the sense of those Truths they learnt in their Infancy concerning the Deity, Heaven, and Hell. But it is not a Faith quite extinguished; it is only fire concealed in the Ashes. They perceive the Activity of it, as soon as they reflect within themselves, and particularly on the approach of any Danger. Then they are more afraid than other men (17); nay, they grow superstitious. The remembrance of having expressed more contempt for holy Things, than they were convinced they deserved, and of having endeavoured to destroy their Power upon the mind, redoubles their uneasiness. It is seldom ever known that a grave Man, free from sensuality, and the Vanity of the World, argued, in Company, for Impiety, even tho', by a long series of profound, but ill conducted, Meditations of Things, he has inwardly rejected all Religion. Such a Man is so far from banishing out of the Minds of young People the Doctrines which may preserve them from Debauchery, so far from desiring to inspire them with his Opinions, which they might make an ill use of, or which might deprive them of the comfort, which the hopes of a happy Eternity make them feel in their miseries, that he would rather strengthen their belief in that respect from a principle of Charity and Generosity. He keeps his Sentiments either entirely to himself, or communicates them only to Persons, whom he thinks capable of receiving them without injury. This is the practice of speculative Atheists, who have not been spoiled by Vanity or Vice (18). The unhappiness of having been too much struck with a certain Principle, and following it's Consequences too far, has lead them to a certain Persuasion. The grace of GOD may reclaim them from it, at the sight of Death; but, without that Grace, they persist in their indolence in the midst of Diseases and Storms; and, if they conform to the funeral Ceremonies of the Church, it is to free their Relations from any Inconvenience on account of such Refusal. This inclines me to believe, that Libertines, such as *Des-Barreaux*, are not much persuaded of the Truth of what they say. They have but a little examined things; they have learnt some objections, which they are always harping upon; they talk out of a swaggering Principle, and in time of danger belie themselves (19). Mr *de Balzac* has drawn the just Character of them, when he ridiculed a *Grammarian of Gascony*, who hectored the Deity, and yet upon every little thing would fall into the most timorous Superstition. His words are so fine both in Verse and Prose that I cannot forbear relating them. ' Audisti in quo-
' tidiana Comœdiis Pyrgopolinicis partes bellè agere.
' Audisti usurpantem crebro, sibique affingentem Vir-
' gilianum illud:

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Atque metus omnes & inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.

' Ne vobis imponat verborum illa magnificentia: Hi-
' strio & Recitator Virgilianus est, non Philosophus

(15) Rom. x. 14.

(16) *See Remark* [E] *of the Article* BION (BORISTHENITA).

(17) *See, before, the Passage of* CHARRON, *in the Rem.* [I], *of his Article.*

(18) *See the Rem.* [C] *of the Article* VAYER, *at the End.*

(19) *See the Article of* BION (BORISTHENITA), *Rem.* [E]; *and the Article* HENAULT.

(b) This, and whatever, in the Remarks, is not warranted by a public Citation, is taken from Memoirs which come from a good Hand, the Original of which I keep by me.

tine [G]; but they pretend that common Fame, according to Custom, has aggravated Matters [H], and that towards the Close of his Life he acknowledged the Truth of Religion; and as to other things they maintained, that according to the World he was always a good Man, and a Man of Honour, *that he had an honest Heart, was kind, courteous, charitable, a good Friend, generous, and liberal* (b). He was never married, nor had any Brother, but only two Sisters (c).

(c) See Rem. [A].

' Virgilianus. Meticulosiſſimum omnium animal timet etiam non timenda. Neque ignem modo ſed ſuſpicionem quoque ignis, & fumum è longinquo volantem, & ſubluſtriorem umbram timet. . . . .

Vilis Grammaticus, gentis pars fœda togatæ,
Impuro tantum ore ferox, ne credite verbis,
Corde pavet gelido, quamvis verba ardua jactet
Sæpius, & tragicas effundat in æra voces.
Non furor huic conſtans, non Numina fortiter odit,
Intrepidusque Polos audet ridere tonantes,
Ut quondam Capaneus Thebana ad mœnia pugnans,
Cum non arma Jovis flammasque timeret Olympi.
Hic dubii imbellis ventura pericula caſus,
Et ſimulachra malorum, & larvas horret inanes,
Contemptor placidique Jovis Cœlique ſereni.
Quas non ille aras humili formidine tactâ
Mente petet, quos non Superos in vota vocabit,
Si videat maris fratos inſurgere fluctus,
Sentiat aut propriis ardere incendia venis,
Inſolito-ve urgeri oppreſſum pondere pectus,
Æger, inops animi, atque inſtantis victima Fati (20)?

(20) Balzac, Ep Select. p. m. 279.

' You have heard him daily act ſome part of a ranting Play, and repeating thoſe lines of Virgil, which he has had the Impudence to aſcribe to himſelf;

Happy the Man who ſtudying Nature's Laws,
Thro' known effects, can trace the ſecret Cauſe:
His Mind poſſeſſing in a quiet State,
Fearleſs of Fortune, and reſign'd to Fate.

DRYDEN.

' Let not his Rhodomontade impoſe upon you, tho' he may act and repeat what Virgil has wrote, he will never reaſon like him. Fear is his predominant Paſſion, even when there is no danger nigh. He is not only terrified at the ſight, but at the name of Fire: a ſmoke riſing at a diſtance, or the ſhadow of a Poſt in the Moon ſhiny-night, make him tremble as tho' he had got an Ague.

Grammarian Vile! of baſe Plebeian mould,
In Soul how tim'rous! and in Tongue how bold!
In Buskins tread, in Tragic numbers roar,
Yet thy baſe Fear's a Comedy all o'er:
Defy the Thunder of a ſleeping God,
And ſtand aghaſt at the imperial Nod.
Not like Capaneus on the Theban Plain,
Who unappall'd provoked the Thund'rer's train.
The empty Forms and Phantoms of the night,
The Dreams of danger or of ills affright.
In mild Serenity ſecurely rave,
With Arrogance contemn the peaceful Wave:
But if a Tempeſt raiſe the angry Flood,
Or waſtful Fires boil feverish in thy Blood,
All wild with fears that labour in thy Breaſt,
To every Shrine, and every God a jeſt,
Low, proſtrate low, for Mercy ſhal't thou crave,
A baſe diſtracted Victim of the Grave.

We may obſerve, upon this Occaſion, that many Perſons, who are thoroughly perſwaded of the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion, yet forget their Vows, when the danger is over. From hence comes the Proverb, *Paſſato il pericolo gabbato il Santo.* How many Orthodox Sinners are there, who, when they are in danger of being caſt away, or dying by a Diſtemper, promiſe Almighty God, how religiouſly they will live if they eſcape? They do eſcape, and live as ill as ever. Would not one think they allude to thoſe human Laws, which diſpence with promiſes obtained by Force, in Priſon, by an Enemy that holds a piſtol to your Throat: or, in a word, when a Man is ſeized with a juſt fear, *mala cadente in conſtantem virum.*

[G] *His Friends cannot deny he was a great Libertine.*] They ſay he was not averſe to the Truths of Chriſtianity, and that he wiſhed he could have been perſwaded of them; but he pretended there was nothing ſo difficult to a Man of Wit as to believe. He was born a Catholic, but he had no manner of Faith in the Worſhip or Doctrines of the *Romiſh* Religion; and he uſed to ſay, if the Scriptures and Goſpel are the Rule of our Belief and Actions, then there was no better Religion than the Reformed.

[H] *But they pretend that common Fame has aggravated Matters.*] Many, without knowing him, ſpoke of him as an impious Man, and an Atheiſt: but the Truth is, that, excepting ſome ſallies in the heat of Diſpute, when he puſhed his Argument too far, he never made it appear that he denied the exiſtence of God He was ſometimes too free in his looſe Songs. This is the import of the Memoirs, which have been communicated to me. In the ſecond Edition of the *Menagiana*, there is a thing which I think deſerves no Credit; for it is told every where, and imputed to a thouſand different People. However this is Mr *Menage's* Story. ' That one Day ' Mr *Des Barreaux* and Mr *D'Elbene*, being together ' in Lent, were reſolved to eat Fleſh, but they could ' get nothing but Eggs, of which they had an Omelete * ' made: Whilſt they were eating it, there happened ' ſo terrible a Storm of Thunder, that they thought ' the Houſe where they were would have been over-' thrown. Monſ. *Des-Barreaux*, without being con-' cerned in the leaſt, opened the Window and threw ' out the Diſh, crying out, what a Noiſe is here for ' an Omelete (21).' I give no more Credit to another Story I have heard. It is pretended, that *Des-Barreaux*, being very ill, ſent for the Prieſts with as much Diligence as if he had been an old Votary. His Bed was ſurrounded with the holy Water, the holy Candles, the Crucifix and Images, and all the Apparatus of the *Romiſh* Devotion. Some body asking him how he did, he anſwered *You may judge of the ill Condition of my Body and Soul by the train that ſurrounds me.* It is probable they have forged this Story upon the Model of the anſwer *Pericles* made, when he ſuffered an old Woman's Remedy to hang about his Neck. Ὁ γὰρ Θεόφραστος ἐν τοῖς ἠθικοῖς διαπορήσας εἰ πρὸς τὰς τύχας τρέπονται τὰ ἤθη, καὶ κινήμασι τοῖς τοῦ σώματος ἀλλοῦνται, ἐξίστησι τῆς ἀπορίας, ἱστορήκαν ὅτι νοσῶν ὁ Περικλῆς ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τῷ τραχήλῳ περιῆπτημένον, ὡς ἀφόδευμα κακῶς ἔχων ὁτιοῦν καὶ ταύτην ὑπομένοντα τὴν ἀβελτηρίαν. Scriptum reliquit in Ethicis Theophraſtus, ubi diſputat an mutentur cum fortunæ mores, & corporis agitati affectibus deſciſcant à virtute, ægrum Periclem amico cuipam, qui ipſum inviſebat, amuletum offendiſſe à mulieribus ex collo ſuo ſuſpenſum, quaſi, quum eas etiam toleraret ineptias, graviter admodum ægrotaret (22). —— *Theophraſtus in his Ethics, where he handles this Queſtion*, Whether a change of Fortune creates a change of Manners; or whether the Affections of the Body have any Moral effect on the Mind, *reports, that Pericles in his ſickneſs ſhewed to a Friend, who came to ſee him, an Amulet which ſome old Woman had hung about his Neck, intimating that he muſt be in a very bad way when he ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed with ſuch fooleries.* What I am going to relate, is taken from the Letters of *Guy Patin*. ' I am juſt informed, that the Libertine Mr *Des-Barreaux* is dead, a fine Soul before ' God, if he had believed in him! At leaſt he ſpoke ' like a Man who had no Faith in the Affairs of the ' other World, but he has infected abundance of young ' Men with his Libertiniſm; his Converſation was ' dangerous and contagious to the Public: it is ſaid he ' was tinctured with Irreligion before he went into ' *Italy*, but at his return he was perfected in it. One ' wittily ſaid, his too frequent Converſation with the ' Monks had ſpoiled him, not with the Anchorets of ' the Thebaid, or thoſe good Souls who apply themſelves to Devotion and Study, but thoſe who are in ' ſuch Plenty in the Cities of *Italy*, who think of no-' thing

* A Pancake made of Eggs.

(21) Menagiana, pag. 240, 241, Edit. 2, of Holl.

(22) Plutarch, in Pericle, pag. 173. A.

thing less than of God." As *Patin* wrote this the twenty-eighth of *May* 1666 (23), it is plain he went upon a false report of *Des-Barreaux*'s Death. He was not undeceived the eighteenth of *June* following; for thus he writes in a Letter dated that Day (24). "They say nothing of *Des-Barreaux*; I know not "where he is at present. He was of the Sect of *Cre-*"*moninus*: he took no care of his Soul, and but little "of his Body. He has corrupted the Minds of a great "many young Men, who were infatuated by that "Libertine." What he wrote four Years after concerning St *Pavin*, shews that he had discovered the falsity of his News, for he speaks of *Des-Barreaux* as alive and doing penance. "Here died lately, says he (25), "a great Servant of God, called Mr de St Pavin, a great "Friend of Des Barreaux, who IS another very illustrious "Israelite. Il crudere fas est. — If you will believe it." This Discourse I think plainly intimates, that these two famous Libertines were willing the World should think they were converted, and thus the event would soon have proved contrary to Mr *Boileau*'s predictions, who had put the Conversion of St *Pavin* among the Moral Impossibilities.

(23) *It is the* 40*th Letter. See* Tom. III, pag. 303.

(24) *Letter* 407.

(25) *Letter* 472, *dated from* Paris, April, 17, 1670. *See* Tom. III, pag. 520.

Avant qu'un tel dessein m'entre dans la pensée,
On pourra voir la Seine à la Saint Jean glacée,
Arnaud à Charenton devenir Huguenot,
Saint Sorlin Janseniste, & SAINT PAVIN BIGOT (26).

(26) Boileau, Sat. 1, ver. 125.

Sooner may the Seine be frozen over at Midsummer, Arnaud of Charenton turn Huguenot, St Sorlin a Janseniſt, and St Pavin a Bigot.

No doubt St *Pavin* was still in a bad way when *Boileau* said this of him. Whence comes it then that the learned *Hadrian Valesius* places the Conversion of *St Pavin* on the Day of *Theophile*'s Death? He was certainly mistaken. See the *Valesiana* (27); where you will find something also concerning our *Des-Barreaux*. "When I was young, I saw Messieurs *Des-*"*Barreaux* and *Bardouville*, who were great Friends; "they were the Disciples of *Theophile* . . . . . As to "*Des-Barreaux*, after he had made himself much "talked of at *Paris*, and perceiving old-age creeping "upon him, he devoted himself to Religion. Some-"body, who did not believe this change of Life pro-"ceeded from a Principle of Piety, made this invidious "Epigram upon him:

(27) Pag. 32, Dutch Edit.

Des-Barreaux ce vieux débauché
Affecte une Réforme austere:
Il ne s'est pourtant retranché
Que ce qu'il ne sauroit plus faire (28).

(28) Ibid. pag. 31. *Valesiana.*

So Des-Barreaux in Vice grown old,
His Strength decay'd and Vigour spent,
Is by his feeble Members told
Repentance is his Punishment.

DIACCETO. Look for JACCETIUS.

DIAGORAS, a famous Wrestler of the Isle of *Rhodes*, reckoned one of his Ancestors among the most illustrious Men of Antiquity [*A*]. The Glory he obtained by his Victories in the public Games of *Greece*, became very remarkable by his Sons and Grandsons also carrying away the Crowns there (*a*). He once brought two of his Sons with him thither; they obtained the Crown, and taking their Father upon their Shoulders, carried him through an incredible multitude of Spectators, who threw whole handfuls of Flowers upon them, applauding their Glory and Success (*b*). Some Authors say, he was so transported with Joy upon this Occasion, that he died of it [*B*]. But there is reason to think this is false [*C*]. The Time he lived in may be seen in one of

(a) *See Rem.* [*C*] *of the Article* BERENICE, *Daughter, Sister, and Mother, &c.*

(b) *Taken from* Pausanias, lib. 6, pag. 184.

[*A*] *He reckoned among his Ancestors one of the most illustrious Men of Antiquity.*] I mean that he was descended from a Daughter of *Aristomenes*, the greatest Hero that was among the *Messenians*. This *Aristomenes* had given two of his Daughters in Marriage, a third remaining with him. *Damagetus*, King of *Jalysus*, in the Island of *Rhodes*, desired her, the *Delphic* Oracle having advised him to marry the Daughter of the honestest Man in *Greece*. *Aristomenes* not only granted him his Daughter, but brought her himself to *Rhodes*. *Damagetus* had by her a Son, named *Diagoras*. If *Pausanias*, who has furnished me with this Account (1), means that *Diagoras* the Wrestler, Father and Grandfather of so many victorious Wrestlers, was the Son of *Damagetus* and of the Daughter of *Aristomenes*, he did not consult Chronology well; on one side he says (2), Death prevented *Aristomenes* from visiting *Ardys* and *Pheraortes*, the former King of *Lydia*, and Son of *Gyges*, the latter King of the *Medes*; and in another place (3), he assures us, that *Dorieus*, the Son of *Diagoras* the Wrestler, lived in the Time of *Conon* the *Athenian* General. Now the Reign of this *Ardys* extends from the second Year of the XXVIth Olympiad, to the third Year of the XXXVIIth (4). *Pheraortes* reigned from the second Year of the XXXIIth Olympiad, to the last Year of the XXXVIth, and *Conon* flourished in the XCVIth Olympiad, or thereabout: therefore it is not probable that *Dorieus*, Cotemporary with this *Conon*, should be the Son of a Man, whose Father married under the Reign of *Pheraortes*. See the Remarks [*D*] and [*F*].

(1) Lib. 4, pag. 234.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Lib. 6, pag. 285.

(4) *See* Calvisius.

Note, That by examining the *Greek* of *Pausanias*, a little better than *Romulus Amaseus*, his Latin Translator, examined it, we find he says, That *Diagoras* the Wrestler, was the Son of one *Damagetus*, whose Father was named *Dorieus* (5), and was the Son of *Damagetus* and of the Daughter of *Aristomenes*.

(5) It is true Dorieus in the Editions of *Pausanias*, *lib.* 4; but, according to the Conjecture of *Camerarius*, it should be read Δωρίευς, as in the 6th Book.

[*B*] *Some Authors say he was so transported with joy . . . . . that he died with it.*] I believe this is only to be found in *Aulus Gellius* among the Ancients; and that it is he, who in this respect ought to be reckoned the Original of an infinite number of Moderns, who have cited this Instance every time they have mentioned Joy, as capable of causing Death. When I say that *Aulus Gellius* was their Original, I do not mean that they have all consulted him; he is the immediate Original of some, and by reduction of all the rest. These are his words, in which he does not meerly relate the matter of fact, as *Pausanias* does; but, without doubt, he adds some Rhetorical Embellishments. "De Rhodio etiam Diagora celebrata histo-"ria est. Is Diagoras tres filios adolescentes habuit, "unum pugilem, alterum pancratiastem, tertium lue-"tatorem; eosque omnes vidit vincere coronarique "eodem Olympiæ die: & quum ibi eum tres adole-"scentes amplexi, coronis suis in caput patris positis, "suaviarentur, quumque populus gratulabundus flores "undique in eum jaceret: ibi in stadio, inspectante "populo, in osculis atque in manibus filiorum animam "effavit (6). — *There is a famous Story of Diagoras the Rhodian. This Diagoras had three Sons, who were Combatants in the Olympic Games, all of whom he saw crowned Victors on the same day; after which the three Sons, embracing their Father, placed their Crowns on his Head, whilst the People congratulated him with all the Marks of Honour. The Father was so transported that he died in the Stadium, in the Arms and Endearments of his Sons, in the Sight of all the People.*"

(6) Aulus Gell. Noct. Attic. lib. 3, cap. 15.

[*C*] *We have reason to believe that this is false.*] The Fact was too singular to have been omitted by those, who have spoken of *Diagoras* at large. I cannot imagine that *Pausanias*, who speaks so sedately of him (7), and with several Digressions, could have passed over in Silence a Death of that nature, if he had heard it talked of as a certain Event. Now, without doubt, he would have heard of it, if the thing had been true. Note, he not only explains to us the Situation of the Statues erected to *Diagoras*, his Sons and Grandsons, and touches upon several particular Circumstances relating to that Family, but also speaks of that glorious Day, when he was honoured with so many Applauses and Congratulations on his Sons Victory. Could

(7) Lib. 6, pag. 284.

of the Authors cited by *Moreri* [*D*]; but those Authors do not say there are various Reports of the Cause of his Death, though *Moreri* affirms it [*E*].

Since the first printing of this Article, I have found an Ode in *Pindar*'s Works in Honour of *Diagoras*. It informs us (*c*), that this Wrestler had twice obtained the Victory in the *Rhodian* Games, four times in the *Isthmian*, and twice in the *Nemean* Games; and that he had been victorious in the Games celebrated at *Athens*, at *Argos*, in *Arcadia*, at *Thebes*, in *Bœotia*, in the Isle of *Ægine*, at *Pellene* (*d*), and at *Megara*. That Ode was made on the Crown of the *Pugilate*, which he obtained in the Olympic Games in the LXXIXth Olympiad (*e*). His Father *Damagetus* and *Tlepolemus*, the Founder of the *Rhodians*, and the Stock of the Family, are not forgotten. It may be said, on the contrary, that *Pindar*'s Digression about *Tlepolemus*'s Adventures is somewhat prolix. However, we are informed by it, that our *Diagoras* descended from *Jupiter* [*F*]. Others say his Extraction was immediately divine

(*c*) Pindar. Ode 7. Olympior.

(*d*) *Six times.*

(*e*) *See* Benedictus in Pindar. pag. 123.

Could he on this occasion have omitted this Remark, that *Diagoras* died of Joy under the Flowers they threw upon him, and under the good Wishes of the Assembly: therefore we may take *Pausanias*'s Silence for a Proof of *Aulus Gellius*'s Want of Discernment. *Cicero* and *Plutarch* afford us another Proof: they both relate what was said to *Diagoras* on the Day of that famous Victory. A *Lacedemonian* came up to him, and exhorted him not to lose so fair an opportunity of dying. What need had there been of such a Remonstrance, if he had indeed died of Joy? Would he not have prevented that *Lacedemonian*'s Saying, and taken due Care, that neither *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, or any other Moralist, should ever be able to cite *Diagoras* in the manner they have done: they have cited him, not as a Man that died for Joy, in the Height of his Happiness, but as a Man whom they advised to die at such a Conjuncture. Is not this a convincing Proof against *Aulus Gellius*? I must observe, that *Cicero* and *Plutarch* relate so differently what the *Lacedemonian* said, that Light and Darkness are not more contrary. They agree only in their general Drift, which is to prove, that Death ought not to be grievous to those who are in the Enjoyment of great Happiness. *Die*, Diagoras, *for thou wilt immediately go to Heaven.* ‘Secundis suis rebus volet etiam mori, non enim tam cumulus bonorum jucundus esse potest, quam molesta deceptio.’ Hanc sententiam significare videtur Laconis illa vox, qui quum Rhodius Diagoras Olympionices nobilis uno die duos suos filios victores Olympiæ vidisset, accessit ad senem & gratulatus, morere, Diagora, inquit. Nunc enim in cœlum ascensurus es. Magna hæc & nimium fortasse Græci patant; vel tum potius putabant. Itaque qui hoc Diagoræ dixit permagnum existimans patrem quum duobus filiis tres Olympionicas una ex domo prodire, cunctari illum diutius in vita fortunæ objectum inutile putabat ipsi (8). ——— *He would chuse to die in his Prosperity; for the Tide of Success is not so pleasing as it's Ebb is troublesome: which seems to be the meaning of that Saying of the Lacedemonian, who, when Diagoras, of Rhodes, a noble Victor in the Olympian Games, saw his two Sons crowned at the same place, came to him, and congratulating him, said,* Now die, Diagoras, and thou shalt go to Heaven. *The Greeks perhaps think, or rather then thought, an Instance of this nature even too grand; and he who spoke it esteemed it prodigious, that a Father, with two Sons, should be Victors in the Olympic Games; and that a longer Life would be no Favour to him; since it would expose him to the Caprice of Fortune.* This was the Compliment according to *Cicero*: *Plutarch* has it thus: *Die, Diagoras, for thou canst never go to Heaven.* Οὐ γὰρ (ὡς Αἰσωπος ἔφασκε) χαλεπωτάτῃ ἐστὶ ὁ τὸν εὐτυχέστατον θάνατος, ἀλλὰ μακαριωτάτῳ εἰς ἀσφαλῆ χώραν τὰς εὐπραξίας καταθέμενος τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τύχην περιπλακῆναι ἀπολιπών. Διὸ βέλτιστον ὁ Λάκων τὸν Ὀλυμπιονίκην Διαγόραν ἐπιδόντα μὲν ὑπὲρ στεφανούμενον ἐλυμπιάσιν, ἐπιδόντα δ' ὑπὲρ καὶ Συγγενεῖς, ἀσπασάμενον, Κάτθανε (εἶπε) Διαγόρας, οὐκ εἰς τὸν Ὄλυμπον ἀναβήσῃ. Non enim (ut Æsopus ait) mors est felicium acerbissima, verum beatissima: quæ res bonorum virorum lætas fecere loco deposuit, & fortuna declinavit conversionem. Melius ergo Lacon ille qui Olympionicen Diagoram, quum spectasset filios ibi victores Olympiæ, spectasset etiam nepotes ex filiis & filiabus, salutans, Morere, Diagora, inquit: non enim in cœlum ascensurus es (9). *For Death is not (as Æsop said) the greatest Calamity, but the greatest Blessing, to the Favourites of Fortune, fixing their Happiness on a solid Foundation, and placing it out of the reach of Fortune. With good reason therefore did the Spartan compliment Diagoras a Victor in the Olympic Games, who saw his Sons also crowned, and Grandsons both from sons and daughters, in this manner,* Now die, Diagoras; thou shalt never mount the Skies. I must confess the *Lacedemonian*'s Reasoning is obscure to me, turn it which way you will, either to *Cicero* or *Plutarch*'s Sense: I should understand it best according to the latter. I should imagine he argued in this manner: *You are arrived at the highest pitch of Glory you can aspire to; for you must not flatter your self, that if you lived much longer you should ascend to Heaven. Die then, that you may not run the risque of a Fall.* I desire those who have nothing more important to do, to examine all this. *Volaterran* makes an Innovation in it. ‘Diagoras Rhodius cum se victorem duosque Olympionicas filios vidisset, Nunc ais tibi Diagora moriendum, ne amplius Olympiam ascendas, quod sane præ gaudio accidit: Autores Plin. Gellius (10). ——— *Diagoras the Rhodian, having seen himself Victor in the Olympic Games, and seen his two Sons crowned with the same Success. Now die, Diagoras, said he, and never more go up to Olympia, which he did in Excess of Joy: say Authors are Pliny and Gellius.*’ The Subject will afford many subtil and learned Observations: for my part, I shall only quote the Poet *Terence*, who makes one of his Actors say,

Nunc est profecto interfici cum me perpeti possum,
Ne hoc gaudium contaminet vita ægritudine aliqua. (11)

Now could I consent to have my Throat cut, least my Joys should be embittered by some dash of misfortune.

(8) Cicero, Tusc. I, circa fin. fol. 253. *D.* Edit. Basil, 1528. *Note, that in other later Editions it is* non enim *instead of* nunc enim.

(9) Plut. in Pelopida, pag. 297. *A, B.*

(10) *Volaterran. lib. 15, pag. 539. Pliny says nothing of this, and Aulus Gellius does not tell it in this manner.*

(11) Terent. Eunuch. Act. III. Scen. V, vers. 30.

[*D*] *The time he lived in may be seen in one of the Authors cited by Moreri.*] Not exactly, but in general Terms thus. *Darius*, the third Son of *Diagoras*, was expelled *Rhodes* with his Brother *Pisidorus*. They retired to *Thurium* in *Italy*; for which reason, when they were crowned, at the Games, the public Crier called them *Thurians*. *Darius* returned to *Rhodes*, when the Faction that drove him thence had no longer the Ascendent. He embraced openly the *Lacedemonian* Party in the War of *Peloponnesus*, fitted out Ships at his own Charge, and fought like a Lion against the *Athenians*. They hated him to such a Degree, that, having taken him Prisoner, they resolved to be very severe with him: but the Assembly were struck with his Presence, and being touched with Pity to see a Person captive, whose Glory had been so eminent, they set him at Liberty (12). The *Lacedemonians* were not so generous: they took him as he was travelling near *Peloponnesus*, at the time the *Rhodians*, by the Instigation of *Conon* made an Alliance with the *Persians* and *Athenians*, and treated him as a State-Criminal, that is, they put him to Death. *Conon* brought off the *Rhodians* from the Alliance with the *Lacedemonians* (13) in the CXVIth *Olympiad* (14); whereby may be known, in general, at what time *Diagoras* lived.

History of *Darius*, the Son of *Diagoras*.

(12) Pausanias, lib. 6, pag. 184, 185.

(13) Anderton in Comment. Rerum Atticarum, apud Pausanium. *Ibid.*

[*E*] *But those Authors do not say what Moreri affirms.*] If *Plutarch*, *Pausanias*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Cicero* (15), *related a little differently the Cause of* Diagoras's *Death*, as Mr *Moreri* assures us, some must have attributed his Death to one Cause, and some to another; but they do not do this. *Aulus Gellius* makes him die of joy: the other three say nothing at all of his Death.

(14) Diodorus Siculus, lib. 14.

(15) *These are the four Authors Moreri cites.*

[*F*] *Our Diagoras descended from Jupiter.*] For *Tlepolemus* was the Son of *Hercules*, and of *Astydamia*

divine [G]. That Ode of *Pindar*, written in golden Letters, was placed in *Minerva's* Temple (*f*).

(*f*) Ibid.

nia the Daughter of *Amyntor* (16). Some say that *Amyntor* also derived his Extraction from *Jupiter* (17); and thus *Diagoras* might have traced his Genealogy up to the greatest of the Gods, both by male and female Line, beginning with *Tlepolemus*.

(16) Pindar. Ode 7. Olymp.

(17) *See* Benedictus in Pindar. pag. 149.

[G] *Others say that his Extraction was immediately divine.*] An ancient Scholiast says, there was a Tradition that *Diagoras* was the Son of *Mercury*, which happened in this manner: His Mother taking a walk in the Country, and finding herself incommoded with the excessive Heat, retired into the Shade of a Wood to repose herself; *Mercury*, to whom the Wood was consecrated, took hold of that Opportunity and enjoyed the Woman, and she was delivered of *Diagoras*. No body, since *Hercules* was born after this manner. Ὃς μόνῳ δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ λέγεται τοῦτο γένεσθαι, they are the Words of the Scholiast (18). *Benedictus* has translated them very obscurely, *qui primus*, says he (19), *ab Hercule tantus dicitur habitus*. Note, it is very true, that they did say, that, after *Hercules*, there was no Woman that had a Child by *Jupiter* (20); but it is not true that this was said of all the other Gods, with respect to the whole time that passed between *Hercules* and *Diagoras*; the latter was alive in the LXXIXth Olympiad, long after the Birth of *Romulus*, the Fruit of the Embraces of the God *Mars* and *Rhea Silvia*.

(18) *See the* Greek *Summary of* Pindar's 7th Olympic Ode, pag. 77. *Oxford Edit.* 1658.

(19) Benedictus, in Pindar pag. 123.

(20) *See the Remark* [N] *of the Article* HERCULES.

DIAGORAS, firnamed *the Atheist* (*a*), lived in the XCIst Olympiad [A]. He may be called an *Athenian* Philosopher, for he philosophized in that City; but he was not a Native of it. The Isle of *Melos*, one of the *Cyclades*, or the City of *Melia* in *Caria*, was the Place of his Birth [B]. An infatuating and excessive Fondness for a Production of his own Mind hurried him into Impiety [C]. He was one of the most barefaced and determined Atheists in the World; using no equivocating Subterfuges, but boldly denying there were any Gods [D]. The *Athenians* summoned him to

(*a*) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1, & 3. Diodor. Siculus, lib. 13, cap. 6. Lactant de Ira Dei, cap. 9, & multi alii.

[A] *He lived in the XCIst Olympiad.*] It was then that he left the Country of the *Athenians*, for fear of being punished for his Atheism (1). Therefore *Eusebius* is mistaken when he places him under the LXXIVth Olympiad. *Scaliger* (2) took notice of this Fault, wherein he finds sixty-six Years miscreckoned: He ought to have said sixty seven; for he observes, that, in the second Year of the XCIst Olympiad, the *Athenians* promised a Talent to him that should kill *Diagoras*, and two Talents to any one that should bring him alive. Now *Eusebius* places *Diagoras* under the third Year of the LXXIVth Olympiad: so that he is mistaken by sixty seven Years. *Vossius* (3) has not avoided the same Error. *Lactantius* is more mistaken in another sense, that is, by making *Diagoras* less ancient than he was. He not only makes him live after *Epicurus*, but also after the Ages in which Philosophy flourished. He places him in the times when that Science was decayed. ' Verum iis postea temporibus quibus jam philosophia defloruerat, extitit Athenis quidam Diagoras, qui nullum esse omnino Deum diceret, ob eamque ' sententiam nominatus est ἄθεος (4). —— *But afterwards when Philosophy had ceased to flourish, there appeared at Athens one Diagoras, who entirely denied the Being of a God, and for his Doctrine was firnamed the* ATHEIST.

(1) Diodor. Sic. lib. 13, cap. 6.

(2) Ad an. 2535. pag. 2000.

(3) Vossius, de Histor. Græcis, pag. 436.

(4) Lactantius de Ira Dei, cap 9.

[B] *The Isle of Melos . . . . nor the City of Melia . . . . were the place of his Birth.*] He was firnamed *Melius*, *the Melian*. This Epithet is given him by *Cicero* (5), *Ælian* (6), and *Diogenes Laërtius* (7). *Eustathius* (8), who calls him the *Milesian*, is mistaken, as is also *Vossius*, who makes him an *Athenian*. I say he makes him an *Athenian*; for, after speaking of *Diagoras* the Philosopher, he adds, *puto eumdem esse Diagoram Athiensem, qui reliquit sermones Phrygios* (9). *I take him to be the same Diagoras who wrote the Sermons Phrygii.* He quotes *Tatian's* words, who says, that *Diagoras* was of *Athens*. Διαγόρας Ἀθηναῖος ὁν. *Crefollius* (10) speaks only of one *Diagoras* of *Athens*, who is the same that is cited by *Tatian*; so that, in all probability, as *Tatian* had no other in view than *Diagoras* firnamed the *Atheist*, we may conclude they none of them knew of what Country he was. *Polaterran* and *Benedictus* have followed *Eustathius's* Error, the former in the fifteenth Book of his Compilation, and the other in his Commentary upon *Pindar* (11).

(5) De Natura Deorum, lib. 1.

(6) Var. Histor. lib. 2, cap. 23.

(7) In Diogene, lib. 6, n. 59.

(8) In Odyss. lib. 3.

(9) Vossius, de Histor. Græc. pag. 436.

(10) Theatr. Sophist. pag. 72.

(11) Benedictus in Pindar. Od. 7, Olymp. pag. 123.

[C] *An Infatuation . . . . . hurried him into Impiety.*] It happened in this manner. He took a pleasure to make Verses, and had composed a Poem, which a Poet stole from him. He prosecuted the Thief, who swore he had not taken it, and presently after published it as his own, which gained him a great Reputation. *Diagoras*, considering that the Person, who had done him this injury, was not only unpunished for this Theft, and Perjury, but had also got Glory by it, concluded there could be no Providence or any Deity, and wrote Books to prove it. This Story is told us by the Account *Hesychius Illustrius* (12) gives. It must be confessed, never was Author more fond of his own Performances than *Diagoras*, or that ever durst rate them at such a Price. What, because *Diagoras* is deprived of the Glory he promised himself from one of his Books, must the Universe suffer for it, must all Nature be robbed of her Governor and Preserver? What proportion is there in this? Let it not be said that my Reflexion is forced. I grant there is something wrong and aggravated in this turn; but I maintain that *Diagoras* would not have argued as he did, if he had not had a very particular and intimate Affection for what he lost. I know not whether ever the Prosperity of a wicked Man made those question a Providence, who shared in that Prosperity, or who, at least never received any damage from it. We shall see, in the following Remark, other Causes of *Diagoras's* Impiety.

(12) In Διαγόρας.

[D] *Boldly denying there were any Gods.*] In this manner his Doctrines are characterized, when they would distinguish them from those of *Protagoras*, who only looked on Religion as a Problematical thing: ' In ' hac quæstione plerique, quod maxime verisimile est, ' & quo omnes duce natura vehimur, deos esse dixerunt: dubitare se Protagoras; NULLOS ESSE OMNINO Diagoras Melius & Theodorus Cyrenaicus putaverunt (13). —— *The generality of those, who have been engaged in this Controversy, have agreeably to the light of Nature maintained the Existence of a* GOD: *Protagoras made it a doubt: Diagoras the Melian, and Theodorus the Cyrenean thought* THERE ' WAS NO SUCH THING.' Therefore it is very probable *Valerius Maximus* is mistaken when he says, *Diagoras* was banished *Athens* for saying he did not know whether there were any Gods, and that, if there were any, he knew nothing of their nature. ' Athenienses Diagoram Philosophum pepulerunt, quia ' scribere ausus fuerat, primum ignorare se an Dii es' sent: deinde, si sint, quales sint (14).' This agrees perfectly well to *Protagoras*, but not to *Diagoras*, so that we may suppose *Valerius Maximus* took the one for the other (15): which is an usual thing with him. Mr *Moreri* copies him without distrust, and according to his Custom is guilty of many Omissions. See the Passage of *Athenagoras* below (16), and the Remark [G], where we shall say something of the Title of a Book of *Diagoras* against the Deity. What *Sextus Empiricus* observes, is worth our Consideration. *Diagoras* had been superstitious to the last Degree, and had begun his Poem in a devout manner; but as soon as he perceived that the perjured Man, who had wronged him, escaped unpunished, he maintained there was no God. Διαγόρας μὲν ὁ Μήλιος, ἀνθυφεσταμένου αὐτῷ ἐπιορκήσαντος καὶ μὴ δίκην ὑποσχόντος, ἀπεφήνατο εἰς τὸ λέγειν μὴ εἶναι θεούς. Diagoras autem Melius, qui fuit, ut dicunt, primum Dithyrambicus, ut si quis ' alius

(13) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1, initio. *He says in the same Book:* Quid Diagoras, Atheos qui dictus est, posteaque Theodorus, nonne aperte Deorum naturam sustulerunt? Nam Abderiten quidem Protagoram . . . . cum in principio libri sui se nescire, *de Diis neque ut non sint habeo dicere*, Athenienses jussu urbe atque agro est exterminatus. *See* Lactantius de Ira Dei, cap. 9.

(14) Val. Max. lib. 1, cap. 1, sub. fin.

(15) *See* Leopardus, Emendat. lib. 11, cap. 11.

(16) *Citat.* (15).

to give an Account of his Doctrine, but he fled, and they set a Price upon his Head (b); They promised, by Sound of Trumpet, a Talent to any body that should kill him, and two Talents to bring him alive; and they ordered that Decree to be engraved on a Pillar of Brass. Their Severity extended very far [E]; but they could not take him; for he took Shipping, and was cast away (c). *Tatian* (d) says, he was punished for having divulged the Athenian Mysteries [F]. It is the Conjecture of some

(b) Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

(c) Athen. lib. 13, pag. 611.

(d) Suidas in Διαγόρας. & Melanthes in libro de Mysteriis, apud Scholiasten Aristophanis, in Avib. fol. 130, verso, Edit. Flor. 1525.

alius superstitiosus, qui etiam poëtæ suam inchoavit hoc modo, A Dæmone & fortuna sunt omnia. Injuria autem affectus ab aliquo qui perjeraverat, & properea nihil passus fuerat, eò deductus est ut diceret non esse Deum (17). —— *Diagoras the Melian, a Dithyrambic Poet by report, was at first addicted to Superstition, and no one more so; He began his Poems in this manner,*

(17) Sext. Empiric. adversus Mathematic. pag. 328.

On Jove and Fate all human things depend.

But having received an Injury from a Villain, who triumphed unpunished in his Perjury, he was induced to maintain there was no God. The Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* assures us, that *Diagoras*, who before was very religious, was precipitated into Impiety, by having lost, in a fraudulent way, what he had deposited with a Man he confided in. Διαγόρας ὁ Μήλιος ἦν τὸ πρότερον ἐν θεοσεβὴς, παρακαταθήκην ὑπό τινος ἀποστερηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ ἄδικον ἐξιόρκιον (18). This Deposit did not consist in Verses, but in Effects or Money (19). The same Scholiast says, *Diagoras* became an Atheist, because the *Athenians* had subdued his Country (20). To this I think we may refer what the same Scholiast relates in another place; that the Edict of Proscription against this impious Man for divulging the Mysteries, and hindering People from entering themselves into them, was chiefly published at the taking of *Melos*; for before that time he did not hinder any Body from initiating themselves. The Edict promised one Talent to whosoever should kill him, and two Talents if he was brought alive. Οὔτω γὰρ ἐκήρυξαν τὸν μὲν ἀποκτείναντα αὐτὸν ταλαντεῖον λαμβάνειν. τὸν δὲ ἀγαγόντα δύο. ἐκηρύχθη δὲ τοῦτο διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπεὶ τὰ μυστήρια πᾶσι διηγεῖτο κοινωνοῦν αὐτά. καὶ τὰς βιβλιμένας μυείσθαι ἀποτρέπων καθάπερ Κρατερὸς ἱστορεῖ. ἐκκεκήρυκται δὲ μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν ἁλόντων τὴν Μῆλον ὧδέ γε κωλύει τρίτος (21). *Craterus* did not forget this Edict in his Collection of the *Athenian* Decrees. We have just now seen that the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* cites this Collection. He cites it also in his Notes upon the Comedy of the Frogs, at the seventh Scene of the first Act. See the 105th Leaf of the *Florence* Edition 1525.

(18) Scholiast. Arist. in Nub. Act. III, Scen. I.

(19) Ὅς χρήματα παραθέμενός τινι καὶ ἀποστερηθεὶς εἰς ἄθεον ἐτράπη. *Having lodged some Effects with a certain Person, and being defrauded thereof, he turned Atheist.* Ibid.

(20) Ἢ διότι μᾶλλον ἐπολέμησαν Ἀττικοί. Ibid.

(21) Schol. Arist. in Avib. fol. 193, versō. Edit. Florent. 1525.

[E] *The severity of the Athenians extended very far.*] For, besides setting a price upon *Diagoras*'s Head, as we have just observed, they persuaded all the People of *Peloponnesus* to do the same. This may be collected from the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, in the place I have quoted of the Notes upon the Comedy of the Frogs. He borrows it from *Craterus*. In another place he cites *Menander*, who said, in his Treatise of Mysteries, that the Proscription not only concerned *Diagoras*, but also all the *Pellanians* (22); because they had published his Work (23): the same Scholiast relates, that the Rage of the *Athenians* against *Diagoras* prompted them to do a great deal of Mischief to *Melos*, the Birth-place of that Atheist. Ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀγανακτήσαντες, τὴν Μῆλον ἐπόλεμουν (24). The *Melians* got such an ill Character after the affair of *Diagoras* (25), that it is thought *Aristophanes* (26) gave *Socrates* the surname of *Melian*, for no other reason than to make him pass for an Atheist. ‘ *Aristophanes* gave *Socrates* that name, because he had ‘ been the Disciple of *Archelaus*, who was of the ‘ Isle of *Melos*, and because all the *Melians* had the ‘ Reputation of being Atheists ever since the Philosopher *Diagoras*, who took upon him to deny the ‘ Deity.’ These are the words of Madam *Dacier* in the Three hundred and forty ninth page of her Notes upon the Clouds of *Aristophanes*. She had them from the old Scholiast, and consequently it is not against her, but against him, that I am going to make an Observation. The *Athenian* Decree against the impious *Diagoras* was made the first Year of the XCIst Olympiad (27): therefore it is after that time that the *Melians* must have been under this ill Character. Now *Socrates* was at that time above fifty Years old. Therefore many Years had passed since he had heard the Lectures of *Archelaus*, and it would have been a very forry Jest to have gone so very far back, and ascribed such a remote effect to the scandals *Diagoras* raised against his Country. *Archelaus* must have been then in his Grave, or at least very old. Who can imagine that *Aristophanes* should think to do *Socrates* a great injury, by putting the People in Mind that he had been taught by *Archelaus* the *Melian*? I might raise another Objection. The Comedy of the Clouds, in which *Socrates* is called the *Melian*, was acted before the Proscription of *Diagoras* (28): but if the Scholiasts are to be believed (29), there are things in that Comedy referring to Facts later than the Proscription: so that I do not insist on this difficulty. Now, as neither *Diogenes Laërtius*, nor his Commentators, have any Knowledge of this *Archelaus* the *Melian*, the Master of *Socrates*, I am apt to suspect that the word *Archelaus* crept into the Scholia upon *Aristophanes* instead of *Diagoras*. What confirms my Conjecture is to see that the Scholiast gives two Characters to his *Archelaus*, which agree with *Diagoras* (30): he makes him a *Dithyrambic*, and a prophaner of the Mysteries: in another place of the Scholia (31) it is said, that *Diagoras* was cotemporary with *Simonides* and *Pindar*. According to this Supposition he might have been *Socrates*'s Master.

(22) Perhaps he should have said, *Pallenians*, that is, the Inhabitants of *Pallene*, a Town in *Attica*, according to *Stephanus Byzantinus*.

(23) Ἐν ᾧ ἐκπομπέων καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκδιδόντας Ἕλληνας. *By which Edict they prescribed him, and the Inhabitants of Pallana, who published his Writings* Schol. Aristoph. in Avib folio 193, verso.

(24) Idem. in Nub. Act. 3, Scen. 2. fol. 78.

(25) Διαβέβληντο δὲ ἐπὶ ἀθεΐᾳ οἱ Μήλιοι ἀπὸ Διαγόρου. Id. ib.

(26) In Nub. Act. 3, Scen. 2.

(27) Diod. Sicul. lib. 13, cap. 6.

[F] *Tatian relates that he was punished for divulging the Mysteries of the Athenians.*] *Tatian*'s words are (32): Διαγόρας Ἀθηναῖος ἦν, ἀλλὰ τῦτον ἐξορχησάμενον τὰ περ' Ἀθηναίοις μυστήρια, τὸν τιμωρήσατο. καὶ ποῖς Φρυγίοις αὐτὸ λόγοις ὑπυγχάνοντες ἡμᾶς μεμισήκατε. *Diagoras Athenienſis erat, ſed quod myſteria apud Athenienſes prophanaſſet, punitus eſt: hujus Phrygios libros cum legetis, non odiſſetis.* I know not whether a good Rhetorician would have reasoned in this manner: *You have punished a Man who prophaned your Mysteries, and tho' you read his Books, yet you hate us.* *Tatian*'s design is to make it appear, that the hatred of the *Gentiles* against the Christians was unjust, and, order to prove it, he alledges two Things; one, that they had punished the prophane *Diagoras*; the other, that they read his Books. I think it was no great Prudence to re-call to their Mind the ancient Severity of the *Athenians* against those, who ridiculed the Religion of the *Greeks*, as the Christians also did. And might not *Tatian* see that it was easy to answer him? ‘ When you are ‘ used as *Diagoras* was, your Books shall be used as his ‘ were: there will be curious Men, who will preserve ‘ the Writings you compose against our Gods: do ‘ not trouble your self about it. Only suffer such ‘ a Punishment as *Diagoras* suffered, which you put ‘ us in mind of.’ I hope I may be pardoned for criticising sometimes false Reasonings. It is more useful to discover it to young Readers, than to point out false Facts. But return to my Text.

(28) The first Year of the XCIst Olympiad, and revised the next Year. *See* Samuel Petit. Miscel. lib. 1, cap. 6.

(29) Sam. Petit. ibid.

(30) Ἐπειδὴ τὸν Ἀρχέλαον διθυραμβοποιὸν ἐπωνόμασε τὰ ἐλευσίνια. Scholiast. Aristoph. ibid.

(31) Id. ibid. fol. 305.

(32) *Tatian.* Orat. contra Græcos, pag. m. 164.

Both *Athenagoras* and *Suidas* inform us of this divulging of the *Athenian* Mysteries. I shall here insert *Suidas*'s Words. Τὰ δὲ μυστήρια ὅτως ἠτελίζετο, ὃς πολλὴν ἐκτήσατο τῆς ἀρετῆς. τὰ μυστήρια πᾶσι διηγεῖτο, κοινωνοῦν αὐτὰ, καὶ μηδὲ ποιεῖν καὶ τὰς βιβλιμένας μυεῖσθαι ἀποτρέπων. *Mysteria adeo contemnebat ut multos a virtute averteret . . . mysteria narrabat omnibus ea vulgans & extenuans, & illos, qui volebant initiari, avertens* (33). They shew that this impious Man was not content to discover those Mysteries to every body, but he laughed at them, and dissuaded those from initiating themselves who were willing to do it. We have already cited (34) the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* for this Fact. Let us see what *Athenagoras* says. Διαγόρᾳ μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἀθεότητα ἐπενέκλων Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ μόνον τὸν Ὀρφικὸν εἰς μέσον κατατιθέντι λόγον, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ, τὰ τῶν Καβείρων δημοσιεύοντι μυστήρια, καὶ τὰ τῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἵνα τὰς γοῖγλας ἴδοι, καταπτύοντι ἔβαινε. δυτικρὸς δὲ ἀποφαινομένῳ μηδὲ ὅλως εἶναι Θεὸν; Diagoræ quidem sacrile-

(33) Suidas in Διαγόρας.

(34) *In Rem.* [D], *Citat.* [21].

some learned Men, that the Book he attributes to him treated of the Myſteries of the Goddeſs *Cybele* [G]. Others ſay, that *Diagoras* dictated very good Laws to the Legiſlator of the *Mantineans* [H]. *Cicero* mentions ſome prophane Repartees of *Diagoras*

gum impietatem jure damnabant Athenienſes, qui cum arcanâ Orphei ſermones vulgo exponebat, tum Eleuſinia & Cabirorum myſteria publicabat: & Herculis ſtatuam, ne ligna rapis coquendis deeſſent, diſſecabat: denique palam & diſertè Deum eſſe negabat (35).

(35) Athenag. in Legat. pag. m. 36.

The Athenians juſtly condemned Diagoras for Atheiſm, ſince he not only publickly expounded the myſterious Diſcourſes of Orpheus, but likewiſe divulged the myſteries of Ceres, and the Cabiri, cleve Hercules's Statue to boil his Pulſe; and, laſtly, openly denied the Being of a God. Read the ſequel of his diſcourſe, in which you will find ſolid reaſoning, founded upon the vaſt difference between the Chriſtians and *Diagoras*. The latter laughed at the Gods, and myſteries of the *Greeks*, without ſubſtituting better in their room; but the Chriſtians ſubſtituted the true Diety. I find one thing here, which very few prophane Authors have mentioned. I mean *Diagoras*'s Treatment of an *Hercules*. Father *Garaſſe* ſpeaks of it, and flouriſhes too much. His words are (36): 'I expect our pretended Wits will tell me, that *Diagoras* the *Meſſian* (37), who was called THE ATHEIST by way of Eminence, had a very good underſtanding, and that *Sardanapalus* was a brave Prince: for as for *Diagoras*, who publickly laughed at the Gods, and taught that there was no other Deity in the World, but honeſt Nature, as he was coming one day into an Inn, he made a witty Repartee, which all Antiquity admired (38). for, finding nothing but Lentils for dinner, and no Wood in the Houſe to dreſs them, he bethought himſelf of an old Idol of *Hercules*, who was the tutelar God of the Houſe, and, addreſſing himſelf to him, told him, *Veni*, Hercules, *tertium decimum ſubi cæſuram, & excoque lentem*. Come, ſays he, I muſt make you undertake, to day, a thirteenth Combat againſt theſe Lentils. Another time, entering into an inner Yard, where the Prieſts were taking an *Augury* from the eating of birds, and obſerving the whole ſacred College to be affrighted becauſe the Chickens would not eat, he took them up as if he had been in a Paſſion, and, plunging them three or four times into a Tub full of Water, *You ſhall drink then*, ſaid he (39), *ſince you will not eat*; and, from theſe two inſtances they would contend, that this Atheiſt was a Man of Wit, and that the introducing of Atheiſm is no ſign of Stupidity. I confeſs theſe two Replies are well enough for a forſlid Fellow; but to conclude, from theſe two Anſwers, that *Diagoras* had an excellent Wit, is what I cannot comprehend; for there are a thouſand Porters, and Cobblers, at this day, of a brisk Fancy, who, if they are a little warmed with Wine, will have merrier jeſts than theſe, and yet at the bottom are as meer blockheads as *Diagoras* was.'

(36) Doctrine Curieuſe, lib. 2, Sect. 3, pag. 239.

(37) It is wrong, it ſhould be *Melian*.

(38) Among all the Pagans I find only one Author, who re lates this Adventure. It is the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſt phanes*, in *Nub. Act* 3, *Scen.* 1. However, it is falſe that Antiquity praiſes this Action. St *Epiphanius*, in *Ancorato*, *pag. m.* 106, reproaches the Heathens with not hearkening to *Diagoras*'s Leſſon; and thereupon he relates, ſomewhat at large, this Action of his againſt the Idol of *Hercules*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells it alſo. *Admonit. ad Gentes*, *pag.* 15.

(39) I do not know that this is ſaid of *Diagoras* *Valerius Maximus* tells it of *Publius Claudius*, *lib.* 1, *cap.* 4, *n.* 3.

[G] *It is the Conjecture of ſome learned Men, that the Book, Tatian attributes to him, treated of the myſteries of the Goddeſs Cybele.*] *Voſſius* believed this; for, after citing *Tatian*'s Words, he adds (40): 'Phrygios ſermones fuiſſe arbitror hiſtoriam eorum quæ ad Cybelen ſive matrem Phrygiam & ejus ſacra pertinerent, atque ab eo eſſe ſine hoc conſcriptam ut a ſacris illius homines averteret. *I imagine the Phrygian Diſcourſes to have been a Hiſtory of thoſe things which regarded the Phrygian Mother, Cybele, and her Rites; and that they were wrote to divert men from her Worſhip.*' I think *Tatian* ought to have alledged the moſt impious of *Diagoras*'s Writings, and conſequently thoſe we have the Titles of in *Heſychius Illuſtrius*, and *Suidas*. Thoſe two Authors tell us, that, when he ſaw the Proſperity of his Plagiary, he publiſhed a book concerning his renouncing of Religion (41), that is to ſay, he publiſhed the Motives of the worſt of all Apoſtacies, the Motives, as he ſaid, of his Converſion. This Book was intituled Λόγοι ἀποστατήριοι. *Hadrian Junius* will have this to ſignify, *Diſcourſes which throw headlong from the top of a Tower: quaſi orationes de turribus præcipitantes dicat.* *Æmilius Portus*, the Tranſlator of *Suidas*, explains the Title by, *Diſcourſes which overthrow Towers and Fortifications; Turrium ac munitionum deſtructrices.* Perhaps the Author deſigned to ſignify, that his Work was a Fortreſs guarded by good Towers againſt all the aſſaults of Divines. According to *Junius*'s Notion, that impious Man boaſted he had thrown down the Gods from Heaven, into the Abyſs of nothingneſs; according to that of *Æmilius Portus*, he boaſted, he had levelled the Ramparts that Religion was fortified by. Perhaps his Book was levelled at *Cybele*, as *Voſſius* pretends; at *Cybele* I ſay, the Mother of the Gods, a Goddeſs all covered with Towers.

——— Qualis Berecynthia mater
Invehitur curru Phrygias TURRITA per urbes,
Lætа Deûm partu, centum complexa nepotes,
Omnes cœlicolas, omnes ſupera alta tenentes (42):

(42) Virg. Æneid. lib. 6, ver. 785.

High as the Mother of the Gods in Place,
And proud, like her, of an immortal Race;
Then when, in pomp, ſhe makes the Phrygian round,
With Golden Turrets on her Temples crown'd;
An hundred Gods her ſweeping train ſupply,
Her Off-ſpring all, and all command the Sky.

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Perhaps he imagined that, by deſtroying the Mother, he deſtroyed the whole Family, without taking the trouble of attacking each God, one after another. According to this conjecture, which does not appear to me very ſolid, *Tatian* might eaſily be reconciled with *Suidas*, and *Heſychius*, concerning the Title of *Diagoras*'s Book.

[H] *Others ſay that he dictated very juſt Laws . . . . . to the Legiſlator of the Mantineans.*] There will be nothing in this Remark but what deſerves our Attention. *Ælian*, having ſaid (43), that the Laws of *Mantinea* were moſt juſt, and as good as the Laws of the *Locrians*, *Cretans*, *Lacedemonians*, and *Athenians*; adds, that he, who gave theſe Laws to the people of *Mantinea*, was *Nicodorus* the Wreſtler, very famous for his Victories; but, in his old age, applying himſelf to the framing of Laws, he did his Country a much more uſeful ſervice, than the Proclamations of the Prize, he was honoured with, could do (44). Ὁ δὲ τῆς πρώτης, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀθλητικὴν καὶ νομοθέτης αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, μακρῷ τότε ἄμεινον πολιτευσάμενος τῇ πατρίδι τῶν κηρυγμάτων ἐπῶν, πολὺ κάλλιον. *Ætatis ſuæ tempore, & exacta gymnaſticæ legiſlator, ac ſanctiſſ. longe utiliorem ſe patriæ ea re præſtans, quam quum publice victor in ſtadiis proclamaretur* (45). This is not all: *Ælian* obſerves that, according to the common Opinion, thoſe Laws were compoſed by *Diagoras*, who gave them ready drawn up to his Friend *Nicodorus*: in ſhort, *Ælian* declares that he could ſay a great deal of *Nicodorus*, but he forbears, leaſt the Praiſes, he ſhould beſtow on him, ſhould ſeem to belong alſo to *Diagoras*. This is very remarkable. A downright open Atheiſt giving Laws to a State, as juſt as the Laws of *Solon* or *Lycurgus*. On the other ſide, behold a Prieſt, who ſets up for an Hiſtorian, and who ſuppreſſes the Praiſe that *Nicodorus* has juſtly deſerved, who ſuppreſſes it, I ſay, for fear the Glory ſhould redound to *Diagoras*. Not that *Diagoras* did not deſerve to partake of the Praiſe; but he denied the Deity, and conſequently the Hiſtorian muſt not be equitable to him; he muſt prevaricate with the Laws of Hiſtory, ſince by this he deprives an Atheiſt of what is due to him. One would be more aſtoniſhed at this depraved Morality, if it was not remembred, that a *Pagan* Prieſt is the Author of it. Wretched Men! you look upon yourſelves as neceſſary to the Deity; you think he ſtands in need of the political ute you make of Injuries and Applauſes. You would not think ſo, if you had any Faith in the Oracles of *Job* (46).

(43) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. 2, cap. 22.

(44) The Greek Cities accounted themſelves moſt happy and glorious, when any of their Inhabitants carried away the Prize at the public Games.

(45) Ælian. ubi ſupra, cap. 23.

I muſt obſerve here a ſtrange whim of the Civilian *Baudouin*. He gives an account of the Legiſlator of the *Mantineans*, and then makes this Reflexion: That Impiety is not only a great grievance to the Laws, but alſo the ruin of States; and that it is rather to be wiſhed, there were no Laws, no Government, no Society, than that the Adminiſtration of Juſtice ſhould be in the hands of Impiety; that he will always maintain, the Laws of *Diagoras* are to be ſuſpected. 'Narrat Ælianus, quendam olim pugilem Nicodorum apud Mantinenſes,

(46) Chap. xiii. ver. 7.

gorás [*I*]. Some say, the impious *Diagoras* owed his Liberty to *Democritus* [*K*]. *Peter Gregory* of *Toulouse* is guilty of a ſtrange Blunder, to imagine that *Diagoras* was accuſed of having ſtolen the Poems of another Author [*L*]. *Clemens Alexandrinus* was not

' Mantinenſes factum eſſe præſtantiſſimum Legiſlatorem: nec alio quàm Diagoræ athei hominis conſilio uſum eſſe, ab eoque leges accepiſſe, quas ferret. De Diocletiano, & ipſis adeò Romani juris auctoribus, idem dici poſſe videtur. Ego verò in ea perſto ſententia, magnam eſſe & legum labem, & civitatem perniciem, impietatem, & potiuſquam hæc jus dicat, optandum eſſe, nullam planè eſſe juriſdictionem, nullam legem, civitatem nullam. Fremant licet Epicuræi. (47) Franciſcus Balduinus ad Edicta Principum Romanorum de Chriſtianis, pag. m. 114.
hujus ætatis legulei: ego tamen Diagoræ leges ſuſpectas eſſe contendam (47). —— *Ælian ſpeaks of one Nicodorus, who, from a famed Wreſtler, became an excellent Lawgiver at Mantinea, who never conſulted any Perſon but Diagoras the Atheiſt, from whom he received his Laws. The ſame may probably be ſaid of Dioclesian, and the Founders of the Roman Laws. But I am confirmed in my Opinion, that Impiety is a great blemiſh to Laws, and detriment to Society, and it were rather to be wiſhed there were no Laws, to Society, than that the executive Power ſhould be lodged in the hands of an impious Man. Let pettifogging Epicureans bawl: I ſhall ſtill maintain, that the Laws of Diagoras are ſuſpicious.*' An accurate Man would not have ſpoken in this manner, but would have ſet down with more care what ought to be diſtinguiſhed. If thoſe who adminiſter Juſtice, either by enacting of Laws, or by the execution of the Edicts and Ordinances of the Legiſlator, were both Atheiſts and open Enemies to Piety and Virtue, it is certain it would be better to live without Laws and without Tribunals, than to be ſubject to ſuch a Juriſdiction: but if, notwithſtanding their Atheiſm, they were zealous for the public Good, and endeavoured to promote the Execution of ſuch Laws as they judged moſt proper to reſtrain offenders, to prevent diſputes, to maintain the Rights of Widows and Orphans, faithfulneſs in Trade, peace in Families, &c. Who doubts that it would be incomparably more beneficial to live under ſuch Legiſlators, or ſuch Judges, than without any Juriſdiction at all: but, the better to know what wrong notions *Baudouin* had, when he compoſed this part of his work, it is ſufficient to conſider two things, one, that having no other knowledge of *Diagoras*'s Laws than what he had acquired by reading *Ælian*, he does not ſcruple to ſay they are to be ſuſpected, and nevertheleſs *Ælian*, though never ſo much inclined not to do *Diagoras* juſtice, had extolled them exceedingly. The ſecond thing to be conſidered is, that *Baudouin* compares the Emperor *Dioclesian*, and the Authors of the *Roman* Laws, with the *Mantinean* Legiſlator, directed by our *Diagoras*. He admires the fine Laws they made, and only wonders that ſuch impious Men could form ſo excellent a Work, and yet three Lines after he tells us, that it were better to have no Laws, nor any Polity, than that they ſhould be framed by Impiety, that is by the Emperors who perſecuted the Chriſtians. ' Equidem cum ſæpe cogito, in rebus civilibus præſtantiſſimos fuiſſe legiſlatores, quos hactenus Eccleſiæ hoſtes acerrimos fuiſſe dixi: & eorum quotidie nomina & tituli in iis, quos ſæpe volvimus, libris Juris Civilis occurrant, ſæpe etiam attonitus obſtupeſco tam & à vera religione averſam eſſe ſapientum (ut vocantur) hominum mentem, tamque omnium propè regnorum imperiorumque omnem conſtitutionem eſſe à recta pietate alienam & abhorrentem: ut quos alioqui prudentiſſimos nomothetas laudare ſolemus, inſanos carnifices in hac cauſa execrari cogamur (48). —— *Indeed when I reflect, that thoſe, whom I have hitherto called the moſt inveterate Enemies to the Church, have been excellent Legiſlators; and that their Names and Titles are often recorded in the Books of Civil Law, I am often amazed, that the Minds of Wiſe Men, as they are named, ſhould be ſo averſe to true Religion, and that the Conſtitution of almoſt all States and Empires ſhould be ſo contradictory to the Rules of Piety, that they, who in other Reſpects muſt be allowed moſt prudent Lawgivers, muſt in this caſe be branded with the Character of inhuman Butchers.*' The more I read, the more I am perſuaded that it is not ſo difficult to find Writers that have good and fine Thoughts; as it is to meet with thoſe who expreſs their Conceptions without entangling themſelves in falſe reaſoning. A good Logician is rarer than is imagined.

(48) Id. ibid.

[*I*] *Cicero relates ſome prophane Repartees of Diagoras.*] Being at *Samothracia*, they ſhewed him ſeveral Pictures of Perſons that had eſcaped Shipwreck, which had been vowed and hung up in the Temples: look upon them, ſay they to him, you who do not believe there is a Providence. I do not wonder, anſwered he, to ſee the Pictures of thoſe who have eſcaped: it is the ſame way to draw ſuch Perſons: but thoſe are no where repreſented, who periſhed at Sea. ' Diagoras ' cum Samothraciam veniſſet, Atheos ille qui dicitur, ' atque ei quidam amicus, tu qui Deos putas humana ' negligere, nonne animadvertis ex his tabellis pictis ' quam multi votis vim tempeſtatis effugerint, in portumque ſalvi pervenerint? Ita fit, inquit, illi enim ' nuſquam picti ſunt qui naufragium ſecerunt, in mari ' que perierunt (49).' *Diogenes Laërtius* tells it after a much better manner: he diſcovers at firſt ſight the ſting of it; but as *Cicero* relates the Story, it is almoſt impoſſible to underſtand the ſenſe of it. Θαυμάζοντός τινος τὰ ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ ἀναθήματα, ὅτι πολλοὶ ἂν ἦν σωθέντες εἰ καὶ οἱ μὴ σωθέντες ἀνεθήκαν. Admirante quodam ea quæ in Samothracia ſunt donaria, *longe*, ait, *plura eſſent ſi & qui ſervati non ſunt ea dedicaſſent* (50). —— *As a certain Perſon ſeemed ſurpriſed at the number of votive Pictures which hung up in Samothracia, he ſaid there would be many more, had thoſe that have been loſt hung them up.* What follows is better diſplayed. *Diagoras* being on board a Ship in a terrible Storm, in the height of it they told him, they well deſerved what they ſuffered for taking ſuch an impious Wretch as he was on Board: he replied, behold the great number of Veſſels that are in the ſame Tempeſt with ours: do you think that I am alſo in every one of thoſe Ships. ' Idemque ' cum ei naviganti vectores adverſa tempeſtate timidi ' & perterriti dicerent, non injuria ſibi illud accidere ' quòd illum in eandem navem recepiſſent; oſtendit eis ' in eodem curſu multas alias laborantes, quæſivitque ' num etiam in his navibus Diagoram vehi crederent (51).' This ſhould teach the Faithful and the Orthodox not to urge all ſorts of Unbelievers with the Reaſons, which are drawn from the common courſe of Providence.

(49) Cicero, de Natura Deorum, lib. 3, cap. 37.

(50) Diog. Laërt. in Diagora, lib. 6, n. 59.

(51) Cicero, de Natura Deor lib. 3. cap. 37.

[*K*] *Some ſay he owed his Liberty to Democritus.*] It is reported that That Philoſopher, ſeeing him expoſed to ſale among other Slaves, examined him, and found ſuch fine natural Parts in him, that he bought him for ten thouſand Drachms, and made him, not his Servant, but his Diſciple (52).

(52) Pollux, & Heſych. Illuſt. in Διαγόρας.

[*L*] *Peter Gregory . . . . . thought he was charged with ſtealing the Poems of another.*] Theſe are his words. ' Diagoras Teleclidis filius impius dictus, ' quod plagii accuſatus à Poëta quodam, de ſurrepto ' pæane à ſe conſcripto ejuraſſet furto ſe non teneri, ' neque ille paulo poſt prolato in lucem pæane ſecunda ' fama hominum uteretur, quamobrem & mœſtus Dia' goras otiolum ſcripſit ἀποκυρηττεύσας, quaſi de ' turribus præcipitantes dicas, quæ defectionis cauſſam ' à communi de Diis perſuaſione continebant, ut ſcribit ' Heſychius Mileſius Illuſtrius (53). —— *Diagoras, Son of Teleclides, called the Impious, being accuſed by a certain Poet of ſtealing from him an Hymn, forſwore the Plagiariſm: the other ſoon after publiſhed the Hymn, whereby he gained a great Applauſe. Diagoras, uneaſy at this Succeſs, wrote his* Orationes ἀποκυρηττεύσας, *(that is, caſting from the ſummit of a Tower), which, as Heſychius Illuſtrius writes, contained his Reaſons for diſſenting from the received Opinion concerning the Gods.*' *Peter Gregory* did not underſtand the Author he cites. *Diagoras* was not the Accuſed, but the Accuſer. This falſhood deſerves to be taken notice of; for one may be deceived by it. An innocent Man purging himſelf upon Oath, and calling the Gods to witneſs his Innocency, is likely enough to be terribly provoked, when he ſees his Calumniator triumphing over him. Wherefore the Narration of *Peter Gregory*, being almoſt as probable as that of *Heſychius*, is very capable of miſleading People from the Truth.

(53) Syntagm. Juris Univerſi, lib. 36, ſub fin. pag. m. 745. Thomaſius obſerves this Error in Tractatu de Plagio Literario, n. 406.

[*M*] *Clemens*

not well acquainted with the Doctrines of this Philosopher [*M*].

[*M*] *Clemens Alexandrinus was not well acquainted with the Doctrine of this Philosopher.*] He thought that *Diagoras*, and some others who passed for Atheists, had that ill Character only for knowing more distinctly the falsity of the Pagan Religion; and he wonders that Men of so regular Lives should be disfamed as impious Men (54). They were not arrived, says he, to the Knowledge of the Truth, but they were sensible of Error, and that sense is a good Seed to produce the Light of Truth. Εἰ καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτὴν μὴ γνωρίζουσι, ἀλλὰ τὴν πλάνην γε ἴσασι μυσάττεται· ἔστιν ὁ σμικρὸν ἀπὸ ἀληθείας φρονήσεως ζάντος ἀναφύεται σπέρμα: *Etiamsi veritatem ipsam non considerarint, sed errorem quidem certo suspicati sint; quod quidem non parum exeritur semen ad excitandam scintillam intelligentiæ veritatis* (55). This is a Doctrine very different from the Judgment of a great many People, who imagine it more easy to convert a superstitious Pagan to the true Religion than an Atheist. *Muret* (56) approves the Opinion of that Father concerning the Cause of *Diagoras*, and some others, being reckoned Atheists: but it is certain they are mistaken. *Diagoras* had the Reputation of an Atheist, because he rejected absolutely, and without any restriction, the Existence of a Deity. See, above, the Remark [*D*]. What is said in the Scholia upon *Aristophanes* deserves no regard. Διαγόρας μᾶλλον ποιητὰς ἔδοξε, ὅτι καὶ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσηγεῖτο: That is, *Diagoras the Poet, an Atheist, who also introduced new Gods.* Such a Testimony as this, opposed to the contrary Authorities, is like setting a Fly against an Elephant.

(54) Clem. Alexand. Admonit. ad Gentes, pag. m. 25.

(55) Id. ibid.

(56) Muret. Variar. Lect. lib. 20, cap. 27.

DIANA (JOHN NICOLAS DE), a Jesuit, is only known to me by the Persecution he suffered for a Sermon he preached on St *Lucifer*. The Inquisitors of *Sardinia* condemned this Sermon, and shewed great Animosity against that Jesuit. He did not submit to their Judgment; but employed so many Methods to vindicate himself, that at last he obtained the Victory, in the thirteenth Year of the Process. *Diego Arze-Reynoso*, Inquisitor-General, annulled all the Proceedings of the Tribunal of *Sardinia*, and punished some of the Assessors; and, the better to restore *Diana*'s Reputation, he created him Qualificator of the Supream Council of the Inquisition, clearing him from all Disgrace by a Decree issued out the nineteenth of *December* 1653 (*a*). I shall set down part of it [*A*], that the Iniquities of those Proceedings may be seen, which are not always unpunished.

(*a*) *Taken from a Writing, intituled*, Libellus supplex à Patribus Societatis Jesu Provinciæ Toletanæ Catholico Hispaniarum Regi oblatus Madriti anno 1696, mense Aprili, contra Libellum supplicem eidem regiæ Majestati oblatum à R. R. P. P. Carmelitis ad suadendum ut universis imponatur silentium circa antiquitatem Ordinis Carmelitici tenendum, post Decretum Inquisitionis Toletanæ contra 14 Volumina de Actis Sanctorum.

[*A*] *He was cleared by a Decree of the nineteenth of December* 1653. *I shall set down part of it.*] I take it from the Petition presented by the Jesuits of the Province of *Toledo* to the King of *Spain*, in the Year 1696 (1). They pretend, that the Petition, presented by the Carmelites to the same Prince, is unjust, since it tends to obtain, that silence should be kept on both sides, after the Inquisition of *Toledo* had condemned fourteen Volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*. These Jesuits, among other things, set forth that, according to the Stile of the holy Office, it is permitted to provide against the Decrees of the Inquisition, and that, when the Inquisition has condemned any Book, it does not pretend to hinder the Author from vindicating his Sentiments. They show, that sometimes the Apology for a Book, condemned by that Tribunal, has been found so convincing, that the Inquisition has revoked it's Sentence, and they prove it by the Issue of the long Process against the Jesuit *John Nicolas de Diana*. 'Quod ita non raro factum est ut Inquisitio edicta sua revocaverit, ac propositiones modo confixæ suo pristino restituerit splendori, quin & novis approbationibus ac laudibus exornarit (2). —— *It is no uncommon thing that the Inquisition should re-call it's Edicts, and restore Propositions before condemned to their pristine Honour, and recommend them, moreover, by peculiar marks of Approbation.*' His Reputation was stained for many Years, but, having shown the partiality of his Judges, he gloriously obtained the annulling of their Sentence. 'Per annos omnino duodecim & quinque menses gravissimè passus est optimus ille Jesuita pro defensa veritate: & fuit hæc quidem veritas densis adeo passionum obfuscata nebulis ut tantum non pateretur eclipsim. Fuit auctori necesse adversus Sardiniæ Inquisitores excipere velut partiales & passioni obnoxios. Suam autem exceptionem illam & damnatas propositiones eâ probavit Diana argumentorum energiâ & evidentiâ ut, &c (3). — *For twelve Years and five Months did that good Jesuit suffer in the Cause of Truth, and so thick were the Clouds of Passion which overshadowed it, that it was well nigh eclipsed. The Author was under a necessity of excepting against the Sardinian Inquisitors, as being partial, and liable to Passion; and Diana proved his Exception, and the Propositions which had been condemned, with that force and clearness of Argument, that, &c.*' And because the proceedings of the Inquisitors of *Sardinia* had caused great scandal, the supream Council of the Inquisition thought themselves obliged to remove it by a public Decree, part whereof you have here. 'Ut in omni tempore præsenti perinde ac futuro constet, innotescat atque publica fiat innocentia dicti Patris Diana; ut item illi ad quos hujus rei notitia pervenerit quique proinde scandalum fuerint passi ex processibus in illa causa commissis, & in libello impresso supra relatis, publicam hanc satisfactionem habeant super dicta præfati Patris innocentia & catholica illius in Evangelio exponendo doctrina. . . . Pariter sciant omnes quod Tribunal atque supremum sacræ Inquisitionis Concilium non solum convictos contra fidem castiget, sed innocentiam etiam præmiet inculpatorum, addita satisfactione publica contra notorias iisdem impactas injurias, ad Deum denique Dominum nostrum omnipotentem remittente dicto P. Diana, publicam ac justam vindictam de gravi sibi illata injuria per delatorem, conjuratores æmulos ac falsos testes, simulque bene affectos ministros, supplicando divinæ Majestati ejusque piæ clementiæ quatenus omnium talium mentibus lucem dignetur infundere, qua illustrati errore suo cognito correctoque & peculiariter in hoc casu commissa culpa animas suas possint salvas facere, &c (4). —— *That the Innocence of the said Father Diana may stand confirmed, and be publickly known by all future Ages, as well as the present, that likewise those to whom the Knowledge of this Matter may come, and also they who have been injured by the Processes in that Cause carried on, as has been related in the printed Case, may have this public Satisfaction of the Innocence, and Orthodoxy of the said Father in expounding the Gospel. . . . . Be it therefore known unto all Men, that the Tribunal and grand Council of the holy Inquisition do not only punish those that are convicted of Heresy, but will likewise reward the Innocent, and make them public Satisfaction for the Injuries they may suffer. Lastly, the said Father Diana resigning to GOD our Almighty Lord the public and due Punishment of the wrongs he has suffered from the Informer, Contrivers, Abetters, false Witnesses, and ill affected Persons, beseeching his divine Majesty, and holy Clemency, so to enlighten their Minds, that they might see their Error, and the Crimes they have in this case committed, and by Repentance save their Souls alive, &c.*' I am satisfied many Readers will be glad to see the other like Instances, which the Jesuits mention in their Petition. The first is that of *Julian* Archbishop of *Toledo*. He wrote a Book *de tribus Substantiis*, which was condemned by Pope *Benedictus* II. He justified what he had done by a vigorous Apology, and gave such strong Reasons, that the Pontiff took off the Prohibition, and commended

(1) See the Title of it in Citat. (*a*) of this Article.

(2) Libell. Supplex, pag. 5.

(3) Id. ibid.

(4) Ibid. pag. 6.

commended highly the Archbishop (5). The second instance is that of *Stephen Fagundez* a Jesuit. He published a Book (6), which was forbid to be read: but when his Apology came out intituled, *Apologeticus Tractatus pro suo libro in 5 Præcepta Ecclesiæ ad quæstionem de lasciviorum ovorumque esu tempore quadragesimæ*, they ordered his Book to be re-examined, and it was found that none of the condemned Propositions were worthy of Censure; so that by a new Decree of the eighteenth of *April* 1630, the Tribunal of the Inquisition permitted the reading of his Book. The third instance is that of the great *Tostatus*. Some of his Opinions having been condemned, he desired to be heard, but could not obtain it: by the Intrigues of his Enemies this Justice was denied him. He made such loud Complaints of this that it reached the Ears of *Eugenius* IV. who ordered *Tostatus* to appear personally at the Court of *Rome*, there to maintain his Opinions. *Tostatus* appeared, and made so good a Defence, that he obtained a glorious Victory (7).

(5) Ibid. pag. 20, ex Roderico in sua Historia & ex Toletano Concilio XV.

(6) *Intituled*, Quæstiones de Christianis Officiis & Casibus Conscientiæ in 5 Præcepta Ecclesiæ.

(7) Libell. Supplex, pag. 21, ex Proœmio Apologetici Tostati, Part. 2.

DICÆARCHUS, a Disciple of *Aristotle*, composed a great Number of Books, which were very much esteemed [*A*]. *Cicero*, and his Friend *Pomponius Atticus*, set a great Value upon them [*B*], and I even believe their Esteem extended also to that Book, wherein he opposed the Immortality of the Soul [*C*]. Mr *Moreri* attributes this

[*A*] *He composed a great number of Books which were very much esteemed.*] It is thought his Work upon Music contained not only the Description of the Customs and Method concerning the exercise of that Art, but also the History of the Theatrical Pieces, which had contended for the prize: therefore they judge his Treatise περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων, *de Certaminibus Musicis* (1), was but a part of the Treatise περὶ μουσικῆς, *de Musica* (2). They will have it also that the Treatise περὶ Διονυσιακῶν ἀγώνων, *de Certaminibus Dionysiacis* (3), and even another Treatise intituled παναθηναϊκὸν (4), were parts of the Treatise περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων *de Certaminibus Musicis*. *Jonsius* says: 'Liber hic Dicæarchi περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων de quo diximus, omnino pars fuit ejusdem operis περὶ μουσικῆς *de Musica*, quo & de ipsis antiquis Musicis atque Poëtis eorumque fabulis, de saltationibus & de certaminibus musicis eum egisse verisimile est (5). —— *This Treatise of Dicæarchus* περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων, of Musical Contests, *of which I have been speaking, was only a part of the same Author's Treatise* περὶ μουσικῆς, of Music, *wherein it is probable he spoke about the antient Musicians, and Poets, and their Fables, of Dances, and Musical Contests.*' Such a book as this would be an excellent Repertory for the Author of an Historical Dictionary, as also *Dicæarchus*'s Book περὶ Βίων, *de Vitis*, cited by *Diogenes Laërtius* (6). I have the same Opinion of a Work of his intituled περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλάδος βίω, *de Vita Græciæ* (7), where he gives a Description of *Greece*, and of the Laws and Customs of the *Greeks*. St *Jerom* (8) has cited this Book, and I doubt not but *Porphyry* had this Book in view, when he placed *Dicæarchus* among those who had briefly and accurately collected what concerned the *Greeks* (9). See in *Vossius* (10) the Title of some other of *Dicæarchus*'s Works. Consult also what I am going to say.

(1) It is cited by the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*, *ad Vespas*, *folio* 519, *apud Jonsium de Scriptor. Hist. Philos. pag.* 86.

(2) It is cited by the same Scholiast, *ad Nub. fol.* 99, *apud Jonsium*, *pag.* 89.

(3) It is cited by this Scholiast, *ad Aves folio* 606, *apud Jonsium*, *pag.* 88.

(4) It is cited by the Scholiast, *ad Vespas. folio* 467, *apud Jonsium*, *ibid.*

(5) Jonsius, ibid. pag. 89.

(6) Lib. 3, in Platone.

(7) Athenæus, lib. 13, pag. 591, & lib. 14, pag. 636.

(8) Adversus Jovinianum, lib. 2, *and not as* Moreri *says* lib. 11.

(9) Τῶν συντόμως τε καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ συναγόντων. (One of those who have collected the Grecian affairs briefly and accurately.) *Porphyr. lib.* 4, *de Abstinent. apud Vossium de Hist. Græc. pag.* 47.

(10) De Histor. Græc. pag. 46, 47.

[*B*] *Cicero, and Pomponius Atticus, set a great value upon them.*] *Cicero* made no difficulty of affirming, upon the Word of *Dicæarchus*, a thing which he could hardly believe, *viz.* that all the Cities of *Peloponnesus* were maritime Cities. He asked the Opinion of a learned Man, who was very much surprized to read this thing in *Dicæarchus*, and yet he advised him not to doubt the Truth of it. This learned Man was a *Grecian* (11). I shall produce *Cicero*'s Words which are glorious to *Dicæarchus*. 'Peloponnesias civitates omnes maritimas esse hominis non nequam, sed etiam tuo judicio probati, Dicæarchi tabulis credidi. Is multis nominibus in Trophonia (12) Chæronis narratione Græcos in eo reprehendit, quod mare tam secuti sunt, nec ullum in Peloponneso locum excipit. Quum mihi autor placeret: etenim erat ἰστοεικώτατος, & vixerat in Peloponneso: admirabar tamen, & vix accredens communicavi cum Dionysio. Atque is primo elt commotus, deinde quod tum de isto Dicæarcho non minus bene existimabat, quàm tu de C. Vestorio, ego de M. Cluvio, non dubitabat, quin ei crederemus . . . . . Istum itaque ego locum totidem verbis à Dicæarcho transtuli (13). - - - - *I took it on the credit of Dicæarchus, no insignificant Author, but one that is approved by you, that all the Cities of the Peloponnesians were Maritime. He blames the Grecians on many Heads, in Chæro's account of Trophonius's Cave, for being so fond of the Sea, and excepts not one City in Peloponnesus. As the Author appears to be a great Historian, and has lived in Peloponnesus, I was extremely pleased with him, yet was I surprised, and not being fully perswaded I showed it to Dionysius. He was likewise at first somewhat surprised, but having no less an Esteem for Dicæarchus than you for C. Vestorius, and I for M. Cluvius, he questioned not but that we might credit him.*' *I took therefore the whole passage from Dicæarchus word by word.*' This passage is corroborated by the words of the twelfth Letter of the second Book (14): 'Dicæarchum rectè amas: luculentus homo est & civis haud paulo melior quam isti nostri ἀδικαίαρχοι *and by these is* (15). Nunc prorsus hoc statui ut quoniam tanta controversia est Dicæarcho familiari tuo (16) cum Theophrasto amico meo, ut ille tuus τὸν πρακτικὸν βίον longe omnibus anteponat, hic autem θεωρητικὸν, utrique à me mos gestus esse videatur. Puto enim me Dicæarcho affatim satisfeciisse. - - - - - *You have reason to esteem Dicæarchus. He has an extensive Genius, and is a much more valuable member of Society than our* ἀδικαίαρχοι *(unjust people):* - - - - - - *since therefore there is such a controversy between your Dicæarchus, and my Friend Theophrastus, the former preferring a Life of Practice, the other that of Theory, I was determined to observe a due Decorum, and I imagine I have entirely satisfied Dicæarchus.*' But *Cicero* shows no where more esteem for *Dicæarchus* than in the second letter of the second Book (17). He cries out *O magnum hominem!* See the whole passage. It is justly wondered at, that *Vossius* did not observe it (18). He has also omitted that of the third book *de Legibus*, and says nothing of the Book *de interitu hominum*. In the third Book *de Legibus*, *Cicero* informs us that this Philosopher had published some very good political Discourses. 'Theophrastus institutus ab Aristotele abundavit ut scitis in eo genere rerum, ab eodemque Aristotele doctus Dicæarchus huic rationi studioque non defuit. —— *Theophrastus, as you know, being instructed by Aristotle, abounded in Precepts of that Nature, and Dicæarchus taught by the same Aristotle spent much time in the same Study.*' In another place he mentions a very curious Thing, which is, that *Dicæarchus*, having made a Computation of all the accidents which occasion the Death of Men, found that War destroys more Men than any other thing. 'Est Dicæarchi liber de interitu hominum, Peripatetici magni & copiosi, qui collectis ceteris causis eluvionis, pestilentiæ, vastitatis, bellarum etiam repentinæ multitudinis, quarum impetu docet quamdam hominum genera esse consumpta, deinde comparat quanto plures deleti sint homines hominum impetu, id est bellis & seditionibus, quàm omni reliqua calamitate (19). —— *Dicæarchus, an eminent and copious Peripatetic, wrote a Treatise of the Death of Men, who, having collected the several causes thereof, as Deluges, Plagues, Tempests, the sudden Irruption of wild Beasts, by the Violence of which he shews some part of Mankind is taken off, then calculates how many more are cut off by the Fury of their own Species, that is, by Wars and Seditions, than by all other Calamities put together.*' All this is a proof of *Cicero*'s esteem for the Author. I shall quote a passage by and by, wherein he calls him his Delight.

(11) See the 28th Letter of the 7th Book to Atticus.

(12) Athenæus, lib. 13, pag. 594. cites Dicæarchus, Περὶ τῆς εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβάσεως, De descensu in antrum Trophonii.

(13) Cicero Epist. 2, lib. 6, ad Atticum.

[*C*] *And I even believe their esteem extended also to that Book wherein he opposed the Immortality of the Soul.*] He composed two Treatises upon that subject, each divided into three Books. 'Dicæarchus in eo sermone, quem Corinthi habitum tribus libris exponit doctorum hominum disputantium, primo libro multos loquentes facit, duobus Pherecratem quendam Phthiotam senem, quem ait à Deucalione ortum, differentem

(14) Ad Attic.

(15) Epist. 16, lib. 2. ad Attic.

(16) *See also* Epist 3?, lib. 13, ad Atticum.

(17) Ad Attic. *See also the 4th Letter of the 8th Book.*

(18) Rupertus, in lib. ad Rhetorum, pag. 503.

(19) Cicero de Officiis, lib. 2, cap. 5.

this to another *Dicæarchus of Lacedemon* [D], the Disciple of *Aristarchus*; but he is wrong

differentem induxit, nihil esse omnino animum, & hoc esse nomen totum inane, frustraque & animalia & animantes appellari, neque in homine inesse animum vel animam, nec in bestiis. Utrique omnem eam, qua vel agamus quid, vel sentiamus, in omnibus corporibus vivis æqualiter esse fusam, nec separabilem a corpore esse, quippe quæ nulla sit, nec sit quicquam, nisi corpus unum & simplex, in figurarum ut temperatione naturæ vigeat & sentiat . . . . (20). Acerrime delitiæ meæ Dicæarchus contra hanc immortalitatem disseruit. Is enim tres libros scripsit qui Lesbiaci vocantur quod Mitylenis sermo habetur, in quibus vult efficere animos esse mortales (21). —— *Dicæarchus, in his discourse between many learned Philosophers, disputing at Corinth, which he divides into three parts, introduces in his first several Speakers, in the other two he makes one Pherecrates of Phthia, whom he derives from Deucalion, to argue that the Soul was nothing but an empty Name, and that the word Animal was an insignificant Term, since neither Man nor Beast had either Soul or Mind, and that the Power by which we either act or think was equally diffused through all living Bodies, inseparable from them, being nothing but a simple and uniform Body, so modified as to move and think by the Direction of Nature . . . My beloved Dicæarchus has argued very warmly against this immortality. For he has wrote three Books called Lesbian, because the scene is supposed to be at Mitylene, wherein he endeavours to prove the Soul to be mortal.* Cicero says in one of his Letters, that he wanted these two Books, and desires *Pomponius Atticus* to send them to him (22).

(20) Id. Tusc. 1, fol. m. 250. A.

(21) Ibid. fol. m. 250. D.

(22) Dicæarchi περι ψυχης utrosque velim mittas *Ad Att. Epist.* 32, *lib.* 13, *ad Atticum.*

I must observe by the way that this Opinion of *Dicæarchus* is unworthy a Philosopher. Such a way of arguing betrays a want of Principle, and overthrows the harmony of a System. If once you lay it down, as this Author does, that the Soul is not distinct from the Body, that it is nothing else but a Power equally common to all living Things, and which forms but one simple being with the Bodies called living; either you know not what you say, or you are obliged to maintain that this Power is always inseparable from the Body: for what is not distinct from Body is essential to Body, and, according to the first Principles, it is a Contradiction to say that a Being is ever without it's essence. From whence it plainly results, that the Power of Sensation does not cease in dead Bodies, and that the parts of living Bodies preserve each their Life and Soul when they are corrupted. Then there is no room to flatter our selves that Sensation ceases after Death, and that we shall not be subject to any pain. If a Body is capable of pain when it is placed in the Nerves, it is also capable of it, wherever it is found, either in stones or metals, in the Air or in the Sea, and if an Atom of Air was once destitute of all Thought, it seems utterly impossible that being converted into that Substance, which is called Animal Spirit, should ever make it think. This seems as impossible, as it is to give a local Presence to a Being, that has been for some time without any local Presence. So that to argue consequently, it must be concluded either that the Substance which thinks is distinct from the Body, or that all Bodies are thinking Substances; since it cannot be denied that Men have Thought. From whence it follows, according to *Dicæarchus*'s Principle, that there are a certain number of Bodies that think. *Cicero* argues very ill against *Dicæarchus*: he pretends that according to this Philosopher, a Man must feel no pain, since he cannot feel that he has a Soul, Dicæarchum vero cum Aristoxeno æquali & condiscipulo suo doctos sane homines omittamus, quorum alter ne condoluisse quidem unquam videtur qui animum se habere non sentiat: alter ita delectatur suis cantibus, ut eos etiam ad hæc transferre conetur (23) . . . . . *I shall pass over Dicæarchus with his Cotemporary and School-fellow Aristoxenus, the one of which never seems to have been concerned at his not perceiving he had a Soul. The other is so pleased with his Fiddle, that he would make the Soul to consist in Harmony, so great a Bigot was he to his Profession.*' This Philosopher might easily have answered, I do not deny that Man feels, and that he is conscious of his feeling, but I deny that he knows that That, which feels in him, is a Soul distinct from Body. It is very true he does not feel it, for he knows it only by reasoning: *Lactantius* makes use of this fallacious Syllogism of *Cicero* (24).

(23) Cicero, Tuscul. 1, fol. 248. F. *He had said, Cicero,* (10), *that* Aristoxenus, *a Musician and Philosopher, made the Soul to consist in an harmonious Agreement of the Organs,* hic ab artificio suo non recessit *See* Lactantius, Instit. lib. 7. cap. 23, & de Opificio Dei, cap. 16.

(24) Lib. 7, cap. 13.

I just now perceive that some may prepossess themselves against the argument I have opposed to *Dicæarchus*'s System. Which obliges me to obviate an Objection. It may be said, that Sensation may be only a Modification of Body; from whence it would follow that Matter, without losing any thing of what is essential to it, may cease to feel when it is no longer inclosed in the Organs of a living Machine. I answer, this is an absurd Doctrine; for all the modes of existence, that we have any knowledge of, are of such a Nature, that they do not cease, but only to give place to another Mode of the same kind: there is no Figure that is destroyed but by another Figure; and no Colour that is destroyed, but by another Colour (25). I confess that, according to the old Philosophy, Cold and Heat, which expel one another from a Subject, are not accidents of the same Species; but it must be owned that at least they belong to the same Genus of Qualities, that are called *Tactiles*: so that to argue aright, it ought to be said that no Sensation is expelled from it's Substance, but by the Introduction of some other Sensation; nothing hinders but that Sensation should be a Genus, having other Genus's under it, before we arrive at what we call *species infima*. According to this, my Objection loses no strength by the answer I have refuted, and I shall always affirm, that if the Animal Spirits have not the Sensation out of the Nerves, which they have in them, it is because they lose it by acquiring another kind of Sensation. It will be said perhaps, that there are Modifications which cease without any other positive Modification succeeding to them, as Motion for instance; for they will say nothing of Figure, as being too plainly contrary to *Dicæarchus*'s Assertion; but I answer, that Motion and Rest do not differ, as they suppose, after the manner of positive Modifications and Privations. Both Rest and Motion are a most real and positive local Presence: their difference consists only in external Relations which are perfectly accidental. Rest is the Duration of the same local Presence, Motion is the Acquisition of a new local Presence, and consequently that which ceases to move does not lose it's Modification without obtaining another of the same Nature; it has always a Position equal to it's Extension among the other parts of the Universe. When they can give us an example of a Body that loses one place without acquiring another, we will agree that certain Bodies may lose a Sensation without obtaining another; but as it is impossible to produce such an instance as this, we have a Right to maintain that every body that once has had a Sensation will always have it. Is not the Conversion of *being* to *nothing* impossible in the order of Nature? Would not the Conversion of a Figure into the Privation of all Figure, or the Conversion of local Presence into the Privation of all local Presence, be the Conversion of something real and positive into nothing? therefore they are impossible in the order of Nature, and therefore the Conversion of Sensation into a Privation of all Sensation is impossible, for this would be the Conversion of something real and positive into nothing. *Lastly*, I say that all the modes of Bodies are founded upon the essential attributes of Bodies which are the three Dimensions. This is the Reason that the loss of one Figure, or of one local Presence, is always accompanied with the Acquisition of another Figure, or of another local Presence Extension never ceases nor is ever lost; therefore the Corruption of one of it's modes is necessarily the Generation of another; for the same Reason no Sensation can cease but by the existence of another; for by the System which I am refuting, Sensation would be a mode of Body, as well as Figure, and Place. If you would found Sensation upon some Attribute of Matter, different from the three Dimensions, and unknown to our Mind, I answer that the changes of that Attribute ought to resemble the Alterations of Extension. the latter cannot make all manner of Figure or local Presence to cease; and so the Alterations in this unknown attribute would never cause

(25) I mean only of Bodies visible to Man.

INVINCIBLE Objection against *Dicæarchus* about the Immortality of the Soul.

wrong to make him the Author of several Books since *Suidas*, who, perhaps is the only one that mentions this *Dicæarchus*, ascribes no Books to him at all. This furnishes me with a Remark against *Meursius* [*E*]. There is a Passage in *Pliny*, which shews that *Dicæarchus* was employed by some Princes to take the Height of the Mountains [*F*]. Geography was one of his chief Studies (*a*), and we have a Treatise still extant that he wrote upon that Subject (*b*). His Book concerning the Republic of *Lacedemon* was extreamly honoured (*c*). He held it for a Maxim, that a Man ought to behave himself so as to be beloved by all, but should contract an intimate Friendship with none but good Men (*d*). What he found fault with in *Plato* deserves to be censured [*G*]. *Vossius* ought not to have imputed to him a Treatise upon Dreams

(*a*) *See* Strabo, lib. 2, pag. 71, *who observes that* Polybius *often censures* Dicæarchus.

(*b*) It was printed at *Augsburg* by the Care of *Hoschelius*, in 1600.

(*c*) *See Remark* [*E*].

(*d*) Plut Sympos. l. 4, init. pag. 659.

all Sensation to cease; they would but be the passage from one Sensation to another, as the Motion of an extended Body is but the removal of it from one Place to another.

[*D*] *Mr Moreri attributes it to another Dicæarchus of Lacedemon.*] I cannot imagine how he fell into this Error; for after having cited the Passage of *Cicero* concerning the Impiety of *Dicæarchus* upon the nature of the Soul, he adds, that *Tertullian does also take notice of the Error of that Philosopher*. Now these are *Tertullian*'s words produced by *Moreri*. *Denique qui negant principale, ipsum prius animam nihil censuerunt, Messenius aliquis Dicæarchus.* The Philosopher whose Error *Tertullian* takes notice of is *Dicæarchus* of *Messina*; why therefore does *Moreri* impute that Error to *Dicæarchus* of *Lacedemon*? He heaps fault upon fault, by referring us to a great number of Authors who have mentioned *Dicæarchus*, since he appropriates all their Testimonies to one *Dicæarchus of Lacedemon*, to whom *Suidas* ascribes no Book great or small, and since it cannot be denied that part of these Testimonies do not concern *Dicæarchus* of *Messina*. A learned Critic (26) thought that the Arguments of *Sophocles* and *Euripides*'s Tragedies, cited by *Sextus Empiricus* (27), are the Productions of the Grammarian *Dicæarchus*, mentioned by *Athenæus* in his first Book (28). I confess that such a work would better suit with *Dicæarchus*, the Grammarian of *Lacedemon*, and the Disciple of *Aristarchus*, than with *Dicæarchus* the *Messinian*, and Disciple of *Aristotle*: but nevertheless, when I consider that *Suidas* attributes no Book to the former, and that he assures us the latter was a Philosopher, Orator, and Geometrician, I rather chuse to ascribe to *Aristotle*'s Disciple all the works that are cited under the name of *Dicæarchus*. If he that *Athenæus* speaks of in the fourteenth page of his first Book, without calling him Grammarian, whatever *Reinesius* says of it, was the *Dicæarchus* of *Lacedemon*, he would rather have attributed to his Country, than to the City of *Sicyon*, the Invention spoken of in that place, since these are Authors which ascribe it to the City of *Lacedemon*. This Invention concerns Dancing, and probably it is in the Book περὶ μουσικῆς ἀγώνων, *de Certaminibus Musicis*, that *Dicæarchus* treated of it, and also of the Dance called *the Crane* (29).

(26) Reinesius, Epist. 69, pag. 608.

(27) Adv. Mathem. cap. 19.

(28) Pag. m. 14.

(29) *See* Plutarch *in the Life of* Theseus.

[*E*] *To whom Suidas . . . . . ascribes no sort of Books. This furnishes me with a Remark against Meursius.*] He pretends (30) that *Dicæarchus* of *Lacedemon* wrote so excellent a Book upon the Government of *Sparta*, that it was read every Year before the Youth in the Assembly of the *Ephori*, and that the Edict for that Practice was executed for a long time. What he cites from *Suidas* is very just, except one Clause which is, that *Suidas* speaks there of no other than *Dicæarchus* the *Messinian*. Ἔργα τε τὰ νομοτεσίαν ἔχοντα πολιτικὰ καὶ βιβλία ἐπὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ἄλλα ἔτη πλείονα ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τὸν λόγον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐφόρων ἀρχαῖον. τὸν δὲ τὴν πρώτην ἔχοντα ἡλικίαν ἀκροᾶσθαι. καὶ τοῦτο διατάξαι μέχρι πολλοῦ. *Scripsit Rempublicam Spartanorum. Et Lacedemone lex est lata, ut quotannis liber ipse in prætorio Ephororum legeretur, & juventus auscultaret. Idque diu obtinuit* (31).

(30) Meurs. Miscell. Laconic. lib. 4, pag. 334.

(31) Id. Ibid.

[*F*] *Pliny says, he was employed by some Princes to take the height of the Mountains.*] These are his words. ‘ Globum tamen effici mirum est in tanta planitie maris camporumque. Coi sententiæ adest Dicæarchus vir in primis eruditus, regum cura permensus montes, ex quibus altissimum prodidit Pelion 1250 passuum ratione perpendiculi, nullam esse eam portionem universæ rotunditatis colligens (32). —— ‘ It is wonderful that a Globe could be formed where ‘ there is such a flatness of Sea and Land. Which Opinion is confirmed by Dicæarchus, a Man of great Learning, who, having measured the Mountains by the direction of some Princes, found Pelion to be the highest, being 1250 Paces in perpendicular height, which he concluded to be no portion of the universal round.’ I wonder that Father *Hardouin* should not observe that this Passage is not consistent with what he cites from *Geminus*; for *Geminus* affirms (33) that, according to *Dicæarchus*'s Calculation, Mount *Cellene* in *Arcadia* is 15 Stadia high, or thereabout, that is to say, near 1500 Paces. Then it is not true that Mount *Pelion* which is but 10 Stadia high was the highest Mountain *Dicæarchus* measured. However that be, we have here a Confirmation of what is found in *Suidas*, that *Dicæarchus* wrote a Book upon the measure of the Mountains of *Peloponnesus*. The Passage in *Pliny* had escaped the Diligence of *Vossius*.

(32) Plin. lib. 2, cap. 65.

[*G*] *What he censures in Plato deserves to be censured.*] He blamed *Plato* for giving too much Power to Love, as *Cicero* informs us (34), and I believe his words will help us to understand those of *Diogenes Laërtius*, which seem to have been ill translated. *Laërtius*'s words are (35): Λόγον δὲ πρῶτον γεγραφὼς αὐτὸν τὸν Φαῖδρον καὶ γὰρ ἔχει μειρακιώδες τι τὸ πρόβλημα. Διακαίαρχος δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς γραφῆς ὅλον ἐπιμωμᾶται ὡς φορτικόν (36). They are translated in this manner. *Phædrum primo illum scripsisse fama est, habet enim quæstio illa nonnihil juvenile. Porro Dicæarchus totum id scribendi genus ut græce ac molestum carpit.* This Translation does no Honour to the Original: it supposes that *Laërtius*, after having said that there is something that betrays the young Man, in the *Phædrus* of *Plato* the Philosopher, thought to confirm what he had said by quoting a Man who looked upon that Philosopher's way of writing in that Treatise as harsh and heavy. I think it will be better to suppose that *Diogenes Laërtius* means thus. It is pretended that *Plato*'s first Work was that called *Phædrus*, and indeed the question he examines in it favours of a young Man. Therefore *Dicæarchus* condemns the whole Character of that Piece, for the excessive Sallies, and impetuous Flights of Imagination he observes in it; this is what is insinuated by *Cicero*, as I have already said; for the Excess, which he pretends *Dicæarchus* charged *Plato* with, on account of the Power of Love, no doubt related to the *Phædrus*. One of the Commentators upon *Cicero*'s Letters (37) makes use of this Passage of *Laërtius*, to confirm a very ingenious Conjecture. He pretends that *Dicæarchus* wrote a Book intituled, Φαίδρου παιδιαί, *The superfluities of the Phædrus*, and that *Cicero* asks his Friend *Atticus* for this Book. *Cicero* expresses himself in this manner. ‘ Libros mihi de quibus ad te antea scripsi velim mittas, & maxime Φαίδρου παιδιάς & Ἑλλάδος.’ Upon which *Bosius* makes this Note. ‘ Videntur his verbis duo libri Dicæarchi ‘ significari, quorum primo auctor ille multa è Phædro ‘ Platonis ut superflua & redundantia resecanda esse ‘ docuerat. altero virorum illustrium quos Græcia tulisset vitam conscripserat, hunc que librum vocarat ‘ Ἑλλάδος βίον, ut illum Φαίδρου παιδιάς. Laërtius vulgo traditum refert Platonem (38) omnium dialogorum totam ejus scripti rationem ut nimis insolentem & fastidiosam damnasse. —— *I entreat you to send me those which I mentioned in a former Letter, but especially* Φαίδρου παιδιάς, *and* Ἑλλάδος.’ Here is *Bosius*'s Note. ‘ *By these words seem to be meant, the two Treatises of Dicæarchus, in the former of which that Author had shewn that many useless Parts, and superfluous Branches, were to be lopped off in Plato's Phædrus; In the other he had wrote the Lives of the most celebrated Men of Greece, to which he had given the Name of* Ἑλλάδος βίον, *and to the former* Φαίδρου παιδιάς. *Laërtius says, that it was generally reported that Plato wrote his Phædrus first, and*

(33) In Elementa Astronom. cap. 14, pag. 55, apud Hardouin. in Plin. Tom. II, pag. 217.

(34) Quem (Platonem) non injuria Dicæarchus accusat qui amori autoritatem tribuerit nimis. *Cicero, Tuscul.* 4, *fol.* 270. *C.*

(35) Diog. Laërt. lib. 3, in Platone, n. 38.

(36) *See Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* BIOΝ (Bonaventure) *Cittat.* (8).

(37) Simeon Bosius in Epist. Cicer. ad Attic. 39, lib. 13.

(38) I relate this Passage according to the Edition of Mr *Gravius*. It is plain the Printers have left out three or four Words, which might be these, *primum Phædrum conscripsisse. Dic ærolum xare.*

Dreams [H]. *Lactantius* does not assign the true Time he lived in [I]. I never was more surprized than to see how barren the Jesuit *Jerom Ragusa* [K] has been upon so illustrious a Subject as that of *Dicæarchus*, who has done so much Honour to *Sicily*, his native Country (e).

(e) He was of the City now called *Messina*, but formerly *Messana*, *Strabo*.

A Person, who was not pleased to make himself known, has sent me some Objections, which I shall examine. They are concerning the Argument I have proposed (f) against *Dicæarchus* concerning his Opinion of the Nature of the Soul [L]. This gives me

(f) *In Remark* [C].

' *and that Dicæarchus had condemned the manner in* ' *which all his Dialogues were wrote, as being too in-* ' *solent and overbearing.*' *Bosius* alledges the *Greek* of *Diogenes Laërtius*, and quotes a Passage out of *Plutarch* (39), wherein certain Descriptions inserted in the *Phædrus* are condemned as superfluous. See *Brinesius* and Mr *Menage*. The former (40) thinks that *Cicero* asks for the Book of *Phædrus*, an *Epicurean* Philosopher, περὶ Θεῶν, and that of *Dicæarchus* Βίος Ἑλλάδος. Thus he partly agrees with, and partly differs from *Bosius*; but he did not know that *Bosius* had committed an Error here, which is his confounding *Dicæarchus*'s Book intituled Βίος, with that intituled, Βίος Ἑλλάδος. The first contained the Lives of illustrious Men; the second was a Description of *Greece*, and the Customs of the *Greeks*. Mr *Menage* has observed this Mistake (41).

(39) In Erotico.

(40) Reinesius, Variar. Lect. lib. 3, cap. 3, pag. 377.

(41) Menag. Not. ad Diog. Laërt lib. 3, n. 4, sub. fin.

[H] *Vossius ought not to have attributed to him a Treatise of dreams.*] Let us hear *Vossius*'s Words. ' Nec magis ambigere licet de libro quem Tullius eum ' de divinatione, & somniis scripsisse auctor est (42). ' —— *Neither need we doubt concerning the Treatise* ' *which Cicero makes him to have wrote on divination* ' *and dreams.*' He cites no proof of this Fact. It is probable he depended upon some Author who had said the same thing, without quoting any body for it, and he would not take the trouble to look for it in *Cicero*. I do no doubt but if this Particular is to be found any where in *Cicero*, it must be in his Book *de Divinatione*. Upon perusing it, I found four places concerning *Dicæarchus*. In the first, he assures us that he rejected all sorts of Divinations, except that of Dreams and that of Fury. ' Dicæarchus Peripa- ' teticus cætera divinationis genera sustulit, somnium ' & furoris reliquit (43).' From whence I infer, that, at the worst, it must be confessed that *Vossius* ought to have said *de divinatione ex somniis*, and not *de divinatione, & somniis*. The second place is a confirmation of the first, and I should not have mentioned it, if it did not furnish me with an incidental reflexion. ' Nec vero unquam animus hominis naturaliter di- ' vinat nisi quum ita solutus est & vacuus, ut ei planè ' nihil sit cum corpore; quod aut vitiosè contingit, ' aut dormientibus. Itaque ea duo genera à Dicæar- ' cho probantur (44).' Either *Cicero* did not understand *Dicæarchus*'s Doctrine, or the latter contradicts and does not understand himself. Can a man, who does not acknowledge any distinction between a human Soul and the Body, believe that Fanatics, Enthusiasts, and Dreamers, have Thoughts which are not material; that is to say, that in that State their Soul is perfectly disengaged from any Correspondence it had with the Body? It is certain, that if such a man should believe this, he knows not what he says, and must involve himself in an evident Contradiction. Now we have seen (45), that *Dicæarchus* admitted of no distinction between the Souls of living Bodies, and the living Bodies: so that if he believed, as *Cicero* will have it, that because in Extasies and Dreams the human Soul is perfectly disengaged from all Commerce with the Body, therefore the Divinations of Enthusiasts and Dreamers are not to be rejected, he contradicts himself and ruins his own Hypothesis by unintelligible Nonsense. But let us not condemn him before we have heard him. Perhaps his Reasons for retaining the Divinations of Extasies and Dreams, whilst he rejected all other ways of foretelling future Events, are not well related by *Cicero*. This Exception in favour of Dreams, and Alienations of Mind, was an ill step of *Dicæarchus*, and I would fain know how he extricated himself out of that plunge. The third Passage says no more than the second; however I think it not amiss to give it a place here. ' Me Peripa- ' teticorum ratio magis movebat & veteris Dicæarchi, ' & ejus qui nunc floret Cratippi, qui censent esse in ' mentibus hominum tanquam oraculum aliquod ex ' quo futura præsentiant; si aut furore divino conci- ' tatus animus aut somno relaxatus solute moveatur ' ac libere (46), —— *There seems to me to be more* ' *weight in the Opinion of the Peripatetics, of old Di-* ' *cæarchus, and of Cratippus who flourishes at present,* ' *who imagine there is in the minds of Men some-* ' *thing like an Oracle from which they receive a* ' *knowledge of what is to happen, as when the mind* ' *is transported with a Divine Fury, or released by* ' *sleep has a full Liberty to move.*' The fourth is more favourable to *Vossius* than any of the others. ' At nostra interest scire ea quæ eventura sint. Mag- ' nus Dicæarchi liber est nescire ea melius esse quam ' scire (47). —— *It would be of great use to know* ' *what shall happen. But Dicæarchus has largely* ' *shown it would be much better not to know, than* ' *to know.*' But that book of *Dicæarchus* is not the same that *Vossius* speaks of; it is neither intituled *de divinatione ex Somniis*, nor *de divinatione & somniis*, and perhaps is not different from the Book of the Descent into the Cave of *Trophonius*. In a word, that Philosopher might have explained his Opinion upon the Subject of Divinations, in one of the Books which *Vossius* had already given the Title of, and therefore it was not necessary to quote, by itself, that *de divinatione & somniis*.

(42) Vossius de Hist. Græcis, pag. 47.

(43) Cicero de Divinat. lib. 1, cap. 3.

(44) Id. Ibid.

(46) Cicero de Divinat. lib. 2, fol. 320. E.

(47) Id. lib. C.

[I] *Lactantius does not assign the true time he lived in.*] He justly condemns *Dicæarchus* upon the mortality of the Soul; but he is mistaken when he charges him with being the forerunner of *Democritus*, with respect to that false Doctrine; for *Dicæarchus* having been one of *Aristotle*'s Disciples did not flourish till long after *Democritus*. ' In eadem sententia fuit e- ' tiam Pythagoras antes, ejusque præceptor Pherecy- ' des: quem Cicero tradit primum de æternitate a- ' nimarum disputavisse. Qui omnes licet eloquentia ' excellerent; tamen in hac dumtaxat contentione non ' minus auctoritatis habuerunt, qui contra hanc sen- ' tentiam disserebant, Dicæarchus primo, deinde De- ' mocritus, postremo Epicurus (48). —— *Pythagoras* ' *was of the same Opinion before, and his Master* ' *Pherecydes, whom Cicero mentions at the first who* ' *disputed concerning the Eternity of Souls. Who, al-* ' *though they were Men of great Eloquence, got in* ' *this one Controversy, those who disputed against* ' *it, namely Dicæarchus first, then Democritus, and* ' *lastly Epicurus, had no less Authority.*'

(48) Lactant. Divinæ. Institt. lib. 7, cap. 8. *See also cap.* 7, *and* 13.

[K] *I was never more surprized than at the Barrenness of the Jesuit Jerome Ragusa.*] His *Elogia Siculorum qui vetari memoria floruerunt*, printed at *Avignon* in 1690, contain only the Titles of a small part of *Dicæarchus*'s Books, and an extract of *Charles Stephens*'s. This Extract imports, that, according to that Philosopher, Mankind had no beginning, and the Soul perisheth with the Body. This latter Doctrine is agreeable to his Notions, and *Cicero*, cited by *Charles Stephens*, ascribes it to *Dicæarchus*, as we have seen above (49): but I know not in what Author *Charles Stephens* found that: the other Doctrine was also taught by that Philosopher. If the Jesuit had been content with copying *Charles Stephens*, he would not have committed such a gross mistake, he would not have charged him with believing, that the *Dicæarchus*, who held those ill Opinions, was not the *Messinian* (50); for *Charles Stephens* plainly ascribes them to that *Dicæarchus*. It is true, by a most gross Error, he imagines that *Dicæarchus*, Native of *Messana*, and Disciple of *Aristotle*, is not *Dicæarchus*, the *Messinian*, which the Jesuit ought to have reproved him for.

(44) *In Remark* [C], *Cotat.* (20).

(49) *Rem.* [C].

(50) Qui tamen Dicæarchum talia opinantem aliunde fuisse à Dicæarcho nostro opinatur. *Hier. Ragusæ, pag.* 94.

[L] *I shall examine some Objections concerning his Opinion of the Nature of the Soul.*] The Author of those Objections begins by explaining the System of our Philosopher. He pretends that *Dicæarchus*'s meaning is, that living Bodies differ only from Bodies void of Life, in this, that their parts are figured and disposed after a certain Manner: he compares this Opinion with that of *Des Cartes* thus. If a Dog differs from a Stone, it is not that he is composed of a Body and a Soul, while the Stone is only Body; but it is solely in this, that he is composed of Parts

ranged

me an Opportunity to say something of a Dispute which has made a great Noise in *England* [*M*].

ranged after such a manner as to form a Machine; which the ranging of the Particles of a Stone does not. This is the Opinion of *Mr Des Cartes*. This Idea is very proper to make us understand the Opinion of *Dicæarchus*: We are only to suppose that he extended to all sorts of living Bodies, what the *Cartesians* say only with respect to Beasts: We are only to suppose that he reduces Man to the Condition of a Machine; from whence it will follow that the human Soul is not distinct from the Body, but that it is only a machinal Construction and Disposition of several parts of Matter. This being supposed, the Author of the Objections pretends that the difficulty I have started is so far from being considered as invincible, that it does not in the least affect the System of *Dicæarchus*. I affirmed that *Dicæarchus* either did not know what he said, or that he was obliged to maintain, that the Virtue, which he made the Soul to consist of, always accompained the Body: he answers that he was obliged only to maintain that it always accompanies the living Body: he adds, that if I had always joined together these two Terms, *Body* and *living*, my Consequence might have been entirely admitted by *Dicæarchus*, and so would have done no injury to his System: he pretends then that *Dicæarchus* may deny that, because the Soul is a Virtue of living Bodies, it therefore follows that this Virtue is found in dead Bodies; for if it does consist in nothing but the machinal Disposition of certain Bodies, as he supposes, it evidently follows that it ought to cease as soon as that Disposition ceases, as soon as the machine is dissolved. Thus, continues he, a *Cartesian* would answer those who should maintain, that according to his Hypothesis the Souls of Beasts subsist even after they are killed: you are mistaken, would he say, for, since I suppose that it consists only in a certain Disposition of the Organs, I must necessarily suppose that it perishes as soon as that Disposition is destroyed. The Author of the Objections supposes, *that it was never concluded against the* Cartesians, *that the Virtue of Sensation does not cease in dead Bodies, and that the Parts of living Bodies preserve in themselves their Life and Soul when they are corrupted*. It is certain this Consequence is not objected to the *Cartesians*, but it is because they attribute no Sensation to the Soul of Brutes; for if they made it sensitive, the same difficulties, that I have objected to *Dicæarchus*, would fall upon them, and they would be obliged as well as he to obviate them. Lastly, he objects that what I have said, that all the Modifications we know of do not cease to be, but by making room for other Modifications of the same kind, from whence it follows that a Body, which once has had Sensations, will always continue to have them; he objects, I say, that *Dicæarchus* is little concerned in this, for *he never attributed Life to matter, till after the requisite Modification to make it a living Body, to wit, by the various disposition of it's Parts; so that I had no right to make him ascribe Life to any part of matter after it's Dissolution, though, before and after, it is Body, but not living Body*. This is the Conclusion of the Author of the Objections. Note, he does not enter the Lists in defence of the Doctrine itself of *Dicæarchus*. He acknowledges the Falsehood and Impiety of it. His design is only to shew that I was in the wrong to charge him with Inconsistency, and that the System was justly connected together, although the Philosopher did not admit of Sensation, and an unperishable Life, in Bodies that had been once alive.

You see here the full state of the Question: the Question is to know, whether a Philosopher, who believes that there are Bodies who think, and Bodies that do not think, reasons consistently: I say he does not, and that whoever once admits that, for example, a Collection of Bones and Nerves, feels and reasons, ought to maintain, on Pain of being declared guilty of not knowing what he says, that every other System of Matter thinks, and that Thinking, which did subsist in a Combination of Matter, does still subsist under other Modifications in the separated Parts, after the Dissolution of that Combination. I shall not repeat the proofs I have already given upon this Subject; nor is it necessary to strengthen them, for the Author of the Objections has not attacked them. He has only observed that *Dicæarchus* ought not to trouble himself about it, considering he has declared that Matter does not begin to live till after a certain Disposition of it's Parts. But it is chiefly upon this very thing that I would charge him with not knowing what he said: he did not mean meerly, by Life, breathing, eating, walking. He meant all the Operations of a Man; the Action of the five external Senses; the Imagination, Reflexion, Reasoning, *&c.* I maintain that he supposes what has hitherto been inconceiveable to all Mankind, if he supposes that the sole Disposition of the Organs of a human Body should cause a Substance to become thinking, that never thought before. All that the Disposition of these Organs can do, is confined to local Motion, variously modified, as in a Clock; all the difference being only from more to less. But as the ranging of the several Wheels, which compose a Clock, would signify nothing to produce the effects of that Machine, if each Wheel, before it was placed after a certain Method, had not actually an impenetrable extension, the necessary Cause of Motion, as soon as it was pushed forward with a certain Degree of force: so I say also, the ranging of the Organs of a Man's body would be of no Service to produce Thought, if each Organ, before it was fixed in it's place, had not actually the faculty of thinking. Now this faculty is quite another thing from impenetrable Extension; for all you can do to this Extension by pulling, striking, or pushing it all manner of ways, is a change of Situation, the whole Nature and Essence of which you can fully conceive, without having recourse to any Sensation, and even when you deny there is any Sensation in it. There have been some great Genius's, who have shewed themselves a little too *slow of Heart to believe* the Distinction of the Soul of Man from the Body; but no Body that I know of ever dared hitherto to say that he clearly conceived, that, in order to make a substance pass from the privation of all thought to actual thinking, it was sufficient to put it into Motion (51), so that this change of Situation was, for instance, a sense of Joy, an Affirmation, an Idea of moral Virtue, *&c.* and tho' some should boast that they had a clear Conception of it, they would not deserve to be credited, and we might apply to them a Passage of *Aristotle* that I have quoted in another place (52). What an absurdity would it be to maintain that there are two species of Colour, one which is the Object of sight, and no more, and the other the Object both of sight and smell. It is yet more absurd to maintain that there are two Species of Roundness, one which consists meerly in the parts of the Circumference of a body being equally distant from the Centre, the other, which together with that is also an Act by which the round body perceives that it exists, and sees round about it several other Bodies. It is the same absurdity to assert that there are two kinds of circular Motion, one which is nothing else but the change of Situation upon a line, the parts of which are equally distant from the Centre, the other, which together with this an is an Act of Love to God, of Fear, Hope, *&c.* What I have said of Roundness, with Respect to Vision, may be applied to all sorts of Figures, with respect to all kinds of Thought; and what I have said of circular Motion is equally strong, with respect to all other lines in which a Body can move, slowly or swiftly: and therefore we ought to conclude, that Thought is distinct from all the Modifications of Body that are come to our Knowledge, since it is distinct from all Figure, and from all change of Situation: but this not being the Question here, I shall content my self with concluding that *Dicæarchus*, in order to argue consistently, ought to have admitted that every System of Matter is endued with the faculty of thinking; for without that it was absurd to pretend that provided several Veins, Arteries, *&c.* were placed one by another as the different parts of a Machine, it would produce the Sensations of Colour, Taste, Sound, Smell, Cold, Heat, Love, Hatred, Affirmation, Negation, *&c.* See the Margin (53).

[*M*] *This will give me an Opportunity to say a word upon a dispute which has made much Noise in England.*] Methinks if I had plainly and absolutely affirmed, that no body had hitherto boasted of having a clear Idea of a Modification of Matter, which is an Act of Sensation, I should not have proceeded with Rashness; for I see in the *News from the Republic of Letters*, that Mr *Locke*, one of the profoundest Metaphysicians in the World, confesses ingenuously that a Body, endowed with

(51) *Note*, The Peripatetics in ascribing Thought to Beasts do not ascribe this Power to Matter, but to a substantial Form, which, according to them, is neither Matter nor Body; and which is produced a-new in Matter, without being composed of Matter. So that they agree Matter never acquires Sensation or Knowledge.

(52) *In the Article* ARRIAGA, *Citat.* (B).

(53) He believed that the Soul was the Harmony of the four Elements, *Plut. de Plac. Phil lib.* 4. *cap.* 2. He ought then to believe, that all mixt Bodies have a Soul. For the four Elements must needs be reduced there to Harmony But is it not as absurd to suppose, that the Harmony of the four Elements produces Thought, as to suppose that a certain Consort of Musick should be a Sound that is conscious of itself, and should know the neighbouring Objects.

with Thought is an incomprehensible thing. And observe he makes this Confession in answer to an Objection, founded upon this Incomprehensibility. It was therefore very much his Interest to deny the Foundation of this Objection, from whence it must be concluded that this Confession was very sincere, and an effect of the Power of Truth, and a proof that all his utmost endeavours to comprehend the Union of Thought with a material Substance were fruitless. Now since so great a Man confesses this, is it not probable that never any Person dorst boast to comprehend such an Union? This would be too general, if I added nothing more to it. Let it be observed then, that the Question, whether the Soul of Man is distinct from Matter, is part of the famous dispute between Dr *Stillingfleet* (54) and Mr *Locke*: the former maintained that Matter is uncapable of thinking, and thereby became the Defender of a fundamental Article of Philosophical Orthodoxy. Among other Arguments he makes use of this, *That it cannot be conceived how Matter can think* (55). Mr *Locke* confesses the Truth of this Principle, and contents himself with denying the Consequence; for he pretends that God can do things which are incomprehensible to human Understanding, and therefore, because Man cannot comprehend, that a Portion of Matter can acquire the faculty of thinking, it does not follow that God, who is Almighty, 'cannot 'give if he pleases some degrees of Sense, Perception, and 'Thought, to certain Collections of created Matter, 'combined together as he thinks proper . . . . (56). 'All the difficulties that are raised, *says he* (57), against 'the possibility of there being thinking Matter, derived from our ignorance, or the narrow Limits of 'our Conceptions, do not in the least affect the Power 'of God, if he pleases to communicate to Matter the 'faculty of thinking, and they do not prove that he 'has not actually communicated such a faculty to certain parts of Matter disposed as he thought fit, till it 'can be made out that it is a Contradiction to suppose 'such a thing.' This is a formal Confession of the Incomprehensibility of the thing, and a recourse to the Almighty Power of God, for Effects which are beyond the limits of our Understandings. It is much after the same manner that the Schoolmen suppose an *Obediential* Power in the Creatures, whereby God might, if he would, raise them to any State whatsoever. A Stone might become capable of the beatific Vision, and a drop of Water capable of washing away all the pollution of Original Sin. Note, That in order to confute this *Obediential* Power of Matter, with Respect to Knowledge, one might make use of an Argument, which it does not appear (58), that Dr *Stillingfleet* has made use of. That Argument always seemed to me very proper to shew the impossibility of joining Thought, and the three Dimensions, together in the same Subject. You will find the Particulars of this proof in the Book I quote (59). A passionate Divine, arguing against the Abbot *de Dangeau*, who had urged this Argument, criticized him as well as he could; but he only talked impertinently (60).

Consider well my expression of *Philosophical Orthodoxy*; for I do not pretend that, with respect to Theological, Evangelical, or Christian Orthodoxy, Dr *Stillingfleet* is superior to Mr *Locke*. To affirm that because the Soul of Man thinks, it is therefore immaterial, is, I think, right Reasoning, and is also establishing a most solid Foundation of the Immortality of our Souls, a Doctrine which ought to be considered as one of the most important Articles of true Philosophy; but this Truth, as it is grounded upon such a Principle, does not belong to Christian Theology. A Christian Divine, every Christian in general, as a Christian, believes the Immortality of the Soul, Heaven, Hell, &c. because these are Truths which God has revealed to us. It is upon this account only that his Faith is a true Act of Religion, a meritorious Act (61), acceptable to God, the State of a Child of God, and of a Disciple of Jesus Christ; and those who should believe the Immortality of the Soul, purely upon those Philosophical Ideas, which their Reason furnishes them with, would be no farther advanced in the Kingdom of God, than those who believe that the Whole is greater than its Part. Therefore since Mr *Locke* founds his Belief of the Immortality of the Soul upon the Scripture, he has as much Christian, Evangelical, and Theological Orthodoxy, as he can have. What he says upon this Subject is admirable (62). I shall probably cite it in some other place (63).

(54) One of the most learned Men in *Europe*; he died Bishop of *Worcester*, in 1699.

(55) Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Novemb. 1699, pag. 500.

(56) Ibid. pag. 497.

(57) Ibid. pag. 500.

(58) *In the Extracts of the* Nouvelles de la Repub des Lettres, Novemb. 1699, Art. I.

(59) Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, August, 1684. Art. VI.

(60) Ibid January, 1685, pag. 12.

(61) I speak here upon the Hypothesis of the Merit of Works.

(62) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Novemb. 1699, par. 510, *and the Book intitul.* d. Pantiana, pag. 388, *and following.*

(63) *In the last Remark of the Article* PERROT (Nicolas Sieur d'Ablancourt).

DICÆARCHUS, Commander of the Fleet which *Philip*, the last King of *Macedon* but one, fitted out, to attack, contrary to all Right and Justice, the Islands *Cyclades*. He began this unjust Enterprize by a most abominable Action; for, as if he would, at the same time, have terrified both Gods and Men, he was no sooner in a Condition to sail, than he erected two Altars, one to Impiety, and the other to Injustice, upon which he celebrated the very same Divine Service, and paid the same Homage to those two Crimes, as he would have done to the Gods. *Polybius*, if we had him entire, would have informed us of the Success of this War, and the Sequel of *Dicæarchus*'s Actions: the Fragments we have remaining of that Author only let us know, that this impious Wretch, engaging in a Conspiracy, expired under the Torture (*a*).

(*a*) *Taken from* Polyb. Hister. lib. 16. cap. 35. pag. m. 705.

DIEU (Lewis de), Minister of *Leyden*, and Professor in the *Walloon* College, in the same City, was a very able Man, and very well versed in the Oriental Languages. He was born the seventh of *April* 1590, at *Flushing*, where his Father Daniel de DIEU, a Man of Merit and Quality [*A*], exercised the holy Ministry. He studied under *Daniel Colonius*, his maternal Uncle, who was Professor at *Leyden*, in the

[*A*] *His Father* DANIEL DE DIEU *was a Man of Merit and Fortune*] He was a Native of *Brussels*, and had been a Minister there twenty two Years: from thence he removed to serve the Church at *Flushing*, after the Duke of *Parma* had taken *Brussels* (1). He understood *Greek*, and the Oriental Languages, and could preach with great Applause in High *Dutch*, *Italian*, *French*, and *English*. He was much beloved by *Sainte Aldegonde*. The *Netherland* Churches sent him with some other Ministers, in 1588, to Queen *Elizabeth* to inform her of the Intrigues of the Duke of *Parma*, who secretly amused her with Proposals of Peace, whilst the King of *Spain* was fitting out a powerful Fleet against *England*. Lewis de Dieu, the Father of *Daniel*, was a long time Domestic to *Charles* V. and obtained Patents of Nobility for himself and his Posterity, as a Reward for his Services. He embraced the Reformation, and died in that Persuasion, so that his Friends were obliged to conceal his Body for six Weeks at *Brussels*, and then removed it to *Antwerp*, where it was interred by Night. He had married the Daughter of *Peter van Coulen*, better known under the Name of *Colonius*, which his Schoolmaster gave him. This *Colonius* (2) insinuated himself into the favour of *Robert Stephens*, who advised him to go to *Geneva*, where he was recommended to *Calvin*, who instructed him in his Opinions, and exhorted him to study Divinity. He devoted himself to the Ministry, and performed the first Functions of it at *Metz*, where the Baron *de Clervant* had procured a new Church to be built. *Prantes de Beaucaire*, Bishop of *Metz*, wrote a Book full of Reflections upon the Ministers and their Doctrine. *Colonius* vigorously confuted him in a few words. This Answer was published at *Geneva* in 1566. He was persecuted by the Catholics of *Metz*, and kept some time in Prison: and when that Church was ruined by the Persecution, and the Temple demolished in the King's Presence, he retired into the *Palatinate* with *John Taffin* his Colleague. They were both Ministers at *Heidelberg*;

(1) It was in 1585.

(2) *See his Article under the Word* COLOGNE.

the *Walloon* College. He was for four Years Minister of the *French* Church at *Middleburg* [B]. He might have succeed *Uytenbogard*, who had been the Court-Minister at the *Hague* [C]; but his natural Averſion to the Manners of a Court would not allow him to comply with the Deſires of Prince *Maurice* in this Matter. He was called to *Leyden*, in the Year 1619, to teach, together with his Uncle *Colonius*, in the *Walloon* College; and he diligently diſcharged that Office 'till his Death, which happened in the Year 1642. He publiſhed a Commentary upon the four Goſpels [D], and Notes upon the Acts of the Apoſtles, and upon the Apocalypſe of St *John*, which he printed in *Hebrew* and *Syriac* [E], with a Latin Verſion (*a*). I ſhall give an Account of his other Books in the Remark [F]. He refuſed the Employment that was offered him of Divinity-Profeſſor in the new Univerſity of *Utrecht*, and if he had lived long enough he would have had the ſame Poſt in that of *Leyden* (*b*). He married the Daughter of *Henry Rogard*, Counſellor of *Flushing*, by whom he had eleven Children, one of which practiſed Phyſic at *Leyden* (*c*), and afterwards at *Amſterdam*; and another ſtudied Divinity, and was Miniſter at *Woubrugge*. The Phyſician left two Sons; one follows his Father's Profeſſion at *Amſterdam*, and the other ſtudies the Civil-Law (*d*).

(*a*) Ex Epiſtola Dedicatoria & Præfatione novæ Editionis, 1693.

(*b*) Leydeckerus, Præf. Aphoriſm. Lud. de Dieu.

(*c*) Ex Oratione Funebri.

(*d*) Ex Epiſt. Dedicat. novæ Edit. 1693.

berg *Toffin* preached in *French*, and *Colonius* in *German*. The latter died young, and left a Son named *Daniel Colonius*, who was Miniſter and Principal of the *Walloon* College at *Leyden* (3). I have already ſaid, that the Siſter of *Daniel Colonius* was the Mother of *Lewis de Dieu*. A Book (4) lately fell into my Hands which obliges me to add ſomething to this Remark. I find there that *Lewis de Dieu*, the Grandfather of him, that is the Subject of this Article, accompanied *Charles* V, his Maſter, in his Expeditions into *Africa* and *Germany*, and did not conceal from him his being a Proteſtant. Only the Emperor adviſed him to take care of himſelf, for it would not be in his Power to ſcreen him from the Inquiſition (5). *Lewis de Dieu* was forced to eſcape himſelf ſoon after the Abdication of *Charles* V; for that Prince was no longer able to ſecure him againſt the Hatred of the Jeſuits (6). It is pretended that this honeſt Man was inſtructed by *Calvin* himſelf. He was going over to *England*, in Company with other young Men; *Calvin*, who was alſo going over in the ſame Ship (7), repreſented to them, that they ought not to ſwear at Cards: *Lewis de Dieu* was the only one that ſubmitted to his reproof, the others laughed at it: for this Reaſon *Calvin* taking his Opportunity, when he was alone with him, ſpoke to him of God, and converted him ſo effectually, that the young Man wrote to his Friends, that nothing ſhould ever make him depart from the Faith of *John Calvin* (8). He delivered his Son *Daniel* to the Miniſtry. They alſo tell another Circumſtance: That a certain Jeſuit informed this *Daniel* that thoſe of his Order were ſeeking for the dead Body of *Lewis de Dieu*, in order to hang it on a Gibbet: whereupon *Daniel* dug it up, and hid it. The Jeſuit, who gave him the Information, offered to aſſiſt him in taking up and concealing the Corpſe (9).

(3) Ex Oratione Funebri Ludov. de Dieu.

(4) Aphoriſmi Theologici Lud. de Dieu, cum Præfatione Melchioris Leydeckeri.

(5) Melchior. Leydeckerus Præfat. Aphoriſmorum Theologicorum Lud. de Dieu, ex Concione Funebri Lud. de Dieu, habita Belgice ab Abrahamo Heldano.

(6) Leydecker. Ibid.

(7) This is a remarkable Fact, and I believe unknown to all thoſe who have writ of *Calvin*, no Body that I know of having obſerved that he travelled into *England*.

(8) Leydeckerus Præfat. Aphoriſ. mor. Theologicorum Lud. de Dieu, ex Confeſſione Fratris Lud. de Dieu.

(9) Id. Ibid.

(10) In Præfat.

[B] *He was four years Miniſter . . . . . at Middleburgh.*] Mr *Leydecker*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Utrecht* (10), aſſures us that *Lewis de Dieu*, after he had been two years Miniſter of *Flushing*, went to *Leyden* in 1619. I have followed *Polyander*, Author of the funeral Oration: but I muſt inform my Reader, that it appears by the ſequel of *Polyander's* diſcourſe, that *Lewis de Dieu* was Miniſter of the Church of *Flushing*, and not of that of *Middleburgh*.

[C] *He might have ſucceeded Uytenbogard, who had been the Court-Miniſter at the Hague.*] Mr *Leydecker* mentions ſome Circumſtances in this Affair, which deſerve to be known. Prince *Maurice*, being in *Zeland*, heard *Lewis de Dieu* preach, who was then but a Scholar, and ſent for him to Court ſome time after: the young Man modeſtly excuſed himſelf, declaring that he would ſatisfy his Conſcience in the diſcharge of his Miniſtry, and freely cenſure what he thought deſerved it, a Liberty which was not endured in a Court: moreover he thought the Poſt they offered him was fitter for a Man in Years than for a Student. His Modeſty and Prudence were commended by Prince *Maurice*.

[D] *He publiſhed a Commentary upon the four Evangeliſts.*] This was in 1631. His firſt care had been to examine the *Latin* Verſions of the New Teſtament in *Syriac*, made by *Tremellius* and *Guy le Fevre de la Boderie*, and that of St *Matthew's* Goſpel in *Hebrew*, by *Munſter* and *Mercerus*. He found many Errors in theſe Verſions. This put him upon examining the vulgar Verſion, thoſe of *Erasmus* and *Theodorus Beza*, the *Syriac*, *Arabic*, and *Ethiopic*. He compared them one with another, and all of them with the *Greek* Text. He made no ſcruple of cenſuring *Beza* in what he thought deſerved Cenſure, and he did juſtice to the Author of the vulgar Tranſlation. 'Magnus 'ſit ſane Beza, *ſays he* (11), eximiæ eruditionis, acerrimi judicii; quique ſuis in Novum Teſtamentum laboribus nunquam laudatam ſatis operam Eccleſiæ navavit, æternumque & ſupra invidiam nomen comparavit. Verum & Vulgatum quoque Interpretem, quiſquis is tandem fuerit, doctum imo doctiſſimum virum fuiſſe aſſeram, non me peccaſſe judicavero. 'Suos habet, fateor, nævos, habet & ſuos barbariſmos. Sed quin paſſim ejus fidem judiciumque admirer, etiam ubi barbaros videam; negare non poſ- 'ſum - - - - - *Beza was a Man of great Abilities, an extenſive Knowledge, and a refined Judgment, whoſe 'Labours on the New Teſtament, for the ſervice of Religion, can never be ſufficiently commended, and which 'have gained him immortal Honour beyond the reach 'of Envy: and ſhould I likewiſe ſay the Author of 'the Vulgate, whoever he be, was a very learned Man, 'I ſhall think I only do Juſtice. I own he has his 'failings, but is he intirely free from Barbariſms, 'Yet even in them I cannot but admire his Fidelity and 'Judgment.* Mr *Simon* ſpeaks well of *Lewis de Dieu's* Writings in the thirty fifth Chapter of his Critical Hiſtory of the Commentators of the New Teſtament.

(11) Ibid.

[E] *He printed the Apocalypſe in Hebrew and Syriac.*] This muſt be explained; it muſt not be imagined that he publiſhed two *Apocalypſes*, one in the *Hebrew* Tongue, and the other in the *Syriac*. *Lewis de Dieu* only publiſhed the *Apocalypſe* in *Syriac*, but he got one Impreſſion made in *Syriac* Characters, and another in *Hebrew* Characters. Mr *de la Roque*, Miniſter at *London* (12), gave me this Information.

(12) *See, before, Cent.* (30) *of the Article* COLOMIES.

[F] *I ſhall give an account of his other Books.*] He publiſhed, with learned Notes, the Hiſtory of the Life of JESUS CHRIST, written in the *Perſian* Language by the Jeſuit *Jerome Xavier*, and he added to the Original a *Latin* Tranſlation: he alſo publiſhed, with Notes, the Hiſtory of St *Peter* written in the *Perſian* Tongue. As to the two firſt Chapters of *Geneſis*, tranſlated into *Perſian* by *James Taivaſus*, he only publiſhed them with an Advertiſement to the Reader. I ſay nothing of the Rudiments of the *Hebrew*, and *Perſian* Tongues, which he publiſhed, nor of his Parallel of the Grammar of the Oriental Languages (13). After his Death, they printed his Commentary upon the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, with a Collection of Obſervations on all the other Epiſtles of the Apoſtles, and a Commentary upon the Old Teſtament (14). His Treatiſe *de Avaritia*, his *Rhetorica Sacra*, and his *Aphoriſmi Theologici* (15), have appeared in the World by the care of Mr *Leydecker*. They reprinted at *Amſterdam*, in Folio, in 1693, his Obſervations upon the Scriptures, corrected and enlarged, together with the *Apocalypſe* in *Syriac*. Note that *Alegambe* owns that *Lewis de Dieu* has faithfully tranſlated *Jerome Xavier's* Book; but he charges him with annexing to it heretical Obſervations that deſerve to be burnt: 'additis Animadverſionibus hæreticis & rogo 'dignis. Ceterum non infideliter textum interpretatus 'eſt, ſi nonnulla demas quæ fortaſſe codex ipſius vitiata 'habuit.' Thus he expreſſes himſelf in the 189th Page of the *Bibliotheque* of the Writers of his Order.

(13) Taken from his Funeral Oration, pronounced by *Polyander*.

(14) Wirte in Diario Biographo.

(15) Theſe Aphoriſms were printed at *Utrecht*, in 1695.

DIGBY

DIGBY (*Sir* KENELM), became very illuſtrious in the preſent Age, by his Virtue and Learning. He was deſcended from a very ancient Family in *England*. His Great-Grand-father, *Everard Digby*, accompanied with his ſix Brothers, fought bravely, at the Battle of *Boſworth*, for *Henry* VII, againſt the Uſurper *Richard* III. His Father, named alſo *Everard*, did not follow this Example of Loyalty; but ſuffered himſelf to be engaged in the Gunpowder-Plot againſt *James* I, for which he loſt his Head. His Son, the Subject of this Article, glorioufly effaced this Blemiſh, and preſently rendered himſelf ſo worthy of this Prince's Eſteem, that he reſtored him to his Eſtate. He afterwards appeared with Splendour at Court, being no leſs beloved by *Charles*, than he had been by King *James*. *Charles* I made him Gentleman of his Bed-chamber, Firſt Commiſſioner of the Navy, and Governor of the *Trinity-Houſe*. He granted him Letters of Repriſals againſt the *Venetians*, by Virtue of which he took ſeveral Prizes from them, and with the ſmall Fleet under his Command, made his way through the *Venetian* Fleet, near *Scanderoon*, and brought off his Booty. As he was all his Life a Lover of Learning, he attained to a very great Knowledge in Languages, and the Sciences, and became a good Philoſopher. He tranſlated ſeveral Authors into his Mother-Tongue, and in his Treatiſe of the Nature of Bodies, and the Immortality of the Soul, he has diſcovered an excellent Judgment, and a great Underſtanding. His particular Attachment to the Mathematics did not hinder him from a ſtudious Enquiry into Chymical Secrets, in which he found out ſome excellent Remedies, which he freely gave away to all ſorts of Perſons, and eſpecially to the poor. At *Montpellier* he made a public Diſcourſe upon the Sympathetic Powder, which was publiſhed, and ſold in great numbers. In the Year 1661 he publiſhed his Treatiſe of the Immortality of the Soul, upon which he had long Conferences with Mr *Des Cartes*. Thoſe two Philoſophers met at the College of *Bon Court*, at *Paris*. The principal Subject of their Converſation was the Nature and Condition of the Soul. And though they could not agree upon ſome Articles, yet they parted full of Eſteem for each other. Theſe were the leaſt conſiderable Qualities of Sir *Kenelm Digby*. His Attachment to the Royal Family driven from the Throne of *England*, his two Embaſſies to *Innocent* X, from the Queen, Widow of the unfortunate *Charles* I, whoſe Chancellor he was, the Reſolution with which he confeſſed to the Parliamentarians his being a Catholic, and his Courage in undergoing the Confiſcation of his Eſtate, and Baniſhment on that Account, conſpire to render him more illuſtrious. He retired into *France*, where he made himſelf beloved by all Men of Wit and Honour. Upon the Reſtoration of *Charles* II, Sir *Kenelm Digby* returned to *London*, where he continued, 'till having been long troubled with the Stone, and perceiving his Kidneys ulcerated, he reſolved to go back to *France*. He was carried in a Litter towards the Sea; but his Diſtemper increaſed upon him in ſuch a manner, that they were forced to bring him back to *London*; he died at *London*, the eleventh of *March* (his Birth-day) 1665, in the ſixtieth Year of his Age. He married the only Daughter of Sir *Edward Stanley*, Son of the Earl of *Derby*, by a Daughter of the Duke of *Norfolk*, by whom he had three Sons, the eldeſt of which was killed near *Brentford*, in an Engagement with the Rebels, and left no Children. The youngeſt died in his Infancy, the other Son left only two Daughters (*a*).

(*a*) Ballart. Academ. des Scien. Tom. II, p. 137, *and following.*

DIYLLUS, a *Greek* Hiſtorian, Native of *Athens*. I ſhould not mention him, but to obſerve an Error of Mr *Moreri* [*A*].

[*A*] *I ſpeak of it only to obſerve an Error of* Moreri.] He aſſures us, that *Diyllus began his Hiſtory at the Place where* Ephorus *ended his*: he is miſtaken (1), but if this Circumſtance were true, yet would he deſerve to be blamed, ſince he gives his Reader the Trouble to go and ſeek where the Hiſtory of *Ephorus* ends. In vain would he look for it where it is moſt natural to expect he ſhould find it, I mean in the place where *Moreri* ſpeaks of *Ephorus*; for he forgets to inform us of it there as well as here. But to paſs over his Omiſſions, and ſay ſomething of his Fault of Commiſſion. He is the more inexcuſable, as he is guilty of this Error, as I may ſay, under the Eye of *Voſſius*, who pointed out ſo clearly what he ought to have ſaid. *Voſſius* (2) quotes two Paſſages, in one of which it is affirmed (3), that *Diyllus* had compoſed a Hiſtory divided into Twenty ſeven Books, beginning at the taking of the Temple of *Delphi*, and containing the Tranſactions of thoſe times in *Greece* and *Sicily*. The other Paſſage imports, that *Ephorus* finiſhed his Hiſtory at the Siege of *Perinthus*, and that *Diyllus* begins at the ſame Siege the other part of his Work (4), and ends it at the Death of King *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander*. It is therefore undeniable that *Diyllus*'s Hiſtory reached from the Invaſion of *Delphi* to the Death of *Philip*; that is to ſay, it began at the time that *Philomelus*, General of the *Phocæans*, made himſelf Maſter of *Delphi*, towards the end of the CVth Olympiad, about the Year of *Rome* 397. The Siege of *Perinthus* falls in the ſecond Year of the CIXth Olympiad, and the CCCCXth of *Rome*. *Moreri*'s Citations are falſe (5), and if he had conſidered well what the paſſage of *Athenæus*, quoted by *Voſſius*, contains, he would not have advanced ſuch a wrong Conjecture. *Diyllus*, according to *Athenæus*, ſpeaks of *Demetrius Phalereus*; therefore he is not to be placed, as *Moreri* does, in the CCCCXth Year of *Rome*, ſince that *Demetrius* flouriſhed after the Death of *Alexander*. For the reſt, *Cajaubon* has happily reſtored in *Athenæus* the Citation of *Diyllus* (6), which made *Mauſſac* do the ſame in *Harpocration*'s Dictionary (7).

(1) The learned *Ruæus* committed the ſame Error. See the Place where he ſpeaks of *Diyllus*, in his *Varia Lectiones*.

(2) Voſſ. de Hiſtor. Græc. pag. 360.

(3) Diodor. Sicul. lib. 16, cap. 14, pag. m. 747.

(4) Διύλλος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος τῆς δευτέρας συντάξεως ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος τῆς Ἐφόρου ἱστορίας τὴν τελευτὴν ἐποιήσατο. Diyllus vero Athenienſis alterum opus exorditur inde ubi Ephorus Hiſtoriam finierat. *Id. ibid. cap.* 47, *pag.* 795.

(5) *He cites* Diod. Siculus, *Lib.* 103 *and* Voſſius, *pag.* 30.

(6) Caſaub. in Athen. lib. 4, cap. 14, pag. 281.

(7) In Voce Ἀρίσιμον.

DINANT, a City in the *Netherlands*, upon the *Meuſe*, between *Charlemont* and *Namur*. It's Situation near the Mines of Iron and Copper, and ſeveral Quarries of black Marble, and other ſorts of Stones, enabled the Inhabitants to carry on a Trade that greatly enriched them (*a*); but they were divers times reduced to a miſerable Condition by the Calamities of War: eſpecially in the Year 1466, they ſuffered grievouſly,

(*a*) Lewis Guicciard n, Deſcript. Belgii, pag. m. 507.

grievously, as I have said elsewhere (*b*). An *Italian* Author has committed an Error which may mislead his speculative Readers [*A*]. This City was very ill treated by the *French* in the Year 1554. Count *de Souches*, General of the *Imperial* Troops, made himself Master of it in 1674. The next Year it was taken by the *French*. By the Treaty of *Nimeguen* it was agreed, that, if they restored it, *Spain* should yield up *Charlemont* to them; and that, if *Spain* chose rather to keep *Charlemont*, it should obtain of the Bishop of *Leige*, that *Dinant* should be yielded to the *French* (*c*). This Cession not having been obtained, *France* got *Charlemont* delivered up, and kept *Dinant* 'till the Peace of *Reswic*, by Virtue of which this City returned to the Obedience of it's first Master, the Bishop of *Leige*.

(*b*) *In the Article* BURGUNDY (CHARLES Duke of) *Remark* [C].

(*c*) *See the thirteenth Article of the Treaty of* Nimeguen, *concluded between* France *and* Spain, September 17, 1678.

[*A*] *An Italian Author has committed a fault which may mislead his speculative Readers.*] A Monk, called *Remigio Fiorentino*, has writ a Political Discourse upon the misfortunes which may arise from the Insolence of those people who affront the Effigies of a Prince. He gives, for an Example among others, what *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* did to the inhabitants of *Dinant*. 'Carlo Duca di Borgogna ultimo non uso 'tanta e sì memorabil crudeltà contra di Nantes, se 'non perche i Nanteſi havevon fatto la ſtatua ſua e 'd'alcuni alteri Gentilhuomini ſuoi amici, e l'have-'vono appiccate per la gola alle forche (r).——*Charles, 'the last Duke of Burgundy, would not have practised 'such a remarkable Cruelty to Nantes, if the Inhabi-'tants had not hanged up his Effigies, and That of a 'Gentleman who was his Friend.*' It is plain he names *Nantes* for the City that did this, and was chastised for it (2). His mistake arises from taking the first Syllable of *Dinant* for an Article. Now as there is a City called *Nantes*, it is evident this mistake is likely enough to deceive the Reader: for if the State of Learning should be a thousand Years hence in the same Condition it was in the XVth Century, there would be Critics who would pretend that it was at *Nantes* in *Bretagny*, and not at *Dinant*, upon the *Meuse*, that the *Burgundian* shewed himself so revengeful: they would boast of a discovery, that no Body had mentioned before, I mean of an Expedition of the last Duke of *Burgundy* against the *Bretons*. They would seek for the Time, the Cause, and the Circumstances of this War, and would find a great many things to support their Conjectures. In short, this would make a fine long Chapter of their *Adversaria, variæ Lectiones & Emendationes, sive Racemationes*. Those, who have read this sort of Works, will agree with me that I argue from what is past to what is future. But not to pry into future Ages, let us content ourselves with the present. I am sure many persons have already been deceived by *Remigio Fiorentino*, or by those who deceived him. I doubt not but more than one Compiler will place *Nantes* among the Cities that have been ravaged for insulting the Statues of a Sovereign Prince.

(r) Remigio Fiorentino, Considerazione Civili sopra l'Historie di Guicciardini e d'altri Historici, cap. 43, fol. m. 55.

(2) *He says in the Margin:* Carlo Duca di Borgogna gastica con severità la citta di Nantes. . . . . *Charles, Duke of Burgundy severely chastised the City of Nantes. The same is to be found in the Table of Contents.*

DINOTH (RICHARD), was of *Coutances* in *Normandy*, and lived in the XVIth Century. Among other *Latin* Books he published the History of the Civil-Wars made upon account of Religion in *France* and the *Low Countries* [*A*]. There is no question but he was of the Protestant Communion, and I suppose he settled at *Montbelliard*, under the Character of a Refugee. He had made some stay at *Strasbourg* before that time (*a*). His Stile is pretty moderate.

(*a*) *See his Epistle Dedicatory to the* History *of* the Civil Wars *in the Netherlands.*

[*A*] *He published, among other Latin Books, a History of the Civil-War . . . . . in France, and the Low Countries.*] The Epitome of *Gesner's Bibliotheque* (1) informs me, that they printed at *Basil* in 4to, in 1582, *Richardi Dinothi de Bello Civili Gallico Religionis causa suscepto libri VI.* The *Oxford* Catalogue mentions three other Books of *Richard Dinoth*, viz. *de Bello Civili Belgico libri VI*, in 4to, at *Bazil* in 1580; *Adversaria Historica*, in 4to, at *Bazil* 1581; *de Rebus & Factis memorabilibus Loci communes Historici, & Sententiæ Historicorum*, in 8vo, at *Basil* in 1580. I know not whether this date of the History of the Civil-Wars of the Low Countries is right; for the Edition, I make use of, is of the Year 1586, and I have observed nothing in it to induce me to think it is the second Edition: the Author dedicates it to the Senate and Academy of *Strasburgh*, and dates the Epistle Dedicatory from *Montbelliard*, the eighteenth of *August* 1586.

(1) Pag. 724.

DIOGENES, the Cynic, was one of those extraordinary Men who are upon Extreams in every thing, without excepting Reason, and who verify this Maxim, *That there is no great Wit without a Mixture of Folly*. He was born at *Sinope*, a Town in *Pontus*, and expelled from it for the Crime of coining false Money (*a*). His Father (*b*), who was a Banker, was banished for the same Crime. *Diogenes* retired to *Athens*, and by his great Perseverance prevailed upon the Philosopher *Antisthenes* to become his Master [*A*] (*c*). He not only gladly submitted to that kind of Life, which was peculiar to the Followers of that Founder of the Cynics, but also added new Degrees of Austerity to it; so that there never was a Philosopher who did so much despise the Conveniences of Life. It were a Mistake to think, that with his Staff and Wallet, and the

(*a*) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, in ejus vita init.

(*b*) His Name was *Iesius*. Some said that he died in Prison, and that his Son made his Escape before the Judges gave Sentence against him. *Diog. Laërt. ib.*

(*c*) Id. lib. 6. at. Æ. ianus, Var. Hist. lib. 10, cap. 16.

[*A*] *By his great Perseverance he prevailed upon the Philosopher Antisthenes to become his Master.*] A very learned Man, who mentions this, has committed a great Fault in Chronology. These are his Words: (r): 'It is reported of the same *Diogenes*, that the 'Philosopher *Antisthenes*, the Founder of the Sect of 'the Cynics, his Master, having turned *Socrates*'s 'Disciple, and accordingly dismissed all his Scholars, '*Diogenes* would not leave him; whereupon *Anti-'sthenes*, being angry with him, took a Cudgel to 'turn him out: But *Diogenes* was not frightned at it: 'he bent his Head to receive the Blow, and said, '*There is no Stick, tho' ever so hard, but I can bend, 'to learn some good things of you.*' *Socrates* died the first Year of the XCVth Olympiad; and the Death of *Diogenes* ought to be placed in the same Year with that of *Alexander the Great*, or a few Years after (2). But that Prince died the last Year of the CXIIIth Olympiad, according to *Eusebius*; or the first Year of the CXIVth, according to *Petavius*. We may therefore suppose, that *Diogenes* died the third Year of the CXIVth Olympiad: and therefore, since he died being about ninety Years old, he was born the first Year of the XCIId Olympiad: and therefore he was only about twelve Years of Age when *Socrates* died, and so could not have been turned out of *Antisthenes*'s School, for the Reason alledged by Mr *Joly*. If we should strictly keep to the Account of those, who say that *Alexander* and *Diogenes* died the same day, we may get some Years by it; but it will not remove the Difficulty: for we must remember, that *Socrates*'s Trial lasted some time; but during the Proceedings against him, *Antisthenes* did not shut up his School to go to that of *Socrates*: this is plain. Besides,

(r) Mr Joly, Avis Chretiens, & Moraux pour l'Institution des Enfans, pag. 4 & 5. *He quotes no body, but he might have quoted* Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 10, cap. 16. *as to* Diogenes's *Answer after he had received a Blow with a Stick.*

(2) *See the Remark* [*B*].

the Tub, which served him for a Dwelling [B], he was more humble than those who pamper themselves, and fare deliciously [C]. He looked upon every body with Scorn; he censured all Mankind magisterially; and doubtless thought himself much above all other Philosophers. One cannot help seeing something great in his Behaviour, if it be considered in a certain Sense; and it must have been so, since *Alexander the Great*, who was a good Judge, acknowledged the same [D]. We are not to trust to those who

Besides, *Diogenes* did not remove to *Athens* till after he had coined false Money in his own Country, and even exercised an Office in the Mint (3), and till he went to *Delphi* to consult the Oracle (4). How then can it be said, with any shew of Reason, that he was but fifteen or sixteen Years of Age, when he desired to be admitted among *Antisthenes*'s Scholars at *Athens*?

(3) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 20.

(4) Ibid. n. 22.

[B] *A Tub served him for a dwelling.*] He ordered somebody to prepare a Cell for him; but because his Order was not speedily performed, he grew impatient, and lodged himself in a Tub, that was in the Temple of the Mother of the Gods. This is what he himself said in one of his Letters (5). I wish the Commentators upon *Diogenes Laërtius* had enquired, how he came to be permitted to appropriate to himself a thing that belonged to a Temple. He had not always the same Tub: A young insolent Fellow broke the first in pieces, for which he was condemned to be whipped. The *Athenians*, who inflicted that Punishment upon him, presented *Diogenes* with another Tub (6); which was, without doubt, different from that which he had at *Corinth*, where he lived when *Philip* King of *Macedonia* designed to attack that Place. All the Inhabitants worked hard on the Fortifications of the Town. *Diogenes*, being unwilling to be the only Man that should be idle, fell a rolling his Tub (7): From whence *Menage* infers, that this Tub was not made of Clay; but he owns at the same time, that a Tub made of Clay may be rolled without breaking to pieces. 'Testaceum non fuisse Diogenis dolium, sed ligneum, illud convicerit, quòd illæsum, ne otiosus esset, sæpe versaret; de quo est apud Lucianum in Libello Quomodo conscribenda sit historia. Quamquam dolium versari & circumagi potuit; in fimeto, vel solo subacto, vel restibilibus agris, vel in æquato etiam pavimento; cùm præsertim ampla illa & capacia dolia pro amplitudinis modo solida fuisse & spissa credibile sit (8). —— *That Diogenes's Cask was not made of Potter's Ware, but of Wood, may be proved, by his often rolling it without any damage from Place to Place, that he might not be idle, which Lucian relates in his Treatise on writing History; tho' an earthen Cask might be rolled and removed in manured or tilled ground, or on a smooth Pavement, since those large and capacious Casks may probably have had a thickness and Solidity proportionate to the Size.*' He did not make this Remark without Reason: he had in view the Verses of a Latin Poet (9), who says, that Tub was made of Clay:

(5) Ibid. n. 23.

(6) Ibid. n. 43.

(7) Lucianus de de conscrib. Historia, Tom. 1, pag. m. 659.

(8) Menag. Not. ad Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 23. pag. 534.

(9) Juven. Sat. 14, ver. 308.

—— —— Della nudi
Non urgent Cynici: si fregeris, altera fiet
Cras domus, eadem plumbo commissa manebit.
Sensit Alexander, testa cum vidit in illa
Magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior (10) hic, qui
Nil caperet, quamqui totum sibi posceret orbem.

(10) Morerus reads felicitor, and says, It is thought Juvenal designed these Verses in praise of *Diogenes*. The thing is undoubtedly certain; so that his it is thought is good for nothing.

The naked Cynic's Jar ne'er flames: if broken,
'Tis quickly solder'd, or a new bespoken.
When Alexander first beheld the Face
Of the great Cynic in that narrow Space,
His own Condition thus he did lament:
How much more happy thus, that art content
To live within this little hole, than I,
Who after Empire thus vain Quarry fly?
DRYDEN.

I should not think it strange, if any one should blame *Diogenes* for affecting so great a Poverty, as to desire no other Lodging than a Cask; but it is ridiculous to infer from it, that he was a Drunkard. Here follows a long train of Impertinences, which will not be so tiresome as the remainder of this Article.

As for *Diogenes* the Cynic, his name shews what 'he was; for it is as if one should say, *Diogenes* 'who lived like a Dog. This Spark pretended to be 'a Philosopher. And his most remarkable Actions 'are these. 1. He lived Night and Day in a Cask. 'Thus the Companions of *Æneas* eat their Plates, 'having made an end of their Meat, *mensas consumimus inquit Iulus* (*Æneid lib. VII. p.* 116.) in like manner, *Diogenes*, having drunk the Wine, made 'use of the Cask; that is, he loved it so well, that 'he was resolved to live in it. Thus an Old-woman 'in *Aristophanes* ordered that she should be buried 'in the Cellar, under a Cask, to wet her Bones. 'Thus Tipplers, when they have emptied the Bottle 'in a Tavern, make use of the Neck of it for a 'Candlestick, to play after eating. Thus *Buchanan*, in 'his last Sickness, would have a Hogshead of *Bourdeaux* Wine set by his Bed-side, that he might 'give up the Ghost with the Smell of such a delicious Liquor (11). Thus *Bettbeus* the Fisherman, 'says *Ronsard*, would be buried in his Boat. Thus '*Diogenes* lived Night and Day in his Cask, being, 'no doubt, very sorry that it was empty. Thus 'our pretended Wits live Night and Day in the Taverns (12).' No Man did ever less deserve to be called a Toss-pot than *Diogenes*. He thought it very strange that those who are thirsty do not drink at the first Spring they meet with: they seemed to him more unreasonable than Beasts, and the River Water was the only Remedy he wanted to quench his Thirst. Ἔλεγεν ὅτι τὴν βάσιν ὑδατος, ὃ οἱ ἄλλοι τὸν ἔδεσμα οἶνον, καλεγέλα δὲ τῶν ἐκπιόντων τὰς μὲν κρήνας παραπέμπουσι. ζητούντων δὲ ἐκεῖνον πάντες ἀνηύρισκον χίον ἢ λέσβιον. καὶ πολὺ ἡδέως ἔφασκεν ἐμπιεῖν ὕδωρ παρὰ τῶν βασκημάτων. Jucundius bibit fluentem aquam quam alii vinum Thasium. Deridebat autem eos qui quum sitirent, præterirent fontes, quærerentque unde omnino emerent Chium vel Lesbium, & multo hos dicebat esse insipientiores jumentis (13). —— *He drank with more Pleasure the running Water than others the most delicious Wines; and laughed at those who, being thirsty, passed by a Fountain, and sought for Chian and Lesbian Wine, saying they had not need so much sense as Brutes.* But after all, it is not certain that he had no other Lodging than a Cask. Being asked one day, *Who shall bury you, when you die, since you have neither a Man nor a Maid?* he answered (14), *Any one who wants a House:* Which supposes that he had a House.

(11) *See the Remark [D] of the Article* BUCHANAN.

(12) Garasse, Doct. Curieuse, pag. 134, 135.

(13) Dio Chrys. Orat. 6, pag. 89.

[C] *It must not be thought that he was more humble than those who pamper themselves, and fare deliciously.*] He said that all the Curses of the Stage had fallen upon him, since he was a Vagrant, had no Country, nor House to dwell in, a Beggar, ill cloathed, and one that lived from Hand to Mouth. And yet, says the Historian, he took as much Pride in those things, as *Alexander* could do in the Conquest of the World. Διεγίνετο δὲ σπουδὴ συνεχὴς ὑπόλεγων ὕβρει ἑαυτὸν, ὅτι τὰς ἐκ τῆς τραγῳδίας ἀρὰς αὐτὸς ἐκπλήσει, καὶ ὑπομένει· εἶναι γὰρ πλάνης, δοκῶν, σαπρὸς, ἔσερημένος, πλώχης, δυσείμων, βίον ἔχων τὸν ἑρμαῖον, καὶ ὅμως ἐπὶ τούτοις μέγα φρονῶν ὑδὲν ἧττον, ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀρχῇ, ὅτε καὶ Ἰνδὸς ἕλων εἰς Βαβυλῶνα ὑπέστρεφεν. *Diogenes Sinopensis de seipso dicere solitus est, se implere & ferre tragicas execrationes. Nam erronem se esse, domo & patria carere, mendicum agere, male vestiri, & in diem vivere. Nihilominus tamen in his sibi non minus placebat, quàm Alexander in terrarum orbis imperio, quum subactis Indis in Babylonem reverteretur* (15).

(14) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 52.

(15) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 3, cap. 29.

[D] *Alexander the Great found something great in his behaviour.*] That Prince must have found something great in that Philosopher, since he said that, if he was not *Alexander*, he would be *Diogenes* (16). I do not wonder that he admired a Man, who, though he might have obtained great Advantages from him, would ask him nothing, and even bad him, without any

(16) Plut. in Alex. pag. 671.

who criticize *Alexander* upon this Head [*E*], nor to those who blame that Philosopher's Behaviour towards that Prince [*F*]. Some are of Opinion, that there are Contradictions in

any Complement or Ceremony, to stand off, and not keep the Sun from him (17). Can a Prince, who is daily beset with craving People, and who, notwithstanding his great Power, is not in a capacity to satisfy them all, forbear admiring a private Man, who refuses the Riches that are offered him? Statesmen and Philosophers flocked to *Alexander* from all Parts (18): every body was fond to make his Court to him: *Diogenes* was the only Man who did not stir out of his Place. *Alexander*, who expected he should come to him, was obliged to give him a Visit: such an Indifferency appeared uncommon to him, and he admired the greatness of Soul which that Philosopher expressed by his Answer. Ἀίστατο τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὑπὸ θαυμασίου τινὸς μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ ὑπεροψίας, καὶ τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς ἀνδρὸς ἄτης. *Perhibetur in tantum permotus Alexander fuisse & obstupuisse contemptus deficientium hominis & animi celsitudinem ut, &c* (19). *Seneca* is in the right when he says, that upon this occasion *Alexander* was overcome by a meer private Man. 'Eadem re gloriari Socrates potuit, eadem Diogenes à quo victus est (Alexander). Quid ni victus sit illo die quo homo supra mensuram humanæ superbiæ tumens, vidit aliquem cui nec dare quidquam posset nec eripere (20). —— *In the same thing might Socrates glory, in the same might Diogenes, by whom he (Alexander) was conquered. For what could be said of a Man, who, elate with Pride, that day fancied himself a God, yet saw one to whom he could give nothing, and from whom he could take nothing away, but that he was conquered?* It plainly appears from these Words, that *Seneca* believed *Alexander* discourred with *Diogenes* after the Conquest of *Persia*, and when that Prince, dazzled with the Lustre of his Fortune, would be called a God. But if any one should think that this Opinion of *Seneca* is not clearly contained in those Words, he needs only read the following Passage. 'Necesse est à Socrate beneficio vincat: necesse est à Diogene, qui per medios Macedonum gazas nudos incessit, cælestis regiis opibus. Nonne ille tunc merito & sibi & cæteris, quibus ad despiciendam veritatem non erat offirta caligo, supra eum eminere visus est, infra quem omnia jacebant? Multo potentior, multo locupletior fuit, omnia tunc possidente Alexandro. Plus enim erat, quod hic nollet accipere, quam quod ille posset dare (21). —— *I must submit to Socrates, and to Diogenes also in Generosity, who walked naked through the Macedonian Wealth, treading under his Feet the Royal Treasures. Might he not seem to himself, and to the rest, whose Eyes were not dimmed to that degree, that they were incapable of seeing Truth, to look down on him, who had all things under him? He was much more powerful and wealthy than Alexander who had every thing. For there was more which the one would have refused, than the other could have given.* Here is an instance of those Mistakes that are committed for want of Attention. Every body knows, I. That *Alexander* never returned into *Greece* after he went to *Asia*. II. That *Diogenes* continued in *Greece* whilst *Alexander* was subduing *Asia*: and therefore *Seneca* has confounded times here for want of Attention, and because he was too intent upon his Antitheses. It is certain that *Alexander* and *Diogenes* discourred together before the *Persian* War. *Alexander saw* that Cynic at *Corinth*, when he was declared Captain-General of all *Greece* to make War with *Darius* (22). *Diogenes Laërtius* seems to be guilty of the same Anachronism (23).

[*E*] *We are not to trust those who criticize Alexander upon that head.*] 'If *Alexander* had not been *Alexander*, he would have been *Diogenes*: so true it is that an honest Poverty will be esteemed even by the greatest Princes.' These words are to be found in a Sermon which *Balzac* criticized. His Censure upon them runs thus (24). 'The Preacher thought this a very good saying; but I think it a very bad one: for in truth what is it to be *Diogenes*? I will tell you what it is, translating the *Greek* Text, without adding any thing of my own: To be *Diogenes*, is to violate the Laws and Customs established; to be deprived of all Shame and Modesty; to know neither Relations, nor Guests, nor Friends; to be continually barking at or biting People; to eat a raw Sole or bloody Meat in a full Market; to be guilty of still more filthy Actions in every body's sight. Actions which cannot be performed with too great secrecy and retirement. This it is to be *Diogenes*, and what *Alexander* wished to be, had he not been *Alexander*! The Disciple of *Aristotle* could not have uttered a worse thing, and the Preacher could not have said any thing more disobliging to those whom he intended to praise, than by using a Comparison that is so odious, at least to those who are not unacquainted with good Books.' *Balzac* criticizes two Persons here, *Alexander* and the Preacher: The latter seems to deserve the Censure put upon him; for those who praise the Monks for their begging, should take all possible care to prevent the Reader's thinking on the Cynic Philosophers. As for *Alexander*, I maintain that he is unjustly censured, as it will appear from these Words of *Cæsar* (25): 'Do you think, Sir, that *Balzac* has fully apprehended *Alexander*'s Meaning? That Conqueror was ignorant of this Definition of *Diogenes*, and desired only to be like him in what he had then observed in that Philosopher, which was a very great Contempt of the most shining and glorious things of this World. He offered him his Riches and his Protection; and the only Favour That ragged wise Man desired of him was, that he would stand out of his Sun; as if he had meant, Do not deprive me of the good Things of Nature, and I leave you those of Fortune, which I think below my care. *Alexander* was very sensible of the Firmness of so noble a Soul; and turning to the Lords of his Court, told them, Do not laugh at that Man: if I was not what I am, I would be what he is; that is, if I was not in possession of all manner of Wealth and Glory, I would think myself happy in despising them, as that Philosopher does. Notwithstanding what *Balzac* says to the contrary, this is certainly a delicate and fine Thought for a Disciple of *Aristotle*.' A Man of never so little judgment must needs perceive that *Cæsar* is in the right, and that *Balzac*'s Criticism is very false. *Plutarch*'s Paraphrase upon that Saying of *Alexander* is worth reading (26).

[*F*] *How to those who blame that Philosopher's Behaviour towards that Prince.*] 'He was so brutish, that when *Alexander*, who went to see him in his Tub, asked him a Question, he answered him just as *Bruscambille* (27) used to speak to the King; who making a wry Face, and *thowing* him, *Alexander*, said he, art thou not afraid that I should bite thee, for I am a mad Dog; that is, I am enraged against thy Luxury, thy Excesses, and thy insolent Majesty? And then, being asked by some in *Alexander*'s Retinue, who laughed at him as if he had been the Fool of a Play, Whether he had ever seen any good and wise Princes, he fell a laughing, and said, in a bantering way, ὡς κολοιὸν πετρομάνων, I have seen as many as there are Crows and May-bugs in the Spring. Such was the Wit and Civility of that Man, who deserved to be exemplarily punished (28).' There are many things to be censured in those words besides that which Prior *Ogier* censured (29). I. *Alexander* did not go to *Diogenes* to divert himself; it was a serious Visit. II. When a Man acts honestly, he does not relate things as he finds them in Books of no Authority; he takes them out of grave and credible Writers, as those are, with respect to this Visit, who have writ the Life of that great Prince, or that of *Diogenes*. But what has Father *Garasse* done? he has wholly suppressed *Plutarch*'s and *Laertius*'s Narrative, and given a quite different one, without saying from whom he had it (30). III. Nothing can be more absurd, than to allege this Visit of *Alexander*, in order to cast a Blot upon the Memory of *Diogenes*: for every body knows that Prince conceived a great Admiration for him: and whoever thinks of such an Admirer, will be more inclined to admire *Diogenes* than to despise him: and therefore, though *Garasse* took care not to mention what *Alexander* said upon that Occasion, he acted the part of a wretched Orator; for he put his Readers in the way of remembring a thing quite contrary to his design.

If any one desires to see an Answer to *Garasse*'s Invectives against *Diogenes*, let him read *la Mothe le Vayer*. 'One of our Writers, *says he* (31), was so unjust (I will

(17) Id. lib. Val. Max. lib. 4. cap. 3. fub fin. Diog. Laërt. lib. 6. n. 38.

(18) Plut. ubi supra.

(19) Plut. ubi supra, etiam de Fortun. vel Virtute Alex. pag. 331.

(20) Seneca de Benefic. lib. 5. cap. 6.

(21) Id. ibid. cap. 4.

(22) Plut. ubi supra.

(23) *He says*, lib. 6. n. 60, *that* Alexander *coming unexpectedly to* Diogenes, *and told him*, I am the Great King *Alexander*, Ἐγὼ εἰμι Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ μέγας βασιλεύς. *And* I am *Diogenes* the Dog, *replied the Philosopher*, ἀρχὴ Ἕλλησι Διογένης ὁ κύων. *Which is to upon it, that* Alexander *had then wanted to* Darius; *for when he saw* Diogenes, *he was only* King of Macedonia, *and it did not belong to him to stile himself the Great King.*

(24) Balzac, Socrat. Christian. pag. 243.

(25) Coste, Suite de la Defense de Voiture, pag. 39.

(26) Plut. de Fortuna vel Virtute Alexandri, Orat. 2, circa fin. pag. m. 331, 332.

(27) He was the King's jester.

(28) Garasse, Doctrine Curieuse, pag. 135.

(29) He laughed at *Garasse*, for his Ignorance, who did not know that every body was Thou'd in *Greece*, and that therefore *Diogenes* did not Thou *Alexander* out of Incivility. *Parfaite de la Doctrine Curieuse, pag.* 175.

(30) *Dion Chrysostome* made a whole Oration about *Alexander*'s and *Diogenes*'s Conference; wherein, doubtless, there are an hundred things of his own Invention. What *Garasse* says is not to be found in it.

(31) Traité de la Vertu des Païens, *in the fifth Volume of* Le Vayer's *Works, Edit. in* 12mo, *pag.* 133, 134. *He does not name the Writer whom he refutes: It was Father* Garasse.

in the things related of *Diogenes* [G]; but they ought to consider, that a Man of his Humour must needs have been of a very uneven Temper. He had a great Presence of Mind: this appears from his witty Sayings and quick Repartees, most of which are very smart. He, who called him a mad *Socrates* (*d*), had a right Notion of him. He spent a considerable part of his Life at *Corinth*, where he died in a very old Age. They do not agree when, or what sort of death, he died [*H*]. Though he little cared to be buried, he had an honourable Burial [*I*]. The Reason why he lived at *Corinth* was,

(*d*) Plato called him so. See Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 14, cap. 33.

'will not use a harsher Word) that he made no Scruple 'to compare *Diogenes* and *Democritus* with *Brusquet*, 'and such another Man commonly known by the 'Name of *Maistre Guillaume* (32), whom he affirms 'to have been at least as wise as those Philosophers. 'How can any one allow himself the liberty of talk'ing at that rate? He says, that *Plutarch* and *Lær'tius* needed not transmit to us the Fooleries of these 'two Scoundrels, one whereof, *viz. Democritus*, de'serves no other Title than that of a *Merry Andrew*, 'and the other of a sturdy Beggar. In short, says he, 'there is no other Difference between them than 'what is between *Maistre Guillaume* and *Jack-Pud'ding*, or *Brusquet* and *Pantalon*, *Diogenes* being a 'downright Madman, and *Democritus* a continual 'Buffoon: They are his own words. Certainly every 'reasonable Man, though never so little acquainted 'with the nature of Things, will be offended at it, 'and express his Indignation at such extravagant 'Comparisons.'

(32) The King's Jester.

(33) Theo. in Progymn. cap. 5, pag. m. 78.

It is reported (33) that *Alexander*, finding *Diogenes* asleep, spoke the Twenty fourth Verse of the second Book of the Iliad,

Οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὕδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα.

Stertere perpetuam non dignum est principe noctem.

Ill fits a Chief the Night in Sleep to spend.

And that *Diogenes* spoke immediately the Words that come next to that Passage of *Homer*:

Οἷσι λαῶν ἐπιτέλλεαι καὶ τόσσα μέμηλε.

Cui populique salus, & tanta negotia curæ.

On whom his People and their Hopes depend.

That Philosopher could not have answered with a greater Presence of Mind, nor more to the Purpose. He vindicated himself, and shewed at the same time what *Alexander* was bound to do. He made it appear that if it be a Fault to sleep all Night, it is when a Man is intrusted with the Government of a Nation.

[G] *Some find Contradictions in the things related of Diogenes.*] We are told, on the one hand, that he had no other Lodging but a Tub, and that he threw away his wooden Cup, when he perceived that he could drink in the hollow of his hand. Quodam vero 'tempore habenas ad potandum cavum ligneum vidit 'puerum manu concava bibere, & elisile illud fictum ad 'terram dicens, nesciebam quod natura haberet pocu'lum (34). *He used a wooden Bowl to drink out of; 'but observing, on a time, a Boy drinking out of the 'hollow of his hand, he broke it, saying, I was in'deed ignorant that Nature had supplied us with cups.* This is taken from *Diogenes Laërtius*, who says Θεασάμενός ποτε παιδίον ταῖς χερσὶ πίνον, ἐξέῤῥιψε τῆς πήρας τὴν κοτύλην, εἰπὼν παιδίον με νενίκηκεν εὐτελείᾳ. *Intuitus aliquando puerum manibus bibentem, cotylam pera productam abjecit dicens, puer me vilitate superavit* *. And it is expressly said, that he had neither a Man nor a Maid (35). But on the other hand, we are told, that his Man ran away from him. Some might think that this was inverted, in order to ascribe a witty Saying to *Diogenes*. It is said that he answered those, who advised him to make an Enquiry after that Fugitive, *Were it not a ridiculous thing if Menades could live without Diogenes, and if Diogenes could not live without Menades* (36)? For my part, I do not find any Contradiction in those Stories. Could such a cross-grain'd Man be uniform in all his Actions? There is no doubt that he was sometimes for one thing, and sometimes for another. His life was long enough to afford some Years in which he had Servants, and some in which he had no other Cup than the hollow of his hand. This is what might be said, if the Life of that Cynic, written by *Diogenes Laërtius*, was the only historical Monument concerning him; but there is a Chapter in *Ælian*, which dispenses us from making use of such a Solution. *Ælian* informs us, that *Diogenes* was not yet a Philosopher when his Servant left him. It was at his coming away from *Sinope* that he took along with him one of his Slaves, who left him. He had then some Notions of Philosophy, which made him say, *It would be a shameful thing if Manes could be without Diogenes, and Diogenes could not be without Manes*; Οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Μάνην μὲν μὴ δεῖσθαι Διογένους, Διογένην δὲ Μάνης; *An non turpe esset quum Manes Diogenis non egeat, Diogenem Manis indigere* (37)? but he was not a Cynic, and did not lay aside all Superfluities, till a long time after. *Ælian* adds, that this Servant wandered from place to place till he was at last torn in pieces by Dogs at *Delphi*.

(34) Hieronym. lib. 2, contra Jovinian.

* Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 37. See also Seneca, Epist. 90.

(35) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 52.

(36) Id. ibid. n. 55.

[*H*] *They do not agree when, or what sort of death, he died.*] Some say (38) he died of an overflowing of the Gall, occasioned by eating a Neat's Foot raw (39); others, that he stifled himself by holding his Breath (40); others, that he died of the biting of a Dog (41); others, that he threw himself headlong down a Precipice (42); others, that he strangled himself. This last Opinion is mentioned by St *Jerome* as the true one, and with some Circumstances that deserve to be known. His Death, says he, shews his Temperance and Virtue; for as he was going to the Olympic Games, a Fever seized upon him. He laid himself down under a Tree, and refused the Assistance of those who accompanied him, and offered him a Horse or a Chariot. Go to the Games, said he, to them; this Night will determine my Distemper; if I recover, I will go to morrow to the Olympic Games; if I die, I will go into the Elysian Fields. He strangled himself that very Night, pretending that he lost his Fever, rather than his Life. 'Abite quæso, & spectatum pergite. Hæc me nox aut victorem probabit aut victum. Si febrem vicero, ad agonem: si me vicerit, ad inferna descendam: ibique per noctem elisis 'guttere, non tam mori se ait quam febrem excludere (43). Some (44) say that he and *Alexander* died on the same day, in the CXIIIth Olympiad. He was near Ninety Years of Age (45). But if he had not lived after *Alexander*, how could *Perdiccas* have sent for him, and threatened to kill him if he did not come (46)? Could *Craterus* have desired a Visit from him (47)?

(37) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 13, cap. 28. Seneca says the same thing de Tranquill. c. 8.

(38) Diog Laërt. lib. 6, cap. 76.

(39) Βοὸς πόδα. It is doubtless a Fault, which ought to be mended by πολύποδα; for many Authors quoted by *Menage*, *in hunc locum*, are agreed, that the eating of a raw *Polypus* occasioned the Death of *Diogenes*.

(40) Ἀλλ' ἀνέβα χαλὸς ποτ' ὀδόντας ἐρίσας καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα συνδακών. Tandem qui sublatum est cum labris dentes obfirmasset, & spiritum continuisset. *Cercidas apud Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 77.*

(41) Diog Laërt. ibid. Suidas.

[*I*] *They be little cared to be buried, be had an honourable Burial.*] It is said, that when he was a dying, he ordered that his Body should not be buried at all, or only covered with a little dust in a ditch. He was willing that all sorts of Beasts should feed upon him (48). Besides, we find in *Diogenes Laërtius*, that he desired to be thrown into the *Ilissus*, for the Service of his Brethren: but those Words have been foisted into the Text of that Historian; for can any Writer be so absurd as to say, that this Philosopher desired to be thrown into a River, to be of some use to the dogs? and therefore it is not likely that *Laërtius* should have said so. Those words were at first put into the Margin to shew *Ælian*'s Opinion (49), *viz.* that our Cynic ordered his dead body should be thrown into the *Ilissus*; and then some Transcriber foolishly inserted them in the Text. Take notice, that the *Ilissus* is a River of *Attica*, and that *Diogenes* died in a Suburb of *Corinth* (50); from whence you may conclude, that *Ælian* has committed a Mistake. *Menage* made a very learned Note upon this (51). There is a Passage in *Cicero* that deserves to be set down: we find in it, that *Diogenes* being asked by his Friends, Whether his desire of lying unburied tended to the Benefit of wild Beasts or Birds? answered them, that he would have them put a Stick into his Hands, that he might fright them away: *How will you be able to do it?* said they; *you will feel nothing.* *Well then*, replied he, *what's*

(42) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 8, cap. 14.

(43) Hieronymus, lib. 2, adv. Jovinianum.

(44) Demet. in Æquivoco, apud Laërtium, n. 79. Plutarch. Sympos. lib. 8, c. 1. Suidas.

(45) Lært. lib. vi. n. 76.

(46) Id. n. 44.

(47) Id. n. 57.

(48) Id. n. 79.

(49) Var. Hist. lib. 8, cap. 14.

(50) Ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ, τῷ πρὸ τῆς Κορινθίας γυμνασίῳ. In Craneio ad erat gymnasium ante Corinthum. *Diog. Laërt.* n. 77.

(51) In Laërt. lib. 6, n. 79.

that

was, that a Man of that Town bought him [K], and made him Tutor to his Sons. Notwithstanding his being a Slave, he kept up his whole Character (*). What is most impudent and inexcusable in his Life, is, that he brutishly would commit Acts of Impurity in the public View of the World [L], for which he gave very bad

(*) See Remark [K].

that to me, whether I be devoured by Beasts? 'Durior 'Diogenes, & idem quidem sentiens, sed ut Cynicus 'asperius, projici se jussit inhumatum. Tum amici, 'volucribusne an feris? Minime vero, inquit, sed 'bacillum prope me quo abigam, ponite. Qui po- 'teris? illi, non enim senties. Quid igitur mihi se- 'rarum laniatus oberit nihil sentienti (52)?

(52) Cicer. Tusc. 2, cap. 43.

No regard was had to his great Indifferency for his Sepulchre. His Friends, finding him dead, did not doubt that he had put an end to his Life by holding his Breath. Every one of them was fond of having the Honour of burying him; and they grew so hot upon it, that they were like to come to Blows: but some Persons of Authority composed their Difference. *Diogenes* was buried near the Gate of the *Isthmus*, and his Tomb was adorned with a Column, on which they placed a Dog of Marble (53). *Pausanias* mentions that Tomb (54). The Inhabitants of *Sinope* erected Statues of Brass to that Philosopher, who was their Country man (55). I had almost forgot to say, that there is an Opinion importing that he was buried by the Sons of *Xeniades*, whose Tutor he had been (56). It is further said, that *Xeniades* asked him how he would be buried; and that he answered, *with his Face downwards: for*, replied he, being asked what was his Reason for such a Fancy, *there will quickly be an overturning, that will put things upside down.* He meant, if we may believe the Historian, that the Kingdom of *Macedonia* would become very great, though it was inconsiderable, Διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν ὀλίγα τῆς Μακεδόνας ἢ ἐκ ταπεινῶν ὑψηλὰς γίνεσθαι. *Quia Macedones jam potentia majori dominarentur, atque ex humilibus sublimes fierent* (57). This Explication is not right, since *Diogenes* died when the *Macedonians* were arrived to the height of their Power. Some say he died the same Day that *Alexander* did; and therefore he had seen the Glory of that Nation prodigiously raised. According to some others, he outlived that Prince, and saw the Divisions of his Successors; and therefore he should rather have foretold the Declension of the *Macedonians* than their Grandeur. The Expression of *Diogenes Laërtius* cannot be right, unless it be supposed that it relates to *Philip* King of *Macedonia*. It was under *Philip*'s Reign that That Nation, which had made but an indifferent Figure, began to grow formidable.

(53) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 77, 78.

(54) Pausan. lib. 2, pag. 45.

(55) Diog. Laërt. n. 78.

(56) Id. n. 31.

(57) Id. n. 32.

[K] *A Man of Corinth bought him.*] Passing by the Isle of *Ægina*, he was taken by some Pirates, who brought him to the Isle of *Crete*, and exposed him to sale. He answered the Crier, who asked him *what he could do*, that he knew how to command Men (58); and perceiving a *Corinthian*, who was going by, he shewed him to the Crier, and told him, *Sell me to that Gentleman, for he wants a Master* (59). That *Corinthian*'s Name was *Xeniades*. He bought *Diogenes*, and carried him to *Corinth*, and made him Tutor to his Sons: He also committed to him the Management of his House. *Diogenes* did so well discharge the Duties of those Places, that *Xeniades* could not forbear saying every where, that *a good Genius was come into his House*. *Diogenes*'s Friends had a mind to redeem him. *You are silly Fools*, said he (60), *Lions are not Slaves to those who feed them, but the latter are the Lions Servants.* He roundly told *Xeniades*, *You must obey me; for Governours and Physicians, though Servants, require the Obedience of those whose Governours and Physicians they are* (61). He gave a good Education to *Xeniades*'s Children, and was so well beloved by them, that they recommended him earnestly to their Father and Mother. He grew old in that Family; and some say he died there, and was buried by his Pupils (62). The Sale of *Diogenes* was a Subject for some Authors. *Menippus* and *Eubulus* wrote some Tracts intituled, *Diogenis auctio* (63). *Suidas* observes, that *Diogenes* was already an old Man when the Pirates took him. But if he spent the remaining part of his Life in *Xeniades*'s Service, how can what *Dion Chrysostome* says be true, that *Diogenes* was in the Winter at *Athens*, and in the Summer at *Corinth*? Whoever will consider the persuasive Eloquence *Lærtius* ascribes to him, and the Effects of that Eloquence (64), will not wonder that he had so good a Success in the Education of *Xeniades*'s Children. *Onesicritus* sent one of his Sons to *Athens*: that young Man having heard *Diogenes*, settled in that Town; and his eldest Brother did the same, as soon as he was sent thither by *Onesicritus*. *Onesicritus* himself, who had the Curiosity to hear that Philosopher, became his Disciple; so great were the Charms of *Diogenes*'s Eloquence (65). *Onesicritus* was a considerable Man: he was very much esteemed by *Alexander* (66); he followed him in his Ways, where he had great Posts bestowed upon him; and he wrote a History. *Phocion*, a more illustrious Man than he, was also *Diogenes*'s Disciple (67); and so was *Stilpo* of *Megara* (68).

(58) Philo mentions this with other Circumstances. See his Tract quod omnis probus liber, pag. 883.

(59) Lærtius, who says this, n. 74, had been saying, n. 30, that Diogenes earnestly desired the Crier to say, Who will buy his Master?

(60) Taken from Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 74, 75.

(61) Id. Diogen. n. 30.

(62) Id. n. 31.

(63) Ibid. n. 29, 30. Διογένους πράσεις, *Diogenis auctio*

(64) Ibid. n. 75.

[L] *He brutishly would commit Acts of Impurity in the public View of the World.*] He argued thus: It is not a Sin to dine; therefore it is not a Sin to dine in the Streets (69). Upon this Ground he eat in any Place whatsoever, and pretended that his Principle was to be extended to all natural Necessities; so that, as he believed that it was a lawful thing to lie with a Woman, he concluded that there was no harm in lying with her in public (70). This was calling Reason to the Assistance of his Passions; he strained it; he did not understand it by using too many subtleties to understand it: it was in a manner *recta cum ratione insanire*, — *Going mad with Reason.* This Verse of *Terence* may be applied to the Cynics,

Faciunt ne intelligendo ut nihil intelligant (71).

By over acting their Knowledge they appear like Fools.

Diogenes, an Enemy to all Superfluity, and seeking as much as possible to be independant, committed publickly what the Casuists call the Sin of Effeminacy, and would impudently say he wished he could in like manner satisfy the cravings of his Stomach. Χαιρεχράν τε ἐν τῇ μέσῃ ἀγορᾷ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἔλεγε, καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν παρατρίβεσθαι τῷ λιμῷ παύσασθαι. *Cumque ante ora omnium turpiter sæpe operaretur, utinam fieret, ajebat, perfricato ventre & fame conquiescere* (72). He gloried in this Impudence, pretending to find in himself, and without any charges, what brings other Men to a thousand Expences and Ravages. He added, that if all the World had been like him, *Troy* had not been taken, nor *Priam* murdered upon the Altar of *Jupiter*. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦλε αὐτὸν ἐλαμβόν ἀλλᾶν ἀρχιδίσιον ὄρνεα, ἀλλὰ παλλῶν ἔλεγεν, ἀπαντᾶχῆ παρεῖναι αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην παῖζειν. *Neque enim usquam illi eundum erat ob rem venerem, sed jocans dicebat ubique sibi adesse venerem gratis* (73). He endeavoured to justify himself from Nature and Mythology. He alledged the Example of some Fishes. Ἔφη δὲ τὰς ἰχθῦς σχεδὸν τι φρονιμωτέρας φαίνεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων· ὅταν γὰρ θύωσι τὸ σπέρμα ἀποβαλλῖν ἐλθόντας ἔξω προσκρᾶσθαι πρὸς τὸ τοιχῶ. *Dicebat autem & pisces nonnihil prudentiores apparere quam homines. Quum enim illis opus est ut semen emittant, egredi & ipse affricare ad ostera* (74). He urged also the Example of *Pan*. He said, that *Mercury* pitying his Son *Pan*, who ran Night and Day over the Mountains mad for Love of a Mistress he could not enjoy, (it was the *Echo*,) taught him this way of Relief, and that *Pan* taught it afterwards to the Shepherds (75). *Martial*, as lewd as he was, understood the Voice of Nature, better than this Philosopher.

Ipsam crede tibi NATURAM dicere rerum,
Illud quod digitis, Pontice, perdis, homo est.

Thus he speaks, in the Forty second Epigram of the ninth Book, to a Man who followed the Maxims of *Diogenes*. This filthiness is to be found, not only in the two Authors I have cited, but also in *Athenæus* (76), in *Plutarch* (77), in St *Chrysostom*'s Homily upon the Martyr *Babylas*, in the Thirty fourth Homily of the same Father upon St *Matthew*, in the *Anthologia*, in *Galen*, &c. It is very surprising therefore that *Erasmus*, who was so well acquainted with the *Babylas* of St *Chrysostom* (78), should be so grossly mistaken on the place where *Diogenes Lærtius* mentions the impure

(65) Τοιαύτην τὴν τροφὴν ἴσχε Διογένους τοῖς λόγοις. Tanta Diogenis sermonibus illecebra inerat. *Id.* n. 76.

(66) Plutarch. in Alexandro, pag. 701, & de Fort. aut Virt. Alexandri, pag. 331, *affirms, that* Onesicritus, *one of* Alexander's *Court, had been the Disciple of* Diogenes.

(67) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 76.

(68) Id. ib.

(69) Id. n. 69.

(70) Ἐλάβει δὲ ἁπάντα ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ τὰ Ἀφροδίτης. Solebat autem omnia palam facere & quæ ad Cererem & quæ ad Venerem pertinent. *Id. ibid.*

(71) Terent. in Prologo Andriæ, ver. 16.

(72) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 69, *and also* 46.

(73) Dio Chrys. Orat. 6, pag. mihi 90.

(74) Id. Ibid.

(75) Idem. Ibid.

(76) Athen. lib. 4, cap. 15, pag. 158.

(77) Plut. de Stoicor Repug. pag. 1044.

(78) *See the Remark* [C] *of the Article* BABYLAS.

had Reasons [M]. He had some illustrious Disciples (f), and wrote many Books (g); but it is questioned whether the Tragedies, that went under his Name, were his. One cannot certainly tell whether he was an Atheist [N]; but it is certain that his Precepts

(f) See Remark [K], at the end.

(g) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 80.

Practice of *Diogenes*. It can hardly be imagined, if one did not see it with one's Eyes, that *Erasmus* could have made such a Blunder. He thought *Diogenes Laërtius* had said, that his Cynic, having applied himself to bodily Labour, and having by this means got a very good Appetite, wished he could satisfy his Belly by rubbing it. *Erasmus* discovers in this the humour of studious Persons, who are sorry that their bodily wants take them off from their Books, and he places this Saying among the Apophthegms of *Diogenes*. He has been cruelly censured for it by *Robertel*, and very ill defended by *Nannius*. *Erasmus*'s words are (79). 'Quum in foro in conspectu omnium fricaret operatus, minam quoque liceat (inquit) sic perfricto ventre à fame esse quietum, sentiens agitatione corporis acui stomachi orexim, à qua necessitate cupiebat esse liber. Itidem studiosi graviter ferunt, à literis naturæ necessitatibus avocari." Here are two Verses out of the *Anthologia*.

(79) See the Miscellanea Petri Nannii Alemariani, lib. 8, pag. m. 251.

Πάντ' ἄρα Διογένης ἔφυγεν πλὴν τὸν δ' ὑμέναιον
Ἥιδεν παλλομένῃ Λαΐδος ἐν χαίτῃ.

Omnia sane Diogenes effugit hæc: nuptias verò
Perfectæ dextra, Laïde nihil opus habens.

It is the Conclusion of an Epigram (80), in which *Agathias* gives a Catalogue of many Inconveniences a Man is exposed to, that devotes himself to the fair Sex, and which *Diogenes* delivered himself from. I am surprized that *Galen* should rather endeavour to extenuate than condemn this Crime. He says that this Cynic Philosopher, though the firmest of all Men against the pleasures of Sense, yet tasted that of Love, not thro' the allurements of Voluptuousness, but to avoid the mischief that a *Retentio seminis* usually causes. A Woman of the Town had made an Appointment to meet him, but staying too long, he could not have patience, and . . . . ; afterwards when she came, he sent her back, telling her, he had already took care of it, and had no occasion for her. Βραδύνάσης αὐτῆς, ἀπιτρίψατο τὸ σπέρμα προσαττόμενος τῇ χειρὶ τὸ αἰδοῖον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παραγενομένην ἀπέπεμψεν, φήσας τῇ χειρὶ φύσαι τὸν ὑμέναιον ἤδη. *Cum diutius cessaret ipse manu pudendis admota semen excussit, ac venientem deinde mulierculam remisit, inquiens, manus hymenæum celebrando præverit te* (81). He did not serve the celebrated Courtesan *Lais* after this Manner. The scandalous Chronicle says, that this Woman who by her Charms drew so many fine People to her, and who set so high a price upon her Favours, bestowed them freely upon our Cynic, as slovenly as he was with his dusty Feet (82). She permitted him to enjoy her for nothing: Σὺ μὲν αὐτῇ τοσοῦτον ἀργύριον δίδως, ἡ δὲ πρόικα Διογένει τῷ κυνὶ συγκυλίεται. *You give her so much Money, said Aristippus's* Footman to him, *and she lets that Dog* Diogenes *tumble with her without a Farthing* (83). We shall see *Aristippus*'s answer in the Article LAIS (84).

(80) The Sort of the 7th book, pag. m. 972.

(81) Galenus de Locis affectis, lib. 6. Juvenal, Sat. 6, ver. 236, *speaks of such an Impatience.* Abditus interea latet secretus adulter, Impatiensque more tilet & perputia ducit.

(82) He always went bare-footed. Dio Chrysost. Orat. 6, pag. 89.

(83) Athen. lib. 13, cap. 6, pag. 588.

(84) Rem. [F].

[M] *For which he gave very bad Reasons.*] I have mentioned them in the beginning of the preceding Remark, and shall speak more fully of the same in the Remarks of the Article HIPPARCHIA.

[N] *We cannot certainly tell whether he was an Atheist.*] For they bring nothing but dubious Proofs of it. Father *Garasse* alledges two; one *that he laughed at the Gods which were commonly adored by the Populace*; the other, that he taught *that we ought not to be ashamed of doing whatever Nature dictates to us* (85). The first of these Proofs is impertinent; for nothing was more worthy a Philosopher, fully persuaded of the Existence of the true God, than to laugh at the Superstitions of the *Pagans*. The second Proof is not conclusive, since it is possible to believe a God, and at the same time be persuaded that shame is only founded upon a positive Law. Did not the *Adamites* maintain their Errors by Scripture misunderstood? They were not therefore Atheists. But here are other Proofs of *Diogenes*'s Atheism. I. He said, when he saw Tutors, Physicians, and Philosophers, that Man was the wisest of all Animals; but when he saw Interpreters of Dreams (86), Diviners, those that gave credit to them, the Covetous, and the Ambitious, he thought Man was the most foolish of all Beings (87). II. He refused to be initiated, and when they told him that those, who had that advantage in this World, reigned in the other; he replied, that nothing would be more ridiculous than to see *Agesilaus* and *Epaminondas* in the Mire, whilst many initiated Scoundrels would sit upon the Throne of the Blessed (88). III. They impute to him the Raillery I have mentioned in the Article of DIAGORAS (89) *viz* that many more perish notwithstanding their Vows, than those whose Prayers are heard (90). IV. He said that the long Prosperity of *Harpalus* bore Witness against the existence of God (91). 'Diogenes guidem Cynicus dicere solebat Harpalum, qui temporibus illis prædo fœlix habebatur, contra Deos testimonium dicere, quod in illa fortuna tandiu viveret. . . . . Improborum igitur prosperitates fecundæque res redarguunt, ut 'Diogenes dicebat, vim omnem Deorum ac potestatem (92).' Of these four Proofs, the two first are so weak that they deserve no Examination. The third is a little better, but not a convincing one: for how many people are there now a days, who, notwithstanding they are Papists, might think and say, when they see the *Ex voto*'s of our Lady of *Loretto*, what they make *Diogenes* say upon the *Ex voto*'s of *Salamathia*? There are so many other Proofs of the existence of God, besides those which are drawn from the efficacy of Prayers, that a Man, who should reject this, might nevertheless be fully persuaded, that there is a God who governs all Things. If the fourth was a convincing Proof, *Claudian* would also be reckoned an Atheist, who said the very same thing of *Ruffinus*, that *Diogenes* said of *Harpalus* (93). He said the Punishment of *Ruffinus* was a Sentence of Absolution for the Gods: therefore he thought that *Ruffinus*, during his Prosperity, bore Witness against the Gods. *Malherbe*, a Christian Poet, had the same Thought, concerning the Marshal *d'Ancre* (94). If all those, who have said that the long Prosperity of the wicked is a Reason to doubt of a Providence, were Atheists, there would have been abundance of Atheists among Authors; but they are two very different things to say, *such a Fact furnishes me with a strong Objection against the existence of* GOD, and to say, *That Objection convinces me that there is no* GOD.

(85) Garasse, Doct. Curieuse, pag. 137.

(86) See, in *Diog. Laert.* n. 40, what he says against those who are terrified at their Dreams. *You are not afraid, says he, of what you do when awake, and yet are concerned for what you dream of in your Sleep.*

(87) Diog Laërt. lib 6, n. 24.

(88) Id. n 39.

(89) *Rem.* [I], *Citat.* (50).

(90) Diog Laërt. lib. 6, n. 58.

(91) *See the Article* HARPALUS, *Rem* [I].

(92) Cicero, de Nat Deor. lib. 3, cap. 34.

(93) Absolvit, hunc tandem Rufini pœna tumultum, Ancoravitque Deos.

(94) *See the Article* CONCINI, *Rem.* [F].

What has been said may be confirmed by three Observations. I. The Ancients, as far as I can remember, who have treated of Atheists, have never reckoned *Diogenes* the Cynic for one of that number (95). II. St *Jerom* attributes a Discourse to this Philosopher, which favours of the Immortality of the Soul (96). III. Among the witty Sayings of *Diogenes*, there are some which seem to prove that he believed a God. Being asked one day, if he believed there were Gods? *How can I doubt of it*, said he to the Person that asked him, *since I am persuaded that I hate thee* (97). Another time, perceiving that a Woman transported with Devotion had prostrated herself before the Gods in a very indecent Posture, he ran to her, and told her that God was every where present, and that she should take care not to behave indecently. Θεασάμενός ποτε γυναῖκα ἀσχημονέστερον τοῖς θεοῖς προσπίπτουσαν, ἐπελθὼν αὐτῆς περιεῖλε τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν λέγων· ἆπες Ζωΐλος ὁ Περγαμηνός, παρελθὼν ἔστιν, ὅτε γυναῖ μὴ ποτε δεῖ ὀπίσθιον ἑαυτοῦ (σώτα γὰρ ἔχει αὐτὴ πλέον) ἀσχημονήσας. *Insperarat mulierem inhonestius coram diis procidentem, ejus superstitionem auferre voluit, ut Zoilus Pergamus ait, accurrit dicens, non vereris mulier ne forte stante post tergum Dea, (tanto enim plena tibi sunt) inhoneste te habeas* (98). It must be confessed ingenuously, that the last of these three Observations has no great strength in it; for these two Sayings of *Diogenes* might be nothing but meer Raillery, and indeed the first is attributed to a professed Atheist (99). Generally speaking, it cannot be concluded from a Man's witty

(95) See Ælian. Var Hist lib. 2, cap. 31; also Petri Petiti Observationes Miscellaneæ lib. 1, cap. 1.

(96) See, above, *Rem.* [H], *Citat.* (43).

(97) Diog. Laërt. n. 42.

(98) Id. n. 37.

(99) To Theodorus. See Laërt. lib. 6, n. 42.

cepts of Morality were very good in some things [O], and appeared so to several Fathers of the Church. His way of confuting the Philosopher, who denied the Existence of Motion, has been admired [P]. But I will show that his Answer was much more sophistical than the Arguments of that Philosopher.

witty Sayings, whether he had really any Religion or not: for the Passion for a witty Saying is commonly so strong, that Men had rather gratify it than preserve a Friend, or prevent an unhappy turn of Fortune. Rather than lose a witty Saying, a merry Man, who believes a God, will speak like a profane Man (100), and a profane Man will speak like one who believes a God. Therefore I do not depend upon the Hypothesis of our Cynic, *All Things are full of GOD*; for he made no other use of it than to build a jest upon it. The Principle, by which he proved that all things belong to the Wise, would not induce me to think him no Atheist. *All things*, said he, *belong to the Gods, now wise Men are the Friends of the Gods, and all Things are common among Friends, therefore all Things belong to wise Men.* This argument, in the Mouth of such a Scoffer as *Diogenes*, is no better a warrant of his Religion, than if *Bio* the *Borysthenite* should allege the Dilemma which I have already mentioned (101).

(100) *See what the Journal de Trev. July 1702, French Edit. pag. 46, says of Mr du Tot.*

(101) *Rem. [I] of the Article* BIO (BORYSTHENITA.)

To conclude with the Text of this Remark: *It cannot be certainly said whether* Diogenes *was an Atheist or no. La Mothe le Vayer* goes no farther than this in his Apology for this Cynic. *I would not affirm*, says he (102), *that* Diogenes *was not as great an Atheist as that Writer makes him, nothing making me suspend my belief in that respect, but the Authority of the Fathers who speak so favourably of him; but to maintain he was one, because he laughed at the Gods of the Populace, is a very wrong Consequence.* Observe that this Man, whose belief of the existence of a God is so uncertain, did nevertheless give some very excellent precepts of Morality. I shall say something of it in the following Remark.

(102) De la Vertu des Payens, pag. 134, *of the fifth Volume of his Works.*

[O] *In some things his moral Precepts were very good.*] They were abominable upon some Heads, as we have already seen (103); but it cannot be denied that upon others they were very excellent. He preached against Luxury, Avarice, Ambition, and Revenge, as strongly as could be. He shewed the Vanity of human Occupations chiefly by this Reason, that we neglect to cultivate the Mind, being wholly intent on external Things. For instance, he censured the Grammarians, who carefully seek after the Misfortunes of *Ulysses* (104), whilst they are ignorant of their own Disorders. To use the Words of a celebrated Author: 'As to his Philosophic System, *says he* (105), which 'concerned . . . nothing but meer Morality, nothing 'can better serve to acquit his Professors of the vile 'Imputations which are laid to their charge, than the 'single Approbation of the Stoics, who were acknowledged to be the strictest of all the Philosophers, 'and who would have been far from giving their 'Suffrage in Favour of Persons that led such abominable Lives. Now it is well known they lived 'in a good understanding with the Cynics, as having 'one and the same end, to live according to Virtue, 'in which they placed their Supreme Good: therefore the same Stoics called *Cynisca* † the shortest way to attain to that exalted Virtue . . . . As 'to the Person of *Diogenes*, the greatest Men of antiquity were admirers of him. *Alexander* had such a Value for him, that he protected, having discoursed with him, that, if he had not been *Alexander*, he would have been *Diogenes*. *Seneca* is never weary of praising him, and having called him *virum ingentis animi*, in his Book of the Tranquillity of Life, he adds this great Encomium to the rest, that whoever doubts of the Felicity of *Diogenes* may as well doubt of the State and Blessedness of the immortal Gods. St *John Chrysostom* proposes him for a Pattern of many religious Virtues, in his second Book against the Despisers of a monastic Life. St *Jerome* ‡ speaks honourably of him; he calls 'him greater and more powerful than *Alexander*, 'displaying all his Virtues before *Jovinian*, to make 'him ashamed (106).' I shall add but one thing to this Passage, which is, that *Dio Chrysostom* in some of his Orations proposes the most rigid maxims of Morality under the name of *Diogenes*.

(103) *In Rem. [L].*

(104) He laughed at the Grammarians, *says Mr* Moreri, who seek for the Errors of *Ulysses*, and neglect the Errors of their own. The Word *Errors* is not current there. It was not the Faults of *Ulysses*, but his Adventures from Place to Place, that the Grammarians looked for.

(105) La Motte la Vayer, Tom. V. pag. 127, 128.

† Σύντομον ἐπ' ἀρετὴν ὁδόν. Diog. Laert. in Menedem. in Zenone.

‡ Lib. 2 contra Jovin. cap. 9.

(106) La Motte la Vayer. Tom. V. pag. 139.

[P] *His way of confuting the Philosopher, who denied the existence of Motion, has been admired.*] After having patiently heard the Lecture of this Philosopher, he took two or three turns in the Auditory (107). See the Remark [K] of the Article ZENO *Eleates*, where we shew, that he neither removed the difficulty, nor understood it.

(107) *Consult* Diog. Laert. lib. 9, n. 33, *compared with* Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypotypos. lib. 2, cap. 22, & lib. 3, cap. 6.

DIOGENES, a Native of *Apollonia*, in the Island of *Crete* [A], was a considerable Man among the Natural Philosophers, who flourished in *Ionia* before *Socrates* taught

[A] *He was a Native of Apollonia in the Island of Crete.*] We should not have known this if we had not had what remains of *Stephanus Byzantinus*; who is the only Author that can be quoted for it. He mentions Twenty five Cities named *Apollonia*, and he says the Twenty third was in the Isle of *Crete*, that it was formerly called *Eleutherа*, and that *Diogenes* the Philosopher was born there (1). *Meursius* did not remember this Particular when he made a list of all the illustrious Men of *Crete* (2); for he has not put our *Diogenes* among them, though he made use of this Passage of *Stephen of Byzantium* in a Chapter of the same Book (3). This Omission is a much less fault than the Error we find in the Jesuit *Lescalopier*. He pretends, that the *Diogenes Apolliniates* mentioned by *Cicero* is *Diogenes of Apollonia*. *Diogenes ex Apollonia urbe Illyrica, lubia Aulona* (4). —*That Diogenes, whom Cicero calls Apolloniates, is Diogenes of Apollonia a City of Illyricum now called Aulona.* Mr *Menage* falsely imagines, that certain Authors have said that this *Diogenes* was of *Smyrna*. He makes *Diogenes Laërtius* one of these Authors, supposing it should be read, in the Life of *Anaxarchus*, not ὅτος δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Διογένης ὁ Σμυρναῖος τὸ Σμυρναῖος (5), as it is in the printed Copies, but ὅτος δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο Διογένης τὸ Σμυρναῖος: *hic* (Anaxarchus) *Diogenis Smyrnæi auditor fuit.* So far he is right, and the Proofs he alledges are very good. He quotes a Passage of *Clemens Alexandrinus* (6), and a Passage out *Eusebius*, where he says, that *Anaxarchus* was the Disciple of *Diogenes* of *Smyrna* (7). But when he adds that the *Diogenes*, who is surnamed Σμυρναῖος, in the Life of *Anaxarchus*, is the same with him that, in the preceding Chapter, has the Surname of Ἀπολλωνιάτης, he is mistaken. 'Notandum autem, *says he* (8), Diogenem Smyrnæum à Laërtio hoc loco appellari qui supra Apollonistes eidem dictus fuit, non enim diversi sunt Smyrnæus & Apolloniates. . . . . *It must be observed, that this is the same Diogenes, whom Laërtius here calls Smyrnæus, with that Diogenes whom he before surnamed Apolloniates, they being the same Person.*' To understand this mistake aright, two things must be observed. I. *Diogenes Laërtius* had said that *Diogenes* of *Apollonia* was the Disciple of *Anaximenes*, and Cotemporary with *Anaxagoras* (9). Is it credible that a few lines after he should make *Anaxarchus* his Disciple who, as he says expressly, had several Conversations with *Alexander*? From the Death of *Anaxagoras* to the Reign of *Alexander*, there had been three Successions of Philosophers at *Athens*; *Archelaus*, who had been the Disciple of *Anaxagoras*, left his Chair to *Socrates*, who, after he had sat long in it, left it to *Plato*, and *Plato* had *Alexander*'s Preceptor for his Disciple. Chronology must be trained to find a Disciple of the Disciple of *Anaximenes*, who followed the Court of that *Macedonian* King. In the second Place, we see that the same *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who clearly insinuates that *Diogenes* of *Apollonia* was the Disciple of *Anaximenes* (10), and consequently one of the Members of the *Ionian* Sect, observes expressly that *Diogenes* the Smyrnean, the Disciple of *Metrodorus*, who had been the Disciple of *Protagoras*, was of the *Eleatic* Sect, and taught *Anaxarchus* (11). How could he imagine that the same Philosopher had been the Disciple of *Anaximenes*, and the Disciple of *Protagoras*'s Disciple?

(1) Steph. Byzant. in Ἀπολλωνία.

(2) *It is at pag. 235, and following, in his Treatise of the Isle of Crete.*

(3) Ib. pag. 19.

(4) Lascalop. in Cicer. de Nat. Deor. pag. 46.

(5) Diog. Laërt. lib. 9, n 58.

(6) Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1.

(7) Euseb. Præp. lib. 14, cap. 7.

(8) Menag. in Diog. Laërt. lib. 9, n. 58. pag. 413.

(9) Diog. Laërt. ibid. n. 57.

(10) Clem. Alex. in Protrept. pag. 42. C.

(11) Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. 1, pag. 301.

[B] *He*

(a) *See Rem* [A] *of the Article* ARCHELAUS, *the Philosopher.*

taught Philosophy at *Athens*. He was a Disciple of *Anaximenes*, and there is some Probability that he taught after him in the *Ionian* School (a). He rectified in some measure his Professor's Opinion concerning the first Cause [B]; for he taught that the Air

[illegible] Air

[B] *He rectified in some Measure his Professor's Opinion concerning the first Cause.*] I know no Author that has given a detail of this Matter so well as St *Austin*. 'He *(Anaximander)* Anaximenem discipulum, & successorem reliquit: qui omnes rerum causas infinito aëri dedit, nec Deos negavit, aut tacuit: non tamen ab ipsis aërem factum, sed ipsos ex aëre ortos credidit. Anaxagoras verò ejus auditor, harum rerum omnium, quas videmus, effectorem, divinum animum sensit: & dixit, ex infinita materia, quæ constaret dissimilibus inter se particulis, rerum omnium genera, pro modulis & speciebus propriis singula fieri, sed animo faciente divino. Diogenes quoque, Anaximenis alter auditor, aërem quidem dixit, rerum esse materiam, de qua omnia fierent: sed eum esse compotem divinæ rationis sine qua nihil ex eo fieri posset (12). —— *Anaximander left his Scholar and Successor Anaximenes, who ascribed the cause of all Things to infinite Air; he did not indeed deny the Being of Gods, but thought that the Air was not created, but that they derived their Origin from it. Anaxagoras, his Scholar, made a Divine Intelligence to be the Author of every thing we see, and said that out of infinite Matter, which was composed of dissimilar Particles, all things were created by this Divine Intelligence according to their different Modes, and Species. Diogenes, another Scholar of Anaximenes, said indeed, the Air was the Matter from which all Things were made, but that it was endued with Divine Reason, without which it could create nothing.*' *Cicero* gives a much shorter account of this Doctrine of *Diogenes*. *Quid? aër*, says he (13), *quo Diogenes Apolloniates utitur Deo, quem sensum habere potest, aut quam formam Dei? — Air, which Diogenes makes his God, what sense or form of a God can it have? Lescalopier* the Jesuit finds a great deal of foul play in these words of *Velleius* the *Epicurean*, one of *Cicero*'s Interlocutors. We shall see with what an Air he lectures him (14). 'Quandiu impones, Velleï, extinctis, sepultisque philosophis, qui reclamare non possunt, & illis errores affinges in quos nunquam impegerunt? ecce hic quoque aërem Diogenis Apolloniatæ Deum facis, quem ille pro Deo nunquam habuit: nam dixit quidem libro nono Laërtii, aërem esse στοιχεῖον, i. e. *elementum*, non autem *Deum*, & libro octavo de Civitate Dei, capite secundo, *aërem esse materiam rerum de qua omnia fierent; sed eum esse compotem divinæ rationis, sine qua nihil fieret.* Jam verò in altissimâ illâ, divinaque ratione frustra sensum, frustra figuram requiris, quæ, nisi in corporea natura, non inveniri, cernique, intelligis; est enim illa ratio divina merè spiritalis. —— *How long, O Velleius, will you traduce the memory of Philosophers laid long since in their Graves, and who cannot now answer for themselves? How long will you impute Errors to them into which they never fell? Lo, here you make Air to be the God of Diogenes the Apollonian, which he never dreamed of. He said indeed, in the ninth Book of Laërtius, the Air was an* Element, *but not a* God, *and in the eighth Book* de Civitate Dei, that Air was the Matter whereof all things were made, but that it was endued with a Divine Reason, without which nothing could be made. *But it is in vain to call out for Senses or Figure in that sublime and divine Reason, which, as you cannot be ignorant, are only to be found in corporeal Natures, but That divine Reason is altogether spiritual.*' The Jesuit's complaint is not just; for it is certain that the Passage in *Cicero* contains all the substance and force of that of St *Austin*, and terminates in the same sense, which is to say that, according to the Hypothesis of *Diogenes*, the Air was God. He taught, if we may believe St *Austin*, that there were two things in the Air. First, Matter, of which all the Bodies of the Universe might be produced. Secondly, a divine Virtue, without which nothing could be produced out of the said Matter. Was not this to make of the Air, and a divine Virtue, a Whole or Compound, in which, if Air was the Matter, a divine Virtue was the Soul or Form. Now, as it is the Form which specifies and denominates the Compound, it follows that Air, animated by a Virtue, or a divine Nature, ought to be called God; and consequently, when *Cicero* supposes, that, according to *Diogenes*, the Air was God, he supposes no more than what necessarily results from the Explication of the Doctrine of this Philosopher, as St *Austin* has given it. The Objection which the Jesuit founds upon the word στοιχεῖον is null; for, as I have already said, our *Diogenes* admitted two Things in the Air, Matter and an efficient Cause, and he united them intimately together (15); upon which Supposition, the Air, as Matter, was the Element, or the στοιχεῖον of the different Bodies of the Universe (16); Yet this did not hinder, but that the Air, considered jointly with the divine Virtue it was endued with was God. This may be confirmed by a new Observation. By the words of St *Augustin* we may judge, that this Reason, or divine Virtue, which *Diogenes* joined to the Air, was rather an Attribute than a form or a Soul distinct from the Air; that is to say, that, according to *Diogenes*, there was but one Substance in the Air, which was at the same time the material Principle of all Things, and the Reason, Wisdom, Intelligence, which, as the efficient Cause, directed the Production of all Things; Therefore it is with all the justice imaginable, that the *Velleius* of *Cicero* charges *Diogenes* with having taught that the Air is God. *Aristotle* will wonderfully favour those who understand St *Augustin*'s Phrase in this manner. He informs us, that, according to *Diogenes*, the Soul of Man was of Air, and that it had a knowledge and self-Motion by virtue of it's Aërial Nature; it's Knowledge proceeded from this, that the Air is a principle of all Things: it's moving Virtue was founded on the Air's being the most subtile of all Beings. Διογένης δ' ὅσπερ καὶ ἕτεροί τινες, ἀέρα τοῦτον ὑπέθετο πάντων λεπτομερέστατον εἶναι, καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, γινώσκειν τε καὶ κινεῖν τὴν ψυχήν· ἢ μὲν γὰρ πρώτων ἐστί, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὰ λοιπὰ γινώσκειν· ἢ δὲ λεπτομερέστατον, κινητικὴν εἶναι. Diogenes autem, sicut & alii quidam, aërem ipsam censuit esse: hunc subtilissimæ substantiæ, rerumque principium esse putans. Idcirco cognoscere atque movere, animam dixit: hoc quidem cognoscere, quo primum est, & ex hoc ipso cætera constant: hoc autem esse motivum, quo subtilissimum est (17). —— *Diogenes, and many others, thought it, the Soul, to be Air, as being the most subtile and principle of all Things: and that it thence had the Power of thinking and moving; of the former as being the first, and of the latter as being the most subtile.* These words of *Aristotle* plainly shew that *Diogenes* gave to the Air the Nature of a first Principle, That of First Mover, Knowledge, and the highest degree of Subtilty, as Attributes, which constituted, *per modum unius*, one only and identical Substance, which was God. From whence it follows, that his System hardly differed at all from *Spinozism*: God was made by it to be at the same time the material, and efficient, cause of all Things; he was the immanent cause of all Beings; he produced in himself all the Bodies of the Universe, That infinite number of Worlds which *Diogenes* acknowledged (18). Observe, by the way, that the Verses of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, which I quote in another Place (19), agree infinitely better to the Doctrine of *Diogenes*, than to That of *Archelaus* to whom *Savaron* applied them. *Justus Lipsius* had a good deal of Reason to take them for the Description of *Diogenes*'s Opinion (20).

Let us see how he philosophized upon the Production of the World: his Thoughts in certain Respects, and in the main, are conformable enough to the Hypothesis of Mr *Des Cartes*. All things being in Motion, *says he*, some were condensed, and others rarified: now in the Places where the Condensation was made, bodies wheeled about, they turned round, and drew others along with them in their Revolutions; what was highest and most subtile mounted upwards, and formed the Sun in the superior Region. I shall copy his Greek for my warrant. Διογένης δ' Ἀπολλωνιάτης, ἀέρος ὑφίστασθαι στοιχεῖον· κινεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ πάντα, ἀπείρους τε εἶναι τοὺς κόσμους· κοσμοποιεῖ δὲ ὅτως· ὅτι τὸ πανταχοῦ κινούμενον, καὶ ἢ μὲν ἀραιὸν, ἢ δὲ συκνὸν γινόμενον, ὅπε συνε-

(12) August. de Civitate Dei, lib. 8, cap. 2, pag. m. 732.

(13) Cicero de Nat. Deorum, lib. 1, cap. 12.

(14) Lescalop. in Ciceron. de Nat. Deor. lib. 1, pag. 48, 49.

(15) Aërem compotem divinæ rationis. *Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib.* 8, *cap.* 2, *pag.* 721.

(16) *Note*, That, according to *Diogenes*, there was no difference between ἀρχὴ, *Principle*, and στοιχεῖον, *Element*: for he acknowledged but one Element, *Cicer.* (12).

(17) Aristot. lib. 1. de Anima, cap. 2, pag. 479, *E*, Tom. II, Oper.

(18) Diog. Laërt. lib. 9, n. 57.

(19) *Cited.* (9), *in the Article* ARCHELAUS, the Philosopher.

(20) Lipsius Manuduct. ad Philosoph. Stoic. lib. 1, Dissert. 8, pag. m. 645.

Air was the Matter of all Beings; acknowledging, at the same time, that nothing could be produced out of this Matter without the divine Virtue, which he attributed to the Air. *Anaximenes* had not explained the Generation of things in this manner. According to him, Air was the sole and universal Cause of all things, the Gods themselves having been produced from it [C]. *Cicero* has been wrongfully accused of not reporting faithfully this Doctrine of *Diogenes* (b). It cannot be doubted that *Plutarch* sometimes alledged the Opinions of this Philosopher [D], when he barely observes, that *Diogenes* taught this, or that. It is a very ill way of quoting, since there were many illustrious Philosophers of the Name *Diogenes*. He that is the Subject of this Article had a great deal of Eloquence (c). His Merit exposed him very much to the Envy of some Persons at *Athens* (d); so that he ran the Hazard of his Life there. The beginning of his Work is still preserved; by which Specimen we have an advantageous Idea of his Capacity. We see there that it was his Opinion, that a Doctor should first lay down incontestible Principles, and chuse a Stile full of Gravity and Simplicity (e). I say nothing of the Opinions imputed to him by *Diogenes Laërtius*: they may be seen in *Moreri*. His Opinion upon the Origin and Distribution of the Winds is found in *Aristotle* (f). *Clemens Alexandrinus* (g) relates what he said of the Nature of the Seed, and from whence he derived the Etymology of the Word ἀφροδισια, that is to say, *venereal Affairs*. There is some Conformity between the Doctrine of this Philosopher and that of Mr *Des Cartes* concerning the Generation of the World (h).

(b) *See Rem.* [B] *Citat.* (14).

(c) Diog. Laërt. lib. 9, n. 57.

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Idem. ibid. *and* lib. 6, n. 814

(f) Aristot. Hist. Anim lib. 3, cap. 2.

(g) Clem. Alex. Pædag lib. 2, pag. 103.

(h) *See Rem.* [B].

συστεκύρησε τὸ ψυχικὸν, συστῆσαι ποιῆσαι, καὶ ὅτω τὰ λοιπὰ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, τὰ κυριώτατα τὴν ἄνω τάξιν λαβόντα, τὸν ἥλιον ἀποτελέσαι. Diogenes Apolloniata, Aërem elementum ponit, moveri autem universa, & infinitos esse mundos affirmat. Cæterum ejusmodi somniat eorum molitionem: scilicet cùm universum ita moveretur, ut rarius hic, alibi densius fieret, ubicunque major densitas contingeret, ibi convolutionem quandam effeciße, tùm similem in modum cætera: quæ autem omnium leviſſimæ partes essent, eas regione superiori occupatâ Solem produxiße (21). —— *Diogenes the Apollonian makes Air the Element, puts all Things in Motion, and maintains an Infinity of Worlds, which he forms in this manner; all Things being in Motion, some parts were condensed, and others rarified: where the Condensation prevailed, there arose a circular Motion, by which means the highest Parts ascending to the superior Region, produced the Sun.* It is not easy to reconcile this Hypothesis with what *Aristotle*, as we have seen above, says of the Opinions of this Philosopher. He charges him with teaching, that the Air is the most subtile of all Beings. How then could he say after that, that, in the beginning of the World, there were some Bodies that were condensed, and others rarified; that which is subtile, and attenuated to the utmost Degree, is not susceptible of Rarefaction. I see but one way to remove this difficulty; which is to suppose, that, at the first Agitation of the Air, it thickened, as we see Wine will grow foul upon shaking the Cask. The Motion continued, and, in the Progress of the Agitation, some parts were made thicker, and others clarified themselves. The latter did not attain a degree of Rarefaction, superior to the essential subtility of the first Principle, but only superior to the Density, to which the whole Mass of the Air was reduced by the first Motion. If we had the writings of *Diogenes*, no doubt we should see that he had obviated or explained all these sorts of difficulties: but as his System is only known to us by a very small number of scattered Fragments, we are forced to feel in the dark, when we would attempt to adjust the disjointed Parts of it. Note, that *Aristotle* (22) praises him for having acknowledged, that, if all things were not made from one single Principle, there could have been no such thing as Action and Re-action; for cold and hot cannot be metamorphosed into one another, therefore they require a common Subject, which may be successively hot and cold. *Aristotle* found his account in this general Notion; he, who deprived the four Elements of the nature of a first material principle, to bestow it upon one single Being, which he called *first Matter*.

(21) Euseb. Præpar. Evangel. lib. 1, cap. 8, pag. 25, *B.*

(22) Aristot. de Generat. & Corrupt. lib. 1, c. 6.

I believe that *Diogenes Laërtius* is mistaken when he says, that *Diogenes* of *Apollonia* admitted an infinite Vacuum (23). I rather chuse to follow *Plutarch*, who assures us, that all the Philosophers from *Thales* to *Plato* rejected a Vacuum (24).

(23) Diog. Laërt. lib. 9, n. 57.

(24) Plut. de Placitis Philos. lib. 1, cap. 18, pag 883.

[C] *Air was the only Cause . . . . the Gods themselves were produced from it.*] It is a very strange thing, that ever there should have been any Philosophers blind enough to assign so low an Original to GOD. Order required their affirming, that GOD produced Bodies, and, on the contrary, some of them asserted that Bodies produced GOD. Can the Effect be more perfect than the Cause? Therefore an intelligent Nature cannot be caused by brute Matter. I know not whether the Experience of the human Species has not obscured the Notions of common Sense. They saw Heroes, wise Men, the greatest Men, proceed, from whence? The Eyes, the Imagination can hardly bear the object, so vile, so distasteful, so hideous it is. Nevertheless there you must find the Principles of the greatest Souls, unless GOD reveals to us, that he creates a Spirit to unite it to the Machine of the human Body. We shall see in another place (25), if what passes in the Propagation of the reasonable Animal might not cause that great Mistake in the minds of those, who have vented so many Chimeras concerning the Origin of the Gods.

(25) *In the Article* JUPITER, *Rem.* [C].

[D] *It cannot be doubted but that Plutarch sometimes alledges the Opinions of this Philosopher.*] I consider here only his Books of the Opinions of the Philosophers. The Places, where he relates the sentiments of *Diogenes*, as far as I can find, are these: the first, the eighth, and the thirteenth Chapters of the second Book: the fifth and fifteenth Chapters of the fourth Book: the fifteenth, twentieth, and twenty third Chapters of the fifth Book. I am persuaded he almost always means *Diogenes* of *Apollonia*, and I should think so without any exception, if Mr *du Rondel* had not writ to me, that we ought rather to believe, the Passage hereafter mentioned (26) concerns *Diogenes* the Cynic. This Passage is in the twentieth Chapter of fifth Book of *Plutarch*, and seems to signify that the *Diogenes*, he cites, deprived the brute Beasts of Sensation. There is one Circumstance, which is a strong Temptation to think that he refers, in that place, to *Diogenes* of *Apollonia*. We have seen before (27) that he said the Soul was Air; now the *Diogenes* of this Passage in *Plutarch* taught that Animals partake of Understanding, and the Air (28). This was the Language that *Diogenes* of *Apollonia* ought to speak, being only desirous to take from Brutes actual Intelligence and Sensation; but not the Soul or Principle of Intelligence and Sensation. It plainly appears that this was his design; he admitted a Soul in Brutes, but he thought that the grossness and humidity of their Organs blunted the Activity of it. *Francis de Fougerolles*, who has translated into *French*, and paraphrased *Diogenes Laërtius*, ascribes this sentiment to *Diogenes* of *Apollonia*. *He thought*, says he (29), ... *that all sorts of Animals had Understanding, but that the greatest part of them being of a gross Constitution, have not the free use of Reason, no more than mad Persons, through certain Impediments.* It is plain he aims at the Passage in *Plutarch*; but he does not give it us with any sincerity.

(26) *In the Article* PEREIRA, *Rem.* [E].

(27) *In Rem.* [B], *Citat.* (17).

(28) Μετέχειν μὲν αὐτὰ τῆ ψυχῆ καὶ φρονεῖ· Rationale & aeris participes esse *Plut. de Plac. Philos. lib.* 5, *cap.* 20, *pag.* 909.

(29) François de Fougerolles, Addit. à Diog. Laert. pag. 655.

DIOGENES, a Philosopher of the Sect of the Stoics, was surnamed the *Babylonian* (a), though he was not of *Babylon*, but of *Seleucia* upon the *Tigris*. The Neighbourhood of these two Cities was the Cause of this Surname (b); besides that sometimes

(a) Diog. Laërt. lib. 6, n. 81. *See also* Strabo, lib. 16, pag. 512.

(b) Id. Diog. ib.

(c) See Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. lib. 2, cap. 8.

(d) Cicero de Divinat. lib. 1, cap. 3.

the latter has been called by the Name of the former (c). This Philosopher was the Disciple of *Chrysippus* (d), and composed several Works [A]. His Reputation must have been very great, since he was deputed Ambassador to *Rome* by the *Athenians* with *Carneades*, the Head of the Academics, and *Critolaus*, the Chief of the Peripatetic School. I have elsewhere mentioned this Embassy (e). Our *Diogenes* lived Eighty eight Years (f), and philosophized to the end of his Life (g). He gave an Instance of great Moderation [B] when an insolent young Fellow spit in his Face. I think he ought not to be confounded with him that is censured by *Athenæus* [C]. But I do not distinguish him from

(e) In the Article CARNEADES, Rem. [F].

(f) Lucian. in Macrob. pag. 641, Tom. II.

(g) Cicero, de Senectute, cap. 7.

[A] *He composed several Works.*] A Treatise of Divination (1), another of Nobility (2), another of the Laws (3), another of *Minerva*. He explained Physically, in this latter, what was said of the extraordinary Birth of that Goddess. 'Quem (Chrysippum) Diogenes Babylonius consequens in eo libro qui inscribitur de Minerva partum Jovis ortumque virginis ad physiologiam traducens, disjungit à fabula (4). *Whom (Chrysippus) Diogenes the Babylonian imitating in his Treatise which he intitles* de Minerva, *accounts for the delivery of Jupiter, and the Virgin's Birth, by natural Causes, and separates them from the Fable.*' I know not in what Work he taught what *Cicero* observes: it relates to uprightness in dealing. His Morality in that Respect was a little less rigid than that of his Disciple *Antipater*. 'In hujusmodi causis aliud 'Diogeni Babylonio videri solet, magno & gravi Stoico, aliud Antipatro, discipulo ejus, homini acutissimo. Antipatro omnia patefacienda, ut ne quid omnino, quod venditor norit, emtor ignoret: Diogeni venditorem, quatenus jure civili constitutum sit, dicere vitia oportere, cetera sine insidiis agere, & quoniam vendat, velle quam optime vendere (5). —— *In cases of this nature, the Opinions of Diogenes the Babylonian, a great Stoic, and Antipater, his Scholar, a Man of nice Distinction, clash; Antipater was of Opinion, that there ought to be no secrets in Contracts, but that the Buyer ought to be acquainted with all the Imperfections in the commodity, as well as the Seller; Diogenes, on the contrary, thought that, so far as the Civil Power had directed, the Seller ought to discover the Faults; in other Respects to act without fraud, and then to make the best of his Market.*' Here is another Passage: 'Quærit etiam (Hecaton in libro sexto de Officiis) si sapiens adulterinos nummos acceperit imprudens pro bonis: cum id rescierit, solueruntne fit eos, si cui debeat, pro bonis. Diogenes ait, Antipater negat, cui potius assentior. Qui vinum fugiens vendat sciens, debeatne dicere. Non necesse putat Diogenes: Antipater viri boni existimat. Hæc sunt quasi controversa jura Stoicorum (6). —— *If a wise Man should inadvertently receive false Money for good, whether, when he knew it to be false, he should pay it to his Creditors for good. Diogenes allows it; Antipater, whose Opinions I prefer, disapproves it. Or if a Vintner, who knows his Wine is upon the sour, ought to tell it. Diogenes thinks it not necessary; Antipater thinks an honest Man would. These are the controverted points of Justice among the Stoics.*' I should imagine that *Diogenes* treated of these things in his Book of Laws.

(1) Cicero lib. 1, de Divinat. c. 3.

(2) Athen. lib. 6, cap. 19, pag. 268.

(3) Id. lib. 12, cap. 6, pag. 526.

(4) Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. 1, cap. 15.

(5) Id. de Officiis, lib. 3, cap. 12.

(6) Id. ib. c. 23.

[B] *He gave an Instance of great Moderation.*] *Seneca* will inform us of the Fact. 'Contumeliam tibi fecit aliquis. Num quid majorem quam Diogeni, Philosopho Stoico? cui de ira cum maxime differenti adolescens protervus inspuit. Tulit hoc ille leniter ac sapienter, non quidem inquit, irascor: sed dubito tamen an irasci oporteat (7). —— *Suppose some Person has affronted you. Is this affront greater than what Diogenes the Stoic received? Whom an impertinent young Fellow spit upon as he was warmly declaiming upon Anger; the Philosopher bore it with prudence and patience. I am not angry, says he, but I doubt whether I should not be angry.*' I am not angry, said he, and yet I question whether I ought not to be angry; this was preaching by Example. He was reading a Lecture upon Anger; he was combating with this Passion in the Pulpit; nothing is more easy. They gave him an Opportunity to practise what he advised others to; an enormous affront was put upon him in the midst of his Sermon upon Patience, and he shewed no Resentment. Here was a practical Stoic: but a word escaped him, which did not perfectly quadrate with the Doctrine of his Sect. As a Stoic, he ought to have been well assured, that it was his Duty not to be angry.

(7) Seneca de Ira, lib. 3, cap. 38, pag. m. 580.

[C] *I think he is not to be confounded with him that Athenæus has censured.*] He mentions (8) one *Diogenes* an Epicurean Philosopher, a Native of *Seleucia* near *Babylon*: he mentions him, I say, as a Man of some Eloquence and Learning, but as immoral, envious, satirical, without sparing even Kings themselves in his jesting Humour (9). He made himself acceptable to a King of *Syria*, who was, notwithstanding, prepossessed with the precepts of the Stoics (10), Ἀναδοχῆς δ' ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τοῦ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς λόγοις χαίροντος (11). *Acceptus gratusque regi fuit quamvis Stoicorum placitis gaudenti.* It was *Alexander Bala*: This Philosopher, by a boldness which was not consistent with his Character, asked the King's leave one Day to dress himself in a Purple Robe and a Crown of Gold, in the midst of which appeared the Image of Virtue. The Prince made him a present of both: immediately after the Philosopher presented them to a Woman he loved. *Alexander*, being informed of it, invited some Philosophers, and other illustrious Persons to Dinner, and ordered *Diogenes* to sit at the Table with the Purple Garment, and the Crown of Gold. The Philosopher excused himself, as it would be an indecent thing. The King made a sign for the Music to enter, and among the rest appeared *Diogenes*'s Mistress with the Purple Robe, and the Crown of Gold, he had presented to her. The Company fell a laughing. *Diogenes* waited till it was over, and then made a long Harangue in praise of that Woman. *Antiochus*, who succeeded *Alexander* (12), could not bear the abusive Tongue of this Philosopher; he ordered him to be put to Death (13). A great many things convince me that this account does not concern our *Diogenes*. In the first place *Athenæus* says expressly, that he that was beloved by *Alexander* King of *Syria* was of the Sect of the *Epicureans*: but that Prince's Prepossession in favour of the Stoics did not prevent his Friendship to him. This shews that he does not speak of a Philosopher, who was a Stoic in Theory, and an *Epicurean* in Practice: therefore he does not speak of the Disciple of *Chrysippus*, and Colleague of *Carneades*, in the Embassy to *Rome*. In the second place *Cicero* assures us, that *Diogenes* the Stoic philosophized all his Life, that is to say, that he read Lectures in the Portico at *Athens* till his Death. 'Num Philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocratem, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem, aut eum, quem vos etiam Romæ vidistis, Diogenem Stoicum, coëgit in suis studiis obmutescere senectus? an non in omnibus iis studiorum agitatio vitæ æqualis fuit (14)? —— *Can yet say that any of the greatest Philosophers, Pythagoras, Democritus, Plato, Xenocrates, or, after them, Zeno, Cleanthes, or Diogenes the Stoic, whom ye also have seen at Rome, desisted from writing by reason of their old Age? Were not their Studies exactly measured by their Lives?*' Could he say this of a Philosopher, who, after his Embassy to *Rome*, had spent the rest of his Life in the Court of the *Syrian* Kings? In the third place the *Diogenes* of *Athenæus* was alive in the Year of *Rome* 610; for *Antiochus*, who put him to Death, began his Reign at that time. Now *Diogenes* the Stoic was dead when *Cato* said of him what I have just quoted from the Treatise *de Senectute*, and it is certain that the Epocha of that Work, by some Years, preceeded the 610th Year of *Rome* (15). Lastly, it is utterly improbable, if the celebrated Philosopher, whom the Republic of *Athens* sent to the *Roman* Senate, had sullied his Reputation by a shameful old Age, and by a violent, but justly deserved, Death, that no Author should have taken notice of it. Let us conclude then, that *Athenæus* did not speak of him, and that *Jonsius* is mistaken (16) in placing his Death under the CLIXth Olympiad; for this Chronology has no other Foundation but *Athenæus*'s account of it.

(8) Athen. lib. 5, cap. 13, pag. 211.

(9) Τῷ γελοίῳ μηδὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἀπεχόμενον. Dum risum excitat ne regibus quidem parce tem. *Id. ibid.*

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Thus it must be read, as Mr *Menage* observes in *Diog. Laërt. lib.* 6, *n.* 8, and not χαίροντι, as it is in the Editions of *Athenæus*.

(12) Ὁ μετονομασθεὶς τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀντίοχος. Qui Alexandro successit in regno Antiochus. *Id. ibid. This is not exact, for there was one King between* Alexander *and* Antiochus.

(13) *Taken from* Athenæus, lib. 5, cap. 13, p. 211.

(14) Cicero de Senect. cap. 7.

(15) Since *Cato* Cens. cap. 1, that he is in his 84th Year, it is the Year of *Rome* 603.

(16) Jonsius de Script. Hist. Philos. pag. 125, 130.

Note, I am a little diffident of the third reason, when I consider on the one side, that, according to *Lucian*,

from the Perſon who taught *Carneades* Logic [D]. I ſhall obſerve an Error of Mr *Moreri* [E]. See the laſt Remark.

cian, *Diogenes* lived eighty eight Years; and on the other, that his Embaſſy was in the 598th Year of *Rome*. It follows from thence, that if he died before the time, in which it is ſuppoſed *Cato* ſaid what we read in his Book *de Senectute*, he came Embaſſador to *Rome* at the Age at leaſt of eighty three Years. Now as there is no body that obſerves this Circumſtance, and as *Cicero* himſelf, who might have ſeen it, does not ſuppoſe that *Cato* took notice of it, I think it may be ſaid this Philoſopher was not ſo old, when he came to *Rome*, on account of the affairs of the *Athenians*. Let us not imagine that *Cicero* obſerved Chronology ſo nicely in his Dialogues, as never to miſtake in that Reſpect. Nothing is more difficult than ſuch an exactneſs, when we make a Man ſpeak who lived before us. Sometimes we make him ſpeak according to our Ideas. What he ſays of the Death, or of the old Age of Perſons, ſeems to be falſe, only becauſe, inſtead of putting ourſelves in his place, we put him in ours. *Cicero* might join *Diogenes* with the ancient Philoſophers who had continued their Studies to the end of their Lives: but *Cato* could not do this; for, if I am not miſtaken, he died before *Diogenes*. And yet, in the Dialogue *de Senectute*, he is made to diſcourſe like one who ſurvived that Philoſopher.

[D] *I do not diſtinguiſh him from the Perſon who taught Carneades Logic.*] The place where *Cicero* obſerves this is curious; for which reaſon I ſhall quote it. When *Carneades* happened to fall upon any ſubtile and intangled diſputes, he would mix a little Jeſt with it: if my conſequence is good, ſaid he, I have gained the Cauſe, if not, let *Diogenes* return me my Money. *Cum aliquid ejuſmodi incideret, ſic ludere Carneades ſolebat: ſi recte concluſi, tenes, ſin vitioſe minam Diogenes reddat, ab eo enim Stoico Dialecticam didiceram, hæc autem merces erat Dialecticorum* (17).

(17) Cicero, Academ. Queſt. lib. 4, cap. 30.

[E] *I ſhall obſerve an Error of Moreri.*] He pretends that our *Diogenes* was ſent to *Rome* with *Carneades* and *Critolaus*, *under the Conſulſhip of* P. Scipio *and* M. Marcellus *in the time of the ſecond Punic War*. This is not doubted of, *ſays he*; nevertheleſs it is certain many queſtion it, and that *Lefcalopier*, the Jeſuit, condemns thoſe who do not diſtinguiſh this *Diogenes* from him who was ſent to *Rome* upon the Affairs of the *Athenians*. ' Cave tamen hunc (Diogenem Babylonium, Chryſippi diſcipulum, Stoicum) confundas cum altero Diogene Stoico qui cum Carneade Academico ab Athenienſibus legatus Romam de maximis rebus miſſus eſſe dicitur libro ſecundo de Orat. quippe quos docti viri ſcitè diſtinctos volunt (18). —— ' *But take heed you do not confound this Diogenes (ſirnamed the Babylonian) a Stoic, and Scholar of Chryſippus, with the other Diogenes the Stoic, whom Tully mentions to have been ſent Embaſſador extraordinary, with Carneades the Academic, from the Athenians; for they are Perſons whom the Learned would have entirely diſtinguiſhed.*' If *Moreri* had ſaid, *there is no reaſon to doubt, &c.* I ſhould not have blamed him; for it is certain, whatever the Jeſuit may ſay of it, that there is but one *Diogenes* here. But this is not the principal fault I am to obſerve. He is much more to be cenſured in another place, ſince there is no Year during the ſecond Punic War, in which a *Scipio* and *Marcellus* were Conſuls, and the Embaſſy of theſe three Philoſophers was after the end of the ſecond Punic War. I have given demonſtrative proofs of this in the Article of CARNEADES (19). Note, that *Voſſius* ſupplied *Moreri* with this Miſtake (20). I ſay nothing of ſome ſmall Faults, part of which are not in the *Dutch* Edition (21). It was neceſſary to have ſhewn what Sect *Diogenes* was of: for by this means one Omiſſion would have been remedied.

(18) Leſcalopier in Ciceron. de Nat. Deor. pag. 65.

(19) *Rem.* [N].

(20) Voſſius de Philoſ. Sectis, pag. 103.

(21) They have corrected in it ſome Errors of Expreſſion, but not the falſe Citations; for Inſtance, that of the ſixth Book of *Cicero de finibus*, which Work contains but five Books. This Citation, and all the reſt were taken from *Voſſius de Philoſophis Sectis*, pag. 109.

DIONYSIUS, Tyrant of *Heraclea*, a City in *Pontus*, took Advantage of the Weakneſs of the *Perſians* after they had loſt the Battle of *Granicus* againſt *Alexander*. He durſt not aggrandize himſelf whilſt he was in fear of them: but he feared them no longer when he ſaw them engaged in a War, wherein Fortune had declared for the *Macedonians*. However, he ſoon found himſelf deceived in the Hopes he had built upon the weak Condition of the *Perſian* Monarchy. For he had more reaſon to dread the Conqueror than ever he had to ſtand in awe of the *Perſian* Court. Thoſe, who had been baniſhed from *Heraclea*, fled to *Alexander* for Protection; they found him ſo favourable to their Intereſt, that, for their ſakes, he was very near depoſing *Dionyſius*. It would certainly have been done, if *Dionyſius* had not warded off the Blow by a thouſand politic Artifices [A], one of which was his Application to obtain the Favour of *Cleopatra*. He ſaw himſelf delivered from all his Uneaſineſs by the Death of *Alexander*. This News

[A] *Alexander would have dethroned him, if he had not warded off the blow by a thouſand politic Artifices.*] One of theſe Artifices was making his Court to *Cleopatra*: this is the uſual way; nothing can be done without the fair Sex; in all Countries, if a Man would ſucceed in his deſigns, he muſt engage them in his Intereſt. Ἐξέπεσεν ἂν καὶ μὴ συνῆκε πολλῇ καὶ ἀγχινοίᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν ὑπηκόων εὐνοίᾳ, καὶ θεραπείᾳ Κλεοπάτρας, τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐκείνας αὐτῷ πολλάκις δίκουσε. Et exciderat ſane, niſi prudentia & ſagacitate mentis, & ſtudiis civium, & ſuis erga Cleopatram obſequiis, bella, cum minis ſibi denuntiata, effugiſſet (1). —— *He had certainly been depoſed, had he not diverted the threatened Storm by great Conduct and Policy, the Love of his Subjects, and the good underſtanding which he cultivated with Cleopatra.* But I would fain know who is this *Cleopatra*. Was it *Alexander*'s Siſter, that *Philip* married to the King of *Epirus* (2), and who ſeized on *Macedonia* upon a falſe Report of *Alexander*'s being killed (3)? The ſame in all probability. No doubt her Intereſt was very great, both with *Olympias* her Mother, and *Alexander* her Brother. It was very great after the Death of that Prince: We ſee that *Eumenes* went to ſee her at *Sardis*, to authorize himſelf with that Princeſs's Fame. ' Inde Sardis profectus eſt ad Cleopatram ſororem Alexandri Magni, ut ejus voce centuriones principeſque confirmaret, exiſtimaturos ibi majeſtatem regiam verti unde ſoror Alexandri ſtaret. Tanta venerario magnitudinis Alexandri erat, ut etiam per veſtigia mulierum favor ſacrati ejus nominis quæreretur (4). —— *From thence he went to Sardis to ſee Cleopatra, Siſter to Alexander the Great: that ſhe, by her Exhortations, might animate the Chiefs and Officers of his Army, who would be apt to flatter themſelves that Succeſs would declare for the ſame Party which Alexander's Siſter eſpouſed. So great was the Veneration paid to Alexander's Memory, that even the Women, who were related to him, were imagined to inherit a ſhare of his Virtues, and a Power of conferring the ſame Favours.*' The Hiſtorian, from whom I have borrowed theſe Words, ſaid before, that *Perdiccas* fought her in Marriage in order to be King (5). *Caſſander*, *Lyſimachus*, *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy*, and each of the Heads of a Party, did the ſame; for they believed the *Macedonians* would chuſe for their Maſter whoſoever ſhe ſhould marry, and thus each of them hoped to obtain the Empire by being her Husband. *Antigonus* kept her under Confinement in *Sardis*: from whence ſhe endeavoured to make her eſcape, and join *Ptolemy*; for ſhe did not love *Antigonus*. The Governor of the City prevented her eſcape, and at length by *Antigonus*'s Order, and the help of certain Women, he put her to Death. *Antigonus*, to avoid the Infamy of ſuch a murder, ordered ſome of the Women to be executed, and buried the Princeſs in a magnificent Manner (6): Thus is the Public played upon, and ſome Princes better deſerve the name of Comedians, than they who act on the Stage.

(1) Photius, Biblioth. pag. 709, n. 224.

(2) Juſtin. lib. 9, cap. 7, lib. 13, cap. 6.

(3) Plut. in Alexandro, pag. 702.

(4) Juſtin. lib. 14, cap. 1.

(5) Ut viribus auctoritatem regiam acquireret. *Juſtin. lib.* 13, *cap.* 6. *See alſo* Diodor. Sic. lib. 18, cap. 23.

(6) *Taken from* Diod. Sic. lib. 20, cap. 38, *at the firſt Year of the* CXVIIIth *Olympiad.*

News was so exceedingly agreeable to him, that it almost turned his Brain [*B*]. After *Alexander*'s Death, *Perdiccas* was no less inclined than *Alexander* to favour the Exiles of *Heraclea*; so that *Dionysius* was forced to have recourse again to a thousand Wiles to divert the Storm that threatened him. But this Difficulty was of a short Continuance, for *Perdiccas* was soon killed. From that time *Dionysius*'s Affairs were always prosperous, to which his marrying *AMASTRIS* contributed not a little [*C*]. The voluptuous Life he led made him grow so fat, that he did little but sleep, and his Drousiness was so great, that they could hardly awake him by running long Needles into his Flesh. He died at the Age of Fifty five Years, of which he had reigned thirty. His Subjects regretted his Death, for he had governed with much Lenity. He left his Wife Guardian of his Children, and Regent of the State (*a*). She built the City of *Amastris* [*D*]. I forgot to say, that our *Dionysius* was ashamed of his Fatness; and for that reason, when he gave Audience, or administered Justice, he placed himself in some Closet, that nothing might be seen but his Face (*b*). Some banished Persons of *Heraclea* call him the fat Swine, in one of *Menander*'s Comedies (*c*).

(*a*) Taken from the History of the Tyrants of *Heraclea*, writ by *Memnon*: the Extracts of it are in *Photius*, *Bibl.* n. 224, p. m. 708, *and following.*

(*b*) *Ælian*, Hist. div. lib. 9, cap. 23. Athen. lib. 12, cap. 12, pag. 540. *They mention also the Needles they ran into his Body to awake him.*

(*c*) Apud Athen. ibid.

[*B*] *Alexander's Death was so exceedingly agreeable to him, that it almost turned his Brain.*] This is a very singular effect of Joy, and, if I am not mistaken, more rare than the causing Death. It is reckoned that several Persons have died of excess of Joy (7); but I do not remember ever to have read, that many people have lost their Reason by it: this makes me cite *Photius*'s own Words: Ὑθυμίας μὲν ὁ Διονυσιος ἄγαλμα τὸν ἀγγελίαν ἀλύσας ἱδρύσατο σαφὴν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ τῆς παλλίης χαρᾶς, ὅσα ἂν ἡ σφόδρα λύπη δράσειε· μικρὸν γὰρ περιτραπείς, εἰς τὸ ἀσεβεῖν ὑπήχθη καὶ ἄνους ἀρὴν γεώμενος. Lætitiæ statuam consecravit: & ad primum famæ adventum eo affectus est modo præ exuberanti gaudio quo repentina hominem consternatio adfecerit. Nam prope erat ut vertigine correptus prolaberetur, & à sana mente conspiceretur alienus (8). —— *Dionysius, at bearing the News, dedicated a Statue to Joy, and from the first Impulse of Transport felt the same Emotion as another would from the excess of Grief. For he was seized with a fainting and dizziness in his head, and seemed to be quite beside himself.* What can we do against the machinal Passions? Reason required, that, upon the first News of the Death of *Alexander the Great*, his greatest Enemy, he should have made serious Reflexions upon the Inconstancy of humane Affairs, not without admiring the extraordinary Qualities of that Prince. But our *Dionysius was so little in a* Condition to reflect gravely upon the Homage due upon such an Occasion to the fate of Heroes, that he had very near lost his Senses, so violent were his first Motions which were far from being voluntary.

(7) *See* Valerius, Maximus, lib. 9, cap. 12, *and* Pliny, lib. 7, cap. 53.

(8) Phot. Bibl. pag. 709, n. 224.

HISTORY of AMASTRIS.

[*C*] *His Marriage with Amastris did not contribute a little.*] He married her after the Death of his first Wife. *Amastris* was the Daughter of *Oxathres*, Brother to the last *Darius*: therefore she was Cousin-German to *Statira*, the Daughter of that *Darius*, and Wife of *Alexander the Great*. They had been brought up together, and loved each other exceedingly. When *Alexander* married *Statira*, he would have *Amastris* marry one of his most intimate Favourites. This was *Craterus*. He lived very happily with her till his Interest, and perhaps his Inclination also, after *Alexander*'s Death, prompted him to marry *Phila*, *Antipater*'s Daughter. Then *Amastris*, with *Craterus*'s own consent, married *Dionysius*: she brought him a great Fortune, and, as he had an opportunity to buy the Furniture of *Dionysius* Tyrant of *Sicily*, he made a splendid appearance in his House, and with his great Treasures, and being also supported by the Affections of his Subjects, he made Conquests, and sent a powerful Assistance to *Antigonus*, during the *Cyprian* War (9). In Acknowledgment for these Succours, *Antigonus* married his Nephew *Ptolemy*, Governor of the *Hellespont*, to one of *Dionysius*'s Daughters by a first Wife. *Dionysius* had three Children by *Amastris*, two Sons and a Daughter; the Daughter's name was the same with that of her Mother. One of the Sons was called *Clearchus*, and the other *Oxathres*. Every thing went well under the Guardianship and Regency of *Amastris*; for *Antigonus* declared himself Protector of *Heraclea*, and the Pupils, and, when he left it, *Lysimachus* took his Place, and even married the Widow of *Dionysius*. He loved her passionately, till he fell in love with *Arsinoë* Daughter of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. This new Amour caused a Rupture between *Lysimachus* and *Amastris*, for which Reason that Lady governed alone in *Heraclea*, till her eldest Son *Clearchus* was of Age. That Prince and *Oxathres* his Brother were wicked enough to make their Mother perish at Sea, for very slight Reasons. Εἰς ἅλα θεσμὸν δὲ καὶ μεταρσίου ἔργου ἐξέπεσον, τὴν γὰρ μητέρα ἀνδὸς περὶ αὐτὸς μέγα πλημμελήσασαν μηχανῆ δεινῇ καὶ κακουργίᾳ ἐπιβάσαν νηὸς θαλάσσῃ ἀποπνιγῆναι κατειργάσαντο. *Ad nefarium & exsecrabile fatinus sunt delapsi. Matrem enim quæ nihil in eos grande peccaverat cum navi se committisset infigni commento & flagitio mari sufficandam curaverunt* (10). *Lysimachus*, who reigned at that time in *Macedonia*, upon hearing of this horrid Murder, felt his first Passion for her revive, and resolved to be revenged, and punish them. He dissembled his design, which no Man upon Earth knew better how to do; Κρύπτει τὸ βιλόμενον δεινότατος ἀνθρώπων γεγονεναι λέγεται. *Occultare enim quæ vellet ingeniosissimus mortalium fuisse perhibetur* (11); and expressing to *Clearchus* the same Affection as before, he was received into *Heraclea* as a good Friend. He put the two unnatural Princes to Death for destroying their Mother, seized on their whole Estate, and restored the *Heracleans* to their Liberty. They did not preserve it long; for *Lysimachus*, returning Home, made so lively a Description of the flourishing Condition, in which the good management of *Amastris* had put *Heraclea*, and two other Cities, that *Arsinoë* his Wife begged them of him for a Present. At first he refused her; but as she was artful, and his great Age began to impair his Understanding (12), she obtained, at length, that fine Present, and sent a Governor into *Heraclea*, who treated the Inhabitants very harshly (13). We must not forget that *Lysimachus* had a Son by *Amastris* named *Alexander*. *Polyænus* informs us of this (14): but the Passage is so corrupted, that it was very difficult to find out the true reading. *Casaubon*'s Manuscript had it Ἀλεξάνδρος Λυσιμάχῳ καὶ Μηρίδι· ὧδε. That great Critic corrected Μηρίδι· by Μηκρίδης· *Grentemenil* has conjectured more happily; for he thinks it ought to be read Ἀμαστρίδος. Another learned Man (15), who at bottom is of the same mind, chuses rather to read Ἀμήστριος or Ἀμαστριος. He shews (16) by a Medal of our *Amastris*, that the Genitive of that Name was Ἀμαστριος, as well as Ἀμαστρεως; and he cites *Herodotus*, who says Ἀμήστριος in the genitive Case. He observes that *Salmasius* (17), and *Tristan* (18), are mistaken in believing *Amastris* to be the Sister of *Darius*.

(9) Ἀντιγόνῳ τὴν Ἄσιαν κατέχοντι λαμπρὰς συμμαχίδας. Antigono Asiam tenenti, magnifice subsidia tulit. *I chuse rather to translate it thus, than as it is in* my Photius, *pag.* 709 *(of the Edit. of Roan, 1653: Antigono etiam jam magnifice Asiam tenenti subsidia tulit.*

[*D*] *She built the City of Amastris.*] This City was one of the three that *Lysimachus* boasted of to his Wife. *Stephanus Byzantinus* acknowledged that this City borrowed its Name from *Amastris* the Niece of the last *Darius*, and Wife of *Dionysius*, Tyrant of *Heraclea* (19); but he pretends that before it was called *Cromna*. He had better have stuck close to *Strabo*, who tells us (20) that *Amastris*, the Daughter of *Oxyathres*, &c. joined four Villages together, forming one City out of them, which was called *Amastris*. The four Villages were, *Sesamus*, *Cytorus*, *Cromna*, and *Tetus*. They were in *Paphlagonia*. It is surprizing that *Mela* (21) should make mention of *Sesamus*, *Cromna*, *Cytorus*, and *Tetus*, without saying a Word of *Amastris*. It cannot be replied that the Union of those four Places under the Name of *Amastris* continued no longer than during the Life of Queen *Amastris*, and that afterwards each grew independant

(10) Phot. pag. 712.

(11) Id. ibid.

(12) Ἦν γὰρ δεινὴ περιελθεῖν· ἡ Ἀρσινοη, καὶ τὸ γήρας ἤδη Λυσιμαχον εἶχεν ἐλαττόνως. *Anus enim ad circumveniendum fuit Arsinoe, & jam senectus ipsa minus efficax dederat Lysimachum. Phot. Bibliothec. p.* 713.

(13) *All this is taken from* Memnon, in Photius, n. 224.

(14) Lib. 6, pag. 443, apud Ezech. Spanheimium de Præst. Numismat. pag. 466.

(15) Spanheim. ibid.

(16) Ib. p. 465.

(17) Ad Solinum, pag. 889.

(18) Comment. Tom. 1, p. 688.

(19) Cataneus, in Plin. Epist. lib. 10, *falsely charges* Stephanus *with* saying *that* Amastris *was the Wife of* Dionysius, Tyrant of *Sicily*.

(20) Lib. 12, pag. 375.

(21) Lib. 1, cap. 19. *Father* Hardouin, in Plin. lib 6, cap. 2, pag. 650, *charges him with saying, that the Fortress of* Amastris *was called* Sesamus. Mela *does not say so.*

dependant, and took again their former Names; for if that was true, *Strabo* would not have assured us that *Tèos* alone broke the Union. He adds (22), the three others preserved their Community, and one of them, to wit *Sesamus*, was the Fortress of *Amathris*. We find such another fault, in *Pliny*, as that of *Stephanus Byzantinus*. *Sesamum oppidum*, says he (23) *quod nunc Amathris*. These two Authors may be excused by saying that *Amathris*, with respect to some parts of it, was formerly called *Cromna*, and *Sesamus*. There is a mistake in the Scholiast of *Apollonius*, on the 943d Verse of the second Book (24). It should be read that *Sesamas* changed it's Name, not into that of *Damatris*, on account of *Darius*'s Niece, but into that of *Amathris*. This City has been famous. The *Bithynian* Kings made themselves Masters of it (25). It is greatly extolled by *Pliny* the younger. 'Amastrianorum, says he (26), civitas & elegans & ornata habet inter præcipua opera pulcherrimam eandemque longissimam plateam. —— *Amastris, a fine City, has, amongst it's other Rarities, one Street of uncommon Length and Beauty.*' He requests of *Trajan*, to furnish the necessary Charges for covering the Common-sewers, which ran by the great Square of that City. He received a favourable Answer. *Lucian* says (27), that he found many Philosophers in it who were the Disciples of *Timocrates*. The Medals of *Homer*, which were struck by the Inhabitants of *Amastris*, are a Proof of their attachment to Literature (28).

(22) Strabo, lib. 2, cap. 29.

(23) Plin. lib. 6, cap. 2, pag. m. 650.

(24) Mr Spanheim, de Præst. Num. pag. 465, observes, that Holstenius has corrected this Fault in his Notes upon Apollonius.

(25) Photius, Biblioth. p. 720.

(26) Epist. 99, lib. 10.

(27) In Pseudomanti.

(28) See Spanheim. de Præst. Num. pag. 490.

DIONYSIUS, of *Heraclea*, a debauched Philosopher. Look for HERACLEOTES.

DIOSCORIDES, in *Latin Dioscoridu* (*a*), an Island in the *Red-Sea*, according to *Stephen* of *Byzantium*. It is supposed that it is now called *Zocotora*. If it is the same that *Montagne* speaks of, several different Relations must have been made of it; for, according to *Moreri* (*b*), the Inhabitants of *Zocotora have no other Religion but the* Mahometan, *and tolerate the Exercise of no other*, and are naturally Cheats. But, according to the Author cited by *Montagne*, they are Christians, and the best People in the World, without any other Defect than that of understanding nothing of the Religion they profess. This is a more common thing than one would imagine, and agrees in some manner with the Principles of the Quietists [*A*], whose pretended Devotion is loaded with so many mysterious Follies, that there is scarce any Extravagance, or Blasphemy, which they do not border upon in some Point or other. But let us hear what *Montagne* says [*B*].

(*a*) *See* Pinedo in Steph. Byzant. pag. 230, *affirms it should be called.*

(*b*) *He cites* Davity *and* Linschot.

[*A*] *And agrees in some manner with the Principles of the Quietists.*] These wretched Doctors teach (1) that 'the perfection of Contemplation does not consist 'in knowing God more perfectly than others, but in 'not knowing him. *That* (2) the true contemplative 'Person forms no Idea of God to himself, that he 'has no distinct Knowledge of any of his Attributes, 'that he does not know him by Ideas, by Reflexions, 'and by Reasoning, but by an obscure, general, and 'confused Faith, without distinction of Perfections, Attributes, or Persons. *That* true and perfect Contemplation has the essence of God for it's sole Object, considered under the most possible abstract Idea.' That (3) the Soul ought to be persuaded, that the Creatures are too gross to serve for a Master and Guide in the Knowledge of God. Therefore Love is to go before and leave the Understanding behind. That 'the Soul loves God as he is in himself, and not as the 'Imagination represents him. That if the Soul cannot know him, such as he is, it must love him without knowing him, under the obscure Veil of Faith, 'almost as a Child who never saw it's Father, and 'who, trusting to those that speak of him, loves him 'as much as if he had seen him.' That all that the holy Scriptures say of God (4) 'must pass only for 'Flowers, and to stop there, would be to stop at the 'Superficies, because as God cannot be comprehended by the Mind, so neither can he be explained by 'Words, and when we would thereby raise ourselves 'to him, we fall still lower. *That* (5) God has 'caused those Books to be writ only to give 'us a high Opinion of his Greatness, that if we 'love him in what is said of him, we may love him 'yet much more in himself (6). But if the Soul 'should love God as he is represented in the Scriptures, it would love a Phantom, or the Mask of 'God, and not God as he really is.' *That* (7) 'God is nothing of what reason conceives, because 'all that we know can be comprehended, but God 'is incomprehensible. When we pretend to know 'God, we idolatrously change the Creature into 'God, and abase God to the Creature (8). That 'while the Soul knows any thing by Images or Similitudes of what nature soever, even though infused and 'supernatural, it does not know GOD' That the Idea St *Paul* gave of God to the *Athenians* adoring an unknown God (9) 'is false, in that it does not represent God as he is, for he cannot be either comprehended or known. That we are obliged to make use of terms proportioned to our weakness in speaking of him: but those expressions have nothing worthy of him, and the Ideas they form in us are not the true Idea of God. That it may be said of God 'that he is *Just, Gracious, a Rewarder, an Avenger, Almighty, &c* (10). But all that is not God. Faith 'does not behold him in this manner, having no 'other object than an unknown omnipresent God.' See at the end of the following Remark a Passage of the false-*Dionysius the Areopagite*.

(1) *See the Dialogues of Mr de la Bruyere upon Quietism, pag.* 307.

(2) Ib. pag. 308.

(3) Molinos Introd. à la Guide Spirituelle, sect. 2, n. 3 *and* 4, *cited by* la Bruyere, ibid. pag. 310.

(4) Malaval, Pratique facile, *cited by the same, pag.* 313.

(5) Ib. pag. 314.

(6) Dialog. de la Bruyere, pag. 334.

(7) Malaval, Pratique facile, *cited by the same*, pag. 315.

(8) Dialog. de la Bruyere, pag. 315, 316.

(9) Ib. pag. 321.

(10) Ib. p. 322.

[*B*] *Let us hear what Montagne says* (11)] 'A 'Bishop has left in writing, that at the other end of 'the World there is an Island, that the Ancients called '*Dioscorides*, blessed with all kinds of Trees, Fruits, 'and a wholesome Air: the Inhabitants of which are 'Christians, having Churches and Altars, which are 'adorned only with Crosses, without any other Images: they are great observers of Fasts and Feasts, 'exact payers of the Tenths to the Priests; and so 'chaste, that none of them can have above one Wife 'all his Life time. Moreover they are so content with their Condition, that in the midst of the Sea they 'are ignorant of the use of Shipping: and so simple, 'that they do not understand one word of the Religion they observe so carefully. An incredible thing to 'those who do not know, that the Pagans, who were 'such devout Idolaters, were only acquainted with the 'Name and Figure of their Gods. The ancient beginning of *Menalippe*, one of *Euripides*'s Tragedies, 'shewed this.

O Jove, of whom we here below
Nothing besides the Name do know (12).

(11) Montagne, Essais, lib. 1, cap. 56, pag. m. 543.

(12) *See the Remark* [*F*] *of the Article* DEMOCRITUS.

IGNORANCE of the *Pagans* concerning God.

(13) Acts, chap. xvii, ver 23.

What *Montagne* observes of the ancient Pagans is very true: The Idea they annexed to the word *GOD* did no ways resemble the divine Nature, but was infinitely remote from it; so that the *Athenians* were not the only People to whom St *Paul* might have said, that they erected Altars to the unknown God (13). All their Altars deserved the same Inscription, and I cannot think of the distinction they made at *Athens* between the known, and unknown Gods (14): I cannot, I say, think of it, without remembering the distinction that was made, in the Schools of *Aristotle*, between occult and manifest Qualities. Among the Peripatetics there is no other difference between manifest and occult Qualities than this, that they have a word to denote manifest Qualities, *calor, frigus, humiditas, siccitas, &c*, and they have none to denote the Qualities of the Load Stone. Just so among the *Athenians* there was no other difference between Gods, known, and unknown, than that they had a Name for some of them, *Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Venus, &c.* and they knew not what to call the others. If the divine Nature which they adored was not, like the Quintessence of *Aristotle* (15), as void of a Name, as of an Idea,

(14) *The whole Inscription St* Paul *saw, was according to St* Jerom, Diis Asiæ, & Europæ, & Africæ, Diis Ignotis & peregrinis. —— *To its Gods of Asia, Europe, and Africa, to the unknown and foreign Gods.* Comment. in Epist. ad Titum, cap. 1.

(15) Quinta illa non nominata magis quam non intellecta natura, - - - *The fifth was as little known by Name as by it's own Nature.* Cicero, Tuscul 1, c. 17.

Idea, it was as leſs as little known. The Inhabitants of *Marſeilles* openly profeſſed to worſhip the unknown Gods, and they found that even this inſpired them with a greater fear for their Deities (16). They worſhipped them afar off, not approaching to the place where their Statues were. The Prieſt did not approach them without trembling, and dreaded their appearing to him, that is to ſay, he dreaded knowing them. *Lucan* imagines, that becauſe in other places the Gods were adored under Figures expoſed to the Eyes of the public, there was a great difference between the *Maſſilians*, and other People; for, ſays he, the *Maſſilians*, not knowing their Gods, had the greater fear of them. Therefore he imagined that in *Greece* and *Italy* the Deity was better known than at *Marſeilles*: but he was much deceived; he ought only to have ſaid, that in thoſe Countries they knew better under what Figure the Statuaries and Painters repreſented it.

(16) *Apply here what* Tacitus *ſays*, Arcebantur aſpectu quo venerationis plus ineſſet. — *They were removed from the Sight to enhance their Devotion.* Hiſt. lib. 4, cap. 45.

> ſimulacraque moeſta Deorum
> Arte carent, cæſiſque extant informia truncis.
> Ipſe ſitus, putrique facit jam robore pallor
> Attonitos: non vulgatis ſacrata figuris
> Numina ſic metuunt: tantum terroribus addit
> Quos timeant non eſſe Deos.
> . . . . . .
> Non illum cultu populi propiore frequentant
> Sed ceſſere Dei. Medio cum Phœbus in axe eſt,
> Aut cœlum nox atra tenet, pavet ipſe ſacerdos
> Acceſſus, dominumque timet deprendere luci (17).
>
> *Old Images of Forms miſhapen ſtand,*
> *Rude and unknowing of the Artiſt's hand.*
> *With hoary filth begrim'd, each ghaſtly Head*
> *Strikes the aſtoniſh'd Gazer's ſoul with dread,*
> *No Gods, who long in common Shapes appear'd,*
> *Were e'er with ſuch religious Awe rever'd.*
> *But zealous Crowds in Ignorance adore*
> *And fill the laſt they know, they fear the more.*

(17) Lucanus Pharſal. lib. 3, ver. 412.

The pious Worſhippers approach not near,
But fence their Gods, and kneel with diſtant fear:
The Prieſt himſelf, when e'er the Day or Night
Rolling have reach'd their full Meridian height,
Refrains the gloomy Path with weary Feet,
Dreading the Dæmon of the Grove to meet.

The Pagans could not retort this Obſervation on Chriſtianity, under pretence that it's Profeſſors are required to captivate their Underſtandings to the Obedience of Faith; and that Faith is by ſome ſaid to be better defined by Ignorance, than by Knowledge; and that People are to be determined, not by the way of Examination, but by the way of Authority, and are to adore the Myſteries without comprehending them: this Retortion, I ſay, would be unjuſt upon Chriſtianity in general, ſince the Proteſtant Communions reject not the way of Examination, and are not afraid, like the Prieſt of *Marſeilles*, that the object of their Faith ſhould be manifeſted.

We have ſeen in the preceding Remark the Maxims of the new Myſtics; but we muſt obſerve here, that they pretend they are as ancient as Myſtical Divinity; for they cite the words of St *Dionyſius* (18). 'As 'for you, my dear *Timothy*, ſet yourſelf ſeriouſly to 'Myſtical Contemplations, forſake your Senſes, the 'Operations of your Mind, all ſenſible and intelligible 'Objects, and generally all things that are, and that 'are not; in order to raiſe yourſelf as much as Man 'can do, and that you may be united in an unknown 'and inexpreſſible manner to him, who is above all 'Being, and all Knowledge.' Note, there are ſome Philoſophers who think, that what the Quietiſts ſay of the falſity of the Notions, under which the Deity is commonly repreſented, is very reaſonable, and that the Images, made uſe of by the ſacred Writers to exhibit him to us, want to be rectified. See what I ſhall cite of *Charron*, in one of the Remarks of the Article SIMONIDES (19).

(18) Molinos, Introd. à la Guide Spirit. n. 14, *cited by* la Bruyere, Dialogue 8, pag. 316.

(19) *Rem.* [C].

DIOSCURIAS, a City of *Colchis*. It was a Place of ſo great Trade, that Three hundred Nations, which did not underſtand one another's Language, trafficked to it [*A*]; and the Merchants of *Rome* kept there One hundred and thirty Interpreters. *Pliny*, who affirms this upon the Credit of *Timoſthenes*, obſerves, that, in his time, this City was uninhabited (*a*). But *Ammianus Marcellinus* teſtifies, that, in his time, it ſtill made ſome Figure (*b*). Some aſcribe the Foundation of it to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, and others to the Charioteers of thoſe two Heroes [*B*]. *Arrian*, an Eye-witneſs, aſſures us, that it was then called *Sebaſtopolis*; and that it was a Colony of the *Mileſians*, 2260 Furlongs from *Trebizonde* (*c*).

(a) Plin. lib. 6, cap. 5.

(b) Dioſcurias nunc uſque nota. *Ammian. Marcellin.* lib. 22, cap. 8, pag. m. 313.

(c) In Periplo Ponti Euxini.

[*A*] *Three hundred Nations . . . . . traded to it.*] *Strabo* ſays the ſame (1). It is true he obſerves, that ſome Authors inſtead of three hundred Nations make them but ſeventy. He attributes the Multitude of ſo many Languages to the ſavage way the People of thoſe Countries lived in; for having no Society with one another, each preſerved his own Language, without learning that of the neighbouring People.

[*B*] *Some aſcribe the Foundation of it to Caſtor and Pollux, and others to the Charioteers of thoſe two Heroes.*] The firſt Opinion, which is *Pomponius Mela's* (2), is confirmed by the Name the City bore. Nevertheleſs *Pliny* (3), *Solinus* (4), *Ammianus Marcellinus* (5), *&c.* ſpeak only of the two Charioteers. *Pliny* calls them *Amphitus* and *Telchius*; according to *Strabo* (6) they were called *Rhetus* and *Amphiſtratus*; but *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls them *Amphitus* and *Cercius*. In ſome Editions of *Juſtin* (7) their Names are *Frudius* and *Amphiſtratus*.

(1) Strabo, lib. 9, pag. 342.

(2) Lib. 1, cap. 19.

(3) Lib. 6, cap. 5.

(4) Cap. 15.

(5) Lib. 22, cap. 8, pag. m. 313.

(6) Lib. 11, pag. 342.

(7) Lib. 42, *in fine*.

DOLABELLA (Publius Cornelius), *Cicero*'s Son-in-law, was entirely devoted to *Julius Cæſar*'s Party. He was preſent at the Battle of *Pharſalia*, at that of *Africa*, and at that at *Munda* [*A*]: in the laſt of which he was wounded. During his Tribuneſhip of the

[*A*] *He was preſent at the Battles of Pharſalia, Africa, and Munda.*] *Cicero*'s words, which I bring to prove this, will ſerve for ſomething elſe. 'Quonam 'modo igitur Dolabella pervenit (in Hiſpaniam?) aut 'non ſuſcipienda fuit iſta cauſſa, Antoni, aut, cum 'ſuſcepiſſes, defendenda uſque ad extremum. Ter de'pugnavit Cæſar cum civibus, in Theſſalia, Africa, 'Hiſpania, omnibus affuit his pugnis Dolabella: Hi'panienſi etiam vulnus accepit: ſi de meo judicio 'quæris, nollem: ſed tamen conſilium à primo re'prehendendum, laudanda conſtantia (1). —— *How 'then did Dolabella come into Spain? You ſhould not, O 'Antony, have engaged in that cauſe, or elſe you ſhould 'have ſupported it to the laſt extremity. Cæſar had 'three Battles with his Countrymen, in Theſſaly, A'frica, and Spain; Dolabella bore a part in them all, 'and in the laſt received a Wound. If you aſk my O'pinion, I ſhould have adviſed you not to have under'took it: but though the deſign from the beginning is 'blameable, yet a firm perſeverance would have had 'ſomething praiſe worthy.' Two things are obſervable here; one is a piece of Rhetorical Legerdemain, the other a very good Maxim. *Cicero* could not be ignorant that *Marc Antony*, ſtaying in *Italy* by *Cæſar*'s orders, had done as much ſervice to the Party, as if he had followed *Cæſar* into *Egypt*, and to the Kingdom of *Pontus*. He could not be ignorant, that fear of Danger was none of *Antony*'s Faults, and that other reaſons had prevented him from accompanying *Cæſar* into *Africa* and *Spain*. Nevertheleſs as a ſtay at *Rome*, conſidered in the whole under ſuch Circumſtances, was capable of receiving an ill turn, Rhetoric did not fail to

(1) Cicero, Philip. 2, c. 30.

the People he committed a thousand Disorders, which was a cruel Mortification to *Cicero* (*a*). He would have brought in a Law for the Abolition of all Debts [*B*], in order to gain the Affection of the Populace, and deliver himself from the Obligations he was under to pay his Creditors (*b*); but he found a strong Opposition. *Marc Antony*, whose Wife he had debauched, was the chief Obstacle to his Design: So that it may be said, if that Woman had been virtuous, the City of *Rome* must have been involved in a horrible Confusion, by an Union of two of the greatest Disturbers of the public Peace that were in *Italy* at that time. Every thing has it's Use in the World: the Intrigues of *Marc Antony*'s Wife were of a signal Service to her Country, and induced (*c*) him to overthrow all the Attempts of a factious Tribune (*d*). *Cæsar* was in *Egypt* during these Contests. His return to *Rome* restored the public Tranquillity: he pardoned *Dolabella*, and, contrary to the Law in that Case, raised him to the Consulship some Years after; for *Dolabella* was not of a competent Age, and had never been Prætor (*e*). *Marc Antony* opposed, with all his Power, his taking Possession of the Consulship [*C*]; but, as *Cæsar* was killed some few Months after this fresh Quarrel between *Antony* and *Dolabella*, they put an end to their Differences, that they might the better oppose the Republican Party. They were both Consuls the Year that *Cæsar* was assassinated; and took some Steps at first, which gave the Well-

(*a*) *See the Article* TULLIA.

(*b*) Dio. lib. 42, pag. 225.

(*c*) Plutarch. In Antonio, pag. 919.

(*d*) Dio, lib. 42, pag. 224, *and following.*

(*e*) Id. pag. 225.

to exclaim against it as an act of Cowardice. He knew that nothing would shock a Military Man more than an insult of this nature, and therefore was sure to ply him from this point. 'Cui bello cum propter timiditatem tuam tum propter libidines defuisti. . . . Tam bonus gladiator rudem tam cito accepisti? Hunc igitur quisquam qui in suis partibus, id est in suis fortunis tam timidus fuerit, pertimescat (2)? —— *From which War your Cowardice and your Lust caused you to be absent. . . . . Did Antony the great Gladiator so soon receive his discharge? Can any Man then fear him who proved himself a Coward, when his own Interest and Fortune summoned him to action?*' And to exasperate him the more, he forgot no Encomiums upon *Dolabella*. I wish Commentators would take notice of these Artifices of Rhetoricians.

(2) Id. cap. 29.

[*B*] *He would have brought in a Law for the Abolition of Debts.*] This was called *novæ tabulæ*. A learned Critic thus explains them. 'Sunt tabulæ novæ nihil aliud quam lex seu decretum communi consensu factum, quo civitate per alterius partis ultimam pauperiem, & ex ea seditionem, in extremo periculo constituta, nexis atque obæratis, ad concordiam faciendam, debita in universum remittuntur, ita ut hoc nomine nec corpora eorum, neque bona vincta teneri queant (3). —— *The* Tabulæ novæ, *or Act of Insolvency, is only a Law enacted by common Consent, when the State being in imminent Danger from a necessitous and seditious Faction, rather than give Birth to a Civil War, cancels all Debts and Obligations, so that for the future, neither their Bodies nor Goods may be detained for the same.*'

(3) Johan. Schefferus, in Libello de Novis Tabulis, apud Cæsarem Sagittarium, in Vita Tullii, pag. 23, 24.

[*C*] *Cæsar raised him to the Consulship . . . . . Marc Antony opposed, with all his Power, his taking Possession of it.*] *Cicero* enlarges upon this contest in his second *Philippic*, and pretends that *Dolabella* was imposed upon. They encouraged him to stand for the Consulship, they made him hope for it, and then deserted him. *Cæsar* was at the bottom of all this Management. 'Nihil queror de Dolabella qui tum est impulsus, inductus, elusus: qua in re quanta fuerit uterque vestrum perfidia in Dolabellam quis ignorat? Ille (Cæsar) induxit ut peteret: promissum & receptum intervertit ad seque transtulit: tu ejus perfidiæ voluntatem tuam adscripsisti (4). —— *I will pass over the base treatment which Dolabella received, whom Cæsar encouraged and persuaded to stand a Candidate for the Consulship, and afterwards made him his Dupe. In which instance the perfidy of you both was so barefaced that every body must see it. Cæsar prevailed upon him to stand, and afterwards revoked and recalled his Promise, whilst you underhand contributed to carry on the Trick.*' *Cicero* adds, that the Senate being assembled the first of *January* (5), *Dolabella* made a better Harangue against *Marc Antony* (6), and that the latter was furiously enraged against *Dolabella*. *Cæsar* had declared, that when he departed upon his great *Parthian* Expedition, he would leave *Dolabella* in his place in the Consulship. *Marc Antony* was at that time *Cæsar*'s Colleague in that Office, and as he would not have *Dolabella* for his Colleague, he declared that being Augur, by virtue of that Dignity, he would either hinder *Dolabella* from being chosen, or make his Election void. 'Cum Cæsar offendisset & priusquam proficisceretur Dolabellam Consulem esse jussurum . . . . tum hic bonus augur eo se sacerdotio præditum esse dixit, ut comitia auspiciis vel impedire vel vitiare posset: idque se facturum esse asseveravit (7).' The day of Election being come, the Suffrages fell upon *Dolabella*, upon which *Marc Antony*, who had said nothing during the Election, declared aloud, that the Assembly must be put off to another day. He said this as Augur, and would not desist from this Denunciation till after the Death of *Cæsar*. Then it was his Interest to own *Dolabella*'s Election for legal, and he was reconciled to him. 'Collegam tuum depositis inimicitiis, oblitus auspiciorum à te ipso populo Romano nunciatorum illo die (*i. e. three days after Cæsar's Death*) collegam sibi esse voluisti (8). 'On that day (namely the third after Cæsar's Death) 'you declared him your Colleague, all former Enmity 'being clean wiped away, and all those inauspicious 'Omens, with which you had entertained the People, 'being lost in Oblivion.' *Plutarch* (9) relates in fewer words than *Cicero*, that *Cæsar* having declared to the Senate his intention of resigning his Consulship to *Dolabella*, was forced to defer that affair to another time, upon account of *Marc Antony*'s violent Opposition, who uttered a thousand reproachful things against *Dolabella*, and was repaid in the same kind. Some time after *Cæsar* would have resigned in Favour of *Dolabella*, but was obliged to desist, *Marc Antony* pretending the Auspices were contrary to it. *Dolabella*, seeing himself abandoned, vented his rage in terrible Curses. I have nothing to say to this Account of *Plutarch* but this, that he has omitted one very material Circumstance, which is, that *Cæsar* did not recede in such a manner, as not to leave entire to *Dolabella* his right of claiming. He left it undetermined whether *Marc Antony*'s Opposition was valid or not. I freely believe he found himself embarrassed with these two Men, and though he said one Day he had nothing to fear from such fat and well dressed Men as those (10), but that he dreaded the lean and meagre Faces (11), yet he was sensible the Friendship of *Marc Antony* and *Dolabella* was an incumbrance to him: it is probable there was an understanding between him and *Marc Antony* upon *Dolabella*'s Consulship: but it is certain *Marc Antony* treated him insolently upon other occasions, particularly when after the *African* War *Cæsar* demanded an account of the sale of *Pompey*'s Goods. These are *Cicero*'s words upon it, which could not be better turned; 'Appellatus es de pecunia, quam pro domo, pro hortis, pro sectione debebas, primo respondisti plane ferociter; &, ne omnia videar contra te, propemodum æqua, & justa dicebas. A me C. Cæsar pecuniam? cur potius, quam ego ab illo? an ille sine me vicit? at ne potuit quidem: ego ad illum belli civilis causam attuli: ego leges pernicioſas rogavi. . . . . Num sibi soli vicit? quorum facinus est commune, cur non sit eorum præda communis? jus postulabas: sed quid ad rem? plus ille poterat (12). —— *A demand was made upon you for the Money which you owed for your House, your Gardens, and the Purchase. At first you answered haughtily, and, to do you Justice, in some measure reasonably. Does Cæsar require Money from me? And have not I as much reason to demand it of him?*

(4) Cicero, Philip. 2, cap. 23.

(5) *In the Year of* Rome 710.

(6) Invectus est copiosius multo in illum & paratius Dolabella quam nunc ego. *Idem. d. C.*

(7) Cicero, Philip. 2, cap. 32.

(8) Ibid. Philip. 1, cap. 13.

(9) Plut. in Antonio, pag. 921.

(10) Plut. in Antonio, pag. 923.

(11) *He meant* Brutus *and* Cassius. Id. ibid.

(12) Cicero, Philip. 2, cap. 29.

Well-affected a good Opinion of them [D]. But this did not last long. *Dolabella* obtained the Government of *Syria*, but made so little haste to take Possession of it, that *Cassius* had time to make himself Master of it: and as he was informed the Senate had conferred the same Government upon *Cassius*, he did not think proper to continue his Journey. Therefore he stopt at *Smyrna*, where he treacherously put to death *Trebonius* [E], Governor of *Asia minor*, and one of the Murderers of *Julius Cæsar*. As soon as the News of this Action got to *Rome*, the Senate declared *Dolabella* an Enemy to the *Roman* People. Upon the Death of *Trebonius* all *Asia minor* was subdued to the Discretion of *Dolabella*; he immediately marched towards *Syria*. All yielded to him, *Cassius* being absent; all, I say, submitted, except *Antioch*: but *Cassius*, returning with a good Body of Troops, besieged *Dolabella* in the City of *Laodicea*, and reduced him to the hard Condition, either of killing himself, or surrendering himself. *Dolabella* chose the former (*f*) [F]. It is said he was not then above Twenty six or Twenty

(*f*) Taken from Dio, lib. 47, ad Ann. Romæ 712.

'him? Did he conquer without my Assistance? He could not. I laid the Foundation for him of a Civil-War. I proposed Laws pernicious to the People. . . . . Did he only conquer for himself? Is it not just that they who embark in an equal bottom in the same iniquitous Cause should equally share the Plunder? You, no doubt, demanded very modestly. . . . But what is that to the purpose? Cæsar had the greater Power.' After his last Expedition into *Spain*, *Cæsar* used him with more Civility (13): He did him a thousand good Offices, which was a sign he looked upon him as a very wicked Man, very capable of doing him service or disservice. *Cicero* gives a very ill Character of *Cæsar* as to the choice of his Friends. 'Habebat hoc omnino Cæsar: quem plane perditum ære alieno, egentemque, si eundem nequam hominem audacemque cognoverat, hunc in familiaritatem libentissime cupiebat [14]. —— *Cæsar courted the Friendship of Men in desperate Circumstances, and involved in debt, if he knew them to be immoral and resolute.*' For the rest, you will find in *Appian* (15) a long account of *Marc Antony*'s management as to the Consulship of *Dolabella* before their Reconciliation, and after the Death of *Cæsar*.

(13) Ib. cap. 32.

(14) Ibid.

(15) Appian. lib. 2, de Bell. Civ.

[D] *Marc Antony and Dolabella took some steps at first, from whence the well-affected drew a good Omen.*] Three days after *Cæsar*'s Death, *Marc Antony* harangued in the Senate upon Peace and Concord, and charmed the Men of Probity. He sent his Son for a Hostage to the Conspirators, who durst not come down from the Capitol. *Cicero* often refers him to that day. 'Unum illum diem quo in æde Telluris Senatus fuit, non omnibus ille mensibus quibus te quidam multum à me dissentientes beatum putant, anteponis? Quæ fuit oratio tua de concordia? Quanto metu veterani, quanta sollicitudine civitas tum à te liberata est (16)? —— *Do not you prefer that day, in which the Senate was assembled in the sacred Temple of Tellus, to the following Months, in which some, of an Opinion far different to mine, think you happy? How did you harangue upon the happiness of Concord? From what fears were the Veterans freed, from what dreadful Apprehensions was the whole City delivered by you?*' See, at the beginning of the first *Philippic*, an account of the good Things *Marc Antony* did in concert with *Dolabella*. The latter in particular did a noble Action, and which was very necessary to the public Welfare. A croud of People of all Conditions paid divine Honours to a Marble Column erected in the midst of the *Forum*, in Honour of *Julius Cæsar* (17). *Dolabella* demolished the Pillar and put to Death a great number of the Mutineers, by which he saved the City from being pillaged; for their design was to render all the lovers of Liberty odious, 'Cum serperet in urbe infinitum malum, idque manaret in dies latius, iidemque busta in foro facerent, qui illam insepultam sepulturam effecerant; & quotidie magis magisque perditi homines cum suî similibus servis, tectis, ac templis urbis minarentur, talis animadversio fuit Dolabellæ cum in audaces sceleratosque servos, tum in impuros & nefarios liberos, talisque eversio illius execratæ columnæ, ut mihi mirum videatur &c (18). —— *When Sedition spread thro' the City, gathering every day fresh Strength, when those Persons erected a Funeral-Pile to Cæsar in the Forum, who strove to perpetuate his Burial, when the City was in continual danger from abandoned Slaves, and their more abandoned Masters, such was the check which Dolabella gave to both, and such his conduct in pulling down that cursed Column, that it is a wonder to me, &c.*' See in the Remark [L] of the Article TULLIUS, another Passage of *Cicero* upon the same Fact.

(16) Cicero, Philip. 1, c. 13. *He says, in the 2d Philip. cap. 36, 'ut tu vir. Dii immortales, de quantus fuisses si illius diei mentem servare potuisses. Pacem traheremus quæ erat facta per ob fidem, &c. . . . How amiable, O Antony, had been thy Name, hadst thou still retained the same Disposition of Mind that thou shewedst that Day! We should then have enjoyed that Peace, of which we had then a Pledge.*

(17) See Suetonius in Cæsare, cap. 85.

(18) Cicero, Philip. 1, cap. 8.

[E] *He stopped at Smyrna, and treacherously put to Death Trebonius.*] He gave him so many proofs of his Friendship, that he prevented his being upon his guard. So that, in the Night, he easily made himself Master of *Smyrna*, and forced the House of *Trebonius*. He cruelly put him to the Torture for two days together, and then cutting off his head, he ordered it to be stuck upon the point of his Spear, and exposed to public View. His Body, after being dragged through the Streets, was thrown into the Sea. *Cicero* describes all this with great Eloquence (19): 'Consecutus est Dolabella, nulla suspicione belli: quia enim id putaret? secutæ colloquutiones familiarissimæ cum Trebonio, complexusque summæ benevolentiæ, falsi indices exstiterunt in amore simulato: dexteræ, quæ fidei testes esse solebant, perfidiæ sunt, & scelere violatæ: noctumus introitus Smyrnam, quasi in hostium urbem, quæ fidissimorum, antiquissimorumque sociorum. . . . . Interficere captum statim noluit, ne nimis, credo, in victoria liberalis videretur; cum verborum contumeliis optimum virum incesto ore lacerasset, tum verberibus, ac tormentis quæstionem habuit pecuniæ publicæ, idque per biduum: post, cervicibus fractis, caput abscidit, idque affixum gestari jussit in pilo: reliquum corpus tractum, atque laceratum abjecit in mare. —— *Dolabella obtained it, there being no Suspicion of a War. And who could suspect any? after this he had frequent and familiar Conversations with Trebonius, and Tokens of the greatest Friendship passed between them; but these were only outward Shews; their hands were joined as marks of Sincerity, but Treachery was the sole design. Smyrna was entered by night, not as the City of an Ally, but of an Enemy. . . . He (Dolabella) would not immediately dispatch his Captive, least (as I suppose) he should seem over-liberal in his Victory; but having loaded this good Man with most base and malicious Language, and for two days successively tortured him to a Confession of the public Treasure, he caused his neck to be broke, and his head to be struck off, which he fixed on a Pole and carried about in triumph, whilst the rest of his Body was infamously dragged thro' the Streets, and being mangled was cast into the Sea.*' I refer you to the Fountain-head; for I should be too prolix, if I should set down all that *Cicero* says upon this Subject in the Oration I cite. We shall see below (20) the pious Reflexion *Marc Antony* made upon the Death of this Murderer of *Cæsar*. People use themselves to descant upon Morality in a way, which the vilest Men have the impudence to make use of.

(19) Philip. 11, cap. 2.

(20) *In Remark* [G], *Citat.* (31).

[F] *Dolabella chose to kill himself.*] *Dion Cassius* says he killed himself (21). But others say, one of his Guard, at his own desire, cut off his head, and then killed him'elf, without regarding the advice his Master gave him to present it to the Conqueror, and thereby obtain his Pardon (22). *Appian* calls him *Marsus*, but *Dion* calls him *Octavius*, which made *Usher* say (23) that *Marsus* and *Octavius*, killed themselves in *Laodicea*. It appears in one of the Philippics, that *Marsus Octavius*, a wretched *Roman* Senator, was one and the same Person. *Cicero* mentions him with the utmost Contempt. 'Quid opus fuit cum legione præmisso Marso nescio quo Octavio, scelerato latrone atque egente, qui popularetur agros, vexaret urbes, non ad ipsum constituendæ rei familiaris, quam tenere cum posse negant, qui norunt (mihi

(21) Lib. 47, pag. 393.

(22) Appianus, de Bello Civ. lib. 4.

(23) In Antoni-um.

Twenty seven Years of Age (g). To know his restless turbulent Temper, it is enough to remember, that, after the Example of *Clodius*, he got himself adopted by a *Plebeian*, in order to be made Tribune of the People (b). *Moreri*'s Faults are considerable [G].

(g) Appian de Bello Civili, lib. 2, pag 479, makes him Twenty five Years old at the Death of Julius Cæsar. See the Remark [E] of the Article TULLIA.

(b) Dio, lib. 24, pag. 623.

(mihi enim hic Senator ignotus est) sed ad præsentem pastum mendicitatis suæ? Consecutus est Dolabella (24). —— *What Occasion was there for one Marsus Octavius, a necessitous Villain, to be sent with a Legion, to plunder the Country and harrass the People, not out of hopes of enriching himself; (For those who know him, which I must confess I do not, say he never will) but for a present supply of his neediness? Dolabella, &c.*' This mistake of *Usher*, criticised by Father *Noris* (25), is the more excusable, as *Appian* describes his *Marsus* by an Employment of less Consideration than what *Dion* gives to *Octavius* (26). I believe it should be read in *Dion* Μαρσὸς Ὀκτάιος, and not Μάρκος Ὀκτάιος. If it be said, that on the contrary it should be read in *Cicero Marcus Octavius*, and not *Marsus Octavius*, I answer, my conjecture is founded upon *Appian*'s calling this Person, merely *Marsus*. It would be absurd to read *Marcus* in *Appian*; for in a History they never specify People by their first name only. I would not totally reject *Glandorp*'s Supposition (27), that this Man's Name was *Marcus Octavius Marsus*.

(24) Cicero, Philip. 11, c. 2.

(25) Noris Cenotaph. Pisan. pag. 218.

(26) That of Præfectus Nocturnarum excubiarum.

(27) Onomast. pag. 638.

[G] *Moreri's faults are considerable.*] I. He should not have advanced it as a doubtful thing, that the *Dolabellas* were *descended from the Cornelian Family*. For it is a certain Fact which none are ignorant of. II. In speaking of *Dolabella*, declared an Enemy to the Republic for the murder of *Trebonius*, he should not have omitted his Name or his Forename. I say the same concerning the other *Dolabellas* mentioned by *Moreri*. III. He ought not to have said that he was declared an Enemy to the Common-Wealth, in the Year 710, but in the Year 711; for the Death of *Trebonius* was heard at *Rome* a Year (28) after *Cæsar* was killed (29). *Hirtius*, who was Consul in the Year 711, was actually discharging his Office (30), when *Marc Antony* wrote to him (31): 'Dedisse pœnas scelcratum, *he speaks of* Trebonius, emeri atque ossibus clarissimi viri, & apparuisse numen Deorum intra finem anni vertentis, aut jam soluto supplicio parricidii aut impendente lætandum est. —— *The Wretch Trebonius has suffered this punishment to appease the Manes of that great Man, and the vengeance of the Gods displayed itself within the Year: we may rejoyce now that he hath either suffered, or soon will.*' IV. He should not have described this *Dolabella* by his *great Power over Antony's Mind*, since the quarrels between those two Men are a thousand times better known, and were of a much longer Duration than their Friendship. 'Quorum summum quondam inter ipsos odium, bellumque meminisse, eosdem postea singulari inter se consensu, & amore devinxit impurissimæ naturæ & turpissimæ vitæ similitudo (32). —— *Their former Hatred, and professed Enmity, was converted into Friendship, by a concurrence of the most impure Minds, and a similitude in Villany.*' V. He should not have distinguished him from *Cicero's* Son-in-Law. VI. Nor perhaps from him who referred to the Court of *Areopagus* the trial of that Woman of *Smyrna*, who had poisoned her Husband *Valesius* is of Opinion that the *Dolabella*, who refused to try that Woman, is the same that put *Trebonius* to Death, and that perished at *Laodicea* (33). VII. However, he ought not to have given the Author of that Reference the Forename of *Cneus*; since *Valerius Maximus* calls him *Publius*: nor let it be said that *Aulus Gellius* calls him *Cneus*; for besides that *Moreri* cites *Valerius Maximus*, and not *Aulus Gellius*, it must be observed that *Aulus Gellius* cites *Valerius Maximus* for his Original. Therefore it is more reasonable to correct the Transcriber by *Valerius Maximus*, than *Valerius Maximus* by the Transcribers. VIII. He should not have said that the Woman, whose cause was referred to the *Areopagus*, was charged with *having poisoned her Husband, and a Son of his by another Marriage*; for the most natural and genuine Sense of the Author's Words, cited by *Moreri* (34), is that That Woman poisoned her Husband, and the Son she had had by that Husband, because they had killed the Son she had had by another Husband. *Aulus Gellius*, who has expressed this Story in other Terms, when he copied it from *Valerius Maximus*, did so well comprehend the sense I mention, that he took care the Reader might be in no suspence about it: 'Mulier Smyrnæa ..... id fecisse confitebatur, dicebatque habuisse se faciendi causam, quoniam idem illi maritus & filius ALTERUM FILIUM mulieris ex viro priore genitum, adolescentem optimum & innocentissimum, exceptum insidiis occidissent (35). —— *The Woman confessed the Fact, and suggested she had sufficient Reason for so doing, because her Husband and Son had betrayed and murdered* ANOTHER SON, *a hopeful and virtuous Youth, whom she had by a former Husband.*' *Ammianus Marcellinus* (speaking of this Fact, without doubt, avoided the Equivocation which might lie upon the Phrase of *Valerius Maximus*; but as his Text is much mutilated in this Place (36), it cannot entirely remove our Doubts. Some Editions have it, *Smyrnæa matrefamilias filium* PROPRIUM *& maritum venenis necasse confessa*; —— *She confessed that she had poisoned* HER OWN SON *and Husband.* Other Editions have it SOBOLEM PROPRIAM. All this condemns *Moreri*. We may observe, by the way, one thing, which might be repeated a hundred thousand times, it is, was to be mentioned upon all Occasions, that the Latin Tongue has not the advantage of removing all ambiguous Terms as ours has. Here is *Valerius Maximus*, who, in relating a singular and very surprizing Fact, makes use of an Expression, by which Interpreters are divided in their Opinion, concerning the kind of Crime that Woman committed. Mr *Moreri* is not the most learned Man, who has supposed that this Woman was Step mother to one of the two Men she poisoned. The learned *Valesius* (37) has interpreted *Valerius Maximus*'s Phrase in the same manner, in which he deserves less Credit than *Aulus Gellius*, who imagined that Woman poisoned her own Son. The difference is so great between the Crime, as described by *Aulus Gellius*, and the same Crime as represented by *Valesius*, that the Historian is inexcusable for relating a Fact of such consequence in so ill a manner, as to give rise to such a Diversity of Interpretations. IX. *Moreri* ought not to have made the Woman's Husband the sole murderer of the young Man; for either her Son, or her Husband's Son, was an Accomplice with him. X. To conclude, he should not have assured us that the Accuser, and the Woman's husband were the same Person; for since she was guilty of having murdered her Husband, it was not her Husband that prosecuted her, and consequently the Court of *Areopagus* did not order the Husband to appear before them, together with the Accused at the end of a hundred Years.

(28) Note, That as to this Fault there are some Chronologers who hold that *Cæsar* was killed in the Year 709. See the Remark [O] of the Article CÆSAR.

(29) See Fabricius in Vita Claudiani, ad annal. pag. m. 214.

(30) Cicero, Philip. 13, cap. 21.

(31) Apud Cicer. ibid.

(32) Cicer. Philip. 11, init. cap. 2.

(33) Valef. in Ammian. Marcellin. lib. 20, cap. 2, pag m. 562.

(34) Mater familias Smyrnæa virum & filium interemit cum ab hoc optimo indole juvenem quem ex priore viro enixa fuerat occultum comperisset. *Val Max. lib. 8, cap. 1, fub fin.*

(35) Aulus Gell. lib. 12, cap. 7.

(36) Lib 29. cap. 2, pag. 562, 563.

(37) Valef. in Amm. Marcell. lib 20, cap 2, pag. 563.

DOLABELLA (HORACE), Author of a Book, intituled, *Apologia pro Puritanis*. It is properly a burlesque Satire against the Protestants. This Book must be very scarce; for it is not to be found, even in the Catalogues of the most numerous Libraries. I know it no otherwise than by having seen it cited in Father *Garasse*'s *Doctrine Curieuse*. It is written by way of Question and Answer, and must needs have used the Scriptures with little Decency, since that Jesuit speaks of it in the manner he has done [A].

[A] *He is the Author of a Book ..... in which the Scriptures have been used with little decency, since Father Garasse speaks of it in the manner he has done*] 'That Author wrote a Book, which is much sought 'for, and valued by Men of Wit, in which he over-'throws all the Maxims and Fancies of the Puritans, 'by formal Texts taken out of the holy Scriptures; 'but I could with he had shewn more respect to the 'Holy Ghost, and not have taken the liberty to 'make him sometimes say things that are somewhat 'shameful. Indeed they strike home; but in my 'Opinion, he had better have used other Weapons, 'and

and not have prostituted a golden Scepter to stir a Dunghil, as he has done (1).' Father Garasse has quoted several Passages of this Book of Delatella: one of which follows (2): 'Quæro cur universa nobilitas Anglicana dedignetur servire in ministerio domus Dei, & quare villissimos homines & idiotas cogantur assumere ad ministerium? Respondetur quia scriptum est Ezechielis XXVII, habuerunt nautæ ad ministerium; & Joan. II, Ministri autem sciebant qui hauserant aquam. — I should be glad to learn why the English Nobility should all refuse to serve in the Ministry of the Church, and Persons of the meanest Capacity, and the lowest Station, are obliged to execute that holy Office. The answer is, because we find in Exodus, Chap. the XXVII. they had Sailors for the Ministry, and in the Second of St John, the Servants (i. e. Ministers) that drew the Water knew whence it was.'

(1) Garasse, Doctrine Curieuse, pag. 672, 673.

(2) He takes it from the 3d Chapter, Question 38, and relates it pag. 514, 515.

DOLET (STEPHEN), a very learned Man, burnt at *Paris* for his Opinions in Religion (*a*), the third of *August* 1546 (*b*), was a Native of *Orleans*. He applied himself to reform the *Latin* Style, and composed some pretty good Works [*A*] on that Matter. Some (*c*) have thought that, in his Commentaries on the *Latin* Tongue (*d*), he was much assisted by *Naugier*, with whom he had lived at *Venice*. Others have accused him publickly of Plagiarism [*B*]. He wrote some *Latin* and *French* Verses, which are not amiss [*C*]. He wrote an Apology for the Sect of the *Ciceronians*, whom *Erasmus* had insulted. Improving good Literature so much as he did, it must not be thought strange, that he had a share in the Affection of *Castellan*, a learned Prelate, and

(*a*) See the Remarks [*C*] and [*Q*].

(*b*) And not 1543, as Morері has it; or 1545, as Mr Baillet, in Caille, &c. says.

(*c*) Stumius Præfat. formularum Linguæ Latinæ Stephani Doleti.

(*d*) They were print'd in 1536, in 2 Vol. in folio.

[*A*] *He composed some pretty good Works.*] You will find a more compleat List of his Works in *Gesner*, and the Sieur *de la Caille* (1), than in *Morері*. I must not forget that *Dolet*, who was Printer and Bookseller at *Lyons*, printed some of his own Writings. He would have printed the *French* Translation of most of *Plato*'s Works that he himself had made, if he had not been prevented by his Execution (2).

(1) Histoire de l'Imprimerie, pag. 112.

(2) Baillet, Jugem. des Sçav. Tom IV, pag. 516.

[*B*] *He was accused of Plagiarism.*] Before the *Thesaurus* of *Charles Stephens*, and the Observations of *Nizolius* appeared, *Dolet*'s Commentaries were no larger than the Elegancies of *Laurentius Valla* (3). They were afterwards swelled to two Volumes in Folio, at the expence of *Charles Stephens*, *Nizolius*, *Riccius*, and *Lazarus de Baif*. This was soon known: *Charles Stephens* saw some Sheets of the second Volume whilst it was printing; and observed that almost all that concerned Navigation, was taken out of the Book *de Re Navali*, which *Baif* had published. Mark what he did: he composed an Abridgment of that Book *de Re Navali*, and published it. This gave him an Opportunity of shewing the Thefts, and some Faults of *Dolet*, who to justify himself published a Treatise *de Re Navali*, extracted out of his second Volume, and added an Answer to his Censurer, and dedicated it to *Lazarus de Baif*. He did not deny that he had borrowed several things from *Lazarus*, but maintained it was no Robbery (4).

(3) They, who had seen the Manuscript, affirmed it.

(4) This is taken from Thomasius in his Thesaurus de Phagio Literario, n. 403, & seq. Thomasius has taken it from some Passages of Franciscus Floridus Sabinus, and from the Answer of Dolet.

John Vulterius made very moving Complaints against the Persecution, which he supposed Jealousy had raised at that time against his Friend *Stephen Dolet*. See how he spoke of it to Cardinal *John* of *Lorrain*, upon dedicating his two Books of Epigrams to him, which he caused to be printed at *Lyons* by *Sebastian Gryphius*, in the Year 1536: 'Nemo (ut ingenuè, quod sentio, dicam) tam inimicus nomini Gallico esse creditur, quàm Gallus. Id cum multi hactenus sunt experti, tum nuper STEPHANUS DOLETTUS Aurelius, juvenis ad linguæ Latinæ (ne quid amplius dicam) optimè prima jam adolescentia meritus: reliquo vitæ cursu quid non literis adferet tam divino natus ingenio? tanta laborum omnium patientia, tanta constantia, tanta animi alacritate ad nominis immortalitatem contendens? Is, inquam, ætatis nostræ lumen, ac Galliæ sempiterna gloria, invidiæ morsus expertus est vel acerbissimos. Nam cùm linguæ Latinæ Commentarios (ut quod opus? quàm minimè à juvene expectandum? quantæ diligentiæ? quanti laboris? quàm exacti judicii?) ad publicum omnium linguæ Latinæ amantium utilitatem in lucem emitti voluit, nullos magis sibi adversos censores sensit, quàm à quibus laboris uberrimum fructum jure merito expectabat. Sed valeant hujusmodi literarum pestes: qui, cùm obesse surgenti doctorum gloriæ conantur, tum vel maximè profunt. — *No one (if I may ingenuously declare my Opinion) is a greater Enemy to the Truth Name than a Frenchman: of this there are many Instances, and one of a late date very notorious. Stephen Dolet had, in his Youth, made a surprizing Progress in the Latin Tongue. It is not difficult to conceive that so uncommon a Genius, joined to an unwearied Application, may one day prove an Ornament to the Republick of Letters. Yet this great Man, the wonder of his Age, and who will be a lasting Glory to his Country, was not above the reach of Envy: for being about to publish Commentaries of the Latin Tongue, a Work of immense Labour, and sound Judgement, of universal Use to the Lovers of that Language, and Title to be expected from his Years, he met with the greatest Opposition and Censure from those very Persons, whose favour and applause he had the greatest Reason to expect. Yet these blasters of Merit do sometimes good, since their censure most effectually turns to the Honour of the Person, whom they would injure.* Note that among those Epigrams are many Lines in praise of *Dolet*, and against his Censurers, and particularly against one *Maurus*.

(5) Mr Baillet blames him for it very justly in his Jugemens sur les Poëtes, n. 1279, Tom. III, pag. 220.

[*C*] *He wrote some Latin and French Verses, which are not amiss.*] His Latin Verses, were in *Gruterus*'s Opinion, worthy to be inserted in the *Delicæ Poetarum Galloruin*; and if they are not excellent, yet they are not so imperfect as *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* represents them. That Critic's Passion against *Dolet* has something in it so outragious, and, if I dare say so, something so brutish, that a Man can scarce forbear thinking that a personal Resentment directed that great Man's Pen (5). I shall cite the whole Passage: we shall find *Dolet* punished in it with Death, not for what was called Lutheranism, but for Atheism. 'Doletus . . . Musarachi cartinomæ aut vomicæ dici potest. Nam præterquam quòd in eo tam grandi corpore (ut ait Catullus) ne mica salis quidem, vult infanum agere Tyrannum in Poësi. Ita suo arbitratu Virgilianas gemmas sine inserit pici, ut videri velit sua. Ignavus loquutulejus, qui ex testellis Ciceronis febriculosis quasdam conferruminavit (ut ipse vocat) orationes: ut docti judicant, lutationes. Futuit tantundem licet sibi in divinis operibus Virgilianis. Ita dum optimèque maximi Regis Francisci fata canit, ejus nomen suo malo fato sanctum est, quodque tum illi, tum illius versibus debebatur, solis pastis est Atheos flammis suppliciam. Flamma tamen suas puriorem non efficit: ipse flammam potius efficit impuriorem. In Epigrammatum vero colluvionibus atque latrinis illis, quid ejus tibi fordes dicam? Languida, frigida, insulsa, plenissima illius vecordiæ, quæ summa armata impudentia ne Deum quidem esse professa est. Quapropter quemadmodum summus Philosophus Aristoteles in Natura animalium fecit, ut post narratas partes, quibus constituuntur, etiam excrementorum faciat mentionem, hic ita ejus legatur nomen, non tanquam poëtæ, sed tanquam poëtici excrementi (6). — *Dolet may be called the Muses Canker, or Impostume: he wildly affects to be disdainful in Poetry without the least pretence to Wit, and endeavours to make his own base Copper pass by mixing it with Virgil's Gold. A Driveller, who, with some scraps of Cicero, has tagged together something, which he call Orations, but which Men of Learning rather judge to be Lutrations. He thought he might make as free with the immortal Works of Virgil. Whilst he sung the Fate of that Great and Good King Francis, his Name found it's own evil Fate, and the Atheist suffered the Punishment of the Flames, which both he and his Verses so justly merited. But the Flames could not purify him, but were by him rather rendred impure. Why should I mention his Epigrams, which are but a common sink or shore of dull, cold, unmeaning Trash, full of that thoughtless Arrogance that*

(6) Scaliger. Poët. lib. 6, pag. m. 730.

and much beloved by *Francis* I. *Castellan* made such Intercession for him, that he got him released out of Prison [*D*], and justly checked a Cardinal for the Reproaches he had cast upon him on that Account [*E*]. I easily believe that *Dolet* promised to be a good Catholic;

'that braves the Almighty, and that denies his Being. 'Therefore as the Prince of Philosophers, *Aristotle*, 'first recounted the Parts whereof Animals were constituted, and then mentioned their Excrements; so 'let *Dolet*'s Name stand, not for a Poet, but for a 'poetical Excrement.' The learned *Naudé*, who suspected, not without reason, that *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* was urged to speak in this manner by some private Resentment, did not know the Original of it (7). I fancy I have discovered it. *Dolet* ventured to interfere with *Scaliger*, he wrote against *Erasmus*, in favour of the Ciceronian Sect, after *Scaliger* had supported that Cause. Now few Authors are pleased with such Seconds. It is looked upon as an affected Design, either of out-doing the first Champion, or robbing him of the Honour of being the only Person who breaks a Lance. It is even thought that he, who intermeddles with the Combat, judges that the Cause was but ill maintained, and stands in need of an Advocate. If this be, generally speaking, the Spirit and Character of Authors, judge what *Scaliger*'s Indignation was when he saw *Dolet* enter the Lists, and surprise him, as he pretended, in some ill Practices. He pretended among other things, that the finest Passages of his Harangue had been pirated by *Dolet*, and placed in a disadvantageous Light; and as to the Praises which *Dolet* had given him, he did not thank him for them; they came too late, and with too ill a grace, to repair the first Offence. A better Judgment of all this will be made from these Words of *Scaliger* (8): 'Arbitror te Doleti vidisse Dialogum adversus eum *(Erasmum)* quem non puduit extantibus scriptis meis, flexu alio orationis omnia mea suffurari, atque ineptissimis inurere calamistris. Itaque eadem quæ in orationibus intemperiæ, stilus paulo minus asper, sed emendicatus, ut verbis potius alienis conquisitis, atque corrogatis, quàm oblato argumento ejus loquacitas excrefcere videatur. At Cæsarem laudat, inquies; accipio. Nam te ajunt ad eum retulisse, consuleret dignitati suæ, qui temere atque stolide nimis super Italico nomine ineptisset: à me integrum Dialogum apparatum, quo illius ostenderem & malevolum animum cum inani gloria conjunctum, & præceps ingenium cum stupore, & impurum dicendi genus cum loquacitate, & amentem dictionem cum impudentia. Ita igitur adblanditum, ut animum meum deflecteret à proposito, ita laudasse, ut sequi potius aliorum judicium invitus, quàm suum ipse libens apponere videretur. Pro ea re data est à nobis opera, ut & eam & aliam, quem velit ipse, poeniteat posthac rabiei illius, seu impudicitiæ. Audio illum præesse Lugduni Librariis, quorum manum emendet. Id quod si verum est, in iis libris, quos nuper invulgatos à Gryphio ære comparavimus, deprehenderunt etiam pueri nostri vel insigni scutica vitia animadvertenda. Perstrinxi eum in hac secunda Oratione, sublato quidem nomine, sed ita depictum, ut vel ab infantibus Tolosanis agnosci possit. —— *I imagine you must have seen a Dialogue of Dolet's against Erasmus, wherein he was not ashamed to steal the greatest part from what I had published, giving it a different turn, and dressing it up in his own awkward Manner. There is the same irregularity as in his Orations, only the Stile is something smoother, but then it is a poor piece of Plagiarism, so that his long winded Chit-Chat appears to be a servile Collection of other Men's Thoughts, rather than a series of proper Arguments. But you will say he praises Cæsar; I own it. For it is said that you advised him to consult his Character, and not too unadvisedly trifle with a Cæsar's Name; that I had finished a Discourse, wherein I should expose his Malice and empty Pride, his Pertness and Stupidity; his Brawling and Impropriety, his incoherent Expressions and Impudence. The design therefore of all this fulsome Flattery was to divert me from my Purpose, and seems more the forced effect of other persons Opinions, than a voluntary acknowledgment of his own. Wherefore I have endeavoured to make him, and others, wish they had been more sparing of their Rage and Impudence. I am informed he is a Corrector of the Press at Lyons, and, if he had a hand in correcting those Books which were lately published by Gryphius, our very school Boys have taken Notice of Faults for which he deserves the severest Lash. I have drawn his Character in the second Oration, and though his Name is not put to it, yet I imagine the painting is not so bad, but that a Child may know for whom it was drawn.* He says several other things against *Dolet* in the same Letter. Confirm, by the following Passage of *Diogenes Laërtius*, what I have said of Authors who write on the same Subjects. Ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Ξενοφῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχειν τὰ αὐτὰ ἅπερ καὶ Πλάτων· συνεστῆσαι γὰρ διαλόγους τινὰς, τὰ μὲν κατὰ φιλονικίαν, Σωκράτης ἀποδοῦναι, τὰ δὲ κατὰ συμπόσιον, καὶ ἠθικά. Videtur & Xenophon haudquaquam amico in illum *(Platonem)* fuisse animo: nam veluti contentionis studio similia scripsere, Sympolium, Socratis defensionem, commentaria moralia (9). —— *Xenophon, it seems, bore no great affection to Plato; for out of a desire of Contention they wrote on the same Subject; The Sympolium, the Defence of Socrates, and moral Tracts.*

The Ground and Origin of *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*'s Hatred to *Dolet*.

(7) Thou forgettest two who were better than thy *Rabelais* and *Geofry Tory* and *Stephen Dolet*, whatever *Scaliger*, out of I know not what hatred, has said of the latter. *Naudé, Dialogue de Mascurat. pag.* 8.

(8) *This is what he wrote to* Arnoul Ferron. *See his 14th Letter, at the end of the Edit. of* Toulouse, *in* 4to, 1622.

(9) Laërt. in Platone, lib. 3. n. 34.

[*D*] *Castellan made such Intercession for him, that he got him released out of Prison.*] Here is what the Author of *Castellan*'s Life says of it (10): 'Id magis verum esse credat qui Doletum longi carceris luvie fœdatum, prima accusatione impiæ fraudis reum, Castellano supplice carcere emisso, & omni noxa condonata liberatum esse cognoverit. —— *He will more readily be inclined to believe this, who knows that Dolet was delivered from a long and grievous confinement, on an Accusation of impious Fraud, and received a free Pardon, at the Intercession of Castellan.*' The Reproach that a certain Cardinal made *Castellan* testifies, that Atheism (11), or something like it, was the Crime that *Dolet* found himself suspected of: 'Unus primi nominis Cardinalis Castellanum gravi & objurgatrice oratione adortus esset, quod cum in Ecclesia Orthodoxorum Pontificis locum teneret, contra omnes tamen homines quibus religio & pietas cordi esset, eorum qui non modo Lutherana lue infecti, sed etiam Dei expertes impietatis rei essent, partes tueri apud Christianissimum Regem ausus esset. —— *A Cardinal of great note sharply reproved Castellan, that he who filled, as it were, the Chair of High-Priest in the Orthodox Church, should, in Opposition to all who had the Interest of true Religion at Heart, openly espouse, before the most Christian King, not only those who were infected with the Lutheran Heresy, but even those who were professed Atheists.*' In the following Remark we shall see the general Answer that *Castellan* made; and here is what he answered in particular concerning *Dolet*: 'Sed apud Regem Doleti fraudibus & sceleribus nullum patrocinium tribuisse, pro eo qui promitteret vitæ morumque emendationem homine Christiano dignam Regi supplicem factum esse. —— *That he had never offered to countenance Dolet's Frauds or Wickedness before the King, but had interceded only for a Person who had promised a true Christian Reformation.*' This shews that *Dolet* promised to forsake his dissolute Course of Life.

(10) Petrus Gallandius, pag. 62.

(11) *See the Remarks* [*C*] *and* [*G*].

[*E*] *Castellan . . . . . justly checked a Cardinal for the Reproaches he had cast upon him on that Account.*] He maintained that he had done what a Bishop ought to do: but that the Cardinal would have Bishops to act the Part of Executioners. He told him it was the Business of Bishops, to incline the Minds of Princes to Mercy, and bring home the stray Sheep on their Shoulders. I weaken *Peter Galland*'s Expressions too much, and therefore I will give them in his own words, that the Reader, who understands Latin, may lose nothing. 'Memini Castellanum cum paulum se collegisset animo satis inciteto & commoto respondisse, se de quo accusabatur in accusatorem meritò retorquere posse, cum ipse quod viri Ecclesiastici & viri Pontificis proprium esset, feciffet; ille vero quod veri carnificis esset ab Episcopis exigeret. Episcoporum enim esse & Sacerdotum Christi & Apostolorum, virorumque sanctorum qui nobis suo sanguine Ecclesiam consecrarunt exemplo, Regem à sævitia & immanitate ad mansuetudinem, clementiam & misericordiam convertere, errantem ovem humeris imposita in ovile reducere, deque ea recepta tanquam expugnatis hostium castris gaudio triumphare (12).

(12) Id. ibid. pag. 62, 63.

—— *I*

Catholic; but as he did not keep his Promiſe, no body durſt appear for him when he was impriſoned the ſecond time. So that being abandoned to the Fury of the Inquiſitors, he was condemned to death. A Letter has been publiſhed, which teſtifies that he recommended himſelf to the Holy Virgin [F], and to St *Stephen*, a little before he was ſtrangled; but theſe kind of Teſtimonies are much to be ſuſpected, for the Reaſons that I have touched on in another Place (*e*). There happened ſome Skirmiſhes among the Poets of both Parties, on occaſion of this Puniſhment. See ſome of their Verſes in Mr *le Laboureur* (*f*), who is greatly miſtaken in ſaying that *Dolet* was placed in the Martyrology of the Proteſtants [G].

It has been ſaid (*g*), *that he was a Baſtard of* Francis I, *but not acknowledged as ſuch*. I cannot believe he was that Prince's Son: I know he was very young when he publiſhed two Volumes, in *folio*, in 1536; but I cannot perſuade myſelf he was young enough to be the Son of a Man who was born in 1494 (*b*). It is affirmed, in the *Patiniana*, that *he wrote ſome Harangues againſt the City of* Toulouſe, *for which he made the* Amende Honourable.

(*e*) *See, above, Rem.* [I] *of the Article* BER-QUIN.

(*f*) Addit. à Caſtelnau, Tom. I, pag. 355, 356.

(*g*) Patiniana, pag. 22. *Paris Edit.*

(*b*) *It is the Year* Francis I *was born in.*

' ——— *I remember that when Caſtellion had a little recollected himſelf, he made this ſmart and proper reply, that he could eaſily retort the Accuſation upon the Accuſer, ſince he had done nothing but what was the Duty of a Perſon in his Station, but that He required 'that a Biſhop ſhould perform the Office of an Executioner. That it was the Duty of Biſhops and Prieſts 'to imitate the Example of* CHRIST, *his Apoſtles, 'and thoſe holy Men, who with their Blood conſecrated 'the Church, to pacify the wrath of an angry Prince, 'and to melt him to Softneſs and Mercy, that to lay a 'loſt Sheep on our Shoulders, and bring him back to the 'Fold, was as glorious as a Triumph.*

[F] *A Letter has been publiſhed, which teſtifies that a little before he was ſtrangled he recommended himſelf to the holy Virgin, &c.*] Mr *Almeloveen* (13) has inſerted it in one of his Books (14). It was written from *Paris* the twenty third of *Auguſt* 1546. *Florent Junius*, who writ it, relates that on the third of that Month *Stephen Dolet* was executed, and that the Executioner, having prepared all things, adviſed him to think on his Salvation, and to recommend himſelf to God and the Saints? that *Dolet* making no haſte, but only muttering ſomething, the Executioner told him, he had Orders to ſpeak to him concerning Salvation before all the People: So that, ſaid he to him, you muſt call upon the holy Virgin, and St *Stephen* your Patron, whoſe Feſtival is celebrated this Day; and if you do it not, I know what I have to do. Immediately *Dolet* ſaid a Prayer according to the Form of the Executioner (15), and adverti'ſed the Standers by to read his Books with much Circumſpection, and proteſted more than three times, that they contained many things he had never underſtood: and having afterwards recommended himſelf to God, he was ſtrangled, and then reduced to Aſhes. *Florent Junius* ſays, that a Perſon who aſſiſted as an Officer at the Execution, informed him of all theſe Particulars (16).

(13) He was Phyſician at *Tergou*, and is now, in 1690, a Profeſſor of Polite Learning at *Harderwic*.

(14) *Intituled*, Amanitates Theologico-Philologicæ. *Amſtel.* 1694.

(15) Mi Deus quem toties offendi propitius eſto, teque Virginem matrem precor, divumque Stephanum, ut apud Dominum pro me precatore tuo recedam —— *My God, whom I have ſo often offended, be merciful, and thou, O Virgin Mother, and thou, O holy Stephen, intercede for me a Sinner.* Apud Almeloveen, p. 79.

(16) Hæc quæ ſcribo didici ab eo qui executioni interfuit ex officio. *Ibid.*

[G] *Le Laboureur is miſtaken in ſaying that Dolet was placed in the Martyrology of the Proteſtants.*] ' The pretended Martyrology of the *Huguenots* makes ' great account of this *Dolet*, who was indeed a Man ' of Wit and Learning, but a Libertine, as were all ' the firſt Preachers of the New Goſpel.' Theſe are Mr *le Laboureur*'s words (17). A Man might very eaſily be deceived by them, for who could believe that he had advanced ſuch a thing without having caſt his Eye on the Volume, wherein, ſays he, they have praiſed *Stephen Dolet* ſo much? However, what he affirms is very falſe; the Martyrology of the *Huguenots* does not mention him. I have expreſly conſulted the little Latin Martyrology of *John Crépin*, and afterwards the large one in Folio that was printed in *French* in the Year 1582, but I found nothing in them concerning *Stephen Dolet*. I remember alſo to have obſerved, that *Beza*, who keeps a pretty exact account (18) of the Perſons put to death in *France* for what was called Lutheraniſm, ſays nothing of this pretended Martyr. This Silence would have ſeemed ſtrange to me, if I had not known that *John Calvin* placed *Stephen Dolet* among the impious. ' Agrippam, Villanovanum, Dolet, &c. & ſimiles vulgo notum eſt ' tanquam Cyclopas quoſpiam Evangelium ſemper in ' ore præviſſe. Tandem eò prolapſi ſunt amentia ' & furore, ut non modo in filium Dei execrabiles ' blaſphemias evomerent, ſed quantum ad animas vi' tam attinet, nihil à canibus & porcis putarent ſe ' differre (19). ——— *It is publickly known that Agrippa, Servetus, DOLET, and others of the ſame ſtamp, looked on the Goſpel with gigantic diſdain, and at laſt fell into ſuch a ſtate of Phrenzy and Diſtraction, that they not only expoſed their Mouths with horrid Blaſphemy againſt the Son of GOD, but maintained that, as to Animal Life, there was no difference between them and Swine.* Here *Calvin* and *Bretoulus* are perfectly agreed; for *Bretoulus*, ſpeaking of Atheiſts (20), joins *Stephen Dolet* with *Diagoras*, *Evemerus*, *Theodorus*, and ſuch others whom Antiquity has branded for not admitting a Deity. For the reſt, Mr *le Laboureur* (21) cites ſome Latin Verſes, at the bottom whereof is declared that *Stephen Dolet*, born at *Orleans*, was burnt in the place *Maubert* the third of *Auguſt* 1546, on St *Stephen*'s Day, which was the Day of his Nativity (22). Therefore *Moreri* ought to have called thoſe Circumſtances reported by *la Croix du Maine* into queſtion; and ought yet leſs to have grounded his doubt on *du Verdier du Maine*'s being a Proteſtant; for if any Myſtery were to be found in theſe Circumſtances, it were much more the buſineſs of a Catholic than of a Proteſtant to find it out; a Catholic would draw more devout Reflexions from it than a Proteſtant.

I have juſt now diſcovered, that *Theodore Beza*, who before he made a public Profeſſion of the Reformed Religion, had publiſhed an Epitaph that was very much to the Honour of our *Dolet* (23), left it out of the Editions of his Poems, publiſhed after he had abjured the *Romiſh* Faith. This is a proof, the Proteſtants did not concern themſelves with the Puniſhment of that Man.

(17) Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Memoires de Caſtelnau, Tom. I, pag. 355.

(18) In the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of the Reformed Churches of *France*.

(19) Calvin, in Tract. de Scandal. pag. 00, Tractatuum Theologicorum.

(20) In Elencho Hæret. voce *Atheï*.

(21) Ubi ſupra, pag. 356.

(22) Stephanus Doletus Aurelius Gallus, die ſancto Stephano ſacro, & natus & Vulcano devotus in Malbertina area Lutetiæ 3. Auguſti 1546.

(23) *It is among the Juvenilia Theodori Bezæ, at the Thirty firſt Leaf of the Edition I uſe, which is in* 1600 *without the Printer's Name or Date.*

DOMITIA LONGINA, Daughter of the illuſtrious *Domitius Corbulo* (*a*), rendered herſelf unworthy of ſuch a Father by her Laſciviouſneſs. *Domitian*, having been declared *Cæſar*, gave himſelf over to all manner of Licentiouſneſs. He debauched ſeveral Women, and finding *Domitia* much to his Mind, he obliged her to forſake her Huſband (*b*). He kept her ſome time as a Concubine, and afterwards ſolemnly married her (*c*). The Dignity of an Empreſs did not hinder her from falling in love with a Comedian [A]. For this reaſon the Emperor repudiated her: But not being able

(a) Xiphilin. in Veſpaſ pag. m. 217.

(b) Sueton. in Domit. cap. 1.

(c) Xiphil. ubi ſupra.

[A] *The Dignity of an Empreſs did not hinder her from falling in love with a Comedian.*] That Comedian's Name was *Paris*: He was killed in the open Street by *Domitian*'s Order for daring to lie with the Empreſs. *Domitian* would have had his Wife's Throat cut to puniſh that infamous Commerce, but by *Urſus*'s Advice he was ſatisfied with putting her away. *Xiphilin* tells us no more of it (1); but we learn from *Suetonius*, that *Domitian* ſoon called her home again. ' Uxorem Domitiam ex qua in ſecundo ſuo conſulatu ' filium tulerat, alteroque anno a conſulatu filiam, Auguſtam eandem Paridis Hiſtrionis amore deperditam, ' repudiavit, intraque breve tempus impatiens diſcidii ' quaſi efflagitante populo reduxit (2). ——— *He divorced* ' *his*

(1) Xiphil in Domitiano, pag. m. 230, 231.

(2) Sueton. in Domit. cap. 3.

able to live without her, he took her again a little while after (*d*); and to conceal this Indignity, alledged, that the People were desirous that he should take *Domitia* home again: *Id populus curat scilicet*. It is pretended, that this Woman, distrusting her Husband's cruel Temper, sought means to rid herself of him, and that she had a hand in the Conspiracy by which he perished [*B*]. *Titus*, the Brother of *Domitian*, was suspected of having had to do with her; but she was judged innocent, when she denied it upon Oath; for, instead of denying such Adventures, it had been always her way to boast of them [*C*]. She had a great regard for *Josephus*, and never ceased doing him good Offices (*e*). As for her first Husband (*f*), he was not secure by parting with her: For *Domitian*, not satisfied to have taken his Wife from him, took away his Life also (*g*). We read, in *Procopius*, a Fact very worthy of Praise, concerning the Wife of *Domitian* [*D*]. The Question is if it be true.

(*d*) Sueton. Ibid. cap. 3.

(*e*) Joseph. de Vita sua, fub fin.

(*f*) *His Name was* Ælius Lamia

(*g*) Sueton. Ibid. cap. 10.

' *he H'fe Domitia, by whom he had a Son in his fecond* ' *Marriage, and a Daughter the fecond Year after,* ' *becaufe, though an Emperor, fhe was enamoured with* ' *a Player; but in a little time, not able to live without* ' *her, he took her again under pretence that the People* ' *earneftly defired it.*' It is very likely that *Dion* had not forgot the Conduct of *Domitian*, and it muft be owing to *Xiphilin*'s ill Taste, if it is not to be found in his Abridgment of *Dion*. I maintain that the fuppreffion of a Fact difcovers an ill taste, for *Domitian*'s ill Qualities are fet in a much better Light, when it is known he had the Baseneſs to return the Dignity of Empreſs to a Woman who had proſtituted herſelf to a Player: It is a very ſenſible Evidence of a worthleſs Soul, which draws on that Tyrant's Memory all the Contempt and Horror it deſerves. And as it is the Duty of an Hiſtorian to diſcover the Character of his Actors by the boldeſt Strokes, which mark the Extent of their Virtues, or of their Vices; it is plain, that *Xiphilinus* had but little Judgment if he did not think himſelf obliged to preſerve the recalling of *Domitia*; for I take it for granted, he found it in the Hiſtory he abbreviated. Nor let it be alledged that he did the Office of an Abbreviator; one Line was ſufficient to inform us that *Domitia* was recalled. The Principle now laid down is not favourable to *Suetonius*, in relation to our *Domitia*. That Hiſtorian ſuppreſſes her having been *Domitian*'s Concubine for ſome time: he pretends, ſhe left her firſt Huſband only to marry that Prince. This is extenuating her Fault, and concealing the Extent of her Irregularities from the Reader. Is this the Duty of an Hiſtorian?

Another Inſtance of the Abridger's ill Taſte.

[*B*] *It is pretended that ſhe had a hand in the Conſpiracy, by which Domitian periſhed.*] *Aurelius Victor* is the only Perſon who remarks it: ' Adſcita etiam in ' conſilium tyranni uxore Domitia, ob amorem Pari- ' dis Hiſtrionis à Principe cruciatus formidante (*3*).

(3) Aurel Victor in Epitome Imperatorum.

' —— *Having engaged the Tyrant's Wife in the deſign,* ' *who, for her Love to Paris the Player, was in danger* ' *of being called to Juſtice by her Huſband.*' It is ſurpriſing that the other Writers ſhould be ignorant of this.

[*C*] *Inſtead of denying ſuch Adventures, it had been her way always to boaſt of them.*] This is the height of Impudence. *Suetonius* acted like a Hiſtorian of a good taſte, in deſcribing the Character of that Woman by ſo ſingular a mark as this. ' Quidam opinantur con- ' ſuetudinem recordatum (*Titum*) quam cum fratris ' uxore habuerit, ſed nullam habuiſſe perſancte Domitia ' jurabat, haud negatura ſi qua omnino fuiſſet, immo ' etiam gloriatura, quod illi promptiſſimum erat in omni- ' bus probris (*4*).'

(4) Sueton. In Tito, cap. 10.

[*D*] *We read in Procopius a Fact very worthy of praiſe concerning the Wife of Domitian.*] *Procopius* (*5*) relates, that the Wife of *Domitian*, never having approved of her Husband's tyrannical Conduct, and never having done hurt to any Body, was much esteemed by the Senators. Which was the Cauſe that, after *Domitian*'s Murther, they deſired her to come to the Senate houſe, and offered her all ſhe ſhould demand of that wicked Prince's Succeſſion. She only deſired leave to bury him, and to erect a Statue to him; when this was granted her, ſhe cauſed all the diſperſed and mangled parts of *Domitian*'s Body to be ſought for, and joined them as well as ſhe could. The Body they patched up was the Model of the Statue ſhe erected to her Husband in the Street which leads to the Capitol. The Statue ſtood there in *Procopius*'s Time, and repreſented the Barbarity that had been exerciſed on *Domitian*. The Empreſs's Aim was only to preſerve a Monument of the barbarous Action of the Murtherers. *Triſtan* has reaſon to admire, that ſo extraordinary a thing, *if true, ſhould be omitted by ſo many Hiſtorians* (6).

(5) *In his* Secret Hiſtory, *cited by* Triſtan. Comment. Hiſtoriques, Vol. 1, pag. 346.

(6) Triſtan Ibid.

DONALDSON (*a*) (WALTER), born at *Aberdeen*, in *Scotland*, holds a Rank among the learned Men of the XVIIth Century. He had been in the Retinue and Service of *David Cunningham*, Biſhop of *Aberdeen*, and *Peter Junius*, Great Almoner of *Scotland*, when they went in Embaſſy from King *James* to the Court of *Denmark*, and to the Princes of *Germany*. After his return home he went to *Heidelberg*, where the famous *Dionyſius Gothofredus* taught the Civil-Law. *Donaldſon*, having dictated a ſhort Courſe of Moral Philoſophy to ſome young Scholars there, found himſelf to be an Author before he was aware of it; for a young Man of *Riga*, in *Livonia*, who put this Manuſcript to the Preſs [*A*], aſked no body leave for it. The Author, in informing us of this, does not forget the many Editions that were made of that Work in *Germany*, and in *Great Britain*. Nor does he forget the Plagiariſm of *Keckerman* [*B*]. He was afterwards Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy, Morality, and the

(*a*) *Konig* calls him *Donaldſonius*: it ſhould have been *Donaldſonus*: thus the Author calls himſelf at the Head of his Books.

[*A*] *A young Man . . . . . put to the Preſs the Manuſcript of his Courſe of Moral Philoſophy.*] His Name was *Vernerus Becker*. The Sieur *Konig* did not well know the date of that Work, ſince he ſays that the Author made his *Synopſis Ethica* in 1631. It is the ſame Book with the *Synopſis Moralis Philoſophiæ*, printed in 1604, according to the *Oxford* Catalogue.

[*B*] *He did not forget the Plagiariſm of Keckerman.*] The Collection of Plagiaries publiſhed by *Thomaſius*, Profeſſor at *Leipſic*, does not mention the Charge that is brought here againſt *Keckerman*. I ſhall ſet down our Author's Words at length, becauſe a miſtake is to be ſeen in them, which may be of ſome uſe to the Readers, towards teaching them to form a better Judgment of compiled Works. ' Acceſſit & eorum non ' tacitum, utcunque ſuppreſſo meo nomine, teſtimo- ' nium qui ex eo ſcripſerunt, & in ſyſtemata ſua quæ ' ad guſtum videbantur tranſtulerunt. Keckermannum ' cum meis qui conferet, haud vana hæc aut oſtenta- ' tioni dicta reperiet: plagii manifeſtarii ex eo mango ' nem deprehendent, quod ne erroribus quidem mu- ' tatis, tanquam mancipiorum nominibus, familiæ ſuæ ' pleraque adſcripſerit. Specimen accipe, quod libri ' ſecundi cap. 5. mendoſe ab operis erat vulgatum, ' plagiarius qui authorem ipſum ne de nomine quidem ' habebat notum ſic nothum citat. *Hæc loco ſubjectimus* ' *præclarum ſententiam Caſſii quæ eſt 2. lib. epiſtolarum Ciceronis: ipſi homini duplices manus, ſo.tas aures, oculos geminos divina tribuerunt*, & quæ ſequuntur. At vero apud Ciceronem nuſquam iſta extat ſententia, nec eo libro ulla vel Caſſii ad Ciceronem vel Ciceronis ad Caſſium epiſtola: verba autem ſunt ' Amalaſuenthæ Reginæ apud Caſſiodorum epiſtola ' tertia libri 10. variarum quam Senatui Romano ſcri- ' bit,

the *Greek* Tongue in the Academy of *Sedan*, and Principal of the College during sixteen Years; after which he was called to open a College at *Charenton*; but an Oppoſition, by Law, was immediately made againſt that Eſtabliſhment. Rather than be idle during the time of the Law-ſuit, he collected among his Papers the ſeveral Parts of his *Synopſis OEconomica*, and printed it at *Paris*, in the Year 1620, in 8vo. He dedicated it to the Prince of *Wales*; it is a Book worth reading (*b*). It was printed at *Roſtock*, in 8vo, in the Year 1624. The Book in which he reduced into the common Places, and under certain general Heads, all that lies ſcattered in *Diogenes Laërtius* concerning one and the ſame thing, may alſo have it's Uſes (*c*). It was printed in *Greek* and in *Latin* at *Frankfort*, in the Year 1612, under the Title of *Synopſis locorum communium, in qua Sapientiæ humanæ imago repreſentatur*, &c.

(*b*) Barthius, in Stat. pag. 30, having cited ſome Words of it, calls the Author ſani judicii hominem.

(*c*) See the Preface of the Synopſis OEconomica.

' bit, rationem reddens cur fratrem in regni ſocietatem aſſumpſerit: cujus hoc eſt caput, aſtra ipſa cœli mutuo reguntur auxilio & vicario labore participato mundum ſuis luminibus adminiſtrant. ipſi quoque homini, &c (1). —— *To theſe may be added the Teſtimony of thoſe, who, ſuppreſſing my name, have copied from it, and inſerted whatever was agreeable to their taſte in their own Syſtems. Whoever will compare Keckerman with my writings, will find that I ſpeak not out of Oſtentation. The Plagiary may be manifeſtly detected, ſince he has adopted the very Faults, as Servants names, &c. As for Example. The Plagiary, who knew not ſo much as the true Author's names, quotes him by that which the Printer had by miſtake given him in the fifth Chapter of the ſecond Book.* To this I ſhall add a memorable Saying of Caſſius, in the ſecond Book of Tully's Epiſtles; Nature hath given to a Man two Hands, two Ears, two Eyes, &c. *But there is no ſuch ſentence in Tully, nor is there in that Book any Epiſtle from Tully to Caſſius, or from Caſſius to Tully. But the Words are Queen Amalaſuentha's, and to be found in the third Epiſtle of the tenth Book of Caſſiodorus; She gives this, in her Letter to the Roman People, as a reaſon for taking her Brother as a Partner in her Kingdom, of which theſe are the Heads; The very Stars of Heaven are ſupported by mutual Aſſiſtance, and adminiſter Light to the World each in it's proper turn; and ſo to Man, Nature has given him, &c.*' If the like Faults were looked for in *Keckerman*, they might be found in abundance. It is the common Practice of thoſe who compoſe at the expence of their Neighbour: They carry off the Houſhold ſtuff, and the Sweepings too: They take the Corn, and Chaff, the Broom, and the Duſt at the ſame time. *Rem auferunt cum pulviſculo* (2).

(1) Donaldſonus, Præfat. Synopſis OEconom.

(2) See Plautus in prologo Truculenti, ver. 9.

DONATUS (Jerom), a Noble *Venetian*. I ſhall add ſomething to what Mr *Moreri* has ſaid of him. He commanded in *Breſcia* in the Year 1496, and had already publiſhed his Tranſlation of the Book of *Alexander Aphrodiſæus de Anima* (*a*). Two Years after he commanded in *Ferrara* (*b*). He died at *Rome*, after having reconciled the Republic of *Venice* and Pope *Julius* II, and before the *French* were marched out of *Italy* (*c*). His Children ſuppreſſed the Writings which the Affairs of State had hindered him from perfecting (*d*). One of his Letters contains a Deſcription of the Earthquake that happened in *Candia*, while he commanded there (*e*). *Pierius Valerianus* has placed him in the Liſt of the unfortunate Learned Men [*A*]. We ſhall ſee the Judgment that *Eraſmus* made of him [*B*].

(*a*) Petrus Bembus Epiſt. 6, lib. 2, pag. m. 450.

(*b*) Id. Epiſt. 7, lib. 2, pag. 457.

(*c*) Paulus Jovius, Elog. cap. 56, pag. 132.

(*d*) Id. ibid.

(*e*) Id. ibid.

[*A*] *Pierius Valerianus has placed him in the Liſt of the unfortunate learned Men.*] And that for three Reaſons. I. Becauſe his Domeſtics obeyed him ſo ill, and vexed him ſo much, that if he had not found ſome comfort in his Studies, he would have been the moſt miſerable of all Men. II. Becauſe that having had a thouſand Troubles and Difficulties to ſurmount, with incredible patience, to appeaſe the fierce Humour of *Julius* II, he had not the pleaſure to enjoy the Fruit of his Labour; for he fell ſick the ſame day that he had concluded the Treaty between that Pope and the *Venetians*, and his Diſtemper was ſo violent a Fever, that it ſoon carried him off; ſo that he never ſaw the Happineſs he procured his Country, and which he he ſnatched out of the Hands of a ſtubborn Fortune. III. Becauſe that almoſt all the Works, which he had writ in great Numbers, to immortalize his Name, remained buried in Obſcurity (1), a very ſad Diſgrace to a learned Man (2). The Author, who ſays all this, obſerves that our *Donatus* was not ignorant of any Science, and that he was a Poet, Orator, Philoſopher, Divine, and a Mathematician in an excellent Degree.

(1) Quod eruditiſſimo indigniſſimum eſt ærumnarum genus. *Pier Valerian de Litterato infelic lib.* 2, *pag.* 62, *Edit. Amſt.* 1647.

[*B*] *We ſhall ſee the Judgment Eraſmus made of him.*] He had ſcarce ſeen any more of *Donatus*'s Writings, than his Letters, yet he believed he was a Man who might have made himſelf Maſter of any part of Learning, if the buſineſs of the State had permitted him to dedicate himſelf to cultivating the Sciences: ' Epiſtolæ, quod pene ſolum illius (Hieronymi Donati) habemus, declarant illum quidvis præſtare potuiſſe, ſi voluiſſet huc animum intendere, ſed Reip negotia diſtraxerunt hominem ab ocio literario (3).'

(2) Taken from Pierius Valerianus ibid.

(3) Eraſm. in Ciceroniano, pag. m. 72, 73.

DONATUS (Marcellus), Count of *Ponzano*, Knight of St *Stephen*, was a *Florentine*; but he ſettled at the Court of the Duke of *Mantua*, and had ſome conſiderable Employs there (*a*). He died in the beginninig of the XVIIth Century, before his *Scholia in Latinos Romanæ Hiſtoriæ Scriptores* were quite printed. His Relation, *Frederic Donatus*, took care of printing the Remainder, and they were publiſhed at *Venice*, in the Year 1604. *Gruterus* inſerted them in the ſixth Volume of his *Theſaurus Criticus*, in the Year 1607. It is agreed that *Donatus* had Learning, and yet they ſpeak but meanly of his Performance. We ſhall ſee what *Caſaubon* thought of it [*A*], and we ſhall add to it the Judgment of *Barthius* [*B*].

(*a*) See the Remark [*B*].

[*A*] *We ſhall ſee what Caſaubon thought of it.*] It is in his Commentary on *Suetonius* in the eleventh Chapter of the Life of *Julius Cæſar*. ' Tropæa ſemper ſcribendum, *ſays he*, non trophæa. Nullo enim modo ferendus eſt Marcellus Donatus, qui tantum hoc loco perdit verborum, ut probet veram ſcriptionem eſſe trophæa. Fuit omnino vir ille plurimarum literarum, & in Romana antiquitate adprime verſatus: ſed qui Græcæ eruditionis plane expers eſſet, ἀφύσκαλον Criticum ubique ſeſe prodit. Cujuſmodi ſane hoc eſt illius judicium. —— He ſays, *the true reading is* tropæa, *not* trophæa. *Marcellus Donatus is intolerable, who throws away ſuch a quantity of words to prove the true manner of writing is* trophæa. *He was indeed a Man of great Learning, and well verſed in the Antiquities of Rome: but being entirely unacquainted with the Greek Language, he makes but an awkard Critic, and this may ſtand as an Argument to prove it.*'

[*B*] *We ſhall add to it the Judgment of Barthius*] Take

Take it all together, it is rather disobliging than otherwise. I shall set it down at large: We shall see some Facts in it, that relate to the History of our *Donatus*: we shall first see the Plagiary in it, and then a Copier of our modern Copiers. ' Vide multis Andream Tiraquellum ad Legem Nonam Connubialem, pag. CCLX. Et Marcelli Donati dilucidationes in Tacitum, pag. CXXII. Pierisque auctorum testimoniis Tiraquello debitis. Eum hominem fuisse plurimarum ' Litterarum, & in Romana Antiquitate benè versatum judicium est D. Casauboni, Ultima Editione Sueton. ubi de Tropæi orthographia sermo est. Nos nihil inde detrahimus. Tamen exscriptorem strenuum recentium, & quidem vulgatorum, Rhapsodorum, ipsorumque adeo Lexicographorum, agnoscimus. Editæ sunt ejus *Lucubrationes* Venetiis, Anno MDCIV. Ut mirum sit tot paginis in Suetonium scriptis, non meminisse præclari Casauboni Commentarii, qui toto decennio ante prodiit. Ipse *se in Comitatu Principis Mantuani fuisse* memorat, & *in eo Germaniam habitasse*, ad Claudium Suetonii, cap. VIII. Eidem Principi fuit *à Libellis & Secretis*, in Domitianum Ejusdem, cap. VII. *Legatus* quoque, deportandis Nuptialibus Muneribus, ad Capitolini Claudium Albinum. Habuit *suburbanum*, idque coluit, *Montanariæ*, quod est oppidum tertio à Mantua Milliario. Quamvis autem hoc quod modo de *exscriptione Neotericorum* dixi, verum sit, etiam illud quod de summa *Græci sermonis imperitia* ipse fatetur, & notat Casaubonus; certum tamen fuisse *in multis sani Judicii hominem*, & qui Juventutis commodo bene fecerit. Nos illa ea de caussa huc adnotavimus, ut studiosa juventus melius ejus *Dilucidatoris* meritum agnoscere, & cautius omnia arbitrari possit (1). —— *Consult Tiraquellus on the ninth Matrimonial Law, pag. CCLX. and Marcellus Donatus's Explanatory Notes on Tacitus, pag. CXXII The greatest part of the Testimony of Authors are owing to Tiraquellus. Casaubon, in his last Edition of Suetonius, where he speaks of the Orthography of the word* Tropæum, *allows him to be a Man of great Learning, and well versed in the Antiquities of Rome. I shall not dispute his Judgment. However I must own him to be a strict Copyer from the Moderns, even the meanest, the Rhapsodists, Lexicographers, &c. His Lucubrations were published at Venice, An.* 1604. *So that it seems strange to me that he should write so many Pages on Suetonius, and never once mention the great Casaubon's Commentaries, which had been published ten whole Years before. He says,* that he was in the Duke of Mantua's Retinue, and attended him in Germany, *in Suetonius's Life of Claudius, chapter the eighth; and in the same Author's Life of Domitian chapter the seventh,* he was Secretary to the same Prince, and employed as Embassador to carry the Nuptial Presents, *in the Life of Claudius Albinus.* He had a Country House at Montanaria, *three Miles from Mantua, which he lived in. Though what I have observed concerning his copying the Moderns be true, and his extreme Ignorance in the Greek Language, which Casaubon mentions, be granted, yet it is certain he often gives us Tokens of a sound Judgment, and has been serviceable to young Students. For whose sake I have made these Remarks, that they may be the better acquainted with this Annotator's Merit, and form their Judgments with the greater caution.*' *Barthius* was in the right to think that it is of use to give such Advice to young Men.

(1) Barthius in hanc verba Statii *Sylv.* 1, lib. 2, ver. 49, pag. 171.

DONEAU (Hugh), in *Latin Donellus*, one of the most learned Civilians of the XVIth Century, was born at *Châlons*, on the *Soane* (*a*), in the Year 1537. His Schoolmaster, a severe Man, and a great Whipper, had so discouraged him, that neither Threats nor Promises could make him return to School [*A*]. But at last, for fear he should be put a Servant to a Swine-herd, he promised to pursue his Study for the future. He studied the Civil-Law at *Toulouse*, under the Professors *John Corras* and *Arnoul du Ferrier* (*b*), who had Four thousand Auditors. He commenced Doctor of the Civil-Law, at *Bourges*, in the Year 1551, and practised in the same Place with *Duaren*, *Hotman*, and *Cujas* [*B*]. He professed that Science afterwards at *Orleans*. He had like to have been murdered in the Massacre of 1572 (*c*), because he was a Protestant; and he could not have escaped the Violence of the Murderers, if some *Germans*, who had been his Scholars, had not saved him, by disguising him in a *German* Dress, as if he had been one of their Domestics. He had embraced the Reformed Religion in his tender Years at the Instigation of his Sister. He stayed some time at *Geneva*; and afterwards went into the Palatinate, where he taught the Civil-Law in the Academy of *Heidelburg*. He was invited to *Leyden*, in 1575, for the same Employment: he accepted it, and discharged it worthily. But having imprudently engaged himself farther than he should have done in *Leicester*'s Faction [*C*], he found himself

(*a*) *And not a little Town near* Autun, *as* Moreri *assures us, deceived by these Words of* Meursius, in Heduis natus, *which he did not understand.*

(*b*) *See Rem* [*B*].

(*c*) *Note, that, I hope to* Thuanus, lib. 82, pag. 1082, 1083, *be taught then at* Bourges.

[*A*] *His Schoolmaster had so discouraged him, that they could not make him return to School.*] It may be the Reader will be glad to see the Latin words of the Author, who informs me of this Fact. ' Cum ' puer ob Præceptoris plagosi sævitiam à ludo literario ' planè alienaretur, ut nullis minis aut blanditiis ad eum ' reduci posset, fortè accidit, ut pater ejus pertran- ' seuntem illâc pastorem suarium cerneret, quo ad se ' vocato, coram filio, rogare instituit, ecquid famulo ' opus haberet? esse sibi domi filium, quem ei mancipare cuperet, aversum à literis & immorigerum. ' Ea voce puer adeò conterritus est, ut rem seriò agi ' existimans, & flens parentis genubus advolutus eum ' obtestaretur, ne se filium suum in eas sordes projiceret, velle se literis deinceps operam studiosè dare (1). —— *Having taken an Aversion to the School, whilst a Boy, by reason of his Master's severity, insomuch, that neither threats nor promises could engage him to return; his Father, walking out with him, accidentally met with a Swine-herd, and having called him, asked him before his Son, whether he wanted a Servant, telling him he had a Son whom he would willingly put to him for a Servant, because he was disobedient and hated his Book. The Boy hearing this, and thinking his Father was in earnest, burst into Tears, and falling at his Father's Feet, begged of him not to throw him into so sordid a State, promising for the future to attend his Study with the utmost Application.*'

(1) Freherus, in Theatro, pag. 924.

[*B*] *He professed the Law at Bourges with Duaren, Hotman, and Cujas.*] The Author, whom I cited above (2), gives him another Colleague, to wit, *Eguinard Baron*; but because I know that *Eguinard Baron* died in the Year 1550, I would not say that he was Professor of Law at the same time with *Doneau*, who, according to my Author's own Relation (3), did not teach the Law at *Bourges* till he had commenced Doctor there in that Science, in the Year 1551. *Duaren* conferred that Degree upon him the seventeenth of *July*. The Speech he made on that Occasion in praise of *Doneau*, is printed among his Works. Father *Jacob* (4) who had read *Doneau*'s Funeral Oration made by *Scipio Gentilis*, has distinguished, better than *Paul Freher*, what ought to have been distinguished. He says no more, than that *Doneau* was very assiduous at the Lectures of *Eguinard Baron*, and at those of *Francis Duaren*, and that he insinuated himself into their Favour, and that *Duaren*, in particular, testifies a singular Affection for him. I have corrected another Fault of *Paul Freher*: he calls *Arnoldum Ferronum* one of the Professors of *Toulouse*, of whom our *Doneau* was a Disciple; he ought to have called him *Arnoldum Ferrerium*, as Father *Jacob* has done. Let this serve for one Example of the Negligence I have mentioned before (5).

(2) Paul. Freher.

(3) Freher.

(4) Ludovicus Jacob. de claris Scriptor. Cabilonensibus, pag. 42.

[*C*] *He did imprudently engage too far in Leicester's Faction.*] *Leicester* had brought 6000 *English* into *Holland* about the end of the Year 1585, and instead of maintaining the Liberty of that new Republic, he aspired

(5) *To the Remark* [*B*] *of the Article* DEMETRIUS, *Cæsar*, (19).

himself obliged to leave *Holland* in the Year 1588. He returned into *Germany*, and was Professor of Law at *Altorf* all the Remainder of his Life. He died the fourth of *May*, 1591. His Memory was so extraordinary, that he knew the whole Body of the Law by heart (*d*). You will find the Titles of some of his Works in *Moreri*. The rest are of the same kind. He had endeavoured all his Life-time to lessen the Reputation of *Cujas* by his Criticisms upon him (*e*). *Thuanus* has committed some Faults [*D*]. (*e*) *See Rem.* [*D*].

(*d*) *Taken from the Theatre of* Paul Freherus, *pag.* 944, *where he cites* Vitæ Professorum Leidenſium, *and the Funeral Programme of* Hugo Donellus.

aspired to the Sovereignty: And as he was not ignorant that the People, being supported by the Preachers, adhered to the Interest of the Governour against the Magistrates Party; he dexterously fomented those Dispositions of the People, and succeeded the more easily because the opposite Faction drew the Hatred of the Clergy upon themselves, by opposing the Authority of the Consistories. Mr *Hubert* (6), who informs me of this, adds, that those of the Consistorian Party maintained, that the Sovereignty did not belong to the Magistrates, but to the People, a Thesis, which the States of *Holland* ordered to be condemned the fifteenth of *October* 1587. All these Intrigues of *Leicester*, filled the new Republic with Parties, and some Plots were even discovered, whereby he endeavoured to seize on some of the greatest Towns, and particularly of *Leyden*. These were the Affairs, in which our *Donellus* was concerned, and for which he was banished. 'Insidiæ quoque civitatibus Hollandiæ occupandis, nominatim Dordraco Leidæque factæ sunt, ubi proditores quidam capite, & Hugo Donellus Juris Antecessor exilio mulctati (7) —— *There was a design formed also to surprise some Cities of Holland, particularly Leyden and Dort; but the Traytors, being detected, were punished, some with Death, and Doneau, Professor of Law, banished.*' 'Eam conjunctionem (plebis & Concionatorum cum Gubernatore) Leicestrius imprimis curæ habuit, obtrectando optimatibus, & concionatores plebesque specie religionis sibi conciliando. Quâ in re multum ei profuit, quod Optimates disciplinæ Ecclesiasticæ fere adversabantur, & Consistoria sibi adversa reputantes, quantum poterant, cohibere gaudebant. Quorum patroni vicissim plebi inculcabant, jus supremum non esse penes Proceres, sed penes populum, cui ipsi rationem reddere cogerentur. Contra quam sententiam Ordines Hollandiæ decretum sive disputationem publicam ediderunt d. 16. Octobris 1587 (8). —— *Leicester was particularly careful in securing the Interest of the Clergy, and Commonalty, under the pretence of Religion, by raising against the Nobility. One thing of singular Advantage to him was, that the Nobility, in general, opposed the Ecclesiastical Discipline, and imagining that Consistories were against their Interest, endeavoured to the utmost to suppress them. Their Patrons, on the other hand, inculcated to the People, that the supream Power was not lodged in the Nobles, but in the People, to whom the Nobles were obliged to render an account, which Opinion was condemned by a Decree of the States of Holland, the fifteenth of Octob.* 1587.' Most People will take this Matter on the credit of Mr *Huber*, rather than on that of *Grotius*; for which Reason I do not cite what the latter says in the fifth Book of his History of the *Netherlands*. Thus he must be cited, and not in the fifth Book of his *Annals* (9). *Doneau* was not the only Professor, who caballed against the Authority of the States in favour of *England*. *Lambert Daneau*, a *French* Refugee, Minister in *Holland*, and a Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, ingaged himself in the same Cabal (10). If *Thuanus* may be believed, this was the Faction of the Preachers, and that of the Common People; and their design was to subject the Republic to the Dominion of the *English* (11).

(6) *Professor of Civil Law at Franeker: he died the eighth of Novemb.* 1694.

(7) Ulricus Huber in Historia Civili, Tom. II, pag. 413.

(8) Id. ib. pag. 412, 413.

(9) Mr Teissier, Addit. aux Eloges, Tom. II, pag. 444, *cites the fifth Book of Annals.*

(10) Thuan. lib. 88, pag. 147.

(11) Ibid pag. 146, & seq.

[*D*] *Thuanus has committed some Faults*] According to his Account, we must believe that *Doneau* upon his leaving *France* went to *Leyden*. 'Qui cum primum Avarici Biturigum (12) diu docuisset, post tumultum Parisiensem solum patrium vertere coactus, Lugduni Batavorum aliquanto tempore hæsit (13). —— *Who having been a long time Professor at Bourges, was after the Massacre at Paris forced to leave his Country, and reside some time at Leyden.*' Now this is false; for after his Flight he was Professor at *Heidelberg*, before he was so in *Holland*. Besides, *Thuanus* is mistaken as to this Professor's Age: he makes him as long lived as *Cujas*, that is to say, sixty eight Years (14), and yet *Doneau*'s Epitaph (15) shews that he died in his Sixty fourth Year. See *Thuanus*'s Words (16,): 'Pridie Eid. Majas fatis concessit, eodem quo Cujacius ætatis anno, eo minore fama, quod illius famæ voce & scriptis obstrepere tota vita pro ludo habuerit. — *He died the fourteenth day of May, in the same Year of his Age as Cujas, but not in so great Fame, having made it his Study and Diversion to depreciate that Author's Reputation all his Life-time.*' See *Vossius*'s Twenty fourth Letter at page 73. I wonder *Thuanus* could be ignorant that the *Zacharias Furnesterus*, of whom he speaks, is our *Doneau*: It is he who, under that false Name, refuted the Apology of the Massacre of *Paris*, sent to the Diet of *Poland* in 1572, by the Bishop of *Valence*. 'Contra eam defensionem biennio post contraria defensio edita est admodum virulenta à Gallo quodam in Germania profugo, Zachariæ Furnesteri nomine, quæ cum Montuci nomen & pudorem admodum suggillaret, anno post Lugduni publicatur adversus illum Furnesteri libellum pro Joanne Montucio episcopo & comite Valentino Diensi præscriptio elegantissime scripta à Jacobo Cujacio I. C. hujus ætatis principe, nomine tamen supresso (17): — *Two Years after, an Answer was published to that Defence: it was indeed a virulent one, and wrote by a French Refugee in Germany, under the Name of Zachary Furnester; which being very severe upon the Character of Montuc, the next Year an Answer was published at Leyden against the Pamphlet of Furnester, in defence of Montuc, Bishop of Valence, wrote in an elegant Style, by James Cujas the famed Civilian, but without a Name.*' Mr *Deckher* (18) knew very well, that *Donellus* was the Author of the Writing of the pretended *Furnesterus*, but was deceived in two things. 1. In saying that *Furnesterus*'s Answer was published in 1572. 2. In imagining that it confuted the Apology that *Michael Seurus* (*a*), a Knight of *Malta*, had made in the general Diet of *Poland*. 'Sub eadem Catharina infamis laniena Parisiensis defensor Michael Seureus, Eques Hierosolymitanus, coram Ordinibus regni Poloniæ fuit (19).'

(12) That is to say at *Bourges*, and not at *Rouen*, as it is said in the Translation of *Thuanus*, *apud Teissier, Elog. Tom II, pag.* 160.

(13) Thuan. lib. 100, pag. 405.

(14) Id. lib. 99, pag. 378.

(15) Arnd Meurisius, Athen. Bat. pag. 132.

(16) Lib. 100, pag. 405.

(17) Thuan. Histor lib. 63, pag. 1092, col. 1

(18) Deckherrus de ser prius adespotis, pag 203.

(19) Ibid.

(§ *a*) *Michael de Seure*, Knight of *Malta*, and Commander of the Order. The Journal of the Reign of *Henry* III, and the Memoirs of Queen *Margaret*, speak of him under the Name of the Chevalier *de Seure*. Rem. Crit.]

DONI (Antony Francis), lived in the XVIth Century. He was a Native of *Florence*, and published a great many *Italian* Books [*A*], which made him pass for a Wit. The reviling satirical Character, which at first he shewed in his Writings, was not so much the effect of his own Inclination, as to satisfy the Request of one of his Friends. He suffered some Letters to be inserted in his Works, which were not of his

[*A*] *He published a great many Italian Books.*] *Ghilini* has given us this List of them (1). *Quattro libri di Medaglie: le Novelle: tre Invettive, che hanno questi titoli, il Baleno, la Saetta, e il Tuono: tre Dialoghi separatamente stampati, cio è della Fortuna & Infelicita di Cesare, della Musica, e del Disegno: la Libraria, divisa in due parti: un Trattato dell' Huomo in tutte le forme, per comparazioni, alla qual' Opera diede titolo di Microcosmo: l'Eternita della Patria in cinque libri spiegata: una Comedia intitolata la Stufaiuola: i Marmi, ne' quali s'introducono più persone a discorrere: i Mondi: gl'Inferni: la Zucca: la Filosofia morale: il Cancelliere: le Prose antiche di Dante: la Guerra navale trà la sacra Lega, e gl' Infedeli in versi eroici narrata: le Stanze alla villanesca: e le Lettere.*

(1) Ghilini Teatro, parte I, pag. 2.

I shall touch a little upon some of these Books, beginning with that intituled *Gl' Inferni*. It is a quarto, of 224 Pages, printed at *Venice*, *nell' Academia Peregrina*

his own Writing: this did him an Injury; for the Authors of those Letters boasted soon after, that they had composed all that was published under the Name of *Doni*. He took care to remedy this Insult, by publishing a new Edition of his Works in a better Form, by the Advice of the Academy of the *Perigrini*. He suppressed the Elogies he had made upon Persons unworthy of that Honour, and praised others he had wrongfully censured. He died at *Venice*, in the Month of *September*, 1574 (*a*); where he had fixed his Abode about the end of the Year 1547, being about Thirty five Years of Age (*b*). He was Member of the Academy I have mentioned. He took the Sirname of *Bizarro*, which agreed admirably well with his Genius; for he was a Man that had very particular ways, both in his Poems and Prose. His Inventions and his *Concetti* were strange Sallies of Imagination; and he endeavoured to distinguish himself, by surprizing his Readers by Fictions somewhat over-stretched. He was descended of a very good Family [*B*].

(*a*) *Taken from* Teatro d'Huomini Litterati, *Part I, pag.* 20.

(*b*) *See the* 224*th Page of his* Inferni.

grina, per Francisco Marcolini, in the Year 1553. The Author had been then above five Years at *Venice* (2), and had determined to continue there all the rest of his Life. He makes seven Hells in this Work: 'Inferno de gli Scolari & de Pedanti. Inferno de mal 'Maritati, & de gli Amanti. Inferno de ricchi Avari, & de Poveri liberali. Inferno delle Puttane, & 'de Ruffiani. Inferno de Dottori ignoranti, Artisti, '& Legisti. Inferno de Poeti & Compositori. Inferno de Soldati & Capitani poltroni &c. —— *The Hell of Scholars and Pedants. The Hell of bad Husbands and Lovers. The Hell of rich Misers and poor Spendthrifts. The Hell of Whores and Rogues. The Hell of ignorant Doctors, Artists, and Lawyers. The Hell of Poets and Authors. The Hell of Soldiers, Coward-Captains, &c.* This is but the first part of the *Inferni del Doni*. I know not whether ever he published the remainder.

(2) *See the* 224*th Page of his* Inferni.

He had already published another Book, the Title of which I shall give at length, as it serves to discover to us the Method of this Man. 'I Marmi del 'Doni Academico Peregrino. Cio è Ragionamenti 'introdotti à farsi da varie conditioni d'Huomini, à 'luoghi di honesto piacere in Firenze: ripieno di 'Discorsi in varie Scienze & Discipline, Motti arguti, Istorie varie, Proverbii antichi & moderni, Sentenze morali, Accidenti & Novellette morali; diviso in quattro Libri. Opera giovevole à persone 'd'ogni stato per il corregimento de'Costumi, & per 'ogni professione d'Huomini. —— *The Marbles of 'Doni; in which are inserted Discourses of Men of 'different Conditions, innocent Conversations at Florence; Discourses in divers Sciences, witty Sayings, 'various Histories, ancient and modern Proverbs, moral Sentences, moral Stories; divided into four Books. 'Necessary for the Reformation of Manners and Men 'of all Professions, &c.* I have not the first Edition of this Book, which is that of *Venice* in 1552; but I have the Edition of 1609, *in Venetia, presso Gio. Battista Bertoni, in* 4to.

In the Year 1565, he printed another Book in 8vo, at the same place, *appresso Fran. Rampazetto*, intituled *La Zucca del Doni Fiorentino, divisa in cinque libri di gran valore, sotto titolo di poca considerazione.*

It is observed by *Ghilini*, that the *La Libraria* of *Doni* is divided into two Parts: but Mr *Teissier* speaks otherwise of it. 'La Libraria, *says he* (3), divisa in 'tre Trattati: Nel primo sono scritti li Autori volgari, 'con cento e piu Discorsi sopra di quelli: Nel secondo, sono dati in luce tutti i Libri che l'Autore ha 'veduti a penna, il nome de componitori dell' opere, 'i titoli, &c. le materie: Nel terzo, si legge l'inventione dell'Academie, insieme con i sopranomi, i 'motti, le imprese, & l'opere fatte da tutti li Academici. In Vinegia appresso Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari, 1557, in 12, & ibidem apud Altobellum Salicatum, 1580, in 12.—— *The Libraria*, says he, *is 'divided into three parts. In the first, are vulgar Authors with above a hundred discourses thereupon. In 'the second, are all the Manuscripts that the Author 'had seen, the Names of the Authors, their Titles and 'Subjects. In the third, are Academical Inventions, 'with the Sirnames, Devices, Emblems, and Works of 'the Fellows of Universities, &c.*

(3) Teissier in Catalogo Autorum, &c. pag. 22, Edit. Genev 1686.

[*B*] *He was of a very good Family,*] I have read a Letter written from *Como* by *Benedict Volpe*, in which he observes that he was Great-Grandson of SALVINO DONI, Cotemporary with *Dante*, and a good Poet. 'Io non ho già la Poesia per heredità, come voi, che 'sete Figliuolo d'un Nipote de Salvino Doni, che fu 'compagno di Guitton Saluti Messer Cino, & Dante, 'Francheschin nostro, & tutta quella schierra (4). - - - - *'I do not inherit Poetry, as you do, who are the Son of 'a Nephew of Salvino Doni, who was the Comrade of 'Guitton Saluti, Messer Cino, and Dante, our Francesc'chin, and all that herd of Poets.*' *Doni* answered, that he was descended from a Man, who brought from *Rome* the Present of a Coat of Arms, which was made to the *Florentines*; that the Posterity of that Man remained in *Florence* to the time *of Farinata de gli Uberti*; that at this time one FRANCESCO DONI, who was of the *Gibelin* Party chose rather to leave *Florence*, than to consent the City should be dismantled (5). He married a Wife, a Native of *Fiesole*: from this Marriage are derived many Families settled at *Pistoia*, in *Hungary*, and in the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Salvino Doni* was descended from the latter. He wrote a Sonnet, to which *Dante* made a reply, which is printed in the Collection of old Pieces (6). *Moreri*'s Dictionary makes mention of the Branches of this Family settled in *France*.

(4) La Zucca del Doni, folio 312, verso.

(5) Leandro Alberti, Descrit. di tutta l'Italia, folio m. 44, verso, *relates the Fact otherwise, and without saying a Word of That* Doni.

Note that all the *Doni*'s were not Noble. Some of them are descended from a Factor who assumed the Name of his Master, 'Euul un' altra parte de 'Doni, che son nati d'un Fattore, il quale faceva le 'facende loro, come ne sono molti nella Citta di 'Firenze, i quali usurpono spesso la robba & i nomi delle case nobili, dove hanno fatto la fattoria 'molto tempo; cosa molto infame & vituperosa (7) '.....vi sapro dire quali sono i Doni nobili discesi 'dalla vera casa, & quali sono i plebei venuti per via 'di fattorie (8).

(6) Taken from a Letter of *Doni*, printed at the end of his *Zucca*, *folio*, 314.

(7) Le Doni, folio 314, verso, *of the* Zucca.

(8) Ib. fol. 315.

DONZELLINUS (JEROM), a learned *Italian* Physician, and Author of some Books [*A*]. He flourished in the XVIth Century. He was born at *Orzi Nuovi*, in the Territory of *Brescia*, and practised Physic in *Brescia* for some time: but he was forced to leave it, by a Paper-Quarrel, in which he was engaged, against *Vincent Calzaveglia*, in defence of *Joseph Valdagnia* (*a*). They were both Physicians; the former published a Book against the other, and was confuted in so terrible a manner by *Donzellinus*, that *Joseph Valdagnia* and his Defender were both obliged to abandon the City of *Brescia*. The latter retired to *Venice*, where he practised Physic with great Success. But it is pretended that he came to a tragical Death there, and that, having been charged with an execrable Crime against the Majesty of Religion and the State, he was condemned to be thrown into the Water (*b*). *Cozzando*, who furnished me with this Article, places

(*a*) A Physician of *Brescia*, born at *Verona*.

(*b*) Leonardo Cozzando, della Libraria Bresciana, pag. 197, 198.

[*A*] *He is the Author of some Books.*] He translated out of Greek into Latin *Galen*'s Treatise *de Ptisana*, and eight Orations of *Themistius* (1). His *Consilia* and *Epistolæ Medicæ* may be found in the Collection published by *Scholzius* at *Francfort* in 1598. His Letter *De natura, causis, & curatione Febris pestilentis, ubi insuper de Theriacæ natura & viribus exactius disseritur*, was printed at *Venice*, in the Year 1570, in 4to (2).

(1) *Printed at* Basil, apud Petrum Pernam, 1550, in 8vo, Epit. Gesneri, pag. m. 775.

(2) *See* Lindenius Renovatus, pag. 419, 420.

places this in the Year 1560. There is a Book ascribed to this Physician, which may very well belong to another JEROM DONZELLINUS [B].

[B] *There is a Book ascribed to him, which may very well belong to another.*] JEROM DONZELLINUS] It is intitled *Remedium ferendarum Injuriarum, sive de compescendâ Ira*, and was printed at *Venice*; in 1586, in 4to; at *Altorf*, in 1587, in 8vo; and at *Leyden*, in 1635, in 12mo (3). The *Oxford* Catalogue, *Lindenius renovatus*, Leonardo Cozzando, Konig, &c. ascribe it to the Author of the Books I have mentioned, but I doubt without sufficient Reason; for the *Donzellinus*, who wrote *Remedium ferendarum Injuriarum*, is surnamed *Veronensis* in the title of the Work, and it is certain the other is surnamed *Brixiensis* (4). If *Cozzando* had rightly fixed the tragical end of the latter, under the Year 1560, he would certainly have been wrong in ascribing to him the *Remedium ferendarum Injuriarum*, a Work that the Author dedicates to *Sixtus Vicedominus*, Bishop of *Modena*, and Son of Cardinal *Moron*'s Sister. This Cardinal lived to 1580, and was dead when the Epistle Dedicatory was wrote of the *Remedium ferendarum Injuriarum*. This Treatise is full of good Morality; the Author declares, that he is not one of those, who imagine that the immortality of the Soul cannot be proved by philosophical Reasons (5), and he endeavours to justify *Galen*, who is charged with not distinguishing the Soul from the Constitution of the Body (6).

(3) This Edition contains 256 Pages.

(4) Epit. Gesneri, pag. 347.

(5) Donzell. Remed. ferend. Injur. pag. 143, 144, Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1035.

(6) Id. ibid. pag. 143, & seq.

DORIEUS, Son to *Diagoras*, the *Rhodian*, acquired unparallelled Glory in the public Games of *Greece*. This was in some measure hereditary. For his Father bore an illustrious Rank among those who had carried the Prize in those Games. *Dorieus* obtained Crowns in the Olympic Games. He won eight Crowns successively in the *Isthmian* Games, and seven in the *Nemean* (a). See the Sequel of his History in the Article DIAGORAS (b).

(a) Ex Pausania, lib. 6, pag. 184.

(b) *A famous Wrestler, Remark* [D].

DRABICIUS (NICOLAS), a famous Enthusiast of the XVIIth Century, was born about the Year 1587 (a), at *Stransnuz*, in *Moravia*, where his Father was a Burgomaster. He was admitted a Minister in 1616, and exercised that Office at *Drahotuitz*; and when he was forced, by the Emperor's severe Edicts against the Protestant Religion, to seek a Refuge in foreign Parts, he retired to *Lednitz*, a Town in *Hungary*, in the Year 1629 (b). Having no hope of being re-established in his Church, he turned Woollen-draper, in which his Wife, the Daughter of one of the same Business, was of great service to him. He endeavoured to persuade other Ministers to follow a worldly Profession, notwithstanding the Regulations which had been made to prevent such a Disorder [A]. He forgot the Decorum of his former Character to such a Degree, that he became one of the greatest Drinkers in the Country, indulging himself in all the Actions of the Laics (c). Returning one day from a Fair, he was set upon by Robbers. He defended himself, and was wounded, and perhaps would not have come off so cheap, if he had not been assisted. The other Ministers, justly scandalized at his Conduct, gave their Superiors an Account of it: who calling a Synod in *Poland*, they examined into the Affair, and it was ordered, that *Drabicius* should be suspended from the Ministry, and if he did not live in an edifying manner, that the Church Discipline should be exercised upon him (d). This synodical Rigour made him behave with more Discretion. But it was quite another thing when he begun to fancy himself a Prophet. He had his first Vision in the Night of the Twenty third of *February*, 1638, and the second in the Night of the Twenty third of *January*, 1643. The first Vision promised him, in general, great Armies, from the North and East, to crush the House of *Austria*: the second signified, in particular, that *Ragotski* should have the Command of the Army that should come from the East, and ordered *Drabicius* to inform his Brethren that GOD was about to restore them to their own Country, and revenge the Injuries done to his People, and that they should, by Fasting and Prayer, prepare themselves for this Deliverance. He received Order to write down what was revealed to him; and to begin as the ancient Prophets did, *The Word of the LORD came to me* (e). The next Day he communicated his Vision to the Ministers who were Refugees at the same Place. They imparted it to others, but no great Account was made of it. Those two first Visions were followed by several others in the same Year 1643; and in one of them he was ordered to communicate the whole to *Comenius* (f), who was then at *Elbing*, in *Prussia*. He had one in the Month of *January* 1644, which assured *Drabicius*, that the Refugees should not be destroyed by the Imperial Troops (g). They committed great Ravages upon *Ragotski*'s Territories, plundered the Town of *Lednitz*, and besieged the Castle. *Drabicius* shut himself up in it, and whether he was a little distrustful of his Vision, or thought the best Cause had need of Support, he did not trifle away his Time at Prayers, but kept near the Cannon as they were firing upon the Besiegers, and set his Hand to the Work [B]. Unhappily for him, the Flame flew into his Face, and

(a) *Comenius*, born in the Month of *March* 1592, *Hist. Renovat. pag.* 138, that *Drabicius* was five Years older than himself. *Moreri* places the Birth of *Drabicius* on the fifth of *December*, 1588.

(b) Comenius, ibid. pag. 141.

(c) Politica illa cum plebe conversationis corrumpi, licentiosissimo potissimùm Ind. agendo prosapiæ vitæ exemplo abripi visus est. *Ibid. pag.* 139.

(d) Idem. ibid. pag. 139, 140.

(e) De his visis & auditis in scriptum relatis mandatum accepit & à verbis illis *Factum est ad me verbum Domini* (ut non aliter) inchoare obtemperavit. *Comenius, Hist. Revolut. pag.* 141.

(f) Ibid. pag. 142.

(g) Ibid. pag. 145.

[A] *The Regulations which had been made to prevent such a Disorder.*] The Superiors of the banished Ministers took care to order that every one should continue in the Town he had chosen for his retreat, and though each Congregation had no more than one Pastor, yet that the other Ministers should preach by turns. This was done to avoid two great Inconveniences. One was, that, without this, some would have wandered from place to place to collect Alms. 'Volebant patres nostri Ecclesiis orbatos Pastores, confratres suos, 'non mendicitati vacare, & stipis quærendæ causa regionis terras *(ut ab aliis factitatum vidimus)* pererrare (1).' The other was that, by not preaching, they would have become less capable of edifying a Church, when ever it should please GOD to re-call them to their former Functions. 'Ut exili tractu nemo prorsus laboribus sacris defuesceret, potiùs sese matutâ 'diligentiâ magis acuerent: ut si Deus nostri miseratus rursum nos Ecclesiis redderet, nemo hebetatus 'rediret, exercitior potiùs (2).'

(1) Comenius, Histor. Revelat. pag. 139.

(2) Id. ibid.

[B] *He shut himself up in the Castle of Lednitz ... kept near the Cannon ..... and set his hand to the*

and almoſt put out one of his Eyes. The Imperialiſts raiſed the Siege. But ſome time after they ſat down again before it, and took it. The Refugees were plundered, contrary to the Article of the Capitulation, by which they were to have their Lives and Goods ſecured to them (*b*). Thus *Drabicius* fell into the Hands of the Imperialiſts. But this did not prevent his going to *Ragotſki*, and telling him, in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1645, that GOD had commanded him to ruin the Pope and the Houſe of *Auſtria* [C]; and that, if he refuſed to attack that Neſt of Vipers, he would draw down a general Deſtruction upon his whole Houſe, which ſhould not ſpare *even him that piſſeth againſt the Wall*. That Prince knew before that *Drabicius* acted the Prophet: for *Drabicius*, according to the reiterated Orders he received in his Extaſies, had ſent him a Copy of his Revelations, which *Ragotſki* threw into the Fire (*i*). As to the Order the Prophet brought him in Perſon, he told him, he had juſt concluded a Treaty of Peace (*k*). The Death of that Prince, which happened in the Month of *October*, 164[illegible], threw *Drabicius* into the utmoſt Uneaſineſs. He feared his Revelations would vaniſh into Smoke, and he ſaw himſelf expoſed to Raillery. But he had one extatic Conſolation, which gave him freſh Courage, and prevented him from throwing his Writings into the Fire, ſince GOD would ſend him *Comenius*, to whom they would be conſigned (*l*). *Comenius*, having Buſineſs in *Hungary*, in 1650 [D], ſaw there both the Perſon and Prophecy of *Drabicius*

(*b*) Ib. pag. 147.

(*i*) Ib. pag. 146.

(*k*) Ib. pag. 148.

(*l*) Ib. pag. 148, 149.

the Work] *Comenius* blames him for it. ‘ Drabicio ‘ tamen, *ſays he* (3), vitio datum, quòd dum ex Arce ‘ tormenta in hoſtem librarentur, ille non intereſſe tan- ‘ tùm *(ad alios præſentiæ divinæ ope, juxta promiſſionem ſibi factam, animandum)* ſed & tormento uni ignem ‘ ipſemet admovere voluit: cum eum in angulo eſſe, ‘ & precibus vacare, præſtitiſſet. Sed inconſideratus ‘ hic novi Petri (materiali gladio Dominum defendere ‘ præſumentis) zelus à Domino ipſo caſtigatus fuit: ‘ permiſſo ut flammæ pars in illum retrò ſe agens fa- ‘ ciem illi amburet, oculumque alterum læderet. ‘ Utili commonitorio, ut quiſque ſibi demandata faciat, ‘ altera munia aliis relinquat. —— *It was eſteemed ‘ a crime in Drabicius, that, whilſt the Cannons were ‘ playing from the Caſtle upon the Enemy, he would ‘ not only be preſent, to inſpire the reſt with the hopes ‘ of divine Aſſiſtance, according to the promiſe made him, ‘ but would alſo put fire to one of the Pieces, when ‘ he ought rather to have been at Prayers in private. ‘ But the raſh Zeal of this new Peter, who dared ‘ to defend the Lord's Cauſe with the material Sword, ‘ was by the Lord himſelf chaſtiſed, who permitted the ‘ Flame to recoil, ſcorch his Face, and damage one of ‘ his Eyes. An uſeful Leſſon, and which ought to warn ‘ every one to content himſelf with the Execution of ‘ his Office.*’ A Man, who thinks himſelf inſpired, ought to be ſtrong in Faith: he ought to ſay *fata viam invenient, Fate will find a way*

(3) Id. Ibid. pag. 245.

But on the contrary, we ſee very often ſuch a one diſtruſting the Providence of GOD, unleſs it is aſſiſted with all that human Prudence can contribute to it. Our inſpired, or pretending to be ſo, are more reſtleſs than other Men: their Agitation, their Diſquiet, their Vigilance to prepare human Means, proper to bring about events, the leaſt foreſeen or foretold, ſhew that they are too much tinctured with thoſe Pagan Maxims, of which I have ſpoken in the Article of ACOSTA (4), that is to ſay, that, after the Example of the *Lacedemonians*, they muſt invoke the Gods by applying themſelves to the Work, and that, according to *Heſiod*'s Precept, the Husbandman muſt pray with his Hands to the Plow (5), and that, in a Word, the Supplications of the ſlothful are unacceptable to Heaven, and ſent back empty.

(4) *Remark* [B].

(5) Thus many underſtand the Paſſage in *Heſiod, lib.* 2, Ἔργ. καὶ ἡμέρ. ver. 83.

—— —— Sibi quiſque profectò
Eſt Deus: ignavis precibus fortuna repugnat (6).

(6) Ovid Metam. lib. 8, ver. 72.

For each is to himſelf, a God that dares,
And Fortune always laughs at idle Prayers.

They laughed at *Perſeus* King *Macedon* (7), for retiring haſtily out of the Battle, under pretence of going to offer Sacrifices to *Hercules*: they pretended that Victory was only due to that General, who aſks it of the Gods by fighting bravely. This was the true way of being heard, according to the Heathens: Ἀλλὰ ταῖς Αἰμιλίου παρῆν εὐχαῖς ὁ Θεὸς εὔχετο γὰρ κρατῆσαι πολέμου καὶ νίκην δόρυ κρατῶν, καὶ μαχόμενος παρεκάλει σύμμαχον τὸν Θεόν. Sed Paulli precibus volens propitiuſque annuit Deus, quippe petebat victoriam belli & palmam haſtam tenens, pugnanſque opem implorabat Dei (8).

(7) Plut. in Paulo Æmilio, pag. 265.

(8) Id. Ibid. C.

——*The Gods give an Ear to ſuch Prayers as thoſe of Æmilius; for Sword in Hand he addreſſed them, and as he fought invoked their Aſſiſtance.* Our pretended Prophets at the bottom follow theſe Ideas

[C] *He went to let Ragotſki know . . . . that God had commanded him to deſtroy the Houſe of Auſtria, and the Pope.*] He was ordered to go to that Prince's Camp, and to ſpeak to him, firſt in a gentle Manner, and afterwards with threatning Expreſſions. He was to begin with informing him, that Heaven had choſen him for King of *Hungary*, but upon Condition that he ſhould deſtroy the Auſtrian and Papal Government, in which God would aſſiſt him in a particular Manner. In the Concluſion, he was to tell him that, if he diſobeyed the Voice of GOD, his whole Family ſhould periſh, even to the very Dogs (9). ‘ Ignarus horum ‘ arcanorum Drabicius (10), mandatum accipit 22. ‘ Julii & 31. Julii Principis Racocii caſtra adeundi, Prin- ‘ cipemque primùm blandis verbis, deinde duris, allo- ‘ quendi. *Blandis: electum eſſe divinitùs in Regem ‘ Hungariæ, ſed eâ conditione ut Auſtriacæ & Papali ‘ dominationi finem imponat: habiturus auxilio Deum ‘ ad omnes hoſtiles exercitus clade afficiendum* Rev. ‘ XXX.) *Duris autem: ſi vipperinam illam progeniem ‘ perſequi renuerit, mala inducturum eſſe Deum, exci- ‘ ſurumque de Domo ejus mingentem etiam ad parietem* ‘ (Rev. XXXI. v. 4).’ This is an exact Imitation of the Stile and Manner of the ancient Prophets. I do not find that *Drabicius* ſpoke himſelf to the Prince; but imparted his Commiſſion to him by other Hands (11).

(9) Hiſtor Revelat. pag. 147.

(10) That is, that *Drabicius* did not know that the *Turk* ſent Courier upon Courier to *Ragotſki* [illegible] bid him [illegible] his Troops with the *Swedes*, in *Moravia*, in 1645, and that the Emperor offered *Ragotſki* the moſt advantageous Conditions of Peace.

[D] *Comenius having ſome Buſineſs in Hungary in the Year* 1650.] The Proteſtants that the Emperor had baniſhed out of his Dominions were always in hopes of being reſtored: ſome depended upon the Leagues that were formed againſt the Emperor, and others upon the Viſions of certain Enthuſiaſts. During the Life of *Guſtavus*, the thing was almoſt certain, and, after his Death, they had no Reaſon to deſpair; for his Lieutenants carried on the War to the Honour of their Nation, and the Advantage of the League. Wherefore the Refugees hoped that their Re-admiſſion would be made an Article of the Peace of *Munſter*; but they ſaw with grief that long and important Negociation end in the Month of *January* 1650 without any Notice taken of their Baniſhment. The Houſe of *Auſtria* treated with ſo much Policy, that it obtained a hundred times better Conditions than they could have expected: the Church paid for the Emperor, notwithſtanding the Proteſtations of the Court of *Rome*: all that he had done againſt the Sectaries in his Dominions remained fixt, and unalterable. Whereupon the poor Refugees, who were diſperſed into ſeveral Places, ſaw themſelves in a hopeleſs Condition, and reſolved to call an Aſſembly to conſult about their Affairs. ‘ Pacis Monaſterii & Oſnabrugæ ſexennio agitatæ, ‘ tandemque concluſæ: iterumque Noribergæ biennio ‘ ventilatæ, tandemque terminatæ, ultima publicatio ‘ incidit in Januarium anni 1650. Quâ Bohemiæ ‘ Regno, cum incorporatis Provinciis, hæreditatis no- ‘ mine, Auſtriacæ Domui relictis, *diſperſis, propter E- ‘ vangelium, à ſpe reditûs æternùm excluſi, quid jam ‘ agendum eſſet deliberare cœperunt* (12).’ Thoſe in *Poland* deſired that the others ſhould ſend their Deputies to them. All agreed to it but the Hungarians. The

(11) Per Theologum, Medicum, Antæque magiſtrum de ſibi commiſſis informat. *Drabicius, Hiſt. Revel.* pag. 147.

(12) Ibid. pag. 49.

Drabicius, and made such Reflexions, as he thought proper, upon that Person's being promised, by three Years Visions, *Comenius* for a Coadjutor. It is something remarkable, that *Sigismond Ragotski*, seeing himself pressed, on the one hand, by *Drabicius* to make War with the Emperor, and by his Mother, on the other hand, to live in Peace, knew not what to resolve upon, being urged on both sides by terrible Threats. *Drabicius* denounced against him the Wrath of the Almighty, in Case of Peace, and his Mother threatened him with her Curses in Case of War. In this Perplexity he recommended himself to the Prayers of *Drabicius* and *Comenius* (*m*); and kept himself quiet till the Day of his death, that is, to the fourth of *February*, 1652. *Comenius*, who did not expect this (*n*), was strangely surprized at it: the Angel, who had told him all, had not revealed this great Article to him [*E*]. *George Ragotski*, Prince of *Transilvania*, Brother of the deceased, knew nothing of all this prophetic Management; but *Comenius* informed him of every Particular, by giving him a Copy of *Drabicius*'s Writings. *Drabicius* was restored to the Ministry, the twentieth of *June*, 1654 (*o*). *Comenius* did this in his Passage through *Hungary*, on his return to *Poland*. After his Departure from the Court of *Transilvania*, he was forced to make use of another Person to notify to the Prince the Visions of *Drabicius*. They came faster than ever, commanding continually that they should be communicated to the Coadjutor, that he might make them known to the Nations and Languages, and to all the People of the Earth, and particularly to the *Tartars* and *Turks* (*p*). *Comenius* found himself embarrassed between the Fear of GOD, and the Fear of Man. He was afraid of disobeying GOD by not printing the Revelations of *Drabicius*, and by printing them to expose himself to the Mockery and Censures of Men. He took a middle way (*q*). He resolved to print them, but not disperse the Copies: wherefore the Book was intituled *Lux in tenebris* (*r*). But the Resolution to keep this Light under a Bushel did not continue long; it was superseded by two signal Events, which he took for the great Crisis, and the unravelling of the whole Mystery. One of these Events was *Ragotski*'s Irruption into *Poland* [*F*]; the other was the Death of the Emperor *Ferdinand* III. Neither the one nor the other helped on the Predictions; on the contrary they served to confound them. *Ragotski* perished in his Expedition into *Poland*; and *Leopold*, King of *Hungary*, was elected in the room of his Father, *Ferdinand* III; an Election, which restored the House of *Austria* to all it's former Splendor in *Germany*, or very near it, and which totally ruined the Protestants of *Hungary*. The Hopes they conceived upon these two Events being soon blasted, they now repented of publishing their Book so soon. *Drabicius* was the greatest Sufferer

(*m*) Ib. pag. 256.
(*n*) Ib. pag. 257.
(*o*) Ib. pag. 177.
(*p*) Ib. pag. 179.
(*q*) Ib. pag. 183.
(*r*) *See the Remark* [*A*] *of the Article* KOTTERUS.

The Refugees in *Hungary* among other things alledged for their excuse, that since their common Banishment they had frequently sent Deputies into *Poland*, and it was but just that they should for once come to them. Particularly they desired that *Comenius*, Superintendant of the Churches of *Moravia*, should be sent to them: this was the more readily complied with, because *Comenius* was at this time invited by Prince *Sigismond Ragotski* to consult about reforming the Schools (13). For these Reasons, *Comenius*, setting out of *Elbing*, took his way through *Silesia* and *Moravia*, into *Hungary*, where he celebrated the Feast of *Easter* with several deputed Ministers, and Gentlemen. *Drabicius* was there, and communicated his Revelations to him, and from that time made him in some Measure his Coadjutor (14).

(13) *See the Text of the Article* COMENIUS, *between the Citations* (*b*) *and* (*i*).

(14) Comenius, Histor. Revelat. pag. 149, 150.

[*E*] *Ragotski died in* 1652 .... *the Angel, who told him all, had not revealed this great Article to him.*] This Expression, which is an Imitation of a Passage in the Memoirs of the Duchess of *Mazarine*, occurring to me, I have made use of it. I hope shall be excused for it. *Drabicius* is, here, the *Angel* who told *Comenius* every thing; but, far from informing him of *Ragotski*'s Death before it happened, he sent him some Revelations after the Death of that Prince, which supposed him still alive; upon which one of the Confidents said, that *Drabicius* certainly plaid upon them: *Comenius* was silent, but having had time to consider of it, and to examine the Conformity of several Visions, he found that they had prefigured the Death of that Prince a Year before. These are the Men for my Money: they are never at a loss, provided you give them but time to put their Pipes in Tune. 'Febris malignæ morbo correptus fuit *(Sigismundus Racocius)* quæ illi 4. Februarii vitæ finem attulit. Quod quia nec prædictum adeò, nec exspectatum fuit, novus offensionis lapis fuit factum. Præsertim cùm Drabicius novas suas nobis submittens Revelationes, tanquam de vivente adhuc sermocinaretur, quem nos non vivere jam certi eramus. Hinc amicorum rei consciorum unus {J. T.} ad me: *Ludificamur quàm verè vivit Deus.* Ad quod nihil quod responderem habens obmutui. Nunc ista ordine relegenti sapientiæ Dei vestigia manifestè sese ostentant (15). —— *Ragotski was seized with a malignant Fever, which put an end to his Life the fourth of February, which, as it had neither been foretold nor expected, was another stumbling Block, especially as Drabicius, still continuing to publish his Predictions, spoke of him as though he was still alive, which we were convinced he was not; whereupon one J. T. an intimate Acquaintance, said to me, We are abused as sure as there is a God. To which having nothing to answer, I was obliged to be silent. But on a second Examination, I could plainly trace the Footsteps of the divine Wisdom.*'

(15) Ibid. pag. 156, 157.

[*F*] *The Irruption of Ragotski into Poland.*] *Comenius* sincerely acknowledges, that he took that for the Accomplishment of the Prophesy, which their three Seers had delivered, that the East should join with the North to bring on that terrible Day of the Lord (16). He confesses very ingenuously, that he was mistaken; he could not have said less, since *Ragotski*'s foolish design had the worst success that could be. But *Comenius* accounted for his Error in this Manner: it was, says he (17), because I did not sufficiently observe, that, according to the Prophecies of *Christina Poniatovia*, the oriental and northern Lions were only to join, in order to confer together, and should not come to a good understanding, but should part without doing any thing: add to that, *said he*, that, according, to *Drabicius*, *Ragotski* was not to have entered *Poland* without having taken his measures with the Tartars and the Turks, and without settling all things in good order at Home. We thought, continued he, that he had done all this before he took the Field, and we were deceived in this Point. Consider this well, and see in it a new Proof of the Obstinacy of these Men: they never want Evasions; there is always some Clause which was not attended to; so that they secure themselves a back Door, and a resource to renew their Predictions. If *Ragotski* had fulfilled the Conditions that *Drabicius* had prescribed to him, and his Expedition had notwithstanding been unfortunate, yet they would have denied that the Prophecies had deceived them: for did not *Poniatovia* foretel that the East and North should meet without doing any thing? *Comenius* was more cunning than is imagined, when he tacked his three Seers together: three Prophets are able to furnish more

(16) Ab insperato Principis Transc cum exercitu in Polonicam adventus, credebamus jam illud impleri quod ab omnibus his Videntibus prædictum, ut se Orientes jungat Septentrioni, tremendumque illud opus Dei mox procedat. *Ibid. pag.* 183.

(17) Id. ibid.

Sufferer by it [G]; for the Court of *Vienna*, knowing that he was the Man that rung an Alarm-Bell againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, ſought means to puniſh him, and it is ſaid they ſucceeded in it. *Comenius* had nothing to fear from that quarter; he had ſecured himſelf in an impenetrable *Aſylum*, by making himſelf a Burgher of *Amſterdam*, where he enjoyed all ſorts of Protection. He had nothing to fear but from the Pen of ſome Divines, and the Reproaches of *Ragotſki*'s Secretary [H]. But this was no great matter to a Man, who wanted neither Wit nor Learning, nor a habit of writing Books, and eſpecially a way of citing Scripture Phraſes, and other ſpiritual Maxims, with great Airs of Zeal for the Cauſe of GOD, and the Deſtruction of Antichriſt. With theſe Machines he kept his Ground, and, if he loſt his Authority, his Reputation, his Glory, it was only with ſome few Perſons of good Senſe, who are hardly ever the Arbiters of Reputation. Thoſe, who had once believed him, continued to do ſo ſtill (*f*). Thus it will always happen. Thus all Viſionaries and Fanatics, in time to come, have nothing to fear: they may boldly vent whatever comes into their Heads, provided they have Cunning enough to accommodate themſelves to the Paſſions of the Times. Indeed they will not have the Laughers on their ſide, but they will have Patrons that are much more ſerviceable. Conſult the Articles of COMENIUS and KOTTERUS. The Viſions of *Drabicius* reach down to the Year 1666. They are miſtaken that aſcribe his Baniſhment to ſeditious Diſcourſes (*i*); for he was baniſhed for no other Reaſons than all the other Miniſters of *Bohemia* were, &c. We ſhall ſee, in another Place (*u*), whether Mr *Jurieu* ought to have ſaid, that the Learned of *Paris* ſcarce knew the Name of *Drabicius*.

(*f*) Turbæ nequitiæ decepti, eum pro magno Propheta habere [illegible]

[illegible] Moreri [illegible]

(*i*) See the Remark [illegible] Article KOTTERUS.

more Subterfuges than one. See, below, the Marginal Note (23).

[G] *Drabicius was the greateſt Sufferer.*] I never could find any Body that could tell me what his end was, and I know not how far the following Relation may be relied upon. I have it from a *French* Author (18): 'A great many Reflexions, *ſays he*, were 'made, which I ſhall not trouble the Reader with, 'who is not obliged to believe them, no more than 'the ridiculous Letter, which an arrant Fool, (whoſe 'Name and Perſon I deſire to be a Stranger to) 'ſent to a great Prince, according to the extravagant 'Viſions of *Nicholas Drabicius*, a *Bohemian* burnt for 'an Impoſtor, and falſe Prophet, whoſe Book was car-'ried to the Courts of all the Princes in *Europe*, even 'to the Grand Vizier, by a Miniſter of *Zurich* in 'Switzerland; who was fourteen Years in Priſon on 'this account, during which time, as a Proof of his Mad-'neſs, he let his beard grow down to his Waſte, as a Gen-'tleman very worthy of Credit, who knew him, has 'aſſured me.' Mr *Mareſius* had heard a very different Account, *viz.* that *Drabicius*, far from bottling the great Turk, as he expected, was forced to fly into *Turkey*, where he died. 'Ad multa particularia [illegible] 'ſe ſurrexit (*hi impoſtores*) circa Regnum . . magnum Turcam 'a Deo olim baptizandum, cum è contrario feratur 'ipſum Drabicium ad Turcas tranſiſſe & inter eos o-'biiſſe; quorum impoſturas & fabricatem oppoſitas e-'ventus docuit (19). — These Impoſtors *expounded to a multitude of Particulars, concerning Ragotſki . . . . that the Grand Turk was to be baptiſed by Drabicius: but the event proved them to be all Chimeras; for it is reported that Drabicius went over to the Turks and ated among them.*'

[H] *Comenius . . had nothing to fear but the Reproaches of Ragotſki's Secretary.*] This Prince, having ſucceeded his Brother *Sigiſmund*, was initiated into the Myſteries of *Drabicius*: he did not diſcover whether he believed them or no, but he ordered that they ſhould communicate to him the Viſions which *Drabicius* might have for the Future (20). The Princeſs, his Mother, was made Privy to it. *Drabicius* was commanded in a Night Viſion to go to her and pronounce a Bleſſing, or a Curſe, according as ſhe ſhould receive his Prophecies (21). They were referred to the Examination of *John Biſterfeld*, a Divine, and Counſellor of State, who rejected them (22). However the Reproaches of *Ragotſki*'s Secretary are an evidence that That Prince had, to his Sorrow, given but too much credit to *Drabicius*. He was not ſilent upon theſe Reproaches. *Comenius* repreſented that the Prince had not followed the Seer's Orders; for he was in *Poland* without the conſent of the Turks. 'Brevi 'poſt à Principis Tranſylvaniæ Secretario, C. S. triſtes 'venerunt (ternâ vice) quibus hiſtoricè Principis ſui 'ruinam recitans, non obſcurè culpam in Revelationes 'iſtas (quaſi fidem illis habens eò impulſus fuiſſet Prin-'ceps) conferre videbatur, cauſa fuit data ad nebulas 'illas diſcutiendum ſcribendi aliquid (23). —— *Soon 'after, three ſucceſſive Meſſengers came from the Prince 'of Tranſilvania's Secretary, on the ſame melancholy 'Subject, to whom hiſtorically relating his Prince's 'ruin, he ſeemed to charge it upon thoſe Revelations, 'as if the confidence, the Prince had placed in them, 'had brought him to it); there was therefore Reaſon to 'write ſomething, to clear up the Difficulties, and diſ-'perſe thoſe Clouds which ſhadowed the true Cauſe.*' It is hard to ſay whether *Ragotſki* did really believe *Drabicius*'s Prophecies, or whether he thought they would procure him the Victory, by the influence they might have upon the People. It is poſſible enough that a Prince of Courage, and much Wit, but no learning, ſhould be ſtaggered by ſuch Diſcourſes as thoſe of *Drabicius*, I mean that he ſhould think there was ſomething Divine and Prophetic in them, and ſhould be afraid of the Curſes pronounced by that Prophet. They gave *George Ragotſki* to underſtand, that his Father and Brother had felt the Effects of them: why ſhould we not think then that he became credulous? but beſides, it is very poſſible that a Prince, capable of laughing at theſe Chimera's, ſhould form Projects, and great Deſigns, conformable to the Viſions of theſe People: for to prepare the people by apocalyptical Explications, delivered with an Air of Inſpiration, and Enthuſiaſm but he a very powerful Machine to bring about great Revolutions. This made the Enemies of the Proteſtants ſay, that their Authors had laboured ſo much upon the Apocalypſe, only to kindle a War over all *Europe*, by inſpiring ſuch a Prince with a deſire of improving the Conjuncture, who himſelf had no Thought of it. *Comenius* was not clear from this Suſpicion. See the Article KOTTERUS.

(22) Ibid. pag. 175.

(23) Ibid. pag. 184. *Note*, That if *Ragotſki*'s Attempt had ſucceeded, no regard would have been had to the Name [illegible] Prophecy, and that the ſame Clauſes are Effential or Accidental to the Prophecies of thoſe People, juſt as the Event pleaſes to determine. This is their Grand Key.

DRELINCOURT (CHARLES), Miniſter of the Church of *Paris*, was born the tenth of *July* 1595, at *Sedan*, where his Father had a conſiderable Poſt [A]. He went through the Study of Claſſical Learning and Divinity at *Sedan*, but was ſent to *Saumur* to ſtudy Philoſophy under the Profeſſor *Duncan*. He was admitted to the Miniſtry in

[A] *His Father had a conſiderable Poſt at Sedan.*] At firſt he was Secretary to *Henry Robert de la Mark*, Duke of *Bouillon* and Sovereign Prince of *Sedan*, and afterwards he was choſen Regiſter to the Supream Council of that City (1). He married *N. Buyrette*, the Daughter of *Nicolas Buyrette*, Advocate of the Parliament of *Paris*. Which Advocate embraced the Reformation; his Wife and Children followed him with ſo much Zeal, that *Thomas Buyrette*, his eldeſt Son, is in the Proteſtant Martyrology; and *James Buyrette*, his ſecond Son, devoted himſelf to the Miniſtry, and would actually have been one of the Paſtors of the Church

in the Month of *June*, 1618, and exercised his Office near *Langres* [B], 'till he was called by the Church of *Paris*, in *March* 1620. In 1625 he married the only Daughter of a rich Merchant at *Paris* (a), by whom he had sixteen Children [C]. The Blessing of GOD, which was visible in his Marriage by an uncommon Fruitfulness, was not less visible in his Ministry. His Sermons were very edifying: he had an inimitable way of comforting the Sick; he employed himself with great Success in the Affairs of his Church, and also in those of other Flocks, upon which he was always consulted if they were of any Consequence. The great Services he did the Church by the Fertility of his

(a) His Name was *Allar*; he had turned Protestant.

Church of *Paris*, if he had not died the very Week that was pitched upon for his Ordination, *Thomas Buyrette*, by the Advice of *Calvin* and his Colleagues, undertook the Ministerial Office at nineteen Years of Age, and exercised the same at *Lyons* (z). 'Some Years after, he was forced by the Fury of the Persecutions to retire to *Geneva*, . . . but finding no Comfort but in the Work of his Vocation, he was soon sent to *Besançon*, where God enabled him to found a private Church, and to advance the Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST in a wonderful manner.' His Mother, not having seen him since he was a Minister, was passionately desirous to see him: wherefore he took a Journey to *Paris* the very Year of the Massacre. The third day 'he fell into the hands of the Murderers, who having learned from his own Confession, what was his Religion and Office, put him cruelly to Death, together with *John Malt*, the Husband of *Mary Buyrette* his eldest Sister, and inhumanly dragged both the Bodies into the River. This is the *Thomas Buyrette* mentioned in the Book of Martyrs, where he is ranked with the Ministers of JESUS CHRIST who have sealed the Truth of the Gospel with their Blood. *His Mother* was preserved from this Deluge of Blood *by a kind of Miracle*, and fled to *Sedan* with the rest of her Children, where she brought them up in the Fear of GOD.' The last of all was a Posthumous Daughter, and was married to PETER DRELINCOURT, who was also a Refugee at *Sedan*, and was at that time Secretary to *Henry Robert de la Mark* (3). 'These are the Father and Mother of our *Charles Drelincourt*.

(z) *See the Epist. Dedicat. of the IX Dialogues de Mr Drelincourt contre les Missionaries, touchant la Services des Eglises Réformées.*

(3) *See the same Epistle Dedicat.*

[B] *He was admitted to the Ministry . . . and exercised his Office near Langres.*] They thought they might found a Church *at the Gates of Langres as in a Bailywick*. Those, who laboured at this Establishment, desired that Mr *Drelincourt* might be the Minister of this growing Church. As 'they assured him there was the Prospect of a great Harvest in those Parts, he accepted the Call with Joy, preferring it to all that then offered: for though he was but twenty-two Years and some Months of Age, he had the happiness to be desired by many Churches in the Kingdom, and even by some of the most considerable Foreign Churches. . . . Upon his arrival at *Langres*, he was full of Hopes; for he found in that City abundance of those People that were called *Temporizers*, who seemed only to wait for an Opportunity of declaring themselves: and in the Country he saw the People breathing after the Purity and Simplicity of the Gospel, and even at the sole report of a Church being to be established there, above 500 Persons ran together in hopes to hear a Sermon.' But the necessary Decree for it could never be obtained from the King's Council. 'Mr *Drelincourt* was so sensibly affected with Grief at this, that it threw him into a fit of Sickness for three Months, which almost carried him to his Grave. . . . In expectation of the so much desired settlement, he preached to the neighbouring Churches, and even in the Castle of *Pressigni*, where he received the Imposition of hands *in the beginning of* June 1618. He was never suffered to make his ordinary abode at *Langres*: *This made him more* diligent to visit, instruct, and comfort *the Professors in the Country*.' At length, when all hopes were lost of seeing the Church of *Langres* established, he accepted the Call of the Church of *Paris*. He preached there the first time the fifteenth of *March* 1620. But he always preserved a particular Affection for the Members of his first Church (4).'

(4) Taken from the Epistle Dedicatory of the third Volume of his Sermons. He dedicated it to Mess. *Handelot*, Lords of *Pressigny*, and to the rest of the Faithful, in, and about, the City of *Langres*.

[C] *He had fifteen Children.*] The first seven were all Boys: the rest were intermixed, six Sons and three Daughters.

The eldest of all was LAWRENCE DRELINCOURT. He was first Minister of *Rocheller*; but being forced from them by an Edict, forbidding that Church to have any Pastors born out of *Rochelle*, 'he was called to *Niort*, where he followed his Ministry with great Reputation and Faithfulness, till GOD having deprived him of his Sight in 1680, he died six Months after, being fifty six Years of Age. We have several fine Sermons of his, also a Collection of Christian Sonnets (5), politely turned, and very much esteemed by those who have a taste for Piety, as well as Wit. Besides, being a judicious Divine, a good Preacher, and well versed in *Hebrew*, he had this in particular, that having at his leisure Hours perfectly studied the *French* Tongue, he knew admirably well all the delicacies and purity of it, so that the famous Mr *Conrard* consulted him almost every Post upon such Matters. He left one Manuscript among the rest, the design of which is to purge the *French* Tongue of all low and obscene Expressions, which well deserves to be published. . . . . *Lawrence Drelincourt* was married, and left only Daughters (6).' If any one desires to see how much he was beloved by his Father, they need only read the Epistle Dedicatory of the *False Pastor convicted*.

(5) There are six Editions of it: the last is of *Amsterdam*, by *Nicolas Parmentier*, 1693.

(6) Taken from the said Life in Manuscript.

(7) Manuscript Life.

(8) See the Epist. Dedicat. of the *False Pastor convicted*, dated the fourth of *April*, 1656. He was not then a Minister.

The second Son was named HENRY DRELINCOURT. He was consecrated to the holy Ministry, and exercised it first at *Gien*, and then at *Fontainbleau*. These two Brothers had the Consolation to receive the Imposition of hands from their own Father. The Sermons he preached on these Occasions have been made public. *Henry Drelincourt* died before the last Persecution (7). He was an Advocate before he was a Minister (8).

The third Son is the Illustrious CHARLES DRELINCOURT, Professor of Physic at *Leyden* (9), whom I have had occasion to mention more than once (10). 'Scarcely had he taken his Degrees at *Montpellier* in 1654, but immediately was he chosen first Physician to the King of *France*'s Armies in *Flanders*, commanded by Marshal *Turenne*. Afterwards, being married at *Paris*, he was called to be Professor of Physic at *Leyden* in 1668. He is at present Dean of the University. He served *William* III, King of *England*, and Queen *Mary* his Consort, till their advancement to the Throne. It was to him alone that the King committed the care of the Queen in her Journey to the Waters of *Aix* in 1681. He had also the Advantage of being Physician to all the great Persons of the Court at the *Hague* (11).' I will not pass over in silence one thing, which I have met with in the Epistle Dedicatory of the *False Pastor convicted*, *viz.* that he had a desire to be made a Minister even after he had taken his Doctor's Degree in Physic. If he has not the Title, it is certain he does not want any of the Qualifications that a true Minister of the Gospel ought to have. No Divines are better versed in Scripture than he, and very few that he does not excel in this way. His Piety is solid, beneficent, obliging, charitable. Nor has he spared his Purse, or Credit, or Council, to the Refugees who have stood in need of his good Offices. Never was any Man a more faithful Friend than he. Those, who shall write his Panegyric, will find it very hard to determine, whether the Character of the Scholar, of the honest Man, is raised to the greater height in him. If all the Encomiums of different Authors upon him were collected together, they would swell into a Volume. Those his Colleagues give him in their public Harangues (12) seem to be of great value, and it is known they have very lately (13) spoke of his Merit to much Advantage upon an occasion (14) which called them to another object, the greatest and most noble that possibly can be, and the most capable of fixing and exhausting the utmost Attention of the Orator. All the Writings he has published are of an original and inimitable Character. Consult the *News from the Republic of Letters*, wherein you will find Extracts of some of his Medicinal Works. See also the Epistle Dedicatory to a Sermon printed at *Leyden* in 1682 (15). He understands the

(9) See the following Article.

(10) See, among other Places, the Preface of the Article ACHILLES; the Rem. [A] of the Article ANDROMACHUS, of *Crete*; and the Remark [G] of the Article BRISEIS.

(11) Taken from the Manuscript Life.

(12) See the Funeral Oration of Mr *Hermannus*, composed by Mr *Bidloo*, the illustrious Professor of Physic at *Leyden*. I omit many other Speeches where he is praised.

(13) *In* March, 1695.

(14) The Funeral Oration of the Queen of *England*. Messieurs *Sjaubertus* and *Perizonius* have each made a fine Oration upon the Death of that Great Princess.

(15) It is intituled, *The Stars of the Church, and the Mystic Candlesticks*. It was preached by *Laurence Drelincourt*, before the Synod of *Poitou*, at *Fontenai*, the 25th of *October*, 1677. The Author of the Epist. Dedicatory is called Mr *Bagnaux*. He was Minister of *Poitiers*, and married the eldest Daughter of *Laurence Drelincourt*.

his Pen cannot be fully represented [*D*], both with respect to Books of Controversy, and to Books of Devotion. There is so much Piety in the latter, and they breathe the Spirit and Language of Scripture in such a manner, that good Souls have been, and still are, wonderfully edified by them. It is impossible to express how much the Protestants were formified by what he wrote against the Church of *Rome*; for by the Arms he put into their Hands, even those, who had no manner of Learning, were enabled to make Head against the Monks and Priests, and boldly copy with the Missionaries. His Writings made him be looked upon as the Scourge of the Catholic Controvertists, and yet he was beloved by that Party too [*E*]. The great Lords of the Protestant Party always expressed a very great Regard for him [*F*]. He died the third of *November*, 1660, in the most devout Disposition that could be expected from a Minister, who had always been animated with an ardent Zeal (*b*), and who had devoted all his Labours, with indefatigable Application, to the Glory of GOD, and the Service of the Church [*G*]. He applied himself extraordinarily to Prayer, and in the last Years of his Life, if he was alone, he never heard the Clock strike, without falling down upon his Knees in Prayer to GOD (*c*). The Sieur *Paul Freher* is mistaken in many things [*H*].

(*b*) Consult his *Lettres Historiques*. They were published after his Death, and annexed to the Books of Consolation.

(*c*) Taken from [illegible] the Last Words of Pious Ministers.

the *French* Tongue admirably well. Neither *Vaugelas* nor *Bohours* could mark with so much exactness the faults and neglects of our *French* Writers. The least and most imperceptible defects of stile never escape him, when he will take the trouble to observe them.

The fourth Son is named ANTONY DRELINCOURT. He is a Physician at *Orbes* in *Switzerland*, and greatly esteemed in his Profession. The Lords of *Berne* have appointed him their Physician Extraordinary.

The fifth Son died at *Geneva* during his Theological Studies.

The sixth is PETER DRELINCOURT. He is a Professor of the Church of *England*, and Dean of *Armagh* in *Ireland*. A Man of great Merit.

All the other Children either died very young, or in the Flower of their Age (16), except one Daughter who is yet alive. She was married to Monsr. *Mahuet*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*; and instead of following him to *Holland*, where he fled for his Religion, in the time of the Dragooning, she staid at *Paris*, where she makes an open Profession of the *Roman* Catholic Religion.

among Daughters died, only, the *December*. See the Dedication of *Festus* mutilated.

[*D*] *He did great service to the Church by the Fertility of his Pen.*] His first Essay was a Book of Preparation for the holy Sacrament. That Book, and his Catechism, his Abridgment of Controversies, and his Consolations against the Fears of Death, are those of all his Works which have been oftenest printed. Some have been printed above forty times, and translated into diverse Languages, *German*, *Flemish*, *Italian*, and *English*. His charitable Visits, in five Volumes, serve for a perpetual Consolation to private Persons, and for a Source and Model to Ministers. He published three Volumes of Sermons. His Polemical Works that I can remember are; *The Jubilee*: *The* Roman *Combat*: *The Jesuits Owl*: *The Church's triumph under the Cross*: *An Answer to Father* Caussin: *A Dispute with the Bishop of* Bellai *concerning the Honour due to the Virgin* Mary: *Of the Honour due to the Sacrament*: *An Answer to* la Milletiere (17): *Dialogues against the Missionaries in several Volumes*: *The False Pastor convicted*: *The False Face of Antiquity*: *The pretended Nullities of the Reformation*: *An Answer to Prince* Ernest *of* Hesse: *An Answer* (18) *to the Speech of the Clergy spoken by the Archbishop of* Sens: *The Defence of Calvin*. He wrote some Letters which are published, one to Madam *de la Trimouille* upon her Husband's turning Papist: one of Consolation to Madam *de la Tabariere*: one upon the Restoration of *Charles* II, King of *Great-Britain*: Some upon the *English* Episcopacy, *&c.* I do not mention the Prayers he published. Some were made for the King, others for the Queen, and for the Dauphin.

had a nce with he Name letters, and ded him. 's of it fled. See ry, of the Nantes, pag. 16.

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manuscript above.

[*E*] *He was beloved by the other party.*] 'It is 'well known that he had free access to the Secretaries 'of State, to the first President, to the King's Advo-'cate, and to the Civil and Criminal Lieutenants: 'but he made no other use of their favour, than to 'assist the afflicted Churches; or to serve an infinite 'number of private Persons, whom he either advanced 'in the World, or delivered from the Whip, the 'Gallows, and Gallies (19).' It is certain that tho' the Catholics in *France* were superior to the Protestants, as to all worldly Advantages, yet the latter were not afraid to preach boldly against the Doctrines of the *Romish* Church, and to put out Books of Controversy, in which they freely enough called every thing by its own name (20). Many Persons of Merit and Authority, in the country Parts, were zealous enough to do a Protestant Author Justice, who defended his Cause well, and kept to his Subject. We have an instance of this in our Mr *Dr.* [illegible] Mr Claude is another; for he was very much considered by the *Roman* Catholics (21). By which may be seen the Error, or gross Artifice, of some People, who make a Merit of being hated, like the Plague, by the Catholics, or by the Arminians, Anabaptists, *&c.* If they had done no more than defended their Cause well, they would never have become the object of universal Hatred: Therefore it is owing to their way of acting, to personal Injuries, or unfair Practices in their Writings, that People have such an Aversion for them.

(19) See the History of the Edict of Nantes, Tom. II, Book 22, pag. 536.

(21) See the Rem. [F] of the Article CLAUDE.

[*F*] *The great Lords of the Protestant Party always expressed a very great regard for him.*] 'The Duke 'de la Force, the Marshals *de Chatillon*, *de Crequi*, 'and *de Turenne*, Madam *de la Trimouille*, had a 'great esteem for him. They invited him to their 'Palaces, and honoured him from time to time with 'their visits. Foreign Princes (22), and Lords, the 'English and *Dutch* Embassadors, did the same, and 'frequently all of them made use of his wise Coun-'sels (23).'

(22) He was [illegible] Henry [illegible] and [illegible] Brother to Prince [illegible] and Princess of that Name.

[*G*] *He had devoted, with indefatigable Application, all his Labours to the Glory of* GOD, *and the Service of the Church.*] As he was of a strong Constitution, he never spared himself when any Ministerial Function was to be performed. Upon an extraordinary occasion, he had Courage and Strength enough to preach seven times in a Day. 'It was through this Strength 'of Body and Mind which GOD had bestowed upon 'him, that, being the third Minister after *Mr du Moulin* was removed, he was able to serve the Church 'of *Paris* for twelve Years. . . . . But among other 'things he was more diligent and ready to visit the 'Sick than any had been before him. . . . . He 'took so much Pleasure in discharging his Functions, 'and chiefly in combating Error, that he desired to 'die with his Pen in Hand (24).' He preached till the last Week of his Life; for his last Sermon was that of *October* the twenty seventh 1669.

(23) Manuscript Life.

(24) Taken from his Manuscript Life.

[*H*] *The Sieur Paul Freher is mistaken in many things.*] I. He places the Birth of *Charles Drelincourt* on the tenth of *October* (25): And he ought to have placed it on the tenth of *July*. II. He makes him enter up on his Ministry at *Paris* in 1619: and yet Mr *Drelincourt*, who had been a Minister from the Year 1618, did not begin to serve that Church till the Year 1620. III. He says, that at the same time (26) Mr *du Moulin* retired to *Sedan*; so that Mr *Drelincourt* and *John Mestrezat* were alone charged with the care of that Flock for many Years. *Du Moulin* retired to *Sedan* in the Year 1620, and there remained three Pastors in the Church of *Paris*. *Charles Drelincourt* was one of the three; and for twelve Years he served that great Church himself, being the third Minister (27). IV. He assures us, that Mr *Drelincourt*, not having Strength to go up into the Pulpit through the Infirmities of old-Age, often preached in the Churchyard, which was near the Temple (28). All this is false. They never preached in the Churchyard of *Charenton*, but upon Sacrament Days, or some other Solemnity, which made the Assembly more numerous than ordinary. Upon such Occasions they preached in the Church according to

(25) Freher. in Theatro Viror. eruditor. pag. 696.

(26) That is, according to him, in 1619.

(27) See Remark [G].

(28) Viribus tamen ob senium diminutis Cathedram conscendere nequiret, septus in cancello proximo concionem peregit. *Freher. in Theatro Virorum eruditor. pag.* 696.

to Cuſtom, and beſides there was a Sermon in the Churchyard. A Miniſter, who had not had Strength enough to get into the Pulpit, would not have been able to have preached in the Churchyard; for there they preached alſo in a Pulpit. Mr *Drelincourt*, whether old or young, was not choſen ſooner than another to preach in the Churchyard. V. What he adds concerning the eighteen laſt Months of his Life is a lame Story: it is directly contrary to this Truth, that this Miniſter *preached to the laſt Week of his Life* (29). Will not thoſe, who are acquainted with the Practice of the *Paris* Phyſicians, be very much ſurpriſed, that the Public ſhould be told as a very ſtrange thing, that this Miniſter was blooded four times, during a Diſtemper of eighteen Months? 'Seſquian-'no ante obitum à M. Majo A. 1668. catharris fre-'quenter ad pectus delapſis cum tuſſi & aſthmate mi-'ſere afflictus; poſtquam INTEREA quater ipſi vena 'ſecta fuiſſet . . . . . vitam morte beata terminavit '3. Nov. A. C. 1669 (30). I cannot tell whether the *German* Book, cited by Mr *Freher*, contains theſe Faults; but I make no great doubt of it.

(29) Manuſcript Life. *See Rem.* [C].

(30) Freher. pag. 696.

DRELINCOURT (CHARLES), Son of the former, was born at *Paris*, the firſt of *February* 1633. He received his Degree of Doctor of Phyſic at *Montpellier*, in 1654, and after having ſignalized himſelf in the Practice of it, both in the Army in *Flanders*, commanded by Marſhal *Turenne*, and at *Paris*, he was choſen by the Curators of the Univerſity of *Leyden*, to be Profeſſor of Phyſic, in 1668 (*a*). He accepted this Employment, and diſcharged the Duties of it, with extraordinary Succeſs. His Method of teaching was the cleareſt, and moſt exact in the World; and in Anatomy he diſcovered ſuch Dexterity and Skill as was admired by all. He thoroughly underſtood the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and, conſidering the vaſt extent of his Erudition, one would have thought that he had applied himſelf all his Life to nothing but the Study of polite Learning. You may ſee more of his fine Accompliſhments in the Remark [C] of the preceeding Article. He died at *Leyden*, the Thirty firſt of *May*, 1697, after having endured for ſome Months the moſt acute Pains, with a truly Chriſtian Patience. He had had the Comfort to ſee CHARLES DRELINCOURT, his only Son, made Doctor of Phyſic (*b*), well married, and the Father of two Sons. He ordered, there ſhould be no Funeral Sermon for him.

(a) *See the Engl. Dictionar. at* Mr Van Beverning, *before his Treatiſe de Oeconomia Partu vitali.*

(b) *The third of* February, 1693.

DRESSERUS (MATTHEW), born at *Erfort*, the Capital of *Thuringia*, the Twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, 1536, got a conſiderable Name among the Learned. The firſt Academical Lectures he heard were thoſe of *Luther* and *Melanchthon*, at *Wittemberg*. But he did not profit long by them; for the Air of that City being very pernicious to him, he was ſoon obliged to return to *Erfort*, where he ſtudied *Greek* under *Maurice Sideman*. No ſooner was he advanced to the Degree of Maſter of Arts, in 1559, than he read Lectures in Rhetoric at Home: after that he taught in the College of *Erfort*, and, being admitted into the Number of Profeſſors of Philoſophy, he taught Claſſical Learning and the *Greek* Tongue. Having taught ſixteen Years in his own Country, he was called to *Jena*, to ſucceed *Lipſius*, who had been Profeſſor of Hiſtory and Eloquence there. He made his inauguration Speech (*a*) in the Year 1574. Some time after, he went to *Meiſſen*, to be Head of the College there, and having held that Place ſix Years, he obtained, in 1581, a Profeſſorſhip of Polite Learning in the Univerſity of *Leipſic*, and a particular Penſion was allowed him to continue the Hiſtory of *Saxony*. Upon his Arrival at *Leipſic*, he found a great many Diſputes among the Doctors. Some were for introducing the Philoſophy of *Ramus*; others would not bear it. Some were advancing towards Calviniſm; others would have no Innovations in Lutheraniſm. He reſolved to keep clear of all theſe Broils, with reſpect to Innovations in Philoſophy: but when he found their Connection with the other Diſputes [*A*], he became one of the

(a) *De Eloquentiæ & Hiſtoriæ ſtudio. It is printed with ſome others of the ſame Author.*

[*A*] *When he found their Connection with the other Diſputes*] I ſuppoſe it happened at that time in *Saxony*, as it has done ſince in *Holland*. The Divines of the *Auſpurg* Confeſſion, who were inclining to *Calviniſm*, had properly no intereſt to protect the *Ramiſts*; for what Connection was there between the Hypotheſes of *Ramus*, and the *Geneva* Confeſſion? Nevertheleſs the Cauſe of the *Ramiſts* and that of theſe Divines were combined together, both Parties thought good to unite their Intereſts, that they might be in a better Condition to oppoſe thoſe who would ſuffer no Innovations. Without doubt this was the reaſon that the rigid *Lutherans* oppoſed the *Ramiſts*, with the ſame vigour as they did the Abettors of *Calviniſm*. By this you will underſtand what I ſaid, that *Matthew Dreſſerus* declared himſelf againſt the ſubtilties of *Ramus*, when he obſerved that they were complicated with the Theological Diſputes which troubled *Saxony*. This is a juſt Repreſentation of the Combination, which is ſeen in *Holland*, between Cocceiniſm, and Carteſianiſm. theſe two things have only this in common; that one is looked upon as a new Method of explaining Divinity, and the other as a new Philoſophy. For any thing further, the Principles of the Cocceians, and the Spirit of their Hypotheſes, are vaſtly different from the Carteſian Spirit.

Ramiſts and Carteſianism involved in Theological Diſputes.

Let us ſee *Melchior Adam*'s own Words. 'Venit 'autem Lipſiam eo tempore, quo (verba referimus ipſius 'Dreſſeri) anceps malum in Academiam illam invaſerat: dum nonnulli argutias Rami, repudiata doctrina Ariſtotelis & Melanchthonis invenere conarentur: 'alii religionis quædam dogmata ad ſenſum Calvini inflecterent. Utrumque extremum declinare ipſe cupiebat. & quoniam concertatio de Rami novitatibus 'Philoſophicam communitatem vehementer conturbarat, 'abſtinendum ſibi ab ejus conſortio eſſe putavit, ne in 'medium certamen atque diſcrimen ſe objiceret (1). '—— *He came to Leipſic (to quote his own Words) at* 'the very time, *when a complicated Error had made* 'it's way into that Univerſity, *ſome endeavouring to e-* 'ſtabliſh the ſubtile Philoſophy of Ramus, *and baniſh* 'the Doctrine of Ariſtotle and Melanchthon, *others to* 'wreſt certain Topics of Religion to Calvin's Senſe. He 'ſtrove to avoid each extreme; *and becauſe the received* 'Philoſophy had been ſtrangely confounded by the new-'fangled Notions of Ramus, *he thought it expedient to* 'keep himſelf clear from that Quarrel, leaſt he ſhould 'be unawares ingaged in the heat of the Conteſt.' *Berlepſch*, the Electoral Commiſſary, brought him off from this pacific Deſign, and it happened to *Dreſſerus* what often befals thoſe who come late into theſe kinds of Quarrels: they are hotter than the firſt promoters of them. *Dreſſerus* looked upon *Ramiſm* as a horrible Monſter (2): he entered into all the Views of the Electoral Commiſſary, who, on his part, took great care of the Intereſt of *Dreſſerus*, doing his utmoſt to ſuppreſs the Book the *Ramiſts* publiſhed againſt this Adverſary, and to get the Authors of it puniſhed. *Idem Berlepſchius*

(1) Melchior. Adam. in Vitâ Philoſophor. Germanor. pag. 496.

(2) Ubi vero cognovit cum Rami doctrina conjunctam eſſe illius dogmatis diſceptationem, magno animi ardore peſtiferum id genus amovere cona us eſt. —— *As ſoon as he underſtood that the Calviniſts had united with the Ramiſts he laboured with exceſſive Zeal to extirpate ſo dangerous a Set of Men.* Ib. p. 497.

the warmeſt Anti-Ramiſts in all that Country. The reſt of his Life he ſpent at *Leipſic*, and died there the fifth of *October*, 1607. He is the Author of ſeveral Books [*B*]. He married in the Year 1565, became a Widower in 1598, and married again two Years after (*b*). He was an induſtrious Man, which he ſhewed at *Erfort*; for he got all his Colleagues, who were all *Roman* Catholics, but one, to conſent, that the *Augsburg* Confeſſion, and *Hebrew*, ſhould be taught in the Univerſity (*c*).

(c) Paul Freher. in Theatro, pag. 1504.

ſcbius omnes vias perſecutus eſt quibus ſcriptum adverſus Dreſſerum editum à Ramæis profligaret, & in autores juſta ſeveritate animadverteret (3). This was no ſtrange thing, ſince he believed that *Ramiſm* led to Calviniſm. 'Memini, *inquit*, Pariſiis quantas turbas, quantas cædes pepererit Rami ſecta. *Quin & in hæc verba gravitate magna erupit*, quid quæritis? Ramiſmus eſt gradus ad Calviniſmum (4). — *I remember, ſays he, what Diſorders, and what Bloodſhed, the Ramiſts occaſioned at Paris; he likewiſe with great Vehemency broke out into theſe Words. What do ye mean! Ramiſm is a ſtep to Calviniſm.*' We juſtly laugh now at the terrible Quarrels, which divided the Univerſities of the XVIth Century for meer Trifles. For ſo the Diſputes between the Ramiſts and the Peripatetics ought to be called. We cannot read without Laughter, Deriſion, or Pity, the Account of ſo many Tumults. Our Age will be treated in the ſame Manner by the ſucceding, and thus the Maxim is verified, that one half of the World laughs at the other: verified, I ſay, in contempt of another very juſt Maxim.

Clodius accuſat mœchos, Catilina Cathegum (6).

Clodius tax Bawds, Cathegus Catiline.

TATE.

And by the fulfilling of a third moſt unjuſt Maxim,

Loripedem rectus derideat, Æthiopem albus (5),

Let him try Blackmoor, Devil, whoſe Skin is white, And bandy Legs, who treads himſelf upright.

TATE.

(6) Id. ibid. vet. 27.

(7) Cum aliis Libellis juventuti Scholaſticæ utilibus. *Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philoſ. Germanor.* pag. 497.

[*B*] *He is the Author of ſeveral Books.*] Of a *Rhetorica inventionis, diſpoſitionis, & elocutionis, exemplis ſacris & profanis quam plurimis illuſtrata*: of three Books *Gymnaſmatum Literaturæ Græcæ, Orationum, Epiſtolarum, & Poëmatum ex Auctoribus ſacris ac profanis, cum exemplis modum ſcribendi monſtrantibus*: of an *Iſagoge Hiſtorica per millenarios diſtributa, & ad annum uſque nongeſimum primum ſupra mille quingentos deducta*: of ſeveral Orations, and other little Books for the uſe of the Youth (7). This is all that *Melchior Adam* ſays concerning *Dreſſerus*'s Writings. He makes no mention of ſome Books of Phyſic, which are aſcribed to him by others (8), nor of the Treatiſe *De feſtis diebus Chriſtianorum, Judæorum, & Ethnicorum* (9). He does not even inſinuate, that *Dreſſerus* ever meddled with Phyſic, or any other Profeſſion, but that of teaching the Languages, Hiſtory, and polite Learning. Who can tell but there might have been a Phyſician named *Matthew Dreſſerus*, whoſe Works have been aſcribed to this learned Man? I forgot to obſerve, that he was attacked by *Bodin* upon the four univerſal Monarchies, and that he defended himſelf (10), and that one *Gaſpar Hap* publiſhed a Book entitled *Erratica Hiſtoria Dreſſeri*.

(8) *The Title is*, De Partibus humani corporis & animæ, ejuſque potentiis libri duo. Adjecta ſunt ad finem Morborum & Medicamentorum communiſſimorum Apellationes. Merklin. *in* Lindenio renovato, pag. 793. Paul Freher. Theatr. pag. 1505.

(9) Freher. ibi... pag. 1504. *aſcribes it to him.*

(10) Melchior. Adam. in Vitis Philoſ. Germ. pag. 497.

DRYADES. The Name of certain Female Pagan Deities of the ſecond Claſs, who preſided over Woods [*A*]. Their Condition was much happier than that of the *Hamadryades*, who, as I ſhall ſay in their Article, were ſo cloſely united each to her Tree, that they grew up, and died together with it. But the *Dryades* had the Liberty of walking about, and diverting themſelves [*B*], and could ſurvive the Deſtruction of thoſe Woods of which they had the Direction.

[*A*] *Who preſided over Woods.*] Their Name is derived from hence: for the Greek Word Δρὺς, which ſignified properly an Oak, ſignified alſo in a leſs rigorous and more general Senſe, all ſorts of Trees. *Servius* abides by the former Signification. *Dryades*, ſays he, *à quercubus* (1). He had ſaid in another Place, *Dryades ſunt quæ inter arbores habitant. Oreades quæ in montibus* (2).

[*B*] *The Dryades had the Liberty of walking about, and diverting themſelves.*] If we believe *Ovid*, they often danced round the Oak, which the impious *Eryſichthon* cut down:

Sæpe ſub hac Dryades feſtas duxere choreas:
Sæpe etiam, manibus nexis ex ordine, trunci
Circumiere modum (3).

Where all the Wood-land Nymphs their Revels play'd, And footed ſportive Rings around it's Shade.

Nay they had liberty to marry. *Pauſanias* ſays, the Wife of *Arcas*, Son of *Jupiter* and *Caliſto*, was a *Dryade* (4): ſome pretend that *Eurydice* was one alſo (5), and ground themſelves on theſe Words of *Virgil*:

At chorus æqualis Dryadum clamore ſupremos
Implerunt montes (6).

Her Siſter Dryades the Mountains tear, With loud Laments, and break the yielding Air.

Virgil ſays this, after having related the misfortune of *Eurydice*, the Wife of *Orpheus*. Note, that the Poets often confound the *Dryades* with the *Naïdes*, &c. and that there were ſome *Hamadryades* who lay with Men. We ſhall ſpeak more fully of all this in another Place (7).

(1) Servius on *Words of* ..., Georg. ..., ver. 11. ...ſimul Faunedem ...deſque puel...

(2) *...ſeums and ...and Nymphs ...lumber'd join.*

(3) ... in Virg. ... 20, ver.

(4) Pauſan. lib. 8, pag. 6... Edit. 1696.

(5) Servius in Georg. lib 4, ver. 460.

(6) Virgil. Geor. lib. 4, ver. 460.

(7) *In the Article* HAMADRYADES.

DRYANDER (*a*) (JOHN), a Proteſtant Martyr, was of *Burgos* in *Spain*. *John Dias*, made famous by the Barbarity of his Brother [*A*], owed to him thoſe Inſtructions which induced him to quit the *Roman* Catholic Church, and embrace the Reformed Religion. *Dryander* was forced to ſtay at *Rome*, in obedience to his Father; but he could not forbear expreſſing on ſome Occaſions his Opinion upon the Diſorders of the Church. He was juſt ſetting out for *Germany* to join his Brother FRANCIS DRYANDER [*B*], when he was accuſed of being an Heretic. The Pope, aſſiſted by

(a) His *Spaniſh* Name was *Enzinas*, which was tranſlated into *Greek* by the Word *Dryander*. The *Spaniards* call a ſort of Oak *Enzina*.

[*A*] *He had inſtructed John Dias, made famous by the Barbarity of his Brother.*] *Sleidan* relates the whole Story, how this poor Man was maſſacred (1). *Alphonſus Dias*, his Brother, took a Journey on purpoſe into *Germany*, to take away his Life, and uſed ſo much Artifice, that at laſt he found an Opportunity of making his Servant knock him on the Head with a Hatchet, the Twenty ſixth of *March* 1546. The Proteſtant (2) Martyrology ſuppoſes that our *Dryander* was burnt after the Murder of *John Dias*. I have followed *Beza* who makes it preceded by the Martyrdom of *Dryander*.

(1) ...leid. lib. ...pag. m. 433.

(2) Acta Martyrum, pag. 331. Edit. 1556, in 8vo, & fol. 152, Edit. 1560, in 4to. Hiſtoire des Martyrs, fol. 159, Edit. 1582, in folio.

[*B*] FRANCIS DRYANDER *his Brother.*] He is the Author of a *Spaniſh* Tranſlation of the *New Teſtament*,

by the Cardinals, examined him. *Dryander* did not flinch, he boldly declared his Faith, and was condemned to the Stake. He was burnt at *Rome*, in the Year 1545 (*b*).

(*b*) *Taken from* Theodorus Beza, *in* Iconibus, *and from the Acts*

Martyrdom of Crispin. *Note, that* Crispin, folio 152, *placed this Martyrdom in* 1546.

ſtament. Mr *Simon* (3) calls him *Francis Ruzinas*, and ſays, that this Verſion was dedicated to *Charles* V, which made a great Noiſe in the Low Countries: it was printed at *Antwerp* in 1543. He has given his Judgment of it in an ample Manner, in his new Obſervations upon the Text and Verſions of the *New Teſtament* (4). This *Dryander* was recommended to *Cranmer*, with great Elogies, by *Melanchthon*, in the Year 1548. See the Forty third Letter of *Melanchthon*. He was committed to Priſon, at *Bruſſels*, after he had dedicated his Work to *Charles* V, where he remained fifteen Months. He got out the firſt of *February* 1545, by laying hold of an Opportunity that offered, which was, ſeeing the Priſon Door open about eight o'Clock in the Evening (5).

(3) Hiſtoire Critique du Nouv. Teſt. Tom. II, cap. 41, pag. 494.

(4) *In the ſecond Chapter of the ſecond Part, pag.* 251, *and following.*

(5) Criſpin. Acti Mart. fol. m. 151.

DRIEDO (JOHN), in *Flemiſh Dridoens*, a Native of *Turnhout*, in *Brabant*, went through his Studies at *Louvain*, where he received his Doctor's Degree in Divinity in the Month of *Auguſt*, 1512. *Adrian Florent*, who was afterwards Pope *Adrian* VI, performed the Ceremony of his Promotion, and obſerving, that this Diſciple applied himſelf too cloſely to human Sciences, he informed him of the Diſtinction, which he ought to make between the Miſtreſs-Science, and thoſe which are only her Handmaids. After this Hint *Driedo* devoted himſelf chiefly to the Study of Divinity (*a*). He became Profeſſor of this Science in the Univerſity of *Louvain* (*b*). He was alſo Curate of *St James*, and Canon of *St Peter*, in the ſame City (*c*). He vigorouſly oppoſed Lutheraniſm: but, if one may judge of him by one of *Eraſmus*'s Letters, he moderated his Zeal ſomewhat better than the other Doctors of that Country [*A*]. He printed ſome Books of Divinity [*B*]; but meddling with Chronological Difficulties, he blundered pitifully [*C*]. He died at *Louvain*, in 1535 [*D*]; though thoſe who publiſhed his Epitaph place his Death upon the fourth of *Auguſt*, 1555.

(*a*) Valet. Andreas, Biblioth. Belgic. pag. 494.

(*b*) *See his Epitaph in* Swert. Athen. Belgic. pag. 420.

(*c*) *See the ſame Epitaph.*

[*A*] *If one may judge of him by one of Eraſmus's Letters, he moderated his Zeal, ſomewhat better than the other Doctors of that Country.*] Here is what he wrote to *Godeſchalc Roſemond*, Rector of the Univerſity of *Louvain* in 1519. 'Diſputationibus veſtris adverſus *Lutherum* ſemper conſtantiſſime favi: ſed multo magis ſcriptis, maxime *Joannis Turenholti* qui docte & ſine affectibus diſputavit, ut audio (1).—— 'I have conſtantly eſpouſed your Diſputations againſt 'Luther, and your Writings more zealouſly, eſpecially 'thoſe of John of Turenhout, who, I am informed, 'diſputed both coolly and learnedly.'

(1) Eraſm. Epiſt. 28, lib. 12, pag. 605.

[*B*] *He publiſhed ſome Books of Divinity.*] They concern the Diſputes between the *Roman* Catholics, and the Proteſtants; they treat *De gratia & libero arbitrio: de concordia liberi arbitrii & prædeſtinationis: de captivitate & redemptione generis humani: de libertate chriſtiana: de Scripturis & Dogmatibus Eccleſiaſticis.*

[*C*] *But meddling with Chronological Difficulties, he blundered pitifully.*] He could not fail of this, when he took the *Beroſus* and the *Metaſthenes* of *Annius* of *Viterbo* for genuine Works. His Treatiſe *de Scripturis & Dogmatibus Eccleſiaſticis* is divided into four Books, of which the third regards the Times: 'Ad 'illuſtrandas obſcuritates in Sacra Scriptura emergentes: ſed erravit in multis toto (ut dicitur) cœlo, eo 'quod ſtatuerit ſequendam ſupputationem Beroſi Chaldæi, Metaſthenis Perſæ, & Philonis Judæi, aliorumque quorum Chronographiam cum Hebraica Sacræ 'Scripturæ veritate concordare conatur: at bonus vir 'alioquin doctiſſimus nondum animadverterat auctores 'eſſe ſuppoſititios (2). —— *To explain the Difficulties 'to be found in the holy Scriptures. But he is often 'quite miſtaken, by following the Chronology of Be'roſus, the Chaldean, Metaſthenes, the Perſian, Philo 'Judæus, and others, whoſe Accounts he would reconcile 'to the holy Scriptures. But the Author, tho' in other 'reſpects a Man of great Learning, had not conſidered 'that thoſe Authors were ſpurious.* In this manner *Francis Swert* ſpeaks of them (3). Conſult *Poſſevin* (4).

(2) Valet. Andr. Bibl. Belg pag. 494.

[*D*] *He died at Louvain in* 1535.] This is what *Aubertus Miræus* (5), and *Valerius Andreas* ſay; but *Swert* does not ſay ſo; on the contrary he produces *Driedo*'s Epitaph, where it is ſaid *obiit atque ibi ſepultus eſt a nativitate Domini* 1535. Id. Iuv. IV. *Men. Auguſti* (6).—*He died, and was buried Auguſt the fourth* 1555. Therefore Father *Labbe* was wrong to refer thoſe to *Swert* who would correct the Error of a certain Author, he does not name, who placed *Driedo*'s Death in 1555. 'De eo plura Valerius Andreas, Swertius, Miræus, &c. ex quibus corrigendus qui anno 1555. die 4. Auguſti ſub Paulo IV. 'Papa mortuum docuit (7). —— *Valerius Andreas, 'Swertius, Miræus, have ſpoke more fully of this Matter, 'by whom he is to be corrected, who fixes his Death 'to the fourth of Auguſt* 1555, *under the Pontificate 'of Paul IV.*' *Francis Swert* is ſo far from being able to ſupply the Correction of this Miſtake, that he is the moſt proper Perſon to perſwade us that *Aubert le Mire*, *Valerius Andreas*, and the others, are all miſtaken, for who does not give more Credit to an Epitaph, concerning a Perſon's Death, than to the ſingle Teſtimony of an Hiſtorian? *Paul Freher* (8) quotes *Driedo*'s Epitaph with the ſame falſe Date as *Francis Swert*. This ſhould be a Caution to Compilers to take particular care, not to let Printers falſify Titles, and public Monuments.

(3) Swert. Athen. Belg. pag. 420.

(4) Poſſev. lib. 23 Biblioth. Selectæ, cap. 14, *and in* Apparatu Sacro.

(5) De Scriptor. Sæc. 16, pag. 280.

(6) Swert. Athen. Belg. pag. 420.

(7) Philippus Labbe de Script. Eccleſiaſt. Tom. I, pag. 558.

(8) In Theatro, pag. 166.

DRUMMOND (*a*), a moſt Noble and Ancient Family of *Scotland*, of which the Earl of *Perth* is now the Chief. The firſt of this Family, that bore the Name of *Drummond*, was an *Hungarian* Gentleman, named *Maurice*, who left *England* with *Edward Atheling*, lawful Heir to the Crown, to avoid the Perſecution of *William the Conqueror*, who took Poſſeſſion of *England* in 1066. *Maurice* was Commander of the Ship in which *Edward Atheling* embarked, together with his Mother *Agatha*, and his two Siſters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtina*. A violent Storm forced them upon the Coaſts of *Scotland*, and they landed in a Harbour on the River *Forth*, which to this day retains the Name of one of *Edward*'s Siſters (*b*), who, having been very famous for her Sanctity during her Life, was cannonized after her Death. In a word, it is St *Margaret*. She married *Malcolm* III of that Name, King of *Scotland*, who conferred great Honours and Penſions on our MAURICE DRUMMOND, together with an Eſtate, in Land, in the Province of *Dumbarton*, and the Office of Seneſchal of *Lenox*. The Queen alſo honoured him with Marks of her Eſteem, and gave him one of her Maids of Honour in Marriage. From this Marriage proceeded a Son, who was named *Malcolm*, the Father of *Maurice*, the Father of *John*, the Father of *Malcolm*. We know nothing

(*a*) This Article, both Text and Remarks, was communicated to the Bookſeller the ſixteenth of ---- 1695, and it is printed juſt as it was received.

(*b*) *It is called* St Margaret's Road.

of

of their Actions or Alliances; but we know their genealogical Succeſſions by Acts and Records, preſerved, for ſome Ages, with great care, in the Abbey of *Inchaffry*, and at laſt tranferred into the Archives of the Family. Some of them were loſt by the Pillage they were expoſed to in the great Revolution of 1688; but enough remains to make good what is ſet forth in this Article, which is beſides ſufficiently atteſted by the *Scotch* Hiſtorians. We ſhall ſee, in the Remarks, the Line of Succeſſion from MALCOLM DRUMMOND, the ſecond of the Name [*A*], to JAMES DRUMMOND, the third of the Name, Earl of *Perth* [*B*], Chancellor of *Scotland*, who is at preſent (*c*) Chief of the Family, and a Refugee at *Rome* for his Religion. We ſhall ſee, in this Succeſſion, a great Number of very illuſtrious Alliances, which alone is a certain Proof of the Splendor in which this Family has conſtantly maintained itſelf.

(*c*) *That is, in the Year* 1695.

[*A*] *We ſhall ſee .... the Line of Succeſſion from MALCOLM DRUMMOND II of the Name .....*] His Son MALCOLM III, ſirnamed *Begg*, that is, *the little*, married *Adda* the Daughter of *Malduin*, Earl of *Lenox*, who had but one Brother that left no Children, and who married the Siſter of that *John Monteith*, that ſold the illuſtrious *William Wallace*, Viceroy of *Scotland*, to the *Engliſh*. This *John Monteith* foreſeeing that the Earl of *Lenox*, his Brother-in-Law, would leave the Earldom to *Malcolm*, his Siſter's Husband, perſwaded the King to ask it of him. He hoped, the King, when he had obtained it, would have given it him; but he was miſtaken: the King gratified *Robert Stuart* with it, whoſe Deſcendants have been Earls of *Lenox*. *Malcolm Begg* had four Sons by his Wife *Adda*, JOHN, MAURICE, THOMAS, and WALTER. This laſt was Secretary to the King. *Maurice* married the Daughter of the Seneſchal of *Strathern*, and ſucceeded him in his Honours, and great Eſtate. *Thomas* was made Baron of *Balfron*. Their elder Brother *John Drummond*, ſeventh Seneſchal of *Lenox*, declared War againſt *John Monteith*. There was an ancient hatred between their Families. *Monteith* was vanquiſhed, and loſt three of his Sons in this War. The King ordered them to agree: the Grandees of the Kingdom aſſembled to make this Pacification, and the Earls of *Douglas*, *Angus*, and *Arran*, and the Lord *Robert*, the King's Nephew, were Guarantees of it. There Hands and Seals are ſtill to be ſeen to the Treaty; and it appears that the Lord *Robert*, the King's Nephew, owns himſelf to be one of the chief Relations of the two Families that were then reconciled. *Drummond*, having loſt, by one of the Articles of the Treaty, the Lands he was poſſeſſed of in the County of *Lenox*, by the Death of the three Sons of *John Monteith*, retired with his Family into the County of *Perth*, where he enjoyed the Lands of *Stobhall* and *Cargill*. He married the eldeſt Daughter of *William de Mantifex*, Great Treaſurer of *Scotland*. His eldeſt Son, MALCOLM IV of the Name, married *Iſabella Douglas*, Hereditary Counteſs of *Marr*, and contracted a very ſtrict Friendſhip with the Earl of *Douglas*, his Brother-in-Law. He joined with him in a War againſt the *Engliſh*, and ſignalized himſelf at the bloody Battle of *Otterburn* (1), where he took Priſoner *Ralph Peircy*, a General of great Renown among the *Engliſh*. For this Action he was honoured with a Penſion during Life. His Brother *William* married the Daughter of the Baron of *Airth*, who brought him, for her Fortune, the Barony of *Carnoc*. From this Marriage is derived the Branch of *Athornden*.

(1) The Lan- of the y it is Chevy

We muſt ſay ſomething of the four Daughters of *John Drummond*. The eldeſt was called ANABELLA and was married to *Robert* III, King of *Scotland*. This Queen is greatly extolled, by the *Scotch* Hiſtorians, for her Virtue and ſingular Prudence: ſhe was the Mother of *James* I, King of *Scotland*. One of her Siſters was married to *Archibald*, Earl of *Argyle*, another to *Alexander Macdonald*, Lord of the Iſles, and eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Roſs*, and another to *Stuart* of *Dualty*.

Malcolm IV of the Name dying without Children, JOHN DRUMMOND, his Brother, became Head of the Family. He married *Elizabeth* of *Sainte Clare*, Daughter of the Earl of *Orkney*, *Caithneſs*, *Roſſin*, &c. moſt illuſtrious among the *Danes*, as well as the *Scots*. He had by her three Sons and a Daughter, who was married to Lord *Thomas*, Baron of *Kinnaird*. We ſhall ſpeak of *Walter* the eldeſt of three Sons. *Robert*, the ſecond Brother, married the Heireſs of *Barnbongall*. *John*, the youngeſt of all, went to the *Madera* Iſlands, where his Poſterity at this day makes a good Figure.

WALTER DRUMMOND married to *Margaret* Daughter of the Lord *Patrick Ruthven*, Head of a very Noble Family, was Father of the *Malcolm*, that follows, of JOHN Biſhop of *Dumblain*, and of WALTER, who was made Baron of *Leidrief*, from whom is derived the Branch of *Blair Drummond*, which produced two other Branches, that of *Newton*, and that of *Gardrum*.

MALCOLM V of the Name married *Maria Murray*, Daughter of the Lord of *Tullibardin* (2), and had by her *John* Lord DRUMMOND, created Peer of the Kingdom. WALTER, Lord of *Dranſton*, JAMES, Lord of *Corriwechter*, and THOMAS, Lord of *Druminerinoch*, from whom are deſcended the Branches of *Invermay*, *Cultmalindre*, *Comrie*, and *Pittairns*.

(2) The Earls of *Tullibardin*, now Marquiſſes of *Athol*, are his Deſcendants.

JOHN DRUMMOND, eldeſt Son of *Malcolm* V, married *Elizabeth Lindſey*, Daughter of the famous Earl of *Crawford* (3), and became Illuſtrious and Powerful. He was a very great Genius. He was Great Juſticiary of *Scotland*, which at that time was the higheſt Place in the Kingdom. He bought all the Lands of the Baron of *Concraig*, his Kinſman, ſituate in the County of *Strathern*, and by the King's Permiſſion, the Poſt of Hereditary Seneſchal of that County. He did *James* IV, King of *Scotland*, good Service; for he defeated the Earl of *Lenox*, and the Lord *Liſle*, and their Adherents, who were marching to join the Earl of *Mariſchall*, and the Lord *Gordon*, who had formed a Deſign to ſecure the Perſon of the young King, and govern the Kindom under pretence of revenging the Death of *James* III. He was ſent Plenipotentiary into *England*, to conclude a Treaty of Peace with King *Richard* III. After the Death of the King, he was deprived of his Eſtate, and his Offices, for giving a King at Arms a Box on the Ear, who came to ſummon him, in the Caſtle of *Drummond*, to appear before the Parliament, and give an Account of the Queen's Marriage with the Earl of *Lenox* (4): but by the Sollicitations of the Queen, and the Interceſſion of the great Men of the Kingdom, his Eſtate and Honours were reſtored to him two days after, in Conſideration of his Quality and Services. He had four Daughters, one of whom, named MARGARET, pleaſed King *James* IV ſo well, that he reſolved to marry her. But a Diſpenſation from the Pope being neceſſary, on account of their being related, the impatient Prince married her in private; from this clandeſtine Marriage iſſued a Daughter, who was afterwards Wife to the Earl of *Huntly*. The Diſpenſation being come, the King was deſirous to celebrate his Marriage publickly; but the Jealouſy of ſome of the Nobility againſt the Houſe of *Drummond* ſuggeſted to them the wicked Thought of poiſoning Queen *Margaret*, that his Family might not have the Glory of giving two Queens to *Scotland*. Her Siſter ELIZABETH was Counteſs of *Angus*. EUPHEMIA, another of her Siſters, was married to the Lord *Fleming*, and ANNABELLA, her other Siſter, was Counteſs of *Montroſe*....

(3) He was commonly called *Earl Beardie*.

(4) The Count, who kept in the Caſtle of *Drummond*, was ſummoned at the ſame time.

WILLIAM DRUMMOND, Son of *John*, and Husband of *Iſabella Campbell*, Daughter of the Earl of *Argyle*, had two Sons, *Walter* and *Andrew*; he and his Family entered into open War with the Family of *Murray*, and ſome of his Friends barbarouſly burnt ſome Gentlemen of the Houſe of *Murray* in a Church (5). He was innocent of the Crime; but nevertheleſs, as the King did not love him, he was condemned to loſe his Head for it. Which was executed accordingly. His Son ANDREW was created Baron of *Bellithlon*, and gave Riſe to a Branch, of which the laſt Male, MAURICE DRUMMOND, left four Daughters, who were honourably married in *England*. One of them was the Wife of *Caryl*, Secretary to King *James*. WALTER DRUMMOND, eldeſt Son of *William*, had by *Elizabeth Graham*, Daughter of the Earl of *Montroſe*, but one Son, *viz.*

(5) In that of *Monivard*.

DAVID

DAVID DRUMMOND, who married *Margaret Stuart*, Daughter of the Duke of *Albany*, Viceroy of *Scotland*, by whom he had only one Daughter, who was Wife of the Lord of *Pourv Ogilby*. After *Margaret*'s Death, he married *Lilia Rutheven*, who brought him five Daughters, 1. JANE, Wife of *John* Earl of *Montrose*, Chancellor and Viceroy of *Scotland*: 2. ANN, married to *John* Earl of *Marr*, Great Treasurer of *Scotland*: 3. LILIA, Countess of *Crawford*: 4. CATHERINE, Lady of *Tullibardine*: and MARGARET, Lady of *Keir*. The two Sons of DAVID DRUMMOND are, PATRICK, who follows, and JAMES Lord of *Maderly*, from whom are descended the Viscounts of *Strathallan*, and the Barons of *Marchani*. The first, who was created Viscount of *Strathallan*, was named WILLIAM DRUMMOND. He was a Lieutenant-General in King *James*'s Army, and a great Man, both for the Field, and the Closet.

PATRICK DRUMMOND, married to *Margaret Lindsey*, Daughter of the Earl of *Crawford*, from whom is derived the Branch of *Edzel*, had five Daughters. 1. CATHERINE, Countess of *Rothes*. 2. LILIA, Countess of *Dumfermlin*, Mother of the Countesses of *Lauderdale*, *Kelly*, *Balcarres*, and *Cathness*. 3. JANE, Countess of *Roxburgh*, Governess to King *Charles* the First's Children. 4. ANN, Lady of *Torray-Barclay*. 5. And ELIZABETH, Wife of the Lord *Elphinston*. Besides these five Daughters, PATRICK DRUMMOND has two Sons, JAMES and JOHN.

JAMES DRUMMOND, created Earl of *Perth*, married *Isabella Seatoun*, Daughter of the Earl of *Winton*, and left only one Daughter, who was Countess of *Sutherland*. He died young. JOHN, his Brother, Earl of *Perth*, succeeded him: He married *Jane Keir*, Daughter of the Earl of *Roxburgh*, by whom he had four Sons, and two Daughters, one of whom was Countess of *Wigton*, and the other Countess of *Tullibardine*. The four Sons are JAMES, who follows; ROBERT, who died in *France*; JOHN, who founded the Branch of *Logy Almond*; and WILLIAM, Earl of *Roxburgh*, who founded the Branch of *Roxburgh*, and that of *Bellandin*.

JAMES DRUMMOND II of the Name, Earl of *Perth*, married *Ann Gordon*, Daughter of the Marquis of *Huntley*, by whom he had two Sons, and one Daughter, *viz.* JAMES, whom I shall speak of in the following Remark, JOHN, and ANN. The latter is a Lady of great Merit, and married, the Earl of *Errol*, Hereditary Constable of *Scotland*. JOHN DRUMMOND, Earl of *Melfort*, Secretary to *James* II, King of *Great Britain*, was twice married, first with the Heiress of *Lundin*, by whom he had three Sons, and three Daughters: ANN, married to the Baron of *Houston*, ELIZABETH, Wife to the Viscount of *Strathallan*, and MARY, who is unmarried. The three Sons are JAMES Baron of *Lundin*, ROBERT and CHARLES. He married to his second Wife *Euphemia Wallace*, Daughter of *Thomas Wallace*, Baron of *Craigie*, the Head of a very ancient Family. By this second Marriage he has six Sons, and three Daughters; JOHN, Lord of *Forth*, THOMAS, WILLIAM, ANDREW, RINALD, and PHILIP: CATHERINE, TERESA, and MARY.

[*B*] *JAMES DRUMMOND III of the Name, Earl of Perth.*] He was made Counsellor of State, in the Year 1679, Justice-General of *Scotland* in 1682, and High-Chancellor of *Scotland* in 1684. He was so moved by reading the Papers, found in King *Charles* the Second's strong Box, concerning the Controversy between the Protestants, and the Church of *Rome*, that, having examined sincerely the Affair of Religion, he was brought to believe the *Roman* Catholic to be the only true one, and accordingly he made an open Profession of it. His Attachment to this Church, and his Zeal for King *James*'s Service, whom he endeavoured to follow into *France*, exposed him to ill Treatment both from the Populace and Council of *Scotland*. He was kept a close Prisoner in *Sterling* Castle for two Years, and seven Months, after which he was allowed to take a little Air for his Health, and then imprisoned again, where he continued nine Months. At last he had leave to go out of the Kingdom. He retired to *Rome*, where his Virtue, and Zeal for the Catholic Religion, gained him a universal Esteem (6). His greatest Enemies have never charged him with any other Crime than his professing the *Romish* Religion. He has had three Wives, 1. *Jane Douglas*, Daughter of *William* Marquis of *Douglas*; 2. *Lilia*, Countess of *Tullibardin*; 3. *Mary Gordon*, Daughter of *Lewis* Marquis of *Huntley*, and Sister to the Duke of *Gordon*. By his first Wife he had MARY, Wife of *William*, Earl of *Marischal*, Hereditary Marshall of *Scotland*: ANN, who is not married, and JAMES Lord DRUMMOND, who at fifteen Years of Age left the University at *Paris*, to follow King *James* into *Ireland* in 1689. He was present at the Siege of *Londenderry*, and at the Battles of *Newtown-Butler*, and the *Boyne*. Being returned into *France* with King *James*, he performed his Exercises in the Academy of *Paris*, after which he travelled through *France*, *Italy*, *Flanders*, and *Holland*. He is now in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Perth* had two Sons, by each of his other two Wives.

(6) *That is in* 1695.

DRUSBICKI (*a*) (GASPAR), a *Polish* Jesuit, entered into the Society the Twenty fourth of *August*, 1609, at twenty Years of Age, and exercised successively the most considerable Offices in it; for he was not only Master of the Novices for seven Years, but also several times Rector of a College, and twice Provincial of the Province of *Poland*. He was sent twice to *Rome* by this Province, as their Sollicitor, and he assisted at two general Congregations (*b*). He was very zealously addicted to Prayer, and it is beleived that GOD revealed many things to him. His Devotion for the Virgin *Mary* was of a superlative Degree. His severe Treatment of himself was astonishing [*A*]. He died piously at *Posnania*, the second of *April* 1660, and it is reported that his Body continued for many Years free from all kind of Corruption. He wrote several Books, but did not publish many of them [*B*]. The History of his Life, composed by *Daniel Paulowski* (*c*), has many considerable things in it (*d*) [*C*].

(*a*) The true *Polish* Orthography is *Drusbicki*. I follow that of *Southwell*, cited below.

(*b*) *At the 8th and 10th.*

(*c*) It was printed at *Cracow*, in the beginning of the Year 1670, in 8vo.

(*d*) *Taken from* Nath. Southwell. Biblioth. Soc. Jesu, pag. 278.

[*A*] *His severe Treatment of himself was astonishing.*] Witness the Bruises that were found upon his Body in his last Sickness, the Effects of the terrible Discipline he gave himself. 'Despicientissimus sui, corpus suum 'inclementer admodum tractabat, id quod patuit in 'extremo morbo quando infirmariis exuentibus eum '& induentibus, carnes miserandum in modum flagris 'concisæ apparuerunt (1). —— *He treated his own 'Body with incredible Severity, and when the Under-'takers laid him forth, his Body appeared miserably 'torn with the Lash during his last Sickness.*'

(1) Nathan. Southwell, Bibl. Scriptor Societ. Jesu, pag. 276.

[*B*] *He wrote several Books, but did not publish many of them.*] During the Interregnum, a Professor of *Cracow* printed and dispersed among the Nobility a Writing against the Jesuits. This Libel was answered by *Gaspar Drusbicki*. His Answer, published in *Polish* was intituled, *Declaratio memorialis exorbitantium, & processus Academiæ Cracovienſis inter ordines distributus.* By the Title alone it appears that this was not a Process carried on against the Jesuits by a Professor of the University of *Cracow*; but that the Body of the University had some Difference with them (2). The other Writings of *Drusbicki*, which have been published in Latin, are Books of Devotion, *De Passione Jesu Christi Filii Dei. Fasciculus Exercitiorum & Considerationum de præcipuis virtutibus Christianæ fidei. Sol in virtute sua, sive Jesus Christus in splendore suarum excellentiarum spectabilis* (3).'

(2) There are very few Universities with which the Jesuits have not had some Dispute, and generally speaking they might say, with regard to their Differences, *Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena labo ris.* Virgil. Æneid. lib. 1, ver. 460.

[*C*] *The History of his Life . . . . . has many considerable things in it.*] I conjecture, those things are not concerning the Administration of the Affairs of the Society which were committed to him, but they are rather Visions and Extasies, and such like Incidents of an overstrained Devotion. They, who have the Book, will do me a Favour by informing me, if I am mistaken.

(3) Southwell, ubi supra.

DRUSILLA, Daughter of *Agrippa*, firſt of the Name, King of the Jews, was but ſix Years old when her Father died. She had been promiſed to *Epiphanus*, Son of *Antiochus*, King of *Comagena* (*a*); but the Marriage was broke off, and never conſummated, becauſe *Epiphanus* refuſed to keep the Promiſe he had made of embracing the Jewiſh Religion. *Azizus*, King of the *Emeſenians*, was not ſo ſcrupulous; he conſented to be circumciſed, provided he might have *Druſilla*. Accordingly ſhe was given to him, and he became a Jew (*b*). She was a moſt beautiful Woman: *Felix* no ſooner ſaw her, but he fell in love with her. He propoſed Marriage to her, and promiſed to make her ſo happy, that ſhe accepted his Offer. She quitted her Huſband *Azizus*, and her Religion at the ſame time [*A*], and married *Felix*, who then commanded in *Judea*. The Jealouſy between her and her Siſter *Berenice* [*B*] was one of the great Motives that inclined her to this Change (*c*). The Holy Scriptures make mention of *Felix* and *Druſilla* (*d*). They had a Son named *Agrippa*, who

(*a*) Joſeph. Ant. lib. 19, cap. 7.

(*b*) Id. ibid. lib. 20, cap. 5.

(*c*) Id. ibid.

(*d*) Acts, chap. xxiv, ver. 25.

[*A*] *She forſook her Husband . . . . . and her Religion at the ſame time.*] I promiſed in another place a Remark upon this (1). A learned Man (2) has repreſented to me that the words of the Jewiſh Hiſtorian only ſignify that this Marriage of *Druſilla* was contrary to the Laws; now that does not imply a change of Religion. I confeſs it; but *Joſephus* ſeems to me to inform us of what I have ſaid. His words are (3): Ἡ δὲ (Δρούσιλλα) κακῶς πράττουσα, καὶ φυγεῖν τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Βερνίκης βλασφημίαν φθόνον, διὰ γὰρ τὸ κάλλος πας' ἐκείνης ἐν ὀλίγοις ἐβλάπτετο, παρεβῆναι τὰ τῶ πατρίω νόμιμα πείθεται, καὶ τῷ φίλιπι γάμασθαι. That is to ſay, according to *Gelenius*'s Tranſlation: *Illa* (*Druſilla*) *male conſulta volens evadere moleſtationes ſorroris Bernices, invidentis ſibi formæ præcellentiam, conſenſit calcata religione patria Felici nubere:* which *Genebrard* renders in this manner: *She being ill adviſed, and deſiring to avoid the Envy of her Siſter Berenice, who was vexed at her great Beauty, conſented to* FORSAKE HER RELIGION, *and to marry Felix.* Mr *Arnauld d'Andilli* tranſlates the Hiſtorian's *Greek* Text in the ſame manner, with reſpect to her abjuring the Jewiſh Religion. 'What convinces me that *Genebrard* has tranſlated it right, is, the improbability that *Felix*, in the Poſt he was in, ſhould dare to marry a Woman that ſhould look upon the Religion of the *Romans* as abominable; that he ſhould dare, I ſay, marry ſuch a Woman without repreſenting to her the neceſſity there was of her having other ſentiments of the Worſhip of the *Roman* Gods. There is no likelihood that *Druſilla* would reject this Condition, when ſhe was to marry a Perſon who had the Command over *Judæa*, who had a great ſhare in the Emperor's Favour, and whoſe Brother was the ſame Emperor's Favourite. I know the *Romans* were very eaſy in tolerating Religions; but there is a vaſt difference between tolerating a Religion which does not contemn your's, and tolerating a Sect that anathematizes and damns you. And this is what the Jews did with reſpect to all other Religions. And beſides, there is a great deal of difference between ſuffering a Woman quietly to profeſs Judaiſm, and marrying her, notwithſtanding that Profeſſion. We may alſo make an Obſervation upon the Conſtruction of the Words in *Joſephus*; for if he had only meant to ſay that our *Druſilla* married with a Pagan, that the Jewiſh Laws did not permit her to marry, there was no neceſſity for dividing the words as he has done: the words evidently contain two Propoſitions, one that ſhe had violated her her Religion, and the other, that ſhe married *Felix*. This is an Argument that there is ſomething in the firſt which is not included in the ſecond. But I would not inſiſt too much on this proof: for there are too many inſtances which make it appear how little Authors obſerve the ſtrict Laws of Logic in their placing of words; and it was anciently a Figure of Grammar (4) to divide one object by two Expreſſions. *Pateris libamus & auro* (5), for *pateris aureis*. *We drink out of Cups and Gold*, for *Golden Cups*.

It muſt not be imagined that I would repreſent *Felix* as a devout Pagan, and a conſcientious Man; I give him nothing but Political Scruples. I only ſuppoſe he was not ignorant, that the Growth of his Fortune awakened the Jealouſy of ſeveral powerful Courtiers, to whom he ought not to give ſuch a ſpecious handle to diſcredit and ruin him at Court, as to be able to ſay he had married a Wife that publicly profeſſed an abhorence for the Houſhold Gods, and all the Religion of *Rome*.

[*B*] *The Jealouſy between her and her Siſter Berenice.*] I have ſpoken of this *Berenice*: She was beautiful and ambitious, an amorous and intriguing Woman; I do not wonder ſhe did not love [illegible] ſhe was a moſt beautiful Siſter, and [illegible] Years than *Berenice*. The latter would [illegible] quitted to her in this reſpect her Birth-[illegible] of Beauty, ten Years advance makes a Birth-right very troubleſome, which they would gladly be rid of, or change for the title of younger Siſter; but nothing can be done againſt Nature. *Berenice*'s jealouſy was no ſecret Diſpoſition: *Druſilla* felt the effects of it; ſo that ſhe was very glad, by her Marriage with the Governour of *Judæa*, a Man of great Credit with the Emperor *Claudius* (6), to be in a Condition of diſputing the Ground with *Berenice*. The Ancients had a Proverb concerning the Hatred of Brothers: *Fratrum inter ſe iræ ſunt acerbiſſimæ* (7): *Hatred among Brothers is the bitterest Hatred*: I fancy the hatred of Siſters is ſtill more violent; and if all thoſe times may be ſaid to belong to the Iron Age, in which fraternal Friendſhip was a rare thing, *Fratrum quoque gratia rara eſt* (8), I believe it may much better be ſaid with reſpect to Siſters. There are three things which commonly (9) prevent their jealouſy, the Grace of God, want of Qualities worthy of Envy, and a great Degree of Stupidity: for if their Age ſuffers them to appear together in the World, in the ſplendor of Beauty, Wit, and Fortune, it is almoſt impoſſible they ſhould love one another, and you cannot make your court to one in a worſe manner than by praiſing the other. Many of them have ſkill and firmneſs enough to conceal the vexation it gives them, but they are not the leſs ſenſible of it. I ſhall finiſh this Remark with the Concluſion of a Letter from Mr *de la Fontaine* to the Ducheſs of *Bouillon*. 'Theſe 'Sheep, Madam, under Favour, are your Highneſs, 'and Madam *MAZARIN*. And here I have a pro- 'per Opportunity to make her Panegyric, in order to 'join it with your's; but as theſe ſorts of Parallels are 'dangerous things, I am of Opinion it will be much 'better to let it alone.

Like Siſters you love, and the ſovereign Sway
Between you divide, while your Subjects obey:
But I'll no diſpute about Preference raiſe,
Since nothing's ſo nice to be parted as Praiſe.
Were TULLY now living, whoſe eloquent Vein
Did the Hearts of the People and Senators gain,
His Rhet'ric would fail in ſuch Matters as theſe,
Two Heroes, two Wits, and two Beauties to pleaſe (10).

Cuneus reaſons well upon the Motive of the Moſaic Law, forbidding to marry two Siſters at the ſame time. 'In Leviticus cap XVIII, *ſays he* (11), edictum 'Numinis extat, quo Judæi duas ſorores eodem tem- 'pore habere uxores vetantur, non ob aliam cauſam 'profectò, quàm quòd ardentiſſima eſſe inter has æmu- 'latio in tali conjunctione ſolet; cum cæteræ omni- 'nò, quæ eâ conſanguinitate non ſunt, æquiore animo 'ſub eodem marito ætatem unà agant. —— *In the* 'XVIIth *chapter of Leviticus*, ſays he, *there is a Decree of Moſes, whereby the Jews are forbid to have two Siſters for Wives at the ſame time; for no other reaſon, than becauſe, under ſuch a Conjuncture, there frequently happens between them the fierceſt Contention; when others not ſo nearly allied paſs their Lives with greater unanimity under the ſame Husband.*'

(1) *In the Remark upon the Article of* BERENICE. *Grand Dictionary, &c.*

(2) Mr de la Roque, *a French Refugee, a Minister at London.*

(3) Joſeph. Ant. lib. 20, cap. 5, pag. 693.

(4) *Called* ἐν διὰ δυοῖν.

(5) Virgil. Geor. lib. 2, ver. 192.

(6) He was the Emperor's ſucceſſor, *See his Life in Claud cap.* 28, and Brother to *Pallas*, *Joſeph. Antiq lib.* 20, *cap.* 2. *Tacit. Anal. lib* 12, *cap.* 54. *Pallas* ſtood well with *Claudius*. *Sueton. ibid. Tacit. ibid.*

(7) Erasmus, *in his Comment upon that Proverb, of* Ariſtotle, Politic. 7, *who ſays,* Ὅταν εἰρηται, χαλεποὶ γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διὸ καὶ τοῦτο παροιμιώδες λέγεται, ἀεὶ γὰρ ἔριδας ἔχουσιν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους. *Fratrum enim bella acerba proverbio dicitur.*

(8) Ovid Metam. lib. 3, ver. 145.

(9) Let this Word be conſidered well; for every body may know of good and juſt Exceptions to this Rule.

(10) St Evremond's Works, Vol. II. pag. 386, Edit. Lond. 1727.

(11) Cuneus de Repub. Hebr. lib. 2. cap. 23, pag. m. 206. *See* Polygamia Triumphatrix, pag. 373.

who perished, with his Wife, in a Conflagration of Mount *Vesuvius* (e). It is very probable *Tacitus* is mistaken concerning *Felix*'s Marriage [C]. Mr *Moreri* is fallen into some Errors which he might easily have avoided [D], if he had written with Attention, and formed his Mind to the Rules of Exactness.

(e) Joseph. Ant. lib. 20, cap. 5.

[C] *It is very probable Tacitus is mistaken concerning the Marriage of Felix.*] His Words are (12): 'Claudius defunctis regibus aut haud modicum redactis Iudæam Provinciam equitibus Romanis aut libertis permisit. Ex quibus Antonius Felix per omnem sævitiam ac libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit, Drusilla Cleopatræ & Antonii nepte in matrimonium accepta, ut ejusdem Antonii Felix Progenies, Claudius nepos esset. —— *Claudius, when the Jewish Kings were all deceased, or at least extremely shortened in Power, bestowed Judæa, to be ruled as a Province by the Roman Knights, or his Freedmen; Antonius Felix was one of these, one who, rioting in the excesses of Licentiousness, and Cruelty, exercised the Authority of a King with the Spirit and Baseness of a Slave. He had indeed received in Wedlock Drusilla, Grandaughter to Antony and Cleopatra, insomuch that, whilst the Emperor was Antony's Grandson, Felix was married to the Granddaughter of that very Antony.' These Words of *Tacitus* plainly signify that *Felix* was the Husband of *Drusilla*, Grand daughter to *Marc Antony* and *Cleopatra*, while he commanded in *Judæa*. Now there is no shadow of Probability in this; for *Josephus*, who is more to be depended upon than *Tacitus*, in this respect, informs us, that *Felix* courted *Drusilla* soon after he arrived in *Judæa*. But durst *Felix* have done this, if he had been actually married to the Emperor's first Cousin? could he have married *Drusilla*, Sister of *Agrippa*, the second of that Name, during the Life of the other *Drusilla*, *Marc Antony*'s Grand-daughter? could he, I say, have done this without divorcing the other *Drusilla*? and if he had divorced her, would *Josephus* have been silent upon such an Affair as this, so proper to render that Governor odious; for in this Case, *Felix* must have broke through two Marriages to satisfy his Passion. He must have repudiated one *Drusilla*, and forced another *Drusilla* to forsake her Husband. A national Historian does not forget such Circumstances as these. *Tacitus* is the more easily to be suspected of Negligence, because it is certain he notes the time wrong when *Felix* was Governor of *Judæa*. He supposes (13), that *Felix* and *Cumanus* commanded at the same time in that Country; *Felix* in *Samaria*, and *Cumanus*, in *Galilee*. Nothing is more false: for according to *Josephus*, who is no doubt better acquainted than *Tacitus* with those Things, *Felix* was not sent into *Judæa*, till after *Cumanus* had been condemned to Banishment for his Misdemeanours (14). Perhaps I may be asked from whence this Error of *Tacitus* proceeded. I believe two Causes may be assigned for it. Knowing that *Felix* had been married to *Drusilla*, he might imagine that That *Drusilla* was the Daughter of *Juba*, and of *Cleopatra Selene*, Daughter of *Marc Antony* and *Cleopatra*, and never concerned himself whether there was not, in *Judæa*, a Lady of the same Name: but on the other side it is possible that *Felix*, before he went into *Judæa*, might have had for his Wife *Drusilla*, the Grand-daughter of *Marc Antony*, and that this *Drusilla* was dead before he fell in Love with the other *Drusilla* of the Jewish Nation. This last Opinion will appear the more probable to those who know that, according to *Suetonius*, *Felix* married three Queens (15), by which we may understand three Princesses of Royal Blood. But besides, no Body makes mention of a *Drusilla*, who was Grand-daughter to *Marc Antony*, and *Cleopatra*. Those who would pretend that *Drusilla*, the Jewess, was born of the Marriage of *Agrippa* with a Daughter of *Marc Antony* and *Cleopatra*, are confuted by *Noldius* (16).

(12) Tacit. Hist. lib. 5, cap. 9.

(13) Tacit. Ann. lib. 12, cap. 54.

(14) Joseph. Antiq. lib. 20, cap. 5.

(15) Nec minus Felicem quem cohortibus & alis prov necaque Judææ præposuit tum uxorem maritum. *Sueton. in Claud cap 28. See the fine Note of Mr Grævius upon this.*

[D] *Moreri is fallen into some Errors.*] I. He should not have said, that *Epiphanius* promised *Drusilla* to become a Jew. Such Promises are not made to a Child of five or six Years old: it was to *Drusilla*'s Father he made this Promise, as *Josephus* observes (17). II. He ought not to have confounded *Agrippa*, the Father, with *Agrippa* the Son he should have said that the former betrothed *Drusilla* to *Epiphanius*, and the latter married her to *Azizus*. III. It is not said in the Acts of the Apostles, that *Drusilla* was present, when *Paul* reasoned, before *Felix*, concerning Justice and Judgment to come.

(16) Noldius de Vita & Gestis Herodum, pag. 469.

(17) Josephus, Antiq. lib. 20, cap. 5.

DRUSILLA (JULIA), Daughter of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, was married to *Lucius Cassius*, in the Year of *Rome* 786 (*a*). She degenerated; for her Life was very scandalous [*A*]. She had to do, in her tenderest Youth, with her Brother *Caligula*, who was taken in the Fact before he had attained to the virile Gown (*b*) [*B*]. She continued all her life-time abandoned to this incestuous Commerce, and *Caligula*'s Passion for her was so violent and public, that nothing was ever before seen like it. He took her from *Lucius Cassius*, her Husband, and lived publickly with her as if she

(a) Tacit. Annal. lib. 6, cap. 15.

(b) *See Remark* [D] *of the Article* CALIGULA.

A new Observation on the Joke, *Et sequitur levitas filia matris iter.*

[*A*] *She degenerated; for her Life was very scandalous.*] If any Lover of Scandal should come and tell me, that the Latin Joke, *Et sequitur levitas filia matris iter*, — *Like Mother, like Daughter*, is never true, but when the Mother is naught; that, in such a case only, the Daughter treads faithfully in the steps of her Mother, I should stop him short, without going out of this Family. *Drusilla*, it is true, did not follow the good Example of *Agrippina* her Mother, who was the chastest Lady of her time: but neither did *Agrippina* follow the ill Example of her Mother *Julia*, who was the most lascivious Woman of the Age.

[*B*] *She had to do with Caligula, who was taken in the Fact before he had attained the virile Gown.*] Upon this Occasion, we might say something not unlike our Proverb, *the Habit does not make the Friar*. *Caligula* wore a Child's Garment, and was not a Child. He had not the virile Gown, and gave strong Proofs of his Virility; nevertheless, we must not imagine he was one of those extraordinary Instances that Authors make mention of, an Instance of those Boys who have got Children at ten or twelve Years of Age. We must represent things as they are, and do Justice to all the World; *Caligula*'s wicked Disposition might indeed have hastened his criminal Resolutions, but could not give him the necessary Vigour to commit an act of Incest. The Child's Garment he had on, when he was found in the Act, did not hinder him from being of a competent Age according to the course of Nature. He did not take the virile Robe, till he was twenty Years of Age, and he was eighteen when he came to his Grandmother's. 'Vigesimo ætatis anno, accitus Capreas à Tiberio uno 'atque eodem die togam sumpsit, barbamque posuit (1). '—— *In the twentieth Year of his Age, being sent for 'by Tiberius to Capreæ, he took the Toga Virilis, and 'was shaved for the first time on the same Day.*' Now it was at her House, that he was taken in the Act with his Sister. He was brought up by his Mother, 2. with *Livia*, 3. with *Antonia*. 'Primum in matris, deinde ea relegata in Liviæ Augustæ proaviæ suæ contubernio mansit. Quam defunctam prætextatus etiam tum pro rostris laudavit, 'transitque ad Antoniam aviam (2). —— *He first lived 'with his Mother, and after her Divorce with his 'great Grandmother Livia, whose Funeral Oration 'he spoke before he took the Toga Virilis, and 'was then removed to his Grandmother Antonia.*' But he did not go to the latter till after *Livia*'s Death, that is to say in the Year 782; and he was born in the Year 764 (3). Nevertheless, God forbid I should retract what I have said in another Place (4), that *Caligula*'s *Corruption appeared betimes*. Though he had been but twenty Years old at the time of his Incest, I had reason to say of him, that, *in wicked Dispositions, Vice does not wait for a number of Years.*

(1) Sueton. in Calig. cap. 10.

(2) Idem. ibid.

(3) Idem. ibid. cap. 8.

(4) *In the Text of the Article* CALIGULA.

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(c) Sueton. in Caligula, cap. 24.

(d) Dio, l. b, 59, at the Year 791.

(e) He was the Son of Drusus, Tiberius's Brother.

(f) She was the Great Grand-Daughter.

she had been his lawful Wife (c); and when she died, in the Year of *Rome* 791, he gave into the most impious Extravagancies to honour her Memory [C]. *Dio* reports that she was married to *Marcus Emilius Lepidus* (d). *Moreri* has committed two Faults: he should not have said, that *Germanicus* was the Brother of *Tiberius* (e); nor that *Drusilla* was the Grand-Daughter of *Augustus* (f).

One cannot mention his Name, without exciting the Idea of the most excessive Wickedness that a Man can be capable of. His Life is a Series of such furious Enormities that the Historians have been suspected by some of making him worse than he was. It is true such Monsters are very rare, and much more rare than great Saints, and the most accomplished Heroes: but yet *Caligula* is not the only one in whom humane Nature has shewn how far she is capable of carrying Corruption. I question whether she ever exhibited, upon the same Throne, four such Instances of this Kind, in so short a time, as she did upon the Throne of the *Cæsars* from *Tiberius* to *Domitian*.

[C] *He gave into the most impious Extravagancies to honour her Memory.*] Her Funeral was performed with the utmost Magnificence: he procured a Decree, to honour the Memory of *Drusilla*, like that which had been made for *Livia*, the Wife of *Augustus*; and besides that, he made a public Decree, declaring *Drusilla* to be in the Number of the Immortals. A golden Statue was erected of her, in the Senate House, and another Statue of her in the *Forum*, like that of *Venus*, and the same Honours decreed her, that were paid to That Goddess. A Temple was particularly consecrated to her: it was ordered that Men and Women should consecrate Statues to her; that Women should swear by her Name when they attested any thing; and that her Birth-day should be honoured with the same Games as those of *Cybele*. She was called the *Panthea* (5), and divine Honours were paid to her in all the Cities. *Livius Geminus*, a *Roman* Senator, declared he saw her ascend to Heaven, and converse with the Gods, and made Imprecations against himself, and his own Children, if what he said was not true, and among other Deities he called that of *Drusilla* to witness it. This was worth a good Sum of Money to him. The *Romans* were never under a greater Perplexity than at this time: they knew not what looks to put on; if they were sad, they were accused of denying her Deity; if gay, they were charged with not lamenting her Death (6). *Caligula* made use of his Sister's human Nature, against those who did not weep, and of her divine Nature, against those who did. During the time of the public Mourning, which he ordered for her, it was a crime to laugh, to go into the Bath, or to eat with ones Family (7). A poor Man, who sold hot Water, was put to Death as guilty of Irreligion. Τὸν θερμάσαντα θερμὸν ὕδωρ ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ἀσεβήσαντα. *Quidam ob aquam calidam venditans impietatis reus factus, à Caio trucidatus fuit* (8). After her Death, *Caligula* never swore, either in the Senate, or in the Army, upon things of the utmost Importance, but by the Deity of *Drusilla* (9). Add to this the other signs of his Madness, mentioned under the Article of CALIGULA. *Seneca* has excellently described the wild and extravagant Follies of *Caligula*'s mourning (10).

(5) That is to say, *All Divine*. These wretched Flatterers went further in three Days than the Pagan Church have done in many Ages. I speak of those who call the Virgin Mary, *Panagia*, *All Holy*.

(6) *Taken from* Dio, lib. 59. *at the Year 793.*

(7) Eadem defunctæ matri maxit, an quo cruciatu, lavisse, cænasse cum parentibus, aut convivali tristitiæ, capitale fuit. Sueton. in Calig. cap. 24.

(8) Dio, lib. 59, ad ann. [illegible]

(9) [illegible]

(10) Seneca de Consol. ad Polyb. cap. 34.

(a) *The Family Name was* Dreschc.

DRUSIUS (*a*) (JOHN), born at *Audenard*, in *Flanders*, the Twenty eighth of *June* 1555, was a very learned Person among the Protestants. He was designed for the Study of *Divinity*, and sent to *Ghent* betimes, there to learn the Languages, and after that to *Louvain* to go thorough a Course of Philosophy. His Father, having been outlawed on account of the Protestant Religion, in the Year 1567, and stript of his Estate, retired to *England*. His Wife, a good Catholic, did her utmost Endeavour to hinder our *John Drusius* from taking the same way. She called him back from *Audenard*, and sent him to *Tournay*: but the Vexation to see herself deprived, at the same time, of her Husband and Estate throwing her into a fit of Sickness, she could not have such a strict Eye upon him, but he found means to slip away, and join his Father at *London*. He arrived there about the end of the Year 1567. Care was taken of his Studies; Masters were appointed him; and he soon had a favourable Opportunity of learning Hebrew under *Antony Cevallier*, who had fled into *England*, and taught that Tongue publickly in the University of *Cambridge*. *Drusius* lodged with him, and had a great share in his Friendship. He did not return to *London* till the Year 1571, and was making Preparations to go over into *France* [A], when the News of the Massacre on St *Bartholomew*'s Day diverted him from his Resolution. Not long after he had an Invitation to *Cambridge* from *Thomas Cartwright* (*b*), and to *Oxford* from *Lawrence Humfred*

(b) *He was Professor of Divinity.*

[A] *Was making Preparations to go over into France.*] *Meursius*, for want of Attention, has not well understood this Latin of *Curiander*. 'Postea 'cum Cevallerius à suis in Galliam revocatus abitum 'pararet, impetravit à patre (*Drusius*) ut ibi adhuc 'annum integrum commorari posset (1). —— *Afterwards when Cevallier, being recalled by his Friends, 'was preparing to return into France, Drusius prevailed with his Father to let him continue there a 'Year longer.*' The chief difficulty does not lie here, but in the following Words: 'Anno post discessum 'Cevallerii Janus noster professus est Londinum, hac 'fine, ut in Galliam, Philosophiæ studium prosequendi gratia, denuo concederet (2). —— *The Year after 'the Departure of Cevallier, Drusius went to London, with an Intent to go to France again, to prosecute 'his philosophical Studies.*' *Meursius*, interpreting one of these Passages by the other, imagined he might say that *Drusius* followed *Cevallier* into *France*, and being come back to *London*, was preparing for a second Voyage to *France*, when he was prevented by the Massacre on *St Bartholomew*'s Day. 'Revocato in Gallia Cevalerio eum comitatus, ad Hebræam summa cum contentione animum advertens, privatim 'quoque adolescentes duos Anglos docere cœpit. Inde Londinum reversus cum recurrere eo omnino statuisset, laniena Parisiensis nuntiatur. Qua de causa 'mutato consilio, &c. (3) —— *He accompanied Cevallier 'on his return to France, and began to apply himself 'closely to the Study of the Hebrew, being private 'Tutor to two English young Gentlemen; from thence 'he returned to London; and being again upon the 'point of setting out for France, he was diverted from 'his design by the News of the Massacre at Paris.*' It is certain that *Drusius* did not go into *France* with *Cevallier*, but staid at *Cambridge*, where he taught the two *English* Pupils mentioned by *Meursius*. This is plain by *Curiander*'s Narrative, page 6. It is also certain that, after *Cevallier*'s Departure, he applied himself more to Greek and Philology, than to Hebrew: from whence it appears that *Meursius* has not given a good Idea of that young Man's Employment. In the second Passage of *Curiander*, the Comma should be put after *denuo*, and not before it; and this deceived *Meursius*. The Author's meaning was, that *Drusius* intended to go to *France*, in order to continue somewhat longer his philosophical Studies. I am confident, one might find a hundred such Faults in Books, if one took the pains to compare the Abridgment with the original Book; and observe, by the way, what Faults the bare mis-pointing is capable to occasion.

(1) Curiander in Vita Drusii, page 5.

(2) Idem. page. 6.

(3) Meursius, Athen. Batav. page. 253.

[B] *He*

Humfred. He accepted of the latter [*B*], and by this means became Professor of the Oriental Languages at the Age of Twenty two Years. He taught them four Years at *Oxford* with great Success. After which, being desirous to see his native Country again, he went thither, and studied the Civil-Law at *Louvain*. The Troubles on account of *Religion* obliged him to return to his Father at *London*: but the Pacification of *Ghent* (*c*) brought both Father and Son back again to their own Country; the latter turned his Thoughts towards *Holland* and soon found there a Professorship of the Oriental Languages (*d*). While he was discharging the Function of it at *Leyden*, he resolved to marry. In 1580 he married a Gentlewoman of *Ghent*, who was more than half a Convert [*C*], and after her Marriage was fully instructed in the Reformed Religion. The Pension, *Drusius* received in *Holland*, not being sufficient for the Necessities of his Family, he gave People to understand, that he should accept a better Settlement elsewhere if it was offered him (*e*). The Prince of *Orange* being informed that he had in a manner put himself up to the best Bidder, writ to the Magistrates of *Leyden* not to part with such a Man. However he got from them. They suffered him to go to *Freisland*, whither he had been invited to be *Hebrew* Professor in the University of *Franeker*. He was installed there in the Month of *June* 1585, and discharged the Duties of his Place with great Glory to his Death, which happened the twelfth of *February* (*f*) 1616 (*g*). It is certain he was well skilled in the *Hebrew* [*D*], and had acquired great insight into the Jewish Antiquities, and the Text of the Old Testament. This appears by several Books he published [*E*]. His Capacity in this Respect was so well known, that he was ordered to work upon those Subjects, and paid for it by the States General [*F*]. They had designed that he should make a new Translation of the Bible into the *Dutch* Tongue

(*c*) *It was made in* 1576.

(*d*) *The Year* 1577.

(*e*) Quoniam vero familiam ex tam parco stipendio, quod annuatim numerabatur, alere nequit hic noster, alio cogitare incipit, suique friendi, si legitime vocetur, spem facere *Abr. Curiander in Vita Drusii, pag.* 8.

(*f*) *Old Stile.*

(*g*) *Taken from his Life, written by* Abel Curiander, *his Son in-law.*

[*B*] *He had an Invitation to Cambridge . . . . and Oxford . . . . he accepted the latter.*] That is *Oxford*: correct then a Fault of *Paul Freher*, who says in his Theatre of illustrious Men (4), *Hebraeæ Linguæ Professor in Universitate* Cantuariensi *an. ætatis* 22 *constitutus est.* Two Faults for one. It is false that *Drusius* was Professor at *Cambridge*, and it is false that the University of *Cambridge* is called *Cantuariensis*. This last word is the Adjective of *Canterbury*.

(4) Pag. 1510.

[*C*] *He married a young Woman of Ghent, who was more than half a Convert.*] Her Name was *Mary Vander Varen*: she chose rather to renounce her Country, and her Estate, than her Religion, and was exceeding charitable to the poor. I think she died in the Year 1599 (5). 'Hæc cum in Flandriâ virgo, gustum melioris purioriisque doctrinæ percepisset, conjux in Hollandiâ ita in illa confirmata est, ut citius bonis luculentissimis privari, deque civitate & patriâ, quam de sententia sua dimoveri potuerit. Præter alia, hoc de illa relerunt, quod inexhaustæ in Pauperes fuerit benignitatis, qui unanimi & consona voce Franekeræ clamitant, cum ejus mentio incidit: *Erat illa parens & mater unica egestatis, omnisque adversitatis solamen* (6). — *Before her Marriage, she had in Flanders imbibed the Principles of a better and a purer Religion, wherein, after her Marriage, she was in Holland so confirmed, that she chose rather to renounce an ample Fortune, and her Country, than her Religion. Amongst other things it is related of her, that she was an inexhausted Source of Charity, and that the poor of Franeker, on the mention of her Name, cry out with one accord, she was their only tender Parent in their Want, and solace in their Grief.*' He had three Children by this Marriage: a Daughter, who was born at *Leyden* the Twenty second of *March* 1582, and was married in 1604 to *Abel Curiander*, who published the Life of his Father-in-law (7): another Daughter, who was born at *Franeker* the first of *April* 1587, and was married the Twenty ninth of *May* 1608 to *Abraham Valkius*; and a Son, who was born the Twenty sixth of *June* 1588. I shall speak of him hereafter. The second Daughter died at *Ghent*, the twelfth of *November* 1612, where he had been upon Business. A Priest, knowing her to be dangerously sick, came to her to take her Confession, and administer the holy Unction to her; but she sent him away, and her Husband had almost beat him. It was with great Charge and Danger that they got the Body of the deceased transported to *Zeland*, for at *Ghent* they threatened to deny it a Burial (8)

(5) Among the Letters of the *Arminians* there is a Letter from *Arminius*. It is the 143th, dated in May, 1599, wherein he condoles with *Drusius* upon the Death of his Wife.

(6) Curlander in Vita Drusii, pag. 7, 8.

(7) Ibid. pag. 8.

(8) Ibid. pag. 24, 25.

[*D*] *It is certain he was well skilled in the Hebrew.*] To shew that I speak without Hyperbole, I shall cite an unexceptionable Author. 'Drusius, who holds 'the seventh Rank among those Critics (9), ought to 'be preferred, in my Opinion, before all others; for besides that he was learned in the *Hebrew* Tongue, 'and could himself consult the Jewish Writers, he 'had read with great exactness the ancient *Greek* 'Translators; so that he had formed a better Idea of 'the sacred Language, than the other Critics, who 'only apply themselves to the reading of the Rabbies. 'To which it may be added, that he had also read 'the Works of St *Jerom*, and some other Fathers. 'In a word, *Drusius* is the most learned, and most 'judicious of all the Critics, who are in that Collection (10).'

(9) That is, among those which were printed in *England* on the Work intituled, *Critica Sacra.*

[*E*] *He published several Books.*] Those who have his Life will find in it an exact List of all that he published, and of all that he designed for the Press: those who have it not will do well to consult *Meursius* (11). It is impossible to consider the Labour of this learned Man without Astonishment: he revised, corrected, and enlarged, before his Death, all the Books he had published (12), and had composed several New Treatises, and prepared many Additions for Works which came from other hands, which would have been more considerable than the Works themselves. 'Sequuntur libri à D. Drusio quamplurimis additamentis aucti, adeo quoque ut si recudendi essent cum additamentis istis, à Drusio potius quam ab Authoribus nomen traxturi essent (13). — *Now follow the Books which Drusius so much enlarged, that if they were to be published with his Additions, they ought rather to take their Names from him, than from their Authors.*

(10) *Father* Simon, *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament. lib.* 3, *cap.* 14, *pag.* 443.

(11) In Athen. Batavis.

(12) Antediluvianum nullum esse librum qui postremus Authoris cura non sit factus melior est auctior. *Curiand. in Vita Drusii, pag.* 20.

(13) Idem. pag. 26, 27.

[*F*] *He was ordered to work . . . . and was paid by the States General.*] In 1600 the States General ordered him to make Notes on the most difficult places of the Old Testament, and promised him an annual Pension of 400 Florins for some Years. They wrote a Letter to the States of the Province of *Friesland* the eighteenth of *May* 1601, desiring them to dispense with *Drusius* in all Business which might be a hindrance to this Work. 'In quibus (Literis) humanissime petunt, Drusius ut omnibus istis oneribus & incommodis eximatur, quæ opus illud Reipub. Christianæ maxime profuturum ullo modo impedire possent (14).' As soon as this Letter was read, the Deputies of the States of *Friesland* discharged *Drusius* from all Academical Functions, allowing him to put another in his place for the ordinary Lectures, and paid an Amanuensis for him. He demanded his Dismission in the Year 1603; but they refused it, among other reasons, because many Strangers were drawn by his Reputation to the University of *Franeker* (15). He worked upon *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, upon the eighteen first Chapters of *Numbers*, and particularly upon the most difficult places in the *Pentateuch*, the Book of *Joshua*, the Book of *Judges*, the Books of *Samuel*: he worked, I say, in obedience to the Orders of the States General; but he could get nothing of all this printed, and was often disturbed in the Execution of those Orders (16).

(14) Ib. pag. 16.

(15) Ib. pag. 14.

(16) Ibid. pag. 23, 24.

[*G*] *They*

Tongue [G]; but there were some People that laboured with Success to get him excluded. He kept up a great Correspondence by Letters with learned Men [H], by whom he was informed of the Esteem they had for his Works, and was continually exhorted by them to labour for the public Good. He had need of this Consolation (b); for he had many Enemies by his side, who threw a thousand Rubs in his way [I], and cruelly attacked his Reputation. Whether through Modesty, or a Freedom from Prejudice, he was more reserved than others in condemning or applauding; for which reason they discredited him as a bad Protestant [K]. What he answered deserves to be considered

(b) *See the Remark* [M].

(17) This is a Body which represents the States of the Province when they are not assembled.

(18) Curiander in Vita Drusii, pag. 12.

(19) Ib. pag. 13.

(20) *See, above, the Remark* [H] *of the Article* AMAMA.

(21) *See Letters* 47, 48, 49, 50, 61, *of the Edition.*

(22) *In the* 53*d.*

(23) Curiander, in Vita Drusii, pag. 11.

[G] *They had designed that he should make a New Translation of the Bible into the Dutch Tongue.*] The Deputies of the States of *Friesland* (17) sent him a Commission in 1596 to go upon this Version, together with the Sieur *de Sainte Aldegonde* and some others. A great many learned Men thought him very fit for this Work, and recommended him earnestly to the States (18). It will not be amiss to see what the Sieur *de Sainte Aldegonde* wrote to him concerning it in the Year 1594 (19): 'De Bibliorum versione, quæ 'est, quam ad Ordines Belgii commemoras sententia, 'etsi video te gravibus commotum rationibus, non 'possum tamen assentiri. Ego enim nostram hanc, 'quæ vulgo manibus teritur versionem ejusmodi esse 'existimo, quæ planè novas lucubrationes, novumque 'penitus opus requirat. Inter omnes autem omnium 'versiones ego ingenuò fatebor, mihi visam esse nul-'lam tanto abesse ab Ebraica veritate intervallo, atque 'sit Lutheri versio è qua manavit nostra: ex vitiosa 'Germanica facta vitiosior Belgico-Teutonica. De quo 'si nobis liceat aliquando familiariter conferre, do 'hermæo duxerim. Id vero vehementer doleo, ple-'rosque nostros homines in me videri oculos defixisse 'qui satis intelligam quanta mihi. Itaque velim Eccle-'sias nostras, quod ego multis etiam suasi, in te respi-'cere, tibique hanc demandare provinciam. Idque si 'id tibi non ingratum fore intelligam, ero illis author 'quantum potero, etsi video nihil dum eos certi sta-'tuisse. De quo si tuum mihi animum aperueris, fa-'cies gratum. —— *Though I find the Opinion which 'you have delivered to the States, concerning the Ver-'sion of the Bible, has some weighty Reasons to support 'it, yet I cannot come into it. For I look upon the com-'mon Version to be such as demands a thorough Revisal, 'or rather an entire new Work. Amongst all the Versions 'I have met with, I will ingenuously confess that I 'have seen none that differs so widely from the true 'Hebrew, as that of Luther, from which ours took it's 'Rise, and from a very erroneous High Dutch one, it 'made a much more erroneous Low Dutch one. Might 'I freely declare my Sentiments, on this Subject, I 'should move for a new Translation. But it is not 'without great Uneasiness, I observe, that many seem 'to have fixed their Eyes upon me for this Purpose: I 'am too well acquainted with my own Inability for such 'a Task. Wherefore I would advise our Churches, and 'have already persuaded some of them, to give the Com-'mission to you. If I understand the Office will not 'be disagreeable to you, I will promote it to the utmost 'of my Power, though I do not find they have yet come 'to any certain Resolution You would oblige me by 'giving me your Sentiments upon the Matter.'* This Passage bears hard upon *Luther*'s Translation, and still harder upon that which the Churches of the Low-Countries made use of that time. Mr *Simon* could not have said worse of it (20). I see in the Letters of the *Arminians* (21), that *Arminius* and *Uytenbogard* recommended *Drusius*, both for the Commission which had been given him by the States-General in 1600, and also for the new Version; but their Offices were doubtless prejudicial to him, with respect to this last Affair. Probably they believed that, since they judged him fit for it, he was not really so. However it be, I have read in those Letters (22), that, in one of the Synods of *Holland*, an Act was passed by which he was excluded, not only from the Translation, but also from the revising of what should be translated.

[H] *He kept up a great Correspondence by Letters with learned Men.*] Besides the Letters which he received in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *French*, *English*, and *Flemish*, he received 2300 in Latin, which were found among his Papers (23).

[I] *Many Enemies . . . . threw a thousand Rubs in his way.*] The Synodal Act, I have already mentioned, concerning the Translation of the Bible, was made on purpose to exclude our *Drusius*. 'Tu quidem illius 'solius excludendi causa decretum factum esse pru-'denter animadvertebas, sed juvenis vigenti annorum 'hoc ex ore Roggii aperte est professus, ignarus pro-'culdubio quo loco Drusius apud me esset (24). —— *You 'rightly observed indeed, that this Decree was made on 'purpose to exclude him; but a young Gentleman of 'twenty openly declared it to be at the Instigation of 'Roggius, little imagining in what esteem I held Dru-'sius.*' He wrote, with his own Hand, at the end of his Commentary upon *Genesis*, with what Violence he was opposed in the Execution of the Orders that the States-General had given him: These are his Words. 'Absoluta fuit hæc in Genesin commentatio undecimo 'Aprilis stilo veteri anno Christi 1602, quam aggres-'sus eram biennio ante auspiciis illustrium Ordinum 'Generalium Provinciarum Fœderatarum, procurantibus hoc negotium Johanne Wytenbogardo, Jacobo 'Arminio, Jacobo Basilio, aliisque verbi divini Præconibus, non tam facundis quam doctis ac piis, veritatisque ac solidæ doctrinæ studiosissimis. Deus illis & mihi largiatur; illis præmium quale merentur, 'mihi otium & bonam valetudinem, ut possim in cæteros libros similia præstare. Quod futurum puto ex 'usu Ecclesiæ Orthodoxæ, quam amo ac veneror, ut 'contra odi Ecclesiam errantium & imperitorum, 'quorum illi familiam ducunt qui me in hoc opere 'non semel turbarunt. Deus illis condonet, cui laus '& gloria in æcum (25). —— *This Comment upon 'Genesis was finished the eleventh of April, Old Stile, 'in the Year* 1602; *which I entered upon two Years be-'fore, under the Direction of the High and Mighty 'States-General of the United Provinces, and at the 'Intercession of John Uytenbogard. James Arminius, 'James Basilius, and other Ministers of GOD's Word, 'Men equally distinguished by their Love of Truth, and 'sound Doctrine, as by their Learning and Eloquence. 'May it please GOD to bestow on them those good 'things which they deserve, and on me Health and Op-'portunity, whereby I may be enabled to proceed in the 'same manner with the rest of the Books. Which I 'hope will be of service to the Orthodox Church, which 'I love and reverence, as, on the contrary, I hate that 'of the blind and mistaken, the Leaders of which have 'more than once interrupted me in the Prosecution of 'this Work: may they find Pardon of GOD, to whom be 'Glory for ever and ever.*' At last he grew out of all Patience: He wrote something against his Persecutors; for I doubt not he called them so, but I never saw what it was: I only know he wrote something by the following Quotation out of his Life (26). 'J. 'Drusii ad Abelum Curiandrum generum suum Epi-'stola, in qua agitur de vehementia qua usus fuit in E-'pistola sua ad Fratres Belgas. Item Speculum Theo-'logorum mistologorum ex Erasmo. —— *Drusius's 'Letter to Abel Curiander, his Son in-law, wherein 'he speaks of the heat which appeared in his Letter to 'his Brethren in Holland. Also the* Mistologist's Look-'ing Glass *from Erasmus.*'

(24) Arminius ad Uytenbogardum, Epist. 53, p. 1. ac erudit. Virorum, pag. 102.

(25) Curiander, in Vita Drusii, pag. 23.

(26) Pag. 26, 27.

[K] *He was reserved in condemning or applauding, for which reason they discredited him as a bad Protestant.*] He was not a Man who pronounced magisterially in Matters of Divinity; *This is Heretical*; *That is Orthodox*. He meddled with nothing but Grammar, often declaring that, if he was in an Error, he was at least free from Heresy, because he was not obstinate, but ready to yield to good Advice, and that he submitted all his Works and Person to the Judgment of the Catholic Religion. 'Tenuis mea scientia 'versatur tota circa Grammaticam & Historiam (v. sa-'cram.) Dogmata fidei aliis me doctioribus tractanda 'relinquo. . . . . Pertinacia facit hæreticum, non sim-'plex error, nam humanum est errare, humani autem 'à me nihil alienum scio. Monitus non ero pertinax, 'nec unquam fui. Olim professus sum quod nunc 'iterum repeto, me mea omnia subjicere judicio Ec-'clesiæ (27). —— *My small Sphere of Knowledge takes*

(27) Drusius, in Libro de Hasidæis, pag. 22, apud Curiandr. pag. 21.

considered [L]: but it did not hinder him from groaning under his hard Fate [M]. His Son

in only Grammar and (sacred) History. I leave Points of Faith to be canvassed by abler Heads. Pertinacity, not simple Error, makes the Heretic; Error is entailed on all Mankind. I never professed Infallibility. On Conviction I always did, and always will, submit: I will repeat a Declaration I formerly made, I submit myself, and my ALL *to the Judgment of the Church.*'

(28) In Tetrapræmasto, pag. 81, apud Curiandr. ibid.

In another place he says (28): 'Non sum Theologus: an Grammatici nomen, quod aliquando mihi probrosè objectum, tueri possim nescio. Amici quos nosti negant, ego non contradico. Quid igitur es, inquies? Christianus sum, φιλαλήθης sum, qui scribendo profecio, & proficiendo scribo. — *I am no Divine; I do not know whether I can defend my Title to the Name of a Grammarian, which has sometimes with scorn been given me. My Friends, you know, say I cannot. I do not say I can.* What are you then? *say you: I am a Christian, and a Lover of Truth, who improve by writing, and write by improving.*' I shall only add these words: 'Quod superest, scripti hæc animo juvandi, non lædendi. Si læsi quempiam jam nunc pœnitet. Si offendi pias aures, monitus libenter mutabo. Si erravi uspiam, monstretur mihi error. Non ero pertinax. Denique provoco ad judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, cui me meaque omnia subjicio (29), à cujus recto sensu dissentire neque volo neque debeo. Sic mihi Deus faciat, sic adsit (30). — *In short, I wrote this with a desire to help, and not to hurt; I am sorry if any one has been injured. If I have offended a religious Ear, let me know it and I will retract. Have I been guilty of Error, let me see it, and I will acknowledge it. In a word, I appeal to the Judgment of the Catholic Church, to which I submit myself and my all, from the true Sense of which, as I ought not, so neither would I dissent. So may the Almighty judge me, so may he recompense me.*' This Language did not please the Zealots; it had the Character of Pyrrhonism; they would have a Man more determinate and resolute than *Bartolus*; they would have him do as they do, that is, firmly embrace one Opinion, and anathematize all others. They cannot conceive that a Man can be of any Religion, and preserve himself in a cool Temper, when he compares it with others, or keep the least Grain of Equity for the followers of Heresy. Therefore *Drusius* could not fail of having dangerous Enemies. And as for that Phrase: *I submit both my Person and Writings to the Judgment of the Catholic Church*; is not this the Stile of the Court of *Rome*? If this gave a handle to the Zealots, what hazard did he not run by refusing to sign the Formulary? I have read in the *Scaligerana* that he never subscribed the Belgic Confession. 'Drusius noluit unquam subscribere Confessioni nostræ, & propterea illi male volunt sui Collegæ. — *Drusius never would subscribe our Confession of Faith; wherefore his Colleagues bear him no good will.*' Drusius *knows nothing of Religion. He is not of our Confession: He has been always bred at Louvain amongst Papists* (31). Serarius *heard say, that he would not sign our Confession.* This refusal was a sign that he did not approve of all the Articles of the Belgic Confession; but it could not be justly concluded from thence that he was a Papist, or that he did not believe the *Belgic* Church to be better than other Communions. The Author of *l'Esprit de Monsr. Arnaud* did not know his *Scaligerana* well: for how would he have declaimed against poor Mr *Colomiés*, if he could have reproached him with urging, in his *Icon Presbyterianorum*, the Testimony of a Man who always refused to sign the *Belgic* Confession? This would have furnished him with a Satire, both against *Drusius* and *Colomiés* (32).

(29) Hæc & alia quæ hoc libro continentur ut & in aliis omnibus à me unquam editis aut edendis subjicio libenti Ecclesiæ Catholicæ judicio, à cujus recto sensu si dissentio non ero pertinax . . . *Whatever I have hitherto published, or whatever I shall publish hereafter, I freely submit to the Judgment of the Catholic Church, from the true Sense of which should I differ, I will never desperately retract.* Thus he speaks in the Preface of his *Anchoratum*, pag. 22.

(30) In Libro Prælectionum, pag. 443, apud eumd. pag. 444.

(31) *Scaliger* is mistaken: *Drusius* left *Louvain* in 1574, at seventeen Years of Age, and never returned after that but for some few Months in the beginning of 1576; this is plain by his Life.

(32) It would not have been *Una fidelis dux per tres decades*, but *duo turpes & conjuratæ.*

[L] *What he answered deserves to be considered.*] First of all, he represented that his Father had lost almost his whole Estate for the Protestant Religion. Then as to himself, he said, that no worldly Advantages could have been a Motive to him to profess the Protestant Religion against his Conscience: he had always studied at his Father's Expence; the Salary he received at *Leyden* was not sufficient for his maintenance, and if he would have settled in *Flanders* he might have enjoyed a very good income. Lastly, he observes that the People, who raised such a Clamour against him, were such as had enriched themselves by the Profession of the Protestant Religion, whilst he grew poor by it. There are still Men of this Temper. The Profession of the Reformed Church brings them in a great Revenue, free of all Taxes; they enjoy a kind of Papacy, Praises, Honours, Flattery, mean Submissions from the People: they would lose all these Advantages if they forsook that Profession; and they never leave charging with indifference, and furiously persecuting upon that account, many Persons who are ruined, as to this World, by the very same Profession: A Profession which gives them nothing, but deprives them of a hundred Advantages they might procure by forsaking it. I make this Remark, that it may be seen how much Ages and Nations resemble one another. This will shew whether I have ill translated the following Latin Passages I have borrowed from *Drusius*. 'Sparserunt de me rumorem vanissimum, *summa est me alienum esse ab hac Religione.* Quid dicam? Post natam calumniam non fuit unquam major calumnia. Egone alienus à religione, cujus causa pater meus p. m amisit anno 67. octodecim millia florenorum? Quum autem exularet Londini una mecum, habebat penes se libras Flandricas, quas majores vocant, mille quingentas. Ex illis mille quadringentas impendit in causam publicam. Princeps Auriacus partem accepit, aliam Ordines Hollandiæ & Zelandiæ, tertiam pauperes, qui religionis ergo in Angliam confugerant. Centum quæ restabant postliminio reversus retuli domum. Quod dico vero verius est. Idem propriis sumptibus me aluit in studiis. A publico nihil unquam accepi. Quum Professorem agerem Leidæ, stipendium erat tam parvum, ut coactus fuerim ex meo impendere quotannis trecentos, aliquando quadringentos. Habeo in Flandria reditus non pœnitendos quibus frui possem si essem in patria. Quorsum ista, inquies? Nempe ut scias eadem esse quod æmuli mei sparserunt, qui omnes simul tantam jacturam non fecerunt, quantam ego solus feci, quos hæc religio divites, ut me pauperem fecit, quem nunc contemnunt propterea, optimè de ipsis meritum (33). — *They have spread a very idle report concerning me, the substance whereof is, that I am an Enemy to their Religion. I an Enemy to that Religion, for the sake of which my Father in the Year 67 lost eighteen thousand Florins? Who, after he was banished, and with me, at London had in his own Possession fifteen hundred Flanders Livres. Fourteen hundred of which he spent in the common Cause. The Prince of Orange had one part, the States of Holland and Zeland another, and the poor, who had fled into England for their Religion, a third. What I say is undeniable. The hundred, which remained, at my return, I brought with me home. He maintained me in my Studies at his own charge. I never received any thing from the Public. When I was Professor at Leyden, my Salary was so small, that I was obliged to spend three hundred, sometimes four hundred, Florins of my own. I have in Flanders a considerable Revenue, which I might enjoy, were I in my own Country. Why all this? You will say. Only to prove that what my Enemies have advanced has no Foundation. They have not, all, taken together, suffered so much as I alone, but grow rich by that Religion, by which I am grown poor, and despise me, though I have deserved well of them.*'

(33) Drusius, Epistola ad Fanaticum Castricomium, *dated the sixth of* February 1600, apud Curiandrum, in ejus Vita, pag. 34.

[M] . . . *Did not hinder him from groaning under his hard Fate.*] Thus he writes in the Letter I have just quoted. 'Jam nunc experior verum esse illud: homo homini Deus: sed & alii me docuerunt verum esse, homo homini lupus. Per eos injecta remora de qua scribis. . . . Tantam experior hominum ingratitudinem, ut propemodum in animo sit edita prole Machabæorum posthac quiescere — *Now, I find, by Experience, the Truth of this Saying,* Man is to Man a God; *but others taught me the Truth of another,* Man is to Man a Wolf. *The delays you complain of were occasioned by them. I have met with such Instances of Ingratitude, that I could almost resolve, after publishing the Genealogy of the Maccabees, to sit still for the future.*' Must not so great an Author be sensibly affected with the Persecutions he was exposed to, when his grief prompted him to condemn his Pen to an eternal Sterility. One Passage more will furnish us with several fine Reflexions of *Drusius* (34). 'Turbones nostri nunc quiescunt, aut pudet eos prætoritorum, aut expectant occasionem novam. Mihi quidem

(34) *In a Letter dated* December 27, 1599. apud Coriandrum, pag. 32.

Son would have been a Prodigy of Learning if he had enjoyed a longer Life [*N*]. *Scaliger* ſpeaks well of him; *Scaliger*, I ſay, who otherwiſe was very abuſive to our *Druſius* [*O*]; for what can be ſaid more bitter and ſhocking againſt a Profeſſor of the Holy Language, than that his Houſe is a Brothel. *Druſius* had a Diſciple that ſucceeded him, and defended his Memory againſt thoſe who charged him with leaning towards Arianiſm (i): he alſo took care of the Manuſcripts and Daughter of the deceaſed [*P*]. Mr *Boſſuet*, Biſhop of

(i) *See the Text of the Article* AMAMA, *between the Citations (f) and (g).*

' quidem multis de cauſis quies non ſolum optatiſſima
' eſt, ſed etiam neceſſaria. Sed ſi hanc perſonam
' Deus humanæ fabulæ choragus mihi impoſuit, partes
' delegatas oportet agam. In hac harena mihi video
' moriendum eſſe, nam ut viri iſti quieſcant nihil eſt ſpei.
' In eo toti ſunt ut me aut latronibus objiciant, *aut*
' *mœrore confectum occident. Sed hactenus gratiâ Dei,*
' *nec animum à ſuo propoſito labefactare potuerunt,*
' *nec ſtudiis* meis ita multum detrimenti attulere. Con-
' ſolatur me primum conſcientia rectè factorum, de-
' inde favor doctorum & bonorum virorum, quos hac-
' tenus æquiſſimos habui erga labores meos. Quod
' partim Literis, partim donis ac muneribus decla-
' rarunt . . . . . Quis unquam in ſole ambulavit abſ-
' que umbra, quis inſignem virtutem exercuit ſine in-
' vidiâ? quis bonas literas profeſſus eſt cum aliquâ
' famâ, abſque odio Theologorum; Capnio, Eraſmus,
' Arias, Hieronymus experti ſunt. Hunc poſtremum
' Româ expulſum, cum Bethlehemi in tuguriolo de-
' geret, ne ſic quidem latentem effugit invidia. Ex
' priſcis Sapientibus quidam interrogatus, quid ageret?
' Nihil, inquit, nondum enim mihi invidetur. Regium
' eſt, cum beneferis audire malè, inquit ille. Et
' profectò ita eſt, Induſtria parit virtutem, virtus glo-
' riam, gloria invidiam, qui morbus ferè pe-
' culiaris eſt iis, qui alioqui *pietatem* profitentur,
' cum nihil ſit alienius à vera pietate. Obrepit enim
' hæc peſtis pietatis imagine, dum videri vult
' vitiorum odium, ac virtutis zelus. . . . . *The Storm is now blown over; they are either aſham-*
' *ed of what is paſt, or wait a freſh Opportunity. To*
' *me Reſt is on many Accounts, not only the moſt de-*
' *ſirable, but even neceſſary. But if God has de-*
' *ſigned me this Part on the Stage of Life, I muſt act*
' *it, and die in the Performance; for there is but*
' *little hopes, that they will ever be quiet.* It is their
' ſole aim to expoſe me to Ruffians, or murder me
' piece-meal with Grief. But thanks be to God,
' hitherto they have neither been able to divert my
' Mind from it's purpoſe, nor done any conſiderable
' Injury to my Studies. *The Conſcience of well doing*
' *is my chief Comfort; and the favour of the learned*
' *World my next, which they have partly teſtified by*
' *Letters, and partly by Preſents . . . . . Who can walk*
' *in the Sun without a Shade? who was ever truly*
' *great, and yet unenvied? who ever diſtinguiſhed him-*
' *ſelf in good Learning, without drawing down upon*
' *himſelf the hatred of Divines? Capnio, Eraſmus, Arias,*
' *and Jerom, have found it too true. The laſt, after his*
' *Baniſhment from Rome, was haunted by Envy in his*
' *Cottage at Bethlehem. One of the old Sages, being asked*
' *what he did, anſwered, Nothing, for that Envy had*
' *not yet marked him out: It is, ſays he, ſomething*
' *noble to be ill ſpoken of for good Actions. It is*
' *indeed true, Induſtry is the Mother of Merit, Merit of*
' *Glory, Glory of Envy, which is a Diſeaſe inherent in*
' *thoſe who make a profeſſion of Piety, tho' nothing be more*
' *contrary to true Piety. For this Peſtilence ſteals*
' *upon Men under the diſguiſe of Piety, and would paſs*
' *for an Averſion to Vice, and a Zeal for Virtue.*'

[*N*] *His Son would have been a Prodigy, if he had lived longer.*] I have already ſaid that he was born in the Year 1588. His Name was JOHN DRUSIUS, as well as his Father's. He began at five Years of Age to learn the Latin and Hebrew Languages; at ſeven Years he explained the Hebrew Pſalter ſo exactly, that a Jew, who taught Arabic at *Leyden*, could not ſee it without Admiration. At nine Years, he could read the Hebrew without Points, and add the Points where they ought to be, according to the Rules of Grammar; which is more than the Rabbins can do now. He ſpoke Latin as well as his Mother Tongue, and could make himſelf underſtood in Engliſh. At twelve Years, he would write extempore in Proſe and Verſe, according to the Manner of the Hebrews. At ſeventeen, he harangued the King of *Great Britain*, in Latin, in the midſt of all his Court, and was admired by the whole Company. He had a lively Wit, and ſolid Judgment, a great Memory, and an indefatigable ardour for Study. He was alſo of an agreeable Temper, and made himſelf much beloved. He had noble Inclinations, and was of a ſingular Piety. He died of the Stone in *England*, at Twenty one Years of Age, at the Houſe of *William Thomas* Dean of *Chicheſter*, who allowed him a very good Penſion. He left divers Works, many Hebrew Letters, and Verſes, and Notes, in the ſame Tongue, on the Proverbs of *Solomon*. He had begun to put into Latin the Itinerary of *Benjamin de Tudela*, and the Chronicle of the ſecond Temple, and he had ranged, according to the alphabetical Order, the *Nomenclator* of *Elias Levita*, to which he added the Greek Words which were not in the firſt Edition (35). *Joſeph Scaliger* ſays, (36) that *Druſius*'s Son knew more of Hebrew than his Father.

[*O*] *Scaliger . . . . . was very abuſive to our Druſius.*] Theſe are ſome touches of the Character he draws of him. ' He has an ill Reputation; for he
' is a Whore-monger, and his Daughter is a Whore, and
' his Houſe is a Brothel. He knew more of it than *Dujon*,
' *Druſius* has a mean Judgment; he underſtands no-
' thing but his Grammar. he does not know ſo much
' as *Serrarius*, excepting in his Hebrew Grammar.
' . . . . . *Druſius Lipſii ſimius habet miram latinitatem,*
' *non latine ſcribit. - - - Druſius apeth Lipſius's Latinity,*
' *but cannot write Latin. Druſius* is nothing in com-
' pariſon of *Buxtorf*. He has taught Grammar theſe
' thirty Years, and knows nothing beſides it, *& mi-*
' *rum eſſet niſi ſciret optime. Ego bene ſcio quid ſit*
' *Druſius, oſt doctus in Grammaticis & in textu*
' *Hebræo . . . Druſius non eſt doctus licet ſe putet eſſe*
' *doctiſſimum. — And it were a wonder if he were*
' *not a perfect Maſter of it. I know what Dru-*
' *ſius is. He is well verſed in Grammar, and in the*
' *Hebrew Text . . . but he is not learned, though he*
' *thinks himſelf very learned.*

[*P*] *Druſius had a Diſciple . . . . . who took care of the Manuſcripts, and Daughter of the deceaſed.*] See the Letter which *Sixtinus Amama* wrote, the third of *December* 1626, to *Gaſpar Barlæus* (37), to deſire him to prevail upon a conſiderable Perſon, to whom they deſigned to dedicate the twelve leſſer Prophets of *Druſius*, to accept the Dedication. *Amama* obſerves, that eight of thoſe twelve Prophets had been publiſhed long before, but that the four others had never been made public: he repreſents to *Barlæus* the miſerable Condition *Druſius*'s only Daughter was reduced to, who had been five Years *Curiander*'s Widow: he adds that having publiſhed ſeveral of *Druſius*'s Works, he had always dedicated them to ſome charitable *Mecænas*, who, by ſome ſmall Preſent, had relieved the indigence of that Woman, for which Reaſon he begs *Barlæus* to get that Man of Figure to accept of the Epiſtle Dedicatory, telling him the Widow would be contented with a little, and that fifty Florins would make her happy. ' Ago cauſam viduæ pau-
' perculæ quæ nunc cum bonæ mentis ſorore ſtrenue
' luctatur. Ea eſt filia unica Cl. Druſii quam D. Ha-
' velus Curiander ante annos quinque reliquit viduam.
' Ex MS. parentis ejus b. mem. multa nunc publici
' juris feci, quæſivique illis ejuſmodi Mecœnates qui
' aliquo præmiolo ejus paupertatem iverunt ſublevatum . . . . Non expectabit magnam remunerationem:
' ſi quinquaginta florenos vel daleros ſimplices obtinu-
' erit, beatam ſe judicabit. Hæc eo dico ut videas
' & intelligas quam anguſta res ſit hujus fœminæ, vel
' propter parentem meliori fortuna dignæ, & quam
' ſit exiguum quod illa expectat (38). — *I plead the*
' *poor Widow's Cauſe, who ſtruggles nobly with Po-*
' *verty. She is the only Daughter of the Great Dru-*
' *ſius, and was left a Widow by Curiander about five*
' *Years ago. I have publiſhed ſeveral of her Father's*
' *MSS, and endeavoured to find out ſuch Patrons, as*
' *might relieve her Neceſſity with ſome ſmall Preſent.*
' . . . . . *She does not expect much, but would think*
' *herſelf happy in a Preſent of fifty Florins. I mention*
' *this to let you ſee the narrow Circumſtances of one,*
' *who, for her father's ſake, deſerved a better Fortune,*
' *and*

(f) *See* John Drutius ad lib. 10, Praeterit. *The Account he gives of all this is various: we find the ſame Words in* Quos ſi vita longior tempus contulerat, & ad quam ætatem pertingere potuiſſe, dici non præſumo (abſit verbo invidia) ſolliet interpres literarum ſacrarum eximius, qualem fortaſſe orbis Chriſtianus non habuit. *Had he lived to the Maturity of Age, I may with Modeſty affirm, he would have been an excellent Interpreter of the holy Scriptures, and ſuch a one as perhaps the Chriſtian World could not have equalled.* This young Man deſerves a Place in the ſecond Edition of Mr *Baillet*'s *Enfans Celebres.*

(36) In Scaligeran. pag. m. 68.

(37) *It is the* 444*th among thoſe of the* Arminians, pag. 723, *ſolio Edition.*

(38) Sixt. Amama, pag. 723.

of *Meaux*, took advantage of a thing he had read in *Druſius* concerning the Pope's Mitre [Q]. A Jeſuit, who pretended to criticize our *Druſius* [R], has only expoſed himſelf to Cenſure.

'*and what a triſle it is ſhe hopes for.*' What Pity, that an Author's only daughter ſhould be reduced to ſo great Poverty, when the Children of ſo many Blockheads roll about in Coaches! *Sic viſum numini.*

[Q.] *Mr Boſſuet . . . . took Advantage of a thing he had read in Druſius, concerning the Pope's Mitre.*] I ſhall firſt ſet down the Paſſage of the Biſhop of *Meaux*, with all that belongs to it, ſummary Quotations, &c. and then make ſome Reflexions upon it. He ſays (39). 'It would not be worth while to take Notice here of a ſtory which is current among the Proteſtants, if their deplorable Credulity did not make them take every thing for true, that their People tell them. The Engliſh Critics have inſerted among their Remarks, *that a Man worthy of Credit had told Mr* de Montmorenci, *when he was at* Rome, *that the Pontifical Tiara had written in the front of it, in letters of Gold,* MYSTERIUM, *but that, now, they had altered that Inſcription.* Mr *Jurieu* adopts this Story which is very fit to deceive ſimple People, and ſets it off with theſe magnificent Terms. *It is not without a particular Providence, that God permitted the Popes formerly to bear this Word* MYSTERIUM, *written upon their Mitre.* Joſeph Scaliger, *and divers others, have atteſted that they have ſeen ſome of the old Mitres that had that Word written upon them.* This artful Miniſter adds of his own Head, that *Scaliger* had ſeen it: we have juſt now ſeen, that what is written on it, is only hearſay, and without any certain Author. *Druſius*, a Proteſtant Author, agrees to this, and acknowledges that what *Scaliger* ſays of it, is upon the credit of another. Nay, he makes light of this little Story; requiring better Proof, and better Evidence for it. They might look long enough before they find it: it is Invention, *in nubibus*; but Mr *Jurieu* will loſe nothing, and believes every thing that makes ever ſo little againſt the Pope.'

It is very unjuſt to inſult a whole Body of Men, upon pretence that ſome Authors among them diſcover Signs of a little too much Prejudice. The Biſhop of *Meaux* ought to have conſidered this: this is my firſt Reflexion. A Man does a great injury to his own Party, without Doors, by employing, in it's Defence, all ſorts of Reaſons, good or bad, without ever retracting what has been once ſaid. But this Conduct is far from being againſt the intereſt within Doors: it nouriſhes Prejudices, and Confidence, in the Minds of the People, and inſpires them with the Paſſions of thoſe who diſpute. Theſe People take great care of making any ſteps from which any Advantage may be taken againſt them, by their own Party, never diveſting themſelves of the right of alledging this or that, ſuch or ſuch Pretenſions. This multiplies their Writings: this animates and warms them. It is not for the temporal Intereſt of any Communion, that all the Members of it ſhould be Men of Judgment. Paſſionate People, who follow only a Spirit of Faction, humanly ſpeaking, do a thouſand good Services. therefore it is beneficial to them to have ſome of theſe infatuated Agents among them; It is a neceſſary Evil. This is my ſecond Reflexion. It muſt not be thought that, in a great Body, learned Men of *Druſius*'s Character are ſo ſcarce, as they ſeem to be. All that can be ſaid is, that few will expoſe themſelves to raſh Judgments; moſt Men of Reaſon and Temper, obſerving that the raſh and forward carry away the Acclamations and favour of the Multitude, let them alone, and ſometimes ſwim with the Stream, in order to live in quiet and free from Suſpicion. If they are privately asked, why do you not write as *Druſius* did? they will fetch their Anſwer from an Apologue.

Quod ſi me populus Romanus forte roget, cur,
Non, ut porticibus, ſic judiciis fruar iſdem;
Nec ſequar aut fugiam quæ diligit ipſe, vel odit:
Olim quod vulpes ægroto cauta leoni,
Reſpondit, referam. Quia me veſtigia terrent
Omnia te adverſum ſpectantia nulla retrorſum (40).

Should the Croud ask, why, ſince I live in Town,
Walk the ſame Streets with them, I do not own
The ſame Opinions, why I don't approve,
And hate the ſame Things, which they hate and love?
My anſwer muſt be what ſly Reynard ſaid
To the old ſickly Lyon, I am afraid,
Great King of Beaſts, for all the treads I ſee
Are to thy Den, none back; that frightens me.
CREECH.

This is my third Reflexion: my fourth and laſt is this. I ſhall not examine whether our *Druſius* ought to have been ſilent upon this particular thing mentioned by the Biſhop of *Meaux*; but I will venture to ſay, it was better to do as he did, than to quote the Teſtimony of *Scaliger* unfaithfully. This could not have been done with impunity at the Bar; for there is not a much greater difference between falſe Money and good, than between a hearſay Witneſs, and an eye Witneſs. So that *Scaliger*, who was an Evidence by hearſay, ought not to have been brought as an ocular Evidence by Mr *Jurieu*.

This diſpute between a Biſhop and a Miniſter has given Birth to ſeveral Writings, publiſhed in *Germany*: a Divine of the *Auſburg* Confeſſion undertook to prove, that the Biſhop of *Meaux* was wrong in denying, that the word *Myſterium* was formerly inſcribed upon the Papal Tiara. He publiſhed a Work divided into two Parts. The firſt is intituled *Myſterium in Pontificis Romani corona aperium*: the ſecond is *Myſterium in corona Pontificis opertum & remotum*. In the firſt he has collected together as many Proofs as he could find, and in the ſecond he inquires in what manner, and for what Reaſons, the ſaid Inſcription was taken away. A Doctor of Philoſophy, named *John Lewis Hanneman*, anſwered this Divine in a Book he publiſhed at *Hamburgh*, in the Year 1698, under the Title of *Myſterium Papali coronæ adſcriptum non ens, ſeu Commentarius in caput XVII Apocalypſeos. v. 5 quo demonſtratur Papali coronæ myſterion nunquam fuiſſe inſcriptum.* In which he does two Things. 1. He combates all the Arguments of his Adverſary. 2 He alledges divers Proofs to ſhew that That Inſcription was never upon the Pontifical Tiara (41).

[R] *A Jeſuit, who has pretended to criticize Druſius, has only expoſed himſelf to Cenſure.*] Father *Garaſſe* having affirmed (42) that *Charron* 'wanted common 'Senſe in making ſuch ridiculous Compariſons (43),' *adds that this* 'puts him in mind of three Men, very 'abſurd in their manner of acting: the firſt was the 'Emperor *Heliogabalus*, who . . . . . in his greateſt 'Entertainments, *mixed* Horſedung among his choiceſt 'Diſhes . . . . the ſecond was the Emperor *Alexander Severus*. . . . . who placed JESUS CHRIST, among 'the Images of *Apollonius Tyaneus*, *Orpheus*, *Abraham*, ... in fine, the third may be the Miniſter *Druſius*, who in his Centuries upon the holy 'Scripture, is as unhappy in his Quotations of Authors, as *Charron* in his Catalogue of great Perſons: for he 'commonly quotes half a dozen Writers in this Manner. *Iſaiah* at his ſecond Chapter, *Plautus in Amphytrio*, St *Luke* in the Acts of the Apoſtles, *Ovid* in the Book *de Remedio Amoris*: St *John Chryſoſtom* in his Homilies upon *Geneſis*, *Horace* in his Book *de arte Poetica*. Not that we ſhould rigorouſly abſtain from citing prophane Authors, or not commend, in the great Men of the Age, the valuable Gifts they have received from God, but what I cannot digeſt, is, ſuch a ſtrange jumbling of Perſons as this, *Socrates*, *Jeſus Chriſt*, *Poppan*, the Martyrs, St *John*, *Plautus*, *Jeremiah*, *Ariſtenetus*, St *Auguſtin*, *Ovid*; for in theſe Alternations, there is ſomething 'prophane, as well as a want of Judgment.' It might eaſily be ſhewn, that this Critic, who accuſes others ſo much of want of Judgment, ſays nothing here, but what convinces us of his own want of it: but I ſhall confine my ſelf to what relates to *Druſius*. His Cenſurer calls him *Druſius*, and makes a Miniſter of him: ſo that he was ignorant both of the Name and Profeſſion of the Man he pretends to criticize; for *Druſius* was no Miniſter, and we have ſeen before (44), that he declared he meddled with nothing but Grammar and Hiſtory, leaving the Doctrines of the Faith to others, and that he was no Divine. Mr *Baillet* (45) reports, *that he was ſo confident of his own Merit, that he gave himſelf*

(39) *The Biſhop of* Meaux's *Averтiſement ſur l'Explication de l'Apocalypſe, n. 6, pag. 319, Edit. of* Holland.

A RIDICULOUS Story of *Scaliger*, contemned by *Druſius*, a Proteſtant, and adopted by Mr *Jurieu*, a Miniſter.

Crit. ad cap. 17, V Tom. 7 col. pag. 858, Prej. leg. I. Part. cap. 7, pag. 121.

Critic ad cap. 17, V Tom. 7, pag. 4857.

(40) Horat. Epiſt. 1, lib. 1, ver. 70.

(41) *Taken from the* Utrecht *Journal for* November *and* December, 1698, pag. 854, *and following.*

(42) Garaſſe, Somme Theologique, pag. 847, 849.

(43) That is naming together *Socrates*, *Phocion*, *Seneca*, *Regulus*, JESUS CHRIST, *the Martyrs.*

(44) *In the Remark* [K], *Citat.* (27).

(45) Baillet. Jugem. des Sçavans, Tom. IV, pag. 226.

himself the Title of divine Grammarian. I have put this in the Margin (46) in the first Edition of this Dictionary, and I added, that *I would desire to know where this was to be found.* Mr *de la Roque* (47) was pleased to write me word that he had read it in *Serrarius's Trithæresium*. Not having that Book by me, I have recourse to Conjectures: I imagine then that *Serrarius* advanced that, upon the credit of some Adversary of *Drusius*, and without a literal Proof taken from the Writings of that Author. Be that as it will, we have seen (48), *Drusius* declared publickly that he knew not whether he ought to assume the Title of Grammarian, which some have reproached him with, and that some People say he ought not, whom he would not contradict: this is a Modesty very opposite to the Pride charged on him by Mr *Baillet*. But let us return to Father *Garasse*, and say, that his Censure is worth nothing. It is possible that, in the same Chapter of *Drusius*, we may find a Citation from a sacred Author, preceded and followed by a Citation from a prophane Author, but not according to the ridiculous order the Jesuit complains of. *Drusius's* Method is to be very short upon every Subject, joining things together which have a Relation one to another; from whence it happens that, in a short Chapter, he explains sometimes three or four Things, upon each of which he shews the Agreement between sacred and prophane Authors: thus having alledged Passages of Scripture, he cites Greek and Latin Authors: after this, entering upon another Subject, he brings again Passages out of Scripture, and then a Poet, a Historian, *&c.* This Conduct has nothing ill in it, and was ignorantly, and impertinently condemned by the Censurer.

(46) *In the Remark* [K].

(47) De quo supra COLOMIES *Catal.* 130).

(48) *In Remark* [K] *Citat.* (28).

DRUSUS, a *Roman* Family, a Branch of the *Livii*, or of the Family *Livia*, tho' *Plebeian*, had a share in the highest Posts of the Common-wealth. It had enjoyed the Dictatorship, and the Office of Colonel-General of the Cavalry. It held the Consulship eight times, twice the Dignity of Censor, and three times it had been honoured with a Triumph. It had produced Persons of great Merit, and among others *Marcus Livius Salinator*, and MARCUS LIVIUS DRUSUS. The latter was surnamed *Drusus* for his having killed *Drausus* [*A*], the Enemies General (*a*). They make him to have recovered, out of the Hands of the *Gauls*, the Money their Ancestors had formerly received when they besieged the Capitol. If that is true, we are not to believe the Report that *Camillus* forced them to restore it (*b*). The best way to know the time when the first *Drusus* lived, is by remembering that CAIUS LIVIUS DRUSUS, his Son, or Grandson, was Consul with *Scipio Africanus*, the younger, in the Year of *Rome* 606. The Emperor *Tiberius* descended, by Adoption, from the *Drusian* Family; for LIVIUS DRUSUS CLAUDIANUS, his maternal Grandfather, one of the Descendants of blind *Appius*, was adopted by a *Drusus* (*c*). It is probable that another *Drusus* adopted one of the *Scribonian* Family, in which the Surname of *Libo* was very common; for we find a MARCUS LIVIUS DRUSUS LIBO, Consul in the Year 738, and a LUCIUS SCRIBONIUS LIBO DRUSUS the Pretor, who killed himself, to avoid the Punishment he feared, finding himself accused of Treason, under *Tiberius*, in the Year of *Rome* 769 (*d*). We shall say a word of some of the Descendants of the first *Drusus* [*B*] in the Remarks, but shall make

(*a*) Taken from Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. III.

(*b*) Traditur etiam, propraetore ex provincia Gallia relicto aurum senonibus olim in obsidione Capitoni datum, nec, ut fama, extortum à Camillo. *Hoc reported likewise to have recovered, during the Government of Gaul, the Money which the Gauls when they besieged the Capitol had, and that it was not forced from them, as some say, by Camillus.* Idem, ibid.

(*c*) Idem, ibid.

(*d*) Tacit. Ann. lib. II. cap. XXII.

[*A*] *Marcus Livius . . . . . was surnamed Drusus, for his having killed Drausus.*] This is like all those silly fabulous Traditions, which are preserved in ancient Families, and which ascribe the Origin of the first Name, and their Coat of Arms, to some valorous Feat. If the Drusian Branch had owed their Original to the Exploit mentioned by *Suetonius*, it would have been known in what time, and at what place this happened, and against what Enemy; and *Suetonius* would not have spoke of it in so general a Manner as he has done. 'Drusus hostium duce Drauso cominus trucidato sibi 'posterisque suis cognomen invenit (1). —— *Drusus 'having slain the Enemies General, Drausus, hand to 'hand, gained this Name for himself and his Posterity.*' Besides, he makes mention of one CLAUDIUS DRUSUS, who lived before the first Punic War (2); which proves that this Surname was known either before the first *Drusus* of the *Livian* Family killed the pretended *Drausus*, or at least did not depend upon that Combat; for who would venture to say, that, because one *Livius* vanquished *Drausus*, therefore one named *Claudius* was surnamed *Drusus?*

(1) Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. III.

(2) *For Suetonius places him before Claudius Pulcher, who left a Naval Battle in the first Punic War. Suetonius's Commentators say nothing of this* Claudius Drusus.

[*B*] *We shall say a word of some of the Descendants of the first Drusus.*] I believe that CAIUS LIVIUS DRUSUS, Consul in the Year 606, was descended from him, but I cannot tell whether he was his Son or Grand-son. He left a Son named MARCUS LIVIUS DRUSUS, who was Consul in the Year 641, and fought with great Success against the *Scordisci*, a People of *Thrace*, descended from the *Gauls* (3). We shall see hereafter whether he triumphed on that Occasion. He was Censor with *Marcus Emilius Scaurus*, and died during his Office (4). I think he ought not to be distinguished, as *Glandorp* has done (5), from that *Marcus Livius Drusus*, a Man of Wit and Eloquence, who was Tribune of the People with *Caius Gracchus*, and favoured him in his Designs, but afterwards, changing sides, maintained, with so much Vigour, the Interest of the *Patricians*, that he was called the Patron of the Senate (6). He was *Abnepos* of the first *Drusus* (7), and had a Brother named CAIUS DRUSUS, who distinguished himself by his Eloquence (8). I see our Grammarians are not agreed upon the Signification of the word *Abnepos*: for Monf. *Danet*, citing *Suetonius*, understands by this Term Great-Grandson: in *Calepin* the same Term is taken for the Son of the Great-Grand son. It is even true that *Suetonius* (9), and several other ancient Authors, do not exactly observe the Degrees of Parentage. There is mention made of a CAIUS DRUSUS, a great Lawyer, and so laborious, that, though he was old and blind, yet his House was always full of People that came to consult him. 'C. autem Drusi domum compleri 'consultoribus solitam accepimus, quum quorum res 'effet sua ipsi non videbant caecum adhibebant ducem '(10). —— *I have heard that Drusus's House was 'usually crouded with Counsellors, who, not seeing on 'which side Justice stood, applied to a blind Man for 'Direction.*' *Valerius Maximus* speaks honourably of him. 'Confimilis per-everantiae Livius Drusus qui 'aetatis viribus & acie oculorum defectus jus civile 'populo benignissime interpretatus est, utilissimaque 'discere id cupientibus monimenta composuit. Nam 'ut senem illum natura, caecum fortuna facere potuit, 'ita neutra interpellare valuit ne non animo & videret '& vigeret (11). — *Such was the Perseverance of Livius 'Drusus, who, though enfeebled by Age, and deprived 'of Sight, taught the People Civil-Law in a most 'obliging Manner, and composed most useful Directions 'for those who desired to learn it. For though Nature 'made him old, and Fortune made him blind, neither 'of them had power to deprive him of the Perspicuity 'and Vigor of Mind.*' A certain Commentator (12) falsely imagines that this *Drusus* is the Father of him who caused so much trouble in procuring the Latins the Freedom of *Rome*. He is mistaken; for the Father of the latter was named *Marcus Livius*, and not *Caius Livius*. He is the same that was honoured with the Title of Protector of the Senate. Another Commentator (13) is surprized that *Pomponius* should say nothing of the Lawyer *Caius Drusus*: indeed it may well be wondered at, since that Lawyer was also an Author, and that *Celsus* makes an honourable Mention of him in his Digests (14). The Moderns are divided

(3) Livius in Epit. lib. LXII.

(4) Plutarch. in Quæst. Rom. pag. 276.

(5) Gland. Onomast. Roman. pag. 543.

(6) Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. III.

(7) Idem, ibid.

(8) Cicero, in Bruto, p. m. 204.

(9) *He calls Caesar Avuncul s of Augustus, and yet Caesar was the Great-Uncle of Augustus.* Sueton. in August. c. 7.

(10) Cicero, Tusculan lib. V. fol m. 278, B.

(11) Valer. Max. lib. VIII. cap. VII. num. 4.

(12) Oliverius in hunc locum Val. Maximi.

(13) Colerus.

(14) *See* Guill Grotius, in V tis Jurisconsult. pag. 33.

make a separate Article for each of those who made the greatest Figure. Mr *Moreri* deserves to be censured in some Particulars [C].

(15) Idem, Ibid.

(16) In Fastis.

(17) Plin. lib. xxxiii. cap. xi. pag. m. 69.

(18) Father *Hardouin* puts X, instead of XI.

WHETHER *Marcus Livius Drusus* triumphed over the *Scordisci*.

(19) *He shews this in Lib. xviii, Cap. vi. Precipiebant ista qui triumphali denas argenti libras in supellectile crimini dabant. 'Those were the Decrees of those who condemned one, who had been honoured with a Triumph, for having Plate to the weight of ten pounds.*

(20) Libras 32 argenti Afr. canus sequens lærædi refigit. *Plin. lib xxxiii cap. xi. pag 68.*

WHEN Luxury is at the Height, they treat what is said of the ancient Frugality as fabulous.

(21) Or Twenty thousand, according to *Hardouin's* Correction.

(22) Aulus Gellius lib. iv. cap. viii. & lib. xvii. cap. xxi. Valerius Maximus, lib ii. cap. ix. num 4.

divided upon the Question whether this *Caius Drusus* is the same that was Consul in the Year 606, or the Brother of the Consul of 641. *Rutilius* embraces the latter Opinion: others, preferring the former, confute it by the word *Accepimus*, which *Cicero* makes use of. It is very probable that *Cicero* speaks of a Man he had never seen; for afterwards he mentions another blind Man, he might have seen, who gave his Voice in the Senate, and answered those who consulted him, and was writing a History. Now it seems *Cicero* might have seen *Caius Livius Drusus*, the Brother of him that was Consul in the Year 641; therefore it is probable he speaks of the Consul of the Year 606 (15).

Let us see now if the Consul of the Year 641 triumphed over the *Scoraisci*. I believe not; for all the Proof alledged by *Sigonius* (16) is a Passage in *Pliny* misunderstood. *Pliny*'s words are (17). 'Præter ejus Allobrogicus primus omnium pondo mille habuit. At Livius Drusus in Tribunatu plebis XI (18). Nam propter quinque pondo notatum à Censoribus triumphalem senem (19), fabulosum jam videtur.' To understand these Words aright, we must observe, that *Pliny* opposes the Frugality of former times, to the Luxury of the latter. He shews by what Gradations Luxury crept in upon them. *Scipio Africanus* left his Heir no more than sixty four Marks in Silver Plate (20). His Brother *Quintus Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus* was the first who had to the value of two thousand Marks in Plate. But *Livius Drusus* in his Tribuneship of the People had twenty two thousand Marks (21); for, adds *Pliny*, we look upon it as fabulous, that an old Man, who had the Honour of a Triumph, should be noted by the Censors on account of ten Marks. 'Nam propter quinque pondo notatum à Censoribus triumphalem senem, fabulosum jam videtur.' Thus in every Age they can hardly believe what Historians say of ancient Times, if it is too remote from the modern Customs. Thus we should say, it looks like a Fable or Romance to Ladies of the first Quality, when they are told that formerly Persons of their Rank walked the Streets on Foot, suckled their own Children, and spent only so much a Year in Cloaths. The History, which according to *Pliny* then appeared fabulous, does not relate to *Livius Drusus* whom he had just mentioned. It is a much ancienter History. It was a Censorial Act, exercised in the Year of *Rome* 478, against *Cornelius Rufinus* who had been Dictator, and twice Consul (22). The Censors degraded him from the Dignity of Senator for his Luxury, because they found in his House ten Pound weight of Silver Plate. The weight of five Pound was allowed, so that he was degraded for the weight of five Pounds. 'Propter quinque pondo notatum à Censoribus triumphalem senem.' When *Valerius Maximus* relates this Story, he falls into the same Reflexions as *Pliny*. He fears to be reckoned a Writer of Fables, and confesses it hardly credible, that the same City, which despised Poverty to so great a Degree, should punish a Man of Consular Dignity, for having twenty Marks in Silver. 'Ipsæ medius fidius mihi literæ fæculi nostri obstupescere videntur, cùm ad tantam severitatem referendam ministerium accommodare coguntur; ac vereri ne non nostræ urbis acta commemorare existimentur. Vix enim credibile est, intra idem pomœrium decem pondo argenti, & invidiosum fuisse censum, & inopiam habere contemptissimam (23).'

(23) Val. Max. ibid.

I wonder *Sigonius* should misunderstand the Text of *Pliny* as he has done. Could he imagine, that after the Year of *Rome* 641, the ancient Frugality of the Common-Wealth was so well observed, that nine or ten Marks of Silver, more or less, should be able to degrade a Senator? Things were no longer upon such a Foot: Corruption and Luxury had already spread in a terrible manner. But could not *Pliny*'s own Words have set *Sigonius* right? They shew precisely that *Drusus* was Tribune of the People when he had so much Silver Plate, and immediately after *Pliny* mentions a Censure passed upon an old Man, who had formerly obtained the Honour of a Triumph. It is plain then, that That old Man was not *Drusus*; for if *Drusus* had been censured on account of Luxury, it must have been in the time of his Tribuneship; or else *Pliny* must be charged with relating things in a very impertinent manner. Nevertheless it can hardly be imagined how many have been deceived by this Passage of *Pliny* (24).

(24) Plerique etiam hunc triumphasse volunt. *Glandorp. Onomast. pag. 543.*

[C] *Moreri deserves to be censured in some things.*] He says that 'the Family of *Drusus* was a Branch of 'that of the *Claudians*, and though Plebeian, yet it 'was remarkable for eight Consulships .... and illustrious for the great Men it had produced, among 'whom the Chief were *Salinator* and *Drusus*.' I pass over all his Omissions, and confine myself to these Observations: 1. That the *Drusian* Family was a Branch, not of the *Claudian*, but the *Livian* Family: 2. That it is the *Livian* Family, and not the particular Branch of the *Drusian*, which was distinguished by eight Consulships, *&c.* 3. That *Salinator* is no otherwise derived from the *Drusian* Family, than the House of *Bourbon* is descended from the House of *Burgundy*. Which Expression is not to be suffered. Two Streams, proceeding from the same Head, do not therefore proceed one from the other.

DRUSUS (MARCUS LIVIUS), Son of him who was Colleague of *Caius Gracchus* in the Tribuneship of the People, and who deserved the Title of Protector of the Senate, followed his Father's Example in supporting the *Patrician* Interest; but the Method he pursued raised terrible Disorders [A]. He was a Man of great Capacity

[A] *He favoured the Patricians; but the Method he pursued raised terrible Disorders.*] It is not impossible that the reason of *Paterculus*'s espousing his Cause so heartily was to make his Court to *Tiberius*, descended without doubt from our *Drusus*: but perhaps also he did no more than follow his own Opinion. However that be, he ascribes the best Intentions in the World to him, and laments that the Senate should make such a blind and unjust Judgment of them. He expresses himself upon this Subject with so much Eloquence, that I take the Liberty to transcribe the whole Passage, in favour of those, who, without consulting a great many Books, would willingly see the Conduct of a great Man displayed. 'Tribunatum iniit Marcus 'Livius Drusus, vir nobilissimus, eloquentissimus, 'sanctissimus, meliore in omnia ingenio, animoque, 'quàm fortuna usus, qui, cùm Senatui priscum restituere cuperet decus, & judicia ab equitibus ad eum 'transferre ordinem; (quippe, eam potestatem nacti 'equites Gracchanis legibus, cùm in multos clarissimos, atque innocentissimos viros sævissent, tum 'Publium Rutilium, virum non sæculi sui, sed omnis ævi optimum, interrogatum lege repetundarum, 'maximo cum gemitu civitatis, damnaverant) in iis 'ipsis, quæ pro Senatu moliebatur, Senatum habuit adversarium, non intelligentem, si qua de plebis commodis ab eo agerentur, veloti inescandæ, illicienda-que multitudini causâ fieri, ubi minoribus perceptis, majora permitteret. Denique ea fortuna 'Drusi fuit, ut malefacta collegarum, quàm ejus optimè ab ipso cogitata, senatus proberet magis; & honorem, qui ab eo deferebatur, sperneret; injurias, 'quæ ab aliis intendebantur, æquo animo reciperet; & hujus summæ gloriæ invideret, illorum modicam ferret. Tum conversus Drusi animus, quando benè 'cœpta malè cedebant, ad dandam civitatem Italiæ: 'quod cùm moliens revertisset à foro, immensâ illâ, & incognitâ, quæ eum semper comitabatur, cinctus multitudine, in atrio domus suæ cultello percussus, 'qui affixus lateri ejus relictus est, intra paucas horas 'decessit (1). —— *Marcus Livius Drusus, a Man of the first Rank, famed for his Eloquence and Integrity, was made Tribune; but was much more happy in the Endowments of Mind, than in his Fortune: for endeavouring to restore the antient Dignity to the Senate, and transfer the Court of Judgment from the Equestrian to that Order, (for the Equites had been invested with that Power by the Laws of the Gracchi, and had exercised it with great Rigour against some most eminent and virtuous Men, particularly against Publius*

(1) Vell. Paterculus, lib. ii. cap. xiii.

city and Eloquence, full of Wit and Courage; but he made an ill uſe of theſe Accompliſhments, which was the Effect of his exceſſive Ambition; and of this he gave Proofs from his very Infancy. The City was divided into two Factions, that of the Senate, and that of the Knights [*C*]: the latter, beſides raiſing the public Money, poſſeſſed all the Offices of Judicature (*a*) which had formerly belonged to the Senators: by this means they had, as one may ſay, their Foot upon the Neck of the Senate. *Druſus*, ſeeing that *Cepio*, his Competitor, favoured the Knights Cauſe [*D*], undertook to ſupport and retrieve that of the Senate; and that he might not want Creatures (*b*), he contrived to get the Laws of the *Gracchi* revived concerning the Diſtribution of Lands among the People, and promiſed the Freedom of *Rome* to the *Latins*. The Violence he made uſe of againſt *Philippus*, the Conſul, who oppoſed thoſe Laws, cannot be ſufficiently condemned [*E*]. The Promiſe he had made the *Latins* was the Occaſion of a very vexatious

(*a*) Paterculus, lib. ii, cap. x vi. *I q ote his words in Remark* [*A*].

(*b*) Florus, lib. iii, cap. xvii.

'*Publius Rutilius, who was certainly the beſt Man of* '*that or any preceding Age, whom they condemned on* '*the Statute of Bribery, to the univerſal Grief of the* '*City), he was oppoſed by the Senate in thoſe very* '*things which he laboured for their Advantage; they* '*did not conſider that whatever he did for the Benefit* '*of the People was only meant to inſinuate himſelf into* '*their Favour, that, by obtaining for them ſome ſmaller* '*Advantages, he might induce them to part with greater.* '*In ſhort, ſuch was the Fortune of Druſus, that the* '*Senate approved the ill Offices of his Colleagues, more* '*than his beſt Intentions. They rejected the Honours* '*which he offered them, and embraced the Indignities* '*offered them by others. They envied his ſuperior Glo-* '*ry, and were ſatisfied with the moderate Honours of the* '*reſt. When Druſus ſaw his honeſt Deſigns could not* '*ſucceed, he altered his Mind, and propoſed to grant* '*the freedom of Rome to all Italy. As he returned* '*from the Forum, where he had been promoting that* '*Affair, attended as uſual by a vaſt Multitude of un-* '*known Perſons, he was ſtabbed in the Side, at his own* '*Door, with a Knife, which was left in the Wound,* '*and expired in a few Hours.*' The Reader will have a better Opinion of the Sincerity of *Paterculus* here, if he knows what *Salluſt* thought concerning the ſame *Druſus*; for which reaſon I ſhall here inſert *Salluſt*'s words. '*M. Livio Druſo ſemper conſilium fuit, in* '*tribunatu ſumma ope niti pro nobilitate: neque ullam* '*rem in principio agere intendit, niſi illi auctores fie-* '*ret. Sed homines factioſi, quibus dolus, atque ma-* '*litia, fide cariora erant, ubi intellexerunt, per unum* '*hominem maximum beneficium multis mortalibus* '*dari: videlicet & ſibi quiſque conſcius, malo atque* '*infido animo eſſe, de M. Livio Druſo juxta, ac ſe,* '*exiſtimaverunt* (2). —— *It was the Aim of M. Li-* '*vius Druſus, during the whole time of his Tribuneſhip,* '*to advance the Intereſt of the Nobility; nor was it* '*his real Deſign at firſt to have any thing done but by* '*their Authority. But Men given to Faction, who were* '*fonder of Deceit and Malice than Honour, perceiving* '*that a Benefit very diffuſive was like to be owing to* '*one Man, and being each conſcious to himſelf that his* '*own Actions were evil and ſiniſter, meaſured the De-* '*ſigns of Druſus by their own.*'

(2) Salluſt. Orat. II. ad Cæſ. r. pag. 533, 534.

[*B*] *Of his exceſſive ambition he gave Proofs from his Infancy.*] While he was under the Tuition of his Guardians, and before he had aſſumed the *Toga Virilis*, he took upon him to ſollicit the Judges in favour of the Accuſed, and that with ſo much Force and Vigour, that he extorted from them more than once the Sentence they pronounced. Had he not reaſon then to ſay that he was the only one for whom no Holy-day had ever been made? Thoſe that begin ſo early to diſtinguiſh themſelves, deſerve to be feared. Let us hear *Seneca*. 'Exſecratus inquietam à primordiis vi-' tam, dicitur dixiſſe, Uni ſibi, nec puero quidem, 'unquam ferias contigiſſe. Auſus enim & pupillus ad-' huc & prætextatus, judicibus reos commendare, & 'gratiam ſuam foro interponere tam efficaciter, ut 'quædam judicia conſtet ab illo rapta. Quo non ir-' rumperet tam immatura ambitio? ſcires in malam 'ingens, & privatum, & publicum, evaſuram illam 'tam præcoquem audaciam. Sero itaque querebatur; 'nullas ſibi ferias contigiſſe: à puero ſeditioſus, & 'foro gravis (3). —— *He curſed his reſtleſs manner of* '*Life, and is reported to have ſaid, that he had never,* '*not even when a Boy, had any Intermiſſion from Buſi-* '*neſs. When a Youth, he had adventured to ſpeak for* '*the Priſoners at the Bar, and recommend their Cauſe* '*to the Judges, which he did in ſo effectual a manner* '*that he ſometimes gained his Point. To what might* '*not ſo early an Ambition force it's way? A Man might* '*divine that ſo early Aſſurance would ripen into a very* '*great public and private Calamity. He had reaſon after-* '*wards to complain that he never enjoyed any Relaxa-* '*tion, having been ſeditious and turbulent in the Forum* '*from a Boy.*' What he did in *Aſia* during his Queſtorſhip is brought as an Evidence of his Pride. He exercited his Office without wearing the external Ornaments of his Dignity, ſcorning any Diſtinction but that of his own Perſon. The Latin expreſſes it better. 'Quæſtor in Aſia nullis inſignibus uti voluit, ne quid 'ipſo eſſet inſignius (4). A learned Man (5) can hardly believe that *Druſus* had that Office, or that of *Ædile*. 'Ædilis munus magnificentiſſimum dedit. —— *In his* '*Ædileſhip he gave a moſt ſplendid Entertainment.*' His reaſon is, that he died while he was Tribune of the People, a Poſt the *Romans* commonly enjoyed before the Ædileſhip. But perhaps *Druſus*, wanting to be Tribune, in order to put his Deſigns in execution, obtained that Office the ſecond time in the Year he was killed.

(3) Seneca de Brevitate Vitæ, cap. vi.

(4) Aurel. Vict. de Viris Illuſtribus.

(5) Cornelius in Brutum Comitiis, pag. 312.

(6) Aurel. Vict. de Viris illuſtribus.

[*C*] *The City was divided into two Factions, that of the Senate, and that of the Knights.*] The Paſſage in *Paterculus* informs us, that the *Gracchi* had deprived the Senators of all the Tribunals of Juſtice, to gratify the Knights. Let us ſee how *Florus* confirms the ſame thing (7): 'Judiciaria lege Caji Gracchi diviſe-' rant populum Romanum, & bicipitem ex una 'fecerant civitatem equites Romani, tanta pote-' ſtate ſubnixi, ut qui fata fortunaſque patrum vi-' taſque principum haberent in manu, interceptis ve-' ſtigalibus pecularentur ſuo jure rempublicam. —— '*By the Judiciary Law of C. Gracchus the Knights had* '*divided the Roman People, and from one had made* '*two Heads to the City. So great was the Power* '*wherewith they were inveſted, that having a Power* '*over the Fates and Fortunes of the Senators, and the* '*Lives of the Princes, they converted the Taxes to their* '*private Uſe, and plundered the Common Wealth at* '*Diſcretion.*'

(7) Lib. iii. cap. xvii.

[*D*] *Druſus, ſeeing that Cepio, his Competitor, favoured the Knights Cauſe.*] The Emulation of theſe two *Romans*, which cauſed ſo much Confuſion, and almoſt ruined the Common-Wealth, roſe from a trifle. A Ring ſold at an Auction was the cauſe of their Diviſions (8): they bid upon one another, and were ſo exaſperated at it, that afterwards they fought all occaſions of croſſing each other. This confirms what has been often obſerved, that great Revolutions of State commonly proceed from a Fancy or capricious Humour of ſome particular Perſons (9). I know not whether the Inſtance before us was ever taken notice of. In vain *Paterculus* pretends that *Druſus* acted out of Zeal for the Intereſt of the Senate, whoſe Power he endeavoured to reſtore: we rather believe thoſe who ſay, that *Druſus* embraced that Party, becauſe he ſaw *Cepio* at the Head of the other. 'In hoc ſtatu rerum pares 'opibus, animis, dignitate (unde & nata Livio Druſo 'æmulatio acceſſerat) Equitem Servilius Cæpio, Sena-' tum Livius Druſus aſſerere (10)- —— *Whilſt things* '*were in this poſture, Servilius Cepio, and Livius Dru-* 'ſus, *declared for different Parties, the former for the* '*Equites, the latter for the Senate: they were Perſons* '*equal in Fortune, Courage and Honour, which had* '*raiſed a ſpirit of Emulation in Druſus.*'

(8) Inter Cepionem & Druſum ex annulo in auctione venali inimicitiæ coepere: unde origo ſocialis belli & exitia rerum. *Flor. lib. xxiii, cap. i, pag. m.* 12, 13. This War coſt the Lives of 300000 Men. *Paterc. lib ii, cap. xvi.* See *Florus, lib. iii, cap. xviii.*

(9) See the Penſées diverſes ſur les Cometes, n. 232.

(10) Florus, lib. 3, cap. 18.

[*E*] *The Violence he uſed to Philippus the Conſul . . . can never be ſufficiently condemned.*] The Conſular Dignity was ſo little regarded, that he ſqueezed his Throat till the Blood flew out of his Eyes and Mouth. Some ſay *Druſus* committed this violence himſelf; and that far from relenting at the ſight of the Blood, he made it a new ſubject of inſulting him upon: he ſaid it was not Blood, but the Sauce of Thruſhes; thus reproaching *Cepio* with his Gluttony. 'Philippo Conſuli 'legibus

vexatious War, which was very near being fatal to the *Roman* People (c). He swooned away in a public Assembly of the People, and whether it was real or counterfeit, he made an Advantage several ways of that Accident [*F*]. The Credit he had obtained did not hinder him from being very much perplexed with the State he had brought things into [*G*]; wherefore every body judged he was seasonably killed in the Court of his own House [*H*], as he returned from the City, surrounded, according to his Custom,

(c) See Rem. [D] Citat. (8).

' legibus agratis resistenti ita collum in comitio obtorsit, ' ut multus sanguis efflueret è naribus, quem ille luxu- ' riam objobrans murium de tardis esse dicebat (11).

(11) Aurel. Victor, de Viris illustribus. *In the* Valerius Maximus Variorum of Holland, pag. 778, *in quoting this Passage, we read* in Convivio, *and not in* Comitio, *which is absurd.*

' ——*He so twisted the Neck of Philip, the Consul, who opposed the passing the Agrarian Laws, that the Blood streamed from his Nose, which he, in reproach of his* ' *Luxury, said was Thruse Sauce.*' Others say *Drusus* caused this violence to be committed by one of his Clients or Officers. ' Quæ (Senatus majestas) à M. ' quoque Druso trib. plebis per summam contumeliam ' vexata est. ' Parvi enim habuit, L. Philippum Con- ' sulem, quia interfari concionantem ausus fuerat, ob- ' torta gulâ & quidem non per viatorem, sed per ' clientem suum, adeo violenter in carcere præcipitem ' egisse, ut multus è naribus ejus cruor profunderetur ' (12). ——*The Majesty of the Senate was also notoriously injulted by M. Drusus, a Tribune of the People, who, without any respect, seized Philip the Consul, for interrupting him in his Speech, by the Throat, and dragged him to Prison; which Action was done, not by a public Officer, but by one of his Clients, and this was done so violently, that the Blood gushed in* ' *great quantity from his Nostrils.*' This is what *Valerius Maximus* says of it, and *Florus*'s Words are: ' Ausus tamen abrogare de legibus Consul Philippus, ' sed apprehensum faucibus viator non ante dimisit, ' quam sanguis in ora & oculos redundaret (13). ——*Philip, the Consul, had the Courage to oppose the Laws; but a public Officer seized him by the Throat, nor left him till the Blood gushed out at his Mouth and Eyes.*'

(12) Valerius Maximus, lib. 9, cap. 5, n. 2.

(13) Florus, lib. 3, cap. 18.

[*F*] *He made an Advantage many ways of his swooning away.*] He had got all his Laws past, except that of the Freedom of the *Latins*. They insisted upon his Promise, and he knew not how to act, either to put them off, or give them Satisfaction. He fell down on a sudden in the midst of the Assembly, and this was a just Pretence to refer the *Latins* to another time. ' Livius anxius ut Latinorum postulata differret, qui ' promissum civitatem flagitabant, repente in publico ' concidit, sive morbo comitiali, seu hausto caprino ' sanguine, semianimis domum relatus (14). —— *Drusus, desirous to put off the Demands of the Latins, who vigorously solicited the Freedom of the City, which he had promised them, on a sudden fell down in the Assembly, being* either *seized with a real Fit, or having taken a draught of Goat's Blood, and was carried speechless home.*' It is plain the Historian; I take this from, has made a Mistake: the disjunctive Particle *sive* makes him speak absurdly; for if *Drusus* fell down suddenly, in order to put off the Demand of the Latins to another time, it cannot be said that he either fell down in the Falling Sickness, or that he had drank Goat's Blood. A real Fit of the Falling-Sickness is not in our own Power, and consequently cannot be directed to a certain end. The other part of the disjunctive Propofition is good: for a Man may take a Drug, in order to fall down in a Swoon three or four Hours after. The Truth is, Authors of Abridgments, by endeavouring to bring several different Relations into one Period, often make Nonsense of the whole. *Aurelius Victor*, having heard say that *Drusus* fell down in the Falling-Sickness, and that he had drank Goat's Blood, that by looking pale he might complain with greater probability of being poisoned by *Cepio* (15), attempted to join these two things together, but without success. I could easily believe that *Drusus* and his Adherents would make a handle of the fainting Fit, to render *Philippus*, the Consul, odious, as suspected of poisoning his Adversary; for what will not a State-Faction put in Practice to supplant an Enemy? This is sufficient to understand the Text of this Remark. I shall only observe farther that *Pliny* has a curious particular concerning *Drusus*'s Falling-Sickness. ' Drusum quoque apud nos Tribunorum popu- ' larium clarissimum (cui ante omnes plebs stans plausit, ' optimates vero bellum Marsicum imputavere) constat ' hoc medicamento (elleboro) liberatum comitiali mor- ' bo in Anticyra insula (16). —— *We have another in-*

(14) Aurel. Victor, de Viris illustribus.

(15) Drusus Tribunus plebei tinditur caprinum (*sanguinem*, bibisse, cum pallore & invidia veneni sibi dati insimulare Q. Cæpionem inimicum vellet. *Plin. lib.* 28, *cap.* 9, *pag.* 608.

(16) Plin. lib. 25, cap. 5, pag. 301. *See* Aul. Gellius, lib. 17, cap. 15.

stance at home in Drusus (the most eminent Tribune of the People, to whom they returned the thanks of their whole Body, standing, an Honour that had no Precedent, though the Senate accused him of fomenting the Marsian War), who 'tis certain was cured in the Island of Anticyra of the Falling-Sickness by the use of Hellebore.'

[*G*] *The Credit, he had obtained, did not hinder him from being very much perplexed with the State he had brought things into.*] He imagined that all sorts of People were obliged to him, and yet most People complained of him. He had caused Lands to be distributed to the People. Those, they sell to, were pleased, but those, who were deprived of them, complained. He had procured the Order of Knights to be admitted to the Senatorial Dignity. Those, who were chosen to that Post, were pleased with it, but those, who lost their Elections, were discontented. He got the Tribunals restored to the Senate. This pleased that Body; but on the other hand, they were engaged to see Patricians and Knights blended together in the Senate. This was the cause of *Drusus*'s Perplexity. *Aurelius Victor* expresses it in few Words (17). ' Idem ex ' gratia nimia in invidiam venit. Nam plebs accep- ' tis agris gaudebat, expulsi dolebant: equites in Se- ' natum lecti lætabantur, sed præteriti querebantur: ' Senatus permissis judiciis exsultabat, sed societatem ' cum equitibus ægre ferebat. Unde Livius anxius, ' &c (18).' Madam *le Fevre* has made a Note upon these Words, *equites in Senatum lecti lætabantur*, in which she says, she cannot but suspect that Passage, for she can never believe that the Knights rejoiced to see those Juridictions, they were solely possessed of, divided between the Senators, and themselves. ' Hoc ' certe valde suspectum est, neque adduci possum ut ' credam equites quæ judicia ipsi possidebant ea ad ' Senatum æqua parte transmissa libenter vidisse (19).' I believe, with her, this was not the ground of their Joy; but I take the Liberty to observe to her that this is not also what *Aurelius Victor* says. He does not speak of the general Joy of the Knights, but of the particular Joy of those among them who were made Senators. It is easy to suppose they were pleased at this change in their Condition: the gain of the Senate was theirs, and they lost nothing by the Diminution of the Order of the Knights, being no longer Members of it.

(17) Aurel. Victor, de Viris illustr.

(18) *See* Seneca's *Words in the following Remark.*

(19) Anna Tanaquill. Fabri filia Not in Aurel. Victor, pag. 87.

[*H*] *It was thought he was very seasonably killed in the Court of his own House.*] It is *Seneca*'s Opinion. ' Livius Drusus, *says he* (20), vir acer & vehemens, ' cum leges novas & mala Gracchana movisset, stipa- ' tus ingenti totius Italiæ coetu, exitum rerum non ' providens, quas nec agere licebat, nec jam liberum ' erat semel inchoatas relinquere, exsecratus inquietam ' à primordiis vitam dicitur dixisse, Uni sibi, nec pue- ' ro quidem, unquam feriæ contigisse (21). Dispu- ' tatur an ipse sibi manus attulerit, subito enim vul- ' nere per inguen accepto, collapsus est: aliquo dubi- ' tante, an mors voluntaria esset, nullo an tempesti- ' va. ——*Livius Drusus*, says he, *a Man of a fiery overbearing Temper, treading in the steps of the Gracchi, and promoting new Laws, attended by a vast Croud from all parts of Italy, not foreseeing the Consequence of Things, which he could neither carry, nor safely relinquish, is said to have cursed his restless Humour, and, to have declared that his Life had been one continued Scene of Action from his Infancy. It is a question whether or no he died by his own Hands, for on a sudden he received a Wound in the Groin; and fell down: but tho' some doubt whether his death was voluntary, all allow it to be seasonable.*' *Florus* has much the same Sentiment (21): ' Sic per vim latæ, jussæque leges: sed pretium ro- ' gationis statim socii flagitavere, quum interim imparem ' Drusum, ægrumque rerum temere motarum, matura, ' ut in tali discrimine, mors absolvit. —— *So the Laws were passed and enacted by meer force. But our Allies immediately demanded the Reward of their Votes, when Death, very seasonable, at so critical a Juncture, carried off Drusus, unequal to his Enterprizes,*

(20) Seneca, de Brevitate Vitæ, cap. 6, pag. 700, 701.

(21) Lib. 3, cap. 17.

' and

Cuſtom, by a Croud of People (*d*), ſome of whom were unknown to him. No Inquiry was made after the Murderer [*I*], and moſt Authors ſay he was never known. *Cicero*, I think, is the only one that names him [*K*]. *Cornelia*, the Mother of *Druſus*, expreſſed great Fortitude of Mind upon this Occaſion [*L*]. His laſt Words were no leſs preſumptuous [*M*], than thoſe he had formerly made uſe of to proclaim the Services he had done [*N*]. The Anſwer he gave an Architect has been much ſpoken of [*O*]. His

(d) Patercul. lib. ii. cap. xiii. Appian. lib. i. Bell. Civil. ſay, that Druſus durſt no longer go abroad, and that the Multitude that were for him came home to him.

' *and ſick of the Commotions which he had unadviſedly raiſed.*' What encreaſed the Perplexity *Druſus* was involved in was this: he not only ſaw no hope of obtaining for the Latins what he had promiſed them, but found himſelf charged with conſpiring with them again *Philippus*, the Conſul. The Accuſation was founded upon his having adviſed that Conſul to look to himſelf, from whence they concluded that he was privy to their Deſigns. ' Cum ' Latini Conſulem in Albano monte interfecturi eſſent, ' Philippum admonuit ut caveret, unde in Senatu accuſatus cum domum ſe reciperet, immiſſo inter turbam percuſſore corruit (22). —— *The Latins having entered into a deſign to kill the Conſul on the Alban Mount, he adviſed Philip to take care of himſelf, whereupon he was accuſed in the Senate, and, as he returned home, ſtabbed in a Croud by an Aſſaſſin.*' In my Opinion, Madam *Le Fevre* makes a wrong Remark upon theſe words of *Aurelius Victor*. She begins by citing *Florus* (23), who has ſaid. ' Primum ' fuit belli in Albano monte conſilium, ut feſto die ' Latinarum Julius Cæſar & Martius Philippus Conſules inter ſacra & aras immolarentur. Poſtquam id ' nefas proditione diſcuſſum eſt, &c. —— *The firſt ſcene of War was deſigned for the Alban Mount, where Julius Cæſar and Martius Philippus, the Conſuls, on the Feaſt of the Latins were to be ſacrificed at the Altar, as they were performing religious Service; as ſoon as this piece of Treaſon was diſcovered, &c.*' And then ſhe ſays, that *Druſus*, who was killed the Year before, could not give this Information to *Philippus*. *Sed tunc Philippum admonere non potuit Druſus, quem anno ſuperiori mortuum tabulæ notant.* It is certain *Druſus* might have informed *Philippus*; for, according to *Florus*, the Conſpiracy of the Latins was to have been put in Execution under the Conſulſhip of *Julius Cæſar* and *Martius Philippus*, ſince their deſign was to make away with thoſe two Conſuls. *Druſus* was aſſaſſinated, I confeſs, under that Conſulſhip, that is to ſay, in the Year of *Rome* 662; but he lived ſeveral Months of this Year; witneſs the violence he uſed to the Conſul *Philippus* (24). What might lead Madam *le Fevre* into the miſtake, was ſuppoſing that the Conſpiracy, mentioned by *Florus*, relates to the firſt Year of the Social War. On this Suppoſition, *Druſus* could not have been in a Condition to give an Information; for the beginning of that War coincides with the Year 663, and with the Conſulſhip of *L. Julius Cæſar*, and *P. Rutilius* (25). The Conſpiracy of the Latins ſhould be put to the preceding Year, ſince it was contrived againſt *Martius Philippus*, and *Sextus* (26) *Julius Cæſar* his Colleague, as *Florus* obſerves. It is certain the Latins were big with the War during the Life of *Druſus* (27): therefore he might be alive, when they reſolved to kill the Conſul *Philippus* during the Celebration of the Latin Feſtivals.

(22) Aurelius Victor, de Viris illuſtribus.

(23) Lib. iii. cap. xviii.

(24) *See Remark* [*E*].

(25) Patercul. lib. ii. cap. xv.

(26) Florus *neither gives him a Surname, nor any other.*

(27) Mors Druſi præſidem ſocios ad bellum excitavit talionem. *Patercul. lib. ii. cap. xv.*

(28) *Cicero* pro *Milone.*

(29) *Cotta* calls him ſo; becauſe *Druſus*, as *Cicero* aſſures us in *Orat. ad Pontifices, cap. xlvi.* had been of the College of Pontiffs. If Father *Lefaloſtier* had known this Paſſage, he would not have ſpoke of it with an air, in his *Commentary in lib. i. de Natura Deor. pag.* 677, *c.* 32.

(30) Thus this Word is to be placed, and not as in the Editions after *perit*. See *Freinſhem.* upon *Florus*, lib. iii. cap. xvii.

[*I*] *No Inquiry was made after the Murderer.*] ' Domi ſuæ nobiliſſimus vir, Senatus propugnator, ' atque illis quidem temporibus pene patronus.... ' Tribunus plebis M. Druſus occiſus eſt. Nihil de ejus ' morte populus conſultus, nulla quæſtio decreta à ' Senatu eſt (28). —— *M. Druſus, Tribune of the People, a Man of the firſt Nobility; the Patron, and at that time a ſort of Bulwark to the Senate, was ſlain at his own Houſe, yet no Inqueſt was made by the People after his Murther, no Proclamation iſſued out by the Senate.*'

[*K*] *Cicero, I think, is the only one who names the Murderer of Druſus.*] It is in the third Book *de Natura Deorum, Cur jocalis meus (29) interfectus domi ſuæ Druſus? — Why was Druſus, my Companion, murthered at his own Houſe?* This is an Objection of the *Pontiff Cotta*, againſt the divine Providence. Preſently, after he ſuppoſes an Anſwer made to him, and he replies; ' Summo cruciatu ſupplicioque Varius ' homo importuniſſimus periit, quia Druſum ferro, Metellum veneno ſuſtulerat (30). Sed illos conſervari ' melius fuit, quam pœnas ſceleris Varium pendere. ' — *Varius, a moſt profligate Wretch, who ſtabbed Druſus,* VOL. II.

' *and poiſoned Metellus, ſuffered a moſt exemplary Puniſhment, and died under the greateſt Torture. Yet it had been much better, if they had liv'd, and he never paid the forfeit of his Villainy.*' *Velleius Paterculus, Florus, Appian, Aurelius Victor*, &c. ſay no more than that he was killed; and we have ſeen that, according to *Seneca*, it was not altogether ſure, that he did not kill himſelf. *Philippus* the Conſul, and *Cepio*, were ſuſpected of having ſuborned the Aſſaſſin (31). The Death of *Druſus* was alſo the Death of the Laws he had eſtabliſhed with ſo much difficulty, they being all abrogated, under a Pretence that they had been enacted againſt the Auſpices (32).

(31) Invidia cædis apud Philippum & Cæpionem fuit. *Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii.*

[*L*] *Cornelia, the Mother of Druſus, expreſſed great Fortitude of Mind upon this Occaſion.*] It *Seneca* had not mentioned it, I believe no body now would have known any thing of it. ' Cornelia, *ſays he* (33), Livium Dru- ' ſum, lar ſimum juvenem, illuſtris ingenii, vadentem ' per Gracchana veſtigia, imperfectis tot rogationibus, ' intra penates interemptum ſuos amiſerat, incerto ' cædis auctore; tamen & acerbam mortem filii, & inultam, tam magno animo tulit, quam ipſe leges tulerat.' —— *Cornelia loſt Livius Druſus, a brave Youth, and of a moſt promiſing Genius, who trod in the Steps of the Gracchi, and was murthered by an unknown Villain within his own Walls, when a great number of Laws which he endeavoured to make were ſtill depending; yet ſhe bore the deplorable loſs of her Son (which was not revenged) with the ſame Greatneſs of Soul that he had ſhewn in enacting his Laws.*'

(32) Aſcon. Pedian. in Orat. Ciceronis pro C. Cornelio pag. m. 83 & 132.

(33) Seneca de Conſolat. ad Martiam, cap. xvi. pag. 756.

[*M*] *His laſt Words were no leſs preſumptuous* - - - -] When, ſaid he, with the Common-wealth have ſuch another Citizen as I? The *Latin* has it better (34). ' Sed ' cum ultimum redderet ſpiritum intuens circumſtantium mœrentiumque frequentiam, effudit vocem convenientiſſimam conſcientiæ ſuæ, *& quando*, inquit, ' *propinqui amicique, ſimilem mei civem habebit reſpublica? —— When he was on the Point of breathing his laſt, he turned about to the Company, who were all in Tears, and uttered this Expreſſion, which thoroughly ſpoke the Opinion that he had conceived of himſelf.* When, O my Friends and Acquaintance, will the Commonwealth find a Citizen like me?'

(34) Paterc. lib. ii. cap. xiv.

[*N*] *Than thoſe he uſed, to expreſs the Services he had done.*] I have ſaid, in Remark [*G*], that he imagined the whole Body of the Commonwealth, the Patricians, Knights, and Plebeians, were under great Obligations to him. Some Writers ſay, he boaſted, that, unleſs they made Preſents of Heaven or of Dirt, none could exceed his Profuſions. ' Extat vox ' ipſius, nihil ſe ad largitionem ulli reliquiſſe, niſi ſi ' quis aut cœnum dividere vellet, aut cœlum (35).' This was ſetting himſelf above all Exception or Compariſon; for no body would ever think of ſhewing their Magnificence by Preſents of Dirt or Mire, and it is impoſſible *Druſus* ſhould imagine that a Day would come, when the great Men of *Rome* would diſtribute Places in Paradiſe, and make a Lottery of Heaven (36); and if he had foreſeen this, he need not have recanted; for he would have foreſeen, not a Free-gift, but a Sale.

(35) Florus, lib. iii. cap. xvii. Tullius Cicero Orat. pro Rabirio, cap. viii.

[*O*] *The Anſwer he gave to an Architect has been much ſpoken of.*] It is a fine Thought. He promiſed him to diſpoſe in ſuch a manner the Apartments of his Houſe, that no body ſhould be able to overlook him. Rather, ſaid he to the Architect, build it ſo that every body may be a Witneſs of what I do at Home ' Cum ædificaret domum in palatio in eo loco, ubi eſt, ' quæ quondam Ciceronis, nox Cenſorini fuit, nunc ' Statilii Siſennæ eſt; promitteretque ei architectus, ' ita ſe eam ædificaturum, ut libera à conſpectu, ' immunis ab omnibus arbitris eſſet, neque quiſquam in eam deſpicere poſſet: Tu vero, inquit, ſi ' quid in te artis eſt, ita compone domum meam, ut, ' quidquid agam, ab omnibus perſpici poſſit (37). —— *When he was building a Houſe in the Palatium, where Cicero's formerly ſtood, which afterwards was Cenſorinus's, and is at preſent Statilius Sijenna's,*

(36) Venalia nobis Templa, Sacerdotes, altaria, ſacra, cœnum, lenaea, tabra, preces, Cœlum eſt venale Deique. *Juvenal, Satyr. vi. Proſtitutes, Crocuſes, ſubmit to Gold: Prayers, Heav'n, and God himſelf's by auction ſold.* Baptiſta Mantuanus, de Calamitatibus Temporum, lib. iii.

(37) Patercul. lib. ii. cap. xiv.

His Sister *Livia* was the Mother of *Cato* of *Utica* [*P*].

' *and the Architect proposed to build it in such manner,* ' *that no one should be able to look into it, or be a* ' *Witness of what he was doing. Nay, says Drusus,* ' *if you shew your Art, contrive my House in such a* ' *manner that all the World may be able to look into it,* ' *and be Witnesses of what I am doing.*' *Erasmus* (38) relates the Story, as if Part of the House was already so inconvenient, that what was done within might be seen from without, and that an Architect had promised, for five Talents, to remedy it. According to *Erasmus*, *Drusus*'s Answer was this: I will give thee ten Talents if thou canst so order my House, that all the World may see what is done in every part of it. *Erasmus* calls this *Drusus*, *Julius Drusus Publicola*: the first of these three Words is a Fault, and the last of them is another; which proceeds from his not knowing that Ἀνυπαγωγὸς ought to be translated by *Tribune of the People*, rather than by *Favourite of the People* (39). *Erasmus* did not take notice that the Word *Publicola* was become the Surname of the *Valerii*. So that he should not have used it to signify a Man that made his court to the People.

(38) Erasm. Apophth. lib. vi, pag. m. 491.

(39) See Leonard. Emendat. lib. x, cap. xvii.

[*P*] *His Sister Livia was Mother of Cato of Utica.*] Her first Husband was the Father of that *Cato*, and her second Husband *Q. Servilius Cepio*. From this second Marriage proceeded *Servilia*, the Mother of *Brutus*. So that *Cato* was maternal Uncle to *Brutus*, for he was *Servilia*'s Brother by the Mother's side. By this we see the reason of *Cicero*'s calling our *Drusus Cato*'s maternal Uncle (40), and Great maternal Uncle to *Brutus* (41).

(40) In Orat. pro Milone.

(41) In Brutus. cap. xxvii: *he calls the Father of our Drusus, in the 4th Book de Finib. cap. xxiv, Avum Catonis.*

(a) Suetan. in Claud. cap. i.

DRUSUS (NERO (*a*) CLAUDIUS), Brother of *Tiberius*, descended, both by the Father's and Mother's Side, from *Appius Claudius the Blind* [*A*]. He was a Man of great Merit: or, to speak more justly, he was one of the greatest Men the Commonwealth of *Rome* ever produced [*B*], a Thunderbolt in War, most capable of the Affairs of the Cabinet, who, in the most exalted Fortune, and covered with all the Glory that a Person of his Rank and Age could possibly acquire, always preserved a surprizing Modesty, Courtesy, and Uprightness. He obtained a Dispensation of Age, in order to be capable of public Employments, five Years sooner than the Laws allowed (*b*). During his Questorship (*c*) he was sent, together with his Brother (*d*), in the Year of *Rome* 739, into the

(b) Dio, lib. 54. ad Ann. 735, pag. m. 634.

(c) In quæstura honoratus ex Rhæticis bellis. Sueton. in Claud. cap. i.

(d) Dio, lib. 54. pag. 611.

[*A*] *He descended, both by the Father's and Mother's Side, from Appius Claudius the Blind.*] *Appius Claudius the Blind*, among other Children, left two Sons, one of which was named *Tiberius Nero* (1); from whom descended the Father of the Emperor *Tiberius*. The other was named *Appius Pulcher*; from him descended *Livia*, the Mother of that Emperor. The Father of this *Livia*, who was the adopted Son of a *Livius Drusus*, took the Name of *Livius Drusus Claudianus*. He followed the Republican Party, and, rather than be obliged to *Octavius* and *Marc Antony* for his Life, he killed himself in his Tent, after they had won the Battle of *Philippi* (2). I do not know that he left any other Children besides *Livia*, and I believe his Father, by Adoption, had no natural Children (3). So then all the Males of the *Drusian* Branch, both natural and adopted, ended in the Person of *Livius Drusus Claudianus*, the Father of *Livia*: and probably this was the reason that *Livia* revived the Surname of *Drusus*, by giving it to her second Son, while the eldest bore the Name of his Father; for every body knows that *Livia*, before she was *Augustus*'s Wife, was married to *Tiberius Nero*. He was a Man, who had sided with both Parties. He was Questor under *Julius Cæsar*, during the *Alexandrian* War, and commanded the Fleet with so much Conduct, that he contributed not a little to the Victory *Cæsar* was not ungrateful: he made him High-Priest in *Scipio*'s Room, and gave him a Commission to conduct the Colonies of *Arles*, *Narbonne*, and several others in *Gaul*. After *Cæsar*'s Death our *Tiberius* voted, that Rewards should be given to the Murderers. ' Cunctis turbarum metu abolitionem facti decernentibus, etiam de præmiis tyrannicidarum referendum censuit (4). —— *When, upon the Murder of* ' *Cæsar, the Senate was for passing an Act of Oblivion, he proposed a Bill to have Rewards assigned to* ' *those who slew the Tyrant.*' After this he was made Prætor, and sided with *Marc Antony*'s Party, when the Triumvirs fell out with one another. He followed the Consul *Lucius Antony*, Brother of the Triumvir, to *Perugia*, and was the only one that would not surrender. He fled first to *Præneste*, and then to *Naples*: but not being able to make the Slaves take Arms, though he promised them Liberty, he passed over into *Sicily*. He took it ill, that *Sextus Pompeius* did not admit him immediately to an Audience, with the Ensigns of the Prætorship; wherefore he left him, and went to find out *Marc Antony* in *Achaia*. Peace being concluded, he returned to *Rome*, and yielded his Wife *Livia* to *Augustus*. He had had a Son by her, who was the Emperor *Tiberius* (5), and, three Months after *Augustus* married her, she had another, *viz. Drusus*, the Subject of this Article. Lovers of Scandal did not fail to jest upon *Livia*'s speedy lying in, pretending *Augustus* was the true Father of the Child. ' Livia, cum Augusto gravida nupsisset, intra mensem tertium peperit: ' suitque suspicio, ex vitrico per adulterii consuetudinem procreatum. Statim certe vulgatus est versus: Τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα καὶ τρίμηνα παιδία (6). ' —— *Livia, being big with Child, when she married* ' *Augustus, was delivered, within three Months, of a* ' *Son. It was suspected he was gotten in Adultery by* ' *his Father-in-law. However this Verse was immediately spread abroad*; The Great can have a Son at three Month's end.' But as these Stories are not to be regarded in genealogical Matters, I have made *Livia*'s first Husband, *viz. Tiberius Nero*, the Father of our *Drusus*. The Emperor sent him the new-born Child, and entered this Act of his Diligence into his Journal. *Livia*'s first Husband died soon after, and by his Will left *Augustus* Guardian of his two Sons (7).

(1) Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. iii.

(2) Patercul. lib. ii, cap. lxxi.

(3) I make use of this word according to the Sense of the Latin Authors, who oppose it not only as we do to legitimate Children, but to adopted Children.

(4) Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. iv.

(5) Taken from Suetonius, ibid.

(6) Sueton. in Claud. cap. i. *See also* Dion Cassius, lib. 48, *at the Year* 716.

(7) Dio, ibid.

I must observe here a Mistake of Mr *Dacier*. He says (8), *that* Drusus *and* Tiberius *were descended from the two Consuls* who defeated *Asdrubal*. He adds, *by the Father's side they issued from* Claudius Nero, *and by the Mother's side from* Livius Salinator. It is certain, as I have said already, upon the Authority of *Suetonius*, that they equally descended from *Appius Claudius the Blind*, both by Father's and Mother's side (9). If it true, their Mother's Father entered, by Adoption, into the *Livian* Family; but he did not enter into the Branch of *Livius Salinator*, but into that of *Livius Drusus*. All the Descendants of *Salinator* took that Surname, and never that of *Drusus*.

(8) Remarks upon the 4th Ode of the 4th Book of *Horace*, p. 227. [Mr *Dacier* has rectified this in his third Edition printed at *Paris*, 1709. REM. CRIT.]

(9) Tacit. Annal. lib. vi, cap. 51, *confirms this: Per ei Nero, says he, penates & ultrimque origo gentis Claudiæ, quamquam mater in Livium & mox Julium familiam adopt ambos transierit.*

[*B*] *He was one of the greatest Men that the Commonwealth of Rome ever produced.*] Here is the Elogium in *Latin*: It comes from the Pen of *Paterculus*, and ought not to be suspected, though that Historian flatters *Tiberius* without measure. ' Cura deinde, atque onus Germanici belli delegata Druso Claudio, ' fratri Neronis, adolescenti tot tantarumque virtutum, ' quot & quantas natura mortalis recipit, vel industria ' percipit; cujus ingenium utrum bellicis magis operibus, an civilibus suffecerit artibus, in incerto est. ' Morum certè dulcedo ac suavitas, & adversus amicos æqua ac par sui æstimatio inimitabilis fuisse dicitur. Nam pulchritudo corporis proxima fraternæ fuit. Sed illum, magna ex parte domitorem Germaniæ, plurimo ejus gentis variis in locis profuso sanguine, fatorum iniquitas, consulem, agentem annum tricesimum, rapuit (10). —— *The Management and Importance of the German War was conferred on* ' *Drusus Claudius, Nero's Brother, a Prince possessed of* ' *all the Virtues which human Nature can receive, or* ' *Industry attain. It is difficult to determine whether* ' *his Genius was better turned for warlike Atchievements, or the Arts of Peace. He had an inimitable* ' *Sweetness of Temper, and esteemed his Friend equal to* ' *himself. The Gracefulness of his Person came the* ' *nearest to that of his Brother. But the Cruelty of his*

(10) Paterc. lib. ii, cap. xcvii.

the Country of the *Rheti* (*e*), to subdue that Nation. These were his first Feats of Arms, and they were glorious [*C*]. After this he passed into *Gaul* (*f*): where he reduced some rebellious Provinces; he defeated the *Germans* who were marched on this side the *Rhine*; he passed that River, routed the *Sicambri* in their own Territories, gained a Naval Victory over the *Bructeri* on the *Ems* (*g*); he subdued the People of *Frieſland* [*D*], and was the first *Roman* General, who embarked upon the northern Ocean (*h*). At his return to *Rome*, in the Year 743, he obtained the Pretorſhip (*i*), but did not continue long there: he ſet out in the beginning of the Spring to continue his fine Exploits in *Germany*. He ſubdued ſeveral Nations, as far as the *Weſer*, and built Forts in divers Places. This procured him at *Rome* the triumphal Ornaments, and the honour of an Ovation, together with the Dignity of Proconſul (*k*). In the Year 745 (*l*) he was advanced to the Conſulſhip, and returned into *Germany*, where he puſhed on his Conqueſts to the *Elbe*; he made an Attempt to paſs that River, but could not (*m*); but it is thought, if a ſuperior Power had not ſtopped him [*E*], he would have ſurmounted all other

(*e*) It is now called the Country of the *Griſons*.

(*f*) Livius, in Epitome libr. cxxxvii. & ſeq.

(*g*) Strabo, lib. vii. circa init.

(*h*) Sueton. in Claudio, cap. i.

(*i*) Dio, lib. 54. pag. 613.

(*k*) Idem, ibid. *See alſo* Sueton. in Claudio, c. 1.

(*l*) *Velleius Paterculus, in the Life of Auguſtus, p. 85, ſeems to ſay that Drusus went the whole Year of his Conſulſhip to Rome, and that he went into Germany in 745 as Proconſul.*

(*m*) Dio, lib. 55. init.

'*his Deſtiny took him off in the thirtieth Year of his Age, whilſt he was Conſul, having, in a great Meaſure, conquered all Germany, and in ſeveral Places ſpilt vaſt Quantities of the Blood of that Nation.*' What makes me believe *Paterculus* does not flatter *Druſus*, in order to make his court, is, that he might be aſſured *Tiberius* would not have proſecuted him, on pretence that *Druſus*'s Elogy was not magnificent enough: for that Emperor could not behold his Brother's flouriſhing Condition without Grief. This is placed among the Miſfortunes of his Youth. '*Caſus prima ab infantia ancipites: nam proſcriptum patrem exſul ſecutus; ubi domum Auguſti privignus introiit multis æmulis conflictatus eſt, dum Marcellus & Agrippa, mox Cajus Luciuſque Cæſares viguere, etiam frater ejus Druſus proſperiore civium amore erat* (11). —— '*His Life had been a continued Series of Difficulties. He had followed his Father in his Exile, and when he came into the Family of Auguſtus, he had many Rivals to ſtruggle with, firſt under Marcellus and Agrippa, and afterwards Caius and Lucius Cæſars. His Brother Druſus alſo had a larger Share in the Affections of the People.*' We ſhall ſee, in the laſt Remark, a Paſſage in *Suetonius*, ſhewing the great Opinion there was had of *Druſus*'s Virtue and Juſtice, and alſo an Inſtance of the Perfidiouſneſs of *Tiberius* towards him. We muſt not believe all that *Valerius Maximus* relates of *Tiberius*'s fraternal Tenderneſs (12). That Author has over-ſtrained his Flatteries of that Prince in more places than one.

(11) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 51.

(12) Val. Max. lib. v. cap. v. num. 3.

[*C*] *His firſt Feats of Arms were glorious.*] I ſhall quote *Horace*, but not as a Witneſs, which amounts to a Proof. All the Proof I have is, that the Hiſtorians (13) agree that the *Rhetians* were forced to ſubmit to the Yoke, though their Valour and the Advantage of their Situation rendered them capable of a very long Reſiſtance. I ſhall only cite *Horace*, becauſe his Verſes are fine and pompous. If they contain nothing but the Truth, it muſt be imputed to Accident; for a Poet, who ſings the Victories and Triumphs of a Prince, does not avoid fabulous Hyperboles, but when he does not want them: thoſe who read the modern Poets will be convinced of this, and will eaſily believe that the Poets of *Auguſtus*'s Court were animated with the ſame Spirit as the Poets of the preſent time. Nay, I even believe, the Votaries of Antiquity, the moſt zealous againſt Mr *Perrault*'s Sect, do agree that our Age outdoes that of *Alexander* and *Auguſtus* in the Article of Elogy; for the modern Panegyriſts carry their Ideas farther than the Ancients did, though the latter had more Subject to work upon. But to finiſh this Digreſſion, and quote *Horace* (14).

(13) Dio, lib. 54. pag. 613, 614. Paterculus, lib. 2, cap. xcv.

(14) Horat. Od. iv. lib. iv. ver. 1, & ſeq.

Qualem miniſtrum fulminis alitem
- - - - - - - - -
Qualemve lætis caprea paſcuis
Intenta, fulvæ matris ab ubere
Jam lacte depulſum leonem
Dente novo peritura vidit;
Videre Rhæti bella ſub Alpibus
Druſum gerentem & Vindelici - - -
- - - - - - - - - ſed diu
Lateque victrices catervæ
Conſiliis juvenis revictæ
Senſere, quid mens rite, quid indoles
Nutrita fauſtis ſub penetralibus
Poſſet, quid Auguſti paternus
In pueros animus Nerones.

Such as the Royal Bird of Jove
- - - - - - - - -
Such as the Lion, which his Dam forſakes,
And thro' the ſhaggy Herd wild Slaughter makes,
Chaſing ſome Goat along the Plain,
That flies, but flies in vain:
Such Druſus did in Arms appear,
When near the Alps he urg'd the War.
- - - - - - - - -
At length when cruſh'd by the young Warrior's Hand,
They knew what Heroes, under Cæſar train'd,
Could do, to whom the Sire bequeaths
His Soul, in whom he breathes.

It muſt be acknowledged that theſe Praiſes are not carried too high: nay I ſhould think it very ſtrange, that *Horace* did not inſiſt a little more upon *Druſus*'s fine Exploits, if it was true that he compoſed that Ode after the Year of *Rome* 740 (15); for in that caſe he muſt have known the great things That young General had done beyond the *Alps*. How then could the Poet confine himſelf to the ſingle War with the *Rhetians*?

(15) Mr *Dacier* aſſumes *That* in his Remarks upon the Ode of the 4th Book of *Horace*, p. 210.

[*D*] *He ſubdued the People of Frieſland.*] *Dion* is not the only one who obſerves this. *Tacitus* ſays the ſame, and adds, that *Druſus* laid but a very ſmall Tribute upon them. He taxed them in a certain number of Ox Hides. '*Eodem anno Friſii tranſrhenanus populus pacem exuere noſtra magis avaritia quam obſequii impatientes. Tributum iis Druſus juſſerat modicum pro anguſtia rerum, ut in uſus militares coria boum penderent* (16). —— '*The ſame Year the Friſians revolted, compelled thereto more by the Avarice of our Officers, than any unwillingneſs of their own to bear the Roman Yoke. Druſus had, in regard to the narrowneſs of their Circumſtances, enjoined them a ſmall Tribute, to furniſh a number of the Hides of Oxen for the uſe of the Army.*' Soon after they took Arms again, the Collectors of that Tribute committing a thouſand Acts of Injuſtice upon them, with all the Severity of the moſt mercileſs Exciſemen.

(16) Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 72, ad Ann. 781.

[*E*] *It is thought, that if a ſuperior Power had not ſtopped him.*] Thus I call the Viſion it is pretended he had. It is ſaid, that while he was purſuing his Victories from Place to Place, without deſigning to fix any where, a Woman, above the human Size, and dreſſed in the *Barbarian* Habit, appeared to him, and commanded him, in *Latin*, to ſtop. '*Hoſtem etiam frequenter cæſum ac penitus in intimas ſolitudines actum non prius deſtitit inſequi, quam ſpecies barbaræ mulieris humana ampliori victorem tendere ultra ſermone Latino prohibuiſſet* (17).' Both *Suetonius* and *Dion* mention this Adventure; but *Dion* forgot to obſerve that the Spectre ſpoke *Latin*, which was a material Circumſtance, not to be omitted by an exact Hiſtorian, if he knew it. On the other hand *Suetonius* has forgot a Circumſtance no leſs eſſential; he has not told us, that the Woman, after reproving *Druſus*, that no Conqueſts could ſatisfy him, ordered him to retire and prepare for Death. If *Druſus* had had ſuch a Viſion as this, I ſhould not wonder that he went back, or even ſoon after fell into a mortal Diſtemper. I know not whether the moſt ardent Warriors now

(17) Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 1.

other Obſtacles. He marched back towards the *Rhine*, but fell ſick, and died before he reached that River, (*m*) in the Year 745, being about thirty Years of Age. Some ſay he died of a Fracture in his Leg [*F*], his Horſe falling under him. His Brother, who ſat out at the firſt news of his Illneſs, found him in the Agonies of Death (*o*) [*G*]: he conducted the Body to *Rome*, where he pronounced the funeral Oration of the deceaſed (*p*). *Auguſtus* ſpoke another. All kinds of Honours were paid to the Memory of *Druſus*, and he had the Sirname of *Germanicus* given him on Account of the Victories he obtained in *Germany* (*q*). He cauſed a Canal to be cut from the *Rhine* to the Sea [*H*]. We have mentioned in another Place (*r*) the extraordinary Chaſtity which is attributed to him. He left two Sons and a Daughter; one of the Sons was that illuſtrious Prince, who was ſo well known by the Name of *Germanicus*: The other was that ſtupid Prince, who was afterwards the Emperor *Claudius*. Their Siſter *Livia* was married to *Druſus*, the Son of *Tiberius*, a Woman of no Reputation (*s*). There is no

(*m*) Idem, ibid.

(*o*) Idem, ibid. Livius, Epitome lib. cxl.

(*p*) Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 1. *Sen alio* Seneca Conſolat ad Marc. cap. iii.

(*q*) Sueton. ibid.

(*r*) In the Article *ANTONIA* Remark [*B*].

(*s*) See the following Article, Remark [*B*].

in the World, let their Religion be what it would, could be proof againſt ſuch an Apparition. What Conſternation then muſt it cauſe in the Soul of *Druſus*, who had been uſed to hear at *Rome* of nothing but Auſpices and Prodigies, good and evil Genius's. Let us ſee *Dion*'s Words (18): Τὶς γὰρ τις μείζων ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν διαπήσασα αὐτὸν, ἔφη, Ποῖ σπεύδεις ἀνόητε δεῦρο ἀκούσεται ὃ πάντα σου ταῦτα ἰδεῖν πέπρωται. ἀλλ' ἄπιθι, καὶ γὰρ σοι καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοῦ βίου τελευτὴ τάχιστα ἥξει. Etenim muller quædam humanâ amplior forma ei obviam factâ: Druſe, inquit, quo tandem nullum tuæ cupiditati modum ſtatuens contendis? Non tibi fatis conceſſum hæc omnia videre. Quin tu abi; jam enim & operum tuorum & vitæ inſtar tibi terminus. —— *A Woman, of more than human Size, meeting him, ſaid, Whither, Oh Druſus, does thy unbounded Ambition hurry thee? Fate has not permitted thee to ſee all theſe things. Be gone therefore; for the time is at hand which ſhall put a Period to thy Life and Actions.*

(18) Dio, lib. 55, initio.

Who knows whether the *Germans* had not the Policy to dreſs ſome Man of an extraordinary Size, who could ſpeak *Latin*, in a Woman's Habit, and order him to appear as a Spectre upon the Road *Druſus* was to take: I doubt not ſuch a Stratagem has been practiſed more than once.

[*F*] *Some ſay he died of a Fracture in his Leg.*] We ſhould ſee the Particulars of that Accident, if we had the laſt Book of *Livy*; for the Summary we have remaining contains theſe Words: 'Ipſe (Druſus) ex fractura 'equo ſuper crus ejus collapſo triceſimo die quam id 'acciderat mortuus eſt. —— *Druſus died of a Fracture 'in his Leg, occaſioned by his Horſe falling upon it, 'thirty Days after the Misfortune happened.*' *Moreri* is wrong here. 'Druſus, ſays he, was preparing 'to carry on his Conqueſts, when, falling from his 'Horſe, he broke his Thigh, of which he died thir-'teen Days after.' Putting thirteen for thirty Days is not his only Miſtake. He is contradicted by *Dion* upon another Head: for *Dion* aſſures us, that *Druſus* was returning towards the *Rhine*, ſo far was he from *preparing to continue his Conqueſts*. I omit the Faults of his Language, which the Skilful need not be adver-tized of; but I cannot do the ſame with reſpect to the beginning of the Article. DRUSUS *was the Son of* Tiberius Nero *and* Livia, *who afterwards married* Auguſtus, *Brother to the Emperor* Tiberius. Thus *Moreri* begins Now this is miſplacing his Words. The Word *Brother* may equally refer to three Perſons, either to *Druſus*, or *Tiberius Nero*, or to *Auguſtus*. A Man not acquainted with Hiſtory would be at a loſs which of theſe three Relatives to chuſe. But what follows is an Error of another Nature. *Moreri* ſays, that *Druſus made War* in Germany *for ſeveral Years*. There are few Readers who, from theſe Words, would not form an Idea of at leaſt ten or twelve Campaigns, which is too much by half. I do not believe that *Druſus* ever made five Campaigns in that Country. This was the fineſt Jewel in his Crown. He performed more in one Year than other Warriors do in their whole Lives (19).

(19) See another of *Moreri*'s faults in Remark [*H*].

[*G*] *His Brother, who ſet out upon the firſt News of his Sickneſs, found him in the Agonies of Death.*] He made ſo much haſte, that *Pliny* has placed this Journey among the ſpeedieſt that ever were made. He pretends (20) that *Tiberius*, travelling Day and Night, rode two hundred Miles, changing Horſes but three times *Valerius Maximus* agrees with *Pliny* as to the diſtance of the way: but he ſays *Tiberius* often took freſh Horſes (21). I do not ſee how *Dion Caſſius* can be excuſed, who ſays there was no great diſtance between the place where *Auguſtus* received the News of his Illneſs, and the place where *Druſus* lay ſick; for tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe, that neither *Pliny*, nor *Valerius Maximus*, have given the juſt diſtance, yet it would be certainly true, that *Lombardy* is far from *Wetteravia*. *Auguſtus* was at *Pavia* when he heard that *Druſus* fell ſick: *Druſus* fell ill as he was retiring from the Banks of the *Elbe* towards the *Rhine*, and died before he reached the Banks of the *Rhine*. Let us ſuppoſe, to favour *Dion* as much as poſſible, that *Druſus*'s deſign was to march to *Mentz*, it muſt be ſaid, upon this ſuppoſition, that he fell ſick in *Wetteravia*. What then does this Hiſtorian mean by the Parentheſis (ἦν γὰρ ἥν πόρρω). *Auguſtus*, ſays he, *being informed that* Druſus *was ſick, for he was not far from the place, immediately ſent* Tiberius *to him*. *Dion*'s Tranſlators free him from this overſight; for they make him ſpeak ſo as may ſignify, that *Auguſtus* immediately ſent for *Tiberius*, who was not far off. Περυθόμενος δ' ὁ Αὔγουστος ὅτι νοσεῖ (ἦν γὰρ ἥν πόρρω) τὸν Τιβέριον κατὰ τάχος ἐπεμψε. *Ad famam ægrotantis Druſi Auguſtus, qui non ita procul ab eo aberat, celeriter Tiberium accerſit* (22). But *Caſaubon* confutes this Tranſlation by two ſolid Remarks (23). I. The Greek Tongue will not allow the rendering ἐπεμψε by *ſent for*. II. *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* were then at *Pavia*, as *Valerius Maximus* informs us. Therefore it muſt be concluded, either that *Dion* has expreſſed himſelf like a bad Geographer, or as one that did not know the particulars of the Fact. Let us add another thing, which makes this Journey of *Tiberius* very remarkable. He went from *Pavia* into *Germany*, with all the ſwiftneſs of a Poſt-Boy, and he returned on Foot from *Germany* into *Italy* (24) with all the ſolemn pace of a Funeral Proceſſion. 'Druſus died 'in the Summer, and his Body did not arrive at *Pavia* 'till the middle of the Winter; according to *Tacitus*. 'Ipſum quippe (Auguſtum) aſperrimo hyemis Tiberium 'uſque progreſſum neque abſcedentem à corpore ſimul 'Urbem intraviſſe (25). *Auguſtus himſelf in the middle 'of Winter went to Pavia, and conſtantly attended his 'Body till it was brought into the City.*'

(22) Dio, lib. 55, initio.

(23) Caſaub. in Sueton. Claud. cap. 1.

(24) Druſum fratrem in Germania amiſit, cujus corpus peditibus toto itinere præ-gredientibus Romam uſque pervexit *Sueton. in Tiberio*, cap. vii.

(25) Tacit. Ann. lib. iii, cap. v.

[*H*] *He made a Canal between the Sea and the Rhine.*] See how *Suetonius* ſpeaks of it. 'Trans 'Rhenum foſſas novi & immenſi operis effecit quæ 'nunc adhuc DRUSIANAS vocantur. (26)' *Tacitus* calls it *foſſam Druſianam*, and it is the common name it bore among the Latin Authors. It was not a Work of a ſhort continuance; for it not only ſerved *Druſus*'s Son, but remains to this Days The places where *Tacitus* mentions *Germanicus* embarking upon this Canal, is too fine not to be tranſcribed. 'Jamque claſſis ad-'venerat cum præmiſſo commeatu, & diſtributis in le-'giones ac ſocios navibus foſſam cui DRUSIANAE 'nomen ingreſſus, precatuſque Druſum patrem ut ſe 'eadem auſum libens placatuſque exemplo ac memoria 'conſiliorum atque operum juvaret, lacus inde & O-'ceanum uſque ad Amiſiam flumen ſecunda naviga-'tione pervehitur (27). —— *After the Fleet was arri-'ved with the Proviſions on Board, and the Legions 'and Auxiliary Troops had been aſſigned to their ſeveral 'Ships, he entered the Druſian Canal, and putting up 'Prayers to his Father Druſus to favour him in the 'attempt, to which he had been encouraged by his exam-'ple, he had thence a good Paſſage through the Lakes 'and the Sea to the River Amiſia.*' The Invocation of the dead was ſo much uſed among the Pagans, that here is a Son, who offers ſolemn Prayers to the Ghoſt of a Father, who had never been deified. I confeſs they

(26) Sueton in Claudio, cap. 1.

(27) Tacit. Annal. lib. ii, cap viii, ad Ann. 789.

(20) Plinius, lib. vii, cap. xx.

(21) Val. Max. lib. v. cap. v. num 3.

no probability that *Druſus* died of Poiſon, by order of the Emperor his Father-in-law [*I*]. *Ovid*'s Conſolation to *Livia*, the Mother of that illuſtrious deceaſed, is a Poem well worth the reading. *Moreri*'s Faults, which are inconſiderable, may be ſeen in the Remark [*F*].

they had erected an Altar to him in *Germany*; but that was no Apotheoſis. 'Tumulum tamen nuper Varianis 'legionibus ſtructum & veterem aram Druſo ſitam diſ- 'jecerant. Reſtituit aram (Germanicus) honorique pa- 'tris princeps ipſe cum legionibus decucurrit: tumu- (28) Tacit. Ann. lib. ii. cap. vii. 'lum iterare haud viſum (28). —— *They had demoliſhed* 'the Monument erected to the Legions of Varus, and the 'old Altar conſecrated to Druſus. Germanicus reſtored 'the Altar, and in honour of his Father, performed 'with the Legions the Funeral Ceremony of running 'Courſes.' Obſerve, that in order to form a juſt Idea of the Countries, which were reckoned at *Rome* to be beyond the *Rhine*, we muſt imagine the Hiſtorians as copying the accounts which the Generals ſent to *Rome*. The Generals marched with their Forces into the Provinces of *Gaul*, bordering upon the *Rhine*. To them then *Germany* was beyond that River. *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* follow their Stile; for, in Truth, with reſpect to *Rome*, *Germany* is rather on this ſide than beyond the *Rhine*. I do not obſerve this as very material; but how many things are there in the Commentaries that are but little better? To conclude, it muſt not be imagined, as *Moreri* does, that all which is now called the *Iſſel*, is the Work of the ancient *Romans*; for *Druſus* did not join the *Rhine* to the Ocean, that is, to that which is now called the *Zuyder-Zee*, any otherwiſe than by cutting a Canal between the (22) *See* Cluverius in Germania antiqua. River *Iſſel*, and the *Rhine* (29). I ſhall obſerve occaſionally, that he alſo begun to make Dykes upon the Banks of the *Rhine*, which were finiſhed ſixty three Years after. 'Ne ſegnem militem attinerent, Pauili- 'nus Pompejus inchoatum ante tres & ſexaginta annos (30) Tacit. Ann. lib. xiii, cap. 53. 'à Druſo aggerem coërcendo Rheno abſolvit (30). '—— *To keep the Soldiers in Action, Paullinus* 'Pompeius finiſhed a Dyke which had been begun 'ſixty three Years before by Druſus to keep in the 'Rhine.'

[*I*] *There is no probability that Druſus died by Poiſon, by order of the Emperor his Father-in-law.*] Scandal is a terrible thing. The ſame Perſons, who had moſt ſpread the report that *Auguſtus* was the Father of *Druſus*, were perhaps the very ſame who charged him with poiſoning him. But ſince *Suetonius* rejects this as a groundleſs Story, it is to be ſuppoſed he could ſee no probability of it; for he naturally is not too forward to juſtify the twelve Emperors, or hide their Faults. He informs us of the ſingular tenderneſs which *Auguſtus* ever had for *Druſus*, and he mentions two inſtances of it, which muſt not be omitted here. *Auguſtus* made the Epitaph in Verſe, which was engraved upon the Tomb of *Druſus*, and wrote the Hiſtory of that great Man in Proſe. I am not ignorant that the greateſt Princes, and the moſt ambitious Monarchs are ſubject to a furious jealouſy towards thoſe of their own Blood, which puts them upon doing things very pernicious to their intereſt, when they apprehend the People may be too much delighted with a riſing Glory that ſpreads apace. But I cannot ſee ſufficient marks of this Paſſion, in the Conduct of *Auguſtus*, to conclude that his tender affection ever abated to a Prince, whom probably he believed his own Son, and perhaps not without very good reaſon. However, let us ſee *Suetonius*'s words, in which we ſhall find an admirable touch of *Druſus*'s Character. 'Fuiſſe au- 'tem creditur non minus glorioſi quam civilis animi. 'Nam ex hoſte ſuper victoriis, opima quoque ſpolia 'captaſſe, ſummoque ſæpius diſcrimine duces Germa- 'norum tota acie infectatus: ne diſſimulaſſe unquam 'priſtinum ſe Reipublicæ ſtatum quandoque reſtituturum, ſi poſſet. Unde exiſtimo nonnullos tradere auſos, ſuſpectum eum Auguſto, revocatumque ex provincia: & quia cunctaretur, interceptum veneno. Quod equidem magis, ne prætermitterem, retuli, quam quia verum aut veriſimile putem: cum Auguſtus tantopere & vivum dilexerit, ut coheredem ſemper filiis inſtituerit, ſicut quondam in Senatu profeſſus eſt; & defunctum ita pro concione laudaverit, ut Deos precatus ſit, *Similes ei Cæſares ſuos facerent; ſibique tam beneficum quandoque exitum darent, quam illi dediſſent.* Nec contentus elogium tumulo ejus verſibus à ſe compoſitis inſculpſiſſe, etiam vitæ memoriam proſa oratione compoſuit (31). —— *It is* (31) Sueton. in Claudio, cap. 1. 'believed that he had no leſs Talents for a Military, than for a Civil Life. For beſides his Victories, he gained alſo the* Spolia Opima, *and often ſingled out the* 'German Generals, and purſued them through the thickeſt Ranks with the utmoſt danger: nor did he 'diſſemble his deſign of one day reſtoring the Common- 'Wealth, if it ſhould ever be in his Power. For which 'reaſon, I imagine, ſome have adventured to ſay, that 'Auguſtus was jealous of him, recalled him from his 'Government, and becauſe he did not immediately obey 'his orders, took him off by Poiſon. Which I have 'mentioned rather to avoid an Accuſation of a willful 'omiſſion, than that, I imagine it to be either true or 'probable. For Auguſtus had that eſteem for him 'living, as to make him cohcir with his Sons, as he 'expreſsly declared in Senate; and in his Funeral Ora- 'tion beſought the Gods to make his Cæſars like him, 'and grant him as honourable an *Exit*, as they had 'granted to the deceaſed. *Nor was he ſatisfied with* 'inſcribing on his Monument an Elogium in Verſe, of 'his own compoſing, but alſo wrote his Hiſtory in Proſe.' He was more in love with Glory than Command, being actuated by a true *Roman* Spirit: he would have employed all his Credit for the Reſtoration of the Liberties of the Common-Wealth, though his own private Intereſt engaged him to ſupport the Imperial Uſurpation of thoſe times. It is even pretended that he wrote to *Tiberius* to perſuade him to join with him, in a Deſign to oblige *Auguſtus* to reſtore things to their former State. If any thing made the Slander probable, which *Suetonius* has rejected, no doubt it was this: That *Tiberius* ſhewed the Letter *Druſus* writ him upon this Subject. *Suetonius* himſelf relates this (32). They (32) Odium adverſus neceſſitudines in Druſo primum fratre detexit (*Tiberius*) prodita ejus epiſtola, qua ſeram de capiendo ad reſtituendam libertatem Auguſto agebat. *Id. in Tiberio*, c. 50. were ſo generally perſuaded at *Rome* of this incomparable and noble Diſpoſition in *Druſus*, that it was the original Cauſe, of that exceſſive Love the People expreſſed to *Germanicus*. 'Druſi magna apud populum 'Romanum memoria, credebatque ſi rerum potitus 'foret, libertatem redditurus, unde in Germanicum 'favor & ſpes eadem, nam juveni civile ingenium, 'mira comitas (33). —— *The Memory of Druſus was* 'had in the greateſt Veneration by the People of Rome, 'and it was believed, that had he been raiſed to the 'Empire, he would have reſtored Liberty, whence their (33) Tacit. Ann. lib. i. cap. 33. 'Favour to Germanicus and their hopes from him were 'the ſame. For he was a Prince of a ſweet and affable 'Temper.'

DRUSUS, the Son of *Tiberius*, by his firſt Wife *Vipſania* the Daughter of *Agrippa*, did not reſemble his Father in point of Diſſimulation (*a*), but was not unlike him in Drunkenneſs, Cruelty, and Luſt (*b*). He was made Queſtor in the Year 764 (*c*). After the Death of *Auguſtus*, he was ſent into *Pannonia*, to pacify the mutinous Legions, which he happily effected, and was created Conſul ſoon after his Return to *Rome* (*d*). He commanded an Army in *Illyria*, in the Year 770. They gave him this Command, both to gain the Love of the Soldiers, and to withdraw him from thoſe Pleaſures he was immerſed in at *Rome* (*e*). He artfully fomented the Diviſions which were crept among the *Germans*, and drew great Advantages from them (*f*); ſo that the Senate decreed him the Honours of an Ovation. He returned to *Rome* in 773 (*g*), and the next Year was Conſul with the Emperor his Father (*b*). He was alſo the Emperor's Colleague in the Tribunitian Authority; a Dignity much more conſiderable

(*a*) Tacit. Ann. lib. iii, cap. 8.

(*b*) Dio, lib. lvii, pag. 699, 701.

(*c*) Idem, lib. 56, pag. 672.

(*d*) Tacit. Ann. lib. i, ad annum 767.

(*e*) Idem, lib. ii, cap 43.

(*f*) Tacit. Ann. lib ii. cap. 52, 53, 54.

(*g*) Idem, lib. 3, cap. 11.

(*b*) Ibid cap. 31.

(1) Ibid. cap. 56, & seq.

(4) And not Ligius, as in Moreri.

(1) Tacit Ann. lib. III. cap. 56. ad ann. 775.

Error of Moreri.

Her Character of Livia, Daughter of Nero Claudius Drusus, the Brother of Tiberius.

(2) If we believe Dion, l.b. 58, p. 709, it was Sejanus that gave the Blow.

ſiderable than the Conſulſhip [A]. Having obtained this important Office from the Senate, he would certainly have ſucceeded *Tiberius*, if *Sejanus* had not prevented it (1). The Ambition of this Favourite had no bounds; and beſides, the Box on the Ear *Druſus* gave him prompted him to all manner of wicked Attempts againſt him. Which he could put in Execution with more Eaſe, as he kept up a criminal Converſation with *Druſus*'s Wife [B]. Accordingly, in Concert with this Woman, he got him poiſoned by the Eunuch *Lygdus* (2). The Poiſon took Effect, *Druſus* dying of it in the Year 776. He left ſome Children [C] as we ſhall ſee in the Remarks. *Tiberius* ſhewed

[A] *He . . . had . . . alſo the Tribunitian Power.*] Thus *Auguſtus* would call the Supreme Authority, in order to avoid the odious Titles of King and Dictator, and yet poſſeſs one that was ſuperior to all others. He took his Son-in-law *Agrippa* for his Colleague in this Dignity; and after his Death his Son-in-law *Tiberius*. By his Example *Tiberius* would have an Aſſociate in this Power, and choſe his own Son. The Letters he wrote to the Senate concerning this Aſſociation, carried all the Force of a Command in them. 'Mittit literas ad Senatum, quibus *poteſtatem tribunitiam* Druſo petebat. Et ſummâ ſubſidii vocabulum Auguſtus reperit, ne *regis* aut *dictatoris* nomen adſumeret, ac tamen appellatione aliqua cætera imperia præmineret. Mox deinde Agrippam ſocium ejus poteſtatis, quo defuncto, Tiberium Neronem delegit, ne ſucceſſor in incerto eſſet. Sic coluêre pravi ſimilium ſpes rebatur: ſimul modeſtiæ Neronis, & ſuæ magnitudini fidebat. Quo tunc exemplo Tiberius Druſum ſummæ rei admovet: cum incolumi Germanico integrum inter duos judicium remiſiſſet (1). —— *He ſent Letters to the Senate, wherein he required them to confer the Tribunitian Power on Druſus. Auguſtus had invented that Title of Pre-eminence, inſtead of the more odious one of King or Dictator; yet, by that Appellation, had a Sovereignty above other Magiſtrates. He afterwards choſe M. Agrippa for his Aſſociate, and after his Death Tiberius Nero, that his Succeſſor might be known; thinking by this means to reſtrain the ambitious hopes of others, truſting to the Modeſty of Nero, and his own Greatneſs. In imitation of whom, Tiberius advanced Druſus to the ſame Dignity, though, during the Life of Germanicus, he had carried himſelf indifferently between them.* If *Moreri* had underſtood this, he would not have ſaid that *Druſus, upon his return from Germany, exerciſed the Office of Tribune.* This does not expreſs what *Tacitus* told us juſt now. I paſs over two other of *Moreri*'s Faults contained in theſe words, *Druſus was ſent into Illyria to learn the Military Art, then into* Germany. *Druſus*'s firſt Expedition was that of *Pannonia*, the ſecond that of *Illyria*. I do not think he was ever in Perſon in *Germany* with an Army, though he fomented ſome Diviſions there.

[B] *Sejanus . . . kept up a Criminal Converſation with the Wife of Druſus.*] Her Name was *Livia*, ſhe was the Siſter of *Germanicus*. She was firſt married to *Caius Cæſar, Auguſtus*'s Grandſon, and after the Death of that Prince to *Druſus*, the Son of *Tiberius*. She was at firſt very homely, but afterwards became a perfect Beauty. *Sejanus* had ſo ill an Opinion of that Woman, as to believe that, by making love to her, he ſhould engage her to ſecond him in his Deſign of cutting off her Husband. Therefore he courted her, and eaſily obtained the enjoyment of her, and then he propoſed to her if ſhe would poiſon *Druſus*, that he would marry her, and make her Empreſs. This uncertain hope made her ſacrifice, by an abominable Crime, a hope that was certain; ſo true it is that when a Woman has once proſtituted her Honour, ſhe ſuffers her mind to be turned this way or that, according to the Caprice of the Man ſhe has abandoned herſelf to. This is *Tacitus*'s Reflexion; not mine. Read what follows, and you will find in it, that *Druſus* gave *Sejanus* a box on the Ear (2). 'Druſus impatiens æmuli, & animo commotior, orto forte jurgio, intenderat Sejano manus, & contra tendentis os verberaverat. Igitur cuncta tentanti promptiſſimum viſum ad uxorem ejus Liviam convertere. Quæ ſoror Germanici, formæ initio ætatis indecoræ, mox pulchritudine præcellebat. Hanc, ut amore incenſus, adulterio pellexit: & poſtquam primi flagitii potitus eſt (neque femina amiſſa pudicitia alia abnuerit,) ad conjugii ſpem, conſortium regni, & necem mariti impulit. Atque illa cui avunculus Auguſtus, ſocer Tiberius, ex Druſo liberi, ſeque ac majores & poſteros mantiſpeli adultero ſœdabat: ut pro honeſtis & præſentibus flagitioſa & incerta expectare (3). —— *Druſus being of a fiery Temper, and troubled to receive a rivet to the Emperor, in an accidental Quarrel, had laid hands on Sejanus, and ſtruck him in the Face. Sejanus, after ſeveral debates with himſelf, reſolved at laſt to attack his Wife Livia, as the ſureſt way to be revenged. She was Siſter to Germanicus, and from a very diſagreeable Perſon at firſt, became afterwards a celebrated Beauty. This Woman he debauched by making Profeſſion of a moſt ardent Paſſion, and after the firſt criminal Encounter (for a Woman who has forfeited her Honour, will ſtick at nothing) he diſpoſed her to conſent to the Murder of her Husband, in hopes of being made Companion of his Bed and Throne. And though ſhe had Auguſtus for her Uncle, Tiberius for her Father-in-law, and had had Children by Druſus, yet ſhe ſtooped to an infamous Adultery, ſtained her own, her noble Anceſtors, and her Poſterity's Honour, and quitted a preſent Honour for uncertainty and ſhame.* They gave *Druſus* ſlow Poiſon, that it might be thought he died of a Diſtemper (4). *Livia*'s Phyſician named *Eudemus*, who was alſo her Adulterer, was let into the ſecret (5). The Widow challenged *Sejanus* to keep his Word (6) to *Sejanus* asked her in Marriage of *Tiberius*, but did not obtain his requeſt. After *Sejanus* was puniſhed for his Villanies, *Apicata*, his repudiated Wife, diſcovered to the Emperor the poiſoning of *Druſus*, and *Livia*'s Crimes: upon which *Tiberius* commanded that *Livia* ſhould be put to Death; others ſay, that in conſideration of her Mother he did not puniſh her; but that her Mother ſuffered her to be ſtarved to Death (7). The Senate paſſed very ſevere Decrees againſt the Memory and Statues of that wicked Woman (8). I ſaid *Sejanus* did not marry her; but *Glandorp* affirms the contrary. 'Primùm ſepultam paullo poſtea cum eum non abſtineret, in voci compes (9). But *Suetonius* is more to be relied on, who repeateth *Tiberius* as alluring him with the hopes of his Alliance, at the ſame time that he was preparing to ruin him, as he did a very ſhort time after. 'Spe affinitatis ac Tribunitiæ poteſtatis deceptum inopinantem criminatus eſt pudenda miſerandaque oratione (10). —— *Having deluded him with the hopes of Affinity by Marriage, and of the Tribuneſhip, he accuſed him, when he leaſt dreamed of it, to the Senate in a mean and pitiful Letter.*

[C] *He left Children.*] His Daughter *Julia* was firſt married to *Nero* her Couſin-German, the eldeſt Son of *Germanicus*, and afterwards to *Caius Rubellius Blandus* (11). Soon after the Death of *Germanicus*, his Siſter *Livia*, *Druſus*'s Wife, was delivered of two Boys, which ſo overjoyed *Tiberius*, that he could not help congratulating himſelf upon it in full Senate (12). One of theſe Twins died preſently after the Father: the other, named *Tiberius*, was to have ſucceeded to the Empire with *Caius Caligula*; for the Emperor *Tiberius* declared them both his joint Heirs (13): but as *Tiberius* had foretold (14), *Caligula* made away with his Co-heir (15). We muſt not forget that he got *Tiberius*'s Will cancelled, by which means he reigned alone; afterwards he adopted *Tiberius* the Grand-ſon. *Fratrem Tiberium de virilis togæ adoptavit, appellavitque principem juventutis* (16). —*He adopted his Brother Tiberius on the day of his putting on the Toga Virilis, and ſtiled him Princeps Juventutis, Prince of the Youth.* I find ſome difficulty here: if *Tiberius* the Grand-ſon was born ſoon after the Death of *Germanicus*, as *Tacitus* aſſures us, he muſt be eighteen Years old when his Grand-father died. How comes it to paſs then that his Grand-father had not made him take the virile Robe? this would have been of ſervice to him towards ſecuring the Succeſſion. No doubt it will be anſwered me, that he thought him illegitimate, becauſe

(3) Tacit. Ann. lib. iv. cap. 3. ad ann. 776.

(4) Idem, ibid. cap. viii.

(5) Idem, ibid. cap. xxiii.

(6) Ibid. cap. iii. *See alſo* Pliny, lib. xxix, cap. i.

(7) Dio, lib. 58, pag. 721, ad ann. 784. *See alſo* Suetonius, in Tiberio, cap. lxii.

(8) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. ii.

(9) Glandorp. Onomaſt. p. 452.

(10) Sueton. in Tiber. cap. lxv.

(11) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 27.

(12) Idem, lib. ii. cap. 84. ad ann. 772.

(13) Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. ultimo.

(14) Dio, lib. 58, pag. 729.

(15) Sueton. in Calig. cap. 23.

(16) Ibid. c. 15. *See alſo* Dio, lib. lix. init.

shewed upon this occasion the utmost Insensibility which the *Stoics* required (*D*). Nothing was more commendable in *Drusus* than the Friendship he preserved for *Germanicus* (*E*), his Cousin-Germain, and his Brother by Adoption.

because of *Livia*'s Adulteries, and for that Reason he neglected him (17). To conclude, that Youth was put to Death on a very slight Occasion. He had taken a medicine for a violent Cough. It was pretended this was Antidote, and that, by this Conduct, he tacitly accused *Caligula* of a design to poison him. 'Fratrem 'Tiberium inopinantem repente immisso Tribuno mi- 'litum interemit . . . caussatus . . . . . quod antidotum 'obolusset quasi ad præcavenda venena sua sumtum, 'cum . . . . propter assiduam & vehementem tussim 'medicamento usus esset (18). —— *He slew his Brother Tiberius by surprize, sending in a military Tribune to dispatch him on a sudden, pretending he smelled strong of an Antidote he had taken out of Precaution lest he should poison him; whereas he had only made use of a Medicine for a violent Cough, wherewith he had been a long time afflicted.*'

(17) Dio, l. 58, pag. 720. Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. lxii.

(18) Sueton. in Calig. cap. xxii. *See also* Philo de Legat.

[*D*] *Tiberius expressed the utmost Insensibility which the Stoics required.*] No manner of uneasiness appeared in him, while *Drusus* was sick, nor did he forbear going to the Senate, no not in the Interval between the Death and the Funeral of his Son. When the whole Senate were expressing their Grief by Sighs and Tears, he alone remained calm and unmoved. 'Tiberius per omnes valetudinis ejus dies nullo motu '(an ut firmitudinem animi ostentaret) etiam defuncto 'necdum sepulto curiam ingressus: Consulesque sede 'vulgari per speciem mœstitiæ sedentes honoris loci- 'que admonuit, & effusum in lacrymas Senatum, victo 'gemitu simul oratione continua erexit (19). —— 'Tiberius, to shew an evenness of Temper (which perhaps was affected), never appeared to be under the least concern; nay, in the interval of his Death and Funeral he went to the Senate, and finding them sitting in the meanest Seats, as a token of their Sorrow, he reminded them of their Place and Dignity, and without the least Emotion harangued the Senate all dissolved in Tears.' In all his Discourses he preserved so well the Character of his false dissembling Spirit, that it was easy to see that no Seats of Grief disordered him. Read this in *Tacitus*, and you will not lose your Labour; but I very much doubt whether such an Example should be made use of in Treatises of Consolation (20); for *Tiberius* behaved in this manner only because he was destitute of all natural Affection. He looked upon *Priam* as a happy Man, for having survived all his Children (21).

(19) Tacit. Ann. lib iv, cap. viii. *See also* Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 52.

(20) Seneca, de Consolat. ad Marciam, c. 15. *And many others make use of it.*

(21) Sueton. in Tiberio, c. 62.

[*E*] *Nothing was more commendable in Drusus, than the Friendship he preserved for Germanicus.*] *Germanicus* had been adopted by the Emperor: so that he was Presumptive Heir as well as *Drusus*. But besides that he was the darling of the People; he had performed some great Actions, and was possessed of shining Qualities. *Drusus* had none of these Advantages. How could he forbear hating such a Rival? How come it to pass, that a Soul so ill inclined, should yet do Justice to *Germanicus*, love *Germanicus*? We must acknowledge in this the strange Power of Constitution: Vices have not such a Connection with one another as is imagined, and there are some Virtues which are better preserved in a Heart eminently vicious, than in one that is moderately so. I have not mentioned all the Causes capable of raising Jealousy in the Soul of *Drusus*. Nay I had forgot the principal Reasons, which will be found in the following Words of *Tacitus*. The Court was divided between *Drusus* and *Germanicus*, their respective Friends quarrelled with each other, and only the Heads of the two Factions were agreed. 'Divisa & discors aula erat; tactis in Drusum, aut 'Germanicum studiis. Tiberius ut proprium, & sui 'sanguinis Drusum fovebat: Germanico alienatio pa- 'trui amorem apud cæteros auxerat, & quia claritu- 'dine materni generis anteibat, avum Marcum Anto- 'nium, avunculum Augustum ferens. Contra Druso 'proavus eques Romanus, Pomponius Atticus, dede- 'cere Claudiorum imagines videbatur, & conjunx Ger- 'manici Agrippina, fœcunditate ac fama Liviam uxo- 'rem Druſi præcellebat: sed fratres egregie concordes '& proximorum certaminibus inconcussi (22). —— 'The Court was divided in their Interest, some declaring for Drusus, others for Germanicus. Tiberius espoused the Party of Drusus as of his own Son. This Partiality rendered Germanicus dearer to the rest, add to this his being more nobly descended by the Mother's side; Grand-son of Marc Antony, and Nephew of Augustus. On the other hand, Pomponius Atticus, Great Grand-father of Drusus, was only a Roman Knight, and seemed to cast a Shade on the Claudian Family. Besides, Agrippina, Wife of Germanicus, had the advantage of Livia, Wife of Drusus, in Fruitfulness and Reputation; but the Brothers maintained for each other an unspeaken Affection, amidst the Emulation of their Partizans.' Here is likewise another Passage of *Tacitus*, in which *Tiberius* extols to the Senate *Drusus*'s Friendship for the Sons of *Germanicus*. 'Addidit orationem Cæsar multa cum laude filii sui quod 'patria benevolentia in fratris liberos foret, nam Dru- 'sus (quamquam arduum sit eodem loci potentiam '& concordiam esse) æquus adolescentibus, aut cer- 'to non adversus habebatur (23). —— *The Emperor completed the Ceremony with an Harangue, wherein he highly extolled the fatherly Affection which his Son had shewed to his Nephews, for (however Power and Concord are seldom consistent with each other) Drusus was a Friend, at least no Enemy, to the young Princes.*' The Historian touches upon the Reason why we should judge that *Drusus* performed in this a very difficult Thing, which Reason is the Competition for Power. Upon this Principle, when *Piso* saw himself charged with the Death of *Germanicus*, he applied himself to *Drusus* not doubting to bring him easily over to his Interest (24); he imagined that a Man who had delivered *Drusus* from a very dangerous Rival would not be looked upon with an ill Eye: but all he could draw from him was a very ambiguous Answer, which was taken for a Lesson of *Tiberius*; there appearing nothing in it of the open and uncircumspect humour of *Drusus*. 'Neque 'dubitabantur præscripta ei à Tiberio, cum incallidus 'alioqui & facilis juventa senilibus tum artibus uteretur '(25). —— *No one questioned, but all this was done by the Emperor's Directions; since Drusus was too free, and unreserved, to have put a piece of Policy in Practice so much beyond his Years.*'

(22) Tacit. Ann. lib i., cap. 33.

(23) Idem, Ann. l.b. iv, cap. 4.

(24) Piso præmisso in urbem filio datisque mandatis per quos proximi moliretur, ad Drusum pergit quem haud fratre interitu truculentum, quam remoto æmulo gaudere sibi speraret. *Piso having sent his Son to Rome, with Directions how to soften the Emperor, went to Drusus, from whom he expected more countenance for removing a Rival, than displeasure for taking off a Brother.* Idem, lib. iii, cap. 8.

(25) Idem, Ibid.

DRUSUS, the Son of *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, was at first advanced to public Employments before the competent Age, and that by the Recommendation of *Tiberius* himself (*a*); but afterwards he was ruined by the Artifices of *Sejanus* [*A*]. That wicked Favourite

(*a*) *Compare* Tacitus, Ann. l.b. iii. cap. 29; *with* Ann lib. iv, cap. 4.

[*A*] *He was ruined by the Artifices of Sejanus.*] We shall see a detestable Contrivance: *Sejanus* had his Spies every where, and spared no pains to aggrandize himself. As he aspired to the Empire, he began by making away with *Drusus*, who, in the Quality of *Tiberius*'s Son, possessed the first Rank in the Order of Succession. *Nero*, the eldest Son of *Germanicus*, was next to *Drusus*: and the second Object of *Sejanus*'s Machinations. Every word he spoke, was carried to the Favourite, which often furnished matter of Accusation; for though he had no ill Intentions, yet some imprudent Expressions would fall from him, to which the precipitate Counsels of his Friends contributed not a little. These Men, fired with his ill Fortune, advised him, more for their own Interest than his, to use some threatening, as the true way to Power. Whereupon, some Words escaped him, which were aggravated into Crimes. 'Maximeque infestarentur 'Neronem proximum successioni, & quanquam mo- 'destæ juventæ, plerumque tamen quid in principatum 'conduceret oblitum; dum à libertis & clientibus a- 'dipiscendæ potentiæ properis exstimulatur, *ut erectum & fidentem animi ostenderet; velle id populum Romanum: cupere exercitus; neque augurum contra Sejanum, qui nunc patientiam senis, & segnitiem juvenis juxta insultat.* Hæc atque talia audienti, nihil quidem pravæ cogitationis: sed interdum voces 'procedebant contumaces, & inconsultæ; quas adpo- 'siti custodes exceptas auctasque cum deferrent, &c '(1). —— *Their Plot was levelled principally against Nero,*

(1) Tacit. Ann. lib iv, cap. 59. ad ann. 779.

Favourite had the Pleasure to see him committed to Prison; but not that of seeing him dead, for he himself died before *Drusus*. The condition of the latter was nothing the better for this; for they exposed him in such a cruel manner, to the rage of Hunger, that he was forced to eat the Flocks of his Mattress [*B*]. He languished in this Condition untill the ninth Day. After his Death, *Tiberius* had the Cruelty to accuse him to the Senate, and the Weakness to discover by this means the inhuman Treatment the unhappy Prince had suffered [*C*], during his Imprisonment; there was a Report that he had been seen in the Isles of the *Ægean* Sea. *Tacitus*, in informing us by whom this

' *Nero, the next in Succession; and however diserted* ' *the young Prince might be, yet he too often suffered* ' *himself to be unseasonably transported, his Clients and* ' *Freedmen, in order to make their court to him, pushing* ' *him on; telling him, that the People of Rome were* ' impatient to see him exert himself; that Sejanus, ' who now contemned the Indolence of Tiberius, ' and his Successor's Youth, would not dare to op- ' pose him. *Though he might bear these and such like* ' *Arguments, without receiving any ill Impressions; yet,* ' *he sometimes let fall some haughty and unguarded Ex-* ' *pressions, which were carried by the Spies, which* ' *were placed about him, to the ear of Tiberius, and sel-* ' *dom lost any thing by the way.*' He was never free from Informers: his very Sighs, his Behaviour, asleep or awake, were carried to the Favourite. His Wife gave an Account of all to her Mother, and she to *Sejanus*. ' Ne nox quidem secura cum uxor vigilias, ' somnos, suspiria matri Livia, atque illa Sejano pa- ' tefaceret (2).' His Brother *Drusus* (3) became his Enemy. *Sejanus* had the cunning to gain him over, by letting him know that the first Place was secured to him by the Death of *Nero*; at the same time *Sejanus* laid the Foundation of the ruin of this *Drusus*, who fell into that Snare, not only out of Ambition, but because, according to Custom, he hated his Brother, and envied him the Preference he saw him favoured with, from *Agrippina* their common Mother. ' Qui *(Sejanus)* fratrem quoque Neronis Drusum traxit ' in partes, spe objecta principis loci, si priorem æ- ' tate & jam labefactum demovisset. Atrox Drusi in- ' genium super cupidinem potentiæ, & solita fratribus ' odia, accendebatur invidia, quod mater Agrippina ' promptior Neroni erat. Neque tamen Sejanus ita ' Drusum fovebat, ut non in eum quoque femina ' futuri exitii meditaretur; gnarus præferocem, & in- ' sidiis magis opportunum (4). *Sejanus had also* ' *drawn Drusus, Nero's Brother, to his Party, by in-* ' *spiring him with hopes of the Empire, if he removed* ' *his elder Brother. Drusus had a fiery Temper, and,* ' *besides the ordinary Jealousy of Brothers, and the* ' *natural Thirst of Power, he was fired with Envy,* ' *because his Mother, Agrippina, had showed a greater* ' *Affection for Nero. But Sejanus's intent was to decoy* ' *him into the snare likewise, knowing him to be of a* ' *violent Disposition, and seldom on his Guard.*' Mr *de Tillemont* is mistaken when he says, *that Nero's own Wife promoted his ruin, by giving an Account to the Empress* Livia *of his most secret Actions* (5). It was to *Livia* her Mother, the Wife of *Drusus*, *Tiberius*'s Son, that she gave Information, and not to the Empress *Livia*. I forgot to say that *Sejanus* set spies upon *Nero* and his Mother *Agrippina*, whose business was to keep a Journal of all they observed (6). He also suborned Persons, who advised that Lady and her Son to go to the Army in *Germany*, or implore the Protection of the Public. They rejected these Counsels, and yet they were accused of lending an ear to them.

(2) Idem, Ibid. cap. 60.

(3) He was Germanicus's Son.

(4) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi, cap. 60.

(5) Tillemont, Histoire des Empereurs, Tom. I. pag. m. 146.

(6) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi, cap. 67.

[*B*] *They exposed him in such a cruel Manner, to the rage of Hunger, that he was forced to eat the Flocks of his Mattress.*] The Artifices, mentioned in the preceding Remark, did not fail of Success in the Hands of *Sejanus*, especially *Tiberius* desired nothing more than to destroy those young Princes. He suborned some Persons who prompted them to murmur and curse him, and when he had got together the Heads of an Accusation, he filled a Letter with them with great bitterness and got *Nero* and *Drusus* declared Enemies to the State. Upon which one of them was sent into the Island of *Pontia*, where he was forced to kill himself, an Executioner presenting himself to him with the Instruments of Death, and telling him he was come to execute the Orders of the Senate: the other, which was our *Drusus*, was confined in the Palace, and starved to Death. Let us hear *Suetonius* (7). ' Ut comperit ineunte anno pro eorum quo- ' que salute publica vota suscepta: egit cum Senatu, ' *Non debere talia præmia tribui, nisi expertis & ar-* ' *dore provectis*: atque ex eo, patefacta interiore animi ' sui nota, omnium criminationibus obnoxios reddidit: ' variaque fraude inductos, ut & concitarentur ad con- ' vicia & concitati perderentur, accusavit per literas, ' amarissime congestis etiam probris, & judicatos hostes ' fame necavit: Neronem in insula Pontia: Drusum, ' in ima parte Palatii. Putant Neronem ad voluntari- ' um mortem coactum, cum ei carnifex, quasi ex Se- ' natus auctoritate missus, laqueos & uncos ostentaret: ' Druso autem adeo alimenta subducta, ut tomentum ' e culcitra tentaverit mandere: amborum sic re- ' liquiis dispensis, ut vix quandoque colligi possent. ' *When he saw, in the beginning of the Year, that* ' *public Vows were also offered for their Health, he* ' *represented to the Senate*, that such Honours ought ' only to be paid to Persons advanced in Years, and ' such whose Virtues had been proved. *Thus having* ' *discovered his inmost Sentiments, from that they were* ' *exposed to the Malice of every one; and by various* ' *Wiles having induced them to reflect upon him, in* ' *order to take them off, he accused them by Letter,* ' *loading them with Reproaches, and having obtained* ' *a Decree against them, caused them to be starved to* ' *Death: Nero, in the Island Pontia; and Drusus in* ' *the most retired part of the Palace. Some think that* ' *Nero put an end to his own Life, the Executioner,* ' *as tho' sent by the Authority of the Senate; having shook* ' *before him the Halter and Hook. Drusus was re-* ' *duced to such Extremity that he attempted to eat* ' *the stuffing out of his Bed. The Bodies of both were* ' *so mangled and dispersed, that it was no easy Matter to* ' *bring them together.*' *Tacitus* goes much farther. He says that *Drusus* supported his Life for nine Days with this Nourishment. Drusus deinde extinguitur ' cum se miserandis alimentis mandendo & cubili to- ' mento nonum ad diem detinuisset (8). *Drusus at* ' *length died, having supported himself with the wretched* ' *Repast of the stuffing of his Bed, to the ninth Day.*' This happened two Years after the Death of *Sejanus* (9). We must not forget that *Tiberius* was in such a Consternation when he was informed of the Machinations of that Favourite, that he had some Thoughts of taking *Drusus* out of Prison, to oppose him to *Sejanus*. ' Tradidere quidam descriptum fu- ' isse Macroni, si arma ab Sejano tentarentur, extractum ' custodia juvenem (nam in palatio attinebatur) ducem ' populo imponere (10). *Some say that Macro* ' *had orders, if Sejanus had recourse to Arms, to re-* ' *lease the Prince (for he was confined in the Palace)* ' *and present him to the People.*'

(7) Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. 64.

(8) Tacit. Annal. lib. vi, cap. 23. ad ann. 786.

(9) The Year of Rome 786.

(10) Tacit. Annal. lib. vi, cap. 23. *See also* Suetonius in Tiberio, cap. 65.

[*C*] *Tiberius accused him . . . and had the Weakness to discover, by this means, the inhuman Treatment, the unhappy Prince suffered.*] Those who guarded *Drusus* kept a Journal of all he did, or said, during his Confinement. This Journal was so exact, that in it were set down the Names of the Slaves, who had beaten or terrified the Prisoner when he went out of his Chamber. There were seen in it the Curses he pronounced with his dying Breath, against the Author of his cruel Persecution. The Refusals of a morsel of Bread to him; the blows by which the Slaves knocked him down, and such like Things. All this *Tiberius* was not ashamed to order to be read in the Senate. ' Quin & invectus in defunctum, ' *probra corporis, exitiabilem in suos, infensum Reipu-* ' *blicæ animum* objecit: *recitarique factorum dictorum-* ' *que ejus descripta per dies* jussit. Quo non aliud ' atrocius visum: adstitisse tot per annos, qui vul- ' tum, gemitus, occultum etiam murmur exciperent; ' & potuisse avum audire, legere, in publicum promere, ' vix fides; nisi quod Actii Centurionis, & Didymi li- ' berti epistolæ, servorum nomina præferebant, ut qui ' egredientem cubiculo Drusum pulsaverat, exterruerat; ' etiam

this falſe *Druſus* was taken, does not fail to touch upon the ſecret Springs which excite thoſe kinds of Rumours [*D*]. I do not find that *Druſus* had any other Offices than thoſe of Augur (*b*), and Governor of *Rome* (*c*). He was very unhappy in his Marriage [*E*].

(*b*) Sueton. in Aug. cap. 12.

(*c*) Tacit. Annal. lib. 4, cap. 36, ad Ann. 778.

(11) Tacit. Ann. lib. vi. cap. 24.

' etiam ſua verba centurio ſævitiæ plena, tanquam egregium, voceſque deficientis adjecerat (11). —— *Not content with this, he inveighed againſt the deceaſed, called up the deformity of his Body, his mercileſs Temper towards his own Friends, his implacable Averſion to the Government, and ordered the Journal of his Life, and Actions, to be publickly read. And what is ſtill more heinous, Men were appointed to watch, ſo many Years, his Countenance, his Behaviour, his Diſcontent; which that a Grandfather ſhould have the Power to bear, to read, and publiſh, is ſcarce credible, but that the Letters of Actius, the Centurion, and Didymus the Freedman, expreſſly mention the Slaves Names, who ſtruck or inſulted Druſus at his coming out of his Chamber; the Centurion with a great deal of Vanity related his own inſolent Carriage, and the dying words of the Prince.*' Had not the Senators good Reaſon to admire and dread *Tiberius*, who threw off the Mask ſo boldly, by deviating ſo evidently from his uſual Diſſimulation? ' Obturbabant quidem patres ſpecie deteſtandi, ſed penetrabat pavor, & admiratio, callidum olim & tegendis ſceleribus obſcurum hue confidentiæ veniſſe, ut tamquam dimotis parietibus oſtenderet nepotem ſub verbere centurionis, inter ſervorum ictus, extrema vitæ alimenta fruſtra o-

(12) Idem, Ibid.

' rantem. - - - - - *The Senators interrupted the reading, under a Pretence that they abhorred the Thought; but horror and ſurprize were the real Cauſe, to ſee a Prince, hitherto famed for his Addreſs in concealing his Faults, now draw the Curtain, and expoſe his own Grandſon tortured by an Executioner, inſulted by Slaves, and vainly imploring a little Suſtenance with his dying Breath.*'

[*D*] *Tacitus, in ſpeaking of the pretended Druſus, does not fail to touch upon the ſecret Springs which excite thoſe kinds of Rumours.*] Thoſe, who were ill affected to the Government, gave ear to the Report of a *Druſus* eſcaped out of Priſon, and thoſe who loved Novelty, Revolutions, and Adventures, did the ſame. The Freedmen, who followed the counterfeit *Druſus*, and who pretended to believe that he was the true Son of *Germanicus*, eaſily found Credit; nothing was talked of but the vaſt Deſigns of this *Druſus*. This was enough to put all *Greece* into motion: they ran in Crouds to this Idol, and by earneſtly wiſhing it were true, they came at length to be perſuaded of the reality of their own Fictions. ' Per idem tempus Aſia atque Achaja exterritæ ſunt, acri magis quam diuturno rumore, *Druſum Germanici filium apud Cyclades inſulas, mox in continenti viſum*; & erat juvenis haud diſpari ætate quibuldam Cæſaris libertis, velut agnitus, per dolumque comitantibus. Alliciebantur ignari, fama nominis, & prompris Græcorum animis ad nova & mira: *quippe lapſum cuſtodia pergere ad paternos exercitus, Ægyptum aut Syriam invaſurum*, fingebant ſimul, credebantque: jam juventutis concurſu, jam publicis ſtudiis frequentabatur, lætus præſentibus, & inanium ſpe (13). - - - *About the ſame time a Rumour ran through Aſia and Greece, which, tho' but of ſhort duration, greatly alarmed the People*; That Druſus, Son of Germanicus, had been ſeen near the Cyclades, and afterwards on the Continent. *It was a young Man, nearly of the ſame Age, attended, and ſeemingly eſpouſed, by ſome of Cæſar's Freedmen, in order to ruin him: Thoſe who were not in the Secret flocked about him, being drawn by the Reputation of his Virtues, and the natural Curioſity of the Greeks after what is new or wonderful. The report was ſpread, and gained Credit*, that he had made his eſcape, deſigning to put himſelf at the Head of his Father's Forces, and make a deſcent on Egypt or Syria. *He was joined and careſſed by the younger ſort, tranſported at his preſent Succeſs, and filled with imaginary Hopes, &c.*' *Poppæus Sabinus*, Governor of *Macedonia*, was not idle, and he had Reaſon not to ſlight the Affair; the Factious might have made great Advantages of ſuch a cheat. He made ſuch diſpatch that he ſeized the ſham Prince. It may be remembered that, in the beginning of the XVIIth Century, all the Princes, who were Enemies to *Spain*, were very well pleaſed that the Impoſtor, who called himſelf *Sebaſtian*, King of *Portugal*, was not believed an Impoſtor; and if things had been put into Motion, all the Powers, jealous of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, would have run to the Aſſiſtance of the pretended *Sebaſtian*. In *England* there were People, who maintained that the Duke of *Monmouth* was not taken (14), and that he, who was believed as ſuch, was another Man. This ridiculous Story was Seed ſown at that Time, and which might have brought forth Fruit in it's Seaſon. Factious Spirits were glad that this Opinion was not extinguiſhed: Time will come perhaps, ſaid they, when we ſhall want the Duke to allure the Populace. You will find ſome very remarkable things concerning the care that is taken to foment this Deluſion, in the Hiſtorical Letters of the Month of *October* 1698 (15).

(13) Idem, Ann. lib. v, cap. 10, ad ann. 784.

(14) In the Year 1086.

(15) Page 457, and following.

[*E*] *He was very unhappy in his Marriage.*] We have loſt that part of *Tacitus*, in which he mentioned the Marriage between *Druſus* and *Æmilia Lepida* (16). If we had all the Annals of that incomparable Writer, we ſhould know the horrible Perſecutions *Druſus* underwent from that Woman. She was his Accuſer, guilty as ſhe was of a thouſand Crimes, which rendered her uncapable of being a Witneſs. She continued unpuniſhed during the Life of her Father; but as ſoon as he was dead, the Informers accuſed her; and as it was known, ſhe had committed Adultery with a Slave, ſhe did not ſtand to make a Defence; ſhe thought it beſt to put an end to her own Life (17). The curſe of God was viſible upon this Race. *Germanicus* himſelf, and his illuſtrious Wife, were involved in it.

(16) Æmilia Lepida quam uxorem Druſo ſupra retuli. *Æmilia Lepida, who, as I mentioned before, married young Druſus.* Tacit. Annal. lib. vi, cap. 20, ad ann. 788. *Nothing of this is found in the preceding Books.*

(17) Idem, Ibid.

DUAREN (Francis) Profeſſor of the Civil-Law at *Bourges*, in the XVIth Century, was of *Saint-Brieu*, a City of *Bretagny*: He was the firſt of the French Lawyers who purged the Chair in the Civil-Law Schools from the Barbariſms of the Gloſſaries, to introduce the pure Sources of the ancient Civil-Law: As he did not deſire to ſhare this glory with any body, he ſaw, with an envious Eye, the Reputation of his Colleague, *Eguinard Baron*, who alſo mixed good Literature with the Knowledge of the Civil-Law. This Jealouſy prompted him to compoſe a Work, in which he endeavoured to leſſen the Eſteem they had for his Colleague (*a*) [*A*]. The Maxim *Paſcitur*

(*a*) Ex. Sammarthano in Elogiis, lib. 3, pag. m. 338.

[*A*] *He compoſed a Work in which he endeavoured to leſſen the Eſteem they had for his Colleague.*] This deſign has been expoſed in very ſtrong Terms by *St Marthe*. ' Hominum opinioni de Baronis doctrina conceptæ nonnihil detrahere conatus eſt, edita in eum de juriſdictione & imperio apologia malevoli animi teſte in poſterum futura (1). —— *He endeavoured to leſſen the Opinion which Men had conceived of Baron, by publiſhing againſt him a Pamphlet intituled*, Apologia de Juriſdictione & Imperio, *which will ſtand as a laſting Witneſs of his Spleen and ill Nature.*' I looked for this Tract in *Duaren*'s Works and was ſurprized to find it ſo ſhort (2), that it did not contain quite five Pages; but it appears by the Preamble (3), that the Author had reduced his Apology to what he calls *ſumma Capita*, and that he had ſuppreſſed the reſt out of Complaiſance to *Baron*. He addreſſes this Abridgment to him, and dates it the firſt of *January* 1549. He obſerves that the Apology had been printed without his Knowledge the Year before, under the Name of *Ambroſius Letus*. Mr *Teſſier* divides this Work into two, diſtinguiſhing the Treatiſe *de Juriſdictione & Imperio* from the *Apologia adverſus Eguinarium Baronem*.

(1) Sammarth. Elog. lib. 1 pag. m. 38.

(2) In the Geneva Edition, 1608, in 8vo.

(3) See pag. 783, of the ſecond Part of *Duaren*'s Works, *Edit. Aurel. Allobrog.* 1608.

Passitur in vivis livor, post fata quiescit, was verified in him; for after *Baron*'s Death he shewed an ardent desire to eternize his Memory, and erected a Monument at his own Expence, in Honour of the deceased (*b*). He had other Colleagues who revived his uneasiness; he could not see, without grief, that the Reputation of *Baudouin*, younger than himself, began to soar high (*c*), and, after being delivered from that Thorn, he perceived that *Cujas*, who succeeded that dangerous Rival (*d*), had yet more Merit. He did not love this new Comer, which caused such Quarrels between them, as in the End might have raised great Confusion in the University of *Bourges*, if *Cujas* had not quitted the Field, and retired to *Valence*, to teach Civil-Law there (*e*). *Duaren* died in the Year 1559, at the Age of fifty Years, without ever being married (*f*). There are some things in *Moreri* which I have omitted, to avoid Repetitions; but I must explain better than he has done what relates to his Defect of Memory [*B*]. He has said nothing of a remarkable Circumstance which I must not conceal, *viz.* That it was reported *Duaren* was a Protestant, but never had the Courage to separate from the Church of *Rome*. *Baudouin* treated him as a Nicodemite and Prevaricator [*C*], and reproached him with

(*b*) Posito sua pecunia in ejus honorem monumento. *Sammarth. ubi supra.*

(*c*) Papyr. Masso, Elog. Parte II, pag. 253.

(*d*) Baillet, Academ. des Scienc Tom. I. pag. 228. *See also the Article* BAUDOUIN, *Remark* [L].

(*e*) Thuanus, Histor. l. b 23, pag. 471.

(*f*) Sammarth. ubi supra.

[*B*] *I must explain, better than Moreri has done, what relates to his want of Memory.*] Mr *Moreri* gives out that 'François *Duaren* was forced to read 'the Speeches he compos'ed, and that this want of 'Memory hindered him from imparting to the learned 'in *Germany* his Knowledge in the Civil-Law, for 'which Reason they lost something of the Value 'they had entertained for him.' He should have said that, not having a happy Memory, he never recited his Lectures without Book, but from his Notes. Wherefore upon his travelling into *Germany*, without his Collections, he never durst go into the Pulpit. They invited him to do it in several Places, and his refusal induced some ignorant and bad Judges to doubt of his Capacity. 'Erat Duarenus acerrimo quidem 'judicio, sed memoria minus felici, neque unquam 'nisi ex scripto prælegebat. Quo factum est ut in 'Germanico itinere cum passim à doctissimis viris ad 'prælegendum provocaretur, nec eorum utique desi-'deriis obtem perare quod à suis commentariis dessi-'tus omnino sibi diffideret) à nonnullis rerum im-'peritis & iniquè judicantibus habitus fit indoctior' (4). —— *Duaren was a Man of a very piercing Judg-'ment, but not so happy a Memory, never reading 'public Lectures without his Notes. Whence it hap-'pened, that in his Travels through Germany, though 'he was often invited to read, yet not being furnished 'with his Notes, he would never comply. So that he 'passed among the ignorant and false Judges, for a 'Person of little Learning.*' This is the Original *Moreri* would have translated, and which he has spoiled in three Places. He has put Orations, instead of Lectures: he says *impart his Knowledge (5) in the Civil-Law*, instead of *reading Lectures in Civil Law*. He ascribes to the learned, what he ought to ascribe only to the ignorant. For none but the ignorant are capable of despising a famous Doctor, under pretence of his not mounting the Pulpit in his Passage as a Traveller, through a Place where there is an Academy. Suspect as much as you please, that he distrusts his Memory, and that it depends upon Collections he has left in his Closet, you can never conclude from thence, if you judge rightly of things, that he is not an able Man. Note, *Sammarthanus* insinuates that *Duaren* refused the Pulpit, not because he was forced to read, but because, not having his Papers, he was afraid he could not draw up a Lecture, in which every thing should be rightly quoted. Most Professors have their Writings under their eye, when they read a Lecture: their Office does not require them to do otherwise, and from thence it is that the Title of Reader in such and such a Science is synonymous to that of Professor. It must be supposed then, that the Professors, and the Students of *Germany*, would not have been surprized to see *Duaren* read; those then, who judged ill of him, did not go upon this, that they believed he had not Memory enough to learn by heart a discourse of an Hour long, but that he was not able to compose such a discourse without his Manuscripts. It signifies little, whether a Professor reads or repeats by Heart: one is as good as the other: they are appointed to inform the Understanding, not to move the Passions. If preaching was their Business, there would be a considerable Difference, and yet, to this Day, the greatest part of the English Preachers read their Sermons to the People.

(4) Sammarth. ubi supra.

(5) They may impart it by writing; so that *Moreri* puts the Genus for the Species.

Note, by the way, how Modes alter, even in Universities. It was a general Custom in the XVIth Century, for Professors, who were Strangers, and passed through a Town where an University was, to be desired to give them public Lectures. If I am not mistaken, this is now laid aside: but among Ministers, it is an essential Civility; for those of the place to offer their Pulpit to Strangers; and therefore a Minister seldom travels without carrying in his Trunk his best Sermons, knowing he shall be desired to preach in other Towns. Jesters call these Sermons *Pocket Pistols*.

[*C*] *Duaren was a Protestant* (§ *a*) . . . . . *Baudouin treated him as a Nicodemite and Prevaricator.*] Mr *Catherinet*, the King's Advocate at *Bourges*, observes, that, in 1450, 'Duaren printed his Treatise 'of Benefices (§ β) in which he made himself suspected 'of Heresy by his Doctrines and Railleries. Accordingly 'it was inserted in the *Index Expurgatorius* of *Rome* (6).' *Baudouin* retiring from *Bourges*, and making a public Profession of the Protestant Religion at *Strasbourg*, wrote against *Duaren* under the Name of the Christian Civilians (7); and reproached him with being a Papist only in Appearance, and combating the Religion of his Heart. Those who have not this Book will find Extracts from it at the beginning of *Theodore Beza*'s Answer to the Railings of *Baudouin*, who had drawn his own Character in his Reproaches to *Duaren*. It appears in those Extracts that the *Sorbonne* forced *Duaren* to recant. 'Tu nos fortasse alio 'trahere vis auribus constrictos. Ecquonam? an 'ad tribunal Sorbonicum ubi palinodiam nurpem & 'nefariam canere tuo exemplo & more nobis persua-'deas? Ignosce; Duarene, non possumus, malumus '(ut ille olim Philoxenus) ad Latomias (8). —— *You 'perhaps have a desire to drag me by the Ears to 'another Quarter; but whither? To the Tribunal of 'the Sorbonne, where you would persuade me to sing a 'base and infamous Recantation as you have done. Par-'don me, Duaren, I cannot; I could sooner, like Phi-'loxenus of old, consent to dig in a Quarry.*' We shall see, in the following Remark, what Commerce he had with *Calvin*.

(6) Catherinet, Calvinisme de Berri, pag. 4.

(7) *This Book was printed at Strasburg, in* 1564.

(8) Balduinus, fol. 112, apud Theod. Bezam, pag. 199, Tomi II, Operum.

(§ *a*) *Teissier, Tom. I, pag.* 376, of his Elogies, last Edition, observes from *Catherinet*, that in 1553, *Duaren*, and all the other Professors of *Bourges*, to the number of eight, were suspected of Lutheranism, and it is known, this Suspicion, with respect to *Duaren*, particularly regarded his Treatise *Of Benefices*, &c. but every body does not know another Particular, which must needs have very much increased the ill Opinion *Duaren* had already given of his Catholicism. *H Stephens, cap.* 38, of his *Apology for Herodotus*, relates certain scandalous Leonine Verses, engraved upon a *Table* of Free-stone, which had been a long time fastened, with iron Hooks, above the Poor's Box, to a Pillar of the Cathedral Church of *Bourges*; which Table, in the Year 1566, had been some few Years before pulled down, to take away from the Eyes of the Lutherans that Stone of Offence.

It was *Duaren*, who, by his repeated Remonstrances, at length prevailed to have that Table removed and suppressed, the Contents of which are to be seen in *Hotman*'s *Fulmen Brutum*, *pag.* 58, of the *Leyden* Edition, enlarged *, in 8vo, large Paper, and in a bigger Character than the *Geneva* Edition. 'Ex eo-'dem genere (*Traditionem*), *says the Addition which 'follows immediately after the eight Verses in praise 'of the* Agnus Dei, illud est carmen impium, ac plane 'nefarium, quod non multis ante annis Biturigæ in 'summo

* Scaligerana *under the Word* Hotomanus Franco-Gallia.

with being a Plagiary from *Calvin* [*D*]. Very few have observed what I am going to relate. *Duaren* having quitted the Office of Professor, it was given to *Baudouin*, who, three Years after, advised them to recall *Duaren*, and yielded to him the first place [*E*]. I shall mention some other particulars, which may serve for a Supplement to *Moreri* [*F*]. There was an Edition of *Duaren*'s Works printed at *Frankfort* in 1592, in

' summo Episcopali in tabula lapidea incisum, & ad caput trunci sive tigilli pauperum affixum erat: sed ' Francisci Duareni admonitu, qui tum in illa Academia Jus Civile profitebatur, exemptum ac disturbatum est.

' Hic des devotè, cœlestibus associo te, *&c.*

REM. CRIT.]

[§. (β) A Mistake: The Licence for the publishing this Treatise is of the nineteenth of *November* of the following Year 1551. REM. CRIT.]

[*D*] *Reproached him with being a Plagiary from Calvin.*] *Baudouin* affirmed, that whatever is found in *Duaren*'s Books concerning the Priesthood was taken out of *Calvin*'s Works. It is pretended he made this Observation only to expose him to the Rage of Persecutors. *Duaren* was enraged at this Fraud. He complained of it, both by Letter and Word of Mouth, to *Calvin*, who appeased him. ' In ea pugna quum veris ' armis destitui se videret Balduinus, ad illiberales insidias descendit, & Duareno ex puræ & orthodoxæ ' fidei approbatione invidiam conflando, carnificum ' furori eum objecit. Capitale, ut scitur, in Gallia ' erat, non tantùm doctrinæ nostræ subscribere, sed ' libros etiam nostros furtim legere. Bonus hic pietatis sectator, dum offendere conatur Duarenum ex ' me didicisse, & ex meis libris esse mutuatum quic ' quid in libro De sacerdotiis probe & syncerè docuerat, non alio spectavit quam ut furiosis Ecclesiæ hostibus gladium homini jugulando porrigeret. Si barbara hæc immanitas mihi displicuerit, nihil mirum: ' quia potius hoc uno stratagemate detestabilem se ' piis omnibus reddidit. Et tamen cùm de ea per ' litteras, & coràm conquestus est Duarenus, hominem ingenio, facundia, eruditioneque sic instructum, ut in certamine longe futurus esset superior, mitigavi (9). —— *In that Contest, when Balduin saw himself destitute of an honourable Defence, he had recourse to scandalous Arts, and, to raise Duaren Enemies from his Approbation of the pure and orthodox Faith, exposed him to the Fury of the most incensed Persecutors. It was a capital Crime (as all Men know) in France, not only to subscribe to our Doctrine, but to read our Works in private. This true Promoter of Piety, endeavouring to shew that Duaren had borrowed from me whatever he had taught with Justice and Sincerity in his Treatise of Priesthood, wanted only to point him out as a Victim to the implacable Enemies of the Church. No wonder such barbarous Cruelty should be displeasing to me, or that by such a base Stratagem he should render himself odious to all who have any regard for true Piety. And yet when Duaren, a Man of that Wit, Eloquence, and Erudition, which would have undoubtedly gained him the Victory in the Dispute, complained to me both by Letter, and by Word of Mouth, I entirely pacified him.*' Add to this a Passage in *Theodore Beza*'s Answer to the same *Baudouin* (10).

(9) Calvinus, Respons. ad Bald. pag. 368, Tract. Theol.

[*E*] *Duaren having quitted the Office of Professor, it was given to Baudouin, who . . . . . yielded to him the first Place.*] Here is my Proof (11). ' Certe tam habitus jam tunc fuit pro Jurisconsulto minime vulgari, ut non solum Gratianopolitani talem professorem requirerent (tametsi quia illic (12) vixerat existimationem suam minuisset) sed & Bituriges eum accerserent ut Duareno qui tunc abdicarat succederet. —— *It is certain he was then looked upon as more than a common Civilian, since he had an Offer of the Chair at Grenoble (though by his living there he had lessened his Reputation), and he was likewise invited to Bourges to succeed Duaren who had resigned.*' This respects *Baudouin* in the Year 1548. Cum Barone conjunctissimus quandiu is deinde vixit, hoc est, triennium docuit totum Jus Civile Balduinus . . . . . mortuo Barone auctor fuit ut Duarenus revocaretur, atque ut illi redeunti ultro concessit prior rem, in quo consistere poterat, locum, sic habuit toto quadriennio fine ullius simultatis significatione bonum collegam (13). —— *Balduin, during the rest of Baron's Life, that is three Years, lived with him in perfect Union and taught the whole Civil-Law. . . . . After Baron's Death he was the Author of Duaren's being recalled, and at his return voluntarily resigned him the Priority, though he might have maintained it himself, and found him a good Colleague for four Years.*' I omit the latter Part of this Passage, in which he owns that a Quarrel arose between these two Professors, after *Baudouin* was retired. I pass over also the Contradiction there is on the other side of the Leaf, and it is a very gross one. ' Neque vero dubito quin si nunc Duarenus ' viveret Balduinum tam complecteretur à vobis nunc ' vexatum, quam ab eo vestratum partium suspecto ' fuit interdum ABALIENATUS (14). —— *Nor do I doubt, were Duaren still living, but that he would as much espouse Balduin, now oppressed by you, as he before declared against him, when suspected of favouring your Party.*' It was said just before, that while *Baudouin* taught at *Bourges* he received no Marks of any Enmity from *Duaren*, and yet confesses he had received such, being suspected of Calvinism. These Suspicions cannot relate to the time that followed *Baudouin*'s Departure; for he went from *Bourges* to *Geneva*, and then to *Strasburg*, and openly declared for the Protestant Religion (15). They concern therefore his stay at *Bourges*, during which, according to his own Confession, he was very much suspected of favouring the Protestants. So that the Contradiction is obvious and inexcusable. ' Illud vere dicere ' possum Balduinum in ea urbe sæpe vestro nomine in ' periculum venisse dum vobis amicior esse credebatur, ' & erat fortasse quam esse debebat, neque certe aliud ' habebant illi quos laudas, inimici quod huic odiose ' objectarent (16). —— *This I can truly say, that Balduin brought himself several times into danger, in that City, on your account, whilst he was believed to be too much in your Interest, and perhaps was more than he ought; nor had those Persons, whom you name, any other Objections to make against him.*' One of the Passages I have copied discovers a Fault of the Author of *Baudouin*'s Elogy. ' Reversus, *says he* (17), ' Lutetiam (Balduinus) magna jam quæsita fama accersitus à Biturigibus ad docendi munus suscipiendum futurus collega Baronis & Duareni Jurisconsulorum. —— *Balduin being returned to Paris, and having gained an extraordinary Reputation, is sent for to Bourges, to teach, in Conjunction with Baron and Duaren, Civilians.*' The meaning of which is, that the University of *Bourges* sent for *Baudouin* to make him Colleague of *Baron* and *Duaren*. A notorious Falsehood: for he was invited to accept the Chair *Duaren* had left. We must not forget that *Baudouin* read Lectures in that University before he received his Doctor's Degree there. ' Cum publice Juris civilis obscuriores titulos interpretatus fuisset, incredibili omnium studio Doctor est renunciatus voce Baronis (18). —— *Having publickly unravelled some knotty Points of the Civil Law, to the inexpressible Satisfaction of the People, he was created Doctor by Baron.*' Now he received it the twelfth of *March*, 1549 (19). Therefore he must have begun his Lectures from the foregoing Year; for he taught Civil Law, at *Bourges*, for seven Years (20), and left that University in the Year 1555. This must be observed, in order to correct a Mistake concerning the time of *Eguinard Baron*'s Death. Some say that he died in 1556 (21). They are mistaken: for he lived but three Years after *Baudouin* was made his Colleague. If *Spondanus* has placed his Death aright, on the Twenty second of *August*, 1550 (22), we have fresh Reason to say, that *Baudouin* entered upon his Professorship, at *Bourges*, in 1548. If he entered upon it in the Month of *January*, there would be above two Years and a half between his first Lecture, and the Death of *Baron*, and this is enough to say they were Colleagues for three Years; for in such Books they are not very nice in their Calculations. It is certain that *Baron* died the Twenty second of *September*, 1550, at the Age of Fifty five Years (23).

(10) *It is at Page* 231, *of the second Volume of* Beza's *Works.*

(11) Resp ad Calvinum & Beznm pro Francisco Balduino, folio 83. *See other Proofs in the following Remark.*

(12) *That is to say* at Geneva.

(13) Respons. ad Calv. & Bezam, fol. 84.

[*F*] *I shall mention some other Particulars which may serve for a Supplement to Moreri.*] *Francis Duaren* was the Son of *John Duaren*, who exercised an Office of Judicature in *Bretagny*. He succeeded him in that Employment, and discharged all the Functions of it for some

(14) Ibid. folio 84. verso.

(15) *See his Article, Rem.* [*B*].

(16) Respons ad Calvin. & Bezam, fol. 83, verso.

(17) Papyr Masso, Elog. Tom. II pag. 257.

(18) Id. ibid.

(19) Catherinot, Calvinisme de Berri, pag. 4.

(20) Balduin. Respons ad Calv. & Bezam. folio 86.

(21) Menage, Remarques sur la Vie de Pierre Ayrault, p. 157.

(22) Spondan. ad ann. 1550, num. 12.

(23) *Mr* Pinson des Riolles, *whom I had consulted, informs me of this.*

in Folio [G], in which was inserted his Treatise of Plagiaries; it is a curious Piece; but too short for so large a Subject. It might be enriched with many other

some time. " Jurisdictioni ante annos quindecim in ' Celtica nostra Britannia non omnino infeliciter præ- ' fui, eoque magistratu in quo patri jam seni succesſe- ' ram virdum adolescentiæ annos ingressus ita functus ' sum ut, &c (24). ——— *Fifteen Years ago I had the* ' *Honour to fill a Chair of Judicature in Brittany,* ' *in which Office, though very young, I succeeded my* ' *aged Father, and discharged my Duty in such a man-* ' *ner, &c.*' He read Lectures upon the Pandects at *Paris*, in the Year 1536, and among other Disciples he had the three Sons of the learned *Budæus* (25). He was invited to *Bourges*, in 1538 (26), to teach Civil-Law there, three Years after *Alciatus* had left them (27): he laid down this Office in the Year 1548, and went to *Paris* to frequent the Bar, being desirous to join the Practice with the Theory of the Law. This is what he declares in a Letter to *Francis Baudouin*, who succeeded him ' Cooptatum te in juris doctorum col- ' legium & unum ex omnibus delectum cui nos velut ' emeriti lampadem curæ traderemus valde ita me ' Deus amet lector (28). ——— *I am extreamly rejoiced* ' *that you have been singled out of all the Candidates,* ' *and elected into the College of Civilians, to whom* ' *we, who are worn out in the Service, may resign our* ' *Office.*' This Letter is dated the thirteenth of *January*, 1549; but it must be observed, that the Year began then at *Easter*, and thus by comparing this Date with that of the Letter he wrote to *Sebastian de l'Aubespine*, there will appear no Contradiction in his Calculations. He says, in his Letter to *Francis Baudouin*, that he had frequented the Bar of the Parliament at *Paris* for two Years past (29). In the other Letter, dated the Twenty fourth of *November*, 1550, he assures us, that he had frequented it for three Years. *In Basilica Parisiensi ad tres annos libenter versatus* ' *sum* (30). Both these Dates belong to the same Year 1550, if the Year is made to begin with the Month of *January*. He was soon tired with the Wranglings of the Court, and was very glad that the advantageous Conditions offered him by the Duchess of *Berry*, Sister to King *Henry* II. surprised him with a favourable Opportunity of retiring from the Bar, and resuming, in an honourable manner, the Employment he had had at *Bourges*. He returned to his Profession of the Civil-Law, in that Place, in 1551. No Professor of the Civil Law, besides *Alciatus*, had ever so good a Salary settled upon him, in that University, as our *Duaren*. ' Decretum mihi est ex ærario publico stipen- ' dium annuum ad viceni millia sestertiorum nomi- ' nam, id est longe amplius & honorificentius (si u- ' num Alciatum excipias) quam Jurisconsultus adhuc ' ullus habuisse in ea civitate dicatur (31) ——— *I had* ' *a yearly Salary assigned me, out of the public Treasury,* ' *of an hundred Pistoles, which is by far more considerable* ' *than any Professor (Alciatus only excepted) ever could* ' *boast to have received in that City.*' Besides he was made Master of the Requests to the Duchess of *Berry* (32). Note, that, in his Letter to *Sebastian de l'Aubespine*, dated the Twenty fourth of *November*, 1550, he mentions the Funeral of *Eguinard Baron*, which was an authentic Proof of the Respect the Students had for the Memory of the deceased. Note also, that, in 1554, he was much inclined to go to *Valence*, where he was offered a Professor's Chair in the Civil Law. ' Dum ' enitor, elaboro, contendo ut vobis morem geram ' cum bona heræ meæ ..... venia .... interim ' vobis hunc quasi arrhabonem quendam propensi mei ' in vos animi ac voluntatis mitto (33) ——— *Whilst* ' *I labour to the utmost of my Power, by the good Per-* ' *mission of my Mistress, to shew my Readiness to obey* ' *your Commands, I send you, in the mean time, this* ' *Pledge of my Gratitude and Respect.*' Thus he speaks in the Dedication of a Work, in 1554, to the Curators of the University of *Valence*.

I only hinted at his Distaste for the Wranglings of the Court; but as he has given a very eloquent Description of it himself, I thought myself obliged to insert here part of his own Words (34). In Basilica ' Parisiensi ad tres annos libenter versatus sum: ta- ' mesi (ut verum fatear) immodicos ac prope inexpli- ' cabiles litium amfractus, quibus illud forum præ cæ- ' teris abundat, magis quam lites ipsas ac judicia, qui- ' bus humanum genus carere non posse videtur, per- ' invitus nec absque ingenii taedio illic viderim. Vix ' enim credibile est quanta ibi hominum eorumque ' gravissimorum & lectissimorum multitudo quam mi- ' nutis ac puerilibus in rebus quotidie occupata sit. Ac ' ut de amplissimo purpuratorum Patrum ordine & ' conventu loquar, num tibi videntur pleraque eorum ' judicia, quæ statis legitimisque diebus ἐκ τοῦ προχείρου ' palam eduntur, non dicam augusto illo consessu, sed infimo aliquo tribunali satis digna ' esse? Nam cum, &c. ——— *I have three* ' *Years frequented the Parliament of Paris. Though I* ' *must confess it was not without great Uneasiness* ' *I saw those extravagant, and, in a manner, inextri-* ' *cable Mazes of Controversy, rather than Judiciary* ' *Proceedings (which appear to be necessary amongst* ' *Mankind) which infest that Court to it's Reproach* ' *more than any other. It is scarce credible what a* ' *multitude of People, and those of the most considerable* ' *and eminent Rank, we there find engaged in the* ' *most trivial and idle Affairs. And to speak of that* ' *most august Order and Assembly of the Senators; does* ' *not the Generality of their Determinations which are* ' *delivered on stated Days, with such romantic So-* ' *lemnity, seem not only below the Dignity of that* ' *august Assembly, but even of the lowest Court of* ' *Justice?*' This Observation is very judicious. Those august Assemblies, called Parliaments, have too much Grandeur for the trifling Causes they decide therein, and one cannot forbear pitying a fine Genius, who employs a great deal of time in preparing to argue a Cause there. What must he study and look into? the Phrases which a Notary makes use of in a Will, or a Contract of Marriage, to explain the Mind of some mean private Person. I have heard a Counsellor of the Parliament of *Metz* say, that this sort of Study is the more disagreeable as it does not improve the Mind, or give it any manner of Scope. Let us quote here Mr *Perrault*'s Lines upon the Disadvantage our Lawyers lie under, compared with those of Antiquity (35).

Je la voy s'applaudir de ses grans Orateurs,
Je voy les Cicerons, je voy les Demosthenes,
Ornemens eternels & de Rome & d'Athenes,
Dont le foudre éloquent me fait deja trembler,
Et qui de leurs grands Noms viennent nous accabler.
Qu'ils viennent, je le veux, mais que sans avantage
Entre les combatans le terrain se partage;
Que dans nostre Barreau l'on voye occupez
A défendre d'un champ trois sillons usurpez;
Qu'iostruits dans la Coustume, ils mettent leur estude
A prouver d'un egoust la juste servitude;
Ou qu'en riche appareil la force de leur Art
Ecclatte à soustenir les droits de Jean Maillart.

I see Antiquity boasting of her great Orators, the ' *Cicero's, the Demosthenes's, eternal Ornaments of* ' *Rome and Athens; whose thundering Eloquence makes* ' *me tremble, and wide confounds us with their great* ' *Names. Let them enter, but let the Lists be fairly* ' *divided between the Combatants. Let us see them at* ' *our Bars, employed in defending three Ridges of Land* ' *usurped by another, or proving the Right of a Drain,* ' *or let them display their wondrous Art in the Cause* ' *of every petty Client.*'

[G] *There was an Edition of Duaren's Works at Frankfort, in 1592, in folio.*] The *Oxford* Catalogue, Sir *Thomas-Pope Blount* (36), and many others take notice of no other Edition; but I add, that, in *Duaren*'s Life-time, there was a Collection of his Writings published at *Lyons*, in 1554, in folio, by *Rouille*; and that, after his Death, there was a larger Edition of his Works published in the same City by the same Bookseller, in folio, in the Year 1579. *Nicolas Cisner* who had been his Disciple, and afterwards Professor of Civil-Law at *Heidelberg*, furnished the Bookseller with several Pieces. This appears by the little Preface he prefixed to this Edition, which he composed at *Spire*, in the Year 1579. I call it *little*, to distinguish it from that he put before the second Part of *Duaren*'s Works, which may pass for a just Dissertation, *de modo & arte docendi atque discendi jura*. He wrote it

(24) Franc. Duarenus, Epist. ad Sebast. Albaspinæum, pag. m. 297, Part. II. Oper. *It is dated* Novemb. 24, 1550.

(25) Guillelm. Budæo, Epist. ad Jo Duaren. *It is in Duaren's Works, pag.* 309, *Part. II.*

(26) Annus jam agitur nonus ex quo in hanc civitatem Juris docendi causa publice accitus fum. *Duaren. Præf. Disput. anniv. dated from* Bourges, *in* 1547.

(27) Triennio post discessum Alciati profiteri Jus civile hic cœpi. *Duarenus, in Orat. recitata in cooptatione Bugueri, pag. m.* 3.., *Oper. Part. II.* Note, *He reckons wrong; for* Alciatus *left* Bourges, *in* 1534.

(28) *Id. ibid. pag. m.* 297.

(29) Studia jam biennium intermissa. *Idem, pag.* 294.

(30) Idem. Epist. ad Sebast. Albaspin. pag. 297.

(31) Id. ibid. pag. 298. *See the Rem* [H], *of the Article* BAUDOUIN.

(32) Id. ibid.

(33) Duaren. Epist. Dedicator. Comment in Tibull. de Verborum Obligationibus. *It is at the beginning of the first Volume of his Works.*

(34) Idem, Epist. ad Sebast. Albaspæum. pag. 297.

(35) *In the Poem intitled,* Le Siecle de Louis le Grand, pag. m. 175, *of the first Tome of his* Parallèle des Anciens & des Modernes.

(36) Pope Blount, Cens. Author. pag. 466.

other Thoughts [*H*]. I shall give some Extracts of a Letter he wrote against *Baudouin* [*I*].

it at *Spire*, in 1575. I have not seen the Edition mentioned in the Text of this Remark; but I know it was reprinted at *Frankfort*, in the Year 1607. I make use of that of *Geneva* 1608, *apud Petrum de la Roviere*, and am sorry not to find in it *Duaren*'s two Tracts against *Baudouin* (37).

(37) Epistola de Francisco Balduino. Defensio adversus Balbini Sycophantæ maledicta.

[*H*] *His Treatise of Plagiaries might be enriched with many other Thoughts.*] I shall furnish one. Those Persons are never mentioned, but they are compared to *Æsop*'s Jay (38). This Thought is found in these Verses of *Horace*.

(38) See Mr Dacier *on the third Epistle of the first Book of* Horace, pag. m. 207.

Quid mihi Celsus agit? monitus, multumque monendus,
Privatas ut quærat opes, & tangere vitet
Scripta, Palatinus quæcunque recepit Apollo:
Ne, si forte suas repetitum venerit olim
Grex avium plumas, moveat cornicula risum,
Furtivis nudata coloribus (39).

(39) Horat. Epist. III. lib. 1. ver. 15.

. . . . . *And how doth Celsus do?*
Whom I still warn, as I have often done,
To get some Stock, some Riches of his own;
And not from others Labours, kept for Fame
In wise Apollo's Temple, steal a Name,
Lest all the Birds should come and claim their own,
And tho' though be his, when her fool'n Plumes are gone.

CREECH.

Duaren made use of the same; for he boasts of being able easily to reduce his Plagiary to the Condition of that Bird, 'Corniculam Horatianam plane mihi deprehendisse videor, quam furtivis nudare coloribus nihilo mihi difficilius esse puto quam Aristophani illi poëtarum Alexandrinorum furta detegere ac convincere (40). —— *I fancy I have got Horace's Daw into my Hands, and could as easily strip him of his stolen Plumes, as Aristophanes discover and expose the Plagiarism of the Alexandrian Bards.*' But I never met with any one yet who compared Plagiaries to Partridges. *He that getteth Riches, and not by right, is as the Partridge, which sitteth upon Eggs; she did not lay; he shall leave them in the midst of his Days, and at his end shall be a Fool* (41). These are the Words of the Prophet *Jeremiah*, declaring that those, who inrich themselves with the Substance of other Men, do not preserve that ill gotten Wealth until their Death. Interpreters say that the Partridge steals the Eggs of other Birds, and sits upon them; but when the young ones are hatched, they do not own her for their Dam; but, leaving her, go in quest of the Bird which laid the Eggs (42). This is the common Fate of Plagiaries. They reap what they never sowed; they nourish the Children of another, and raise themselves up a surreptitious Family; but those stolen Children, like ill got Riches, *male parta male dilabuntur*, take wing, and fly to their true Father. An Author, when he is robbed, may reclaim his Goods, and if Death prevents him, a Son, a Relation, a Friend, may pursue his Right. Nay a Man, who was not a Friend to the Author, may do him this good Office, in order to have the Honour of the Discovery of the Theft, or that he may cover the Plagiary with Confusion. Vanity, Malice, or a Desire of Revenge, may suggest what the Love of Justice would not inspire them with; and thus sooner or later stolen Productions abandon the Thief. *Note*, There are some Plagiaries, who do not altogether resemble the Partridge: they do not take the Pains to hatch, but take away Mens Words and Thoughts ready formed: it is true, sometimes they torment themselves to give them another turn, that the Theft may not be discovered so easily; and then they may more properly be compared to the Partridge. For the rest, I wonder the Name of this Bird has never been giveen to those Men, who bring up the Children another begets at their Houses. That Name would agree much better with them, than the Name of that Bird (43) who goes and lays in another Bird's Nest, and leaves it to hatch and breed up the Young. Perhaps they were not persuaded the Story of the Partridge was true. A learned Critic has long since insinuated that St *Jerom* falsely alledged the Testimony of three excellent Naturalists (44). 'Hieronymus testes citat hujus rei sanè luculentos, & quos, ut minus, idoneos rejicere nemo possit, Aristotelem videlicet, Theophrastum, & Plinium; sed an verè, fides penes ipsum esto: ego sanè apud illos authores nihil tale legere memini. Locus Hieronymi est in commentariis ad eum locum (45): *Aiunt*, inquit, *scriptores naturalis historiæ tam bestiarum & volucrum, quam arborum herbarumque, quorum principes sunt apud Græcos Aristoteles & Theophrastus, apud nos Plinius secundus, hanc perdicis esse naturam, ut ova alterius perdicis, id est, aliena furetur, & eis incubet foveatque: cumque fœtus adoleverit, avolare ab eo, & alienum parentem relinquere.* —— *St Jerom calls in some substantial Witnesses, against whose Testimony no Person can except; namely, Aristotle, Theophrastus, and Pliny; but whether justly or no, must be left to Credit. For my part I do not remember to have met with any such thing in those Authors. The Passage of St Jerom is in his Commentaries on this Place.* The Authors, *says he*, of the Natural History of Beasts and Birds, as well as Trees and Plants, the chief of whom, among the Greeks, are Aristotle and Theophrastus, and amongst ourselves, Pliny the Younger, say, that it is natural for a Partridge to steal the Eggs of another Partridge, to hatch and nurie them, and that when the young ones are grown up, they fly away from their Foster-Parents.'

(44) Drusius, Observation. lib. iv, cap. xxiv, pag. m. 100.

(45) That is to say, the 11th verse of the 17th chapter of *Jeremiah*.

[*I*] *I shall give some Extracts of a Letter he wrote against Baudouin.*] I found it among the Tracts joined to *Calvin*'s Reply *ad Balduini convicia* (46). *Duaren* writ it after having seen an Oration that *Baudouin* had published in *Germany*, and which was very reflecting upon the Professors of *Bourges*. No body was named in it, but it was easy to know who the Orator intended, and that particularly *Duaren* was ill treated in it. If we believe this Letter of *Duaren*, those who were most favourable to *Baudouin*, those who loved and admired his Talents, praised him in such a manner, that there was commonly an unhappy *but* in their applauses; that is to say, but he is vain, ambitious, and dissembling; we are sorry such a spot appears upon so fine a Face. 'Ita eum laudant fere ut in ejus laudibus exicipiant ἀλαζονίαν, fastum, ambitionem, φιλαυτίαν: præterea mirum simulandi dissimulandique artificium, & hoc veluti nævo decoram admodum speciosamque faciem nonnihil deformari doleant (47).' Being at *Paris* in the Year 1548, or thereabouts (48), he paid *Duaren* a visit, and presented him a Book he had dedicated to him (49). He had a mind to succeed *Duaren* in the Professor's place, he had just quitted in the Academy of *Bourges*, and desired Recommendatory Letters from him. He obtained them, and found his account in them; for immediately the Magistrates of *Bourges* granted him a Pension, and soon after he was admitted Professor in Civil-Law, without any expence for the Ceremony of Admission. He was forced to surmount the opposition of *Eguinarius Baron*, and some other declared Enemies, and from that time he was always at Variance with that Colleague, and raised such disturbances against him, that it is thought he broke his Heart with Grief. 'Nec ulla fuit ex eo tempore simultatis inter eum & Baronem intermissio . . . . adversus quem (Baronem) iste vindictæ cupiditate flagrans tantas excitavit tragœdias, ut à plerisque creda-tur Baro ob mœrorem ex ea re conceptum decessisse (50).' After *Baron*'s Death *Duaren* returned to *Bourges*, where he found all kind of respectful usage from *Baudouin*, but was cautioned not to trust him as one, that, by many Artifices, had endeavoured to hinder him from coming back, or at least from recovering the Rank he had formerly had. The distrust they would have given him was easily removed by the Protestations of sincerity *Baudouin* made him; but at length his Eyes were opened, and he openly expostulated with him, and from that time there was a real Enmity between them, though in appearance they carried it fair. 'Nihil amplius dissimulandum ratus cum homine expostulavi & de jure amicitiæ necessitudinisque violato conquestus sum paulo liberius ac stomachosius (51). —— *I thought it no longer proper to dissemble with the Man, but expostulated with him, and complained with somewhat more Freedom and Passion of his violation of Friendship.*' Nay, the very pretence

(46) See Remark [*H*] of the Article *BAUDOUIN*, Citat. (66).

(47) Duaren. Epist. de Pugiar. pag. 206. Part. II. Operum.

(48) Ibid. p. 62.

(49) He had got it printed at *Lyons*.

(50) Duaren. Epist. de Fr. Balduino, p. m. 58.

(51) Ibid. p. 63.

(41) Jeremiah xvii, 11.

(42) See Drusius, Observation. lib. iv, cap. xxiv, pag. m. 99.

(43) The Cuckow.

of Friendship ceased upon three or four occasions, in which *Baudouin* flew out into a great Passion with *Duaren*. What gave Rise to the first Breach was this. *Baudouin* omitted going into the Chair, under a pretence that he could contribute more to the Benefit and Glory of the City and University by his Writings, than by his Lectures. He was reprimanded for it by the Magistrates, after *Duaren* had informed them of this neglect (52). Some time after there happened a sedition in the Schools of Civil-Law. *Baudouin*, being obliged to answer for it before the Magistrates, pleaded the Cause, and lost it shamefully. He believed *Duaren* had plaid him this trick. The cause of it was that *Baudouin* chose the time for his Lectures, according to his own Convenience, and not according to the Hours assigned to each Professor. This raised disturbances; for *Baudouin* would not alter the Hour he had chosen, though it was that of another who would not relinquish it. 'Horam subinde mutabat arbitrio suo & in 'aliorum possessionem non minus superbe & insolenter 'quam turbulente & seditiose invadebat. Qua ex re ii 'motus atque tumultus excitati sunt &c. &c (53).' Shortly after he broke out afresh against *Duaren*, when he found himself deprived of his Salary for some Months, during which he had omitted his Lectures; for it must be noted, that, about three Months before his leaving *Bourges*, he left off reading without saying a word to his Colleagues to excuse the Intermission. They attributed this to the Vexation he was under for the Sentence pronounced against him by the Judges. 'Quod hominis factum plerique sic interpretabantur ut 'dolori acerbissimo & ægritudini ex recente illa damnatione judicioque susceptæ, vulgo tribuerent (54).' His anger for not receiving his Salary, during the time of his omission, made him fret and fume against his Colleagues, and two Days after he went out of Town without taking his leave of them (55); but he promised the Magistrates to return. Note, that, two Years before, he had made great Sollicitations for the increase of his Pension but to no purpose. He could never obtain half the Salary that *Duaren* enjoyed (56). The latter testifies (57), that after he found the Protestants gave ear to the calumniating Discourses of such a Deserter, he perceived the Passion diminish, which he had for going over to them. He alledges a Saying of *Simonides*, that those ought to be deemed Calumniators, who lightly give Credit to Calumny. 'Scitum 'est illud Simonidis, *Non defuisse qui curiosa calumniari, cum offendere vellet eos quoque calumniatores habendos esse qui aures calumniatoribus faciles præberent* (58).' His Letter is dated the fifteenth of *July* 1555. I must not forget that it is observed in it (59), that *Baudouin*, who retired from *Bourges* on account of the insupportable Mortifications he suffered there, persuaded those of the Reformed Religion, that he had left that University only to obtain Liberty of Conscience. This is the way of Mankind; they give their Neighbours false Reasons for their Conduct, reserving the true ones to themselves. They all deserve, some more, some less, to have the Quibble applied to them, which was made upon the famous Astrologer of *Provence*:

Nostra damus cum verba damus, nam fallere nostrum est,
Et cum verba damus nil nisi nostra damus.

From our own stores we give the fancied Treat,
Our Art is Fiction, and our Trade to cheat.

(52) Ibidem.

(53) Ibid. p. 64.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Ibid. p. 65.

(56) Ibid.

(57) Ibid. p. 68.

(58) Ibid.

(59) Ibid. p. 66.

DUELLIUS (*a*) (CAIUS) Consul in the Year of *Rome* 493, defeated the *Carthaginian* Fleet, and was the first of all the *Romans* who had a Naval Triumph decreed him (*b*). They erected a Column to him with a fine Inscription. It was one of those Columns called *rostratæ* (*c*), on account of the Prows of Ships with which they were adorned. Part of this Column was dug up at *Rome* about the end of the XVIth Century. The Learned endeavoured to decypher the Inscription (*d*). Some Authors say they granted *Duellius*, in acknowledgment for his Victory, the Privilege of being conducted to his house with the sound of Flutes, and by the light of Flambeaux, whenever he should sup abroad [*A*]; but others assure us, that he assumed this by his own Authority [*B*]. Which latter Opinion is more probable than the former [*C*]. He built a Temple to *Janus* in the Herb-Market (*e*). They tell one thing of him which seems to me more remarkable than all the Honours he enjoyed in the Commonwealth. It is pretended that his Wife lived to be old, without knowing that her

(*a*) Others write it *Duillius*.

(*b*) Florus, lib. ii, cap. ii.

(*c*) Plinius, lib. xxxiv, cap. v.

(*d*) *Peter Ciaccon* wrote a Treatise upon it, which was printed at *Rome* in 1608.

(*e*) Tacit. Ann. lib. ii, cap. xlix.

[*A*] *Some Authors . . . . . say, they granted Duellius . . . . . the Privilege of being conducted to his House with the sound of Flutes, and by the light of Flambeaux, when he should sup abroad.*] *Titus Livius* is very particular in this (1): 'C. Duellius Consul adversus classem Pœnorum prospere pugnavit, primusque omnium Romanorum ducum navalis victoriæ 'duxit triumphum: ob quam caussam ei perpetuus honos habitus est, revertenti à cœna tibicine canente 'funale præferretur. —— *C. Duellius, the Consul, obtained a Victory over the Carthaginian Fleet, and was the first of all the Roman Generals, who was honoured with a Triumph for success at Sea; for which reason he was distinguished with perpetual Honours, and was conducted from Supper with Music and Flambeaux; a Liberty his Reputation only could authorize.*' After an evidence of this Importance, it is not necessary to produce *Aurelius Victor*, who has said, 'Duilio CONCESSUM est ut prælucente funali & præcinente tibicine à cœna publice rediret (2).'

(1) T. Livius, in Epitome, lib. xvii.

(2) Aurel. Vict. de Viris illustr.

[*B*] *Others assure us, that he assumed this by his own Authority.*] *Cicero* is also as express in this as he can be. 'C. Duillium M. filium qui Pœnos classe 'primus devicerat redeuntem à cœna senem sæpe videbam puer, delectabatur crebro funali & tibicine quæ sibi nullo exemplo PRIVATUS sumpserat; tantum LICENTIAE dabat gloria (3) —— *I have often seen C. Duillius, who gained the first Victory over the Carthaginian Fleet, returning home from Supper, preceded by Music and Flambeaux, with which the old Gentleman was wonderfully pleased, an Honour which he, though a private Man, without a Precedent, had assumed to himself.*' *Florus* is of the same Opinion. 'Duillius Imperator non contentus unius 'diei triumpho, per vitam omnem ubi à cœna rediret 'prælucere funalia, præcinere sibi tibias JUSSIT, 'quasi quotidie triumpharet (4). —— *Duillius, the 'Admiral, not content with the Triumph of a single 'Day,* ORDERED *the Music to play, and Flambeaux to be carried before him, when he returned from Supper, as though he intended to triumph as long as he lived.*'

(3) Cicero, de Senectute, c. 13.

(4) Florus, lib. ii, cap. ii. See also Valer. Max. lib. iii, cap. vi. num. 4.

[*C*] *This latter Opinion is more probable than the former.*] For it is more easy to imagine falsely, that there have been public Decrees upon certain things, than to be ignorant of a Decree actually published. *Livy* thought it was so likely, that the Senate or People should have decreed particular Honours to *Duellius*, that he might easily believe, that all the Privileges, *Duellius* enjoyed, were Concessions of his Country, and no doubt *Duellius*'s Descendants would favour that erroneous Opinion: the Flutes and Torches were a greater Glory to them, if they were a public Gift, than if they were an Usurpation. An Historian then might be deceived in it two hundred Years after; but it would not have been so easy for him to have been in an Error, if there had been a public Decree for it: the Family would have kept with too much care the Titles of it. *Cicero* and so many other Writers could have pretended no plea for their Ignorance. However it be, I wonder that I have seen in no Commentator any Reflexions (5) upon the two ways in which they mention *Duellius*'s nocturnal Honours. The difference does not turn upon trifles: it is of great concern for or against *Duellius*. Nevertheless this is

(5) I do not pretend to have consulted them all.

not

her Husband, who had a stinking Breath, was different in that from other Men [D]. Her Name was *Bilia*: it was Justice that her Name should be preserved; and yet it would have been entirely unknown to us, if St *Jerome* had not inserted it in his Works. *Costar* had no reason to cite *Erasmus* concerning that Woman's Answer [E].

not the Cause of my making this Remark; but it is to accustom young Readers to seek, among the Variations of Historians, for the ground of the greatest probabilities.

[D] *His Wife lived to be old, without knowing that her Husband who had a stinking Breath, was in that different from other Men.*] *Duellius* complained one Day to his Wife that she had never told him of a defect he had been reproached with, which was that he had a stinking Breath. I thought, replied she, that all Men had been like you. St *Jerome* relates this more at large. 'Duellius qui primus Romæ navali certa-'mine triumphavit Biliam virginem duxit uxorem tan-'tæ pudicitiæ, ut illo quoque sæculo pro exemplo 'fuerit, quo impudicitia monstrum erat, non vitium. 'Is jam senex & trementi corpore in quodam jurgio 'audivit exprobrari sibi os fœtidum, & tristis se do-'mum contulit. Cumque uxori quæstus esset quare 'nunquam se monuisset, ut huic vitio mederetur, fe-'cissem, inquit illa, nisi putassem omnibus viris sic os 'olere (6). —— *Duellius, who was the first that had 'the Honour of a Triumph for a Naval Victory, mar-'ried Bilia, a Virgin of such Virtue, that she was a Pat-'tern to that Age, wherein Immodesty was a Prodi-'gy, not a Vice. He, being now old and feeble, was up-'braided in a Quarrel with having a stinking Breath, 'and went home very much concerned, and complained 'to his Wife that she had never told him, that he 'might have got some remedy for it. I would have 'told you, answered she, but that I thought that all 'Mens Breath had been like your's.'*

(6) Hieron. adv. Jov. lib. I.

[E] *Costar had no reason to cite Erasmus concerning that Woman's answer.*] He had attributed to *Cicero* what belonged to *Brutus*, and had been censured for it: he justifies himself, among other reasons, by the example of several great Men who had been guilty of the same Mistake: *Seneca*, says he (7), ascribed a Saying of *Bias* to *Stilpo*, and to *Ovid* a Verse of *Tibullus* (8). 'According to *Plutarch*, it was *Hiero*, Tyrant 'of *Syracuse*, to whom his Wife answered with so 'much Modesty, *You have no reason to complain, I do 'not understand Mens Breath; I thought all Men had 'been the same.* Yet, according to *Erasmus*, this wife 'and witty Answer was from the Wife of that *Duel-'lius*, who first defeated the *Carthaginians* at Sea.' *Girac* did not fail to tell him that *Erasmus* is no way concerned here (9): In effect, we have just seen that St *Jerome* attributes this answer to *Duellius*'s Wife, so that *Erasmus* did not take one name for another. It was *Costar* who was ignorant of what the Ancients had said of this *Roman* Lady. He is right in saying that *Plutarch* relates this Adventure as applied to other People, to *Hiero* and his Wife; but *Erasmus* was not ignorant of that, having mentioned it in another place of his Book (10). What I find most fault with in *Girac*'s reply, is his unjustly charging *Costar* with pretending that *Erasmus* had committed a *gross Blunder*, which extremely dishonoured his Memory. *Costar* pretended nothing less than that his own Interest engaged him to represent it as a slight Mistake.

(7) Costar, Suite de la Defense de Voiture, pag. 55.

(8) *That Verse is* Arida nec pluvio supplicat herba Jovi. *Not grass the thirsty Plant to rainy Jove. See also* Seneca, Quæst. Natur. lib. iv, cap. i.

(9) Girac, Reply, chap. xv, pag. m. 15.

(10) He mentions the Answer of *Hiero*'s Wife, *Apy. lib.* I. iv, pag. 241, and that of *Duellius*'s Wife *Ibid.* lib. viii, cap. xxij.

DURANT (SAMUEL) Minister of *Charenton*, made himself considered and loved by his Flock for several good Qualities. He passed for a great Preacher. I think he died in 1526; his Place was filled up by Mr *Daillé* (a). Among his Friends were Mr *Arnauld*, Counsellor and Secretary to the King, and Comptroller-General of the *Restes* [A]. This we learn from the Epistle Dedicatory of seven of his Sermons printed in 1627. *Frederic Spanheim*, his Kinsman (b), and Heir to his Books, printed those seven Sermons at *Geneva*, and wrote the Epistle Dedicatory to them.

(a) See Mr Daillé's Life, pag. 12.

(b) See Remark [B] of the Article SPANHEIM.

[A] *Among his Friends was Mr Arnauld, Comptroller General of the Restes.*] I observe this, in order to shew that there were several Persons of the Reformed Religion in the Family of *Arnauld*. He, I speak of, was very *careful to come to* Charenton, and *to draw all his Relations thither, and he freely* contributed *both his Pains and Money to advance the Service* of GOD. *Some of his Relations* turning Papists, he openly testified his Displeasure at it. He and his Sisters *particularly assisted* Samuel Durant *to the end* (1). The Epistle Dedicatory, I have cited, makes mention of Mr *de Montfermeil* his Nephew. This may be added to the latter part of the Remark [D] of the Article ANTHONY ARNAULD the Advocate.

(1) Spanh Epitre Dedic. de Sept Sermons de Durant.

DURER (ALBERT) descended from an Hungarian Family [A], and born at *Nuremberg* the Twentieth of *May* 1471 (a), was one of the best Engravers and most excellent Painters of his Time. '(b) Having made a slight beginning with the Pencil 'in his Father's Shop, who was a Goldsmith, he associated himself with an ordinary 'Painter named *Martin Hupse*, who taught him to engrave on Copper-Plates, and ma-'nage Colours. ALBERT got himself also instructed in Arithmetic, Perspective, and 'Geometry; after which he ventured, at Twenty seven Years of Age (c), to publish 'some of his Works. The first Work of his Graver was the three Graces represented 'by three naked Women, perfectly shaped, having upon their heads a Globe, on 'which is engraved the date of the Year 1497. He engraved..... several Pieces of 'the

(a) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Phil. Germ. pag. 66.

(b) Bullart, Academ. des Sciences, Tom. II. pag. 283, 284.

(c) He should have said at 26 for the Year 1497 is not the 27th of his Age, as *Bullart* supposes, who makes him born in 1470. Mr *Feliben* has committed the same Error in his 4th Entretien sur les Vies & sur les Ouvrages des Peintres, pag. 530, 531.

[A] *He was descended from an Hungarian Family.*] His Father was born at *Cula*, a Village near *Waradin*. Thus I venture to translate these Words of *Melchior Adam*: 'Fuit ejus pater Albertus ex vico Cula prope 'Voradium civitatem Hungariæ, natus (1).' I suspect that by an Error of the Press it is *Voradium* instead of *Varadium* in that Author's Book. This fault has been faithfully copied by *Paul Freher*: see page 1439 of his Theatre. Mr *Moreri* did not understand the following Words: 'Albertum Durerum è Pannonia oriundum 'accepimus, sed cujus majores in Germaniam com-'migrarint (2).' He thought they meant that our *Albert was the Son of an Hungarian whose Family however was originally of Germany.* Nothing is more false. *Vasari* did not know *Albert Durer*'s Country; he supposed him a *Fleming*, and makes him begin his Copper-Plates at *Antwerp*. 'E nel vero, *says he* (3) 'se quest' huomo sì raro, sì diligente, e sì universale 'havesse havuto per patria la Toscana, COM' EGLI 'HEBBE LA FIANDRA, e havesse potuto studiare 'le cose di Roma, come habbiamo fatto noi, sarebbe 'stato il miglior Pittore de' paesi nostri, si come fù 'il più raro, e più celebrato, che habbiano mai havuto 'i FIAMMINGHI. —— *And certainly if this dili-'gent and industrious Man had had Tuscany for his 'Country,* AS HE HAD FLANDERS, *and if he could 'have studied as we have done at Rome, he would have 'been the best Painter in our Country, as he was the 'most celebrated the* FLEMINGS *ever had.*' He had said before in the foregoing page: 'Dopo questo Mar-'tino, cominciò Alberto Duro in Anversa, con più di-'segno, e miglior giudicio, e con più belle inventioni 'a dare opere alle medesime stampe. —— *After that 'Martin Albert Durer began at Antwerp, with more 'Design*

(1) Melch. Adam. in Vitis German. Philos. pag. 66.

(2) Idem, ibid.

(3) Giorgio Vasari, Vite de Pittori, terza parte, p. m. 301.

'the Passion,' which were in such Esteem, that *Marc Antony* of *Bologna*, an experienced 'Engraver at *Venice*, made bold to copy them [*B*], and put the Author's Mark to 'them to make them pass for Originals..... As he did not work so much with 'the Pencil as the Graver, there are but few of his Pictures to be met with, unless in 'the Palaces of the Emperor, and some Sovereign Princes: they are done in so elegant 'a manner, that nothing can be finer or better expressed [*C*].' The particular Account of his Engravings, which we find in *Vasari* (*d*), is very curious; and the confession of that *Italian* Author, that the Prints of *Albert Durer*, being brought into *Italy*, excited the Painters of that Country to perfect that part of the Art, and served them for a fine Model, is no small Praise. He very much commends the Delicacy of this excellent Engraver, and the Fertility of his fine Imagination. It is certain *Durer* had an inexhaustible Fund of Designs; and as he could have no hopes of executing them all, while he worked in Copper, for every Work of that nature cost him a great deal of Time, he bethought himself of working in Wood (*e*). The two first things he finished in this kind, are a beheading of St *John Baptist*, and the head of the same Saint presented in a Charger to *Herod*. They were published in the Year 1510 (*f*). His St *Eustachius* is one of his best Pieces [*D*]. I know not whether it would be easy to reconcile

(d) Giorgio Vasari, Vite de Pittori Parte terza, pag. m. 300, & seq.

(e) Idem, Ibid. pag. 301.

(f) Idem, Ibid.

'*Design and a better Judgment, and a much finer Invention, to work upon the same Prints.*'

[*B*] *His Pieces of the Passion were so much valued, that Marc Antony of Bologna made bold to copy them.*] Here Mr *Bullart* makes a gross Blunder: he confounds *Marc Antony* of *Bologna*, with another *Marc Antony*, who, for having been the Disciple of *Francesco Francia*, was surnamed *Franci* (4). *Marc Antony* of *Bologna* was so far from counterfeiting this Work of *Albert Durer*, that he joined with him, both in the Impression and Sale of it (5). It was *Marc Antony Franci*, who played that knavish Trick which has been mentioned. *Vasari* speaks of it at large; but he does not say that *Durer*, who had brought an Action against this Copier, was forced to intercede for his Pardon. He says in plain terms, that the Plantiff obtained no more than this, that *Marc Antony* should no longer put to his own Works the name and mark of *Albert Durer*.

(4) Idem, Ibid. pag. 332.

(5) Idem, Ibid.

'Havendo dunque contrafatto in rame d'intaglio grosso, come era il legno, che haveva intagliato Alberto, 'tutta detta Passione, e vita di Christo in 36 carte, e 'fattovi il segno, che Alberto faceva nelle sue opere, (6) 'cioè questo A E, riuscì tanto simile di maniera, 'che non sapendo nissuno, ch'elle fussero fatte da 'Marc' Antonio, erano credute d'Alberto, e per opere di lui vendute, e comperate; La qual cosa essendo 'scritta in Fiandra ad Alberto, e mandatogli una di 'dette Passioni contrafatte da Marc' Antonio, venne 'Alberto in tanta collera, che partitosi di Fiandra, se 'ne venne a Venetia, e ricorso alla Signoria, si querelò di Marc' Antonio, ma però non ottenne altro se non 'che Marc Antonio non facesse più il nome, e ne il 'segno sopradetto d'Alberto nelle sue opere (7). —— '*As he had counterfeited upon Copper Plates, with coarse Graving, the whole Life and Passion of CHRIST in Thirty six Cuts, which Albert had cut in Wood, and having put the same mark that Albert put to his Works, viz. A E, these Cuts were so much like Albert's, that no body knowing they were Marc Antony's, they were generally taken for Albert's, and bought and sold as such; an Account of which being sent to Albert in Flanders, together with one of the Copies of the Passion counterfeited by Marc Antony, he was so exasperated that he came directly from Flanders to Venice, loudly complaining to the Government of the fraud of Marc Antony: but all the satisfaction he could obtain was, that for the future Marc Antony should not put Albert's Name or Mark to any of his own Works.* See the Margin (8).

(6) This is wrong, it should be *A D*. See Citation (12).

(7) Vasari, Parte III. pag. 302.

(8) Bullart, Academie des Scienc. Tom. II. pag. 384, *is mistaken then, for he says the Senate of Venice would have punished severely this Fraud, if Albert himself had not got his Pardon.*

[*C*] *His Paintings are done in so elegant a manner ..... that nothing can be better expressed.*] His Picture of *Adam* and *Eve* is one of the most considerable of his Pieces: it is in the Palace of *Prague*. *Gaspar Vellius* prailed it very finely; for he made two Verses, in which he supposed that an Angel, admiring this Representation of *Adam* and *Eve*, cried out, you are more beautiful than when I drove you from the Garden of *Eden*.

Angelus hos cernens, miratus dixit: ab horto
Non ita formosos vos ego depuleram.

An Angel saw, and wond'ring cry'd, less fair
From Eden's Bowers I drove you beauteous Pair.

(9) Bullart, ubi supra.

(10) Idem.

Mr *Bullart*, from whom I borrow this (9), adds (10). I. That 'there is still to be seen in the same 'Palace, from *Albert's* Pencil, a CHRIST carrying his 'Cross, which the City of *Nuremberg* made a Present 'to the Emperor; an Adoration of the Wise Men; 'and two Pieces of the Passion. II. *That* he drew an 'Assumption for a Monastery at *Frankfort*, the Beauty of which was a good Revenue to the Monks, by 'the liberality of those who came to see so fine a 'Piece. III. *That* the Inhabitants of *Nuremberg* carefully preserve in the Senators Hall, his Pictures 'of *Charlemain*, and some Emperors of the House of 'Austria, with the twelve Apostles, whose Drapery 'is very agreeable. IV. That he sent his own Picture to *Raphael*, drawn by himself upon Canvas 'without any Colouring, or touch of the Pencil; 'only heightened with Shades and white, but with so 'much force and neatness, that *Raphael* beheld with 'Admiration this rare Piece, which coming afterwards into the Possession of *Julius Romanus*, has 'been placed among the Rarities of the Palace of 'Mantua.'

[*D*] *His St Eustachius is one of the best Pieces.*] Let us see what *Vasari* says of it. 'Et appresso un S. 'Eustachio in iscocchiato dinanzi al Cervo, che ha il 'Crocifisso fra le corna, la qual carta è mirabile, e 'massimamente per la bellezza d'alcuni cani in varie 'attitudini, che non possono essere più belli (11). —— '*And also a St Eustace kneeling before a Stag, who has a Crucifix between his Horns; this is an admirable Piece, particularly for the beauty of the Dogs represented in various Postures, than which nothing can be finer.*' *John Valentine Andreæ*, Doctor of Divinity in the Duchy of *Wirtemberg*, sent that Piece to a Prince of the House of *Brunswic*, with whom he had the Honour to keep a long Correspondence by Letters. Let us see the thanks that was given him for this Present. 'Beasti me iterum novo munere, 'sculpturâ magis quàm æneâ, insignis illius pictoris *Norici*, quod litera A. D. ad Basin initiali incarceratâ innuit, cui facilè nihil deesse crederem, nisi, ut 'Zeuxis aut Parrhasius, aut alius aliquis, cui æquè 'prona favet Minerva, colores adderet, & nativam formam (12). —— '*You have again obliged me beyond Expression by your last present, a Plate which deserves a nobler Name than that of the Metal, whereof it consists: the mark A. D shews it to have been of the famed Artist of Nuremberg; to which I will most readily confess that nothing is wanting, but that Zeuxis, Parrhasius, or some other equal favourite of Minerva, should give it the Colours, and form of Life.*' Let us also recite the Praises, which the same Doctor of Divinity bestowed on *Durer* in his Answer to that Prince's Letter. 'Eustachium Dureri, si non à me, certe 'summi artificis manu non ingratum Tibi fore, facilè divinare potui, in quo Viro illud mirandum est, quòd ex rudi & barbaro seculo primus Germanorum, non tantùm artis suæ perfectione, ad naturæ imitationem emersesit, sed nec secundum post se reliquerit, omnibus ejus partibus, sculptura, statuaria, architectonica, optica, symmetriâ, & similibus ita absolutis, ut nisi Mich. Angelum Bonarotum, Italum, coævum & æmulum suum, parem, non habuerit, iis operibus, quorum maximam partem olim possedit) post se relictis, quæ unius hominis ætatem facilè superent, & paupertate in frugali etiam vitâ, perpetua comite. Hunc Itali hodie plurimi faciunt, nobilique 'successent, qui domestica nostra bona & ornamenta non 'agnoscamus

(11) Vasari, Vite de Pittori, Parte III. pag. 303.

(12) See the Book intituled *Selenium Augustale*, printed at *Ulm*. What I take from it is at Page 201, in a Letter dated *Nov.* 10, 1646.

concile those, who say that *Albert Durer* was very unhappily married, with those who say that, in order to paint the Virgin *Mary*, he took his Wife's Face for his Original and Model [*E*]. The Emperor *Maximilian* had a very particular Affection and Esteem for him, and gave him good Pensions (g), and Letters of Nobility, and for a Coat of Arms three Escutcheons argent in a Field azure (*h*). *Charles* V, and *Ferdinand* King of *Hungary*, his Brother, imitated this Favour and Munificence of the Emperor *Maximilian* (*i*). And yet it is said this great Painter died very poor [*F*], and was buried at the public Charge. He was a Man of a charming Conversation (*k*), and a lover

(g) Melchior Adam, Vitæ Philosoph. Germanor. pag. 61.

(h) Baillet, Jugemens des Sçavans, Tom. II, p. 385.

(i) See the Epitaph of Albert Durer, in Melchior Adam, Vitæ Philosoph. Germanor. pag. 72.

(k) Id. ibid. pag. 66.

(13) Ibid. pag. 303.

'agnoscamus (13). —— *I could easily imagine that* 'ita non obstante hoc, fama de Durero nostro apud
'*Durer's Eustachius would not be unacceptable to you,* 'exteros nihilominus adeò percrebuit, ut plurimi,
'*from whatever hand a Piece of that inimitable Artist* 'Italorum cumprimis, ductum ipsius artificiosissimum
'*was conveyed. In which great Man there is this sur-* 'sequi, impari tamen conatu & successu, ausi fuerint,
'*prising, that in a rude and artless Age he should be* 'neque adhuc dum erubescant, aliorum picturis cami-
'*the first German, who not only brought the Art to per-* 'no propius admovere, fumosa quadam [illegible], ut
'*fection, and rose to the imitation of Nature, but left* 'vetustatem eò melius [illegible]
'*no Second in all its Parts, Etching, Engraving, Sta-* 'addito Dureri consueto [illegible]
'*tuary, Architecture, Optics, Symmetry, &c. at all* 'pro genuino ipsius artificis [illegible]
'*which he was so excellent, that, except Michael Angelo* 'you add, *is not only unknown, but*
'*the Italian, his cotemporary and rival, he had no* 'the excellent Painter *of* Nuremberg. (*l*) —— *I*
'*equal. He left Works, the greatest part of which* 'I retain a Veneration, even in Writing
'*was formerly in my Possession, that seem to have re-* 'rude and unseasonable an Age, rise to
'*quired more Years than he lived, and though he lived* 'and excellence in the Art. *I am no less moved at the*
'*frugally, yet Poverty was his constant Companion.* 'thought, *especially when I call to mind what my ho-*
'*The Italians have the greatest esteem for him at this* 'noured Tutor some time ago told me on this Subject.'
'*Day, and upbraid us with not paying a due regard to* That he was plagued with a Xantippe, the Scourge
'*the Ornaments of our own Country.*' We must not of his divine Genius. *But as* Distress is the Mother
forget the care the Emperor *Rodolph* II took to get the of many brave Men, *so the fame of our Durer in*
Plate of that *St Eustachius* gilded, and we shall see at the *spight of this obstacle has forced it's way into Foreign*
same time that *Durer* corrected a fault in it, which *Pire-* 'Countries, *that Multitudes, especially the Italians,*
kreimer had informed him of; viz. that the Horse's stir- 'have dared to proceed on his inimitable Plans, but
rups were too short. 'Durer ana manu [illegible] dele- 'their endeavours proved abortive, nor are they hitherto
'ctari crediderim, *they are the Words of John Valentine* 'ashamed of their attempt, but instead of the genuine
(14) Ibid. pag. 308. *Andrew* (14), cùm pro accurato judicio discernas, 'Picture, *of Durer himself on bad Judges those of other*
'quantum hic unus omnibus aliis artificio, diligentiâ, 'Men, *which they place in Chimnies, that the Smoak*
& naturæ æmulatione antecellat. Ex omnibus verò 'may give them an air of Antiquity, and affix Durer's
ejus speciminibus Eustachium in Cœlaturâ primas te- 'well known mark to facilitate the base cheat.' You
nere, à peritis rerum accepi, cujus cupream laminam see here our *Durer* exposed to the same fate as *Socrates*,
cum Imperator RUDOLPHUS II fel. mem. magno rede- to the continual Persecution of his Wife, which did
misset, inaurari voluit, ne amplius attereretur. Me- not hinder him from producing Works, which are to
mini tamen legisse, à Bilibaldo Pirkheimero, Viro this Day the Admiration of the *Italians*. The other
nobili, & in Repub. Noribergensi Triumviro clarissimo Particular is to be found in a Letter written by Doctor
Dureri Mecenate, & Nutricio propè unico, *John Valentine Andrew* to the same Prince. 'De
cùm nihil haberet, quod in Eustachiana tabula im- 'morosiore ejus Conjuge, nihil mihi prius auditum,
probaret, tamen notasse, Stapedes breviores esse, hoc verò accepi ab artificibus desiderari, quòd in ef-
quàm ut Eustachius huic equo insidere commodè pos- fingenda Virgine Matre, cum puerulo Jesu, unam
sit, pœnamque artifici indixisse, ut equum instructum suam uxorem, quæ tamen minus elegantis & formæ
depingeret, ad equisonum institutum, quod ille egre- & vultus fuerit, subindè expresserit, cùm cæterâ
gie præstitit, quem sæpè cum voluptate vidi. —— Symmetriæ humani corporis observantissimus fuerit.
'*I did believe, that you would be highly taken with* 'Ego tamen contrarium ipse possedi, & maximo do-
'*Durer's Draughts, since by the accuracy of your Judg-* 'lore meo in Calvensi bullo perdidi, faciem sc. Dei-
'*ment you can discern how far he excels all other* 'paræ, vivis coloribus, justâ humani vultus magnitu-
'*Men in Art, Industry, and Nature. I am informed* 'dine depictam, quâ elegantius, concinnius & formo-
'*by Men of skill, that his Eustachius claims the first* 'sius excogitari nihil potuit, & quam magno ære meo
'*place among all his Plates, which Plate the Emperor* redemptam velim (16). —— *I had not been before* (16) Ibid. 311.
'*Rodolph II, having procured at an immense expance,* 'acquainted with the report of his Wife's moroseness,
'*caused to be gilded, that it might be wore no longer.* 'though I had heard it was a common complaint amongst
'*But I remember to have read in Bilibald Perkeimer, a* 'Artists, that in his Pictures of the Virgin Mother,
'*Nobleman and Magistrate of Nuremberg, Durer's* 'and the Boy Jesus, he had frequently given only that
'*great Patron, and almost sole Benefactor, that having* 'of his Wife, who was far from being a Beauty, how-
'*nothing to condemn in Durer's Plate, he had never-* 'ever exact he otherwise was in the Symmetry of his
'*theless observed, that the stirrups were too short for* 'Persons. *I had one, the reverse of that, which to my*
'*Eustachius to fit agreeably on his Horse, that at a Pu-* 'great Grief is lost: it was the Face of the Virgin in
'*nishment he had enjoyed him to draw a managed* 'lively Colours, *and the most exact proportion of a hu-*
'*Horse according to the direction of a Jockey, which he* 'man Face, *than which fancy could not have formed*
'*performed nobly, which draught I have seen many a* 'any thing more beautiful, regular, or exquisite, *and*
'*time with pleasure.*' 'which I would gladly recover at any rate.' The Doctor does not confute what he had undertaken to confute; for tho' there was a very fine Picture of the Virgin, done by *Durer*, it does not follow that some other Pictures of the same Saint might not have the defects complained of, for which they gave this as a reason, that *Albert Durer* took a fancy to draw by his own Wife, who was far from being handsome.

[*E*] *I know not whether it is easy to reconcile those, who say that Albert Durer was very unhappily married, with those who say that, in order to paint the Virgin Mary, he took his Wife's Face for his Model.*] I find the first of these two Particulars in a Letter of Prince *Anthony Ulric* of *Brunswic* (15): 'Quod addis, (15) Seleniana Augustalia, pag. 309.
'non solùm memorabile, sed & admirabile fuisse, in-
'signem illum *Pictorem Noricum*, (quem meritò majus-
'cula literâ hic veneror) desperato etiam illo, aborti-
'voque tempore, ad tantam perfectionem, & artis
'suæ excellentiam pervenire potuisse, id non minus
'& me afficit, dum insuper illud memoriâ repeto,
'quod à Studiorum nostrorum Ductore charissimo, non
'ita pridem mihi dictum, *ipsum domi Xantippen habuisse*
'*pessimam, ac divinæ suæ mentis flagellatricem acerri-*
'*mam.* Sed uti *Multos magnos Viros calamitas facit,*

[*F*] *It is said this great Painter died very poor.*] *Fioravanti* has inserted this in one of his Books, and pretends that prodigality brought that Painter to this Misfortune. Our Doctor has confuted him in the following manner (17): 'Sed & alia Viro egregio ex- (17) Ibid. *Note*. He had confessed before, in Citat. 15, that *Albert Durer*, was always poor tho' he lived very frugally.
'probrantur, quæ Noribergæ constanter pernegat, ex
'quibus est, quod *Fioravanti* in memorabilibus refert,
'tam *malæ frugis Oeconomum* fuisse, ut tot operum
'confector, defunctus *ex publico* efferendus fuerit,
'cum

lover of Mirth and Diversions, but in a way consistent with good manners. He was wise and virtuous, and never employed his Art in obscene Representations [G]. He composed some Books which were printed. That which he undertook to write, upon the Rules of Painting, is one of them; but as he was of an over-nice Taste, he proceeded so slowly in it that he did not live to see the Edition of that Book finished [H]. He died at *Nuremberg* the Sixth of *April* 1528 (l), and was buried in the Churchyard of St *John*'s Church, where his good Friend *Bilibaldus Pirckeimerus* consecrated a very honourable monumental Inscription to him. *Vasari* calls him *Duro*. Mr *Felibien*, who calls him *Durer* in the place where he speaks of him fully, calls him *Dure* in other places (m). I only make this Remark, to prove by an Example what I shall say in the Remark [B] of the Article EPHORUS.

(l) Melchior Adam in Vitis Philosoph German. pag. 70: *but according to* Reusnerus in Durer, pag. 55. *it was in* 1527.

(m) *In the second* Entretien, pag. 224. *See also pag.* 383, *and following.*

'eûm mihi probatis documentis sit ostensum, non contemnendam æris & suppellectilis sortem post se reliquisse. Quòd si ex publico ipsi funus decretum, id virtutis potius pretium, quàm infamiæ notam Sen. populusque Noribergensis prudentiss haud dubio voluit —— *There are other things which are laid to this great Man's charge, which Nuremberg as positively denies. Such is the Assertion of Fioravanti, that he was so bad an Oeconomist, that, notwithstanding he had compleated so many Pieces, he was buried at the public expence; though I am convinced by undeniable Proofs, that he left no inconsiderable Sum, both in Money and Effects. And if the expence of his Funeral was defrayed by the Public, it was rather a reward of his worth, than a mark of his shame, and as such was meant by the prudent Senate of Nuremberg.*'

[G] *He never employed his Art in obscene Representations.*] This was a liberty which too many Painters took at that time; but he never conformed to their ill example. 'Cui autem obscurum est non paucas laudem & admirationem vulg. quæsiviss obscœnitate pingendi, dum quæ non nisi occultè fieri honestè nequeant, imò quæ ne occulte quidem facta, nefario scelere & probro vacent, tabulis expressa publicarunt? hos ne pudicos quispiam credet, quorum mens & dextera talia fuerit mollita . . . . .(18). Hoc igitur loco optimo jure admirabimur Durerum sanctissimæ & pudoris diligentissimum custodem . . . . (19). Nulla spurcities, nullum dedecus, in ipsius operibus exstat, reluctantibus scilicet talia omnia castissimi animi cogitationibus —— *None can be ignorant that many Painters have gained the Applause and Admiration of the Vulgar by their obscene Performances, exposing not only those Actions which cannot bear the Day, but even those which the Night cannot defend. Can Men who exercise their Head and Hands in such Products be accounted modest? . . . We have therefore the greatest reason to admire Durer, who always kept a strict guard over his Innocence and Modesty. . . . No lewdness, no immodest touch, appears in his Works, his honest Heart being utterly averse to all such things.*'

(18) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philosf. Germanor. pag. 67.

(19) Idem, p. 67.

[H] *His Book upon the Rules of Painting was printed; but as he was of too nice a Taste, he did not live to see the Edition of that Work finished.*] Let us continue to quote *Joachim Camerarius*; for it is from him that *Melchior Adam* borrows all he says concerning *Albert Durer*. 'Priusquam absolvere omnia & correcta edere, ut cupierat, posset, morte est ereptus, placida illa quidem & optabili, sed profecto multorum judicio præmatura. Erat autem si quid omnium in illo viro quod vitii simile videretur, unica infinita diligentia & in se quoque inquisitrix sæpe parum æqua. Hunc igitur mors ab incepta editione operis sustulit, quam tamen consummarunt amici ex illius præscriptione (20). —— *He was cut off before he had published, or even put the last hand to his Work, as he wished to have done. His Death was mild and desirable, but thought by many too early. If any thing in him bore the Appearance of a Crime, it must be his excessive Application, and severity in judging of himself. Though the Edition of his Works was interrupted by his Death, it was afterwards perfected by his Friends according to his own Directions.*' The Edition was finished after his Death. Note, that *Durer* was no Scholar, and that he wrote in *German*, and whatever we have of his in Latin is a Translation by other hands. The Book I have just mentioned was put into Latin by *Joachim Camerarius*, and is intituled, *De Symmetria Partium in rectis formis humanorum corporum*. It was printed at *Nuremberg*, in folio, in 1532, and at *Paris* in 1557 (21). An *Italian* Translation of it was printed at *Venice* in 1591. *Albert Durer*'s other Books are *Institutiones Geometricæ*, at *Paris* by *Wechell* 1532 (22). *De urbibus, arcibus, castellisque condendis & muniendis*, at *Paris* by the same 1532 (23). *De varietate figurarum & flexuris partium ac gestibus imaginum*, at *Nuremberg* 1534 (24). They stole a Treatise from him, which he had wrote on the Symmetry of the parts of a Horse. He knew very well who had done him the injury, but he chose rather to bear his loss and trouble secretly, than depart from his usual moderation and mildness, as he must have done, if he had proceeded against those Thieves (25).

(20) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philos. Germ. pag. 70. ex Præfat. Joach. Camerarii in Libr. de Symmetria Partium.

(21) Epit. Bibl. Gesneri, pag. 19.

(22) Gesner. in Bibliothe. fol. 170 verso.

(23) Idem, ibid.

(24) Epit. Bibl. Gesneri, pag. 19.

(25) Melch. Adam. in Vitis Philos. Germ. pag. 70.

DURY (JOHN), in Latin DURÆUS, a Protestant Divine, a *Scot* by Nation, in the XVIIth Century, laboured with great Zeal to re-unite the Lutherans and the Calvinists. His strong Inclination to be employed in this *Great Work*, and the hopes of succeeding in it, engaged him to let his Superiors know that he could use his Talents to more advantage by travelling abroad in the World, than by being confined to the Care of one single Flock. They agreed to his Proposals, and permitted him to go from place to place, to negotiate an Accommodation between the Protestant Churches. He even obtained the Approbation and Recommendation of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* (a). I have said in another place (b), that he was assisted by the Bishop of *Kilmore*, and also by *Joseph Hall* Bishop of *Exeter*, as he acknowledges in the Preface of his *Prodromus*. He began by publishing his Projects of a Re-union [A], and he appeared in the famous Assembly of the Evangelics of *Germany* at *Frankfort*, in the Year 1634 (c). The Churches of *Transylvania* sent to him, in the same Year, their Advice

(a) *See the* Prodromus Tractatuum Irenicorum Joh. Duræi, pag. 122.

(b) *See the Article* BEDELL, *Remark* [D].

(c) Prodromus, Tract. Irenicor. pag. 111.

[A] *He began by communicating to the Public his Project of a Re-union.*] I find in the Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library his *Aliquot Theologorum Galliæ & trium Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Episcoporum* (sc. *Davenantii, Mortoni, & Halli*) *Sententia de pacis rationibus inter Evangelicos usurpandis*, printed in the Year 1634. I say nothing of the Treatises which followed this, as *Hypomnemata de studio pacis Ecclesiasticæ* at *Amsterdam*, 1636. *Informatio de eis quæ in studio Ecclesiasticæ concordiæ inter Evangelicos prosequendo, agitare instituit Duræus ex Ecclesiarum Danicarum Theologos.*

[B] *He*

Advice and Counsel (*d*). He treated afterwards with the Divines of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; he left no stone unturned, he consulted the Universities, and communicated their Answers, nor was he discouraged by all the fruitless pains he had taken, even in the Year 1661 [*B*]: but at last, in the Year 1674, he was out of heart, and as he had no more hopes of doing the Church service by the Methods he had hitherto attempted, he raised new Batteries, he had recourse to another Expedient, which was to labour at a new Explication of the *Apocalypse* [*C*], as a sure Means to re-unite all Christians. He enjoyed at that time a very agreeable retreat in the Country of *Hesse* [*D*]. I know not in what Year he died. Some have confounded him with the Jesuit JOHN DURÆUS [*E*]. It was thought the Lutherans would look upon him with a less favourable eye, when they were informed that the Episcopal Party began to decline in *England* [*F*]. We shall see his Journey to *Metz*, and some other Particulars, in the Article FERRI (*e*).

(*d*) Ibid. pag. 39, & seq.

(*e*) In the Remarks [*E*] and [*F*].

The

[*B*] *He was not discouraged by all the fruitless Pains he had taken, even in the Year* 1661.] See the Book he published at *Amsterdam* that Year, which is intituled, *Johannis Duræi Irenicorum Tractatuum Prodromus, in quo præliminares continentur Tractatus de I. Pacis Ecclesiasticæ remoris & mediis tollendis. II. Concordiæ Evangelicæ fundamentis sufficienter factis. III. Reconciliationis Religionum Orthodoxarum argumentis & mediis. IV. Methodo necessitatoria ad controversias omnes, sine contradicendi studio & præjudicio pacifice dirimendas. Qui præmittuntur collectorum inter Protestantes conciliatorum pacificorum harmoniæ, propediem Deo permittente adornandæ & in lucem edendæ.* The Preface to this Book is dated *Amsterdam*, 1. *October* 1661. He gives an account therein of the Books he had promised the Public, and proposes the expedients which he thought the most proper to make his design successful. He assures his Readers, that the first Article agreed upon in the Preliminaries of the future Peace, was, that the affair should not be managed by a Scholastical Disputation. It was of great consequence to agree upon this; for that way of Disputation could only serve to foment the obstinacy of the Parties, and render the Conclusion farther off. *Dury*, at that time, appeared as full of hopes as ever of succeeding, and when he set out for *Germany* he desired of the Divines of *Utrecht* an authentic Testimonial of their good Intentions, after having communicated to them the state he had left the affair in with the King of *Great-Britain*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*; and what had passed at the Court of *Hesse*, and the measures they had actually taken at *Geneva*, *Heidelberg*, and *Metz*. He desired to have this Testimonial of the Divines of *Utrecht* to shew it to the *Germans*: which he obtained accordingly, and published at the end of his *Prodromus*.

[*C*] *He had recourse to another Expedient, which was to labour upon a new explication of the Apocalypse.*] He published, in the Year 1674, a little Book in *French*, intituled *Concerning understanding the Apocalypse by the Apocalypse itself. How the holy Scripture ought to be reasonably understood.* He declares in the Epistle Dedicatory (1), that he has nothing to reproach himself with, though he gives up *the pacific Negotiation which had been continued so many Years with the Lutheran Ministers*: He plainly insinuates that he was forced to relinquish it, that is to say, because they would no longer hearken to him, or have any Correspondence with him upon this Matter. 'Having finished, *says he* (2), all the Labour that can 'be expected from me, with the Parties concerned, 'as a Solicitor of the Evangelic Councils; I have no 'more to do with the particular heads on that side, 'since they seem to have taken a Resolution to be 'silent to me, though they continue to foment the 'usual animosity of the vulgar. . . . . But since now I 'find myself obliged to put an end to these proceed-'ings, because they will hold no farther Correspon-'dence with me, concerning the Propositions which 'have been regularly offered to all, and are without 'any Exception whatsoever: Since, I say, for these rea-'sons I am forced to desist from my undertaking '(for I ought to press nothing with importunity; what 'is not done voluntarily, and out of a principle of 'Conscience, is not of GOD); I have taken a more 'general Resolution (3).' It will not be amiss to see his Confession concerning the ill success of his Travels and Fatigues. 'Now being come to this point, I thought 'it proper to consider what Fruit the public, or even 'myself have reaped after so much pains. When I con-'template the public, I see God does not permit the Fruit 'of this Seed to grow or be gathered before the time 'of the Harvest be come; and when I reflect upon 'myself, the chief Fruit I have had of all my Toil, 'both within and without, is this. That, without, I see 'the Misery of Christians is much greater than that 'of the Pagans, and other Nations; I see the Cause 'of that Misery, I see the want of a Remedy, and I 'see the Cause of that want: This is the Summary of 'what I have got by my labours without. And, 'within, I have no other benefit, than the . . . . . 'of my own Conscience, which is my Consolation '(4).' You must not imagine that, after such a Confession, he took a Resolution to be quiet; for on the contrary, he ingaged in a much greater Enterprize. He could not reconcile the Reformed and the Lutherans, and yet undertakes to reunite all the Sects of Christians. My new Enterprize, *says he* (5), 'differs in nothing 'from the former as to the Substance of the Evange-'lical Work, but only as to the extent of my La-'bour, and the Method of insinuating into the Con-'sciences of those I address myself to; for I will no 'longer confine my Application to Protestants alone, 'but my Aim is to comprehend all Christians divided 'into Factions against the design of the heavenly Vo-'cation; which is proposed to us in the Gospel, and 'attested by holy Writ.' But is the Method he intends to take capable of promising such . . . . . Nothing less than this, and yet he . . . . . wonders from it (6). But we shall speak of this in another place (7).

(1) This Book is dedicated to the Princess of *Hesse*.

(2) Dury, Epitre Ded. cat. p. 3, 4.

(3) Ibid. p. 7, 8.

(4) Ibid. p. 4, 5.

(5) Idem, Præf. pag. 26.

(6) Quodlibet impedimentum. *Horat. Od.* 37. lib. 1.

(7) In Remark [*F*] of the Article *FERRI*.

[*D*] *He enjoyed a very agreeable retreat in the Country of Hesse.*] *Hedwige Sophia* the Landgrave's Consort, who had the Regency of the Country, *had assigned* Dury *a very commodious Quarter, and maintenance for a well furnished Table, and granted him free Postage for his Packets.* He thanks her for this in the Epistle Dedicatory of the Book I have mentioned.

[*E*] *Some have confounded him with the Jesuit JOHN DURÆUS*] That Jesuit was a *Scotchman*, and wrote a Book against *Whitaker*'s Answer to *Campian*'s ten Reasons. This Book was printed at *Paris* in 1581, and at *Ingolstadt* in 1585 (8). The *Oxford* Catalogue ascribes it to *Dury* the Pacificator. Mr *Baillet* thought that *Duræus*, *Whitaker*'s Adversary, was a Protestant (9).

(8) Alegambe, Biblioth. Soc. Jesu, pag. 237.

(9) Baillet, Jugemens des Sçavans, Tom III, pag. 136.

[*F*] *It was thought the Lutherans would look upon him with a less favourable Eye, when they were informed that the Episcopal Party declined in England.*] This was what *Vossius* wrote to *Grotius* in the Month of *January* 1641. 'Joannes Duræus jam quasi heb-'domas est, quod è Germania huc venit, à suis in Bri-'tanniam revocatus. Quid promoverit, ex literis ejus 'intelliges, quas ad te ut mitterem justit. Plurimum 'autem metuo, ne in irritum cadant, quæcumque ha-'ctenus inter Lutheranos egit. Jam decennio, ante-'quam ille hanc provinciam susciperet, nihil æque 'objectabant Lutherani, quam pacificatores omnes 'agere hanc causam malo dolo . . . . . Quamquam vero 'adventu D. Duræi, non omnino suam opinionem 'mutârant Lutherani: plerique tamen aliquanto me-'liorem de eo sententiam conceperunt, eo quod mis-'sus foret à Clero Anglicano (10). —— *It is now about a Week since John Durœus came hither from Germany being recalled by his Friends in England. You will learn his success from his Letters, which he*

(10) Vossius, Epist. 401. pag. m 767. *See* also Epist. 405.

The Letter he wrote to *Peter du Moulin*, *concerning the State of the Engliſh, Scotch, and Iriſh Churches under Cromwell*, was printed with ſome other Pieces at *London*, in the Year 1658, in 12°, by the Care of *Lewis du Moulin*. It is a curious Tract, and diſcovers that he was no Enemy to the Independants.

' *he ordered me to ſend you. But I am much afraid,* ' *that what he has hitherto done amongſt the Lutherans* ' *will come to nothing. Ten Years ago, before he under-* ' *took this Pacific Office, the Lutherans objected no-* ' *thing ſo much as that all ſuch Mediators had ſome* ' *ſiniſter end .... Though the Lutherans did not alto-* ' *gether change their ſentiments on his arrival, yet they* ' *in general conceived a better Opinion of him, as being* ' *deputed by the Clergy of England.*' The reſt is in the Margin (11).

(11) Sed quid animi nunc, ad ineundum cum Eccleſiis Gallicis, & Belgicis, fore putabimus, ubi cognorint, hoc agi in Britannia, ut accuſatis, damnatis, ejectis omnibus, quos non longè à ſe abire, & omnino modeſtiæ, & pacis amantiores credebant, triumphent ſoli, quos ipſi Calvinianos, in Anglia autem Puritanos nuncupant? — *But what Inclination ſhall we think they will now have to unite with the Churches of France and Holland, when they ſhall be informed, that in England, all thoſe whom they believed to be ready to join hands, and to be inclined to Moderation and Peace, are accuſed, condemned, and oppreſſed, that theſe may triumph whom they call Calviniſts, and who in England are known by the Name of Puritans.* Idem, Ibid.

E.

EBED-JESU. Look for HEBEDJESU.

ECCHELLENSIS (ABRAHAM) a learned Maronite, whom Mr *le Jai* employed upon his Polygot Bible (*a*). *Gabriel Sionita*, his Countryman (*b*), had drawn him to *Paris*, to make him his Fellow-labourer in the Edition of that Bible [*A*]. They quarrelled to such a degree that their contention made a ſcandalous noiſe: *Gabriel Sionita* carried his Complaints into Parliament, and threw cruel Aſperſions upon his Companion (*c*). Mr *Claude* took the advantage of this diffamation, to diſcredit the Teſtimony of *Ecchellenſis* alledged by Mr *Arnauld* [*B*]. Thoſe who replied to Mr *Claude* did not vindicate the aſperſed Maronite [*C*]. The Congregation *de propaganda fide* added him, about the year 1636, to thoſe who were tranſlating the Scriptures into Arabic (*d*). They recalled him out of *France*, and he was upon that Verſion at *Rome*, in the year 1652. He publiſhed ſomething in that City, and died there in the Month of *July* 1664 (*e*). See the Supplement to *Moreri*'s Dictionary (*f*), where you will find a curious Article concerning this Man.

Whilſt he was at *Rome* Profeſſor of the Oriental Languages, he was choſen by the Grand Duke *Ferdinand* II, to tranſlate out of Arabic into Latin the fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh

(*a*) *This ſhews, that he lived in the XVIIth Century.*

(*b*) Mr de Breves, *Ambaſſador at the Porte, brought him into France, in* 1614. Gaſſend. in Vita Peireſkii, lib. 3, pag. m. 251.

(*c*) *See Remark* [*A*], Cita. (2).

(*d*) *The Abbé* Nazari, *in his* Giornale de Letterati, *of the* 29th *of* January, 1672.

(*e*) Nazari, ibid.

(*f*) *Under* Abraham Echellen. s, pag. m. 30, *of the ſecond Tome, in* 8vo.

[*A*] *Gabriel Sionita had drawn him to Paris, to make him his Fellow-Labourer in the Edition of Mr le Jay's Polyglot Bible.*] This does not agree with what is delivered in the Supplement to *Moreri*: I cannot help it; I have a good Authority; for I do but follow Mr *Simon*, and I have the more Reaſon to depend upon his Teſtimony, as it was deſigned to preſerve the Honour of our *Ecchellenſis*, in an Affair that made a great Noiſe. All the World knows that the diſpute between Mr *Arnauld* and Mr *Claude* paſſed for a very conſiderable Matter. Mr *Simon* became a Party in it to encounter Mr *Claude* upon the Opinion of the Greeks; it was for the Intereſt of his Cauſe, that *Ecchellenſis* ſhould be an honeſt Man, and *Sionita* a Calumniator. Now this is one of his Proofs as to the latter: *Gabriel* brought *Ecchellenſis* to *Paris*, and acknowledged him for his Companion; therefore he did not acknowledge him for the Author of all the Knaveries he charged him with afterwards. 'Si 'impoſtor erat Abraham, cur Gabriel ante quam lis 'inter eos mota fuiſſet eum fratris nomine compella-'vit? Si hæc vera ſunt quæ de Abrahamo Gabriel 'affirmavit, hunc impoſtorem potius eſſe exiſtimaverim: 'cum ille ipſius ROGATU ET ACCERSITU Pariſios 'venerit (1). —— *If Abraham was an Impoſtor, why 'did Gabriel, before their Quarrel commenced, call him 'Brother. If theſe things, which Gabriel affirmed of 'Abraham, are true I ſhould ſooner imagine Gabriel to have 'been the Impoſtor, ſince he came to Paris, ſolely at his 'Requeſt and Invitation.*' Every Body ſees that Mr *Simon* would not have alledged an uncertain Fact, when he was to draw ſo great an Advantage from this Allegation againſt Mr *Claude*; could he imagine that Mr *Claude* would put up with a doubtful Story? therefore I have Reaſon to believe what he delivers is preferable to theſe Words of *Moreri*'s Continuator: 'Mr *le 'Jay*, who was compiling the great Bible, having 'quarrelled with *Gabriel Sionita* the Maronite, ſent 'for *Abraham Ecchellenſis* from *Rome*.' This intimates that thoſe two Maronites were not Fellow-Labourers in the Edition of Mr *le Jay*'s Polyglot Bible, though Mr *Simon* aſſures us of the contrary. 'Gabriel Si-'onita adverſus Abrahamum Ecchellenſem ſupremæ 'curiæ Pariſienſi libellum quendam ſupplicem obtule-'rat, in quo graviſſimè de Abrahamo, qui ei Socius 'in editione Bibliorum Pariſienſium adjunctus fuerat, 'conqueritur (2). —— *Gabriel Sionita preſented an 'Addreſs to the Parliament of Paris, wherein he 'makes heavy complaint againſt Abraham Ecchellenſis, 'who had been appointed, his Coadjutor, in publiſhing 'the Polyglot.*' Mr *Nicolle* affirms the ſame as we ſhall ſee hereafter.

(1) Richardus Simon, In Fide Eccleſiæ Orient. pag. 198.

(2) Id. Ibid.

[*B*] *Mr Claude took the Advantage of this Diffamation, to diſcredit the Teſtimony of Ecchellenſis alledged by Mr Arnauld.*] What Mr *Arnauld* had alledged concerning the belief of the Melchites, was taken from the Notes of our *Ecchellenſis*, made by *Hebedjeſu*, on the Catalogue of the Chaldean Books. To this he replied. 'The Teſtimony of *Abraham Ecchellenſis*, de-'ſerves no Credit, and I refer my ſelf to *Gabriel 'Sionita*, his Countryman, for this, who has repreſent-'ed him as an ignorant pragmatical Fellow, a Knave, a 'Liar, an Impoſtor, and a Cheat. Theſe two Men had 'both ſtudied in the Seminary of the Maronites at 'Rome, and were both abſolutely attached to the In-'tereſts of the *Romiſh* Church; but quarelling about 'the Edition of the Bible in *Syriac*, *Gabriel* thought 'himſelf obliged to ſet out *Abraham* in his true light 'to the World; for this purpoſe he addreſſes a Wri-'ting to him, called, *Commentorium Apologeticum*, in 'which he deſcribes him in the manner I have juſt 'mentioned: he accuſes him of having divided the 'whole Seminary at *Rome*, of betraying the Patriarch 'of the *Maronites*, of deceiving Prince *Fachraddin*, 'of cheating the Duke of *Florence*, of having been 'baniſhed from his own Country, and impriſoned 'at *Florence* for his Crimes, and in ſhort he threatens 'him, for his utter Confuſion, to print ſome Letters 'he had received from Mount *Libanus*, *Rome*, and '*Florence*, concerning his Life. In my Opinion this 'is ſufficient to make a Man's Sincerity be called in 'queſtion (3).'

(3) Claude, Reponſe à la Perpetuité de la Foi defendue, lib. 2.

[*C*] *Thoſe, who replied to Mr Claude, did not vindicate the aſperſed Maronite.*] Mr *Simon* agrees that *Sionita* and *Ecchellenſis* quarelled by having an Eye too much on Mr *le Jay*'s Purſe. 'Ita fit ut dum 'quiſque nummis D. *le Jay*, cujus ſumptibus Poly-'glotta illa Biblia in vulgus edita ſunt, inhiat, illi 'pacem diu tenere non potuerint.' This is not a very good Introduction to an Apology for a Man. One Cut-Purſe may draw another to a place, where he obſerves there is a good Harveſt, but afterwards he may deſire to be alone, if he finds himſelf incommoded by the Diviſion of the Booty. So that the Proof, which I mentioned in the preceding Remark, is of no Force; for ſince Mr *Simon* confeſſes that theſe two *Maronites* were Sharpers, *Sionita* might very well bring the other to *Paris*, though he knew him to be a Knave. So that, inſtead of juſtifying *Ecchellenſis*, they do but blacken his Comrade. The good Character, which Father *Morin* gave *Ecchellenſis*, proves nothing againſt Mr *Claude*; for Father *Morin* does not warrant the time that *Sionita* ſpeaks of; he only ſays that *Ecchellenſis* appeared to be an honeſt and very

seventh Books of *Apollonius*'s Conics. He was assisted in this Translation by *John Alfonsus Borelli* [D], a famous Mathematician, who added a Commentary to it. The whole was printed at *Florence* with *Archimedes*'s Book *de Assumptis* (g), in the year 1661, in Folio. The Preface contains some Particulars [E], which would be the best part of this Article, if I could deliver them with their chief Circumstances. I shall speak of the Quarrel between Mr *de Flavigny* and *Abraham Ecchellensis*, in which may be seen an Instance of the Confusion which may be caused by Errors of the Press, and of the insufferable Vexation they give to an Author [F].

(g) *Translated also out of the Arabic into Latin by* Ecchellensis.

very laborious Man, during his stay at *Paris*; but it is not in that Period of Time, the Accuser fixed the Rogueries of his Companion. ' Multa silentio præterire visum est, quæ in commendationem Abrahami proferri possent, atque imprimis Epistolam, quæ doctissimus Joannes Morinus amplissimum Cardinalem Franciscum Barberinum, de illius probitate vigilis assiduis, & labore indefesso quandiu Parisiis commoratus est, certiorem facit (4). —— *I have chose to pass over in silence, what might be produced in favour of Ecchellensis, but particularly the latter, wherein the learned Morinus informs Cardinal Barberini of his Integrity, Industry, and unwearied Application, during his stay at Paris.*' Let us see whether another of Mr *Claude*'s Antagonists has made a better defence for the Party accused.

(4) Richardus Simon, in Fide Ecclesiæ Orient. pag. 198.

These are his Words. ' There is no good Sense in the Contempt, Mr *Claude* has shewn of the Passages cited by *Ecchellensis*, under pretence that *Gabriel Sionita*, his Partner in the Correction of the Polyglot Bible, printed at *Paris*, falling out with him, has laid several Reflexions upon him, which have no Relation to the Falsification of the Passages. It does not become Mr *Claude* to make himself a judge of the difference between these two *Maronites*, and yet less to declare himself a Party against *Ecchellensis*, upon the single Testimony of his Adversary: but let it be how it will, all those personal Reproaches do not give him any right to reject the Passages which are cited in the Books of that Author, because they do not make it credible, that citing as he does the Books, from which he has taken his Passages, the greatest part of which are in the *Vatican* Library, he should have the boldness to forge them (5).' Nothing can be more loose than such a Justification as this, and since he does not refer the Reader to *Ecchellensis*'s Replies, but is contented to say that we ought to stand neuter in this Quarrel; it is very probable this Man answered nothing, or answered very ill. What the Jansenist Writer takes for his last Shift, is better than all the rest: for after all there are some Circumstances in which we may believe that a Rogue durst not commit a Forgery.

(5) Réponse générale au nouveau Livre de Mr *Claude*, liv. 2, cap. 13, pag. 214. *This Answer is ascribed to Mr* Nicolle.

[D] *He was assisted, in the Translation of Apollonius, by John Alfonsus Borelli.*] This was very necessary; for he, that was to translate, did not understand the Mathematics, and therefore, how skillful soever he might be in the Arabic Language, he would have stumbled at every step. ' Verisabatur *(difficultas)* circa disciplinæ vocabulorum intelligentiam & notionum quarum ignari eramus, & penitus jejuni (6). —— *The difficulty lay in understanding the Terms of Art, and the Subject, whereof we were intirely ignorant.*' On the othe hand, *Borelli* was utterly ignorant of that Language (7); but he understood the Subject of the Manuscript, and by means of the Geometrical Figures he guessed the true meaning of *Apollonius*, upon the Translator's explaining to him, never so little, a few Words. ' Porro quod hac in re magis mirandum est, ' (*this is the Testimony* Ecchellensis *gives of the great* ' *Genius of* Borelli) nec silentio prætereundum, ea erat Viro illi doctissimo singularis ingenii perspicacitas, ut sæpe in abstrusis quibusdam locis, non ex integris, inquam, præmissis, sed ex unica dictione totam illationem inde colligeret, non sensu, sed totidem pene verbis, ac si Arabica legeret verba, & linguæ veteranus esset professor (8). —— *What is more surprizing, and which ought not to be passed over in silence,* (says Ecchellensis, in the Testimony, which he gives of Borelli's great Genius) *was his uncommon quickness of Conception, by which that learned Man could deduce the whole Inference, I do not mean from the Premises, but from a single Word, and would give not only the full sense of the Author, but almost in the same Words, as if he had understood the Language, and had been an old Professor of it.*'

(6) Ecchellensis, Præf ad Apollon. Conica.

(7) Licet Arabici idiomatis sim prorsus ignarus. *Jo. Alfonsus Borellus, Præf. ad Apollon.*

(8) Ecchellensis, Præf. ad Apoll. Conica.

[E] *His Preface contains some Particulars.*] He informs us that he received a Thousand Favours from the Grand Duke *Ferdinand* II, not only when in full Prosperity, he resided at his Court with the Title of Deputy of the *Emir Fachraddin*, but also after the ruin of his Affairs. Let us see how he expresses himself. ' Memini professo, nec ex animo meo excidet, imo clavo fixum tabali manet, quanta in me contulit Magnus Ferdinandus Secundus ornamenta, quanta in me usus est liberalitate, & beneficentia, non tantùm dum fortuna mihi arridebat, non solùm dum res succedebat prospere, non modo dum ad illum ab Amiro Fachraddino missus singulari felicitate fruebar, sed etiam in naufragio, & jactura illa barbarica, in Carrellina conjuratione & proditione, in adversissima fortuna (9) —— *I remember indeed, and it is fastened too strongly on my Memory ever to forget, what Favours the Great Ferdinand II heaped upon me, with what marks of Esteem, with what Generosity he received me, not only whilst Fortune smiled, whilst my Affairs were in a happy Situation, not only whilst I was honoured with a Commission at his Court from Amir Fachraddin; but even in the wreck of my Fortune, after a most melancholy Misfortune, in the Carrelline Conspiracy and Defection, in the most miserable Circumstances.*'

(9) Idem.

[F] *An instance of the Confusion which may be caused by Errors of the Press, and of the Troubles . . . they give to an Author.*] It is known that Mr *de Flavigny* writ two letters against that magnificent Work of the Bible; in seven Languages, by Mr *le Jay*. A learned Maronite, Professor Royal of the *Syriac* and *Arabic* Languages, named *Abraham Ecchellensis*, who came from *Rome* to *Paris*, had a hand in that Bible. It was he who furnished the *Arabic* and *Syriac* Text of the Book of *Ruth*, with the Latin Version. Mr *de Flavigny* wrote, in the Year 1647, his third letter against *Ecchellensis* and his Book of *Ruth*; pretending it was full of faults. In the middle of the second Page of the first Leaf he puts these Passages which are taken from the seventh Chapter of St *Matthew*, Verse 3. ' Quid vidis festucam in oculo fratris tui, & trabem in oculo tuo non vides? *And verse* 5. Ejice primùm trabem de oculo tuo, & tunc videbis ejicere festucam de oculo fratris tui. —— *Why seest thou a Mote in thy Brother's Eye, and beholdest not a Beam in thine own Eye?* And verse 5, *Pull out the Beam out of thine own Eye, and then thou shalt see clearly to cast out the Mote out of thy Brother's Eye.*' He designed by these Words to let *Ecchellensis* understand, that having committed many Faults in the Book of *Ruth*, he wrongfully reproached his Brother Maronite *Gabriel Sionita*, Professor Royal as well as himself, for having made some mistakes in the *Arabic* and *Syriac* Books, he had published in Mr *le Jay*'s Bible. The Maronite, seeing himself under a necessity of answering, began by charging the Doctor with committing an enormous Crime upon the Passage he had cited; in pretending, by an unparallelled Impiety, to correct the sacred Text of the Evangelists, retrenching a modest Word, and substituting another, which is not so, in it's room. He aggravated this pretended Crime in a stinging and outragious Stile: see how he expresses himself in his first Letter, which he calls *Epistola Apologetica prima*, printed in 8vo, in the Year 1647, p 11. Ad primùm quòd attinet, tua Judaica modestia ac pietas, humanissime Flavignane, summoperè eluceseit, ut alia cætera loca omittam, ex iis verbis quæ in me retulisti ex cap. 7. divi Matthæi ver. 3. & ver. 5. quomodo autem sacro-sancti Evangelii verba depravasti, & illusisti in hoc loco, ac sacra immiscuisti profanis, ne expectes à me ut illa secundùm sacrilegam emendationem tuam hic referam, solùm enim meminisse animus horret, lustuque refugit. Quamobrem non in meis, sed in tuis scriptis id legatur, ô accerrimum Hebraicæ veritatis

'veritatis propugnatorem! Hebraicus Textus, ubi verbum aliquod inhoneſtum occurrit, honeſtis velat verbis: Tu verò Hebraïcæ Linguæ Profeſſor, illiuſque Textus importunè ad ſtomachum uſque defenſor ac rabula, Sacro-ſancti Evangelii Sacroſancta verba impietate inauditâ turpas, fœdas, & ſpurcè illis abuteris. Ex quo liquidò apparet, quos mirabiles progreſſus in pietate & Lectione ſacrarum Scripturarum quas crepas ſemper, feceris. Ex verbis tuis, Flavignane, quiſnam ſis optimè cognoſcimus, quia qualis homo eſt talis etiam ejus erit oratio, orationi autem facta ſimillima, factis vita, ut ex Socrate refert Cicero lib. 5. Quæſt. Tuſcul. —— *As to the firſt, moſt humane Flavigny, your Jewiſh modeſty and piety diſplays itſelf in very lively colours in thoſe Words, not to mention any others, which you apply to me, out of the ſeventh Chapter of St Matthew, v. 3, and 5. But how have you corrupted the reading of the Holy Goſpel, played upon the Paſſage, and confounded things ſacred with prophane: do not expect that I ſhould quote it according to your impious Emendation; my mind ſtarts back with horror and grief at the bare Thought. Wherefore let it not be read in my Writings but your own. O redoubted Champion of the Hebrew Truth! when any looſe Expreſſion occurs, the Hebrew Text veils it with a modeſt Phraſe. But you, a Profeſſor of the Hebrew Language, and a noiſy pedantic Stickler for the Text, by an unheard of Impiety, prophane, deprave, and obſcenely abuſe the holy Words of the Holy Goſpel. From whence it is manifeſt, what progreſs you have made in Religion, from your boaſted reading of the ſacred Scriptures. From your own Words, Flavigny, we learn who you are; for, as Citero relates from Socrates, Such as the Man is, ſuch are his Words: ſuch as the Words, ſuch the Actions: ſuch as the Actions, ſuch is the Life.* Thus he goes on for ſix pages. Here are high Words. Here is a heinous Charge. Here is a great noiſe made, and a Doctor vehemently aſperſed. He is accuſed of Impiety, and Sacrilege, and his Morals ſuſpected. Who would imagine that all theſe bitter Reproaches have no other Foundation than an Error of the Preſs (10)?' Mr *Chevillier*, who furniſhes me with this long Paſſage, explains what this Error conſiſted in, and how it was committed by the Printer after Mr *de Flavigny* had reviſed the laſt Proof. The miſchief came from the firſt Letter of the Word *Oculo* dropping accidentally out of the Form, *as the Compoſer rectified an ill ſet Line.* Mr *de Flavigny*, being informed what *Abraham Ecchellenſis* had reproached him with, 'could not find the Error in his printed Copy, nor would acknowledge it, till his Friend, Mr *de Auvergne*, Profeſſor Royal of *Arabic*, ſhewed it him with his Finger. Immediately he wrote his fourth Letter .... he publickly ſwore his Innocence in Terms of Scripture .... (11): he ſaid, that certainly a Fever had made the Printer loſe his Senſes, and that he muſt be mad when he printed the word with that Error (12). His anger was hardly appeaſed (13), thirty Years after the Impreſſion of his Letter.'

(10) Chevillier Orig ne de l'Imprimerie de Paris, Part. II. cap. 5. pag. 169, & ſeq.

(11) Ib. pag. 172.

(12) Ib. pag. 172.

(13) Ibid.

EDWARD IV, King of *England*, was called Earl of *March* before he aſcended the Throne in the year 1461. He was the Son of a Duke of *York*, who had attempted to dethrone *Henry* VI, and would have ſucceeded in it, if by too great a nicety in diſſembling his Ambition he had not prevented the effects of it (*a*). His Son obſerving no ſuch Nicety was more fortunate [*A*]: he did not amuſe himſelf with obtaining

(*a*) *See Remark* [*A*].

[*A*] *Edward obſerving no ſuch Nicety was more fortunate.*] A modern Hiſtorian, having brought down his Narration to the battle in which the Earl of *Pembroke*, who ſided with *Henry* VI, was defeated (1), makes this Reflexion. 'It was obſerved upon this Occaſion, amidſt abundance of Qualities, in which the Earl of *March* reſembled the late Duke his Father, that he had a different Genius from him. The Duke, like thoſe who endeavour in vain to unty the Gordian Knot, had been long attempting a thing he could never attain. The Earl, like *Alexander*, cut aſunder, at one blow, the fatal Knot, ariving directly at Sovereignty. He was no ſooner come to *London*, than he called together the Biſhops, the Nobility, and the principal Citizens, repreſenting them, in a lively Manner, the ancient Pretenſions of his Family, the Agreement made in the laſt Parliament between the Duke his Father and *Henry*, which the latter had violated; and therefore he maintained that the Crown was devolved in full Right to the Heir of the former. He puſhed this Affair ſo warmly, that he was immediately declared King, by the name of *Edward* IV, upon the third of *March*, one thouſand four hundred and ſixty one (2).' The Reader will better underſtand this Paſſage, if I relate what the Author had ſaid of the Duke of *York*'s cautious management. The Duke reſolved to ſupplant *Henry* VI; but obſerved 'all the neceſſary Precautions in ſuch an Enterprize. He appeared late in it, and when he did appear it was with the common Proteſtation of all Rebels, that his deſign was not againſt the King, but to remove evil Miniſters who governed the Kingdom very ill (3).' His Party was named the white Roſe, and the other the red Roſe: they entered into open War (4) with one another, in the Year 1454 (5): the two Armies were in view of each other within ten Miles of *London*, when the King ſent to the Duke, to know his Pretenſions, and why he was in Arms. The Duke, whoſe Intereſt it was to conceal his Deſigns from his Army, anſwered that his Intention was not to attack the King, but to drive from his Preſence a wicked Miniſter who abuſed his Authority (6); and to ſhew the truth of what he ſaid, he promiſed to diſband his Army, provided that evil Miniſter (7) was committed to Priſon. He was taken at his Word, to his great Mortification; for he durſt not go back from it. Some time after he took the advantage of the King's Sickneſs; to ſeize the Duke of *Somerſet* in the Queen's own Apartments: but the fear he was under, leſt they ſhould penetrate too far into his Deſigns, probably hindered him from ſhortening, by one violent blow, the tedious Formalities he was to obſerve in deſtroying his Adverſary, in a Parliamentary Way, and by this means he was once more the Dupe of his own Politics (8).' The King recovered, and ſpeaking like a King by the Queen's Direction, the Duke of *Somerſet* was ſet at Liberty. The Duke of York retired from the Court, and levying forces marched with them to *London*, 'ſtill proteſting his deſign was not 'againſt the King, but only againſt his Miniſter (9).' The Royal Army was routed, and the King made a Priſoner. 'He was ſtill the ſame, and acting upon 'his firſt Scheme ..... affected more than ever a 'a reſpectful carriage towards the unfortunate Monarch .... he made him make his entry into *London*, 'which to outward Appearance looked like a Triumph, 'but if it is conſidered in it's Conſequences was a 'real Captivity (10).' They obliged him to call a Parliament, who appointed him three Guardians, of whom the Duke of *York* was the firſt, 'under the 'Title of Protector of the Kingdom..... So that there 'only remained to *Henry* the empty Name of King, 'the Duke being poſſeſſed of the real Power: he had 'but one ſtep to make to be Maſter of the whole, but 'he waited for the Voice of the People to move him 'to that deciſive ſtep, deſiring together with the Crown 'to have the Glory of being forced to accept it. He 'found himſelf exceedingly out in his Account (11);' for the Queen formed a great Party who got it declared in a new Parliament, 'That the King being of 'mature Age, and found Underſtanding, the Kingdom 'had no need of a Protector: therefore the Parliament 'thought proper to diſcharge the Duke of *York* from 'an unneceſſary care, and which was injurious to the 'Abilities of the King, into whoſe hands the great 'Seal ſhould be immediately reſtored, that he might 'truſt it with what Subject he ſhould judge moſt 'capable of it (12).' After divers Events a battle was fought near *Northampton* (13), in which the King was made a Priſoner: the Duke of *York*, hearing of this good Succeſs in *Ireland*, immediately returned to *England*: he ſhewed ſo plainly, that he aſpired to the Crown, that no body doubted of it. Nay, he even demanded it of the Parliament in expreſs and poſitive Terms (14); but the whole houſe keeping a ſullen Silence

(1) *He was Brother to* Henry *by his Mother.*

(2) D'Orleans Hiſtoire des Revolutions d'Angleterre, lib. 6, pag. 284, *of the ſecond Tome, at the Year* 1461 *I uſe the Edition of* Paris, 1693, *in* 4to.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 259.

(4) Id. pag. 257.

(5) Moreri, *in the Article of* Edward IV, *makes this War begin in* 1461. *He is miſtaken.*

(6) D'Orleans, ubi ſupra, pag. 261.

(7) *It was the Duke of* Somerſet.

(8) D'Orleans, ubi ſupra, pag. 264.

(9) Ib. pag. 265, *at the Year* 1456.

(10) Ibid. pag. 266.

(11) Ibid pag. 267, *at the Year* 1457.

(12) Ibid. pag. 268.

(13) Ibid. pag. 276, *at the Year* 1460.

(14) Ibid. pag. 278.

taining the Title of Protector, he advanced directly to the Crown, and carried it briskly though *Henry* VI was yet alive. Presently after he marched against that Prince, and obtaining a signal Victory over him near *York*, forced him to fly into *Scotland* with *Margaret* of *Anjou* his Wife, a Princess of a great Spirit, and more capable of raising the Courage of the vanquished Party than her Husband (*b*). She went over into *France* to sollicite Assistance from thence, but she obtained no great matter. Nevertheless, as soon as she returned to *Berwick*, *she assembled a sufficient number of Soldiers to form a small Army*, and entering with her Husband the County of *Northumberland*, she advanced towards *Durham*. Here she was joined by considerable Reinforcements; but all her Forces were defeated by *Edward*'s Troops in the year 1463 (*c*). Both she and her Husband were once more obliged to retire into *Scotland* (*d*), whilst the chief Men of their Party either died in the Battle, or perished by the Hands of the Executioner. In the City of *York* alone, five and twenty of them died upon the Scaffold (*e*). The Desolation of this Party was still much greater [*B*], when King *Henry*, who had ventured to return into *England* under a Disguise, was taken and *brought up to London with his Legs tied under the horse's belly* (*f*). He was committed to the Tower. Some time after *Edward*'s good Fortune failed him: he had disobliged the Earl of *Warwick* many ways, who had been the chief Instrument in deposing *Henry* VI [*C*]. He

(*b*) D'Orleans, Revolutions d'Anglet. Tom II, pag. 285, *Edit. of* Paris, 1693.

(*c*) Idem. ibid. pag. 292.

(*d*) Ib. pag. 294.

(*e*) Ibid.

(*f*) Ibid. pag. 296.

lence after he had ended his Speech, he saw clearly that his Affairs would not issue according to his Mind. *He desired to be King; but he would wear the Crown with the good Will of his Subjects* (15). An Expedient was found out to satisfy both Parties. '*It was agreed that the King should keep the Crown, during his Life, and at his Death it should descend to the Duke of* York *and his Children.*' The Queen would not consent to a Treaty so injurious to the Prince of *Wales* her Son, and therefore took Arms with the utmost diligence in the defence of his Right. The Duke marched against her, but was killed in a Battle that was fought some days after (16).

(15) Ibid. pag. 279.

(16) Ibid. pag. 281, *at the Year* 1460.

Thus his Ambition confounded him by being too refined. He could not be content with the Title of King without the Glory of being courted to reign. He durst not use violent Methods to get himself chosen, fearing it would sully his Reputation: but expecting that at length the Crown would be set upon his Head in the most solemn Manner, he died without reaching it. If he had acted as his Son did, his Reign might have been long; but he lost the Fruits of his Labour by not putting out all his Strength. Moderation in such cases is commonly destructive. Fortune loves to have her Favours snatched from her (17); she succours the bold, but rejects the timorous (18).

(17) *See the Article* CHARLES V, *Rem.* [K].

(18) Fortuna fortes metuit, ignavos premit. *Seneca in Medea Act.* II, *ver.* 159.

Res est profecto stulta nequitiæ modus (19).

For Men to desist, when once engaged In Villainy, is foolish.

(19) Seneca in Agamemnone, Act. II, Scen. I, ver. 150.

I remember a Reflexion of *Mezeray*, which is not an ill one: 'As there are as few great Crimes, *says he*, '(20), as heroic Virtues, carried to the utmost length, 'these Men (21), having begun one without Necessity, 'had not Power to commit a second, which was necessary to cover the first.' Thus God hinders the progress of Wickedness, by not permitting it to be carried to an Extremity, and he generally disposes of Things in such a manner that those, who have an unbounded Boldness, have narrow Understandings; and those, who have a Genius to contrive a design, have no Courage to put it in Execution. Thus oppressed Innocence has time to breathe, and is oftentimes even delivered. 'Hoc uno modo, Judices, sæpe multorum 'improbitate depressa veritas emergit, & innocentiæ 'defensio intercluſa respirat: quod aut ii, qui ad fraudem callidi sunt, non tantum audent quantum excogitant: aut illi, quorum eminet audacia atque projecta est, à consiliis malitiæ deseruntur: quod si aut confidens astutia, aut callida esset audacia, vix ullo obsisti modo posset (22). —— *By this only means, Truth, crushed by the Oppression of Multitudes, often lifts it's head a-fresh, and the cause of injured Innocence, that was ready to expire, receives new Breath; because either those, who are expert in cunning, have not the courage to execute what they contrive, or that they, who dare even to Madness, are destitute of cunning, whereas it would be scarce possible to withstand the united force of courage and cunning.*' Extream Boldness, joined to ingenious and inventive Malice, would be an irresistible Torrent (23); a Thunderbolt that would crush whatsoever it should strike. No Throne could be supported against a Faction armed with these two Talents. For Crimes are only maintained by Crimes (24). I could cite abundance of other Sayings upon this Common-Place, but these are sufficient for the present. Let us conclude with observing, that the Text of this Remark required I should give a short account of the Duke of *York*'s Conduct, not so much to explain the better the Subject of this Article, as to prove that his Son excelled him in the Art of bringing about a Revolution.

(20) Mezerai Abregé Chronol. Tom. VI, pag. m. 66, *at the Year* 1591.

(21) *That is the sixteen, who put to death the President* Brisson.

(22) Cicero, Orat. pro Cluentio, cap. 65.

(23) Vis & nequitia quicquid oppugnant, ruit. *When Force and Cunning join They bear all down before them.* Phædrus, Fab. 7, lib. 2.

[*B*] *The Desolation of Henry VI's Party was much greater.*] As soon as it was known that *Henry* VI was in Prison, *all those, who remained of the Adherents to the House of* Lancaster, *dispersed into the Neighbouring Countries.* The Queen carried her Son into *France*. 'The Earl of *Pembroke* wandered up and down *England* in disguise. *Edmund* the new Duke 'of *Somerset* retired into *Flanders* with *John* his 'younger Brother, and *Henry Holland*, Duke of *Exeter*. 'Though the Duchess of *Burgundy* was Infanta of 'Portugal, a Grand-daughter to one of the House of 'Lancaster, and well affected to them; yet every Body 'was so much suspected by those Princes, that they 'durst not declare themselves till they had continued a 'long time concealed in the retinue of that Court, where 'they had the greatest difficulty to subsist. *Philip de Commines* says, he saw one of them walking bare footed, 'begging his Bread, and in a miserable Condition, till 'at last being known, they allowed him a small 'pension, as also to the two *Somersets*, when they 'discovered themselves (25).

(24) De frena & omnem pronæ nequitiam habenis. Per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter. *Let Rage and Malice loose into the World, Who hopes to thrive in Guilt must persevere.* Seneca, in Agamemn. Act. II, Scen. I, ver. 114.

(25) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 296, 297, *at the Year* 1464.

[*C*] *He disobliged the Earl of Warwick many ways, who had been the chief Instrument in deposing Henry VI.*] 'The Services, which Kings cannot acknowledge, commonly make them ungrateful. A Man, to 'whom they are much indebted, seems to have a Right 'to demand much of them; and whoever has a Right 'to demand all becomes troublesome, even when he 'demands nothing. *Edward* owed his Crown to the 'Earl of *Warwick*: this was a Service beyond all Recompence, and which, being accompanied, besides, 'with other glorious Actions, had gained that Lord 'very much the Applauses of the People. Thereupon 'the King grew jealous of him, and imagining they 'made the same Comparison between him and the 'Earl of *Warwick* as between *Saul* and *David*, was 'afraid they should say in *England*, as heretofore they 'did in *Israel*: *Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands* (26).' This was the first Cause of disgust. The Earl was not rewarded according to his Merit (27), and he perceived that *Edward* looked upon him with a jealous Eye. This includes abundance of disagreeable things: for it is impossible that a King, who envies the Glory of one of his Subjects, should not disoblige him on several accounts.

(26) Ibid. lib. 7, pag. 290.

(27) *And yet* Edward had encreased his Estate *Eighty thousand Crowns a Year.* Matthieu, Hist. de Louis XI, liv. 5, cap. 6, pag. 239.

The second Discontent arose from the Earl's being sent Embassador to treat of his Master's Marriage with *Bona* of *Savoy*, Sister to the Queen of *France*. This Marriage was concluded, and they *waited only for the return of an Ambassador* whom the King of *France had dispatched to Edward to get the Treaty signed* (28), when News was brought, *that the new King of England had married a Knight's Widow* (29). 'All *England* looked

(28) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 302.

(29) Idem, pag. 305.

He married much below his Rank [D], and made himself hated by the *English* for that under-match. The Earl of *Warwick*, having drawn over the Duke of *Clarence*, *Edward*'s Brother, into his Faction, gave him his Daughter in Marriage, and projected with him to restore *Henry* VI to the Throne. They were very near putting their Design in Execution, having seized *Edward* in his Camp (g): but as he found Means to make his Escape from the place where they had confined him, they could make no advantage

(g) D'Orleans, ubi supra, p. 322, ad Ann. 1470.

'looked upon this Match with great Indignation: but 'no Man was so uneasy at it as the Earl of *Warwick*, 'who made no doubt but the King had done it on 'purpose to make him ridiculous all over *Europe*, by 'sending him to demand a great Princess, whilst he 'married a Gentlewoman. . . . . *Edward*'s Conduct to 'the Earl upon his return to *London* served to pro- 'voke him to the utmost. He hoped his Master would 'at least endeavour to mitigate his Grief, either by good 'Words or lame Excuses; but instead of that he was 'treated with Contempt and Haughtiness, which a 'Man of less Pride than the Earl of *Warwick* could 'hardly have born. And that nothing might be want- 'ing to aggravate the Affront, he was informed, the 'debauched Monarch had attempted the Chastity of 'his Niece, others say his Sister, being desirous to have 'a Mistress in his Family (30) while he took a Wife 'out of another.'

(30) Polydore Virgil's *Words are*: Nec abhorret à vero fama Edouardum tentasse, ut aiunt, nefario quid in domo Comitis bonæ ab honestate omnino abesset, cum hominis effœtæ quæ facile puellæ ad libidinem alliceret, eâque deperiret. . . . *It is also true that Edward made some Attempts at the Earl's, which were for from honourable, being a Man to be so great Favourite as was an Admirer of the Fair Sex.*

Warwick, full of Revenge, resolved to set *Henry* on the Throne again, and happily effected his Project; thus he played with the Crown at his Pleasure: first he took it from *Henry* VI, and gave it to *Edward*; afterwards he deprived *Edward* of it, and restored it to *Henry* VI: an evident Proof that he was governed by his own Passions and Interest without any regard to Law or Justice. He had Credit enough to have mounted the Throne himself, but *he thought it was more glorious to create Kings than to be one* (31). His Ambition did not prompt him to reign, but to govern those who reigned (32). Moreover, it is seldom seen, that those who raise an Usurper to the Throne do long enjoy his Favours. This does not always arise from the Maxim, *People love the Treason, but hate the Traitor*; nor always because they imagine, that those Men, who have dethroned their first Master, will make no scruple to dethrone a second: but the principal Cause is, those Men never think their Services sufficiently rewarded, but that a Prince, who owes his Crown to them, has no right to deny them whatever they ask (33). He neither can, nor ought, to grant this. Whereupon they are disgusted, break out into Expostulations, and are disgraced. Let us comment a little upon these Words: *The Services which Kings cannot acknowledge commonly make them ungrateful*, &c (34).

(31) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 306. *He cites Sir Thomas More.*

(32) Ib d. 338.

(33) *See, above, the Remark* [R] *of the Article* COLONNA (Pompey).

(34) Which I have mentioned in the beginning of this Remark.

OBSERVATIONS upon Ingratitude.

The first Passage I shall cite is from the Memoirs of the Duke of *Rochefoucaut* (35). 'It was very dif- 'ficult for the Queen to shew a Gratitude proportioned 'to the great Services the Prince had done for her, 'and for the Prince to behave with becoming Modesty, 'after such great Services; for as Obligations of this 'nature can never be paid, they commonly produce 'Hatred in the Heart of the Sovereign, whilst they 'inspire the Subject with the Thoughts of Ambition.' Mr *de la Chêtre* furnishes me with a second Observation. 'After we are under extraordinary Obligations 'to any, we seem to dread their Presence, as if it con- 'tinually urged us to Acknowledgment, and blamed 'our Ingratitude in the least Delay (36).' *Philip de Comines* has preserved a very good Thought of *Lewis* XI, which he relates on account of some great Men, who did not find their Account in having over-rated the Services they had done their Masters. He names, among others, the Earl of *Warwick*. 'It often 'happens that this Presumption arises from great Ser- 'vices done. They think their Merit such, that they 'cannot do without them, and ought to bear any thing 'from them. But, on the contrary, Princes are per- 'suaded that Men are bound to serve them, and often 'express as much, and are very desirous to get rid of 'such troublesome People. Upon this Occasion I must 'mention the King, my Master, who once told me, 'speaking of those who had done good Service, and 'naming also his Author from whom he had it, that 'sometimes Men are ruined by their Services, that the 'greatest Services are commonly rewarded with great 'Ingratitude: but that it often happens, through the 'Fault of those who have performed such Services, who 'boast of, and use, their good Fortune with too much 'Arrogance, both towards their Masters and others, 'as well as through their Masters Unthankfulness. He 'told me farther, that, in his Opinion, he that would 'rise at Court is much happier to receive Favours 'from the Prince he serves, without great Desert, 'whereby he stands obliged to his Prince, than if he 'had done great Services, by which the Prince was 'much indebted to him, it being more natural for a 'Prince to love those who are obliged to him, than 'those to whom he is beholden (37).' Let us see the Judgment of *Montagne* upon this: 'When, many 'Years ago, *says he* (38), I read *Philip de Comines*, 'a very good Author without doubt, I observed this 'for no vulgar Saying, *That a Man must take care not 'to do his Master so much Service, that he cannot find 'a Reward equal to it.* I ought to commend the In- 'vention, but not *Comines*, for I have met with the 'same in *Tacitus* long ago: *Beneficia eò usque læta 'sunt, dum videntur exolvi posse, ubi multum antever- 'tere, pro gratia odium redditur* †. And *Seneca* says 'strongly: *Nam qui putat esse turpe non reddere, non 'vult esse cui reddat* ‡. —— *He that thinks it base 'not to make Satisfaction for a Benefit done him, 'wishes there was none to receive it.* *Cicero* says more 'faintly: *Qui se non putat satisfacere posse, amicus esse 'nullo modo potest* §. —— *Whoever thinks he can never 'make Satisfaction to another, cannot be his Friend.*' I wish *Montagne* had not curtailed *Seneca*'s Passage: he has taken away the beginning and the end, which were most to the purpose. See the Margin (39), and consider this: it is the Sequel of *Montagne*'s Quotation: 'Tibi habe quod accepisti, non repeto, non 'exigo. Profuisse tutum sit: nullum est odium per- 'niciosius quam ex beneficii violati pudore. —— *Enjoy what you have received, I seek not to revoke it. 'May it be safe to have obliged. No Enmity is more 'dangerous than that which proceeds from Ingratitude.*' I might cite also *Seneca*'s nineteenth Letter, wherein we find that Benefits produce Hatred. 'Nullum habet 'majus malum occupatus homo, & bonis suis obsef- 'sus, quam quod amicos sibi putat, quibus ipse non 'est: quod beneficia sua efficacia judicat ad concilian- 'dos amicos, cum quidam, quo plus debent, magis 'oderint. Leve æs alienum debitorem facit; grave ini- 'micum (40). —— *A Man of Business and Substance 'can have no greater Misfortune than to take those 'for his Friends, who really are not, and to ima- 'gine that the conferring Favours is a sufficient Tie 'of Affection, since some Persons hate the more, the 'more they are indebted. A small Obligation gains 'a Friend, but a greater makes him an Enemy.*' *Pliny the Younger*, who was admirably well versed in all the Common-Places of Panegyric, does not forget to observe, that his Hero did not resemble other Princes: they hardly ever think themselves obliged to any body, and if they think they are, they do not love that Person. 'Utriusque cura, utriusque vigi- 'lantia obstrictus est Cæsar. Sed in principe rarum 'ac prope insolitum est ut se putet obligatum, aut 'si putet amet. Debes ergo Cæsar, & solvis (41).

(35) Rochefoucaut, Comte de Paris.

(36) La Chêtre Memoirs.

(37) Philippe de Comines, lib. 3, cap. 10, pag. m. 191, 192.

(38) Montagne, Essais, lib. 3, cap. 8, pag. m. 280.

† Tacit. Annal. IV, cap. 18.

‡ Seneca, Epist. 81.

§ Cicero, in Epist.

(39) Eo perducius est fœnus ut pernicissima res sit beneficia in alterum magna conferre, nam qui putat se, &c. *Ingratitude is so much to that Pitch, that it is of the most dangerous Consequence to lay a Person under any Obligations.* Seneca, Epist. 81.

(40) Idem, Epist. 19, pag. m. 200.

(41) Plin. in Paneg cap. 61.

[D] *He married much below his Rank.*] He was of a Constitution susceptible of all sorts of amorous Passions. His Love was sometimes fixed, sometimes wandring, frolicksome, or grave, attempting all Women thro' a loose Inclination; and now and then attached to others with a steady Passion. Such was his Love for *Elizabeth Woodville*, the Daughter of Baron *Rivers* and *Jaquelina* of *Luxemburg*, who was married to that Lord after the death of the Duke of *Bedford*. The King being a hunting near *Grafton*, a Seat of the Baron's, he went to pay a Visit to his Lady. . . . . She had her Daughter with her, who, being the Widow of Sir *John Gray*, that was killed at the second Battle of *St Albans*, in the Service of *Henry* VI, had lost part of her Estate by the Forfeiture of her Husband's Estate. The young Widow, laying hold of this favourable Opportunity to recover what she had lost, took an occasion, during the

advantage of having been Masters of his Person. The General of their Forces was defeated by *Edward*, who ordered that he should be beheaded. This Misfortune forced them to go over to *France*, to sollicit the Succours they promised themselves from *Lewis* XI. (*b*). They met with a good Reception at the French Court, *Margaret* of *Anjou*, Wife to the imprisoned King, joining her Sollicitations with theirs. The Prince of *Wales*, her Son, married the Earl's second Daughter. This Match was contrived by *Lewis* XI. as a considerable means to strengthen their Faction: on the other hand, her Strength began to encrease in *England*, where the Earl's Friends made great Preparations to dethrone *Edward*, who, far from being upon his guard, as the Duke of *Burgundy*, his Brother-in-law, advised him, would not lose *one day hunting, nor one Party of Pleasure which he often made with the Ladies* (*i*). The Earl landed safely at *Dartmouth*, with the Troops the King of *France* had lent him, and was immediately joined by great Numbers of the *English*. *Edward* marched against him with a fine Army, and was drawing it up in order of Battle, when he was informed *the Marquis of Mountague, in whom he had confided till then*, was the first to cry out *God save King Henry, and that others answering the same, the Mischief had spread into all Quarters, the general Cry being* God save King Henry (*k*).

(*b*) Idem. pag. 310.

(*i*) Idem. pag. 319.

(*k*) Idem. pag. 323.

(*l*) Idem. pag. 324.

(*m*) Comines calls them Oltrelins.

(*n*) *A City of North Holland.*

(*o*) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 329.

(*p*) In October, 1470.

(*q*) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 327.

(*r*) Ibid. 333.

(*s*) *Affairs of Consequence had called him far into the North of the Kingdom.* D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 334

(*t*) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 335, *in the Year*, 1471.

'In this Conjuncture he advised with his Friends what course to take: all things appeared so desperate, that they concluded it was his best way to cross the Sea, and seek 'Assistance from foreign Parts, while the King's Party at home should endeavour to 'facilitate his Return (*l*).' Accordingly he embarked, and set sail for *Flanders*, but was attacked by some Pyrates (*m*), declared Enemies to the *English*, and pursued as far as *Alemar* (*n*), where he landed (*o*). In the mean time the Earl of *Warwick* marched with his Army to *London*, and replaced King *Henry* upon the Throne (*p*). A Parliament was assembled, in which *Edward was declared a Traytor and Usurper of the Crown, his Estate was confiscated, and all Acts signed by him were declared null and void* (*q*). *Edward* privately obtained from the Duke of *Burgundy* a small Supply of Men, and ventured to return into *England*, *depending upon the Friends he had there, and the Letters he received from thence, but much more upon the natural Inclination of the English to change* (*r*). He landed, and advanced into the Country without any Opposition, being joined by the Duke of *Clarence*, who, having gained as many of the Soldiers as he could, openly abandoned *Henry*'s Party. In a word, *though Henry was in London with a considerable number of Lords of his Faction, and tho' the Earl of Warwick wrote to them* (*s*) *to hold out but three days, assuring them of Relief by that time, yet Edward no sooner appeared than he found all the Gates opened to him* (*t*). The Women were of great Service to him [*E*]. He sent *Henry* again to the Tower, no body opposing it, though he was a good Prince [*F*]; and marched directly to give the Earl Battle. The Earl of *Warwick*

'the Visit, to beg this Favour of the King (42).' She obtained her Request, but would not grant the King the Favours he asked of her. *I have not so good an Opinion of myself*, said she, *as to hope to be a Queen, but I have too good a one to submit to be your Mistress. I can love none but a Husband: since you cannot be such to me, be pleased to be contented that I honour you, as my King, with all the Gratitude that is due to a Benefactor.* 'She inflamed his Passion to the 'utmost, by persuading him to suppress it, when she 'saw he was not in a Condition to hearken to Reason. 'She led him so far by this Artifice, that he resolved 'to marry her, notwithstanding the Engagements he 'was under elsewhere, and though the Duchess of '*York*, his Mother, did her utmost to divert him 'from it, who, finding her strongest Reasons ineffectual, 'did not scruple to sollicit one of the King's Mistresses, 'named *Elizabeth Lucy*, to declare that the inconstant 'Prince was engaged to her by a Promise of Marriage, without which she would never have submitted to his Embraces. The Duchess retarded the King 'her Son's Marriage for some Days, by the Report 'of this Engagement, and the notice she herself gave 'of it to the Bishop; but the matter of fact being 'fully examined, it appeared by the Evidence of the 'Person concerned, that she had suffered herself to 'be seduced by the Hopes, but not the Promise, of 'Marriage. This Obstacle being removed, and nothing being able to oppose *Edward*'s Will, he married the Lady *Gray*, with all the Solemnity and Pomp 'of a Royal Wedding (43).'

(42) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 302, ad ann. 1465.

(43) Ibid. pag. 303. *He cites Sir* Thomas More.

One cannot tell what would have happened if *Edward* had had a Wife when he made his Addresses to the young Widow. Perhaps he would not have met with so much Resistance, and perhaps she did express so much Disdain at the Name of Mistress, only because she knew he was at liberty to chuse a Wife. Sir *Thomas More* insinuates, that the Lady managed with great Artifice: she preached when her Auditor could not be edified by her. Indeed a Woman of Quality, who has Wit, always answers as the Lady *Gray* did. It may be of service, and can do no harm, for there are always ways enough to remove the Inconvenience of the first Repulse, and a Man is easily drawn on, how great soever he be, if he is deeply in Love, and a Bachelor, and given to understand, that nothing is to be obtained but in the way of Marriage. We have seen, in another Place (44), that a Mistress of *Henry* VIII, by a like Contrivance, pushed him on to divorce his Wife.

(44) *In the Text of the Article* BOLEYN, *between the Citations* (*d*) *and* (*f*).

[*E*] *The Women were of great Service to him.*] '*Philip de Comines* says, that three things did facilitate 'the King's Entrance into that great City. The first 'was the number of his Friends who were fled into 'the Churches, which in those Days were still looked 'upon as inviolable Sanctuaries. The second was the 'great Debts *Edward* had contracted in *London*, every one being glad to see their Debtor in a Condition 'to pay. The third, the Citizens Wives, who had 'shared in his good Graces, who gained their Husbands to his Party (45). *Philip de Comines*'s Words upon this last Head are these (46). 'Many Women 'of Fortune, and rich Citizens Wives, with whom 'formerly he had been very intimate, persuaded their 'Husbands and Relations to side with him.' This was a singular Happiness. Other Kings, especially in other Countries, would have lost their Crown for having had too fond an Inclination for their Subjects Wives; but here is one who recovers his Crown by this very Method. Let us describe his voluptuous Life. 'He had indulged himself in Ease and Pleasure for twelve or 'thirteen Years more than any Prince of his time, 'abandoning himself unreasonably to Women, Hunting and Feasting. When in the Season he went a 'hunting, he had Pavilions carried with him for the 'Ladies; entertaining them in a splendid manner: and 'indeed he was the properest Person for this of any 'Prince I ever saw; for he was young, and handsome 'as any Man of his time, I mean in his Adversity, 'for afterwards he grew very fat (47).'

(45) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 335, *at the Year* 1471.

(46) Comines, lib. 3, cap. 7, pag. 164.

(47) Idem, cap. 5, pag. 156, *of the Year* 1470.

[*F*] *He sent Henry VI again to the Tower without any body opposing it, though he was a very good Prince.*] I have

Warwick was entirely defeated (*u*), and slain; and not long after *Edward* gained a like Victory over Queen *Margaret*. He put to death a great many Persons; among whom was the Captive King; but the Queen was spared, and after *some time of Imprisonment* was set at liberty (*x*). The Duke of *Clarence* having fallen out with the Court was also put to Death [*G*]. So many bloody Executions ought naturally to have made *Edward* IV abhorred: nevertheless he reigned peaceably, and was admired by his Subjects. He entered into a League with the Duke of *Burgundy* against *Lewis* XI, and perhaps never was a fairer opportunity for him to have conquered all *France*; but he chose rather to make a Peace, that he might indulge his Pleasures. This Peace, so shameful to *France* in some respects, is excusable, when we consider the State of Affairs at that time [*H*]. The two Kings had an Interview at *Pequigni* in *Picardy*, and mutually

(*u*) *The fourteenth of* April, 1471.

(*x*) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 346.

I have made an Observation somewhere, which I ought to be allowed to confirm by Examples as I meet with them. Every Author has a right to justify his Opinions; and in order to that, to take all Advantages that his reading furnishes him with. I have said (48), that the Weakness, or too great Easiness, of Princes was oftner the Cause of their being dethroned than their great Wickedness. *Henry* VI, the Sport of Fortune, frequently a Prisoner, and at last massacred in Prison, was the best Man that could be. 'He had all 'the Virtues that constitute an honest Man, but few 'of the Qualities that form a great King, whom he 'had not the Art so much as to personate in outward 'Appearance. So that no sooner was he arrived at the 'Age wherein a Man begins to shew what he is, when 'he cannot dissemble what he is not, than he was acknowledged to be good, pleasant, temperate, just, a 'true Christian; but soft, easy, slothful, weak, doing 'nothing but as he was put forward by others, which Impulse he habitually received from those who had once 'got the Ascendant over him (49).' He was very near being ranked in the Catalogue of the Saints that are prayed to. Read what follows: 'A Prince of few 'Talents and great Virtues; most unhappy as to the 'World, most happy according to the Gospel. He 'was contemned by Men, who looked upon him as 'of a weak Mind, imprudent, injudicious, and even 'stupid: thus *Comines* speaks of him, unjust, contrary 'to his usual way, to the Memory of this pious King; 'but Heaven has asserted his Glory by Miracles 'wrought at his Tomb, which have caused him to be 'revered as a Saint. *Henry* VII demanded his Canonization, and it is not known what hindered him 'from pursuing or obtaining it. Some think, that 'That Prince, naturally a good Husband, was afraid 'of the Charges of the Ceremony; a thing not credible of so great a King. Others say, he was told 'from *Rome* that there was a Difference to be made 'between an honest Man and a Saint. A Reason 'still less probable, since the Church knows no Holiness more sublime than that of a Man, who maintains the Purity of his Life in the Corruptions of a 'Court, and a constant Patience in the midst of long 'Adversity. What others write is much more likely, 'that *Henry* VII died before they had got the necessary Informations for the Canonization, and his Successor had neither Leisure nor Inclination to concern himself about it (50).' If instead of so many Christian Virtues *Henry* VI had possessed the Qualities of a warlike King, and a good Politician, who knows how to make himself feared by every Step he takes, it would not have been so easy to have alienated his Subjects from him. Had he been as ill a Man as the Head of the Rebels, he had reduced them to their Duty, and died upon his Throne. He was abandoned by all the World in his Capital City: wherefore? Could any complain of his Violences? not in the least. Why then? Because he had no other Defence than his Virtue, *sola majestate armatus*. A weak Resource in a Civil War to have only, on his side, the Testimony of his Conscience, and his just Right. It requires a Storm or Hurricane to overthrow a Monarch, who knows how to make himself dreaded *per fas & nefas*: but a Breath of Wind is sufficient to blow down a weak and scrupulous Prince.

(48) *To the Remark of the Article* AMPHARES.

(49) D'Orleans, ubi supra, lib. 6, pag. 234.

(50) Ibid. lib. 7, pag. 343, 344.

[*G*] *The Duke of Clarence . . . . was put to Death.*] It was for speaking too freely when he knew that the Queen's Brother aspired to marry the Heiress of *Burgundy*: 'Jealousy, Indignation, and Rage made him 'speak with the more Indiscretion upon this Occasion, 'because he aimed himself at this Match, and was 'secretly intriguing for it with the Duchess of *Burgundy*, his Sister. His Anger broke out against the 'King himself, speaking indecently of him, and a'mong other things injurious of that Prince, saying, 'that he was not the Duke of *York*'s Son, that he 'had treacherously usurped the Throne from *Henry*, 'who by a solemn Treaty, ratified by Parliament, 'ought to have enjoyed the Crown during his Life. 'The Queen and her Relations did not fail to take 'notice of all these Words, and to put such a Construction upon them as they thought proper . . . . (51).' *Edward* was so sensibly touched with this, that he got his Brother impeached, and tried in Parliament. 'It is pretended he mitigated his Punishment in 'changing the kind of Death, to which he was condemned, into that of being drowned in a Tun of 'Greek Wine. An odd Mitigation! and whatever Chancellor *More* may say of it, who would make this Action pass for an Effect of the King's Clemency, there is something in it so barbarous, that it shocks Humanity more than the most cruel Punishment (52).' See the Margin (53).

(51) D'Orleans, Revol. d'Angleterre, Tom. II. lib. 7, pag. 346, at the Year 1478.

(52) Idid pag. 348.

[*H*] *This Peace, shameful to France . . . . is excusable, when we consider the State of Affairs at that Time.*] The Author that I cite reckons it the *Masterpiece of Lewis XI* (54). 'But, *adds he*, it was so glorious for *Edward*, that those, of the *French*, who did 'not penetrate so far as their King did into the solid 'Part, were ashamed of it, and had much rather have 'run a greater Hazard than been secured by such a Peace 'And indeed the King of *England* made himself be 'courted in such a manner, as the Majesty of the 'French Monarchy could hardly bear in the greatest 'Necessity. A Pension of Fifty thousand Crowns, 'payable, for ten Years together, to this Prince, for the 'Charge of his Expedition, was the most mortifying 'Part of the Treaty to *France*, and the most honourable to *Edward*, who returned home, loaded with 'the Spoils of a Prince, he had made a Treaty of 'Friendship with.' See one of the Remarks of the Article LEWIS XI (55): in which I have alledged a long Passage out of a *French* Author, who observes, that this Prince was charged with Cowardice on this Occasion. Father *Orleans* was in the right to say, that the Pension, payable for ten Years together, was the most shameful Part of the Treaty; for you must know, it is upon this Foundation, that the *English* boast of having made the *French* Monarchy tributary to their Crown. I leave Politicians to examine whether this is a solid Foundation: in my Opinion it is not, and that in order to boast with Reason, that a Nation is tributary to another, there ought to be this Term in the Treaty, and that they were forced to agree to call the Money to be paid a Tribute. Now there is not a Word of this in the Article of the Treaty concluded between *Lewis* XI, and *Edward* IV; and it is certain that the *French* and *English* always gave different Names to the Sums paid, the former calling them a *Pension* (56), and the latter a *Tribute*. Nay more, *Philip de Comines* assures us, that it was neither the one nor the other (57). But after all, would it have been such a matter to boast of, if he had forced *Lewis* XI to promise a Tribute of ten Years to *England*, he, who had his Kingdom full of Malcontents, who knew he was betrayed by the Constable, and that dangerous Conspiracies would break out in the Heart of his Kingdom as soon as the united Forces of *England* and the House of *Burgundy*, should invade the Frontiers. If *Edward* taking the Advantage of this critical Conjuncture, and assisted by so many Allies, within and without, should have reduced his Enemy to promise him a Tribute, would that be a solid Proof of his Superiority? Where is the Nation brave and powerful enough not to be distressed

(53) George *Duke of* Clarence, *Brother to the King of* England, *chose to die in a Butt of Malmsey*; in the quotation vehemente quam adderit [let him add] *de Ludo antiq. teste* Seneca, *O to make himself drunk, and divert the Horror and Thought of Death.* Matthieu Hist. de Louis XI, lib. 10, pag. 550.

(54) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 350.

(55) *Rem.* [*G*].

(56) *See* Philip de Cominer, lib. 6, cap. 9, pag. 390, 391.

(57) And then the Pension was suppressed, which he (*Edward*) received of us, and called it Tribute, but it was neither the one nor the other, as I have shewn before. *Comines, lib.* 5, *cap. ult. pag.* 343.

tually expreſſed great Friendſhip. *Lewis* invited *Edward* to come to *Paris*, and divert himſelf with the Ladies, but would have been very ſorry to have been taken at his Word [*I*]. He was very much afraid that the *Engliſh* would repent of the Treaty [*K*]. The Declaration of War contained one remarkable thing; *Edward* declared that he would be King of *France*, in order to do good to the Nation [*L*]. He died the 13th of *April* 1483, in the Forty firſt Year of his Age. Some ſay he died of grief by being diſappointed

ſtreſſed if all her Neighbours conſpire againſt her, at the ſame time that Diſcord reigns in her own Bowels? I do not think *France* would have had reaſon to have boaſted or inſulted *Holland*, if after the taking of *Utrecht*, in the Year 1672, ſhe had granted her Peace on Condition of a Tribute to be paid for ſome Years. *France* was ſeconded by *England* and two Princes of the Empire, and attacked a Country full of Diviſions, and ſuccoured by no Power whatſoever.

As for the reſt, we muſt not wonder that *Edward* the Fourth's Conduct has been condemned: for, in all probability, if he had puſhed his Point, he would have conquered ſome of the Provinces, and perhaps have divided the whole Kingdom of *France* between the Duke of *Burgundy* and himſelf. *Philip de Comines* aſſures us, that *Lewis* XI was afraid the *Engliſh* would repent of their loſing ſo fair an Opportunity. Let us hear what he ſays. 'A Gentleman of *Gaſcoign*, 'named *Lewis de Bretaillet*, a Servant of the King 'of *England*, was very much diſatisfied at this Peace, 'and becauſe I was his old Acquaintance, he talked 'with me privately, and ſaid, we ſhould laugh heartily at the King of *England*. I asked him how many 'Battles the King of *England* had won. He told me 'nine, where he was perſonally preſent. I asked 'him how many he had loſt: He anſwered he had 'never loſt but one, which was that we had made 'him loſe, and that he received a greater Diſhonour 'by returning home in this manner, than he had gained 'Reputation in winning the other nine Battles. I gave 'the King an Account of this Diſcourſe, who ſaid he 'was a dangerous Fellow, and his Mouth muſt be 'ſtopped; whereupon he ſent for him, and he made 'him dine at his own Table. The King made him 'very great Offers if he would ſtay in *France*: but 'when he could not prevail with him, he preſented 'him with a thouſand Crowns, and promiſed to 'provide for his Brothers in *France*; and I whiſpered him in the Ear to endeavour to keep up 'the Friendſhip which was begun between the two 'Kings. There was nothing the King dreaded more 'than that ſome Word ſhould eſcape him, by which 'the *Engliſh* ſhould think he had deluded them (58).' You will ſee, in the Remark [*K*], a like Paſſage out of this Author. It is certain that this Peace would have been of no long Duration if *Lewis* XI had not corrupted, by Preſents and Penſions, the Miniſters and Favourites of the King of *England* (59). *Note*, There are Circumſtances in which each of the Princes, that conclude a Peace, incur a general Blame. This we have mentioned was diſagreeable both to the *French* and *Engliſh*: to the former, becauſe they thought it diſhonourable; to the latter, becauſe it had robbed them of an infallible Opportunity of making uſeful and glorious Conqueſts. But as the moſt flattering Appearances are ſometimes deceitful, it might have happened perhaps that a War would not have procured them greater Advantages than they obtained by the Peace. If *France*, after the taking of *Utrecht*, in the Year 1672, had been contented with the Conditions that the United Provinces, who begged for Peace, would have accepted, how many State Critics would have cenſured *Lewis* XIV for not improving his Advantages, and neglecting this fair Opportunity of ſubduing the whole Country? It was with this View, ſay they, that the Miniſter, who had the Management of the Military Affairs, cauſed all the Reaſons of Mr *de Pomponne*, who adviſed the Peace, to be rejected. Before the end of the next Campaign they had reaſon to repent their not following this Advice: and they aſſure us, that the King, being forced to abandon all his Conqueſts, ſaid aloud, *Pomponne was in the Right*. We may admire at the Oddneſs of Events. *France* ſuffered for refuſing Peace to an Enemy almoſt ſubdued, and the *Turk*, at the ſame time, ſuffered for granting it to an Enemy, reduced to ſtrange Confuſions. The *Porte* was dazzled by the advantageous Terms the *Poles* offered her after the taking of *Kaminiec*: ſhe was content with them, and

(58) Philip. de Comines, lib. 4, cap. 10, pag. 238, 239.

(59) Idem, lib. 6, cap. 2.

COMPARISON between *France* and the *Porte*, in 1672.

did not diſturb them; but after the Sultan's Retreat they took Courage, and kept none of their Promiſes, laughing at the *Turk*: ſo that, at the ſame time, the Conduct of theſe two Princes deſerve to be condemned, one for not granting a Peace, and the other for granting it. Who knows but *Edward* IV would alſo have been blamed if he had rejected the Offers of *Lewis* XI.

[*I*] *The King of France invited him to come and divert himſelf with the Ladies at Paris, but would have been ſorry to have been taken at his Word.*] I cannot do better than make uſe of *Philip de Comines*'s own Words. 'After they had both ſworn, our King, who 'had Words at command, began to talk pleaſantly to 'the King of *England*, inviting him to *Paris* to divert 'himſelf with the Ladies, telling him he would give 'him the Cardinal of *Bourbon* for a Confeſſor, who 'would readily give him Abſolution for that Sin, if 'any were committed. The King of *England* was 'pleaſed with this; and anſwered, with a merry Countenance: for he knew the Cardinal to be a good 'Companion . . . . . (60). When the King returned 'from this Interview, he diſcourſed with me on the 'Road upon two Points. He found the King of *Eng-*'*land* ſo willing to come to *Paris* that he was not 'pleaſed at it, and ſaid: *He is a goodly Prince, and* 'a Lover of Women: he may perhaps find, at Paris, 'ſome dainty Lady that may wheedle him, with ſuch 'fine Words, as may make him deſirous of coming a-'gain: and that his Predeceſſors had been too much 'in *Paris* and *Normandy*: that his Company on this 'ſide the Sea was not to his liking: but beyond the 'Sea he deſired to have him for his good Brother and 'Friend (61).'

(60) Comines, lib. 4, cap. 10, pag. 236.

(61) Idem, pag. 237.

[*K*] *Lewis XI was afraid the Engliſh would repent of the Treaty.*] This appears by the Paſſage I have already cited (62) out of *Philippe de Comines*, and by what I am going to cite: 'One of thoſe *Engliſh-*'*men* (63) began to repent of the Agreement, and 'told me, at a Window, that if they had ſeen great 'numbers of ſuch Men with the Duke of *Burgundy*, 'perhaps they would never have concluded the Peace. 'My Lord of *Narbonne*, who is now Lord of *Fouez*, 'hearing this, ſaid to him: *Were you ſo ſimple as* 'to think, that the Duke of Burgundy had not a 'great number of ſuch Men? He only ſent them away 'to refreſh themſelves: but you were ſo fond of re-'turning home, that Six hundred Pipes of Wine, and 'a Penſion the King gave you, ſoon ſent you back to 'England. The *Engliſhman* grew angry, and ſaid: 'This is what every body told us, that you would 'laugh at us. Do you call the Money the King gives 'us a Penſion? It is a Tribute, and, by St George, 'you may ſay ſo much that you may make us ſoon return. 'I broke off the Converſation, turning it to a Jeſt: 'but the *Engliſhman* was not ſatisfied, and ſpoke a 'Word to the King of it, who was wonderfully in-'cenſed againſt the Lord of *Narbonne* (64).' He was juſtly angry at the Indiſcretion of ſuch Raillery, which might have been very prejudicial (65). But he had not been diſcreet enough himſelf, having dropt *a Jeſt about the Wines and Preſents he had ſent to the* Engliſh *Army* (66). He preſently ſaw the Conſequences of it, and did his utmoſt to prevent it (67).

(62) *Citat.* (58).

(63) That is the *Engliſh* which *Edward* had left as Hoſtages with *Lewis* XI, and which *Lewis* XI brought with him when he had an Interview with the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Embaſſadors.

(64) Comines, lib. 4, cap. 11, pag. 244.

(65) *See* Matthieu, Hiſtor. de Louis XI, lib. 6, cap. ult. pag. 332.

[*L*] *Edward declared he would be King of France, in order to do good to the Nation.*] The Herald brought King *Lewis* XI *a Letter of Challenge from the King of* England, *in a fine Language and Stile.* . . . . *He required the King to reſtore to him the Kingdom of* France, *which belonged to him, that he might eſtabliſh the Church, Nobility, and People in their ancient Liberties, and eaſe them from the great Burthens and Hardſhips they were under; and in caſe of a Refuſal he threatened what Miſeries would enſue* (68). What a fine Pretence is here! which is nevertheleſs ſo groſs a Snare, that People are ſeldom taken in it. For when they conſider a little of the Conſequences of a foreign Government, founded upon a Right of Conqueſt, they deſire no ſuch Deliverers. They would laugh now-a-days at ſuch a Manifeſto.

(66) Comines, lib. 4, cap. 10, pag. 239.

(67) Ibid. *See alſo* Matthieu, Hiſt. de Louis XI, lib. 6, cap. ult. pag. 329.

(68) Comines, lib. 4, cap. 5, pag. 213.

(69) Ibid lib. 5, cap. 2, pag. 253.

[*M*] *He*

disappointed in his hopes of marrying his Daughter to the Dauphin of *France* [*M*]. All the Precautions he took to secure the Crown to his Son *Edward* V, were to no purpose; for *that very Person, whom he charged on his death-bed to fix it upon his head*, ravished it from him (*y*). This was the Duke of *Gloucester*, *Edward*'s Brother. He put to death *Edward* V, and the other Son of *Edward* IV, and caused their two Sisters to be declared illegitimate [*N*]. But he also had a Competitor who killed him in Battle, and seized the Crown. This was *Henry* VII. Never were more frequent or more bloody Revolutions. *Since my remembrance*, says Philip de Comines (*z*), *there died in these Divisions of England above eighty Persons of the Royal Blood, some of whom I knew my self, and had an account of the others from the English residing with the Duke of Burgundy while I was there.* And indeed *England* never produced more great Men than at this time, capable to contrive and execute any important Enterprize, brave, active, and politic to the highest degree. It is commonly fatal to a State to be fruitful in this way, and probably Revolutions would have been no less frequent in this Country, the next Century, if those great Men had left Successors in it [*O*]. But they are ignorant of History who affirm

(*y*) D'Orleans, ubi supra, pag. 352.

(*z*) Philip de Comines, lib. 5, cap. 7, pag. m. 421. *See also* lib 3, cap. 4.

[*M*] *He saw himself disappointed in his Hopes of marrying his Daughter with the Dauphin.*] This Marriage had been agreed upon by the Treaty of *Pequigni*, in the Year 1475. 'Where it was sworn and promised, that, within the Year, the King of *England*'s Daughter should be sent for, and she was already called the Dauphiness (69)' *Lewis* XI always took care to elude the pressing Instances that were made to him to execute this Article. 'He never intended to accomplish this Marriage, there being an Inequality between the Ages of the two Parties; for the Princess *, the present Queen of *England*, was much too old for the Dauphin, our present King. So that by this Dissimulation a Month or two was gained in coming and going, by which means he deprived his Enemy of an Opportunity to hurt him. For, without doubt, if it had not been for the Hopes of this Marriage, the King of *England* would never have suffered him to take Towns so near him, without concerning himself for their Defence (70).' At last the Dauphin married *Margaret* of *Austria* (71), which highly displeased the King of *England*; 'for he looked upon it as a Dishonour to be thus deluded. . . . . And feared the Contempt it would bring on him would be very great in *England*, and excite a Rebellion against him; especially because he would not hearken to good Counsel. He also saw the King near him with a great Army. Upon receiving of this News he was struck with so great Grief, that he fell sick and died soon after; some say of a Catarrh. Whatever his Distemper was, it was said, that Grief for this Marriage was the cause of his dying in a few Days (72).'

(69) Ibid. lib. vi. cap. ii. pag. 353.

* Her Name was *Elizabeth*: she was married to *Henry* VII, King of *England* Father of *Henry* VIII.

(70) Comines, lib. vi. cap. ii *at the Year* 1477, *pag.* 354.

(71) Daughter of *Maximilian* of *Austria*, and *Mary* Heiress of *Burgundy*.

(72) Comines, lib. ii. cap. ix, pag. 100, 391. *See also* pag. 288.

[*N*] *The Duke of Gloucester caused Edward the Fifth's two Sisters to be declared illegitimate.*] Let us make use of *Philip de Comines*'s own Words (73). 'After the Death of *Edward*, the said Duke of *Gloucester* did Homage to his Nephew, as to his King and Sovereign Lord, and yet immediately after he committed this Fact (74), and in full Parliament got the two Daughters of the said *Edward* degraded, and declared Bastards, under Pretence of a certain Matter, which he proved by the Bishop of *Bath*, who formerly had been in great Credit with King *Edward*; but afterwards he was disgraced, and committed to Prison, from whence he was discharged by paying a Fine to the King. The said Bishop alledged, that King *Edward* had promised Marriage to an *English* Lady, whom he named, whom he was in love with, in order to enjoy her, that he made the Promise in Presence of the said Bishop, and thereupon lay with her, but did it only to delude her. Nevertheless, such Pastimes are dangerous when such Proofs are to be had. I have known some Courtiers, who in such a Case would not have lost a good Adventure, that pleased them, for want of promising. This wicked Bishop kept this Revenge in his Heart for twenty Years.'

(73) Idem, pag. 391.

(74) *That is, to cause to be put to death the young King, and Edward's other son.*

[*O*] *Revolutions would not have been less frequent, if those great Men had left Successors.*] That is to say it, after their Death, there had been, in *England*, any Lords as ambitious, as brave, and as capable to carry on a Plot as they had been. For these are the Principles and Springs of Revolutions. We are not to seek for them in the inconstancy of the People: As mutable as they are, they will remain quiet, if not agitated by some external Force, if their Tribunes or Demagogues, or Great Lords, do not stimulate them by the Activity of their ambitious intrigues, &c. They are like the Waters of the Sea, which are commonly calm, if the Wind does not blow. 'Ex quo intelligi 'potuit id quod sæpe dictum est, ut mare quod sua 'natura tranquillum sit, ventorum vi agitari atque 'turbari, sic & populum Romanum sua sponte esse 'pacatum, hominum seditiosorum vocibus ut violen-'tissimis tempestatibus concitari (75). And if, after the Example of some parts of the Sea, where, without the help of Winds, the Fermentation of subterraneous Matter sometimes produces a sort of Tempest, the People mutiny of themselves, it is but like a blaze of Straw, when no persons of Figure appear at their Head. Our *Edward* IV was well acquainted with this. He told *Philip de Comines*, 'that in all the 'Battles he had won, as soon as the Victory was secure, 'he mounted on Horseback, and cried out to save the 'People and kill the Lords; few or none of whom 'escaped (76). By this means at last he came to reign peaceably: if he had spared the Duke of *Clarence*, his Brother, he would have been exposed to new Troubles. He only put in Execution the old Maxim of *Periander* (77), and *Tarquin the Proud*. 'Ibi inambulans 'tacitus summa papaverum capita dicitur baculo decus-'sisse, &c. (78)--*Walking therein, and observing a strict 'silence, he is reported to have struck off with his Cane 'the tops of the highest Poppies.*' I do not deny but another Cause contributed to maintain the lineal Succession to the Crown of *England* in the XVIth Century, which had been so frequently broke thro' in the XVth. The cause was the Superiority of Genius and Courage in those who reigned, or in their Ministers. Take away these two Causes, and you will easily conceive that those Interruptions would have been more frequent in the XVIth than in the XVth Century; for these sorts of Revolutions are like false Miracles, where the first gets ground with more difficulty than the following ones: as soon as People are prevailed upon to believe one miraculous Fable, another goes down with less difficulty. The first Miracle makes way for a second, and the two first for a third; and so of the others, not *ad infinitum*, but to certain Limits, which depend upon Times and Places. 'Prodi-'gia eo anno multa nunciata sunt, quæ quo magis 'credebant simplices ac religiosi homines, eo etiam 'plura nunciabantur (79). —— *Various Prodigies were 'trumpt up that Year, and the more they gained credit 'among the Vulgar, and superstitious, the more they 'were multiplied.*' We may say the same of the Infractions of the legal Succession to a Crown. The first Precedent is more difficult to be established than the following ones; but when it is once done, a Breach is opened, which is not soon closed, and if proper measures are taken, the Breach is found wide open for a second Infraction to enter, which makes it still wider than before; so that a third Usurper passes with more Ease than the two others, and so of the rest. When you have read in the *Roman* History, that the Senate were once or twice constrained to acknowledge for Emperors, those that were created by the Army, wonder no more to see so few Emperors succeed one another legally. You may rather wonder to see three or four Reigns lineally succeed one another in the same Family; for a General of an Army, who has got himself raised by the Soldiers into the Place of

(75) Cicero, In Orat pro Cluentio, cap. xl x.

(76) Comines, lib. iii. cap. v, pag. 155.

(77) *See* Aristot. Polit. lib. iii, cap. xi. & lib. v, cap. x. Herodotus, lib v, cap. xcii pag. m. 324. & Diog. Laert. lib. i n. 100. *Say that* Thrasybulus *gave this Advice to* Periander.

(78) Livius, lib. i. cap. liv.

(79) Livius, lib. xxiv, cap. x.

affirm, that the same things have not happened in other Countries [P]. Note that the Fleet was in no good Condition in the Reign of *Edward* IV [Q].

the Emperor, whom he has put to Death, has no Reason to pretend that the General of his Army should be contented with his Post. Why, will such a one say, should I obey a Man, who, when he was in my place, would not obey his Sovereign? He killed him, and made himself proclaimed Emperor by his Soldiers. Cannot I do the same? have not I as much Right as he had to raise myself from General, to be Master of the whole Empire? Thus you see how naturally one Revolution brings on another, and the more frequent they are in one Age, the more they ought to be in the next. And indeed so they would be, if the divine Providence did not prevent it, either by the scarcity of Men capable of carrying on an Intrigue of this Nature, or by the superior Vigour of those who reign.

Note, nothing contributed more to the Troubles in *Henry* VIth's Reign, than the pretence they went upon, that That Prince was the son of an Usurper; for since the fundamental Laws had been violated in Favour of his Father, it was not strange a Duke of *York* should attempt to exclude him. Could not the Duke of *Gloucester*, who seized the Crown in Prejudice of *Edward* IVth's Son, maintain that he only set aside the Son of an Usurper? for *Edward* IV ascended the Throne in the Life-time of *Henry* VI, though by an Act of Parliament *Henry* ought to have reigned during his Life. By the same Act the legitimate Son of *Henry* VI was excluded the Throne. All which authorized the Duke of *Gloucester* to have no manner of Regard for *Edward* the fourth's Children, and to require the Parliament to make such Acts for him as they had made for his Brother against *Henry* the sixth's Son.

[P] *Those who say the same things are not done in other Countries, are ignorant of History.*] The reading *Justin* only will inform us of greater disorders in *Syria* under the *Seleucidæ*, and in *Egypt* under the *Ptolemies*; and these were not equal to the frequent Revolutions in *Macedonia* after the Death of *Alexander*. The same Historian relates them with an Exclamation. 'Tanta vel 'mobilitas militum vel fortunæ varietas erat, ut vicissim reges nunc exules nunc reges viderentur (80). (80) Justin lib. xxvi. cap. ii. pag. m. 457.

' —— *So extravagant was the Caprice of the Army, or such the instability of Fortune, that by turns they saw their Kings on Thrones, and in Exile.*'

[Q] *The Navy was in no good Condition in Edward the fourth's Reign.*] When in the Year 1470, the Earl of *Warwick* came over into *England* with Succours that *Lewis* XI had lent him, he had nothing to fear but the Duke of *Burgundy*'s Fleet. There is no mention made of King *Edward*'s Ships. This Fleet would have hindered the Earl's Passage with his Troops, if it had not been dispersed by a Storm (81). Five Years after the same Duke of *Burgundy* was forced to send *Edward* five hundred Vessels of *Holland* and *Zealand*, to transport the *English* Army from *Dover* to *Calais* (82). (81) *See* Comines, lib. iii, cap. v. (82) Ibid. lib. iv, cap. v.

EGIALEA, Daughter of *Adrastus* King of *Argos*, and Wife of *Diomedes* [A], was so lascivious, that one of *Ovid*'s Curses, against the Man he mortally hated, was to wish him such a Wife [B]. It is said (a) that *Venus*, to be revenged of *Diomedes* [C], who had wounded her in the Arm before *Troy*, inspired his Wife with such insatiable Lust [D], that she run after all the young men; but was particularly attached to one whom she found in her way, and who was always at hand: his Name was *Cometes*, the Son of

(a) Schol. Homeri Iliad. lib. v. ver. 412.

[A] *She was the Wife of Diomedes.*] By this Marriage *Diomedes*, who was *Adrastus*'s Grand son, (for he was the Son of *Tydeus* and *Deipyla* (1), the Daughter of *Adrastus*) became also his Son-in-Law. Therefore they have discovered a good Judgment, who have put *gener* instead of *genus* in this Passage of *Ovid*:

(1) Thus *Apollodorus* names her, *pag.* 40. *Others*, as Statius, call her Deiphila.

Seu genus Adrasti, seu furtis apta Ulysses,
Seu pius Æneas eripuisse ferunt (2).

(2) Ovid. Fastor. lib. vi ver. 433. *See* Mezirius upon Penelope's Letter, *pag.* 77.

Or Diomede, or Ulysses prone to Theft,
Or, good Æneas bore it bence away.

[B] *One of Ovid's curses against the Man he mortally hated, was to wish him such a Wife.*] His Words are:

Nec tibi contingat matrona pudicior illa
Quæ potuit Tydeus erubuisse nurus (3).

(3) Idem, in Ibin, ver. 349.

Nor mayst thou find thy Wife, if e're thou wed,
More chast than she that sham'd Tydides Bed.

(4) *Citation* (16) *of the Article* CAIN.

I have said elsewhere (4), that they use to wish the Wives of ill Men might dishonour their Husbands. Since which I am told by the learned Mr *Drelincourt*, that this is confirmed in the Iliad. And indeed, *Homer* informs us that those who swore to a Treaty of Peace, among other Punishments, wished Cuckoldom to those that should violate it (5).

(5) Ἄλοχοι δ' ἀλλοῖαι μιγεῖσαν. Uxores vero alius misceantur. *Homeri Iliad. lib. iii. ver.* 300.

The same Mr *Drelincourt* has directed me to the 11th verse of the twelfth Chapter of the second Book of *Samuel*. I have read in the *Menagiana*, that the *Lacedemonians* wished three or four things to those *against whom they bore a grudge*; they wished them *the Itch of building, to have fine Cloaths, Horses, and Gallants to their Wives* (6). *Adrian Valesius* wrote to Mr *Menage*, that *the form of this Imprecation was to be found in three Places in* Suidas .... *at the word* ἀμβολας, *that of* Σακνδμενος, *and the word* οἰκοδεμεῖν (7): *Boissonius* cites but two places out of *Suidas*, one of which differs from these three. His words are (8): 'Lacedæmonios quidem, cum acerbissima execra-

(6) Menagiana, pag. 341. *Edit. of* Holland.

(7) Ibid. p. 342. *It should be* οἰκοδομεῖ.

(8) Barnab. Brissonius ad Leg. Juliam de Adult. pag. 135. Edit. Lugdun. 1558.

'tione adversus eos quos vehementer odissent, uti vellent, inter cætera domus exitia, hoc imprecari solitos traditum est *, ut eorum uxores adulteris delectarentur. —— *It is said that the Lacedemonians, in their imprecations against their most inveterate Enemies, among other Calamities, were wont to pray, that their Wives might become fond of other Mens Embraces.*'

* Suid. in verbo Δακνόμενος & in verbo Ἄτιος.

[C] *Venus to be revenged of Diomedes.....*] A strange sort of Revenge, which makes it appear that the *Pagan* Poets prostituted the Glory of God to all sorts of Abominations: for what could be more unjust than to punish a Man's Sin by impelling his Wife to Sin? they attribute a hundred of these feats to *Venus*, as when they say she warmed the Heart of *Clio* to such a degree, that the poor Muse suffered herself to be got with Child. This was what she got by her wise Remonstrances; for all *Clio*'s Fault was only representing to *Venus* the Injury she did herself in loving *Adonis*. Καὶ ἡ Πιέρα τὴ Μάγνητος ἠράσθη κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης. ἀνιᾶσα γὰρ αὐτὴν τῷ Ἀδώνιδος ἔρωτι. συνελθοῦσα δὲ ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ παῖδα Ὑάκινθον. *Clio Pierum Magnetis filium Veneris ira, quod ei Adonidis amorem exprobrasset, depersit, cujus compressu Hyacinthum filium concepit* (9). Do they not say (10), that *Tyndarus*, the Father of *Helen*, had the misfortune to have his Daughters have two or three Husbands apiece, and to run away from their Husbands, only because he forgot *Venus* in a Sacrifice he made to all the Gods? If they had been content to ascribe such pranks to this Goddess alone, it would have been no strange thing: but they also make them practised by the Goddess of Arts and Sciences, as chast as they represent her. See in *Parthenius* in what manner *Minerva* chastised *Alcinoe* for a Fault (11). I shall make an Article of it by itself.

(9) Apollod. lib. 3.

(10) Stesich. apud Schol. Euripid. in Oreste.

(11) Parthen. cap. xxvii.

[D] *Inspired his Wife with so insatiable a Lust.*] The Terms the Greek Authors use are much stronger than these. *Lycophron* describes *Egialea* in this manner.

Ὅταν θρασεῖα δυσμὶς εἰσρύσῃ κύων
Πρὸς λέκτρα.
Quando audax lascivæ canis stimulabitur
Ad concubitum (12).

(12) Lycophr. in Cassand. ver. 612.

His

of *Sthenelus*. *Diomedes* had committed to him the Care of his Houſe, and Government of his Kingdom during his Abſence. It is uncertain whether he diſcharged his Truſt faithfully: but for that part which was not committed to him, I mean the Office of a Huſband, he acted in it with the more care as he was led to it by inclination; for *Venus* had made him in love with *Egialea*. This Woman was not ſatisfied with diſhonouring her Huſband, but made an Attempt upon his Life when he returned to *Argos* [*E*], and he had much ado to avoid being murdered, by taking Sanctuary in the Temple of *Juno*. Afterwards he retired into *Italy*. Some ſay he went thither directly (*b*), without returning home, having heard of his Wife's ill Conduct.

(*b*) Servius in Æneid. lib. viii, ver. 9.

Ennodius ſuppoſes, 1. That he reſolved to re-imbark as ſoon as he heard of his Wife's Unfaithfulneſs to him, and never to come to a Country where he could not live without Infamy. 2. That in lamenting his Fate he made a Panegyric upon his Wife's former Behaviour [*F*].

His Scholiaſt borrows the Explication of this Riddle from *Mimnermus*, and paraphraſes it thus: Ὅταν ἡ Ἀρτεμὶς θυμὸς καὶ ἡ ὁρμητικὴ κύων ἤτοι ἡ γυνὴ Διομήδους Αἰγιάλεια εἰσροίσῃ καὶ μανικῶς ὁρμήσῃ πρὸς τὰ λέκτρα καὶ τὰς μίξεις. The Scholiaſt upon *Homer* (13), without regarding the Encomium that his Text gives *Egialea* as a Woman, who exceedingly grieved for the loſs of her Husband, (14), ſays ſhe was mad with Luſt: Ἐκμῆναι περὶ πορνείαν ὡς περὶ ταῦταν τὴν τῶν νέων ἡλικίαν συγχορεύειν ἀσελγείνουσαν. See *Euſtathius* upon the 486 verſe of *Dionyſius Periegetes*, where he has taken one name for another (15), Μιχθῆναι, ſays he, Σθενέλῳ τῷ τὸ Κομήτῃ: he ſhould have ſaid Κομήτῃ τῷ τὸ Σθενέλου.

(13) In Iliad. lib. v. ver. 412.

(14) Statius Sylv. V. lib. iii. places Egialea among the moſt faithful Women to their Huſbands.

(15) See Mr de Boſſieu upon Ovid's Ibis, p. 2, where he ſuppoſes that three Faults is in Dionyſius's Text; whereas it is only in Euſtathius's Commentary.

[*E*] *She attempted the Life of her Huſband, when he returned to Argos.*] If we had the Catalogue of all the Women who have followed her Example; I mean who, after they have proved unfaithful to their Husbands Beds, have alſo endeavoured to deſtroy them, it would ſwell to a large Volume. We have already ſeen (16), that *Domitian*'s Wife would deſerve a place in ſuch a Liſt. But how great ſoever the number of theſe Women may be, yet it is much leſs than that of Women, who proceed no farther than Adultery, and who, in all other Reſpects, are eaſy and obliging to their Husbands, provided they are quiet; for if you obſerve, you will find that almoſt all the Women of Galantry, who make away, or attempt to make away with their Husbands, are only provoked to that Wickedneſs, becauſe their Husbands are jealous, and will reſtrain the liberty which their Wives deſire to have to divert themſelves. Baniſh from the Hearts of Husbands that reſtleſs Jealouſy, which prompts them to croſs their Wives Amours, and you will ſecure their Lives from Aſſaſſination or Poiſon: and if the *Lacedæmonians* had imagined that Men would have had the patience, which abundance of Husbands furniſh themſelves with betimes in ſome Climates, and ſometimes by a principle of Prudence, they would not have had ſo dreadful a notion of the Imprecation I mentioned before; but ſuppoſing no doubt that the intrigues of the Wife would torment the Husband, and cauſe Contention and Uneaſineſs, which the Party aggrieved would endeavour by all means to be freed from, they thought it was a terrible Curſe. Tell me not that the *Gazettes*, and particularly in the Article of *France*, often ſpeak of the proceedings againſt Women, for killing or attempting to kill their Husbands; for what is this, I beſeech you, in compariſon of ſo many others who live peaceably till a natural Death delivers them from the Adultereſſes? Nor muſt you urge me with the good and tame Mr *Tiquet*, who ſued for his Wife's pardon, when ſhe was convicted of attempting to aſſaſſinate him, and ſo fully convicted, that ſhe died for it upon the Scaffold (17), after having confeſſed the Crime: for this does not prove that he indulged his Wife in all the liberty ſhe deſired. In a word, if the Maxim of *Cato* the Cenſor (18), that thoſe Women, who commit Adultery, are alſo Poiſoners, was true at that time, when the *Romans* did but begin to be infected with the Diſorders of Luxury, it was not ſo in the Age of extream Corruption; and it is not ſo at this preſent time; for in Proportion as Corruption increaſes, Men grow familiar with Cuckoldom; it is reckoned a ſmall matter, and they bear it patiently, and by this means the Adultereſs is diſarmed and not forced to have recourſe either to the Arm of her Gallant or to Poiſon.

(16) In the Article DOMITIA Remark [*b*].

(17) *At Paris in* 1699.

(18) *I ſhall ſpeak of it in the Remark* [Q] *of his Article, under the word* PORCIUS.

[*F*] *Ennodius ſuppoſes . . . . that Diomedes made an Encomium upon his Wife's former Behaviour.*] There is among the Works of *Ennodius*, a ſmall Treatiſe intituled, *Verba Diomedis cum uxoris adulteria cognoviſſet* (19). — *The ſpeech of Diomedes when he had diſcovered his Wife's wantonneſs. Diomedes* acknowledges there, that his Wife had been a pattern of Chaſtity: Nature and Education concurred to render her chaſte; ſo that under the Protection of theſe two Ramparts, he did not believe her capable of an impure Action. *Ut gemino defenſa propugnaculo nullatenus facinorum crederetur iſtibus ſubjacere, nec dura caſtimoniæ obſcænitatis eviſceratione mollire* (20). She was not fond of dreſſing herſelf in Gold and Pearls, and had always behaved herſelf like a Woman of Honour. He concludes, 'In ſumma, talis periit, quales ſolent 'à maritis lacrymas impetrare. Circæo, ut ajunt, poculo à ſe tranſlata eſt, & in votum migravit adulteri (21). —— *In ſhort, concludes he, ſhe fell like thoſe 'whoſe loſt commands tears from their Husbands. She 'was drawn aſide, as they ſay, by the force of Witchcraft, and gave way to the Power of Temptation.*' Theſe words are an Honour to *Diomedes*: they are prudent, and have nothing of that unjuſt rage, which an infinite number of Husbands would expreſs in their diſcourſes on the like Occaſion. They would at ſuch a time forget all the good Qualities of their Wives, and call their former prudence, all counterfeit Modeſty, Hypocriſy, and Treaſon. This little Tract of *Ennodius* carries alſo a dangerous Moral with it. It may make the moſt contented Husbands diſtruſtful; for if a Woman of ſo exquiſite Virtue as *Diomedes*'s Wife, be not proof in the abſence of her Husband, how ſhall we be ſure of the Virtue of thoſe who love to dreſs, and are not ſufficiently guarded, either by Nature or Education; but it is true, there are few Husbands, who are ſo long abſent from home, as *Diomedes*; and if the *Grecian* Generals, who were ten Years at the Siege of *Troy*, found at their return, that their Wives had not been able to live without Gallants, it was partly their own fault; why did they leave them alone for ſo many Years? They ſhould have given them, at their departure, the ſame advice that was given to a Prelate by his Miſtreſs. 'The Biſhop of . . . . going one day to 'take his leave of the Counteſs of . . . whom he loved, 'expreſſed his grief, that he muſt be abſent from her, 'though but for ſo little a while; after abundance of 'tender things ſaid on both ſides, the Biſhop roſe up 'to go, and the Counteſs, accompanying him to the 'Door, told him, well Sir, make your Journey as 'ſhort as you can, and remember that a Miſtreſs is a 'Benefice that obliges to Reſidence (22).

(19) *It is in the* 24th *among thoſe that are called* Dictiones. *It is at pag.* 331 *of the* 7th *Tome of the* Bibliotheca Patrum, *Edit. Pariſ.* 1644.

(20) Ennodius, ibid.

(21) Id. ibid.

(22) Menagiana, pag. 112, *of the firſt Dutch Edition.*

EGINHART, Secretary to the Emperor *Charlemagne*, was a *German*: he is the moſt ancient Hiſtorian of that Nation (*a*). He wrote very elegantly for a man of the IXth Century, which made ſome Critics think that the Perſon who publiſhed his Works (*b*) did poliſh his Style a little: but this Conjecture is confuted by the ancient Manuſcripts (*c*). Some (*d*) ſay, the Hiſtory he compoſed of *Charlemagne* is the more ſincere, for his having converſed familiarly with that Prince. But this is no good reaſon: in

(*a*) Voſſius, de Hiſtor. Latin. pag. 302.

(*b*) *Count* Herman. de Nuenar.

(*c*) *See Father* Labbe, de Script. Eccleſ. Tom. I. pag. 273.

(*d*) Sigebert, de Viris Illuſtr. cap. lxxxiv. & ex eo Voſſius & Labbe, ubi ſupra.

it only proves he was better acquainted with Affairs. For might not the remembrance of the Honours he had received from that Prince be an inducement to Flattery? A modern Author charges him with extream Partiality [*A*]. I know not how far we are to believe his Adventure with one of the Daughters of *Charlemagne* [*B*].

[*A*] *A modern Author charges him with extreme Partiality.*] He goes much further, and attributes to him infamous Impostures (1). He says what he has mentioned of the Inactivity of the Kings of the first Race are impertinent Fables: 'Those Kings having been unable to support their Dignity only by their want of Age; and That ridiculous Shew of their Persons upon a Cart drawn by Oxen, being an impudent Ieu of the Impostor *Eginard*, without Truth or Foundation (2).' He adds, that *Eginard* is the Inventer of the Fable related by so many Writers as a certain Truth, that Pope *Zachary* approved of the deposition of King *Childeric*, and *Pepin*'s Usurpation. 'By confuting *Eginard*,' says he (3), 'we confute all 'those who have writ upon his Credit.' Let us see how he confutes him.

'*Eginard* was the Chaplain and Creature of '*Charles the Great*, whose Life he wrote. His whole 'endeavour was, by inventing an infinite number of 'Stories, to depreciate the Kings of the *Merovingian* 'Race, whom he has maliciously represented as mean 'spirited and slothful, in order to colour and excuse 'so much as possible the criminal Usurpation of *Pepin*. 'It is with that view, that thro' a ridiculous ignorance 'he gives a beard to Children of eight Years old, 'and Children to those who were not yet in Being, 'and loads with Reproaches young Princes, whose 'only Fault was a Life too short to exert their Virtues: 'It is by the same principle of Malice, that he in-'vented that ridiculous Procession of the Kings in a 'Cart drawn by Oxen the first Day of *May*, and their 'obscure Retirement into the Castle of *Mamaca* which 'never existed; since at the same time that he shuts 'the Kings up in that imaginary Solitude, it appears 'by cotemporary Authors that they were at the head 'of their Armies, or otherwise employed according as 'their Age would permit. This Malice of *Eginard's* 'is very visible throughout his whole Work; but 'when he is to speak of *Childeric's* Abdication, he 'thought he should entirely excuse *Pepin*, by making 'the Pope an Accomplice in his wickedness, and he 'has done it with so little Circumspection, and with 'an Anachronism so full of ignorance, that he 'says *Childeric* was degraded by order of Pope '*Stephen*: *Jussu Stephani Pontificis exauctoratus*: and 'yet *Pepin* was proclaimed King before *Stephen* was 'made Pope, since he was not chosen Pope in *Rome*, 'before the end of *March* 752, and *Pepin* was pro-'claimed the first of *March*. He is even so bad a 'Chronologer, though he lived almost at that time, 'that he says *Pepin* reigned fifteen Years after *Chil-'deric* was shaven (4). Now *Pepin* died in *September* '768, and was proclaimed in *March* 752, which 'make sixteen Years and a half: so that we see what 'little Credit this fabulous Author deserves; and how 'should he say any thing certain of the Reigns of '*Childeric* and *Pepin*; he, who confesses himself so ig-'norant, and so little conversant in Books, that, ha-'ving undertook to write a History of *Charles the 'Great*, he professes he shall say nothing of his Infan-'cy, or Youth, because, at the time he is writing, 'there is no body alive who could give him any In-'formation. *Nec quisquam modo superesse inventus, qui borum se dicit habere notitiam. —— None, says he, are found that can say, that they have any Know-'ledge of them.*' From whence we may judge from what fine Memoirs he has compiled his History, and spoke of former things (5).'

I have not time to examine whether all these Reproaches are just. I shall only observe that the Author seems to me to be too much better founded, when he confutes what is said concerning the demands of the *French* to the Pope, and the Pope's Answer. The Request has no Shadow of common Sense, and the Answer is a ridiculous injustice.

[*B*] *I know not how far we are to believe his Adventure with one of the Daughters of Charles the Great.*] *Marquard Freher* has published a Chronicle (6), in which it is said that our *Eginhart* insinuated himself in such a manner, into the good Graces of *Imma*, Daughter to *Charles the Great*, that he obtained of her whatever he desired. *Charles the Great* having discovered this little Mystery did not do as the Emperor *Augustus* (7); for he married the two Lovers, and gave them a fine Estate. *Freher* gives no Credit to this Story. See Letter CIV of the Collection of Letters written to *Goldast*, and published in 1688. He is the Author of this Letter, and he observes therein that *Vincentius Bellovacensis* relates a like History of the Emperor *Henry* III. 'I am sure most of my Readers would find fault with me, if I did not tell them how *Charles the Great* discovered *Eginhart's* Intrigue, but will be glad to see here this Relation. These reasons oblige me to insert an Abstract of this Story.

'*Eginhart*, Chaplain and Secretary to *Charles the Great*, behaved himself so well in his Post, that he was universally beloved. *Imma*, the Emperor's Daughter, fell desperately in love with him, nor had he less Passion for her. The fear of what might be the Consequence, hindred them from marrying, but could not prevent their mutual Affection from increasing every Day. At length, being unable to overcome the Violence of his Passion, he resolved to take a bold Step. He stole by Night into the Princess's Apartment, and knocking softly at the Door, was admitted into her Chamber, under pretence of business from the Emperor: but his business was of another Nature, and he appeased his Passion in the most agreeable manner in the World. 'Denique cum idem vir egregius interme-'diabiliter amando æstuaret, suresque virginis per in-'ternuncium appellare nec præsumeret, novissime 'sumpta de senet ipso fiducia nocturno tempore la-'tenter ad puellæ tendebat habitaculum. Ibidemque 'pulsus clanculum & intrare permissus tanquam alio-'cutorii juvenculam de regali mandato, statim versa 'vice solus cum sola secretis usus alloquiis & datis am-'plexibus copito satisfecit amori (8).' His Design was to have retired before Day break; but he found that whilst he had been diverting himself with *Imma*, a great Snow had fallen. He was apprehensive of being discovered by the print of his Feet upon the Snow, and acquainted the Princess with his Fear. They consulted how to get clear of this Difficulty, and the Princess found out an Expedient, by offering to take up her Lover upon her Shoulders, and carry him beyond the Snow. 'Cumque nimia sollicitudine flu-'ctuantes quid facto opus esset deliberarent, tandem 'elegantissima juvencula, quam audacem faciebat amor, 'consilium dedit ut ipsa quidem super se insidentem in-'clinata exciperet, eumque usque ad locum illius ho-'spitio contiguum ante lucanum deportaret, ibique eo 'deposito rursum per eadem vestigia cautius observata, 'rediret (9).' The Emperor could not sleep that whole Night, which was thought to be a particular effect of Providence (10). He rose betimes in the Morning, and looking out at the Window, saw his Daughter staggering under the burden she carried, which she laid down, and returned immediately. 'Intuitus est filiam suam sub præfato onere nutanti gressu 'vix incedere, & ad constitum locum deposita quam 'gestabat sarcina celeri repedare cursu (11).' He was moved with wonder and grief; but believing there was something Divine in all this, he resolved to dissemble the matter. 'Quibus multo intuitu perspe-'ctis, Imp. partim admiratione partim dolore per-'motus, non tamen absque divina dispositione id fieri 'reputans, sese continuit, & visa interim silentio sup-'pressit.' In the mean time *Eginhart*, concluding this Action could not be concealed long, determined to retire, and fell at his Master's Feet to ask his leave, pretending his long Services had not been rewarded. The Emperor answered, he would consider of it, and appointed him a Day when he would let him know his Pleasure. That Day he called a Council, and declared his Secretary's Crime: he related exactly what he had seen, and asked their advice upon an affair so dishonourable to his Family. 'Imperatoriam inquietæ 'majestatem nimis injuriatam esse & despectatam in in-'digna filiæ suæ notariique sui copulatione, & extunc 'non mediocri sese agitari perturbatione. Quibus ni-'mio stupore perculsis, & de rei novitate & magnitu-'dine quibusdam adhuc ambigentibus, Rex innotuit 'eis evidentius, referens ea a primordio quid per se-'metipsum

(1) See his Book intitled L'Esprit de Gerson, chap. xxxv, pag. 204. It was printed in 1692, in 12mo.

(2) Chap. xxxvi pag. 206.

(3) Ibid. chap. xxxvii, p. 227.

(4) *This Censure is ill grounded, since* Eginhart *uses the Phrase* fifteen Years or more, *cum per 15 annos aut eo amplius Francis imperavit.* In Vita Caroli Mag.

(5) *This Censure fails to the ground by reading the whole Passage in* Eginhart, *where are these words:* Quia neque scripta usquam allegando declarare est; *which supposes he consulted other Writings or Persons. He might find fault in upon other things, tho' not upon Charles's Infancy.*

(6) Chronicon Laur shamense Cœnobii, *published by* Freher *among* Rei Germanicæ Scriptores.

(7) *It is thought he banished Ovid, because he believed him too much in Julia's Favour.*

(8) Chronicon Laurishamense, pag. 622.

(9) Ibidem.

(10) Eam noctem Imperator divino (ut creditur) nutu insomnem duxit. *Ibid.*

(11) Ibidem.

(12) Ibidem, pag. 93.

(13) Ibidem.

(14) Juri vestro nuptum tradam meam filiam, vestrum scil. portionem, quæ quandoque ad successionem vestræ subvectionis satis sit, moriturum exhibuit. *Ibid.*

(15) Ibidem.

(16) *Some say he rose to observe the Stars. See* Cornierus *in his Treatise of Comets, pag.* 238.

‘ metipsum oculata fide cognoverit, consiliumque eorum atque sententiam expostulans super hoc (12).’ The Council were divided in their Opinions: some advised to a severe Punishment, others having well weighed the matter, advised the Emperor to decide it himself, as his divine Discretion should direct. He decided it in this manner. He declared, that by chastising *Eginhart*, he should rather increase than lessen the Disgrace of his Family, and therefore he thought it better to hide the Ignominy under the veil of Marriage. ‘ Tam tristis facti à notario meo non exigam pœnas per ‘ quas infamia filiæ meæ magis videbitur augeri quam ‘ minui. Unde dignius & laudabilius imperii nostri ‘ gloriæ arbitramur congruere, ut data adolescentiæ ‘ venia legitimo eos matrimonio conjungam, & rei pro‘ brosæ honestatis colorem superducam (13).’ The Gallant was called in, and informed, that the Emperor had resolved to give him his Daughter in reward for his long Services, which he had complained were not considered: *I will give you my Daughter*, said Charles the Great, *that Portress who so kindly carried you upon her back* (14). Immediately he sent for the Princess, and gave her to *Eginhart*, with a Fortune suitable to the Dignity of so great a Prince. ‘ Protinus ad Regis ‘ edictum cum multo comitatu adducta est ejus filia, ‘ quæ roseo vultum perfusa rubore tradita est per manus patris in manus prædicti Eginhardi, cum dote plurima prædiorum quoque nonnullorum, cum innumeris ‘ aureis, argenteisque donariis, aliisque pretiosis supp‘ pellectilibus (15).’

This is the Substance of the Adventure: there is not a Tale in *Boccace's Decameron*, or the *Heptameron* of the Queen of *Navarre*, to be compared to this, if it was well embellished: and I am confident, in the hands of Mr *de la Fontaine*, it would be one of the pleasantest Tales that could be read. A Print would furnish a Parallel of a new Invention, between the Effects of Love and Friendship, between *Æneas* carrying his Father *Anchises* on his Shoulders, and *Imma* carrying her Lover. *Charles the Great* (16) beholding afar off this Portress would be none of the least Ornaments of the Piece, if the Engraver represented to the Life the Reflexions of that good Father. *Imma* is here like the *Ephesian* Matron in *Petronius*, she who finds out Expedients; but this spares not her own Body to help her Gallant at a dead lift (α).

[(§α) Mr *Bayle* did not know, or did not remember in this place, that *Jacob Cats*, Grand Pensionary of *Holland*, has put this Story or Tale into *Flemish* Verse. It is among his Works printed at *Amsterdam* in 1658, in folio. There must have been a prior Edition, as the Year of the Impression of the following Book sufficiently makes appear. There are three prints in this; one represents *Eginhart* teaching *Imma* with Books, and afterwards kissing one another: the second shows *Imma* carrying *Eginhart* upon her Shoulders. *Charles the Great* sees them through a Window of his Palace, and two of the Guards seize them by his order: the third represents *Imma* and *Eginhart* before *Charles the Great*, who decides their Fate. *Gaspar Barlæus* has also turned this Story into Latin *Hexameter* Verse, by translating *Cats's* Book under this Title. *Virgo Αὐτοφόρος, sive Emmæ Caroli Magni filiæ Eginardum scriptorem Amasium suum humeris portantis fata & nuptiæ.* This pretty Poem is in page 161 *&c.* of the following Book: *Fasces Augustæ, sive Poëmatia, quibus illustriores Nuptiæ à nobili & illustri viro D. Jacobo Catsio, Eq. & Præpot. Holl. ac Frisiæ occidentalis Ord. Syndico, antehac Belgicis versibus conscriptæ, jam à Caspare Barlæo & Cornelio Boyo Latino Carmine celebrantur. Ad Serenissimam Principem Elisabetham Fred. Regis Bohemiæ & Electoris Palatini filiam, Dordrac.* 1643, *in* 8vo. There are but two Cuts in this Book, page 175 and 179, which are the two last, mentioned above. In the same Book, page 642 and following, there is a Poem, but without Cuts, intituled: *Caspari Barlæi Antverpiani Poëmata, editio quarta, altera plus parte auctior, Pars prima Heroïcorum, Amst.* 1645. *in* 12mo.

Mr *John Herman Schmincke*, in a Latin Dissertation inserted in this Book, *viz. Eginhartus de Vita & Gestis Caroli Magni &c.* which he published in 1711. *Trajecti ad Rhenum, ex Officina Guilielmi vande Water, in* 4to, proves that *Imma* was not *Charles the Great's* Daughter: And the Journalists of *Trevoux*, speaking of this Book, page 656, *December* 1711, intimate that they they are of the same Opinion. They continue in the same Sentiment, page 640. *April* 1715, in mentioning a Poem, and another Work of Father *John Weinckens*, inserted in a Book intituled, *Nauralia Seligenstadiana &c. Francof. ad Mœnum, apud Joan. Philip. Andreæum* 1714 *in fol.* This Father in his Poem calls *Imma* the Daughter of *Charles the Great*, but says the contrary, in the second Chapter of his other Book, where he relates and rejects the Story of a criminal Conversation, followed by a Marriage between *Eginhart* and *Imma*, the Daughter of *Charles the Great*. REM. CRIT.]

EGNATIA, a City of *Italy*, in the Country of the *Salentines*, between *Bari* and *Brindisi* (a), was only considerable for the miraculous Stone which they boasted to have [A]. If all the World had been of *Horace's* Humour, this Stone would have contributed more to the Shame than the Glory of the Inhabitants of *Egnatia*. He laughs at their pretended Miracle, and refers the Belief of it to the Jews [B]. There were formerly other Places that boasted of such like Prodigies [C], and even more extraordinary

(a) These two Cities were called *Barium* and *Brundusium*.

[A] *It was only considerable for the miraculous Stone they boasted to have.*] The Wood, that was put upon this Stone, immediately took Fire. ‘ Reperitur apud ‘ auctores .... in Salentino oppido Egnatia, impositio ‘ ligno in saxum quoddam ibi sacrum, protinus flam‘ mam existere (1).’ We shall see by and by, that this Stone was at the entrance of the Temple, and that it set the Frankincense on Fire.

(1) Plinius, lib. ii, cap. vii.

[B] *Horace laughs at their pretended Miracle, and refers the belief of it to the Jews.*] His Words are:

- - - - dehinc Gnatia lymphis
Iratis exstructa dedit risusque jocosque,
Dum flamma sine, thura liquescere limine sacro
Persuadere cupit. Credat Judæus Apella,
Non ego (2).

(2) Horat. Sat. v. lib. i, ver. 97.

At credulous Nerri we had cause to smile,
With Superstition seeking to beguile.
There Priests declare, that in the sacred Quire
Sweet Incense burns without the help of Fire.
The Jew, Apella, may this Tale believe;
Not I.

(3) In his Remarks upon these Words of *Horace.*

Mr *Dacier* (3) declares for those who think *Horace* insults the Jewish Nation here, because he knew what was said of *Elijah's* Sacrifice, that Fire from Heaven consumed the Oblation. I see nothing amiss in this Thought of Mr *Dacier's*: I shall only observe that *Horace* might as well have referred them to the *Persians*, as to the Jews to believe those things: ‘ Ferunt si justum est credi etiam ignem cœlitus lapsum apud se ‘ sempiternis foculis custodire, cujus portionem exi‘ guam ut fastum præisse quondam Asiaticis regibus di‘ cunt.’ Thus *Ammianus Marcellinus* expresses himself, speaking of the *Persian Magi* in the sixth Chapter of the twenty third Book.

[C] *There were other places that boasted of such like Prodigies.*] *Solinus* makes mention of a Hill much more miraculous than the Temple of *Egnatia*. It was in *Sicily* near *Agrigentum*. They had no need to bring Fire to the Altar: it was enough to lay the Vine Branches upon it, and though they were never so green they would kindle of themselves, provided the Sacrifice was agreeable to the God to whom it was offered. In that Case the Flame not only arose of it self, but also spread it self on both sides, as if it would seize those that eat of the Sacrifice, but did not the least harm to any that touched it. And this was a sign the Ceremonies of the Day were fully performed. ‘ Nec longè inde collis Vulcanius, in quo qui di‘ vinæ rei operantur, signa vites super aras struunt, ‘ nec ignis adponitur in hanc congeriem: cum proficias ‘ intulerunt, si adest Deus, si sacrum probatur, sar‘ menta licet viridia sponte concipiunt, & nullo infla‘ grante

dinary ones [D]. The Managers of religious Matters were encouraged by the Credulity of the People to out-do one another in Miracles.

' grante halitu, ab ipso numine sit accendium. Ibi ' repulantes adiudit flamma, quæ flexuosis excessibus ' vagabunda, quem contigerit non adurit: nec aliud ' est quàm imago nuncia perfecti ritè voti (4).' This is more conformable to the events in Scripture, and much more singular than the Miracle of *Egnatia*. A celestial Fire, descending upon the Victims, has sometimes been an evidence to the Jews that God accepted of their worship (5); and it is a more direct sign of a particular Providence, to see the Fire then only kindle of itself, when the hearts of the worshippers are well disposed, than to see it at all times do so. In the latter case Men will be apt to suspect a natural Cause, or a Cheat: whereas in the former there is no Ground, or at least less ground for suspicions. *Servius* assures us, that in ancient Times they kindled no Fire upon the Altar, but drew down Fire from Heaven by Prayer and Supplication. ' Apud majores aræ non ' incendebantur, sed ignem divinum precibus elicie- ' bant qui incendebat altaria (6).' *Pausanias* gives an account of a surprising thing he was an Eye-witness to. There were two Cities in *Lydia*, that practised what I am going to mention. Each of these two Cities had a Temple, in which was a Chapel designed for the Ceremony I am speaking of. Ashes of a particular Colour were seen upon the Altar in this Chapel. A Magician came in, and having laid dry Wood upon the Hearth, and having a Tiara upon his Head, he repeated certain Prayers out of a Book; as soon as this was done, immediately a very bright Flame was seen to rise out of the Hearth, without any bodies putting Fire to the Wood. Ἄνευ δὲ δὴ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη πᾶσα ἀφθῆναι τὰ ξύλα, καὶ πτειγανῆ φλόγα ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκλάμψαι. *Sponte sua & lignis nullo igne admoto purissima emicat flamma* (7). This Man was bolder than the Greek Priests, who make the People believe that, every Year at *Easter*, they gather in a Chapel of the holy Sepulchre a celestial Fire sent from God in a miraculous manner. They durst do nothing publickly, the Ceremony in all performed in secret. As the Latin Priests have not adopted this Cheat, they are the first to ridicule it, and they boldly tell the Greeks, when they are going to shut themselves up in the Chapel for this pretended Miracle, *You would be strangely disappointed if your Steel should not prove good.*

I say nothing of particular occasions when Fire has kindled upon the Altar of itself for a happy Omen to some Persons. This was one of the Presages of *Tiberius*'s Greatness. ' Ingressu primam expeditionem ac- ' per Macedoniam ducente exercitum in Syriam acci- ' dit, ut apud Philippos sacratæ olim victricium legio- ' num aræ sponte subitis collucerent ignibus (8). —— ' *As he led his Army, in his first Expedition, through* ' *Macedonia into Syria, the Altars, which the victorious* ' *Legions had consecrated at Philippi, catched Fire of* ' *themselves, and burst forth into a sudden blaze.*' *Sejanus* knew his future advancement by the like sign (9). *Cicero*'s Consulship was preceded with the like Omen: this he learned from his Wife, and inserted it in a Poem. He might easily have known that there was nothing supernatural in it: if Wine is thrown upon hot Ashes, among which there are almost always some live Coals, it is not uncommon for the Spirit of the Wine to take Fire; this was all the prodigy that *Cicero*'s Wife informed her Husband of. ' Hoc uxori Ciceronis dici- ' tur contigisse, cum peracto sacrificio libare vellet in ' cinerem; ex ipso cinere flamma eodem anno Consu- ' lem futurum ostendit ejus maritum, sicut Cicero in ' suo testatur poëmate (10). —— *It is said that the* ' *Wife of Cicero, after the performing of a Sacrifice,* ' *pouring out some Wine on the Ashes, saw a Flame issue* ' *from them, a prognostitation that he should be Consul* ' *that Year, as Cicero himself testifies in his Poem.*' Others say this Prodigy appeared to the Ladies, who were celebrating the Feast of the good Goddess. The Fire upon the Altar seemed to be extinguished, and yet all of a sudden a great Flame blazed out from the midst of the Fire-Brands and Ashes (11). This might be very natural: We see every day the remainder of a Faggot, when the Flame is out, kindle again of it self. The Ladies were alarmed, but the Vestal Virgins ordered *Cicero*'s Wife to go directly and tell her Husband, that he should put his Designs in Execution for the good of his Country, the Goddess having promised him good success. They were at that time deliberating what to do with *Catiline*'s Accomplices who were kept in Prison. *Cicero*'s Wife immediately executed the Vestals order, and encouraged her Husband (12). This has the air of one Story, embellished with another. They have perhaps changed the Circumstances of the Fact with which *Cicero*'s Poem is adorned, and so for one Prodigy have given us two. However that be, it was not a Maxim, that Fire, kindling of itself, was always a good Presage; for we see in *Virgil*, upon a like occasion, they wish it might be a good Omen:

Aspice: corripuit tremulis altaria flammis
Sponte sua, dum ferre moror, cinis ipse. Bonum sit (13).

Behold the Ashes, while I thus delay
To bear them hence, now lick the Altar round
With trembling Flames, spontaneous: may it prove
Auspicious.

TRAPP.

Servius's Remark, which may be seen in the Margin, was the proof Mr *Salden* ought to have made use of; for his own is good for nothing. ' Licet & factum ' nonnunquam sit, *says he* (14), ut ignes illi non tan- ' tum boni sed & infausti quicquam præsignificarint. ' —— *Since those Fires, says he, have portended some-* ' *times, not only good, but also ill success.*' Upon which he cites *Lavinia*'s Adventure, mentioned by *Virgil* in the seventh *Æneid*. But there the Prodigy does not consist in the Fire's catching of itself upon the Altar, but in it's taking hold of *Lavinia*'s long Hair, and burning all her Head-dress while she stood by her Father at the Altar.

—— cattis ADOLET dum altaria TARDIS
Et juxta genitorem adstat Lavinia virgo
Visa (nefas) longis comprendere crinibus ignem,
Atque omnem ornatum flamma crepitante cremari (15).

—— *as thast Lavinia, Royal Maid,*
Stood by her Father, and with holy Brands
Kindled the Altars; with her flowing Hair
(Wondrous!) she seem'd to catch the Flame, and all
Her Head Attire to crackle in the blaze.

TRAPP.

Read also what *Titus Livius* relates of the Flame, which was seen about the head of *Servius Tullius* (16).

[D] . . . *and even more extraordinary ones.*] The Temple of *Venus*, upon the Mountain *Eryce* in *Sicily*, was one of the most celebrated among the ancient Pagans. It was distinguished by a thousand things: though I shall mention but one of them. The great Altar was always exposed without Covering in the open Air, *sub dio*: and yet the Flame was preserved alive, Night and Day, without Coals, Cinders, or Fire Brands, in the midst of the Dew, and the Grass which grew up every Night about it (17).

(4) Solinus, cap. v, pag. m. 20.

(5) See Remark [H] of the Article *ABEL*.

(6) Servius, in Æneid. lib. xii, ver. 200.

(7) Pausan. lib. v, sub finem pag. m. 176.

(8) Sueton. in Tiberio, cap. xiv. Dion relates the same thing, lib 54. at the year 734, pag. 603.

(9) Appianus, in Syriac. pag. 82.

(10) Servius, in Virgil. Ecl. viii, ver. 106.

(11) Plutarchus, in Cicerone, pag. 870.

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Virg. Ecl. viii, ver. 105. *Upon which* Servius *observes* Optat ut hoc signum bonum sit quia ignis medius est, & qui possit etiam nocere. *She wishes the Omen might be lucky, because the Fire had both the Power of a Mediator and an Enemy.*

(14) Salden. Of Theolog. pag. 336.

(15) Virgil. Æneid. lib. vii, ver. 71.

(16) Livius, Dec. I. lib. I, cap. 39.

(17) Ælian. Hist. de Animal. lib. x, cap. 50.

EGNATIUS (JOHN BAPTIST) a learned Man of the XVIth Century, taught polite Learning at *Venice*, his native City, with great Reputation. He made himself so useful to the Youth, that when he grew old and requested to be declared *emeritus*, he could not obtain it [A], because they judged it would be prejudicial to the Students. At

[A] *He made himself so useful to the Youth, that when* [he grew old, and requested to be declared *Emeritus*, he could

At last, in his extream old Age, he got leave to be dismissed, as he desired, and also received from the Republic of *Venice* a glorious and profitable Testimony of the Esteem they had for him [*B*]. The Works which he published [*C*] give but an imperfect Character of his Merit; for he spoke much better than he wrote, and discovered an excellent Memory, and a comprehensive Knowledge, much more in his Lectures and Conversation, than in his Books [*D*]. He was not less celebrated for his Virtue

could not obtain it.] This is what one of his Scholars has published to the World. ' Nos qui juvenes eramus, *says he* (1), illum cujus ætas jam senescebat, ut jam tum cessaret, imprudenter fortasse quidem, sed tamen amice monebamus, illud usurpantes:

Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
Peccet ad extremum ridendus, & ilia ducat.

' Ille vero, qui vir prudentissimus esset, & optime, ' qui sit orbis in rebus humanis, nosset, ut in otium ' solitudinemque se conferre cupiebat, sic etiam sæpe ' tentavit, sed, quod cupiebat, à Senatu Veneto, qui ' juventutem talis & tanti viri consuetudine fructuque ' privari nolebat, id nunquàm, nisi senex admodum, ' potuit impetrare. —— *We who were young gave him the* ' *imprudent perhaps, but friendly, Advice, to retire* ' *from fatigue in his old Age, using that Argument of* ' *Horace:*

While yet 'tis well releas'e thy aged Horse,
Least when he runs, but with unequal Force,
And stretches hard to win, he break his Wind,
And bis'd and distanc'd lamely lag behind.

' *And he who was a Man of uncommon Prudence, and* ' *perfectly acquainted with the Instability of human* ' *Affairs, longed to enjoy the sweets of a retired Life,* ' *and often sollicited his discharge, but was not able to* ' *prevail with the Senate of Venice to comply with his* ' *Request. For they were unwilling their Youth should* ' *be deprived of the Advantage of so experienced a Di-* ' *rector. It was not therefore 'till he was extremely* ' *old that he succeeded.*'

[*B*] *He received from the Republic of Venice a glorious and profitable Testimony of the Esteem they had for him.*] He received this favour from the Senate, that though he taught no longer, he should have the same annual Allowance as when he did, and by a Decree of the Council of Ten, his Estate was exempted from all kinds of Taxes. This is the Translation Mr *de Ryer* has given of *Thuanus*'s Latin. ' Eas (bonas literas) non mediocri studio illustravit, & scriptis & ' publica XL annorum professione cum summa totius ' Italiæ admiratione; ob id ab illustrissimo Senatu eam ' gratiam consecutus, ut quanquam publico munere ' defunctus, eodem stipendio, quod profitendo meruerat, quotannis donaretur, & ejus bona ex XVIralis ' Consilii decreto publico censu eximerenter (2).' *Ghilini* does not altogether confirm this: he says, *Egnatius*'s Salary was 300 Crowns a Year during his office, and 200 Crowns after his dismission from it (3). The short Elogy of *Egnatius*, which is at the beginning of his Posthumous Treatise *de Exemplis illustrium Virorum*, does not enter into these Particulars; but there it is said: ' Vir & scientia & religione insignis ' . . . . . adeo universæ Venetæ civitati ob singularem ' eruditionem ac morum probitatem charus, ut ex Senatus decreto ducentis aureis nummis quotannis jam ' publico munere defunctus ac plane emeritus quoad ' vixerit donaretur. —— *A Man eminent for his Knowledge and Piety . . . . so endeared to the whole City of Venice for his extraordinary Learning, and the Integrity of his Morals, that after he had retired from public Business, and was worn out, he had an Annuity of Two hundred Ducats assigned by the Senate for Life.*'

[*C*] *The Works he published.*] *Gesner* has given us this List of them, *De Romanis Principibus vel Cæsaribus libri tres* (4). This Book contains an Abridgment of the Life of the Emperors from *Cæsar* to *Constantine Palæologus*, and from *Charlemagne* to *Maximilian* I. It was translated into French by *Geofry Tory* of *Bourges*, and printed at *Paris* in 1529 (5). The Abbot *de Marolles* made another French Translation of it in 1664. *Ghilini* has made two Books of this (6); for he gives us *de Cæsaribus libri tres*, as a distinct Work from *de Romanis Principibus*. After this manner Catalogue-makers absurdly multiply the Works of Authors upon a thousand occasions. But to go on copying *Gesner*. ' Item Annotationes in Vitas Cæsarum apud ' Suetonium, nempe Ælianj, Spartiani, Julii Capitolini, Lampridii, Flavii Vopisci, Trebellii Pollionis, ' Vulcatii Gallicani.' These words have been faithfully copyed by *Gesner*'s Abridgers: Yet it is easy to perceive they are full of Faults. There was no need of a Comma after *Ælianj*, and instead of *Ælianj*, it ought to be read *Ælii*. The worst is, supposing they are correct, you must of necessity suppose also, that *Ælius*, that *Spartianus*, that *Julius Capitolinus*, that *Lampridius*, that *Flavius Vopiscus*, that *Trebellius Pollio*, and *Vulcatius Gallicanus*, are *Roman* Emperors, whose Lives *Suetonius* has writ. Now this Supposition is so absurd, and so monstrous, that a School-Boy would laugh at it. How then has it passed for true in the Judgment of *Josias Simler*, and *John James Frisius*, who have made an Abridgment of, and a Supplement to, *Gesner*? They are more inexcusable than *Gesner*; for if he saw the Proofs from the Press, he might not take notice of the Printer's Omissions. It happens too often, when we correct the Proofs, that the head is so full of what we put into the Copy, that we read it by heart, and without perceiving where the Printers have missed. *Egnatius*'s other Books cited by *Gesner* are, *de Origine Turcarum: Observationes in Ovidium: Interpretamenta in familiares Epistolas Ciceronis: Panegyricus in Francorum Regem* (7): *Recensiones quæ obscuriores aliquot Autborum locos interpretantur* (8): *Exemplorum libri novem*. *Ghilini* assures us, that the Notes of this Author *in Dioscoridem ab Hermolao Barbaro translatum*, and his Harangue *ad Meretrices*, and seventy other Harangues, have all been published. The Abbot *de Marolles* observes (9) that the little Treatise of the Origin of the *Turks*, composed by our *Egnatius*, is printed *in the Collection of Works concerning the History of the Government of Turkey, and the Ottoman Empire, by John Oporin* in 1556. Note, the nine Books of Examples were printed after his Death. He composed this Book, in his old Age, upon the Model of *Valerius Maximus*, but he did not live long enough to put a finishing hand to it. He recommended it in his last Will to the Noble *Marco Molino*, Procurator of St *Mark*, who ordered his Son to publish it. The Son immediately discharged this Commission. The Epistle Dedicatory at the beginning of the Book is dated the thirtieth of *April* 1554: It contains in few words a very good Elogy on *Egnatius*, whose Death is there placed, *July* the second 1553 (10). The Edition I make use of is of *Paris*, *apud Bernardum Turisanum via Jacobæa sub Aldina Bibliotheca*, 1554 *in* 16mo. The Title of this Book is: *Joannis Baptistæ Egnatii viri doctissimi, de Exemplis illustrium virorum Venetæ civitatis atque aliarum Gentium.*

[*D*] *He spoke better than he wrote, and discovered . . . . more knowledge in his Lectures . . . . than in his Books.*] *Corradus* observes that those, who charged *Egnatius* with ignorance, could better be confuted by the Evidence of those Persons, who had heard that Professor, than by his Books. ' Quamvis ipsius scriptis, ' quæ jam multa leguntur, facile refutare possemus: ' quia tamen ille multo melius, ut Ser. Galoa, ut Q. ' Hortensius, ut alii, dixit, quàm scripsit, facilius eos ' testibus, qui sunt adhuc innumerabiles, confutari posse, ' si res poscat, arbitramur (11).' He relates a curious Fact. *Egnatius* pronouncing an Harangue, which he had learnt by heart, was just upon the point of concluding, when he saw the Pope's Nuncio come in. He resumed his Discourse from the beginning, and repeated in other terms all he had said, but with more Eloquence than the first time, so that his Friends advised him to write no more. ' Nos certe, quod omnes, qui tunc Venetiis erant, audire potuerunt, affirmare non dubitamus; illum, quum Pontificis olim Legatus Orationi, quam memoriter jam penè totam dixerat, interveniset, illud idem, quod pronunciarat, diversis verbis à principio repetitum multo ' melius

(1) Sebastianus Corradus, in Quæstura, init.

(2) Thuanus, lib. 12, pag. 253, col. 1. ad ann. 1553.

(3) Ghilini, Teatro, Parte 1, pag. 96, 97.

(4) Gesner. in Biblioth. p. 387.

(5) *See the Abbot* de Marolles, *in his Augmentation of the* Roman History, *Tom. II, pag.* 287.

(6) Ghilini, ubi supra.

(7) Gesner's Epitome *says it was printed at* Venice *in* 1540.

(8) Gruterus *has inserted them in the first Volume of the* Thesaurus Criticus.

(9) Augment. de l'Hist. Romaine, Tom. II, p. 287.

(10) *I believe we ought to prefer this Date to the* IV Non. Quintil. *of* Thuanus.

(11) Corradus, in Quæstura, pag. 2.

Virtue than for his Learning [E]; and it is said his exemplary Life was an Honour to the Ecclesiastical Order to which he had devoted himself (a). He died the Fourth of *July* 1553, at the age of eighty Years (b), and left his Estate and his fine Library to three illustrious Families of *Venice* [F]. Soon after his death, a Letter was published,

(a) Thuan. lib. xii, pag. 253. See, below, Citation (10).

(b) Idem, ibid.

mellus elegantiusque dixisse. Quare, quum defecdisset, sic nos illi diximus: Tu vero posthac nihil unquàm scribito (12). To know the extent of his Learning, and the strength of his Memory, read what follows, by which it appears, that the Senators of *Venice* went often to consult him. 'Habuit vir ille, quod de L. Lucullo dicitur, divinam quandam memoriam rerum: quas quidem res penè omnes ut legerat, vel audiverat, sic iis, qui scire volebant, memoriter, jucundeque narrabat. Res vero tam multas ille legerat, vel audiverat, ut omnium maximè studiosus, atque etiam plane curiosus fuit, ut de omni re, quæcumque in disceptationem, quæstionemque vocaretur, copiosissimè, tanquam Gorgias, posset, & soleret etiam sæpe disputare. Nam de jure civili cauto, de totius orbis, & cœli regionibus, ac gentium moribus perito, de poëtica divinitus, de philosophia sapienter, atque de religione pie respondetat. Quod si quis eum, ut de rebus ad Historiam, vel ad Rhetoricam pertinentibus loqueretur, rogasset, id ille sic libenter, sic humaniter, sic ornate, sic copiosè faciebat, ut vere *Ludus*, quod ajunt, *in campum* videretur esse *provocatus*. Quare, præter studiosos adolescentes, quorum maxima frequentia semper Egnatii janua, & vestibulum frequentari solebant, multi nobilissimi & optimi senatores, ut magnis de rebus deliberarent, adeum penè quotidie veniebant ita, ut ejus domus oraculum totius civitatis vere posset appellari (13). —— *He had the fame, which is reported of Lucius Lucullus, a surprizing happiness of Memory; insomuch, that he retained almost every thing exactly as he had read or heard, and would repeat it agreably, and off Hand, to those who desired to hear it. He had read and heard so much, being extremely inquisitive after Knowledge, that, like Gorgias, he could, and often did, dispute on whatever Topic was proposed for debate. On Civil Law he was versed with Caution; on the System of the Heavens, the Theory of the Globe, and the Manners of Nations, with Judgment; on Poetry, as if he had been inspired; on Philosophy, like a Sage; and on Religion like a Saint. But if any one asked him to speak of History or Rhetoric, he did it with such Freedom, such Humanity, such Elegance, and such Fluency, that he appeared to be a perfect Champion in his way. Wherefore besides the numbers of young Students, who constantly crouded his Gate, many Senators of the first Rank and Condition, came almost every day to consult him, on Matters of importance; insomuch, that his House might justly be called the Oracle of the whole City.*

(12) Id. ibid.

(13) Id ibidem, pag. 3.

[E] *He was not less celebrated for his Virtue, than for his Learning.*] *Erasmus* gives him this Encomium at the same time that he will not allow him the Title of *Ciceronian*. 'Virum non minus probum & integrum quam eruditum & eloquentem nominasti, sed cui Tullianæ cognominis honorem negant doctorum suffragia. Docte loqui maluit quam Ciceroniane, & quod voluit assequutus est (14). —— *You have mentioned a Man, no less eminent for his Virtue, than his Learning, but to whom the Learned will not allow the surname of Ciceronian; he chuses rather to speak like a Scholar, than like Tully, and therein succeeds to his Wish.*' *Ghilini* says also, that *Egnatius* made himself beloved by his Doctrine, and by his Behaviour. *Per la singulare sua dottrina e integrità di costumi* (15). The Author of the Epistle dedicatory, which I have already mentioned, enlarges very much on this Head, in a very positive manner; for after displaying the Gifts of his Mind, as his Memory, Invention, Knowledge, and Eloquence, his Art of mixing Mildness and Gravity in his Reproofs, and of instructing the Youth, he concludes in these Words. 'Postremò verò, si omnes ejus mores diligenter inspicias, perfectum sanè atque absolutum innocentissimæ vitæ exemplar sese offert. Universa enim ejus vita, nihil aliud quàm ardentissimam religionem. Christianamque pietatem spirat. Poterat omnis Veneta civitas in hoc uno perinde atque in purissimo speculo sese ad omnem pietatem, eruditionemque componere (16). —— *Lastly, if we throughly examine all his Excellencies, he will appear to be a most perfect Pattern of Innocence; for his whole Life breathes nothing but the warmest Zeal, and Christian Piety. The whole City of Venice might by him alone, as by the purest Mirour, compose themselves to all Virtue, and Erudition.*' He appears so sure of his Point, that he takes pains to refute those who had published in a satirical Letter, that *Egnatius* lived, and died without Religion. He contents himself with exclaiming at their Impudence, and laughing at their Folly: 'Illud unum præteribo nequeo, homunciones quosdam nefario scelere audaces, in tam singularis, tamque omnium judicio probati viri memoriam invectos: atque male confrictata epistola, ac vix cohærenti tam placidos manes violare fuisse ausos. Ut jam exclamare libeat, ô mores, ô tempora. Unde repente tam inopinata atque immania monstra? Unde illi tam infesti Calydonii apri spumoso ore in præclaram omnium virtutum sylvam debaechantes, universamque optimi ac doctissimi viri famæ existimationisque segetem indignè devastantes? Ergo iterum opus est Hercule? Jam 13 iostat labor? Dii vestram fidem. Sed attende quæso quid præclari isti censores damnent. Egnatium parum Christianè vixisse, atque eadem, qua vixerit pietate defunctum esse. Id nimirum quod quemvis hominem Christianum offendere potuisset. Sed qua tandem in urbe hoc levissimi homines mentiti sunt? Nempe in illa, quæ hunc genuit, educavit, atque ad amplissimos honores summo judicio promovit, ac publicis decretis toties decoravit. O insignem audaciam, ô manifestam calumniam. Vides quàm liberè, quàm confidenter pronuncient, quàm gravem notam defuncto homini inurant. Quid quæso reliquum erit Christiano homini si religionem adimas non solum in cætera vita, sed etiam sub ipsum mortis tempus, quando vel perditissimi homines resipiscere solent? Verum ne tam arguta illorum mendacium non cæreret ratione ἀβλαμμα protulerunt: quod etiam, ne præter rerum scientiam, linguarum cognitionem illis deesse putes, Græcè explicarunt ἀδύνατον ἦν κακῶς ζῆσαι, μὴ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν. Sed præstiterit fortasse hanc illorum dementiam risisse (17). — *One thing I cannot omit mentioning, that certain insignificant Persons, but impiously outrageous, have inveigh'd against the Memory of so extraordinary and universally approved a Man, and dared to disturb his peaceful Shade, with a motley ill contexted heap of Ribaldry. We may now reasonably cry out, o tempora, o mores. From whence could such savage Monsters on a sudden start? Whence those furious Caledonian Boars, that, with frothy Mouths, lay waste the fair Grove of Virtue, and riotously trample under Foot the glorious Harvest of so learned a Man? We have occasion therefore for another Hercules. A thirteenth Labour waits him. O Heavens! But pray observe what these notable Reformers would condemn. That Egnatius lived not like a Christian, and shewed no more Religion at his Death, than he had done in his Life. This indeed might have given offence to any Christian Man! But in what City, pray, have these idle Persons bathed these Fulsities? namely in that which gave him Birth and Education, and raised him with the greatest Applause to the highest Honours, and so often distinguished him by public Decrees. Here is Impudence not to be paralleled! Here is glaring Detraction! You see with what unconcern, with what confidence they pronounce Sentence upon his Fame, how scandalously they stigmatize his Memory. What, I beseech you, will they leave a Christian, if they strip him of his Religion not only in his Life, but even in his last Moments, when the most profligate are wont to repent! But that these barefaced Lies might not want Reason, they bring a Greek Axiom to prove them, least we should think they had no greater a share of Languages, than of Knowledge.* It is impossible for him that lives a Libertine, to die a Saint. *But perhaps it would be more proper to laugh at their Madness.*'

(14) Erasmus, in Ciceroniano, pag. m. 72.

(15) Ghilini, Teatro, Tom. I, pag. 97.

(16) Marcus Mantuanus, Epistola Dedicat. Exemplorum Egnatii. *See also Remark* [D], *at the end.*

[F] *He left his Estate, and his fine Library to three illustrious Families of Venice.*] It consisted of abundance of Medals, and pieces of Antiquity: read these Words of *Thuanus*. 'Erat amplissimus patritii sanguinis

(17) Marcus Mantuanus, ibid.

lished, in which he was charged with having had no Religion, neither in his life nor at his death (c). I have observed in another place (d) his difference with *Sabellicus*, and their Reconciliation. It is pretended, he resented so heinously the Abuses which *Robortel* had in his Writing put upon him, that he would revenge them with his Sword (e). Mr *Teissier*'s Criticism against the Translator of *Thuanus* might be extended even to the Original [G]. Something must be said against *Moreri* [H].

(c) See Remark [B].

(d) In Remark [F] of the Article SABELLICUS.

(e) See the Article HIPPONAX, Remark [F], towards the end.

' sanguinis familias Molinam, Lauretanam, & Braga-
' denam, supremis tabulis heredes instituit; qua in he-
' reditate præcipue numeratur copiosa librorum suppel-
' lex, nummis antiquis aureis, argenteis & æreis, aliisque
' præterea veteris ævi monumentis instructissima (18).
' —— *By his last Will, he appointed three of the most eminent Families of Venice his Executors: the most considerable part of his Effects was his Library, consisting of a large Collection of Books, enriched with a vast variety of ancient Coins, in Gold, Silver, and Brass, and Muments of Antiquity.*

(18) Thuanus, lib. xii, p. 253.

[G] *Mr Teissier's Criticism might be extended even to the Original.*] First let us see the words of *du Ryer*. ' *John Baptista Egnatius* was born at *Venice* of a good Family, but poor, and was the Disciple of *Angelo Politio*, who restored good Learning in *Italy*, where it was almost extinct, and who, having taught forty Years with the Admiration of all *Italy*, received this Favour from the Senate, *&c* (19).' Mr *Teissier* makes this Remark (20). ' If we abide by the grammatical Construction of *du Ryer*'s Words, it should seem that *Angelo Politio*, who restored good Learning in *Italy*, taught also for forty Years at *Venice*: nevertheless it is certain *Thuanus* speaks of *Egnatius*, and that *Politio*, who was one of the most learned and most polite Writers of his Age, died in his fortieth Year in 1553 (21). This Critic might have observed two other things; one, that the Latin word *Politianus* ought to be translated *Politian*, and not *Politio*, a Name unknown to the Republic of Learning, when the question is of the celebrated *Angelus Politianus*; the other, that *Thuanus* is not the innocent cause of his Translator's Error; for his Words are ranged in such a manner, that they will bear no better Version than *Du Ryer*'s. ' Hic & annus abstulit, ' *says he* (22), Johannem Baptistam Egnatium familia honesta, sed in tenui re, Venetiis natum, Angeli Politiani, qui bonas literas in Italia intermortuas excitavit disciplinam, quique eas non mediocri studio illustravit, & scriptis & publica XL annorum professione cum summa totius Italiæ admiratione.' Mr *Perizonius* has observed (23) that modern Writers are sometimes the cause of the Obscurity, and equivocal sense of the Latin, by their ill placing of the Words.

(19) Du Ryer, Translation of Thuanus cited by Teissier, Tom. I, pag. 74. Edit. 1696.

(20) Teissier, pag. 75.

(21) This is an Error of the Press: it ought to be 1494, as it is in the first Edition of *Teissier*.

(22) Thuanus, lib. xii, p. 253.

(23) See the Writings of Mr *Perizonius* against Mr *Fraisneau*.

[H] *Something must be said against Moreri.*] I. He ought not to say *Egnatius was in esteem about the end of the XVth Century*. This is a very improper expression of a Man who died but in 1553. II. He ought not to bring as a proof of the old Age of this Professor, that *Gesner* saw him at *Venice* in 1543: he should have said, he lived ten Years after that; but, as *Vossius* only made use of this Observation of *Gesner*, (24), I do not wonder that *Moreri* stopped there: I wonder much more, that *Vossius* should not know what the Epitome of *Gesner* and *Thuanus* might have informed him concerning the Year of *Egnatius*'s Death.

(24) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. p. 608.

EIMERIC (NICOLAS), a Dominican, and Inquisitor-General in the Kingdom of *Arragon* in the XIVth Century. His Directory of the Inquisitors was printed at *Barcelona* in 1503. *Francis Pegna* published two Editions of it at *Rome*, one in 1578, and the other in 1585.

EYSENGREIN (MARTIN), in Latin *Eysengreinius*, Doctor of Divinity in the XVIth Century, published many Books, of which you will find a Catalogue in the Epitome of *Gesner's Bibliotheque*. *Moreri* will inform you that he was born at *Stuggard* in the County of *Wirtemberg*, that he was Vice-Chancellor of the University at *Ingolstadt*, and that he died in 1578. I add to this, that he was of a very good Family (a), and the Son of a very honest Man, and was once of the Protestant Religion (b). He had even declared in a public Work, that he would persevere in it constantly and unalterably, and dedicated his Book to *Vergerius*, to congratulate him for having owned the true Church, and abandoned the Party of Antichrist. Yet soon after he threw himself into the Romish Communion, about the Year 1560 (c), and expressed a great deal of Bitterness against the Protestants. He attacked them in several Tracts, in which he handled the Controversy with all the Violence, and according to all the Common-Places of that time. *George Leibler*, Professor of Physic in the Academy of *Tubingen*, refuted one of his Tracts [A]. I do not know whether he was related to WILLIAM EYSENGREIN whom I have mentioned in another place [B].

(a) Georg. Liebler. in Schol. ad Sermon. Mart. Eysengrenii de Puero Jesu, pag. 43.

(b) Ibid. pag. 1.

(c) Id. ibid.

[A] *George Liebler . . . refuted one of his Tracts.*] It is a *German* Homily upon the Gospel of the first Sunday after *Epiphany*. It relates to the Son of God being found sitting in the Temple of *Jerusalem* in the midst of the Doctors. *Liebler* translated it into Latin, and published it together with *Scholia* in the Year 1575 (1). He charges the Author with troubling the World with many little Books which were of no Value. ' Tu spreta mea fideli admonitione, hactenus multos parvos & pravos edidisti libellos, quos an quisquam hactenus responso dignatus sit, haud scio. Mihi quidem cùm initio aliqui veniffent in manus, eisque respondere vellem, ita visa sunt indocti & inepti, ut chartarum tam turpiter contaminatarum vehementer me misereret & omnino eorum lectione postea abstinerem. Sed cùm infelici partu adeò sis fœcundus ut subinde nova monstra per abortum edas, &c. (2). —— *Without any regard to my friendly Advice, you have still published several little naughty Pamphlets: but I am ignorant whether any one as yet has vouchsafed them an Answer. When, at first, some of them chanced to fall into my Hands, and I was inclined to answer them, they appeared to be so childish and empty, that ' I was extremely concerned to see Paper converted to ' so shameful a use, and determined for the future not ' to take the pains to read them; but since you are so ' unhappily prolific of the monster Brood, and will not ' suffer them to ripen, before you turn them out into ' the World, &c.*' He charges him also with heaping together a great number of Words, only to encrease the number of Sheets. ' Neque enim mihi libet tuam imitari inanem loquacitatem, qua nihil aliud agis, quàm ut multas paginas frustra expleas, & magnos facias libros, in quibus res paucas bene & rectè doceas (3). —— *Neither have I any Inclination to copy your impertinent Prolixity, whereby you only labour to swell the number of Sheets, and multiply Words to no purpose.*' He concludes with some Remarks upon a Homily, wherein *Eysengrein* had explained *Simeon*'s Prophesy concerning the Infant Jesus.

(1) At *Tubingen*, in 4to. It contains 86 pages.

(2) Liebler. Schol. in Serm. Mart. Eysengrenii, pag. 1.

(3) Id. ibid. pag. 7.

[B] *I do not know whether he was related to William Eysengrein, whom I have mentioned in another Place* (4).] He was a Canon of *Spires*, his Native Country, and Cotemporary with our *Martin*. He published, at *Ingolstadt* in 1566, a Book intituled *Centenarii XVI, continentes Descriptionem rerum memorabilium*

(4) In the Remark [E] of the Article ILLYRICUS.

lium in Ecclesia contra Matthiam Flacium Illyricum. He had published, at *Dillengen*, in 1564, *Chronicon Spirense*, a Work wherein quite the Ambition of a Jew

at *Christopher Lehman* has observed in his Preface to the Annals of *Spire* (5).

(5) *See the Introduction to Historiam Ecclesiastic. of Caspar. Sagittarius, pag. 519.*

ELICH (Lewis Philip), in Latin *Elichius*, lived at the beginning of the XVIIth Century. I think he was born at *Marpurg*. He maintained there a publick Dispute *de Magia Diabolica*, and would have printed a Book upon the same Subject with a Preface full of bad things (*a*); but they prohibited it, and the Magistrates searching his House found several Books upon which he had writ Notes somewhat scandalous (*b*). They confiscated the Books, and summoned him before the Judges. He promised with an Oath, and in writing, to renounce those frivolous Studies: nevertheless he published his Book at *Frankfort* in 1607 [*A*], and joined to it a very angry Preface against the Academical Senate of *Marpurg*. They would have called him to an account for it; but he made his escape, and turned *Roman* Catholic (*c*). This is but part of the ill they say of him in the Book I quote. He published at *Frankfort*, in 1609, another Book intituled *Innocentius, sive de Miseria hominis libri tres, in ignominiam & confusionem superborum editi.*

(*a*) Cum Præfatione sparca & picanti moribusque adversa. *Tobias Tandlarus, in Repulsione Calumniar. Elichii.*

(*b*) Plurimi libri Scholiis encrabus ac non tolerandis conspurcati. *Idem, ibid.*

(*c*) *Taken from* Tobias Tandlerus, in Repulsione Calumniarum Elichii.

[*A*] *He published his Book at Frankfort* 1607.] He called it *de Dæmonomagia, de Dæmonis energia & Lamiarum energia* He confutes arrogantly, in it, those who doubt of the Truth of what is said of Witches, and of their being really carried to the Sabbatical Assemblies. Particularly he attacks *Tobias Tandler*, Professor of Physic at *Wirtemberg*, who had published an Harangue *de Fascino & Incantatione*, in the Year 1606 This *Tandler*, reprinting it in 1607, with some other Tracts of the same Nature, added a short answer to the Calumnies of *Elichius*, from whence I have taken the matter of this Article.

ELICHMAN (John) Native of *Silesia*, practised Physic at *Leyden* (*a*). He married a Wife in the Year 1638, who was of a Burgomaster's Family (*b*). But he did not enjoy her long, for she died in the year 1639 (*c*). He understood sixteen Languages well (*d*), and was so skillful in the *Persian*, that, in the Judgment of *Salmasius*, *Europe* never produced a Man who came up to him in that, and perhaps never will produce the fellow of him (*e*). He believed that the *Persian* and *German* Languages were derived from the same Source, for which he assigned many reasons (*f*). He writ a Letter in Arabic (*g*) which was printed at *Jena* in the Year 1636. His Dissertation *De termino vitæ secundum mentem Orientalium* (*b*), was published in 1639. It would have been much longer if he had not died while he was about it. His Latin Version of the *Table of Cebes* was printed at *Leyden* in 1640, with the Greek and Arabic Version, by the Care of *Salmasius*, who prefixed a large Preface to it.

(*a*) Crenius, *in Præfatione* Fasciculi Exercitationum Philologico-Historicarum.

(*b*) Beverovicius, de Vitæ Termino, parte III. pag. m. 139.

(*c*) Konig, Biblioth. pag. 270.

(*d*) Christianus Ravius, pag. 12, primæ Panegyricæ, apud Crenium, *ibid.*

(*e*) Salmas. in Præfat. in Tabul. Arabic. Cebetis.

(*f*) Id. ibid.

(*g*) De Usu Linguæ Arabicæ in Medicina. *See* Konig, Biblioth. pag. 270.

(*b*) *It is at the end of the third part of* Beverovicius's *Book* De termino Vitæ.

ELIJAH, one of the greatest Prophets of the Old Testament, lived under the Reign of *Ahab*. His true History is to be found in *Moreri*'s Dictionary: to which I refer my Readers, and shall content myself with relating some apocryphal Stories of him. There was a common Tradition among the Jews (*a*), that he was the same with *Phineas*, the Son of *Eleazar* the High-Priest [*A*], and that the Prophet, who lived among Men sometimes under the Name of *Phineas*, sometimes under the Name of *Elias*, was not a Man but an Angel (*b*). St *Epiphanius* relates one thing which is as incredible as these, I mean the Vision of *Sobac*, the Father of *Elias*. As soon as his Wife was delivered, he thought he saw Men cloathed in white, who saluted the new born Child, covered him over with Fire, and made him swallow the Flame. These are the swaddling Cloaths in which they wrapped the little *Elijah*. This is the Milk with which they nourished him. *Sobac* went up to *Jerusalem* to consult the Oracle, and was told what the Vision signified. They assured him that his Son should inhabit in Light, and that he should judge *Israel* with Fire and Sword (*c*) [*B*]. It is a pretty common

(*a*) Videri potest de Traditio in Tractatu Juchasim fol. 011 quem etiam amplectitur R. Salomon apud Liranum &c. *Ægidius Camarius, de Rebus gestis Eliæ, pag.* 71.

(*b*) Hanc eorum traditionem referunt Lyranus, Abulensis, Megalianus, Serrarius. *Id. ibid. pag.* 100.

(*c*) Epiphan. de Vitis Prophet. pag. m. 237.

(1) Tractat. VII in Joannem, apud Ægidium Camarium, de Rebus gest. Eliæ, p. 71.
(2) Tom. VI. Problem. occul. apud Camarl. ibid.
(3) Lib. I. Epist. VI. apud Camarl. pag. 72.
(4) 1 Chron. ix. 20.
(5) Spiritum fervoris & ultionis exercuit in Elia & collegis magis quam in discipulis Evangelicis. *The Spirit of Rage and Revenge was more exerted by Elias and his Colleagues than by the Preachers of the Gospel* Martyr. in 2 Kings ch. 1.
(6) 1 Kings xviii. 40.
(7) 2 Kings chap. I.

[*A*] *A Tradition says, he is not to be distinguished from Phineas the Son of Eleazar the High-Priest.*] This Tradition is very ancient; for *Origen* makes mention of it (1). I suppose it is founded upon the promises which were made to *Phineas*, when he had killed the Man that defiled himself with the Midianitish Woman. *Francis George* of *Venice* (2) is not far from this Opinion of the *Rabbins*. *Peter Damien* (3) embraces it cordially: he believes that *Phineas*, for the sake of the Zeal, which fired him at the sight of so scandalous an Object, will be preserved alive in the terrestrial Paradise to the end of the World, and that it was he who, under the Name of *Elijah* the Prophet, was carried up to Heaven in a fiery Chariot. He cites a Passage of the Scripture (4), to prove that *Phineas* was alive in *David*'s time.

[*B*] *That he should judge Israel by fire and sword.*] This agrees pretty well with that revengeful Spirit, which animated *Elijah* on some Occasions (5), as when he destroyed the Priests of *Baal* (6), and called for fire from Heaven upon the King's Soldiers (7). The Enemies of Toleration do not love to be told that Jesus Christ has abolished this Spirit (8): such an Information is an uneasy Lesson to them, and they would willingly say to whoever puts them in mind of it, as *Felix* to *Paul*, *go thy way for the present, when a convenient time comes, we will call for thee again* (9). I do not wonder that they cannot endure to be deprived of the Authority of such an Example as this: for what can be more strongly urged in Favour of Massacres out of Zeal for Religion, than the Conduct of *Elijah*. A Man, who had no Character in the State, no political Authority, no right to make use of the Sword, a Man, I say, whose Office was only to prophecy, assembles all the Prophets of *Baal*, who were 450, and the Prophets of the Grove to the number of 400, who had the Honour to eat at the Queen's Table (10), he convinces them by a Miracle, that they worshipped a false God, and immediately orders them to be seized (11), and to take care that none escaped. He commands them all to be killed, without condescending so much as to ask King *Ahab*, who

(8) Luke ix. 55, 56.

(9) Acts xxiv. 20.

common Opinion, for many ages received among Christians, that *Elijah* is not dead, and that God preserves him alive either in the terrestrial Paradise, or in the Heavens, or elsewhere, to employ him at the end of the World against Antichrist. There are some who assure us, that then he is to suffer Martyrdom, and that he and *Enoch* are the two Witnesses mentioned in the eleventh chapter of the *Apocalypse* (*d*): they also ascribe to him a very exact Continence (*e*), and conclude he will be honoured with three Crowns, the Crown of Doctor, the Crown of Virginity, and the Crown of Martyrdom (*f*). They pretend that his Chastity has far exceeded that of all the other Prophets who lived in Celibacy; for he was not contented to live chaste, but also ordered his Disciples to abstain from Women (*g*); and it is he that is looked upon as the first Founder of the Monastic Life. The Carmelites boast that he is the Founder of their Order, and tell a thousand Stories which are ridiculed by the other Monks. Nothing is so impudent as a certain Story of the Gnostics concerning this Prophet [*C*]. The *Apocalypse* of *Elias* has commonly passed among the Fathers for a supposititious Book: but *Origen* seems to mention a Book of that Prophet as a genuine Production [*D*]. There

(*d*) *See Alcazar and Viegas upon the XIth Chapter of the Apocalypse cited by* Camart, ibid pag. 121.

(*e*) Hieron. lib. 1. adv. Jovin. & multi alii Patres, apud Camart. pag. 277.

(*f*) Ægid. Camart. pag. 279.

(*g*) Id. pag. 278.

who was present, if it was his Will to have it so, and without exhorting them to Repentance and Conversion. It cannot be said that they acted against their Conscience (12); for if they had believed that *Baal* was a false God, they would not have submitted to an Examination, and by the credit they had with the Queen, they might easily have evaded the Challenge of the Prophet *Elijah*. Besides, we see they invoked their Deity with the utmost Ardor, and cut themselves with Knives in Honour of him; therefore they were in hope of being heard. In order to excuse *Elijah*, Divines are forced to acknowledge that he had received invisibly, from God, an extraordinary and special Mission to put these Prophets to Death, and that God had revealed to him, that they were Reprobates not to be wrought upon by any Admonitions to Repentance (13). *Peter Martyr* indeed alledges the Law of *Moses* against Idolators, the Law of Retaliation, *&c*; but after all he confines himself to a particular Inspiration, which is a thing not to be disputed among Christians. 'Omnia hæc privato instinctu Dei agebantur contra legem in communi propositam. Ipse legislator cum aliquid contra suas leges jubet mandatum ejus pro lege habendum est (14). —— *All these things were done by a particular Inspiration from God, contrary to the Law established in common. When the Legislator commands any thing repugnant to the Laws he has before ordained, his Command ought to pass for Law.*' For the rest, nothing can be equal to the Impertinence of *Feuardent* the *Franciscan*, who accuses *Peter Martyr* of uttering injurious things against the Prophet *Elias*, and then of contradicting himself afterwards. 'Pergit idem (*Vermilius*) *says he* (15), vineta sua, quod ajunt, cædere, cum scribit, ad id vocatus erat Elias ut judicia divinæ severitatis exsequeretur, nec ex se ipso verum ex Deo & Angeli monitu ita duriter se gerebat. Potuit quidem specie tenus homicida videri, nec tamen pro tali habendus est cum solum fuerit Dei minister. —— *He proceeds to overturn his own System, by saying, that Elias was called, as an Instrument, to execute the divine Vengeance, and that he had not of himself, but by the Direction of God, and an Angel, had recourse to such Extremities. He might, in Appearance, pass for a Murderer; but he is by no means to be looked on as such, since he acted only by a divine Commission.* Feuardent makes the same Complaints against *Calvin*: he charges him with saying, 'Elias fuit homo depravatus, nimis vehementi zelo correptus . . . peccavit etiam quiritando se solum è clade ac persecutione restare: raptus item fuit spiritu servitutis & vindictæ (16). —— *Elias was a Man depraved, and guided by too furious a Zeal: he was also guilty of a Crime in complaining so frequently that he alone escaped the Fury and Persecution: He was likewise a Slave to a base vindictive Spirit.*' He cites *Calvin*'s Commentary upon the second and third Verses of the eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans*: but I find nothing like it there. In Truth, the Liberty these Protestant Writers take to censure, in some things, the Conduct of this Prophet, cannot be found fault with, without blaming St *Chrysostome* (17). 'Qui asperrimis verbis Eliam . . . crudelitatis & cujusdam ἀπαθείας arguit. Deinde alibi (18) eumdem quasi penitus ad divina monita insensibilem, dum variis telis & exemplis ad commiserationem inducerentur. —— *Who reproves Elias, in the sharpest Terms, of Cruelty and Inhumanity; and in other places represents him as insensible of the divine Admonition, when so many Facts and Instances might have moved him to Compassion.*'

(12) The Author of the *Philosophical Commentary* seems to suppose this, the better to answer the Objections which the Doctors who oppose Toleration found upon the Conduct of *Elias*.

(13) Certus erat Spiritu Dei non esse conversionem ejus impiorum. *Petrus Martyr. Comment in lib. 1. Regum, cap. 18. fol. m. 141. verso.*

(14) Ibid. folio 141.

(15) Feuardent. Theomach. Calvinist. lib. 9. cap. 3. pag. m. 437. *He cites Martyr's Commentary, in lib. 1v Regum, cap. 1, and cites it faithfully.*

(16) Ibid. pag. 436.

(17) Homilia in SS. Petrum & Eliam, apud Camart. de Rebus Eliæ Proph. pag. 227.

(18) Homilia de Elia, apud eundem Camart. ibi.

[*C*] *Nothing is more impudent than a certain Story of the Gnostics concerning this Prophet.*] They said that if a Soul, when it ascended up to Heaven, could not give a good answer to the Virtues which asked it questions upon it's Entrance, it was sent again upon Earth. Above all things it must answer that it had left no Children; for if it answered the contrary, it was sent back, and obliged to live in this World, till it had collected together all it's Children, and was united to them. They tell you that, when *Elijah* ascended up to Heaven, he met with an Obstacle, which forced him to descend back again upon Earth. A female Demon came to him, and said *stand, whither art thou going? I had Children by thee, and thou canst not enter Heaven, and leave them upon Earth. And how*, answered he, *could'st thou have Children by me, seeing I always lived in Continency? notwithstanding that*, replied she, *I had them by thee, for I took the benefit of thy Sleep.* Those who understand the Latin will not find this obscure. Ὅτε ἐνυπνίοις ἐνυπνιαζόμενος πολλάκις ἐν τῇ ἀνθρώπου τῶν σωμάτων ἐκχεύθῃ, ἐγὼ ἔμην ἡ μεταλαβοῦσα ἀπό σε τὰ σπέρματα, καὶ γεννασά σοι υἱός. *Cum in somnis effusione seminis sæpe corpus exhaurires ego abs te illud excepi, tibique filios peperi* (19). St *Epiphanius* confutes very well this Impertinence by the Impossibility of the thing: for the spiritual nature of Demons cannot be the passive Subject of any Generation. It is not so easy to refute those who say that a Demon may interpose, as an active Principle, in the Production of an Animal, not that he can, out of his own Substance, furnish the necessary Materials; for a Spirit is an immaterial Being; but he can, say they, make use of the seed of a Male, by conveying it to a proper Place, and so direct the motions of Matter, that this seed be converted into an organized Body. Those, who hold this possible, rightly affirm, that the Child, produced in this Manner, would be the Child of the Man, whose seed was employed; for why is a Man reputed the Father of a Child, conceived in the Womb of a Woman, whom he had enjoyed in the Stews, with no other view than to satisfy his brutish Lust? Is it not because the first Foundation, upon which the Body of the little Infant is built, was taken from the Body of that Man: and cannot the same be said with respect to that other Generation? however, the difference would be very great in this, that those, who became Fathers in this extraordinary Method, might nevertheless perfectly preserve their Virginity; so that the folly of the Gnostics concerning *Elijah* is every way extravagant.

(19) Epiph Hær. XXVI. lib. 1. Tom II. n. 13. pag. m. 95.

[*D*] *Origen seems to speak of a Book of this Prophet as a genuine Production.*] In explaining those words of St *Matthew*'s Gospel (20), *then was fulfilled that which was spoken by* Jeremy *the Prophet, saying, and they took the thirty pieces of Silver, &c.* he observes that it is not to be found in any Jewish Book, Canonical or not Canonical, that *Jeremiah* ever prophecied this, and he suspects, either that instead of *Jeremiah*, it ought to be read *Zachariah*, or else that *Jeremiah* wrote a Book which was never published. Upon which he says that *Jeremiah* is not the only Prophet,

(20) Cap. 27. ver. 9.

There is an old Tradition, which they falsely impute to *Elijah*, that the World shall continue but six thousand Years, whereof two thousand were to be before the Law, two thousand under the Law, and two thousand under the Messiah (*h*). The Jews say, that, seven Years after he was translated, *Elijah* wrote a Letter from Heaven to King *Joram* [*E*], and that he composed in Paradise the Annals of all Ages (*i*). Observe that the Extraction of this Prophet, who is almost equal to *Moses*, is so little known, that it is yet disputed what Country, and also what Tribe, he was of, &c (*k*). I have cited a Minime (*l*) who designed to have writ upon the Actions of *Elijah*. This Work would have been very long; for what the Friends of the Author published of it after his Death, is one Volume of Four hundred Pages in 4to, which contains only the *Prolegomena*.

(*h*) Id. pag. 287. *See also* Berosaldi Chronicon, lib. II, cap. 3.

(*i*) *See* Cunæus, de Republ. Hebræorum, lib. III, cap. 1.

(*k*) *See* Petavius in Epiph. ad Hæres. LV. pag. m. 228.

(*l*) Giles Camart: *He was General of the Order. His Work, intituled,* Elias Thesbites, *sive de Rebus Eliæ Prophetæ, Commentarius posthumus, was printed at Paris in* 1631.

You will find in *Baronius*, that *Basilius*, the *Macedonian*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, erected Temples to the Honour, and under the Name, of the Prophet *Elijah*, in his Capital City (*m*). This was one of the Proofs that a Carmelite Friar advanced to prove, that Father *Papebroch* had rashly denied mount *Carmel* to be reckoned among the holy Places which were visited by the first Christian Pilgrims (*n*). Every body may see the Impertinence of this Proof. It appears by the Book I have cited (*o*), that a Divine of the Order of *St Francis* confounded the Carmelites in a public Dispute in the Year 1594. He attacked a Thesis, in which it is assured, that *Elijah* bound himself up by a Vow to Celibacy. He cited a Jewish Doctor, named *Rabbenu Haccados*, that is, *our holy Master*, and who lived before JESUS CHRIST. This Rabbi says, that *Elijah* had a Brother, whose Wife was barren to the Death of *Elijah*, and consequently the Prophet could not devote himself to Continency, for the Law commanded him to marry his Sister-in-law if she became a Widow.

(*m*) *See* Father Papebroch, Responsi ad Exhibitionem Error. pag. 155.

(*n*) Ibidem.

(*o*) Ibidem, pag. 227, 228.

Prophet, who may have had Writings concealed, and that those kinds of Writings are cited by St *Paul*. He brings the following Passage for an Instance (21): *As it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of Man, those things which God hath prepared for them that love him.* He maintains that this is not to be found in any canonical Book, but only in the hidden Works of the Prophet *Elias*. St *Jerome* disdainfully rejects this Opinion, and says the Passage in St *Paul* is to be found in the Prophet *Isaiah* (22), not word for word, but as to the sense of it, which is sufficient for the Apostle. 'Quasi 'Hebræus ex Hebræis assumit Apostolus Paulus de 'authenticis libris in Epistola quam scripsit ad Corin'thios, non verbum ex verbo reddens, quod facere 'omnino contemnit, sed sensum exprimens veritatem 'quibus utitur ad id quod voluerit roborandum (23).' The Books ascribed to *Elijah*, are not in the Catalogue of the Apocryphal Books, which were condemned by Pope *Gelasius*: nevertheless it is certain, that the Apocalypse of *Elijah*, the Assumption of *Elijah*, &c. were looked upon as suppositious Books (24).

(21) 1 Cor. ii, 9.

(22) Chap. lxiv, ver. 4.

(23) Hieron. in cap. xliv, Isaiæ.

(24) *See* Calmet, pag. 286, 287.

[*E*] *He wrote a Letter from Heaven to King Joram.*] This Opinion is founded upon a Place of Scripture misunderstood. *Then there came a writing to him from the Prophet* Elijah, *saying, thus saith the Lord God*, &c. (25). The true meaning of which is, that they carried to King *Joram* a writing, which was found among *Elijah*'s Papers.

(25) 2 Chron. xxi, 12.

ELISHA, the Disciple and Successor of the Prophet *Elijah*, wrought abundance of Miracles, as may be seen in *Moreri*'s Dictionary. There happened a very great Prodigy at his Birth: the golden Calf, which was at *Shilob*, bellowed so loud, that it was heard to *Jerusalem*. Upon which the High-Priest consulting the Stones of his Breastplate found that a Prophet was just born, who should destroy the Idols (*a*). There is reason to believe, that *Epiphanius*, who relates this, has no other ground for it, but a false Tradition [*A*]. The Jews are not worth confuting, who pretend, that *Elijah* being

(*a*) Epiphanius de Vitis Prophet. pag. m. 237, 238.

[*A*] *Epiphanius . . . . . has no other ground for it than a false Tradition.*] The Life of the Prophets composed by *Epiphanius* is in many things the copy of a Work of the same nature composed by *Dorotheus*. Some pretend this *Dorotheus* was Bishop of *Tyre* (1), and that he suffered Martyrdom under *Julian* the Apostate (2). But *Baronius* affirms that there never was a *Dorotheus* Bishop of *Tyre* (3). *Bellarmin* acknowledges that the Work falsely ascribed to *Dorotheus* is full of Fables (4). An English Divine has criticized this Narration of *Epiphanius* concerning *Elisha* in the following Manner. 'I, *Epiphanius* did not know the Situation of *Abelmuth*: he says *Elisha* was born there, and that it belonged to the Tribe of *Reuben*. He ought not to have said *Abelmuth*, but *Abelmeholah* as appears by the first Book of Kings, chap. xix, 16. If the Transcribers have committed this fault, *Epiphanius* is discharged of it, and can only be charged with a Geographical Error. *Abel-meholah*, the Birthplace of *Elisha*, was on this side *Jordan* (5): therefore it could not be situated in the Tribe of *Reuben*; for the share of that Tribe was beyond that River (6). *Dorotheus* led *Epiphanius* into this mistake. II. When *Elisha* was born at *Gilgal*, the golden Calf which was at *Shilob* bellowed. Here *Epiphanius* commits another geographical Error, for which *Dorotheus* is not responsible. He takes *Abelmuth* and *Gilgal* for the same Place, in which he is mistaken; his fault arises from not understanding aright the pointing of *Dorotheus*'s Words. 'Dorotheus scripserat, *postquam Elizæus natus est, in* 'Galgalis vitulus aureus mugitum edidit: quomodo inter'pungendum esse locum Dorothei, vel potius authorem 'interpunxisse, apparet ex Isidoro qui ita rem illam 'narrat, *Helixæo nato vitulum aureum cum magno* 'boatu clamasse in Galgalis . . . . Epiphanius non ani'madvertens hanc interpunctionem, putavit illud *in* 'Galgalis referendum esse potius ad sententiæ partem 'præcedentem quam ad sequentem, ad Elizæum po'tius quam ad vitulum (7). —— *Dorotheus wrote*, 'as soon as Elisha was born, in Gilgal a golden 'Calf lowed; *how this ought to be pointed, or rather how the Author himself pointed it, may be* 'learnt from Isidorus, who relates the matter thus, 'when Elisha was born, a golden Calf lowed aloud 'in Gilgal . . . . *Epiphanius not observing this pointing, imagined that* in Gilgal *ought rather to be* 'referred to the former Clause than to the latter, to 'Elisha rather than to the Calf.' III. Having mistaken *Elisha*'s native Country for the Place, where the Author, he follows, had set the golden Calf, he was forced to place that Idol somewhere else, and he fixes it at *Shilch*, where it never was. It is not necessary to say, that the miracle we speak of refers

(1) The Paris Divines, *in the Approbation of the Book of* Dorotheus *published by* Margarin de la Bigne *in the* Biblioth. Patrum.

(2) Sixtus Senensis, Biblioth. lib. 4.

(3) Annotat. in Martyrol. apud Rainoldum de Libris Apocryphis, Præl. 238, pag. 153.

(4) Tom. I, Controv. III, lib. 2, cap. 2, apud Rainold. ibid.

(5) Quemadmodum manifestum est partim ex 1 Reg. 4. collato cum 3 Josuæ, partim iisque planius ex Judic. 7. *As is manifest partly by comparing* 1 Kings iv *with* Josh. iii, *partly and more plainly from* Judges vii. Rainoldus, de Libris Apocryph. pag. 157.

(6) *See* Numbers, cap. xxxii, *and* Josh. chap. xiii.

(7) Rainoldus, de Libris Apocr. pag. 158.

being become uncapable of exercising his Office, received a Command to resign it to *Elisha* [*B*].

to one of *Jeroboam*'s golden Calves: now as one of those Calves was set up at *Dan*, and the other at *Bethel*, it is certainly a mistake, whether, with *Dorotheus*, one is placed at *Gilgal*, or, with *Epiphanius*, it is placed at *Shilo*. IV. To come to the prodigy it self, we shall observe that *Epiphanius* might easily have known the falsity of it; for if the Oracle of the Breastplate had answered that the Prophet, who was born that day, was to throw down and destroy the Idols, *Elisha* would have abolished *Jeroboam*'s Idolatry, he would have melted down, or broke in pieces, the two golden Calves: but he did not do this, therefore it is false that the Oracle gave out the Answer which is imputed to it, and thus the bellowing of the golden Calf is a Fable. I take no notice of the Observations of the English Doctor, upon the distance between *Jerusalem*, and the Places where *Jeroboam*'s Calves were: for, besides that the Figures have been falsified by the Printers, I do not see that the distance is any thing at all to the purpose; It is as easy to make the bellowing of a Statue be heard at twenty or thirty leagues distance, as twenty or thirty paces: whoever can work the latter Miracle, may perform the former: so that I wish our Doctor had not been so merry upon it. His raillery of *Torinus* is as cold as Ice: he says that *Torinus*, fearing a Heifer could not bellow so loud, has translated the word Δάμαλις *a Cow*, and not *an Heifer*. 'Albanus Torinus interpres ejus operis videtur aliquid tale formidasse, cum Græcam vocem (Δάμαλις) qua LXX Interpretes usi sunt pro vitulo vel vitula, ipse interpretatus sit, *bovem: Bos illa aurea*, & quæ sequuntur: videtur ille mihi metuisse ne vitula non posset tantum mugitum edere: itaque maluisse bovem dicere (8). —— *Torinus, the Translator of that Work, seems to me to have dreaded something of this Nature, when he translates the Greek Word* (Δάμαλις) *which the Septuagint render a Calf, by a Cow.* The golden Cow, *&c. He seems to me to have been afraid, that a Calf could not have been able to make a sufficient noise, and therefore chose rather to call it a Cow.*'

(8) Idem. pag. 160.

[*B*] *The Jews are not worth confuting, who say, that Elijah, being uncapable to exercise his Office, received a command to resign it to Elisha.*] I shall first produce the words of the Author, who is an evidence for me, and then make a short Observation. 'Judæi etiam impingunt Eliæ spiritus coërcendi impotentiam, qua ineptus fuerit redditus ad prophetiæ munus obeundum, atque ideo jussus fuerit loco sui successorem assumere (9). —— *The Jews charge Elias with being unable to check the impetuosity of the Spirit, whereby he was rendered unfit to execute the Office of a Prophet, and was therefore ordered to resign it to his Successor.*' He that speaks in this manner, pretends he says no more than what he has read in *Peter Martyr*, whose Commentary he cites upon the first Book of Kings (10). I find no such thing in the place he cites. However that be, according to this Jewish dream, *Elijah* was no longer able to govern his enthusiastic Raptures, or the Impetuosity of his prophetic Spirit; and thus like an old Man, who, by reason of his Age, yields so easily to the Passion of Anger, they must force him to get himself declared *emeritus*, and resign his Office to *Elisha*, as to one more capable of discharging it worthily. What Impertinence this! for not to say that such a thing as this is not consistent with the Accounts of Scripture, is it not certain, that the Spirit, which seized the Prophets, and which so often transported *Elijah* from one place to another, was superior to the Prophets, and wanted not to be checked or restrained. Add to this, that the danger of being transported too far, is more to be apprehended from a young Man than an old.

(9) Ægidius Camarcus de rebus gestis Eliæ, pag. 122. He cites Peter Martyr, Vermilius in 3 Reg. cap. xix, ver. 20.

(10) I call the first Book of Kings what the Roman Catholics call the third.

ELIZABETH, Queen of *England*, Daughter to *Henry* VIII, by *Anne Boleyn*, was one of the most illustrious Personages recorded in History. It would not be sufficient Justice to say, never any Woman swayed a Sceptre with more Glory than she did; but it must also be added, that there are few great Monarchs, whose Reign can be compared with her's [*A*]. Her Reign is the most shining Part of the *English* History, and was the School where so many able Ministers [*B*], and so many great Politicians were formed, that *England* never had a greater Plenty of them. The same may be said with respect to military Men (*a*). I shall not amuse myself with relating the principal Events of her glorious Life, which may be found in innumerable Books that every body may meet with, some of which are lately published (*b*). I shall rather collect together certain things, which are very curious, though not so important, and have not been observed by so many Authors. When *Holland* and *Zeland* offered to acknowledge her for Sovereign, she told their Embassadors, it would neither be honourable nor honest in her to seize the Property of another, and that the *Hollanders* were in the wrong to excite so many Tumults upon account of the Mass. She pleasantly continued this Conversation [*C*]. It was perhaps during this Audience that a young Man,

(a) *See the Words of Father Orleans, in Remark* [*A*], *at the end.*

(b) *See the History of England by Mr. de Larry, printed at Rotterdam by Reinier Leers, 1698.*

[*A*] *There are few great Monarchs, whose reign can be compared with her's.*] Lest I should be charged with overstraining any thing in order to flatter this Queen, let us hear the praises given her by a Jesuit, in a Book published at *Paris*. *Elizabeth*, says he (1), 'was one of those Persons, whose name alone imprints such an Idea on the mind, as can never be formed by any Description to be made of her; never crowned head better understood the Art of governing, or committed less Errors in a long reign. The Friends of *Charles* V could easily reckon up his mistakes: *Elizabeth*'s Enemies were forced to make a diligent search for her's, and those admired her most, whose interest it was to cry down her Conduct. So that in her are verified the words of the Evangelist, that often the Children of this World, are wiser in their Views and Designs, than the Children of Light. *Elizabeth*'s view was to reign, to govern, to be Mistress, to keep her People in Subjection, and her Neighbours in awe, without affecting either to weaken her Subjects, or to extend her Conquests over Foreigners. She would not suffer the least Infringement of the supream Power, which she equally knew how to preserve, by Policy, and by Force; for no one, in her time, had more Wit, Management and Penetration than herself. She was no Warrior, and yet she knew so well how to form her military Men, that *England* had hardly ever seen them in greater numbers or more experienced than in her Reign.'

(1) *Father d'Orleans's History of the Revolutions of England, Tom. II, pag 409, Edit. of Paris, 1693.*

[*B*] *Her Reign . . . was the School where so many able Ministers were formed.*] See their Names and Characters in a Book, which was printed in French at *Roan*, in 1683, intituled *Fragmenta regalia, or the true Character of Elizabeth Queen of England, and her Favourites.* This Book is originally in English: *Robert Naunton*, Secretary of State to King *James* I, and Master of the Court of Wards, is the Author of it. This Work has been newly translated into French (2), and printed with *the Secrets of Courts, or the Memoirs of Walsingham.* The Author of the Translation observes, that those two books were long since printed together, what he translates being the fourth Edition of them: he does not take the Title of *Fragmenta regalia, &c.* but of *Fragments or Observations of* Robert Naunton *upon Queen* Elizabeth's *Reign and Favourites.*

(2) *It was printed in* Holland, *in* 1604, *though the Title, I do not know for what Reason, says at* Cologne, *by* * * * 1695.

[*C*] *She pleasantly continued this Conversation.*] What a bustle, says she, do you make about the Mass: if you will not assist at it as a Mystery, you may be present at it as a Comedy. What, if I should immediately

Man, who followed the Embassadors, expressed, in a gross manner, the Sentiments which the Sight of so charming a Queen inspired him with [D]. But it was no Injury to him: on the contrary he was distinguished by it ever after. The Queen's Resentment against *Buzenvall*, who found fault with her way of speaking *French*, is very remarkable, and may serve for a Lesson to others [E]. What I am going to relate is better known: At her coming to the Crown, she was in suspense between the two Religions, and at last made choice of the Reformed [F]. This, even in the way of the World, was a Step of human Prudence. She would never have sat upon the Throne, if the King of *Spain* had not had much more Hatred against *France* than Zeal for the Catholic Religion [G]. It was this that preserved the Life of *Elizabeth*, a Circumstance

diately of this Comedy, should you think yourselves obliged to run away? It must be noted, she was then dress in white. I have read this in the Annals of *Reidanus*. 'Recenti multorum memoriæ obversari verba 'quæ anno XII. die Aldegondium & Paulum Buy- 'sium Arnhemienses Patrumque legatos prolata, immerito 'Hollandos unum ob Missæ sacrum tantos motus ciere, 'nec decorum ils præfractam adeo adversus Regem 'contumaciam: quando fidem divinitati Missæ habere 'non adstringantur, inspectarent tanquam fabulam. 'Quid inquit & erat candido amicta vestimento) vo- 'bisne pro dignitio foret, hoc habitu, & histrionium 'ordine, interi (3)?' This was enough to put the Embassadors out of Countenance.

(3) Reidanus, Annal. lib. 6, pag. 135, at the Year 1587.

[D] *A young Man . . . expressed in a gross manner the Sentiments which the Sight of so charming a Queen inspired him with.*] I shall use *du Maurier's* own Expressions. 'Prince *Maurice*, says he (4), be- 'ing one Day in a good humour, told my Father that 'Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, through the common 'weakness of her Sex, was so desirous of being thought 'handsome (5), that the States having sent a splendid 'Embassy of the chief Men of the Country, and at- 'tended by a great many young Gentlemen of the 'United Provinces, a *Hollander*, in the Embassa- 'dors Retinue at their first Audience, after ha- 'ving earnestly viewed the Queen, told an *English* 'Gentleman he had known in *Holland*, that he did 'not know why they should speak so indifferently of 'the Queen's Beauty; that they did her the greatest 'injury: that he thought she was very charming, and 'if she was his Wife, he would convince her she had 'Beauty enough to fire a Gentleman's Heart: Nding 'other juvenile Discourse fitter to be imagined than 'expressed; as he said this, he often looked towards 'the Queen, and then turned to the *English* Gentle- 'man. The Queen who had her Eyes fixed upon 'those Gentlemen, much more than upon the Em- 'bassadors, when the Audience was over, sent for the 'English Gentleman, and commanded him, upon Pain 'of her Displeasure, to tell her what the *Dutchman* had 'said to him: being assured by their Motions and Be- 'haviour, that they spoke of her. The Gentleman 'excused himself a long time, pretending they were 'trifles not worthy to be told her Majesty; but at 'length the Queen pressing him exceedingly, he was 'forced to tell her ingenuously the whole Truth, 'and to confess the violent Passion the *Hollander* 'had expressed for her Royal Person. The Conclu- 'sion of the matter was, that the Embassadors were 'presented each with a Chain of Gold of 800 Crowns, 'and their chief attendants with one of 100 Crowns 'each: but the *Hollander*, who found the Queen so 'handsome, had a Chain of 1600 Crowns, that is, 'double to what the Embassadors had, and he wore 'it about his Neck all his Life after.' Mr *Fontenelle* has inserted this artfully, according to his Custom, in his *Dialogues of the Dead* (6).

(4) Du Maurier, Memoirs for a History of *Holland*, pag. 256, *Paris Edition*, 1680.

(5) This Queen shining with a thousand heroic Qualities had yet the Weakness to desire to be thought beautiful by every body: and I have heard my Father say, that having been sent to her at every Audience, which he had, she would pull off her Gloves a hundred times, that he might see her Hands, which were indeed very fine and white. *Du Maurier, pag.* 256. *See Remark* [F].

(6) *First Part, pag.* m. 82.

[E] *The Queen's Resentment against Buzenvall.*] *Du Maurier* had heard his Father say, 'That she was 'implacable against all those who shewed the least 'Contempt of her Person, upon which he told this 'Story. One *des Combes*, a *Frenchman*, informed the 'Queen, that, being at Mr *du Plessis Mornay's* Table 'during the Siege of *Paris*, Mr *Buzenvall*, who had 'resided at *London* for the King, mimicked the Queen, 'and said she spoke *French* very disagreeably, repeat- 'ing often with a long and ridiculous accent, 'paar Dieu, paar mon foy. The Queen kept this 'in her Mind, to be revenged both of the Author of 'the Raillery, and of him who had suffered her to be 'publickly rallied: for a little after Mr *du Plessis* be- 'ing sent Embassador-Extraordinary into *England*, 'to beg assistance against the League, met with a very 'cold Reception, and could obtain nothing: upon which 'my Father being dispatched to the Earl of *Essex* at 'Dover, to see if there was any room to hope, he 'answered him, that there was some unhappy secret 'in the affair, that he had never seen the Queen be- 'fore so alienated from the Interest of *France*. So that 'to appease the Queen, *Henry* IV sent extraordinarily 'into *England* the Viscount *de Turenne*, afterwards 'Duke *de Bouillon*, followed by Mr *de Buzenvall*, who 'was to be first Embassador in ordinary to the Queen. 'As for the Viscount, he was very well received, but 'he would not see Mr *de Buzenvall's* and when Mr 'de Turenne told her he had orders from the King to 'leave him there, she told him positively she would 'have nothing to do with him: and the Viscount 'knew from some *Englishmen* that this aversion arose 'from the Stories he had made of the Queen at the 'Siege of *Paris*. This Mr *de Buzenvall*, as able a 'Man as he was, committed a very great fault, to 'ridicule in public so powerful a Princess, whose aid 'the King stood in such want of at his coming to the 'Crown: also he did himself a great injury, as well as 'his Master; which proves that the Great are always 'to be spoken of with respect (7).

(7) Du Maurier, ibid. pag. 246, *and following.*

[F] *She was in suspense between the two Religions, but at length she chose the Reformed.*] Without all doubt, if things had been equal on one side and the other, she would have preferred the Protestant Religion to the *Roman* Catholic: for she was educated in the former. But I believe also, that to avoid the hazards, which an overthrow of the Religion she found established must present to her view, she would have preserved the *Romish* Religion, if she had found it to be her Interest. The hard usage she received from the Pope (8), forced her into the Arms of the Protestant Party. She saw clearly, that if she had continued a Catholic, she must have acknowledged, either that her Crown was owing to an undoubted Usurpation, or to the Condescension of the Court of *Rome*, which would have exposed her to continual Contests. Being a Catholic, she must have confessed that her Father's divorce from *Catherine of Arragon* was null, and that therefore *Anne Boleyn* could be only *Henry* the Eighth's Concubine. Now in Hereditary Monarchies, a Bastard cannot exclude the legitimate Heir, without destroying a Fundamental Law, and consequently without becoming an Usurper. Therefore there was a necessity for *Elizabeth* to abandon the Church of *Rome*, that she might maintain that the Court of *Rome* was in the wrong to condemn the Marriage of *Anne Boleyn*. But besides this, she was of too penetrating an understanding not to see the general Situation of affairs, that, by immediately declaring against the Pope, she should fix all the Protestant Powers of *Europe* in her Interest, and by this means cherish a Civil War as long as she pleased among her Neighbours. *Mezeray* observes, that the Court of *France* put the Pope in an ill humour with *Elizabeth* (9), because the exclusion of that Princess might secure the Kingdom of *England* to *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scotland*, Wife to the Dauphin. The Design was good, but *France* was then unlucky.

(8) He sent her Word, that she was a Bastard, and that he would revoke none of his Predecessor's Bulls: that she was guilty of great Presumption in mounting the Throne, and must look for no favour if she did not renounce her Pretensions, and refer herself entirely to the Decision of the Holy See. *Latin Thuanus, Tom. I. pag.* 315, *at the Year* 1559.

(9) The King, whose Interest it was not to let *Elizabeth* enjoy a Crown he believed did belong to the Wife of his Son, the Dauphin, refused the Pope to give an ill Reception to the Queen's Envoy, and treated her as illegitimate. *Mezeray, Abregé Chronologique, Tom. IV. pag.* 714, *at the Year* 1558.

[G] *She would never have sat upon the Throne, if the King of Spain had not had much more hatred against France, than Zeal for the Catholic Religion.*] One of the principle means which God made use of to establish the Protestant Religion, and which he still employs to make it flourish is the natural jealousy of *France*, and the House of *Austria*. These two Powers have each in their turn rather chose to act for the benefit of the Protestants, in order to ruin their rival, than to suffer their Rival to aggrandize himself by the ruin of the Protestants. *Philip* II gave an eminent instance of this strange jealousy. The Queen of *England*, his Consort,

cumſtance ſufficient to deſtroy the Charge of Ingratitude that is brought againſt her [H]. It is a little unhappy that ſhe may juſtly be reproached with violating the Promiſes ſhe made upon her ſucceeding her Siſter (e): She had engaged to maintain the *Roman* Catholic Religion, which was the eſtabliſhed Religion, and yet ſhe aboliſhed it ſoon after.

(e) See Leti's *Hiſtory* by Leti, Tom I, pag. 331, *and ſeq.*

ſort, foreſeeing that the Catholic Religion would not be continued in her Kingdom, if her Siſter ſucceeded her, would have put her to Death: but *Philip*, foreſeeing another evil much more conſiderable to him than the deſtruction of the Catholic Religion, if *Elizabeth* did not ſucceed to the Crown, preſerved her ſafe from all miſchief. Let us ſee what Mr *du Maurier* ſays of it (10). 'Religion is often ſacrificed to Intereſt, and reaſon of State: witneſs what the ſame 'Queen *Elizabeth* formerly told my Father, that ſhe 'owed her Life to King *Philip* II her Brother-in-law, 'though the greateſt of her Enemies; therefore ſhe 'put up his Picture at the ſide of her Bed, and 'ſhewed him to every Body as her preſerver. Indeed he prevented her Siſter *Mary* from putting her 'to Death: for Queen *Mary*, who was ſecond Wife 'to King *Philip*, and a zealous Catholic, being very 'infirm, juſtly feared that *Elizabeth* her Siſter, who 'was a Huguenot, whenever ſhe ſucceeded her, would 'one day baniſh the Catholic Religion out of *England*, as it afterwards happened: and therefore ſhe 'preſſed the King her Husband to take off her Head, 'whilſt ſhe was yet a Priſoner in the Tower of *London*. But King *Philip* vehemently oppoſed it, leaſt 'Mary *Stuart*, who was Heir after *Elizabeth*, and 'who had married *Francis* II, ſhould ſucceed to the 'Crown of *Great-Britain*: and joining it to *France*, 'as would moſt certainly be done if ſhe had Children, 'by the Union of ſo many Kingdoms, a formidable 'Power might be created, which ſhould be able to 'blaſt his vaſt Deſigns of an univerſal Monarchy.' As the Author wrote this during the War, which ended in the Treaty of *Nimeguen* in the Year 1678, he did not fail to reproach the *Spaniards* with doing the very ſame thing they had found ſo much fault with: They were in alliance with *Holland*, and they had publiſhed an infinite number of Books againſt the Alliances of *France* with the ſame Republic, and with the *Swedes*; upon which he adds theſe memorable Words: 'So 'that every body muſt perceive, that Intereſt alone 'governs the World, and a certain great Commander 'had reaſon enough to ſay, that the People were go'verned by Princes, and Princes themſelves by In'tereſt: which is ſo true, that oftentimes what is moſt 'ſacred among Men is ſacrificed to this Intereſt: 'and moſt Sovereigns obſerve the Rules of Juſtice 'and Religion no farther than they are conſiſtent 'with this unlucky Intereſt.' This is an admirable Confirmation of what I have ſaid elſewhere (11) of THE RELIGION OF A SOVEREIGN. To conclude, *England* was far from continuing in the *Romiſh* Religion, ſince on one ſide the King of *Spain* prevented the Death of *Elizabeth*, and on the other the King of *France* would not ſuffer that Princeſs to be treated at the Court of *Rome* in ſuch a manner as might encourage her to perſevere in the Catholic Religion (12).

(10) *Memoirs of Bolano, in the Preface.* Mr *Bohun*, Fellow of the Royal Society, in his Character of Queen *Elizabeth*, tranſlated into *French*, and printed at the *Hague*, in 1694, owns, *pag.* 21, that the ſame State-Jealouſy hindered *Philip* from conſenting to the Death of *Elizabeth*.

(11) *Remark* [H] *of the Article* AGESILAUS II, *and Remark* [C] *of the Art cle* ARISTIDES.

[H] *This Circumſtance is enough to deſtroy the charge of Ingratitude which has been brought againſt her.*] The Jeſuit, who diſguiſed himſelf under the Name of *Andreas Philopatrus* (13), in order to confute the Proclamation the Queen put out againſt Papiſts in 1591, made ſome Obſervations upon her complaining of the King of *Spain*'s Conduct. This is, ſays he, an ill acknowledgment of the Obligations ſhe is under to that Monarch, who ſaved her three times from being put to Death. He arrived in *England* in the Month of *July* 1554, and married Queen *Mary*, whom he found inclined to put *Elizabeth* to Death as an Accomplice in the Treaſon of *Thomas Wiatt* (14); but he diſſuaded her from it, and even prevailed upon her to let *Elizabeth* return again to Court. A new Plot was diſcovered *March* 1555. *Elizabeth* was ſuſpected of being concerned in it, and a ſerious Conſultation was held whether the rigour of the Laws ſhould not be put in execution againſt her. The Queen's Council were of this Opinion; but King *Philip* and his *Spaniſh* Counſellors were on the merciful ſide of the Queſtion, and it was only reſolved that two Catholic Gentlemen ſhould be placed near *Elizabeth* to obſerve her Actions (15). She knew ſo well how to deceive them, that, notwithſtanding their watchfulneſs, ſhe formed an Intrigue, by which it was agreed that *Thomas Stafford*, who was fled into *France*, ſhould return to *England*, aſſume the Title of King, and marry her. Accordingly he landed in the Month of *April* 1557, and ſeized a maritime Town, but was ſoon after taken, and executed with ſome others of his Party. This affair brought *Elizabeth* into the utmoſt danger, and ſhe would certainly have ſuffered Death for it, if the King of *Spain*'s Proteſtion had not extricated her out of this difficulty (16). I ſhall not examine the Truth or Falſehood of theſe three Plots, the Diſcuſſion of which may be ſeen in the *Britiſh* Hiſtories. I ſhall only obſerve that the Charge of Ingratitude founded upon theſe three ſervices of King *Philip* II is not a juſt one; for beſides that from the time that *Elizabeth* aſcended the Throne to the Proclamation in the Year 1591, *Philip*'s Conduct juſtified the Complaints *Elizabeth* made, which are condemned by the pretended *Philopatrus*, he deſerved no thanks for preſerving the Life of that Princeſs: he did not do it for her ſake, but only for his Intereſt; and found his own reward abundantly and ſufficiently in the preſervation of *Elizabeth*'s Life. It was not a principle of Clemency which prompted him to behave in ſuch a manner, but a principle of Malignity againſt *France*, or at leaſt a political Prudence neceſſary to his ambition. When a benefit ſprings from ſuch an Original, thoſe who complain that it is not gratefully acknowledged, ſhould be referred to one of the Fables of *Phædrus* (17). It ought alſo to be conſidered that Gratitude among Princes is not ſubject to the ſame Laws with the Gratitude of private Perſons towards one another. *Lewis* XII has been much applauded for ſaying that the King of *France* ought not to revenge the Injuries done to the Duke of *Orleans*. He might almoſt with as much reaſon have ſaid, that the King of *France* was not obliged to acknowledge the ſervices done to the Duke of *Orleans*. Do you think that a Duke of *Orleans*, who ſhould aſcend the Throne by a Civil-War, in which he owes his ſucceſs to the powerful aſſiſtance of a neighbouring Prince, would be obliged to confederate himſelf with that Prince, or not to join with the Enemies of that Prince? Will he not be ungrateful if he does not eſpouſe the Intereſt of this Benefactor? Will he not be much more ſo, if he ſhould eſpouſe the Intereſt of the Princes that ſhall attack his Benefactor? There is but one point to be known in order to reſolve theſe Queſtions. Is it the Intereſt of the State, of which our Duke of *Orleans* is now become the Head, that the neighbouring Prince, who has ſo much afflicted him, ſhould not augment his Power, but ſhould loſe even part of thoſe Conqueſts which render him ſo formidable to his neighbours? In that Caſe, he ought to forget the benefits he has received, and ſay it does not become the King of *France* to requite the Obligations of the Duke of *Orleans*: he ought not to join through Gratitude with that Prince, attacking or attacked; and he ought even ſometimes to join with thoſe who declare War againſt him. Such is the Law of Politics, ſuch is the Law of State; and it was by virtue of that State-Law, that *Elizabeth* did well in traverſing the deſigns of *Philip* II. The United Provinces had the utmoſt Obligations to this Queen, and to *Henry* IV, the two firm ſupports of their growing Liberties. Nevertheleſs, if the Intereſt of the State had required that they ſhould have weakened the Power of the *Engliſh*, or the Power of the *French*, they ought to have concurred with the Enemies of thoſe two Nations, and there is great reaſon to think they would have done it. To know how theſe Politics agree with the eternal Laws of Morality, and how ſuch an Oppoſition between the Duty of Princes, and the Duty of private Perſons, is no breach in the unchangeable certainty of the Ideas of Honeſty and Virtue, is another Queſtion. It is ſufficient to ſay, that ſuch is the nature of Societies, that the public Intereſt is like the Sun, with reſpect to a great many Virtues. Which Virtues are like Stars that vaniſh, and diſappear at the Preſence of this Intereſt. *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto.* *Naudé* touches a little upon this in his *Coups d'Etat*.

(12) *See before, Citat.* (9), *out of* Mezeray.

(13) *It was* Robert Parſons. *See* Alegambe, *pag.* 415.

(14) Andreas Philopatrus Reſponſ. ad Edictum Reginæ Angliæ, *pag.* 88, 89.

(15) Id. ibid. *pag.* 90, 91.

(16) Id. ibid.

(17) Faciores ſi cauſa mea Gratum effet . . . Nunc quia laborat ut ſenatus reliquis Quæ ſunt rotuſtis, firmi & ipſos devoret Noli imputare vanum beneficium mihi. *Phædr. l.* IV. *fab.* XXIII, *l.* 3.

after. Perhaps this Conduct was a great Service to the Protestant Religion in the famous Revolution of 1688 [I]. It is impossible to say what vile Calumnies were spread abroad concerning this Queen [K]; which were not to be avoided considering the Severity she was forced, by Reasons of State, to use towards Papists. Some lost their Lives, a great number of others either suffered the Rigours of Imprisonment, or the Inconveniences of Exile [L]; and those were the Men who chiefly composed injurious Libels against the Reputation of *Elizabeth*. They made her a Monster of Cruelty, Avarice, and Lust. There are few Protestant Authors who do not extol this Princess's Chastity to the Skies; and there are some Memoirs which affirm she could not have run the Risque of being got with Child without the utmost Hazard of her Life [M].

A modern

[I] *This Conduct was perhaps a very great service to the Protestant Religion in the Revolution in* 1688.] A solemn promise made to a whole People, and confirmed by Oath, is a Barrier which cannot be broke through without exposing one's Reputation. Therefore there is reason to think that a Prince bound by such a promise will keep it, if it be only to secure his Honour: but if it is seen, that, in certain Cases, by a special Privilege in matters of Religion, a great Queen has failed in a promise of this nature, and yet passed for a Heroine, and for the wonder of her Age, People durst no longer depend upon the good Effects which the Fear of incurring blame by falsifying an Oath is capable of producing. Thus the *Englise* were persuaded that *James* II would not be afraid of the ill Consequences of a breach of his word in matters of Religion, and that he would hope his Memory would suffer no greater prejudice than Queen *Elizabeth*'s, whose Footsteps he should only follow. Therefore having no reason to rely upon his Oath, they took care betimes to prevent him from imitating their Heroine. In this manner there are things which are useful many ways, both for the present, and for the future. In general, we may be assured there is nothing that has not it's use in a State (18).

(18) *See, before, the Article* DO-LABELLA (PUBLIUS CORNELIUS) *in the Text, Citat.* (c).

[K] *The vilest Calumnies were spread abroad of this Queen.*] Mr *Bohun* complains particularly of four Authors, who are *Sanders*, *Florimond de Raimond*, *George Cone*, and the anonymous Author that published the *Didymus Veridicus*. *He says* (19) *that* Sanders, 'not content with diffaming *Anne Boleyn* . . . would also 'calumniate and dishonour *Elizabeth*. For this purpose he invented the most scandalous Stories, and 'the most infamous Satires against her, and her Ministers, endeavouring to make the World to believe 'that she was guilty of Rapine, Incontinency, vile 'Debauchery, Frauds, and horrible Falsehoods, in 'order to ruin the *English* Nation.' The Author of *Didymus Veridicus* (20) undertook 'to pollute the Ear 'by the leudest Discourses, and to destroy the Reputation of the most celebrated Princess in the World . . . . . he invented abundance of lies, and absurd 'and incredible things, which were like the Images 'and Fancies of Poets and Painters.' Mr *Bohun*'s Observation, concerning the Penalties which were inflicted on these Libels, must not be forgotten. 'The 'rage, *says he* (21), and impudence of the Writers of 'those scandalous Pieces made the Queen treat with 'great severity all those, who composed Libels or 'Verses to blacken the Reputation of others; she forbid them to be dispersed, or even read, and ordered 'them to be burnt by the common Hangman. Her 'rigour extended to those, who secretly spread any 'false reports to the prejudice or diffionour of the 'Government, least her People by these means should 'be excited to Commotions and Rebellions.' I do not find he has taken notice of a Reproach they cast upon that Queen, *viz.* that she only was a Protestant in outward Appearance. They maintain not only that she confessed to the Sieur de *Lansac* that she was persuaded of the Pope's Primacy (22), and to the *Spanish* Embassador that she believed the real presence (23); but they say also that she drove away the Bishops who came to see her in her last Sickness. 'Denique a-'versionem ejus à tota reformatione & grege Ministrorum, horror quem erga Pseudo-Episcopos in supremo morbo ad se accedentes præ se tulit, adeo 'eos Presbyteros *de jejobus* (phrasis ea est Anglorum erga mendicos & meretrices, victu tectoque carentes) 'vocatos ab aspectu suo facessere jusserit, luculenter 'demonstrat (24). —— *Lastly, her Aversion to all Reformation and Reformers is most clearly demonstrated 'by that horror, which she expressed in her last sick-'ness towards those Mock-Bishops that came to her, 'calling them HEDGE Presbyters, (a phrase in England applied to Beggars and Whores who have neither 'Habitation nor Subsistence) and charged them directly to 'quit her presence.*'

(19) Bohun, Character de la Reine Elizabeth, pag. 412.

(20) Idem pag. 414.

(21) Idem. pag. 417.

(22) Person. in Resp. ad Coquum, cap. 15, pag. 363, 364, apud Henricum Fitz Simon in Britannomachia Ministrorum, lib. 3, cap. 5, pag. 318.

(23) Comiti (postea Ducî) Feriæ zealem Christi præsentiam esse in ecclesiâ quod ejus dem Ducis testantur ad Regem Literæ (Novembr. 16, anni 1558) in Archivis Cymaneæ in Hispania conservantur. *Id. ibid.*

(24) Id. Fitz Simon. ibid. *He quotes* Discuss. Personii, cap. 2, *from pag.* 216 *to* 220.

[L] *A great number of others suffered either the Rigours of Imprisonment, or the Inconveniences of Exile.*] The Protestants of *England* confess it; they do not deny the Fact (25); but they maintain, that the wicked Attempts of the Papists against the Government, and against the Queen, deserved such a Punishment. You will be sure not to find this Observation in the Libels of the *English Roman* Catholics. You will indeed find the Punishments, with all the rhetorical Flourishes that can amplify them, but not a Word of the seditious Enterprizes which preceded, and were the Cause of them. There are few Relations in which the order of the Events is not confounded. This Confusion is not always produced by Fraud: a too turbulent Zeal is sometimes the Cause of it; Nature does the rest without designed Malice. The Constitution of Man is such, that he imagines the Evils he suffers to be great, and those he does not to be small. He perceives not these, but is sensible of the other; and even when he knows he has been the Aggressor, he pretends to have cause of Complaint, he makes no account of what he has done, only of what he suffers. An ill conducted Zeal fixes the Mind upon the Hardships of persecuted Virtue, and causes the Provocations of the Persecutors to be forgotten. If these two Causes are not sufficient, Dishonesty, which alone would disorder the Events, compleats the Confusion. However it be, I have observed, that the principal Difference between the Accounts of Catholics and Protestants consists in the Order of the Facts: each Party endeavours to give the first Place to the Injuries they have endured; they make a long Detail of these, and pass over slightly what they have done by way of Reprisals, or what they have suffered as a just Punishment. This is what is pretended. There is nothing that perplexes the Heads of the unprejudiced Readers more than this; for in order to know exactly what is blamable and what is excusable in each Party, it is absolutely necessary to consider the Facts in their true Situation. If the Catholics had not laid violent hands on the Protestants till after they had seen them overturn Temples, Altars, Images, and Crosses, *&c.* their Cruelties would not have been so criminal. For these Reasons it is necessary to give an Adversary the Precedence in such Cases. A modern Author has declared that he would not examine whose Relations had transposed the Events (26). This Discussion in certain cases is not altogether so laborious, but sometimes it would be found so embarrassing, that unless one was assisted by some Revelation, which should act contrary to that of the Apocalypse (27), one would never arrive at the certain Truth.

(25) *See* Bohun, Character of Elizabeth, pag. 412.

(26) *See the first Letter of* la Critique Générale de Maimbourg.

(27) This is only said upon Supposition, as *Mr Jurieu* has done, that the Holy Ghost had left those things in Confusion which he, *Mr Jurieu*, had put into Order. See here Part of the Title of the twelfth Chapter of his Accomplishment of the Apocalypse. Part II. *Avertissement en abregé des Evenemens que le Saint Esprit avoit derangez dans les Visions.* —— *A right placing of the Events which the Holy Ghost had misplaced in the Visions.*

[M] *Some Memoirs affirm, that she could not have run the Risque of being got with Child without the utmost Hazard of her Life.*] The Historians who give Reasons for her not marrying do not omit this, that Marriage would have been dangerous to her: let us hear *Mezerai* on account of the Duke *d'Alençon*. 'The thing went so far, that the Queen gave him a 'Ring for a Pledge of her Faith: but the contrary 'Intrigues in opposition to this Alliance, and her 'Women, who knew the danger she be would in if 'she had Children, made such an Outcry, and filled 'their Mistress's Head with so much Clamour, that 'she demanded it back again (28).' The Abbot *Sirí* says, *that she commanded her Officers not to let any body touch her Body, or see her naked, after her Death. For*

(28) Mezerai, Abregé Chronol. Tom. V, pag. 253, *at the Year* 1581.

A modern Writer of the Reformed Religion has made her Chaſtity a Problem [*N*]. It is much eaſier to vindicate her Honour in this Reſpect, and in the Acts againſt Papiſts, than with regard to the unhappy Queen of *Scotland* [*O*]; and yet ſhe cannot juſtly be intitled to the Praiſe, which the *Roman* Hiſtorian beſtows upon *Agrippina*, of having freed herſelf from the Weakneſſes of her own Sex by an Application to manly Buſineſs [*P*]. Pope *Sixtus* had a particular Eſteem for *Elizabeth*

for Reaſons which are not hard to be apprehended by thoſe who know the Hiſtory of this Princeſs (29).' See the Remark [*X*] towards the end.

(29) Journal des Savans of September 6, 1677, pag. 282, in the Extract of Memorie recondite di Vittorio Siri.

[*N*] *A modern Proteſtant Writer has made her Chaſtity a Problem.*] This Modern is Mr *Leti*, whoſe Words are (30), 'I know not whether ſhe was as chaſt as is 'reported; for, in ſhort, ſhe was a Queen, handſome, 'young, full of Wit; ſhe loved fine Cloaths, Diverſions, Balls, Pleaſure, and to have her Favourites 'of the beſt made Men in the Kingdom. This is all 'I can tell the Reader.' It is certain one ought to have a great deal of Charity, or a great deal of Caution, to ſuſpect nothing impure in the Conduct of a young Queen, who always had ſome Favourite, and always choſe them among the braveſt, youngeſt, and handſomeſt Lords of her Kingdom. If *Elizabeth* in this Behaviour preſerved a perfect Continence, as I am willing to believe, ſhe acted quite contrary to that Maxim, *ſi non caſtè, ſaltem cautè*. She is not to be commended for her Circumſpection; for ſhe took no care to ſave Appearances: ſhe preſerved her real Chaſtity, and delivered up the Out-works to the Cenſures and Suſpicions of the World, contenting herſelf with keeping the Body of the Place.

(30) Leti, Hiſt. d'Eliſabeth, Tom. II. pag. 513. *See alſo* pag. 249, *and following, where he relates ſeveral Paſſages and merry ſayings concerning the Gallantries of this Queen.*

[*O*] *It is much eaſier to defend her Honour in this reſpect, than with regard to the unhappy Queen of Scotland.*] There is, without doubt, great Exceſs and Inſincerity in the Elogies and Apologies for this Queen: but the Faults ſhe might have committed do not excuſe *Elizabeth*, who put her to death. They have publiſhed a hundred Apologies for this Action; for what is there ſo execrable which ſome mercenary Pens will not juſtify, who without going out of their *Polyanthea* find Inſtances of the thing in Queſtion? The beſt is, that after having read theſe Apologies with ſome ſort of Temptation to approve them, one perceives right Reaſon regain it's Empire, and diſſipate all the Charms of the rhetorical Apologiſt. The Proverb of the Scriptures, *Can the Æthiopian change his Skin, or the Leopard his Spots* (31), agrees admirably well with thoſe who have undertook to juſtify *Elizabeth* upon the Execution of the Queen, who fled to her for Refuge. *Æthiopem lavat*, may be ſaid to each of them. It muſt be ſo, ſince Mr *Bohun*, the great Panegyriſt of this Queen, condemns her, upon this Article, abſolutely, and without Mercy. 'The worſt Action of all her Reign, *ſays* 'he (32), was her Treatment of *Mary* of *Scotland*. 'This Queen having been expelled by her Subjects, 'and deprived not only of her Royal Authority, but 'alſo her Liberty, her Eſtate, and her Crown, came 'diſtreſſed and deſolate into *England* upon *Elizabeth*'s 'Royal Word. At firſt ſhe received her very well, 'and ordered her to be treated as a Queen; but 'afterwards detained her as a Priſoner, and, under Pretence that *Mary* formed Deſigns againſt her Life, 'had her tried, condemned, and at laſt executed, and 'thereby made her a ſad and unheard of Example of 'her cruel and unjuſt Severity. She polluted, if I 'may ſo ſay, her Reign, by this ſhedding of innocent Blood, not of an Enemy, but of a Princeſs, 'to whom ſhe had given Sanctuary, and whom ſhe 'had received into her Kingdom.'

(31) Jerem. xiii, 23.

(32) Bohun, Character of Queen Elizabeth, pag. 404.

[*P*] *She cannot juſtly be intitled to the Praiſe . . . . of having freed herſelf from the Weakneſſes of her Sex by an Application to manly Buſineſs.*] Her paſſionate Deſire to be thought handſome, the Care ſhe took to ſhew her Beauty, and the Complaiſance ſhe expreſſed to thoſe who were ſenſibly touched with her Charms (33), are undeniably a female Foible, which *Agrippina* had not: for if that *Roman* Lady had had thoſe Infirmities, they could not have truly ſaid, *ſed Agrippina æqui impatiens, dominandi avida, virilibus curis feminarum vitia exuerat* (34). She would ſtill have leſs deſerved that great Encomium, if ſhe had beſtowed ſuch Careſſes upon young Men as *Elizabeth* did laviſhly upon them. Let us produce an Author who relates what he ſaw and heard himſelf. He ſays, the Ceremony of creating the Lord *Robert* Earl of *Leiceſter*, and Baron of *Denbigh*, was 'performed at *Weſtminſter*, with a great deal of Solemnity, the Queen herſelf aſſiſting at the Ceremonial. He was upon his Knees before her, with the greateſt Gravity, whilſt the Queen could not forbear to make him an hundred Careſſes; ſometimes pinching him ſoftly, ſometimes laying her Hand on his Head and Shoulders, though the Ambaſſador of *France* and myſelf were preſent (35).' He that ſpeaks in this manner was *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scotland*'s Envoy at the Court of Queen *Elizabeth*. The Queen, my Miſtreſs, *ſays he* (36), knowing 'Queen *Elizabeth*'s Humour, commanded me not 'to be too much upon the Reſerve with her, and, that 'my Converſation might not be tireſome to her, to be 'ſometimes upon the diverting ſtrain: wherefore one 'time giving her an account of the different Modes 'and Cuſtoms of foreign Countries, I even mentioned 'the Womens Buskins. Upon which ſhe told me ſhe 'had the Dreſs of every Country and every Faſhion by 'her, and indeed ſhe took after that every day a different 'Dreſs, ſometimes after the *Engliſh*, ſometimes after the '*French*, and ſometimes after the *Italian* Mode, continuing theſe Changes all the time I ſtaid at *London*. At laſt 'ſhe would know of me which Dreſs became her beſt. 'I anſwered, in my Opinion the *Italian*, which Anſwer did not ſeem to be diſpleaſing to her; for ſhe 'loved exceedingly to ſhew her fair Hair, ſo that a 'little *Italian* Bonnet was what pleaſed her beſt. Her 'Hair was rather of a yellowiſh Colour than white, 'but with a beautiful Curl, which in Appearance 'was natural. She asked me which coloured Hair was 'reckoned the handſomeſt, her's or my Queen's? and 'ſeeing that I heſitated, ſhe preſſed me to declare 'upon this Point. I told her ſhe was the fineſt 'Queen in *England*, and mine in *Scotland* (37). But 'this not ſatisfying her, I told her, they were both 'the moſt charming in their Country, that her Ma'jeſty was indeed the faireſt, but that my Queen was 'alſo very lovely. She would ſtill know which of the 'two was the talleſt, to which I anſwered, my Queen. '*Then*, ſays ſhe, *ſhe muſt be too tall, for I am neither too tall nor too ſhort.*' You ſee here a Queen of *England* buſying herſelf with Faſhions and Dreſſes. It does not look like a meer Amuſement: one would think ſhe had made this her principal Buſineſs, if her Application to the Royal Functions were not well known. But it muſt be ſaid, ſhe found time for every thing: ſhe applied herſelf to the Cares of Government with as much Diligence as if ſhe thought of nothing elſe, and ſhe was as exact in her Dreſs and Ornaments as if that had been the utmoſt of her Concern. On the other hand, if her Converſations with the Envoy of *Scotland* are conſidered, her Deſign was not ſo much to interrogate him, as to make him confeſs, that ſhe was handſomer than *Mary Stuart*. One may diſcern by this, that ſhe looked upon her as a Rival in point of Beauty, and that by the turn ſhe gave her Diſcourſe, ſhe would induce People to give her the Preference over this Rival. This is very conſiſtent with a feminine Spirit and Temper. Every body knows with what Addreſs Women ſeek for Applauſe, ſometimes deſpiſing themſelves in order to be contradicted, ſometimes by inquiring if it be true that ſuch and ſuch have Beauty, Splendor, an incomparable Shape, *&c.*

(33) *See the Remark* [*D*].

(34) Tacit. Annal. lib. 6, cap. 25.

(35) James Melvil. Memoirs, Vol. I, pag 148.

(36) Id. pag. 154, *and following.*

(37) This was ſaying nothing; for when there is but one Queen in a Country, ſhe is the faireſt Queen there, let her be never ſo homely. There is a Country Wittie ſaying, viz. *I am the handſomeſt at the Table*, when ſome Woman or Girl is the laſt that remains.

We may obſerve a notable Difference between *Agrippina* and Queen *Elizabeth*. The latter could not reſolve to marry, tho' ſhe ſaw Men agreeable enough to think them worthy of her Choice: the other ſeeing herſelf a Widow, and young, deſired *Tiberius* to give her a Husband, and repreſented to him that an honeſt Woman could find no Satisfaction but in her Spouſe. 'At Agrippina pervicax iræ, & morbo corporis implicata, cum viſeret eam Cæſar, profuſis diu ac per ſilentium lacrymis, mox invidiam & preces orditur: *ſubveniret ſolitudini, daret maritum habilem adhuc juventam ſibi, neque aliud probis, quam ex matrimonio ſolatium* (38). —— *Agrippina being ſtung with* 'Rejentment, *and afflicted with Sickneſs, when* 'Cæſar *came to viſit her, burſt into Tears, and* 'continued *for ſome time without ſpeaking, but* 'at

(38) Tacit. Annal. lib. 4, cap. 53.

Elizabeth [Q.], and it is even said that he kept a Correspondence with her to the Prejudice of the King of *Spain*. What Mr *Leti* relates of this Affair is not very unlikely [R]. I have said nothing of the Learning of this Queen, which yet deserves Admiration (d). Her Reign, which was crowned with so many Favours of Providence, ended

(d) See the Character of Queen Elizabeth by Mr Bohun, printed at the Hague, in 1694, pag. 5 & seq. See also the Words of Balzac, Remark [Q].

' at length she broke forth into Intreaties, conjuring ' him to take Compassion on her forlorn Condition: that ' she was still young, that virtuous Women could have ' no Comfort but in a married State.' This was speaking discreetly: for it is well known that when a Woman is not honest, she can find sufficiently in an unmarried State wherewith to content Nature. The Envoy of *Scotland* declared very freely to Queen *Elizabeth* the reason why he imagined she would not marry. ' I value him as a Brother, *says she*, *speaking of* ' *Lord* Robert, *whom she had made Earl of* Leicester, ' and he *is* the best Friend I have. So that if I ' could resolve to marry, it should be with him: but ' not being able to bring my Humour to it, it would ' be a great Satisfaction to me to see my Sister choose ' him for her Spouse, there being no body I could ' wish so heartily to enjoy Part of the Succession with ' her (39).' The *Scots* Envoy answered, your Majesty is assured of having no Children, being determined not to marry. ' It is true, *said she*, I am determined, and will never marry, unless the Queen, ' my Sister, should force me to it by her Conduct.' ' I know, Madam, *answered he*, that you speak sincerely, and it is unnecessary to give me Assurances of it. For you know, being married, you would be only Queen, whereas now you are both King and Queen. I know your great Heart will never suffer ' a Master (40).'

(39) Melville. Memoirs, Tom. I, pag. 148.

(40) Ibid. 152.

[Q.] *Pope Sixtus had a particular Esteem for Elizabeth.*] He reckoned her one of the three Persons, who, in his Opinion, were alone worthy of a Crown: the two others were himself and *Henry* IV. ' Your ' Queen, *said he one day to an* English *Gentleman*, is ' born happy, she governs her Kingdom with a great ' deal of Success, she wants only me for her Husband ' to give the World another *Alexander* (41).' Mr *Jurieu* has expressed this a little more cavalierly. ' This ' good Pope said, that he would willingly lie only one ' Night with *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*, being assured they should get another *Alexander the Great*. ' Thus was worthy the Gravity and Chastity of a Pope. ' . . . . It was this same good Pope, that said *Elizabeth* was happy in striking off a crowned head, and ' that he envied her Felicity (42).' *Balzac*, by I know not what Affectation, has given the Pope's Expressions another Dress, which takes away their natural Air. I shall go a little farther back, that it may be seen what Praises that *French* Writer bestows upon this Queen (43), in a Letter he wrote to a certain Lord (44). ' My Intention, *says he to him*, was never to touch the true Glory of your Heroine, I have always thought she ought rather to be considered for the Magnanimity of her Soul, the Benefits of which will be enjoyed by your latest Posterity, than by a slight Beauty of her Body, which is not only destroyed by Death, but flies away at the first Approaches of old Age (45). I must come from another World to be ignorant of the Praises she has received from the general Voice of this. I know ' she has been stiled the Northern Star, the Goddess ' of the Sea, the true *Thetis*. I have read these Words, *I will be, Madam, your Captain-General*, in a Letter written to her by *Henry the Great*, at the Height of his Difficulties, and under the violent Proceedings of the Leaguers even he, who had excommunicated her, spoke of her with Esteem, and you know he ' was a Prince of a very great Understanding, and ' well skilled in the Art of Government. He took a ' Pleasure to talk of her with the Embassadors resident ' at his Court, and sometimes would pleasantly say, ' that if he had been married to her, Authority and ' Grandeur would have proceeded from such an illustrious Marriage. But though she had not arrived ' to this high Degree of Reputation, and tho' they ' had deprived her of all these glorious Marks of ' Esteem, yet two Considerations, less specious indeed ' in the Eyes of the World, but more sensible to my ' Mind, would have obliged me to revere her Memory, which are, my Lord, that she did not despise ' our Muses, and that she loved your Family (46). ' I am informed by *Camden*, that she was so well ' acquainted with good Learning, that she made a ' good *Latin* Translation of some Tragedies of *Sophocles*, ' and the Orations of *Isocrates*. The same Author tells ' me what share your Ancestors had in her Confidence, &c.'

(41) Leti, Hist. d'Elisabeth, Tom. II, p. 131.

(42) Apologie pour la Reformat. Tom. I, pag. m. 253, 254.

(43) *In the 10th Letter of the 6th Book, pag. 205, Folio Edition.*

(44) *To the Earl of Exeter. His Letter is dated June 25, 1634.*

(45) If he would justify himself, as it seems from the Passage I have quoted in the Text of this Article, at the end, he does not do it fairly.

(46) The Earl, to whom *Balzac* wrote, was of the Family of the *Cecils*.

Note: That Mr *Jurieu* ought to cite *d'Aubigné* for the second Fact; for he read it only in the Catholic Confession of *Sancy*, and in the same Author's Universal History. *The Pope having caused* Count de Popoli's *Head to be cut off*. . . . (these are the Words of the Sieur *d'Aubigné*) *rejoiced, among his intimate Friends, for the Head of a Count: but hearing what had passed in England, he esteemed no body in the World like Queen Elizabeth for Greatness of Felicity, and, as if he had lamented the Conquests of Alexander, said of her, O beata Femina, che si gustato el piacer di far saltare una testa coronata (47).*

(47) D'Aubigné Hist. Universelle, Tom. III, liv. 3, cap. 27, pag. mihi 1170. See also the Catholic Confession of Sancy, liv. 1, cap. 21.

[R.] *What Mr Leti says concerning Pope Sixtus the Fifth's keeping a Correspondence with Elizabeth is not very unlikely.*] Pope *Sixtus* V both hated and dreaded the King of *Spain*: therefore he must naturally wish him ill Success, and rather desire to see Heresy maintained in *England* than to see *Philip* II become Master of so good a Country. The Popes, as Sovereign Princes, follow the Principles of the Religion of a Sovereign, and consequently they sacrifice the Catholic Interest to the Interest of their particular Power? What Service would it be to them, for Example, that a King of *Spain* should subdue the Protestants, if by that means he would become so formidable to the Court of *Rome*, that they should not dare to refuse any thing to the *Spaniards* for fear of seeing the Year 1527 return again, and the Imprisonment of *Clement* VII? It is a less Damage to the Pope not be acknowledged either by *Holland*, or by *England*, than to be owned by them, and thereby some Catholic Prince to be in a Condition of obtaining from *Rome*, by Favour or Force, all his Demands. If this Principle of Speculation is not sufficient to convince us, that *Sixtus* V did all he could to make the King of *Spain*'s Designs against *Elizabeth* miscarry, we shall see presently a practical Reason which will make it evident. When *Lewis* XIV made such great and rapid Conquests upon the United Provinces, in the Year 1672, Cardinal *Altieri*, who was Pope in effect, although another was called *Clement* X, received the News with a mortal Concern, because he did not love *France*, and the Duke *d'Etrée*, Embassador from that Crown, took all Opportunities to mortify him (48). Of a later Date we have seen *Innocent* XI deaf to whatever could favour the Interest of King *James*, and ardently promoting every thing that was contrary to *France* (49). Because he feared more the Increase of *Lewis the Fourteenth*'s Power than he desired the Progress of the Catholic Religion. He was afraid of being crushed under the too great Power of that Prince, and therefore he was very glad the Protestants were in a Condition to bridle and reduce it. From hence we may better know the happy Situation of the Affairs of the Protestants, since not only the eternal Jealousy between *France* and the House of *Austria* will always procure them Allies, and Protectors in the States of the contrary Religion, but even the Court of *Rome*, according to the Exigency of Occasion, will do what *Sixtus* V did to the Prejudice of the King of *Spain*, and what *Innocent* XI did to the Prejudice of *Lewis* XIV. This Court is no less concerned than others to preserve the Ballance of Power.

(48) *See a Book intituled*, Memoirs of the Court of *Rome* from the Year 1662 to 1676, *printed at Paris*, in 1677, *pag.* 204, *and following.*

(49) *See the 18th Letter of the Fourteenth's Letters to the Cardinal d'Etrée, inserted by Mr Leti in the 3d Tome of his universal Monarchy, pag.* 456.

But to what Purpose is it to look for Instances? We need only consider *Sixtus* himself with respect to *Henry the Great*. It is certain, that having observed how much the League augmented the Strength of the *Spaniards*, he shifted Sides, and favoured, in *France*, the Protestant Party, and if he had not died, he would have done his utmost to have deprived the King of *Spain* of the Kingdom of *Naples* (50). He traversed the League so visibly, that the *Spaniards* threatened to protest against him, and to provide otherwise for the Preservation of the Church, which he abandoned (51). His Death filled the Leaguers with Joy; one of their Preachers (52) giving the Benefactor notice

(50) See Maimbourg, Hist of the League, tom. 4, pag. 418.

(51) Ibid.

(52) Aubry, Chanoine of St Andrew des Arcs.

ended at last in the deepest Melancholy that ever was heard of [S]. Some say, that the Death of the Earl of *Essex* was the Cause of this cruel Grief [T]. Some Controversists have published a ridiculous Jest, which has no Appearance of Truth in it (c): they pretend the Marshal *de Biron* boasted he had seen the Head of the Reformed Church dancing. They should have fathered this upon some other Embassador; for *Elizabeth* was no longer of an Age to dance (f) when *Henry* IV sent the Marshal *Biron* to her. If *Balzac* had taken notice of the old Age of this Queen (g), he would have been far from saying, *She was so charming, that the Earl of* Essex *chose rather to die than to ask his Life of her, that he might not be still importuned by her Love and Caresses* (h). There is more than one Incongruity in these Words. *Moreri*'s Mistakes will be seen in the Remark [U].

(c) See Grotius de Jure Belli & Pacis, pag. 465.

(f) Some Historians say she danced. Others only that she played on the Spinnet. See Remark [C] of the Article GONTAULT (CHARLES DE).

(g) The Earl of *Essex* was executed in 1601, and the Queen was born in 1533. (h) *Balzac* in his *Prince*, p. 62. *Note*, he speaks ironically, and to confute the Poets who had preferred the Beauty of that Queen to the Beauty of *Helen*. A pitiful Confutation!

Pope

notice of it made use of these Words. *God has delivered us from a wicked and politic Pope: if he had lived longer People would have been astonished to have heard the Pope preached against in Paris, but it must have been done* (53). It was not because he was sensible of the great Merit of *Henry* IV, and the Knaveries of the League (54), that this Pope took Measures contrary to the Catholic Religion; but because the Heretics Success was so much Damage to the King of *Spain*, whom he hated.

(53) Maimbourg, History of the League, lib. 4, pag. 429.

(54) Maimbourg, ib. p. 427, *alledges these Reasons, but is very much out.*

[S] *Her Reign . . . ended in the deepest Melancholy that ever was heard of.*] Mr *Silhon* furnishes me with a Commentary on these Words: 'Who 'would have thought, *says he* (55), that the Course 'of such a Reign, and such a Life (56), should have 'terminated in a Satiety of Life and Government '. . . . and that there should have been such a Precipice at the end of so fine a Career?' After which he gives the Substance of a Relation *which History*, says he, *has not taken notice of, and which is contained in a Letter that a Gentleman belonging to the French Embassador at the English Court wrote to his Friend at Paris.* As this Letter is in print, I chose rather to take out of it what is to my Purpose, than use Mr *Silhon*'s Words: 'I must tell you, Sir, that 'the common Opinion of her Physicians, and of 'those who waited on her in her Chamber, is, that 'her Distemper proceeds from Grief, which she se'cretly entertained some days before she made any 'Complaint, and they ground their Opinion on there 'being no Sign of any mortal Disorder upon her, be'sides that of Age, having always had her Urine, 'her Pulse, and her Eyes good to the last. And espe'cially that in all the Course of her Sickness she never 'would take any Remedy that was prescribed to her, 'notwithstanding the Entreaties, and Threats of Death, 'which her Servants and Physicians made to her. As 'if the Apprehension of being despised for her Age, 'or some other secret Uneasiness, which they im'pute to her Grief for the Death of the late Earl of 'Essex (57), made her desire and seek it of herself. 'However it be, the Truth is, that as soon as she 'found herself sick, she said she should die. She made 'no Will, nor declared her Successor, nor did she 'take to her Bed but three Days before her Death, 'having been sitting above fifteen Days upon Cushions, 'dressed, with her Eyes fixed on the Ground, with'out seeing or speaking to any body. The Arch'bishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of *England*, the Bishop 'of *London*, and her Almoner, assisted her at her 'Death, when she gave many Signs of great Devo'tion and Thankfulness to GOD (58).' This Account is very different from Mr *Leti*'s Narrative; according to which the Queen was *seven Weeks without being sensible, and in a continual Delirium, which was caused by her Rage, and which ceased three Days before she died* (59). According to the Abbot *Siri*'s Memoirs, 'The Queen, sitting upon her Bed, 'all dressed, keeping her Eyes upon the Ground, 'and her Finger in her Mouth, which was the Posture 'she would die in, ordered the usual Music to be 'admitted, which she heard with great Tranquillity, 'even to the last gasp of Life, in order to die, says this 'Author, agreeably, *come era vissuta allegramente . . . 'as she had lived merrily* (60).' I wonder they did not lend her the last Words of *Augustus* (61).

(55) Silhon, Ministre d'Etat, Part. III, cap. 7, pag. m. 182.

(56) He had just made the Elogium of Queen *Elizabeth*.

(57) *See the following Remark.*

(58) These Words are taken from a Letter inserted in the sequel of *Memoires d'Etat*, printed at *Paris*, in 8vo, 1623. The Letter I speak of is in pag. 276 of the Third Volume, and is dated, *London, April* 3, 1603.

(59) Life of Elizabeth, Tom. II, pag. 532.

(60) *In the* Journal des Sçavans, Sept. 6, 1677, pag. 282.

(61) Amicos admissos percunctatus, *reputâsse se videretur munum vitæ commode transegisse*, adjecit & clausulam, &c. *He enquired of his Friends who were admitted to see him, whether, they thought, that he had acquitted himself well in his Part, then subjoined this Clause, &c.* Sueton. in Augusto, cap. C.

[T] *Some pretend, that the Death of the Earl of Essex was the Cause of this cruel Grief.*] After the Earl's Execution the Queen was a long time as gay as usual, which she shewed particularly during the Embassy of the Marshal *de Biron*. Therefore it is likely, if she died of Grief upon the Earl of *Essex*'s Account, it was not because she had put him to death, but because she was informed that he had implored her Mercy, in a way which she had promised him should never fail of Success. Mr *du Maurier* will explain this Mystery to us. 'It will not be needless, 'says he (62), nor unpleasant to add here what the 'said Prince *Maurice* had from Mr *Carleton* the 'English Embassador in *Holland*, who died Secretary 'of State, so well known by the Name of Lord 'Dorchester, a Man of very great Merit, that Queen 'Elizabeth in the Height of her Passion for the Earl 'of *Essex* gave him a Ring, bidding him keep it 'safely, and that upon sending it to her, she would 'pardon him let his Crime be what it would. After'wards the Earl's Enemies prevailing with the Queen, 'and besides being enraged at the Contempt he had 'thrown on her Beauty which was ruined by Age; 'she ordered him to be brought to his Trial, and 'after his Condemnation, expected continually that he 'should send the Ring to her, that she might par'don him according to her Promise. The Earl in 'the last Extremity had Recourse to the Wife of Ad'miral *Howard*, his Kinswoman, and intreated her, 'by a Person he could trust, to give the Ring into 'the Queen's own Hands. But her Husband, who 'was an utter Enemy to the Earl, to whom she had 'imprudently discovered the thing, preventing her 'from discharging her Commission, the Queen con'sented to his Death, enraged at his proud and 'haughty Spirit, that chose rather to die than fly to 'her Clemency. Some time after the Admiral's Lady 'falling sick, and being given over by her Physi'cians, sent the Queen word, that she had an Affair 'of great Consequence to communicate to her be'fore she died. Her Majesty being at her Bed's 'side, when the rest of the Company were with'drawn, she unseasonably gave her that Ring from 'the Earl of *Essex*, excusing herself that she could 'not put it sooner into her Hands, her Husband hav'ing prevented her. The Queen was struck with a 'mortal Grief, and retired immediately. For fifteen 'Days together she did nothing but sigh, without 'taking any thing at all, lying down in her Cloaths, 'and rising a hundred times in the Night. At length 'she died of Hunger and Grief together, for having 'given her Consent to the Death of her Lover, who 'had thrown himself upon her Mercy.'

(62) Du Maurier, Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire de Hollande, pag. 160.

[U] *These are Moreri's Mistakes.*] I. He ought not to have said, that *Elizabeth* left in the Church *the Names of Bishops, Canons, Curates*, &c. The Bishops of the Church of *England* are not Titular Bishops; they actually execute the Episcopal Functions, and have over the Curates the same Hierarchichal Pre-eminences as the *Romish* Bishops. II. He should not have several times exaggerated the Persecutions of the *Roman* Catholics, without mentioning the Acts of Rebellion which exposed them to that Storm. A faithful Historian ought first to have observed their Plots against the Queen's Government, and then the severe Punishment she inflicted for those Plots. The Transposition of these two things would be great Unfaithfulness in an Historian (63): he could not, without Perfidiousness, make the Punishments go before, when there was a Train of Plots. What Name then shall be given to *Moreri*'s Conduct, who suppresses entirely those Plots? Such an Omission is not barely a Fault, but a Crime, which the *Latins* would call *ficta*, or at least *fugitiva*. I consider *Moreri*

(63) *See, above, Rem.* [L].

Pope *Clement* VIII said some very disobliging things of this Queen, which shew that he was ill informed of the State of *England* [X].

ceri here only as an Author, and if I accuse him of a Crime, I mean only a Crime in point of History. III. *The greatest Crime they charged upon the Queen of* Scotland, says he, *was her having endeavoured to make her Escape out of her Prison.* He is mistaken, they charged her with more enormous Crimes. If he had said it was the greatest Crime they could justly charge her with, he might have secured his Retreat, and disputed the Ground by the contrary Accounts the two Parties published: but it is a Question of a Fact, which is incontestably determined in three Words, to know what the Judges went upon. It is but to read the Trial. Neither *Mezeri* nor his Adherents can contradict this, nor alledge one Word for their Justification. IV. It is not true that *Henry* III heard with Displeasure of the Death of *Mary*, nor that he sent *Bellievre* to save the Life of that unhappy Queen. The Embassy of *Bellievre* was a meer Farce. The Leaguers reproached *Henry* III with pushing on to the utmost the Destruction of *Mary Stuart* (64). Mr *du Maurier* has revealed that Mystery (65). V. *Virginia* is not an Island. VI. *Elizabeth* did not die the fourth of *April*, but the third. VII. It is false that the fourth of *April*, *New Stile*, is the Twenty fourth of *March*, *Old Stile*. VIII. Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign continued Forty four Years and some Months: therefore he ought not to say she died after a Reign of Thirty five Years. But what is strange is, that he allows but Thirty five Years to a Reign which he makes to begin in *November*, 1558, and end in *April* 1603. The Knowledge of the Mathematics was not the chief of this Princess's Acquirements in the Sciences, as *Mezeri* assures us (66). Neither do I find that Mr *Bohun*, who gives an exact Account of the Sciences she had learned, ever makes her to have handled *Euclid*'s Elements (67). This then is *Mezeri*'s ninth Error.

(64) *See* Lewis d'Orleans, *in his* Catholique Anglois, *and* Jacques le Bosse, *pag.* 43. *of the first Dialogue.*

(65) *In the Preface of his Memoirs. See the* Critique Générale de Maimbourg, Letter II.

(66) She had an excellent Knowledge of all the Sciences, and especially the Mathematics. *Mezeri, Tom. I, pag.* 1092.

(67) Character of Queen Elizabeth, *pag.* 39 *and following.*

[X] *Pope Clement VIII said some very disobliging things . . . and which shewed he was not well informed of the State of England.*] Cardinal *d' Ossat*, in a Letter from *Rome*, of the first of *February* 1595, writes in this manner: 'The Pope answered me . . . 'That *England* had formerly been conquered, and 'might be so again; that it was little united in it-'self, because of the Diversity of Religions, and go-'verned by an old Woman, without a Husband, or 'a certain Successor; that she must have pretty well 'drained her Exchequer by the Expences she had 'been at; that besides he had observed, that Women 'who had reigned long, and loved Pleasure in the 'Youth and Vigour of their Age, became afterwards, 'in their old Age, despised by those to whom they 'had given themselves up: and he mentioned to me 'two Queens of *Sicily*, who, he said, had lived in 'the same manner: one of which, in her old Age, 'suffered herself to be boxed by one she had enter-'tained in her Youth: that he believed this Queen 'also would be for the future little valued by those 'who had formerly loved and esteemed her: that he 'and I were not so old, but all these things being 'considered, he hoped we might see her one day sub-'dued (68).' Mr *Amelot de la Houssaie* makes these Remarks upon this. 'In the first he signifies, that (68) Lettres d'Ossat, Tom. I, *pag.* 399. 'Clement VIII was ill informed of the State of *Eng-*'*land*, which was never more flourishing, or more 'powerful, both by Sea and Land, than in *Elizabeth*'s 'Reign: and *Sixtus* V, his Predecessor, had quite ano-'ther Opinion of this Queen, of whom he would say 'upon all Occasions: *Ch'era un gran Cervello di* 'principessa. *She had a very good Head.*' His second Remark is: 'That *Joan* II, Queen of *Naples* and *Sicily*, 'suffered herself to be beat by the Seneschal, *Giovan-*'*ni Carracciolo*, her Gallant; but at last she grew 'weary of him, and got him assassinated, with which 'these Royal Amours usually end.' Let us hear his third Remark. 'I know not whether all be true that 'is said or written of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Amours and 'Lovers; but it is certain, she had no *Fulvia*, and 'the same Reason, which hindered her from marrying, 'ought also to hinder her loving Coition. She might 'love, and in truth she did passionately love the Earl 'of *Essex*, but such was the make of her Body, that 'she could not be carnally known of any Man with-'out suffering excessive Pains; nor become big with 'Child (69), without exposing herself inevitably to lose (69) *See, above, Rem.* [M]. 'her Life in the birth of the Child. And she was so 'well perswaded of it, that one Day when she was 'earnestly pressed to marry the Duke of *Alençon*, who 'passionately sollicited her, she answered, that she did 'not think she had been so ill beloved by her Sub-'jects, that they would bury her before her time.'

ELMACIN (GEORGE), Author of a History of the *Saracens*, or rather of a Chronology of the *Mahometan* Empire, was born in *Egypt*, about the beginning of the XIIIth Century. I shall speak of his Family [A]. He has carried his Work from *Mahomet* to the Caliph *Mustapha Billa*, who died in the Year of the *Hegira* 512 (a). He relates, Year by Year, but in few Words, what concerns the *Saracen* Empire, and intermixes some small Part of the History of the Christians of the East. He confines himself chiefly to *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Egypt*, and *Persia*. He must have been a Man of extraordinary Merit, for though he professed the Christian Religion, yet he did enjoy a Place of Distinction and Trust under the *Mahometan* Princes (b). Those who shall consider the Measures he was obliged to keep in such a Post, will not think it strange that he speaks honourably of the Caliphs, and that he never makes use of injurious Terms against the *Mahometan* Religion. There are some People so strictly scrupulous, that they will not approve of the Epithets of *Orthodox*, *Emperor of the Faithful*, &c. with which he honours the Followers of *Mahomet*; much less will they like that, in speaking of that Impostor, he should say, *Mahomet of glorious Memory*. In consequence of such Language they would be ready to assert that he was a *Mahometan*; but if they do it will be easy to convict them of a Falshood [B]. His History was translated out of *Arabic*

(a) *That is our Year* 1118.

(b) *He was their Secretary* Ipso velut Notario usi fuere ad secretiora consilia. *Galius Præf. Hist. Saracen.*

[A] *I shall speak of his Family.*] Here is a short Account of it. Our *Elmacin* was the Grand son of *Abulfirus*, whose Grand father was settled in *Egypt*, where the Caliph had granted him some Privileges. This Grand father was a *Syrian* Merchant, and professed Christianity. He left a Son who was employed by the Court, in Quality of a Notary: *Abulfirus*, the Son of the latter, was very skilful in the same Office, and was recommended by the Magistrates of Grand *Cairo* to the Council of *Arabia*. He had five Sons, four of whom were Bishops: the other named *Abulmecarimus*, married the Sister of *Simon Elmacin*, a famous Notary, who having been three Years in the service of the Council of War, under *Joseph Saladin* (1), turned Monk, and led an exemplary Life for above thirty Years in that Profession. *Abulmecarimus* also, after the Death of his Wife, turned Monk and died in the Year 606 of the Hegira. He had three Sons, of which the second, who was the Father of our *Elmacin*, and who was named *Abulyasirus Elaamidus*, obtained the Office of Notary to the Council of War, when *Simon Elmacin*, his maternal Uncle, quitted it, to enter into a religious Life. He held this Post Forty five Years, and died in the Year of the Hegira 636 (2), after having lived a very pious Life (3).

(1) *About the Year of the Hegira* 569, *which answers to the Year of our Lord* 1173.

(2) *The Year* 1238 *of* Jesus Christ.

(3) *Taken from* Elmacin's *History, towards the end.*

[B] *It will be easy to convict them of a Falshood.*] For he not only has not put at the beginning of his Book the formal Declaration, which the Writers of that Sect commonly make with a superstitious Affectation, that they are Mussulmen: he not only takes great care

to

Arabic into Latin by *Erpenius*, and printed in both those Languages at *Leyden* in the Year 1625 in folio [*C*].

to insert in his Annals several things concerning the Christians, and that turn to their Praise, which a Mussulman would avoid as a Crime; but we find also, at the end of his Work, a short account of his Family, which proves undeniably that he was a Christian. As to the nicety of those, who condemn the using honourable Names towards false Religions, see the Author of the General Criticism of the History of Calvinism (4).

(4) *Letter XXX, pag.* 280, *and following, third Edition.*

(5) Note, the Translation was printed at the same time by itself without the Arabic.

[*C*] *His History was translated from the Arabic into Latin, and printed in both those Languages* (5) *in the Year* 1725 *in Folio.*] The Translator was then dead, and it was *Golius*, who took care of the Edition, and wrote a Preface to it, from whence I have taken this Article. He tells us, that *Erpenius* designed to have added a great many Notes and Explications to his Translation: it is pity that Death prevented him from doing it: for he might have said a hundred curious things upon it, which also would have been very necessary to the right understanding of the Original. *Elmacin* began his Work at the Creation of the World. *Hottinger* had in Manuscript that part of it which reaches from that time to the flight of *Mahomet* (6).

(6) Hottinger. Bib. Orientil. cap. II, pag. 75, apud Cave de Script. Eccles. pag. 18.

ELMENHORST (GEVERHART) deserves a Place among the Men of Learning who flourished in the beginning of the XVIIth Century. He was of *Hamburgh*, and applied himself to Critical Learning. The Books he published [*A*] manifest his great reading (*a*). *Scaliger* was not of his side in his dispute with *Wouwer* [*B*]. He died in the Year 1621.

(*a*) Voetius, Disputat. Tom. III, pag. 403, calls *hunc virum di genissimum & disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ eruditionis.*

His Library was in being in the Year 1648; but his Son was upon the point of selling it, and desired *Vossius* to procure him liberty to do it by way of auction at *Leyden* (*b*).

(*b*) Vossius, Epist. D. 11, p. m. 455.

[*A*] *The Books he published*] He made Notes on *Minutius Fœlix*, *Arnobius*, *Gennadius*'s Treatise *de Ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*; the Letters of *Martial* Bishop of *Limoges*; and on *Apuleius*. But he did not live long enough to see the last printed.

Note, he printed at *Leyden* in 1618 the Table of *Cebes*, with the Latin Version, and the Notes of *John Costelius*.

[*B*] *Scaliger was not on his side in his Dispute with Wouwer.*] This appears by a Letter of *Scaliger* lately inserted in a Book full of curious Things (1). The Author of this Book is a learned *German*, named Mr *Crenius*. The dispute between *John Wouwer* and *Elmenhorst* arose from their having both published Notes upon *Minutius Fœlix*. *Wouwer*'s Edition was followed close by that of our *Elmenhorst*, who perhaps boasted that his deserved the Preference. *Scaliger* wrote to him that a Pretension of that Nature was without Foundation; and gave him other Advice, mixt with Expostulations. The Letter is dated the twenty sixth of *March* 1603; the Superscription is *Ornatissimo juveni Geverhardo Elmenhorstio*: which I observe, in order to shew that *Elmenhorst* died before he had reached to old Age.

(1) *Intituled* Animadversiones Philologicæ & Historicæ, Roterodami 1695, *in* 8vo. *See the* Addenda & Emendenda *of the II Part of those* Animadversions: *the Author confesses there, that this* Letter *of* Scaliger *is the* CCLXth *of the* IIId *Book of* Scaliger's Letters *printed at Leyden in* 1627.

EMERI (SEBASTIAN) Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris* in the XVIth Century, 'would never charge himself, at the time of the difference between the Duchess 'of *Angouleme* and the Constable of *Bourbon*, with the Interests of that Princess, and 'he even made a severe Satire against *Poyet*, who was afterwards Chancellor of *France*, 'because upon that occasion he had basely offered Incense to Fortune. This Piece 'made a great noise, and caused the Author to be disgraced, who had Orders to retire 'from Court. He retired into the *Bourbonnois*; and out of Vexation that he could no 'more return to Court, entered into the Order of St *Francis*, which he left afterwards 'to enter into the *Carthusian* Order, being desirous of a greater reform. They would have 'made him their General some years after, but he opposed it so violently that they were 'obliged to leave him in his Cell, of which he made it an inviolable Rule with himself 'not to interrupt the Solitude by any Communication with Seculars (*a*).' Mr EMERI, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, is of this Family. He inherited the Estate of Mr EMERI his Uncle, who died Counsellor of the Court of Aids in the year 1703, and whose Father had the same Office (*b*).

(*a*) Mercure Galant. *Feb.* 1703, pag. 200, 201.

(*b*) Ibid. pag. 199, 200.

EMILIUS (PAUL), or *Æmylius*, a Native of *Verona*. The Reputation he had acquired beyond the Alps made *Stephen Poncher*, Bishop of *Paris*, advise *Lewis* XII to order him to write the History of the Kings of *France* in Latin (*a*). For this end they invited him to *Paris*, and made him a Canon in the Cathedral Church. He retired to the College of *Navarre* to write that History (*b*), and applied himself to that Work with very great care: he spent many Years in it without being able to finish the tenth Book (*c*), which was to contain the beginning of the Reign of *Charles* VIII. He was a nice Critic of his own Work [*A*]; always finding something to alter. Though I have read what more than twenty Authors say of him, yet I do not find one that informs us what time he came to *Paris*, how he was employed before that in *Italy*, which is the first Edition of his History, and whether it was published before his death. He died in the year

(*a*) *See Remark* [*F*].

(*b*) Launoius, Hist. Gymnasii Navarræ, p. 13.

(*c*) *See Remark* [*F*].

[*A*] *He was a nice Critic of his own Work*] Erasmus imputes the same Fault to him, which was charged upon that ancient Painter, who never thought his Pieces finished (1). 'Huic vitio affinis fuit vir 'eximie doctus Paulus Æmilius Veronensis, qui sibi 'nunquam satisfaciebat, sed quoties recognoscebat sua, 'mutabat pleraque: diceres opus non correctum, sed 'aliud: idque sukinde faciebat. Quæ res in causa fuit, 'ut citius elephanti pariant quàm ille quicquam edere 'posset. Nam historiam quam edidit, plusquam tri'ginta annis habuit præ manibus. Et suspicor huc 'adactum ut evulgaret (2). — *The truly learned* 'Paulus Æmylius *of Verona had a Tincture of this* 'Failing, *who never satisfied himself, but as often as* 'he revised *his Works, altered a great part of them.* 'You would say the Piece was not the old one cor'rected, *but a new one; and he delighted in reviving* 'it again. *Whence it happened that he was longer* 'in

(1) *It was Protogenes*: Manum de Tabula tollere nesciebat. *In this Apelles boasted he excelled him. See* Erasmus, Apoph. lib. vi, p. 524.

(2) Id. Ibid.

year 1529 [B], and was buried in the Cathedral of *Paris*. The *History of France* which he composed pleased *Justus Lipsius* very much, and, generally speaking, is accounted to be well written [C]; but on the other side it is condemned on several Accounts

* *in bringing a Work to maturity, than an Elephant it's young. The History which he published has been thirty Years in Hand. And I imagine he published it at last against his Inclination.*' We shall see by and by, whether it be true that he spent thirty Years in composing the History of *France*, as *Erasmus*, and others assure us.

[B] *He died in the Year* 1529] I have read this in his History of *France*, of the Edition of *Basil* in 1601, *in Folio*, under some Latin Verses, where he speaks of his Condition. His Death is placed, by *Buchelor* (3), and by *Vossius* (4), on the fifth of *July*, 1529. *Spondanus* anticipates it by near ten Years; for he places it on the fifth of *May*, 1519 (5): He is mistaken. I shall cite *Erasmus* below, who, in a Book, whose Epistle Dedicatory is dated in the Year 1528, speaks of *Paul Emilius*, as an Author still living. Here is an Evidence of some weight: Father *du Breul* (6) assures us that *Paul Emilius*'s Epitaph, *engraved upon a flat Tomb-stone near the Northern Window* of the Church of *Nostredame* at *Paris*, contains these Words; 'Paulus Æmilius, Veronensis, hujus Ecclesiæ 'Canonicus qui præter eximiam vitæ sanctitatem, 'quanta quoque doctrina præstiterit, index atque testis 'erit historia de rebus gestis Francorum, posteris ab 'eodem edita. Obiit Anno Domini 1529, die quinta 'mensis Maii. —— *Paulus Æmilius of Verona, Canon of this Church, of whose uncommon Sanctity of Life, and Improvements in Literature, the History of France, which he published, will be a lasting monument to Posterity. He died the fifth of May in the Year* 1529.' This Proof would be a Demonstration, even to those who have not been upon the Place, if the Printers never made mistakes in public Inscriptions; but they mistake the Figures so often, that there is no dependance upon them. We have an instance of this, in this very Affair. Mr *Brice*, in his Description of the City of *Paris*, mentions the same Epitaph of *Paul Emilius*; and instead of *Index*, he puts *Judex*; and instead of 1529, he makes it 1526 (7). Note, he assures us, *that they do not know exactly the Place where* this Author was buried, and that they could read his Epitaph *not long ago*; which is a sign it is not now to be found.

[C] *The History of France, which he composed, pleased Justus Lipsius very well, and, generally speaking, is accounted to be well written*] It is divided into ten Books, and reaches from *Pharamond* to the Year 1488, which is the fifth of the reign of *Charles* VIII. The tenth Book was found among his Papers, in a confused Condition; and in order to publish it to the World, such as we have it now, a Relation of the Author's took care to gather together the scratched, and blotted Sheets You will find his Name in these Latin Words: 'Ac libros 'quidem novem perfecit, decimum morte præventus 'reliquit imperfectum. Sed cum propinquus ille us, 'Daniel Zavarisius Veronensis ex schedis dispersis, multaque litura obductis collegit, ac digessit ita uti nunc 'legitur (8). —— *Nine Books indeed he finished, but, being prevented by Death, he left the tenth imperfect. Daniel Zavarisius of Verona, a Relation of his, collected it out of his loose Papers, scarce legible for Blots and repeated Corrections, and digested it into the order wherein we now see it.*' *Michael Vajosan* declares that the Edition he dedicated to *Francis* I, deserves a better Reception, since there is added to it the tenth Book, sent lately out of *Italy* by *Peter Danes* (9). He had said just before, that he published that History better printed, and more correct; *Elegantius à nobis excusum* (opus) *& castigatum*. His Epistle Dedicatory is dated from *Paris* the fifth of *May* 1539. From whence there is Reason to infer that, before the Year 1639, there was an Edition containing only nine Books. I express myself with this Caution, because I know the Term *elegantius* is not necessarily the comparative One thing which may incline us to believe that the Author died before the first Edition, is, that in the same Epistle Dedicatory, it is asserted that, if Death had not prevented him, he would have dedicated his Work to *Francis* I. 'Paulus ipse 'si viveret, tuæ Majestati, cujus auspiciis cœptum opus 'fere absolvit, consecraret. Quare quoniam morte 'præventus id non potuit, vicariam illi operam in hac re præstabo (10). —— *Had Æmylius himself lived, he would have dedicated this Work to your Majesty, under whose happy Influence it was begun and well nigh finished; but since Death prevented him in that Design, I shall beg Permission to put myself in his Place.*' This may bring in Question what *Erasmus* says, that probably *Paulus Emilius* was in a manner forced to publish his History of *France*: *Spicor huc additum ut evulgaret* (11). He expresses himself in this manner, in a Book, whose Epistle Dedicatory is dated the twenty sixth of *February*, 1531. From whence we may conclude, that the first Edition of *Paul Emilius* was prior to that Year; but as it might happen, will some say, that *Erasmus* did not know exactly the Circumstances of that Edition, and that he did not mind carefully either the time when it was published, or when the Historian died, we ought not to conclude from his Words, that the Author actually published his own Book: Let us allege therefore something more convincing to those who start these Difficulties; let us shew them that *Erasmus* knew the Quality and Stile of this History of *France*, even before *Paul Emilius* died. I prove this by the Words of his *Ciceronianus*, which may be seen below (12). It will be replied perhaps, that he had read it in Manuscripts; but I cannot think that in that place he would make use of an Instance which was not public: therefore I am very much inclined to believe, that *Paulus Emilius* had published something: we see that even his Epitaph ascribes to him the Edition of his History of *France*. A Letter written in the Year 1516 informs us, that at last he had printed the History of *France*, which he had been working upon above twenty Years. 'Ex oratore vestro cognovi Paulum Æmilium tandem evulgare rerum Gallicarum historiam. 'Non enim potest non esse absolutum opus quod 'à viro non minus docto quam diligenti plus annis 'viginti sit elaboratum (13). —— *I have been informed by your Ambassador, that Emilius at last is publishing his History of France. It must undoubtedly be an accomplished Work, since it has employed a Man of no less Learning than Application above twenty Years.*' It is *Erasmus* that speaks in this manner, and you see he had this News from an Ambassador of *Francis* I. But there is no more need of Conjecture or Arguments, since a Letter written from *Paris* informs me, that there is in the King's Library, 'An Edition of the four first Books of *Paulus Æmilius*, done at *Paris* without having the Year set 'down in it; but it was certainly before the Year 1520; 'and in the beginning of the reign of *Francis* I, this 'Copy having been presented to him before he took 'the Close Crown.' Let us observe an Error of *Erasmus*. It is false that, in 1516, *Paul Emilius* had worked above twenty Years upon his History. He was called into *France* to write it by King *Lewis* XII: now this Prince began his reign but in the Year 1498, and though his calling this Author should be the first thing he did, yet it could at most be but eighteen Years, that *Paul Emilius* had composed the History of *France*, when *Erasmus* wrote the letter I have cited. Those who say that this Historian spent thirty Years in this Work, must suppose that he came into *France* in the first Year of the reign of *Lewis* XII, without which their Computation would not be right, since he died in the Year 1529. *Spondanus* (14) was very much in the wrong to suppose these three Things: I. That *Lewis* XII called *Emilius* into *France*. II. That this Historian spent thirty Years in writing a History: III. That he died in 1519. If the first and the third of these Suppositions were true, the second would be very false. For it would be ridiculous to suppose that *Paul Emilius* set about this History ten Years before *Lewis* XII employed him in it. Note, it has been often reprinted. I make use of the Edition of *Paris*, in *Folio*, by *Vascosan* 1550, which was preceded by that of 1539, and by that of 1544, and followed by that of 1555, in 8vo, and by one in 1566, in Folio, both one and the other by the same *Vascosan*. *Du Chesne* (15) cites the Edition of 1576 *ex Officina Vascosani*. By his leave, this is but little Honour to him an Author like him who studies his Work, *A Catalogue of the Authors, who have*

(3) Buchole. in Indice Chronol. pag. m. 518.

(4) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. p. 675.

(5) Spond. Ann. Eccl. ad annum 1488, num. 5. pag. 189. Edit. Lugd. 1678: *he cites* Gall. Christ. in Præfat. Part. num. 103

(6) Du Breul, Antiquitez de Paris, livr. I, pag. m. 14.

(7) Pag. 182, Tom. II, Hague Edit. 1685.

(8) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. pag. 674.

(9) Eo etiam nomine gratior esse debet quod sic cessit liber decimus ad nos nuper ex Italia missus à Petro Danese. *Michael Vascosanus, Epist. Ded.* Note, *There is no Substantive in what precedes, to which the Word gratior may be referred.*

(10) Michael Vascosanus, Epist. Dedic. Hist. P. Æmilii.

(11) Erasmus, in Apophth. lib. vi, pag. 524.

(12) *In Remiss* [F], *Cæsar.* (33).

(13) Erasmus, Epist. xxi. lib. I, pag. 60, 61.

(14) Spondanus, Annal Ecclesiast. ad Ann. 1488, n. 5.

(15) Du Chesne, Bibliothèque Auteurs qui ont écrit l'Histoire de France, pag. 60, Edit. de 1618.

Accounts [D], and there are many Frenchmen who despise it. He is wrongfully charged

have written the History, and Topography of France, ought to put down the several Editions, especially the first. I have already mentioned the Edition of *Basil* in 1601, in *Folio*: let us say one Word of the French Translations. *Simon de Manthiers*, Advocate at *Roan*, translated into *French* the two first Books which were printed at *Paris* in 4to, by *Vascosan* 1556 (16). *John Regnart*, a Gentleman of *Anjou*, Lord of *la Milliere* translated the five first Books: they were printed at *Paris* in Folio by *Claude Michard* (17). He translated also the five last, if the Booksellers are to be believed who have published in *French* the entire History of *Paul Emilius*. I have the Edition of *Paris* in Folio 1598 (18).

(16) Du Verdier & la Croix du Maine.

(17) Ibid.

(18) By *Robert Foüet*. The Epistle Dedicatory to *Henry* III is sign'd by *Frederic Morel*: it is without Date: but I know the Edition of this *Federic Morel* is of *Paris*, in 1581, in *folio*.

Here is *Justus Lipsius*'s Judgment (19); which is very advantageous, though intermixed with some censuring Strokes. ' PAULUS ÆMILIUS, ut ' rem dicam, pæne unus inter novos, veram & vete- ' rem Historiæ viam vidit, eamque firmo pede calca- ' vit. Genus scribendi ejus doctum, nervosum, pres- ' sum; ad subtilitatem & argutias inclinans, & relin- ' quens defigensque aliquid in animo serii lectoris. ' Sententias & dicta sæpe miscet, paria antiquis. Re- ' rum ipsarum sedulus scrutator, severus judex: nec ' legi nostro ævo, qui magis liber ab affectu. Dedecus ' ævi est, quòd minus ille placeat, quasi pauci sint ' qui capiant hæc bona. In tantis tamen virtutibus ' etiam hæ labeculæ. Quòd filum parùm nectit, & ' spargit dividitque eum in minuta quædam membra. ' Hoc cùm in omni seriosâ oratione parum congruum, ' tum in Annalibus minimè: quorum est, ut ille ait, ' tarda quædam & iners scriptura *. Deinde, quòd ' inæqualis. Alibi nimium anxius & cælligatus, ideo- ' que subobscurus; alibi (sed rarenter) laxus & solutus. ' Vetustatis etiam nescio quid affectat in nominibus ' hominum, locorum, urbium immutandis, & in ve- ' terem formam redigendis: sæpè eruditè, interdum ' vanè, sed, ut ego judico, semper indecorè. Quor- ' sum *Chartierius* Gallorum Cancellarius, *Quadriga- ' rius* mihi sit? Ille ipse *Cancellarius*, dicatur *Præfe- ' ctus juris*? Et ubique *rex Tarraconensis, Castulonen- ' sis, Dux Geldubensis*: qui nobis & majoribus fue- ' runt, *Arragoniæ, Castellæ, Geldriæ*? Talia infinita ' sunt audaciter & ambitiosè innovata, & cum fraude ' pariter ac cruce lectoris. In his, & paucis aliis, si ' refingere leviter eum nobis fas: (audeo dicere) vi- ' rum daremus supra omnem hanc novitiam, & ad pris- ' cam laudem. —— *Paulus Æmilius, to speak freely,* ' *is almost the only Modern, that has found the true* ' *and ancient Road of History, and trod therein with an* ' *unbiassed Step. His method of writing is learned,* ' *nervous, and compact, inclining to Delicacy, and fine* ' *turns of Wit, always leaving an impression on the* ' *Mind of the fer ous Reader. His Thoughts and Ex-* ' *pressions are often equal to the Antients. He is exact* ' *in his Examination, and impartial in his Judgment* ' *of Facts. Nor have I met with any of our time more* ' *free from party Zeal. It is a disgrace to the Age,* ' *that he is in so little esteem, as though there were but* ' *few that have a just taste for these Beauties. Yet* ' *amidst all his excellencies there are some spots. His* ' *stile is not always connected, but parcelled into little* ' *Members and Divisions. As this is not to be allow-* ' *ed in any serious Composition, least of all in Annals;* ' *the writing of which is heavy and lifeless. Besides* ' *'tis unequal, sometimes too laboured and correct, where-* ' *by it becomes obscure, sometimes, though seldom, too* ' *loose and rambling. He also affects a sort of Antiquity* ' *in changing the Names of Men, Places, Cities, and* ' *reducing them to the form of the Antients. Why* ' *should* Charretier, *Chancellor of France, be called* Qua- ' drigarius? *Or the* Chancellor *be stiled* Præfectus ' juris? *Or why should he every where use the Titles of* ' Rex Tarraconensis, Castulonensis, Dux Geldubensis, ' *instead of the received Terms* Arragoniæ, Castellæ, ' Geldriæ? *An infinite number of such Innovations has* ' *he arrogantly introduced, whereby he often misleads,* ' *or perplexes the Reader. Might I take the liberty to* ' *retouch these and a few other Faults, I durst engage* ' *to make him appear superior to the charge of Novelty,* ' *and equal in merit to the Antients.*' Note, that, amongst other Praises, *Lipsius* commends *Paulus Emilius* for examining diligently into the bottom of Things, and his being free from Prepossession. Neither *la Popeliniere* nor *Boecler* agree to this. ' Besides ' many other Faults, *says the First* (20), which some ' remark in the Stile and outward Form of that Au- ' thor, which alone *Lipsius* insists upon, we shall ' shew elsewhere how little his Writings are to be ' depended upon for Truth and Sincerity.' Here is *Boecler*'s Opinion. ' Paulus Emilius, cui de Scriptoribus ' Gallicis plurimùm creditur, sæpe historiam confun- ' dit, sæpè non ex rerum fide, sed ex impetu calami ' interpolat, fingit multa, ut animo concepit, non ' commemorat ut memoriis publicis ea debere potuit. ' Non parùm adulari Pontificiæ curiæ doctus (21). —— *Paulus Emilius, who has the greatest Credit of* ' *all the Writers of the French History, often confounds* ' *his Relations, and often interweaves Facts not founded* ' *on the Credibility of Testimony, but that flow from the* ' *Impetuosity of his own Imagination. Nor is he a No-* ' *vice in the Art of making his Court to the Pope by* ' *flattering Encomiums.*' If one could rely upon the Commendations which Booksellers procure to the Authors they print, we should have a high Idea of *Paulus Emilius*'s Merit. What follows, is to be found in the Epistle Dedicatory of his Work (22). ' Quo in nego ' tio sic versatus est vir eloquentissimus, ut non solum ' recentiores omnes qui eamdem materiam tractarunt, ' superaverit, sed etiam veterum historicorum permul- ' tos qui populi Romani res gestas scripserunt, longo ' intervallo post se reliquerit. Etenim si vel rerum ge ' starum fidem vel dicendi genus studiosè velis expen- ' dere, nihil per Deos immortales hoc quidem genere ' scribendi absolutius invenire possit. Res gestas libere ' quidem, sine ulla tamen aut simultatis, aut gratiæ ' suspicione narrat. Ordinem temporum ita diligenter ' observat, ut hoc nomine Livio sit præferendus, quòd ' semper sibi constet, nec usquam pugnantia loquatur: ' quod plerunque in illo deprehendere licet. Regiones ' porro & loca quum res postulat ita describit ut illa ' oculis lustrare videaris. Ad hæc, consilia deinde ' acta, postremo eventus ita suo ordine inferuntur, ut ' lector etiam parum attentus turbari nullo modo possit. ' Genus dicendi susum atque tractum & cum lenitate ' quadam æquabili profluens (23), ita ut eum Livio ' aliquanto magis compositum & perspicuum sentire ' possis. —— *So well has this learned Historian suc-* ' *ceeded in his Enterprize, as not only to surpass all* ' *the Moderns who have engaged in the same design,* ' *but even far outstrip several of the Antients who wrote* ' *the actions of the Roman People. For any one that* ' *will carefully examine the credibility of the Facts, or* ' *the method of Narration, must confess, that nothing* ' *can be found more perfect in it's way. He relates the* ' *Facts indeed with Freedom, but even so as to clear* ' *himself from the least suspicion of Hatred or Affec-* ' *tion; he observes the order of time with such exact-* ' *ness, that he is always consistent with himself, and* ' *his Facts correspond to each other, insomuch, that he* ' *may be preferred to Livy, who is often found deficient* ' *on this head. His descriptions of Countries, and Places,* ' *which on proper occasions he gives, are so natural,* ' *that one would imagine he had a view of the Places* ' *themselves. Besides his Designs, his Facts, his Con-* ' *sequences, are disposed in so regular an order, that the* ' *Reader with the least Attention can never be puzzled.* ' *The Stile is copious and noble, flowing with an even* ' *softness, so that one may pronounce him more regular* ' *and clear than Livy.*'

(19) Lipsius Not. ad Librum Politicorum, cap. 6, pag. m. 217, Tom IV, Operum Edit. Vesal 16**. *In Morert treiz quote* Justus Lipsius Not in lib. 1, Polit.

* Tacitus, de Caus's corrup. Eloq. cap. 22.

(20) La Popeliniere, Histoire des Histoires, pag. 440.

(21) Joh. Henr. Boecler in Præf. Ser. Cæsar Germ. apud Pope Blount, Cens. Author pag. m. 384.

[D] *But on the other side, it is condemned on several accounts.*] This is what you will find in the following Passages of Mr *Sorel*. ' This Praise is given to *Paulus* ' *Æmilius*, that he was the first who put the ancient ' Rules in Practice for our History. His Stile is ac- ' counted Grave and Nervous, sometimes Acute and ' Subtle, but every where Learned and Sententious. ' This is the Opinion of those who are in love with ' elegant Latin: We may answer them, That if we ' design to make Use of this Author, as of a Classic, to ' learn to speak well, there is some Reason to value ' him; but that it were better to have recourse to the ' *Roman* Historians, who are supposed to know their ' own Language best; neither must it be thought, ' that his pure Latin ought to give credit to his Histo- ' ry. The Native *Frenchmen* were undoubtedly better ' acquainted with our History than he; and we do not ' find that he was very diligent in his Inquiries. ' What swells his Work to such a Bulk, are his ' Speeches, and other fictitious Pieces. That which ' regards

(22) Michael Vascosanus, Epist. Dedicat. Historiæ Pauli Æmilii, Federic Morel, when he added to it the French Translation of the Work, copied almost all the Praises given to the Author in Vascosan's Epistle.

(23) *This is very different from what* Paulus Jovius, in Elog. cap. 130, pag. 282, *says of him. The* Paulus Jovius *is not written with so much Brevity.*

ed with saying nothing of the Holy Vial at Rheims [E], a French Author has expressed some Chagrin that the Court should prefer a Stranger before all the French to the Office of Historiographer: what he says thereupon is full of Lies [F]. It must not be

regarda the Truth of History is very much abridged, and that too obscure and perplexed. We are not altogether satisfied with those Pieces of Oratory, contrived upon the Greek and Roman Patterns: They are not all of them in a proper Place; for sometimes the Historian makes *Barbarians* speak learnedly and eloquently, which is seen almost throughout his Book (24). For a remarkable Instance: Though we find in our most authentic Histories, that the Advocate named *Hanser*, or *Hanser*, who made a Speech full of Invectives before King *Lewis Hutin* against *Enguerrand de Marigny*, performed it very pitifully, and said abundance of silly things, *Paulus Æmilius*, who changes his very Name, calling him *Annolis*, makes him speak with an affected Eloquence, nothing like what is reported of him. He makes also *Enguerrand* speak in his own Defence, though according to other Histories he had no liberty to say any thing; so that all this is only to exercise the Historian's Pen. That gives some Diversion to the Readers, but it is not a Means to come to the knowledge of Truth (25).' *Du Haillan* has censured *Paulus Æmilius* upon another Score; to wit, his being too diffuse in foreign Matters, and too succinct in his principal Subject. 'He has writ the History of *France*, says he (26), elegantly, and in good Latin, but he is too concise in French Affairs, and too prolix in the holy Wars, the Schisms of the Church, and the Affairs of *Italy*.'

[E] *He is wrongfully censured for not saying any thing of the holy Vial at Rheims.*] *Claudius du Verdier* accounts this Silence malicious. 'Pauli Æmilii Veronensis, says he (27), malignum silentium non silebo, qui multorum non meminit quæ ad Gallorum gloriam pertinerent. Nec ea ignorasse dici potest, quæ nullus ante ipsum præterit, ut oleum illud ad unctionem Regum cœlitus demissum, & illa similiter; quibus si idem non adhibuit, eam saltem hominum mentibus opinionem insitam esse decere oportuit. —— *I cannot pass over the malicious Silence of Paulus Æmilius of Verona, who has made no mention of several things which redound to the honour of France. Nor can he be said to be ignorant of them, since some before him ever forget them. Such as the Oil which was sent from Heaven to anoint the Kings, and the Lilies likewise. To which things, though he might give no credit himself, he ought at least to have said, that a belief of them is ingrafted in the minds of Men.*' *Vossius* approves this silence (28).

[F] *A French Author has expressed some Chagrin that the Court should prefer a Stranger before all the French to the Office of Historiographer. What he says thereupon, is full of Lies.*] The Passage I am going to produce is somewhat long; but I am sure it will not tire those who are for an exact and well circumstantiated knowledge of Things. By that means they will know the Thoughts of the Author I am now criticising (29). 'King *Lewis* XIIth, though a good Prince, and truly called the Father of his People, little concerned however for the honour of his Subjects, or ill advised, or soon enough for the two Occasions: Not vouchsafing to excite and cherish any of his, to supply the want of *French* Historians, (as if *France* was unprovided with good Wits) purchased, and, by the suggestion of Bishop *Poncher* and others, sent for *Paulus Æmylius* of *Verona* in *Lombardy*; persuaded by his Counsellors, as favourable in that as many others who have succeeded them to this Day, That an *Italian* might much better restore (but rather stifle) the Honour lost among his own People, than any other of his *Frenchmen*. A Design as groundlessly followed and practised by *Francis* I his Successor, who .... by small Favours encreased the generous Liberality of *Poncher* (30) with a Canon's Place in *Notre-Dame* of *Paris*, which he bestowed on the *Veronese*: not considering the Prejudice he did to so many Men of Parts, whom he had stirred up and subtilized, to employ themselves in this as in other Studies: And namely, to *Robert Gaguin* a Monk, in the *Mathurins* of *Paris*, who had already made so fine a Beginning of the History of *France* in Latin, that if he had been encouraged by Royal Favours, as the *Italian* was, *France* might, perhaps, even then have been freed from such Reproach among Strangers. But the poor Monk (for want of Money) having not Pinions strong enough to fly, and make his Talents known among the Cloysters of his Monastery; his Genius, as it were bound up and in Prison, was forced to shew, that Talents, though never so great, do presently fade, and cannot shine without a proper Matter to entertain and put forth their Brightness. These two ingenious and well affected Writers, to the honour of this State, who strove with Emulation, under those two Princes, who should best approve his Sufficiency and Devotion in the Fabric of the History of *France*; which they wrote in the same Language, the same City, with like Memoirs and Subjects, though not with the like Royal Encouragement, left us the Legacy of their fine Productions. But *Paulus Æmylius* composed his History with such Care, Eloquence, and Truth, that the *French*, having not seen till then any Thing so commendable, entertained it as the Chief of all the *French* Histories: And which, to say the Truth, has been since the Foundation and Source, from whence all those that followed after have drawn, and derived all those Rivulets, with which they have endeavoured to satisfy the Thirst of their Contemporaries. *Gaguin*, Pejor of the *Trinity*, otherwise called the Convent of the *Mathurins*, was as liberal of his Time, Pains, and all his Means, as the other. But whether he thought himself deprived of the Graces of Nature, as well as of the Favours of his Prince and others, being inferiour in Beauty of Language, Order, Eloquence, and Dignity of Subjects, he could acquire no other Advantage over that *Lombard*, than the being more plain and sincere in his Narration; and more diligent in gathering abundance of remarkable Particulars, which *Paulus Æmylius* had overlooked, for want of Affection to this Country.'

There are three unpardonable Falsities in this Discourse. First, *Gaguin* was not a *Frenchman*, as *Popelinieres* supposes. He was a *Fleming*, and almost as much a Foreigner as *Paulus Emilius*: So that the opposition between the Favours of the *Lombard*, and the Discouragement of the pretended *Frenchman*, is ridiculous. Secondly, *Gaguin* had been dead thirteen Years (31) when *Francis* I ascended the Throne. How then dares he complain, that That Monarch did him a great Prejudice, by the Liberalities he granted to the *Italian*? How dares he represent to us those two Historiographers, as two Competitors, who contend a long time for the Prize of the Race? The one died three Years after *Lewis* XIIth had began his Reign; the other was invited to *Paris* by that Monarch, and lived there till the fifteenth Year of *Francis* I. I may add, that if one compares the Favours and Liberalities of the Court of *France* towards *Gaguin*, with those that were bestowed on *Paulus Æmilius*, it will be found that the Services of the pretended *Frenchman*, were better rewarded than those of the *Italian*. Lastly, I say, that it is absurd to pretend, that if *Gaguin* had had good Pensions, he had written a History as good as that of *Paulus Æmilius*. Had he had a yearly Salary of Ten thousand Livres, he would never have reached his Competitor. He had so indifferent a Taste and Knowledge of Antiquity, and elegant Latin; that, to commend him worthily, it is enough to say, That he is not quite so barbarous as the Generality of Monks were at that Time. 'Robertus Gaguinus non ita pridem habitus est magni nominis, dictione tamen quam scriptis vendibilior. Verum sub seculo, nunc vix inter Latinæ loquentes reperietur (32). —— *Robert Gaguin had some time ago the Reputation of great Merit, but happier in speaking than in writing. In his own time indeed he might pass, but now-a-days would scarcely be admitted among those who have but a smattering of Latin.*' This is the Rank *Erasmus* allows him; and indeed he treats him accordingly to his Merit. The *Veronese* was another sort of Man; and it is great Injustice to blame *Lewis* XIIth for preferring him before his Subjects. There was not in those Days (33), in all the Kingdom, any Writer who equalled *Paulus Æmylius* in knowledge of the Latin Tongue, and the Laws of History. Though I do not pretend by

(24) *Compare with this the Remark* [L] *of the Article* ABDERAME; *and That of the Article* VALDES (James).

(25) Sorel Bibliotheque Françoise, cap. 4, de la Guide de l'Histoire de France, pag. 370.

(26) Du Haillan *in his Preface to the History of France.*

(27) Claudius Verderius, in Auctor. Canfione, pag. 88, apud Pope Blount, ubi supra, pag. 385.

(28) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 675.

(29) La Popelliere, lib. 1, of his Histoire Nouvelle des François, pag. 371, & seq. *See also his* Hist. des Hist. rec. lib. VIII, pag. 438.

(30) Bishop *Poncher* of *Tourraine* was the *Mecenas* and Patron of *P. Emilius*, and contributed most to the fetching him out of *Italy* to come and write the history of *France* in Latin. And seeing him in ill Circumstances in *France*, and not able to raise such a Body of History, he gave him a Prebend in *Notre-Dame* of *Paris*, out of the Revenue of which he bore most of the Charges of the Work. *Id. ibid pag.* 343, 344.

(31) *He died in* 1501.

(32) Erasmus in Ciceronianum, p. 8. m. 73.

(33) *I mean the first Years of Lewis the Twelfth's Reign.*

be forgotten that *Paul Emilius* lived a very exemplary Life; his Morals were as pure as his Language [G]. I muſt ſay ſomething of a Work which is aſcribed to him by *Julius Cæſar Scaliger* [H], and the clamour that *Scioppius* made upon that Subject.

by this, that he ought to have been put upon the ſame Level with the *Saluſts* and *Livy's*.

—— quique alter haberis
Et Titus, & Criſpus, noſtræ unus conditor ingens
Hiſtoriæ Æmili (34).

Saluſt and Livy are reviv'd in thee,
Thou ſole great Founder of our Hiſtory!

(34) Rodolphus Boterenus, in Lucem, apud du Breul, Antiquitez de Paris, *l. 1, pag.* 34.

Let us obſerve another Miſtake of *Popeliniere*. He ſays, that *Lewis* XII drew *Paulus Emilius* out of *Verona* (35), which is not true: For that Author was at *Rome*, when he was invited into *France*, as may be inferred from the Latin Verſes which are found at the Beginning of his Hiſtory, and wherein he mentions his Family and Condition. This may alſo be gathered from the Latin Verſes, which are found in the Beginning of the French Tranſlation, ſigned *Fed. M F.*

(35) La Popelin Hiſt. des Hiſt. pag. 437.

[G] *His Morals were as pure as his Language.*] Let us quote again *Michael Vaſcoſan*: 'Atque hoc etiam 'nomine præſtantius eſſe debet hoc opus quòd non in-'genium ſolum Francorum Regibus ſuppeditatum eſt 'ut Cyro à Xenophonte, ſed etiam authoritas ſpecta-'tiſſimi atque in primis probati viri. Non enim ma-'gis in eo fuit admiranda eruditio excellens, cum 'pari eloquentia, quam perpetua vitæ integritas atque 'ſanctimonia. —— *This Work claims ſtill a greater* 'Veneration, *as not only furniſhing the Kings of France* 'with the Principles of good Conduct, as Xenophon did 'to Cyrus, but as carrying along with it the Authority 'of a Man diſtinguiſhed by his probity and veracity. 'For his uncommon Learning, joined to an equal ſhare 'of Eloquence, was not more ſurpriſing than the conti-'nual Integrity and Sanctity of his Life.' This is confirmed by the Epitaph before mentioned (36). If you deſire a more unexceptionable Witneſs, read what follows. 'Pauli Æmilii & reconditam eruditionem & 'diligentiam & VITAE SANCTITATEM, & ſummam 'in hiſtoria fidem exſoculor. Tullianam dictionem 'nec affectavit nec habet (37). —— *I am charmed* 'with that prodigious ſtore of Learning, that Applica-'tion, that SANCTITY of manners, and that Veracity 'which appear in Paulus Æmilius. Tully's Stile he 'neither affects nor has.' Theſe are the Words of *Eraſmus*, and I have taken them out of a Book, whoſe Epiſtle Dedicatory is dated *Feb.* 14. 1528: And it is to be noted, that *Eraſmus* ſpeaks of *Paulus Emilius* as an Author then living.

(36) *In the Remark* [B].

(37) Eraſmus, in Ciceronano, pag. m. 72.

[H] *I muſt ſay ſomething of a Work which has been aſcribed to him by . . . . . Scaliger.*] *Julius Cæſar Scaliger* boaſted he had read a Book, which contained the Hiſtory of the Houſe *della Scala*, and which had been put into elegant Latin by *P. Emilius*. 'Non-'dum hæc nomina, quæ Comitum atque Marchionum 'circunferuntur, exorta erant: & Scaligerorum flore-'bat imperium. Vultis annales noſtros aſſeramus: 'quos rudes, atque barbaros (ut tunc ea ferebat ætas) 'vir bonus atque eloquens Paulus Æmilius pulcherrimis 'Latinitatis donavit monumentis (38). —— *The* 'Titles of Count and Marquis, *now ſo frequent, were* 'then unknown; *and the power of the Scaligers flou-*'riſhed. *Would you that we produce our Annals, which* 'the good and eloquent Paul Æmilius took from the 'uncouth and aukward dreſs of the Age wherein they 'were wrote, and robed in the moſt ſplendid Attire of 'Roman Purity.' *Joſeph Scaliger* relates this more at large, in a Letter he wrote upon the Antiquity of his Family in the Year 1594. 'Injuria temporis, *ſays he* '(39), malevolentia hoſtium, imperitia ſcriptorum, 'eos cuniculos in generis noſtri memoria egerunt, ut 'de totius nominis Scaligeri ruina metuendum eſſet, 'niſi prælio fuiſſet eloquentiſſimus vir, & antiquarum 'originum vindex Paulus Æmilius Veronenſis, qui 'natus in Norico acta & annales profapiæ noſtræ re-'tuſtiſſimos, pingui Rilo, ut ipſe ait, conceptos, edo-'luit eos, & Latine loqui docuit. Ex eo libro pa-'rens meus ea excerpſit, quæ ad noſtri generis claritu-'tem præcipue pertinere viſa ſunt. Cætera per otium 'deſcribere non licuit. Quod utinam feciſſet, & nobis 'edendi laborem reliquiſſet. —— *The injuries of Time,* 'VOL. II.

(38) Jul. Cæſ. Scalig. Orat. in Luſum Andeſii Cæſaris filii, pag. m. 74, 75.

(39) Joſeph. Scaliger in Epiſt. de Vetuſtate & Splendore Gentis Scaligeræ, pag. 8 & 9.

'*the Malice of Enemies, the Ignorance of Writers, had* 'ſo far undermined the memory of our Family, that 'the very Name of Scaliger was in danger of ruin, 'had it not been reſcued by that moſt eloquent and re-'nowned Antiquarian Paul Æmilius of Verona, who 'having found in Bavaria the Records of our Family, 'conceived, as he ſays, in a richneſs of Stile, pruned 'them, and taught them to ſpeak Latin. From that 'Treatiſe my Father extracted thoſe things which more 'immediately concerned the ſplendor of our Race. The 'reſt he had not leiſure to tranſcribe, which I wiſh he 'had done, and left me the labour to publiſh them.' He mentions it alſo in the firſt Edition of his Commentary upon *Catullus* in the Year 1576, and in the ſecond of 1600, but in a manner, which, with reſpect to ſome Circumſtances, did not agree with what I have quoted out of his Letter *de Vetuſtate & Splendore gentis Scaligeræ*. *Scioppius* inſulted him moſt cruelly about thoſe ſmall Variations, and moreover maintained that what the Two *Scaligers* had advanced, touching that Work of *P. Emilius*, was but a Fable, and an Impoſture. His chief Reaſon, amongſt others, was, that they had not mentioned either the Place where they boaſted they had read this Manuſcript, or the Name of the Perſon in whoſe Hands it was; and that the Authors, who had viewed the Libraries of *Bavaria* with moſt Diligence, never met with theſe Annals (40). 'Ut ſum curioſulus, *ſays he* (41), libet de 'Paulo Æmylio nonnulla exquirere. Primum, eſt ne 'veriſimile Æmylium in Norico umquam fuiſſe & 'Germanicum ſermonem, eumque vetuſtiſſimum in-'tellexiſſe? & quo in angulo Bavariæ iſtos Scaligero-'rum annales invenit, qui ſummam Aventini, Hun-'dii, Lazii & ipſorum Scaligerorum Bavarorum dili-'gentiam effugerint? Potuit ne fieri, ut Illuſtris vir 'Marcus Velſerus reip. Auguſtanæ Præfectus, ſingu-'lare illud ætatis noſtræ ornamentum, ne Sereniſſimi 'quidem Bavariæ Principis auctoritate ſubnixus eoſ-'dem illos Annales alicunde non erueret? Et fuit ne 'quiſquam, qui de hoc Æmylii libro (tu quatuor libros 'fuiſſe in Catullum ſcribis) vel tenuiſſimam unquam 'auditionem acceperit? —— *Being ſomewhat curious,* ſays he, *I have a mind to make ſome enquiry concern-*'ing this Paul Æmilius. *Firſt, is it probable that* 'Æmilius ever was in Bavaria, and underſtood the 'German Language, and that the moſt antient? *In* 'what corner of Bavaria did he find theſe Records of 'the Scaligers, which have eluded the ſtricteſt ſearch of 'Aventinus, Hundius, Lazius, and even the Scaligers 'of Bavaria? *Is it poſſible that the great Marcus Vel-*'ſerus, chief Magiſtrate of the State of Augsburg, that 'ſhining Ornament of our Age, ſupported by the Au-'thority of the moſt ſerene Prince of Bavaria, ſhould not 'ſomewhere or other have met with the ſame Records? 'Is there any one that has ever heard the leaſt mention 'of this Book of Æmilius, which you in your Edition of 'Catullus ſwell to four?' *Joſeph Scaliger* replied, That there were many Books ſtill unknown, and therefore that it was ill Logic to ſay, that *Paulus Emilius's* Manuſcript had never been extant, becauſe it was not publiſhed (42). He convicted *Scioppius* of having advanced a Lye, ſince it was falſe that *Julius Cæſar Scaliger* ever pretended, that *Paulus Emilius* had tranſlated that Work out of *German* (43). 'Ego 'quæro unde colligunt Julium dixiſſe eos Annales lin-'gua Norica ſcriptos? Sed Julii verſus conſulere nulla 'invidia eſt. Ii ſunt in libello de Regnorum everſio-'nibus.

(40) Scioppius, in Scaligero hypobolimæo, *fole* 40 *verſo.*

(41) Id. ibid.

Nam Paulus utrunque Æmilius monet referri
Deprompta libro, quem, ut retulit, fide vetuſta
Incude Latina ignegue Noricum recoxit.
Torellius omiſerat iſta Saraina.

(42) Joſ. Scalig. Confutatio Fabulæ Burdonum, pag. 389, 390.

(43) Ibid. pag. 386, 387.

'Et puero patet illorum Annalium liber Norico-
'ideo dici a Julio, quod in Norico compoſitus, & ibi
'ab Æmilio inventus, non utique quod lingua Norica
'ſcriptus eſſet. Quem magis idoneum verborum Sca-
'ligeri interpretem dare poſſumus, quam ipſum Julium
'Scaligerum (44)? —— *I would fain know where* (44) Ibid.
'*they find that Julius Cæſar Scaliger ſaid thoſe Re-*
'*cords were written in the Bavarian Language. But*

It will not be amiss to subjoin the Verses of Scaliger. They are in his Treatise on the Downfal of Kingdoms.

'Æmilius informed us both, that those extracts were 'made from a Bavarian Treatise which he had fashioned again on the Anvil with true primitive Faith, 'and Roman Fire; which Torellius Saraina forgot to 'mention.

It is plain, even to a Boy, that Julius Scaliger called that Book Bavarian, because it was compiled in that Country, and there found by Æmilius, and not as being wrote in that Language; and who can be admitted as an Interpreter of Scaliger's words better than Scaliger himself? Thereupon *Joseph Scaliger* sets down his Father's Words, which I have quoted in the Beginning of this Remark (45). *Scioppius* did not deny but that he had erred in this, but maintained that this was not a material Point in the Dispute, and pretended that his Adversaries could not answer his other Observations. 'Brevier concedo tibi, verba patris tui, 'quibus Æmylium Annales Noricos latinos feciſſe dicit, non recte à Scioppio intellecta fuiſſe (tametſi id 'adhuc controverſi juris eſt) ſed nego id attuliſſe Scioppium quaſi de quo tecum lis gare vellet (46)' I conclude, by taking Notice that *Paulus Emilius* was one of the Heroes of *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*, who jointly with *Torellius Saraina* complimented him with a little Poem, which he inſerted in a Book intituled *Heroës* (47).

(45) *Above*, Citation (38).

(46) Oporinus, Grubinius, Amphot Scop. pag. 271.

(47) *See* Scaliger's Latin Poems, pag. 322, *Edit.* 1591.

EMILIUS (ANTHONY) or *Æmylius*, Hiſtory Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Utrecht*, was born the 20th of *December* 1589, at *Aix la Chapelle*, where his Father had retired for the ſake of Religion [*A*]. He laid the Foundation of his Studies in his native Country, and in the Duchy of *Juliers*, under *John Kunius*, and then came to *Dort*, where he ſtudied under *Adrian Marcellus*, and the famous *Gerard John Voſſius*. As ſoon as he had finiſhed his claſſical Learning, he went to *Leyden*, and attached himſelf to *Bauldius* particularly. Afterwards he went to ſee Foreign Univerſities, and ſpent four Years in his Travels. He lodged at *Heidelberg* with *David Pareus*, and viewed at his leiſure the *Palatine* Library. At *Saumur* he was known with Diſtinction to Mr *Du Pleſſis Mornai*, who procured him as many Books as he deſired. Being returned into his Country, he ſucceeded *Voſſius* in the Place of Rector of the College of *Dort*. He was then in the 30th Year of his Age. Three or four Years after (*a*) he went to *Utrecht*, to exerciſe the ſame Office there. Having diſcharged it ſome Years, he laid it down, upon what Account I know not, and reſumed it at the end of four Years (*b*) together with a more honourable One annexed to it, to wit, the Profeſſorſhip of Hiſtory in the illuſtrious School, which ſoon after was erected into an Univerſity. *Emilius* continued in that Place till his Death, and made his Erudition and Eloquence admired. There was a Deſign to draw him to *Leyden*, to fill the *Greek* Profeſſorſhip, which *Voſſius* (called to *Amſterdam*) left vacant. Nevertheleſs, he choſe to remain at *Utrecht*: And to fix him the better in this good Reſolution, the Magiſtrates of *Utrecht* increaſed his Salary, without which, as it is acknowledged in his Funeral Oration (*c*), he would infallibly have changed his Abode. The principal Theme of his Lectures, for more than twenty ſix Years that he continued in his Place, was taken out of the Annals of *Tacitus*. He died the 10th of *November* 1660 (*d*). There is no mention made, in his Funeral Oration, of his being addicted to the New Philoſophy; which would have revived the Memory of his Correſpondence with *Des Cartes* [*B*]. He publiſhed, in 1651, a Collection of Latin Speeches and Poems.

(*a*) *In the Year* 1619.

(*b*) *In* 1634.

(*c*) Haud dubiè ſecutura fuerat alia (vocatis) priori pingulor, ſecutura dico, ſed longo intervallo in locum Heinſii emeriti, niſi Pallas Ultrajectina hoc conatui injecißet ſecurim auctо ſtipendio Æmiliano ſub deceſſum Schorerii Juriſconſulti ad prenſatores Batavos. *He would certainly have quitted his Poſt for one more beneficial, in the place of Heinſius, worn out with Age and Buſineſs, had not the Pallas of Utrecht put a ſtop to this deſign, by augmenting his Salary before the departure of Scaurus to Holland, which entied him into her Service.*

(*d*) Taken from his Funeral Oration pronounced by *Daniel Bercrangerus*, the 21ſt of *Nov.* 1660. The Diary of Mr *Witte* is miſtaken in ſetting down his Death to the year 1662.

[*A*] *His Father had retired to Aix la Chapelle for the ſake of Religion.*] His Name was *John Miles* (1). In his Youth he was a Merchant at *Antwerp*, afterwards at *Rome*, and wherever he ſojourned. He was born a Roman Catholic; but having taken notice, at *Rome*, that many during Maſs diſcourſed of their amorous Adventures, he began to have ſome diſtruſt about his Religion, and examining nicely into it, he diſliked it more and more, and ſecretly embraced the Reformed. At laſt, to profeſs the latter openly, he quitted the Country of *Liege*, and went to ſettle himſelf at *Aix la Chapelle*; from whence he retired into the Duchy of *Juliers*, when the Emperor cauſed the Church and School of the Proteſtants to be ſhut up at *Aix la Chapelle*. Laſt of all, he retreated to *Dort* (2).

(1) His Son *Anthony* latiniſed this Name honourably, ſince he converted it into a very illuſtrious *Roman* Family, *Gens Æmilia*.

(2) Taken from the Funeral Oration of *Anthony Emilius*.

[*B*] *He had a Correſpondence with Des Cartes.*] *Emilius*, in his Funeral Oration of *Renery*, who had publickly taught the Opinions of *Des Cartes* in the Univerſity of *Utrecht*, beſtowed great Commendations upon *Des Cartes*; wherein he followed his Inclination, and gratified the Deſire of the Firſt Magiſtrate of *Utrecht*, *who ſent him a poſitive Order to ſet forth* the Praiſes of Mr *Des Cartes*, and of the New Philoſophy, in Mr *Renery*'s Funeral Oration (3). The Author of this Panegyric ſent it in Manuſcript, with a reſpectful Letter to Mr *Des Cartes*, who anſwered, as he ought, thoſe firſt Steps of Civility: And this was the beginning of their Correſpondence. This happened in the Year 1639, when there was yet no need of imitating *Nicodemus*, in being a Diſciple in private, *propter metum Judæorum*: for the Storm againſt *Regius* had not yet begun to rage; therefore that would not be a Proof of the Courage of *Emilius*: but here is one: he not only refuſed to have a Share in the Proceedings, which in the Year 1642, were made againſt Mr *Des Cartes*, and Mr *Regius* his Follower, by the Univerſity of *Utrecht*, but oppoſed the Judgment that was given thereupon (4).

(3) Baillet's *Life of Des Cartes*, Tom. II, p. 22.

(4) Id. ibid. pag. 755.

EMMA, Daughter of *Richard* II, Duke of *Normandy*, Wife to *Ethelred* King of *England*, and Mother of *Edward* the Confeſſor who was alſo King of *England*, had a great Share in the Government in her Son's Reign, and ſuch Power at Court, that the Earl of *Kent*, who had had great Authority in ſeveral other Reigns, conceived a violent Jealouſy againſt her. He could not endure that a Woman ſhould ſhare with him in the *public Adminiſtration*, that is to ſay, for the moſt part, the *Authority of doing what one pleaſes under the Name of the Prince*; and therefore made uſe of this Artifice to rid himſelf of that Rival. He accuſed her of ſeveral Crimes, and gained ſome great Lords who confirmed his Accuſations to the King: So that this good Prince, who in all probability

bability would never have had a Place in the Kalendar but for his great Simplicity [*A*], easily believed his Mother guilty, and went to her at unawares, and deprived her of all that she had got; alledging for his Reason, that those were ill-gotten Goods, and the Fruits of her unsupportable Avarice. In this Disgrace she had recourse to the Bishop of *Winchester*, her Relation: But this furnished her Enemies with new Matter of Calumny; for the Earl of *Kent* imputed to her as a Crime, the too frequent Visits she made to that Prelate [*B*], and accused her of Incontinency with him. The King being still credulous, *Emma* was obliged, for her Justification, to undergo the Trial in Use in those Days, which was, to walk bare-foot over red glowing-hot Plowshares [*C*]. This cruel Trial clearly proved her Innocence. The King being sensible of it, submitted himself to Penance (*a*). I do not find what became of her Accusers: And it must be owned, that the Custom of those Ages will bear many Reflexions [*D*].

(*a*) *See* Theophilus Raynaud. Hoplothec. §. II. Serie II. cap. vi. *who quotes* Polydorus Virgil, Nicholas Harpsfeld, *and* Rhodolphus Ceffrensis. *Note, that Father* d'Orleans *relates this Story with much Exactness in the first Tome of his* Revolutions of England.

[*A*] *Edward her Son .... would never have had a Place in the Kalendar, but for his great Simplicity.*] I mean, he would never have been canonized, nor a Holy day assigned to his Memory. It is certain, that those, who sit on the Throne, have more need than others of the Assistance of a happy Temper, to become Saints. If Nature has not endowed them with a simple, meek, gentle, and humble Spirit, they entertain Passions which engage them in a Conduct little conformable to Christian Perfection; but with the forementioned Qualifications, they suffer themselves to be led like Sheep by their Spiritual Dictators; which are great Advances towards obtaining one Day, at the Court of *Rome*, their Beatification, and it's Appurtenances. I do not pretend to exclude such Exceptions as will be thought necessary: But whatever it be, the Author I quote has acknowledged St *Edward*'s Simplicity. 'Reginam 'Emmam apud filium Edvardum Sanctum quidem sed 'simplicis animi dehonestavit. Apud regem omnes 'ex suo ingenio simplici & candido (metientem) (1).'

(1) Theoph. Raynaudus Hoploth. 6. II. Serie II, cap. vi, pag. m. 204. I add the Word metientem, *because the Sense requires it.*

[*B*] *They imputed to her as a Crime, the too frequent Visits she made to the Bishop of Winchester.*] The World was ever censorious, and would never allow that Persons of different Sexes, who have long and frequent Conversations together, may be honest. Be you a Widow, be you old, be you a Queen Dowager, be you in want of Counsel, chuse an Ecclesiastic rather than a Laic for your Confident; yet nothing will exempt you from Suspicions, or the Lashes of slanderous Tongues. *Emma* is perhaps the Hundredth Thousandth among Women of a high Rank, who have made their Conduct talked of.

[*C*] *She was obliged to walk bare foot over red glowing hot Plowshares.*] One *Robert*, who was afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*, seconded vigorously the Earl of *Kent*'s Machinations. For it was by his Means that the Queen was condemned to clear herself by this Fiery Tryal. The Custom of those Times was, that the Person accused should pass bare-foot over nine Plowshares made red-hot in the Fire: And it was proposed, that *Emma* should make nine Steps upon those Plowshares for herself, and five for the Bishop of *Winchester*, for whose Reputation she was much concerned. She accepted the Proposal, and passed all the preceding Night in Prayers near the Tomb of St *Swithin*. The Day being come, all the usual Ceremonies were performed in the same Church, where she had passed the Night; after which, in the Presence of *Edward*, and all the Nobles of the Kingdom, she went over the nine Plowshares in the middle of the two Bishops. She was dressed like an ordinary Woman, and naked to the Knee, looking all the while towards Heaven. The Fire did her so little hurt, that they were leading her out of the Church when she asked, *When she should come to the Place where the Plowshares were?* 'Cum 'progrediendo decursi essent vomeres, jamque extra 'Ecclesiam procederent cingentes Emmam Episcopi, 'interrogavit Emma, ecquando ad vomeres esset per-'ventura, quæ rei exitum edocta immensas gratias pro 'tanti probri abstersione Deo egit (2).' Being told that all was over, she thanked God for this clear manifestation of her Innocence. King *Edward* kneeled to his Mother, asked her Pardon; and to repair the Injury done both to her and the Bishop of *Winchester*, he would undergo the Penance of being scourged over his naked Shoulders by the Bishops. And for that purpose, they stripped his Shoulders naked and whipped him as a Penitent. 'Rex matri supplex ad 'pedes accidit, & pro molestia matri ac Episcopo 'Aluino creata nudo dorso ritu pœnitentium plagas ab 'Episcopis excepit (3).' The Plowshares were buried in a Cloyster of *Winchester*.

(2) Theoph. Raynaudus, ibid.

(3) Id. ibid.

[*D*] *The Custom of those Days will bear many Reflexions.*] Historians are full of Stories like these. We find, that the Trial by Fire was often practised in several Places of *Europe*, and that the Persons, who underwent it, came off with Honour. Why has this Custom been so long disused? Is it because it has been found out to be subject to Illusion, and that through human Artifice it might be employed to countenance Vice? If so, we ought not to account innocent those Men and Women, who went over the red-hot Plowshares without receiving any hurt. Or is it because we must not tempt God? But why then did they tempt him in those Days? Why are not those condemned who authorized that Custom? Why should we believe that God wrought a Miracle to manifest a Person to be innocent, who did not deserve that Favour, since that Person had recourse to a Crime, *viz.* that of tempting God? It is very hard to resolve all these Difficulties, without the Interposition of an *Occasional Cause*; but with the help of this Hypothesis, it were easy to resolve them. We need only suppose an Intelligence who should protect Innocence, and who by his Desires should have determined the first Mover, not to follow upon this Occasion the general Law of the Communication of Motion. We may next suppose, not, as the Heathens did, that this sort of Intelligences die, but that they have other Offices assigned them, and that then they cease to preside at these Trials. Thus some Miracles might be in vogue in one Age, and cease in another. We must however conclude nothing from thence against the Immutability of general Laws. We might perhaps be mistaken, if we thought that, among created Spiritual Substances, the Soul of Man only is subject to change.

EMMIUS (Ubbo) a Learned Professor at *Groningen*, was born at *Gretha*, a Village of *East-Friesland* the fifth of *December* 1547. He was Son to the Minister of that Village [*A*]. He was but nine Years old when he was sent to study at *Emden*; where he stayed till he was eighteen: After which, he was sent to *Bremen* in 1565, to hear the famous *John Molanus*. Being returned home, he was not presently sent to the Universities, but was kept some time at *Norden*, where the College began then to be restored. But when he was in the twenty third Year of his Age, he was sent to *Rostock*, where the

[*A*] *He was Son to the Minister of Gretha.*] This Minister's Name was *Emmo Diken*: He had been a Disciple of *Luther* and *Melanchthon*, and very much esteemed by *John Lascus*, who for some time was Overseer of the Churches of those Parts. His Wife, Mother of our *Ubbo Emmius*, was Daughter of *Egbert Tiarda*, who for thirty Years together had been Burgomaster of *Norden*, and whose Brother *Ubbo Emmius*, a good Civilian, gave his Name to the Person who is the subject of this Article. The Father of *Emmo Diken* was an honest Boor, who was Overseer of the Sluys of that Place (1).

(1) *Taken out of the Life of* Ubbo Emmius, *printed among those of the Professors of* Groningen.

[*B*] *He*

the University was in a flourishing Condition. There he improved by the Lessons of *David Chytreus*, a famous Divine and Historian, and those of *Henry Bruceus*, an able Mathematician and Physician. The News of his Father's Death obliged him to return to *East-Friesland*, after having stayed above two Years at *Rostock*; and his Mother's Affliction hindred him from travelling into *France* as he desired. He stayed near the good Woman three whole Years, by which Time her Grief being somewhat alleviated, he went to *Geneva*, and sojourned there two Years. Being returned into his Country, he had the Choice of two Places; either to be a Minister, or Rector of a College. He was naturally so modest, that he scarce durst speak any thing in Company (*a*), and therefore, tho' his Inclination led him to be a Minister, he undertook the Rectorship of a School (*b*) in the Year 1579. This School flourished marvellously under him; but he was put out of it in 1587, because he would not subscribe to the *Augsburg* Confession. Upon this Refusal, some zealous *Lutherans* caused his Salary, and the Licence to teach, to be taken from him: Whereupon he was called to *Leer*, in the same Country of *East-Friesland* in the Year 1588, to the same Employment he had lost. He gave the School of *Leer* such a Lustre, that it surpassed that of *Norden*, where the *Lutherans* could never repair the Decay it suffered after the Dismission of *Emmius*. They had driven out of *Groningen* several Persons who followed *Calvin*'s Reformation, and the Conformity of Fortune made those Exiles, who retired to *Leer*, to enter into a strict Friendship with our *Emmius*. So that, when the City of *Groningen* associated itself with the United Provinces, and thought of restoring it's College, he had the Recommendation of several Persons, and was called to be Rector of it, with Authority to make and abrogate such Statutes as he thought convenient. He took Possession of that Employment in 1594, being forty seven Years of Age, and exercised it near twenty Years successively for the Good and Advantage of the Youth, which crowded thither from all Parts. By this Time the Magistrates of *Groningen*, having erected their College into an University (*c*), they gave the Professorship in History and Greek to *Emmius*, who was the first Rector of this new University, and the greatest Ornament of it by his Lectures, till the Infirmities of Age hindered him from appearing in Public. However, he did not become useless, either to the Commonwealth of Learning, or the University of *Groningen*; for he continued to write Books [*B*], and to give his wise Counsels to the *Academical Senate* in all important Affairs. His Erudition was not his only Merit, for he was capable to advise Princes themselves: *William Lewis*, Count of *Nassau*, Governor of the Provinces of *Friesland* and *Groningen*, consulted him often [*C*], and seldom swerved from his Advice. This is a Qualification which is rarely found among those, who have passed all their Life in the Dust of the School. *Emmius* was singular in some other Things. He settled at *Groningen* [*D*], and rejected the Calls that were sent to him

(*a*) A priore ad quem animus ferebat, retraxit eum verecunda modestia, quæ hereditaria adeo naturæ ejus insita fuit, ut nimia pene modestiæ de se sentiens, in hominum cœtu fari vix auderet. *Vit. Prof. Groning. pag.* 42.

(*b*) *To wit, That of* Norden *in* East Friesland.

(*c*) *This was in* 1614, *and not in* 1607, *as* Valerius Andreas *affirms in* Bibliothe. Belg. pag. 842.

[*B*] *He continued to write Books.*] It was then he set about the three Tomes of the *Vetus Græcia Illustrata*; the first of which contains a Geographical Description of *Greece*; the second, the History of the *Greeks*; the third, the particular Form of each State, or Republic of *Greece*. If the Printers had been as diligent as they had promised him, he would have had the Satisfaction to see that Work published before his Death; but by reason of their usual Dilatoriness, that Book did not come out till the Year 1626 (2). The Sieur *Paul Freher* was ignorant of the Publication of it (3). Our Author had written some valuable Books, before he set about this. Such are his *Decades Rerum Frisicarum*, and in general whatever he has composed, both relating to the History of *Friesland* and *Groningen*, and the Geographical Description of those Places. Such are also his Books of Chronology and Genealogy, which in a most elaborate Method contain the *Roman* and General History. I say nothing of his History of *William Lewis*, Count of *Nassau*, Governour of *Friesland*, where one finds not only the Character and Panegyric of that Prince, but likewise an Abridgment of the History of the United Provinces, from 1577, to 1614. Neither do I mention his Theological Disputes against *Daniel Hofman*; nor the Book intituled, *Vita & sacra Eleusinia Davidis Georgii, qui monstra quædendorum errorum aut furorum eorum & se recepta mundo propinavit, ex libris ejus mysticis eruta* (4). When he died, he was writing the History of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander the Great*; wherein, for the use of the United Provinces, he designed to shew by what unfair Practices that Prince had oppressed the Liberties of *Greece*. He had already brought down this History to the Fifteenth Year of that Monarch's reign (5).

(2) Vitæ Profess. Groning. pag. 50.

(3) Theatr. Freher. pag. 1581.

(4) Freher. ibid.

(5) Vitæ Profess. Groning. pag. 50.

[*C*] *William Lewis, Count of Nassau, ... consulted him often.*] We should wrong the Memory of *Ubbo Emmius*, if we should not publish to the whole World the Honours he received from that Governour of *Friesland*. His Historian mentions it in this manner: 'Ab eo tempore quo sedes suas Groningæ habuit, per annos XXVI, affectum illustrissimi Principis Guilielmi Ludovici Comitis Nassoviæ, Gubernatoris nostri quondam laudatissimæ memoriæ, tam benevolum & benignum semper sensit Emmius, ut humilioris suæ conditionis sibi conscius, in rubore sæpè daretur. Nam viri hujus cordatum ingenium Nestoreamque in consiliis dandis prudentiam sæpe expertus Heros inclytus, cum ad se accersere, benignè habere, per fidos domesticos, per literas in maximis negotiis consulere, & à mente ejus haud temerè recedere, in more positum habebat (6). —— *Emmius, from the time of his fixing at Groningen, for the space of twenty six Years, found in that most illustrious Prince William Lewis, Count Nassau, our late Governour of happy Memory, so noble and generous a Benefactor, that, conscious of his humbler Fortune, he was often seen to blush. For that renowned Hero having often experienced the Sincerity of his Heart, and the Prudence of his Counsels, sent for him and received him with the greatest marks of Affection, consulted him on the most important Affairs, by Letters, or by the most faithful of his Domestics, and he seemed to have laid it down for a Maxim not hastily to depart from his Sentiments.*'

(6) Ibid. pag. 47.

[*D*] *He settled at Groningen.*] I have spoken three times (7) of the ambulatory Life of Professors. Here is one however, who was preserved from the Epidemical Distemper incident to those of his Order. 'Certè præter alios, Dordrechtani, Leovardienses, his exactati, ad similem apud se functionem, Emdani verò ad aliud vitæ genus capessendum, amplissimis propositis præmiis eum invitarunt. Sed ille gratiis quibus debebat actis, non suum lucellum, sed Reipublicæ literariæ commodum semper quærens, Groningæ, quod Deo visum, manere, quàm aliò transferri maluit, & quod aliis in simili casu occinere solebat, ipse ad usum quoque suum revocavit dictum hoc vulgare.

(7) *See, above, Citat.* (12) *of the Article* DECIUS.

him from divers Places. Neither was he fondly prepoſſeſſed in favour of his own Country; for, on the contrary, he ſtrenuouſly confuted the Fables, which the Hiſtorians of *Frieſland* publiſhed about the Antiquities of their Nation [*E*]. This love of Truth raiſed him many Enemies (*d*). He died at *Groningen* the 9th of *December* 1625, as he was entring upon the ſeventy ninth Year of his Age (*e*). His chief Learning conſiſted in Hiſtory [*F*]. He has been commended by ſeveral great Men [*G*], and particularly by *Scaliger*. He left Children behind him [*H*]. The Magiſtrates cauſed his Picture to be hung in the Stadt-Houſe.

(d) *See the Remark* [*E*].

(e) Taken out of his Life, printed with thoſe of the Profeſſors of *Groningen*. This Life is little elſe but a Panegyric upon *Ubbo*'s worth; which *Nicolas Mulerius*, M. D. Profeſſor of the Mathematics at *Groningen*, publiſhed without putting his Name to it, in 1638.

Si quâ ſede ſedes, quæ ſit tibi commoda ſedes,

Illâ ſede ſede, nec ab illâ ſede recede (8).

(8) Vitæ Profeſſ. Groning. pag. 45.

'*The Inhabitants of Dort, and Leuwarden, in a particular manner, ſollicited him to accept a like employ among them, and thoſe of Emden made him extraordinary Offers to engage him in one of a different Nature. But he, making all due Acknowledgements, not ſtudious of his own private Intereſt, but of that of the Republic of Letters, thoſe rather to remain at Groningen, during the good pleaſure of God, than to be tranſlated to another Place; and applied to himſelf, as he had often done to others on the like Occaſion, this common ſaying,*

When once well ſeated, on that ſeat remain:

Who raſhly riſe may wiſh to ſit again.

(9) *He ſaws that Reſt was good.* Gen. xlix. 15.

There are very few Men who reſemble *Iſſachar* (9), Son to the Patriarch *Jacob*.

[*E*] *He ſtrenuouſly confuted the Fables, which the Hiſtorians of Frieſland relate about the Antiquities of their Nation.*] You may have ſeen before, in the Article ABGILLUS, how credulous *Suffridus Petri* is (10). He is not the only *Friſian* Writer, who has taken Pleaſure in publiſhing a Thouſand Fables. The worſt of it is, that People have been angry with thoſe that have exploded them; and in particular, *Ubbo Emmius* was quarrelled with, and expoſed to a thouſand Slanders upon that Score. Do not think that it is out of Vanity he ſpeaks of his Anceſtors, both Paternal and Maternal, and of his Education: Theſe are as many Heads neceſſary for his Juſtification; for his Enemies had endeavoured to render him contemptible in theſe Particulars, out of hatred to his Honeſty, in rejecting the old Legends of his Country (11). 'Patriam & originem paulo accuratius in hiſtoria deſcriptam, aliaque ſua poſteris reliquit, ob ſiniſtrum quorundam affectum, quibus quaſi ſudes in oculis erat, ingenua viri in dicendo ſcribendoque libertas; preſertim quoties de jure libertateque Friſiorum mota eſſet controverſia. Coëgit quoque hoc facere eum adverſariorum iniquitas, qui cum fabulas ſuas ab eo temni ac refelli indignis ferrent animis, eum convitiis conſpuere & boni nominis ejus famam lacerare voluerunt, eum μισοφρίσονα eſſe, hoſtem patriæ, ignarum ignotumque ſibi, & cujus conditionis ſit, clamitantes. Quibus ille reſponſum hoc debuit *; *Me quod attinet, ſum origine & patria Friſius non minus quam bi qui me flagellant, ſi modo hujuſmodi bi ſunt, honeſta domo utraque natus, honeſta quoque in re, in literis voluntate ac ſumptu meorum, ſine onere aliorum, honeſte domi forique educatus, idque cum diminutione hæreditatis meæ Adverſariis meis affectu in communem patriam & gentem noſtram non concedo; ſed affectum veritati in hiſtoria vim facere non patior, intra quæ terminos me contineo. Verum tradere tuerique ante omnia labore: & hunc laborem difficilem Friſiis meis impendo gratis, ſolo patriæ ac veritatis ſtudio ductus, & hoc inter negotia aſſiduâ cum valetudinis jacturâ præſtiti.*' —— *He left an accurate hiſtorical Deſcription of his Country and Origin, with ſome other Compoſitions, occaſioned by the Malice of certain Perſons, who were extreamly offended at his noble Freedom in ſpeaking or writing, eſpecially when any Controverſy was ſtarted about the Rights and Liberties of the Friſians. The Virulence of his Adverſaries alſo compelled him to it; enraged that their Fictions were deſpiſed and refuted by him, they endeavoured to beſpatter him with Calumny, and mangle his fair Reputation, calling him an Enemy and Traytor to his Country, an Upſtart that had forgot himſelf and his Condition. To whom he made this Reply:* As to myſelf, I am by Birth and Parentage as much a Friſian as my Enemies, if they be ſuch; deſcended from honourable Families, in honourable Circumſtances, and have had an honourable Education, both at home and abroad, to the Diminution of my Patrimony, without being burthenſome to any one. In Affection for our common Country I yield not to my Adverſaries, but ſhall confine that Affection within it's Bounds, and not ſuffer it to pervert the Truths of Hiſtory. The Cauſe of Truth is firſt at my Heart: in it's laborious Defence I willingly enter the Liſts, not for Pay, but for the Love I bear to it and to my Country: and herein do I perſevere amidſt the Hurry of Buſineſs, and the daily Decreaſe of Health.'

(10) *Here is a Paſſage of* Thuanus *concerning* Suffridus Petri, *and* Emmius. Poſtea à Friſiæ Ordinibus invitatus origines, cunctas, nobilitatem, libertatem, jura gentis ſuæ illuſtranda ſuſcepit, in quibus altius repetendis dum admiſtis fabularum figmentis plenum ſtilo indulget, multorum reprehenſiones incurrit, ut UBBONI EMMIO, qui eam provinciam ſumma fide ac admiranda ſimplicitate poſtea executus eſt, potius lampada tradidiſſe, quam ei in ſcribenda patria hiſtoria præluxiſſe videatur. *Afterwards, at the Invitation of the States of Frieſland, he undertook a more clear Account of the Origin, Cuſtoms, Grandeur, Liberty, and Laws of his Country, and endeavouring to trace them too far back, he incurred the Cenſure of many by giving his Pen too great a Liberty with the fabulous Accounts wherewith they were intermixed. So that he may be ſaid to have rather put a Torch in the Hands of, than to have been a faithful guide to,* UBBO EMMIUS, *who afterwards diſcharged that Task with great Candour and Simplicity.* Thuan. lib. 119, pag. 816, ad ann. 1597.

(11) Vit. Profeſſ. Groning. pag. 40.

* De Orig. & Antiq. Friſ. pag. 3, & 4.

[*F*] *His chief Learning conſiſted in Hiſtory.*] What ſome have related of the vaſt Extent of his Knowledge, accompanied with a moſt happy and ready Memory, is very hard to be believed. They tell us, that without being prepared, and without miſtaking the Circumſtances of Time, Place, or Perſons, he was able to anſwer all Queſtions relating to the Hiſtory of any Country, both ancient and modern. He knew not only Events, the great Actions and their Motives; but likewiſe the Intereſts of Nations, their Form and Government, the Genius of Princes, the Methods they uſed to aggrandize themſelves, their Alliances and Pedigrees. Moreover, he knew the Figure, Situation, and Bigneſs of Towns and Fortreſſes, the Poſition of Rivers and High-ways, the Compaſs of Mountains, *&c.* Leaſt People ſhould think I amplify the Matter, I ſhall quote the very Words of his Hiſtorian. 'In omni omnium populorum ac gentium hiſtoriâ verſatiſſimus, de cujuſque gentis ac cujuſlibet temporis hiſtoriâ rogatus ex tempore diſſerebat, recitatis omnium locorum, temporis, & perſonarum circumſtantiis, haud ſecus ac ſi præmeditatus & paratus accederet ad hiſtorias iſtas exponendas; ut ſatis appareat non fuiſſe eam ſuperficiariam ipſi cognitionem, quæ multis contigit, ſed quæ paucis exactam, ſolidam, ad interiora penetrantem atque deſcendentem. Notiſſimas habebat in veteri & nova hoſtoria, non ſolum res geſtas, earumque cauſas & eventus, cujuſque populi πολιτείαν, ſed & urbes arceſque à forma, ſitu, magnitudine, ſimulque vias publicas, fluvios, montium tractus, geniumque loci, Principum ingenia, mores, cupiditates, ambitus arteſque quibus ad honores graſſati, quibus propinquitatibus ſubnixi, quo ſanguine creti (12). —— *Thoroughly verſed in the Hiſtories of all Kingdoms and Countries, at the Requeſt of his Friends he would ſpeak off-hand upon the Hiſtory of any Nation, at whatever Period of Time, give a Detail of all the Places, Times, and Circumſtances of Perſons, as if he had come prepared to explain thoſe Hiſtories; from whence it is plain he had not that ſuperficial Notion, which is ſo frequently to be found, but that ſcarce, compleat, and ſolid Knowledge, which penetrates into the moſt ſecret Parts. He was intimately acquainted with not only the Facts, their Cauſes and Conſequences, and the Intereſts of every State in ancient and modern Hiſtory, but likewiſe with the Form, Magnitude, and Situation of Cities and Forts, public Ways, Rivers, the Traits of Mountains, the Genius of the Place, the Abilities of the Princes, their Manners and Views, their Councils, and the Intrigues whereby they had poſſeſſed themſelves of Dignities, their Alliances and Pedigrees.*'

(12) Vitæ Prof. Groning. pag. 48.

[*G*] *He has been commended by ſeveral great Men.*] The Author of his Life has collected ſeveral Elogies beſtowed upon him by *Thuanus*, *Scaliger*, *Douza*, *Heinſius*, *David Chytræus*, and ſome others: All which are of great Force, principally thoſe of *Scaliger*, who gives the Epithet of *Divine* to *Ubbo Emmius*'s Hiſtory of *Frieſland* (13).

(13) Hankius de Romanarum Rerum Scriptoribus, lib. 2, pag. 188, *relates part of the Elogy's printed with* Emmius's *Life.*

[*H*] *He left Children behind him.*] He married at *Norden* in 1581: his Wife, who died in Child-bed, left him a Son, that lived to the Age of nineteen Years. He remained a Widower for three Years, and then

then married *Margaret de Berghen*, Daughter to a Burgher of *Emden*, who survived him with two Children, a Son and a Daughter. The Son's Name was *Wesselus Emmius*: He was Minister of *Groningen* when his Father died. His younger Brother died at *Orleans* some few Months before their Father [4].

(4) Taken out of the Life of Ubbo Emmius.

ENCOLPIUS, Author of an History of the Emperor *Alexander*, by whom he had been greatly beloved (*a*). I add two things to what *Moreri* has said of him. The first is, that This History is not extant, and that the English Writer, who boasts to have translated it from the Greek, justly passes for an Impostor [*A*]. The second will only be an unravelling of an Action, which *Encolpius* had described, and which *Moreri* gives us no account of. I do not pretend, that he was obliged to relate it; but, if I relate it, I hope my Readers will not take it amiss [*B*].

(a) Quo (*Encolpio Alexandro*) familiarissimo usus est. *Lamprid. in Alexandro Severo.* c. xxvii.

[*A*] *The English Writer, who boasts to have translated the History of Encolpius from the Greek, justly passes for an Impostor.*] He lived in the Reign of *Henry* VIII., and was called *Thomas Eliot*. He published a Book, intituled, *Image of Governance, compiled of the Actes and Sentences notable of Alexander Severus*. He boasted, that he had translated this Work from the Greek Manuscript of *Encolpius*, which a Gentleman of *Naples*, named *Puderic*, had lent him. But it was proved (1), that he had taken the Materials from *Lampridius* and *Herodian*; that he had misunderstood, or perverted to another sense, several things, which those two Historians have said; and that he had invented many Facts, which they have said nothing of. *Selden* (2) believed, that he had translated a *Greek* Manuscript composed by a Modern: but Dr *Wotton* believes no such thing, and he observes, that *Bale*, having distributed the Writings of *Thomas Eliot* into two Classes, the one for Compositions, the other for Translations, has ranked among the first the Work in question; which proves, that at That time, it was not doubted, that the pretended *Encolpius* was spurious (3). I imagine, that this *Thomas Eliot* was encouraged to this Fraud by the Success, which the *Marcus Aurelius* of *Guevara* met with. I say elsewhere (4), that this Spaniard endeavoured to persuade the World, that he had taken the Life of that Emperor from an old Manuscript, which he gave as a Model of Government: he intituled it, *L'Horloge des Princes* —— *The Clock of Princes*.

(1) See Dr Wotton's Roman History, printed at London, in 1701.

(2) Selden, in Eutych. p. 474, 475. See Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs Tom. III, pag. m. 372.

(3) Taken from the Leipsic. Journal. Nov. 1702, pag. 480, in the Extract of Dr Wotton's Book.

(4) See Remark [*H*] of the Article GUEVARA.

[*B*] *If I report an Action, which Encolpius had described, I hope my Readers will not take it amiss.*] It is very remarkable. 'Lampridius relates, that *Ovinius* 'Camillus, a Senator, and of a very ancient Family, aspired to the Empire. *Alexander* was informed of it, 'and convinced of it beyond doubt. Upon which he 'invited *Camillus* to the Palace, and testified how 'much he was obliged to him, in that he voluntarily offered to take upon himself the Burthen of Affairs, whereas others must be constrained to do it, 'against their Will. After this, he carried *Camillus* 'to the Senate, who trembled with Fear, being stung 'with the Remorse of Conscience, associated him to 'the Empire, and gave him an Apartment in the Palace, made him eat at his own Table, and ordered 'him to be cloathed with Imperial Ornaments, more 'magnificent than his own. There happened at that 'time to be some War against the Barbarians, which required the Emperor's Presence. *Alexander* offered 'Camillus to take him with him, if he chose not rather to go alone (5).

'*Alexander*, who went on foot, invited *Camillus* to 'do the same: but the latter, who was of a nice Constitution, being tired at the end of two Leagues, *Alexander* obliged him to get on Horseback; and, as 'he could not even follow him on Horseback more than two days, he ordered him a Coach. At last, *Camillus* begged, as a Favour, that he might renounce the Empire, protesting, either sincerely, or through Fear, that he had rather die, than live after this manner: and *Alexander* gave him leave to retire to his Estate in the Country, assuring him that he had nothing to fear, and he even recommended him to the Soldiers. *Camillus* lived thus a long time upon his Estate. But, afterwards, the reigning Emperor (for it is not believed, that it was *Alexander*) (6) ordered him to be killed, because he understood War, and was beloved by the Soldiers. *Lampridius* adds, that the People attributed this Action to *Trajan*, the none of the Historians of That Prince speak of it; whereas several Authors relate it of *Alexander*, in the History of his Life (7).

(5) Lamprid. in Alexand. Severo, cap. 48. Tillemont believes this happened in the Year 228. See his Hist. des Empereurs Tom III, pag 344, 345.

(6) This is not found in Lampridius, who says only, Sed post justas Imperatoris occisiones &c. See the Commentators.

(7) Tillemont, Hist. des Empereurs Tom. III, pag. 345.

I must add, for the honour of *Lampridius*, that he has expressly observed, that an Historian ought not to follow popular Opinions, when they agree not with Authors. History, says he, is quite otherwise true than the Reports of the People: since then the Historians of *Trajan* do not ascribe this Action to him, and that it is attributed to the Emperor *Alexander* by Those, who have written his Life, we ought to reject the Discourse of the Vulgar, who ascribe it to *Trajan*. —— Scio Vulgum hanc rem quam contexui Trajani putare; sed neque in Vita ejus id Marius Maximus ita expositi, neque Fabius Marcellinus, neque Aurelius Verus, neque Statius Valens, qui omnem ejus Vitam in literas miserunt. Contra autem & Septimius, & Acholius, & Encolpius, Vitæ Scriptores, cæterique de hoc talia prædicaverunt, quod ideo addidi, ne quis vulgi magis famam sequeretur, quam historiam, quæ rumore utique vulgi verior reperitur.' This Observation of *Lampridius* is very judicious. The Fact in question is so remarkable, that the Historians of *Trajan* would not have forgotten it, if it had belonged to That Emperor. A thousand and a thousand Examples prove, that remarkable Actions and Sayings are ascribed, by the People, sometimes to one King, sometimes to another. The fame is practised with regard to Saints. Their Devotees have attributed to certain of them what had already been said of others. It were to be wished, that the Legendaries had, on these occasions, followed the Example of *Lampridius*.

ENEAS, or *Æneas Tacticus*, is one of the most ancient Greek Authors that have written concerning the Military Art [*A*]. Some Bibliographers (*a*) affirm, that the Manuscript of his Book is found in the *Vatican* Library; but I suppose this is only to be understood of a particular Treatise published by *Casaubon* [*B*]. *Moreri*'s Faults are of no great Consequence [*C*].

(a) Gesner's Abbreviator, p. 193.

(1) Ælianus in Tactic. cap. 1.

(2) Casaub. in Præfat. Æneæ de toleranda obsidione.

(3) Xenophon de Rebus gestis Græcor. lib. 7. pag. m. 368. *Note, That in the 4th Book de Expedit Cyri, pag. m. 190, he speaks of another Eneas of Stymphalus, who perished in the Expedition of young Cyrus, towards the End of the XCIVth Olympiad.*

[*A*] *He is one of the most ancient Greek Authors that have written concerning the military Art.*] Cineas of *Thessaly*, Counsellor to *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, and Disciple of *Epicurus*, abridged *Eneas*'s Book concerning the Duty of a General (1). Moreover, in what remains of *Eneas*, there is no Instance given from any Passage that does not precede the CXth Olympiad; and if there be mention made of some Machines that began to be in vogue in *Aristotle*'s Time, there is no Account given of some others that were invented some time after *Aristotle* (2). We may therefore safely say, That if he be not that *Eneas* of *Stymphalus*, who was General of the *Arcadians* about the CIIId Olympiad (3), he is not far from that Time.

[*B*] *Of a particular Treatise published by Casaubon.*] In this Treatise *Eneas* shews the Manner how to sustain a Siege; it was joined to the Edition of *Polybius* in the Year 1609. The Preface tells us, I. That it is published from a Manuscript Copy of a Book brought from *Italy*, and that this Manuscript is in the Library of the Most Christian King. II. That *Eneas* had composed some other Books. *Naudé* (4) is in the wrong, to say, That the *Commentarius Poliorceticus* of *Eneas* differs from the Treatise *De toleranda obsidione*: for this is the Title of that Treatise in *Casaubon*'s Edition: Αἰνείου τακτικὸν τὸ καὶ πολιορκητικὸν ὑπόμνημα περὶ τῶν χρὴ πολιορκουμένων ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ. *Commentarius tacticus & poliorceticus de toleranda obsidione.*

(4) De Studio Militari, pag. m. 45.

[*C*] *Mr Moreri's Faults are of no great Consequence.*] I. He says, That *Eneas* wrote *a Book of the Military Art*, and that *Cineas made an Abridgment of this Work.*

(c) Ælianus, De Natur. Animal. lib. 12, cap. 1.

(d) Vossius de Hist. Græc. lib. 4, cap. 11.

Work. This is not exact; for *Ælian* uses the Plural Number when he speaks of *Eneas*'s Works concerning the Military Art: Αἰνείας τε διὶ πολεμικῶν, καὶ πραγματικὰ βιβλία ἱκανῶς συνταξάμενος ὧν ἐπίσαμεν ὁ Θετταλὸς Κινέας ἐσηίνησε (5). *Æneas qui* PLURIBUS LIBRIS *rem militarem copiosè exposuit*: EORUM (6) *epitomen Cineas Thessalus exposuit*: *Mureti* quotes a Book of *Vossius* (7), wherein these Words of *Ælian* are found: Why then did he express himself as he has done? II. He says, That *Gesner* affirms, *That* Eneas's *Work Is in Manuscript in the* Vatican *Library*. *Gesner* says nothing of *Æneas*: It is only those that have abridged *Gesner* who say that *Eneas*'s Book *De Re Militari* is in the *Vatican*. *Casaubon* applies this to the Treatise *De tolerandâ Obsidione*. *Note*, That *Vossius*, in the 287th Page of his Book *De Scientiis Mathematicis*, commits the same Mistake with *Mureti*, in ascribing the same thing to *Gesner*.

(5) Ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Τακτικῶν Συντάγματος. Vide Suidam, pag. 287. [sic] in Αἰνείας, ubi mendose Ἀβδηρίτης pro Θετταλὸς scribitur.

(6) *In the Treatise* De tolerandâ Obsidione.

(7) Vossius de Scientiis Mathematicis, pag. 287.

EPHORUS, an Orator and Historian, was of *Cumæ* in *Æolia* (*a*). *Isocrates*, whose Disciple (*b*) he was, advised him to write a History. I have said elsewhere (*c*), that he gave the same Advice to *Theopompus*, one of his other Scholars; and I have marked the Difference of Genius which was observable between those two Persons. *Ephorus*, not caring to trouble himself with the Intricacies and Trifles of fabulous Times, began at the Return of the *Heraclidæ* to *Peloponnesus* (*d*), and he carried down his Work from that famous *Epocha* to the twentieth Year of the Reign of *Philip* King of *Macedon*, Father to *Alexander the Great*; which is an Interval of about seven hundred and fifty Years. He divided this History into thirty Books, to each of which he added a Preface (*e*). There are various Opinions as to the Merit of this Author: Some commend him; others blame him, and accuse him of Deceits, both Active and Passive [*A*]. He compoled other Books

(a) Strabo, lib. 13, pag. 428.

(b) Plutarch. in Vita Isocrat. pag. 837.

(c) *In the Article* THEOPOMPUS, *Rem.* [*B*].

(d) Diod. Sicul. lib. 4, cap. 1.

(e) Id. ibid. lib. 16, cap. 77, pag. m. 795.

[*A*] *Some commend him; others blame him, and accuse him of Deceits both active and passive.*] *Diodorus Siculus* reckons him for one of the three Historians most in esteem (1). The other two are *Callisthenes* and *Theopompus*. After having complained, that many of those who had composed Histories had neglected the right ordering and distribution of their Subjects, he declares, That *Ephorus* was not guilty of that Fault; and that his Work was no less to be esteemed for the Elegance of his Stile than for his accurate Method: Ἔφορος τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἀναγράφων ἐμόνον κατὰ τὴν λέξιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐπιτέτυχε. *Ephorus res passim gestas describens non verborum elegantia duntaxat, sed accurata ordinis quoque observatione probi officio historici fungitur* (2). We shall presently see (3) that he has been preferred to *Theopompus*; which is a great Commendation. Neither are the Elogies *Strabo* gives him small; for he looks upon him as a Person whose Memory should be preserved (4): He quotes him often; and the Reason he gives for it is the Exactness of his Enquiries, acknowledged and commended by *Polybius*, a most competent Judge: Ἔφορος δ' ὃ τὸ πλεῖστον χρώμεθα διὰ τὴν περὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμέλειαν καθάπερ καὶ Πολύβιος μαρτυρῶν τυγχάνει ἀνὴρ ἀξιόλογος. Ephorus quo plurimum utimur ob diligentiam in talibus rebus (quod & Polybius testatur vir magnæ autoritatis) (5). —— *Ephorus, whom I frequently quote for his Accuracy, of which Polybius, a Man of good Authority, has given his Testimony.* Having taken notice of a Fault in that Historian, he adds, That nevertheless he surpasses the other Historians: Τοῦτον δ' ὢν Ἔφορος ἕτερον ὅμως κρείττων ἐστί· καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ ἐσπουδασμένος ἔτως ἐπαιτιᾶται αὐτὸν Πολύβιος καὶ φησας περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καλῶς μὲν εὔδοξον, κάλλιστα δ' Ἔφορον ἐξηγεῖσθαι περὶ κτίσεων, συγγενειῶν, μεταναστάσεων, ἀρχηγετῶν. Talis cum sit Ephorus, aliis tamen est melior: & ipse Polybius ita studiosè eum laudans, dicensque de rebus Græcis Eudoxum bellè, Ephorum optimè scripsisse, de origine urbium, cognationibus, migrationibus, ducibus atque autoribus (6). —— *Such was Ephorus, and superior to the rest; Polybius himself is hearty in his Commendation of him, saying, Eudoxus has wrote learnedly on the Affairs of Greece; but Ephorus has given us a most beautiful Account of the Origin of their Cities, of their Affinities, their Colonies, and their Chiefs.* That Fault is a Contradiction (7), which is plain enough, and the less excusable, because the Author had taken much Pains to clear the Subject, and confute those who had treated it confusedly. He had besides boasted of his Diligence: Ὅ δ' ὥσπερ καλῶς ἐπῄνεσε. ὅτι ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διακριβοῦν ἐπιλάμβανεται, ὅταν ἅ τι τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ παραλειφθὲν ἀσαφὲς ἢ ψευδῶς δόξαν ἔχον. Tamen Ephorus, quasi re præclarè gestâ, addit hanc se accurationem adhibere solere, cum aut debita omnino res est, aut falsa de ea obtinet opinio (8). —— *Ephorus, as though he had performed something noble, concludes with saying, that he had accustomed himself to make the most exact Enquiry into such things, as were either altogether dubious, or falsely reported.* This is not the only Contradiction he is guilty of: He used sometimes to fall into the same Fault: Δοκεῖ μοι ταὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ἐσθ' ὅτε τῇ περιαιρέσει καὶ ταῖς ἐξαρχῆς ὑποσχέσεσι: videtur mihi nonnunquam contrarium ejus facere quod ab initio instituerat ac promiserat (9). — *Sometimes he seems to have performed the Reverse of what he had proposed.* These Words are *Strabo*'s, who immediately gives a Proof of it: For he says, That *Ephorus*, having censured the Authors who intermix Fables with History, enlarges in Praise of Truth, and promises to observe that Virtue principally in the Account of the Oracle of *Delphi*; there being nothing more absurd than a Lye, when one speaks of an Oracle so averse to Deceit: Περισσῶς τῷ περὶ τὸ μαντεῖον τόπῳ λόγῳ, σεμνήν τινα ὑπόσχεσιν, ὡς παντὸς μὲν δεινοῦ νομίζει τ' ἀληθὲς, μάλιστα δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην· ἄτοπον γάρ, εἰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀεὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον τρόπον διώκομεν, φησὶν, περὶ δὲ τῷ μαντείῳ λέγοντες, ὃ πάντων ἐστὶν ἀψευδέστατον, τοῖς ὅτως ἀκούουσι καὶ ψευδέσι χρησόμεθα λόγοις. *Sermoni de hoc oraculo promissum adjicit gravitatis plenum, se eum aliàs veritatem maximi facere, tum vel apprimè in hoc argumento. Absurdum enim est (inquit) si veritatem aliis in rebus sectantes, de oraculo dicturi omnium veracissimo, ita incredibilibus & falsis utamur narrationibus* (10). This is very judicious; such a Reflexion does honour both to the Person and Judgment of *Ephorus*; but the Sequel is not consistent with it: For the Account that Author gives of the Oracle of *Delphi*, is but little better than the vulgar Opinion.

(1) Diod. Sicul. lib. 4, cap. 1.

(2) Id. lib. 5, init.

(3) *In Rem.* [*C*].

(4) Ἀνὴρ ἀξιόμνημονεύτου τυγχάνει διὰ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν. *Strabo, lib.* 13, *pag.* 428.

(5) Id. lib. 9, pag. 290.

(6) Id. lib. 10, pag. 320.

(7) *See* Strabo, Ibid. pag 319.

(8) Id. Ibid. pag 320.

(9) Id. lib. 9, pag. 290.

(10) Id. ibid.

He related so many Falsities about *Egypt*, that he shewed not only that he never travelled there, but also that he had not taken Care to be exactly informed by those who were acquainted with that Country. ‘Scriptor hic non solum ipse locorum ‘Ægypti naturam non vidisse, sed nec ab iis quibus ‘regionis illius ratio cognita est, diligenter percun- ‘ctatus nobis videtur (11).’ This is the Opinion of *Diodorus Siculus*, who a little after, having convinced him of lying, makes this Reflexion: Οὐκ ἄν τις παρ' Ἔφορῳ ζητήσειν ἐν παντὶ τρόπῳ τἀκριβῆ, ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς πλημμελοῦντα τῆς ἀληθείας. Certi quid apud Ephorum nemo inquiret qui viderit in multis eum negligere veritatem (12). —— *A Man must expect little Accuracy in Ephorus, if he considers how little Regard he often pays to Truth.* Seneca gives us still a worse Opinion of him, when he rejects his Testimony about a Comet. Let us relate the whole Passage, which shews what stress we ought to lay on the Authority of Historians when they speak of Prodigies. ‘Nec magna molitione detrahenda est au- ‘ctoritas Ephoro: historicus est. Quidam incredibi- ‘lium relatu commendationem parant, & lectorem a- ‘liud acturum, si per quotidiana ducereturur, miraculo ‘excitant. Quidam creduli, quidam negligentes sunt: ‘quibusdam mendacium obrepit, quibusdam placet. ‘Illi non evitant, hi appetunt. Et hoc in commune ‘de totâ natione: quæ approbare opus suum, & fieri ‘populare non putat posse, nisi illud mendacio asperſit. ‘Ephorus verò non religiosissimæ fidei, sæpe decipitur, ‘sæpe

(11) D'od. Sicul. lib. 1, cap. 39, pag. m. 35.

(12) Id. ibid.

Books [B]. And there was one written against him, wherein his Plagiarisms were displayed

sæpe decipit (13). —— *Ephorus writes like an Historian, and his Authority therefore may be easily set aside. For some frame Relations of things incredible, and spirit up the Reader with Tales of Prodigies, who would have given no attention to ordinary occurrences. Some are credulous, and others careless. Upon some Fiction steals unawares, to some it is agreeable; the former do not escape it, and the latter court it. And this is common to the whole herd, who think their Works will never be approved or become popular, unless they be seasoned high with Fable. Ephorus moreover is not a Writer of the best Credit; he is often deceived, and often deceives.* You may see in *Vossius* (14) some Lies of *Ephorus*, and how much his Stile was despised by *Duris* of *Samos*, *Dion Chrysostomus*, and *Suidas* (15). *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* (16), and *Diodorus Siculus* (17), has another Opinion of it, and they were good Judges. Whatever it be, I suppose that all the Lovers of History regret the loss of *Ephorus*'s Writings: For my own part, I regret it very much. Note, that *Vossius* did not sufficiently characterize all the Errors he reproaches him with; for he blames him for deceiving his Readers, without being deceived himself, when he speaks of the Temple of *Hercules* (18). 'Decipitur quidem, cum ..... tradidit ..... decipit autem in eo quod de Herculis fano in Hispania finxit, ut est apud Strabonem initio libri III. & fuere id genus apud Ephorum permulta. Unde & Diodorus Siculus, lib. 1. ὡς δ' ἔνιοί τινες, &c (19). —— *He is deceived indeed when he said ..... but deceives in his fictitious Account of Hercules's Temple in Spain, as may be seen in Strabo at the beginning of Book the Third. Ephorus is guilty of several Instances of the same Nature, for which reason Diodorus Siculus in the beginning of Book the First says, a Man must expect little, &c.* In the first Place, it is very probable that he said this innocently: What could he get by writing such a thing against his Conscience? He was so ill acquainted with the Affairs of the *Spaniards*, that he thought they were but one City. *Josephus* infers from thence, that the *Greeks* knew but late what concerned the Western Nations. *Vossius* does not disapprove this Inference. Why then does he think that *Ephorus* knew the Truth concerning that Temple? In the second Place, *Strabo* is not well quoted: for he does not denote precisely, whether *Ephorus* wrote according to, or against his Knowledge. Thirdly, the Passage of *Diodorus Siculus* does not prove, that there were in *Ephorus*'s Works several Passages contrary to the Author's own Knowledge: He is only accused of having neglected to be better informed. A severe Critic would find almost every where some *ands* as ill placed as that of *Vossius*.

[B] *He composed other Books.*] A Treatise περὶ τῶν εὑρημάτων, *de Rebus inventis*, of which *Strabo* makes mention (20). Another, περὶ ἀγαθῶν καὶ κακῶν, *de bonis ac malis*, divided into Twenty four Books (21). Another, περὶ παραδόξων τῶν ἐκασταχοῦ, *de Rebus passim admirabilibus*, divided into fifteen Books (22). Another, περὶ Θεσπέων πολιτεμάτων, *de Civitatibus Thraciæ*. *Harpocration* quotes the fourth Book of it (23). Another, intituled ἐπιχώριος, wherein he treats of his Native Country (24). Father *Hardouin* ascribes to him a particular Treatise of the Origin of Cities (25), and another of the Increase of the *Nile*; but the Authors, he alledges (26), do not say any such Thing: For *Polybius* only pretends, that *Ephorus* explained very well in his History the Foundation of Cities, their Colonies, &c. And as for the Scholiast of *Apollonius*, his intent was only to quote what *Ephorus* had said concerning the *Nile* in the same History. It is not by particular Treatises of Geography that he deserved to have been ranked among Geographers (27), but because he had made it his Business to describe the Places which he was obliged to mention in the Series of his History (28). We must not doubt but that he published some Harangues, or some Treatise of Rhetoric, since *Cicero* has made use of the Words I am going to quote: 'Omitto Isocratem discipulosque ejus Ephorum & Naucratem, quanquam orationis faciendæ & ornandæ autores longe plurimi, summi ipsi oratores esse debeant (29). —— *I shall pass by Isocrates, and his Scholars Ephorus and Naucrates; for though excellent at composing and embellishing an Oration, yet ought they to be perfect Orators.*' How can we doubt that he wrote Rhetoric, when we know that his Treatise περὶ λέξεως, *de Dictione*, has been quoted by *Theon*. 'Eidem (Theoni) & laudatur Ἔφορος ἐν τῷ περὶ λέξεως. Cujus operis pene initio hexametrum effundere ait (30). —— *Ephorus's Treatise on Diction is quoted by Theon, at the beginning almost of which, he says, that he breaks out into an Hexameter.*' These are the Expressions of *Vossius*, who may be charged with a Fault of Commission, and another of Omission: for he affirms, that the Verse, which was found near the beginning of this Treatise, was an Hexameter. We see no such Thing in *Theon*; neither does he say, that That Verse was in the same Place where *Ephorus* condemned the Cadence and Numbers of Discourse. A Circumstance which *Theon* relates, and which is a Singularity not to be omitted. The Passage of that Sophist, related at length, will discover another Fault of *Vossius*. Συγχώρησις δ' ἐξιόν, ὅταν τις ἐκπέσῃ τινὶ ποτὲ τὰ μέτρα, ἅπερ ἔχει ὁμοιότητα πρὸς τὸ πεζόν· οἷόν ἐστι τὸ ἰαμβικόν· διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς, ἄκοντες ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὸ γένος τοῦτο· ὁ γοῦν Ἔφορος ἐν τῷ περὶ λέξεως, δι' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀπαγορεύοντος λόγος, μὴ τὴν εὐρυθμίαν χρῆσθαι διαλύτῳ, σύδυς ἐν ἀρχῇ εἶχον εἰρμόν, αὐτὸν· πάλιν δὲ περὶ τῆς εὐρυθμίας διέξεισι (31). Venia tamen dari solet iis qui sorte in versus, qui quam proxime ad solutam accedunt orationem, incidunt: (32) quales iambici, quod omnibus fere scriptoribus invitis evenire solet. Ephorus certe in libro de sermone, eo ipso loco, ubi nimis numerosam usurpare elocutionem vetat, statim initio versum ipse extulit, hoc modo,

Posthac modos orationis inquiram.

It is excusable to fall into such numbers as have some affinity to Verse, such as Iambic, since all Writers are prone to make those slips unawares; as Ephorus, in his Treatise upon Diction, when he is declaiming against the soft flow of words, at the very setting out stumbled into Metre;

The modes of Diction must the next be search'd.

Theon had just before without mercy condemned Prose, wherein are found high sounding lofty Verses, and then he excuses the Verses that resemble Prose, such as are the *Iambics*; and says, that most Writers run, in spite of themselves, into the Fault of making that sort of Verses. He instances in our *Ephorus*; but he does not say, as *Vossius* pretends, that That Verse was almost in the beginning of the Treatise. Note, that what *Ephorus* has said of *Homer* (33), was not in a particular Treatise upon that Poet, but in that he composed about his own Native Country (34). His Treatise περὶ εὑρημάτων was confuted by the Philosopher *Strato*, as we learn from *Pliny*; *Stratone qui contra Ephori εὑρήματα scripsit* (35). Thus Father *Hardouin* has corrected the Passage, where we read, *contra Ephori Theoremata*; which Correction is insinuated by *Jonsius* (36). Note, that mention is made of an *EUPHORUS* Author of a Book περὶ τῶν εὑρημάτων, *de Rebus inventis*. *Vossius* (37) pretends that *Athenæus* has quoted him (38), and that one ought to correct Εὔφορος by writing Ἔφορος; for, says he, the Author, that *Athenæus* quotes in that Place, is quite different from the Historian. That might be; but I do not think that the least Proof can be given for it. Father *Hardouin* (39) thought we ought to read Ἔφορος, just as in the twelfth Chapter of the eighth Book of *Athenæus*, whose two Passages he applies to *Ephorus* the Historian. The two Places of *Clemens Alexandrinus* (40), alledged by *Vossius*, may very well belong to that same Historian; and therefore there is Reason to believe, that the Transcribers have writ there Εὐφορος instead of Ἔφορος. This Fault they have committed in the Great *Etymologicon* (41), where they quote Εὔφορος ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ. There should have been Ἔφορος; for we learn from *Strabo* (42), that the fourth Book of *Ephorus* the Historian was intituled Εὐρώπη. It is *Vossius* makes this Observation. Why should we not believe that the same Fault is crept into *Diogenes Laërtius*, according to the Conjecture of *Aldobrandinus* and *Jonsius* (43)? Mr. *Menage*

(13) Sen. Quæst. Natural. lib. 7. cap. 16, pag. m. 908.

(14) Vossius, de Hist. Græcis, pag. 36, 37.

(15) Ἔφορος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, πλὴν ὀλίγα τὰ ἱστορικὰ τῆς ἀφελείας οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπαινέσεις· ἔχει γὰρ ἀπλοῦν μὲν τὸν τρόπον, οὐ μὴν δεξιόν γε τὸν τοῦ λόγου. Ephorus as to his Stile is indeed regular, but his Genius is not happy in the Art of Diction, neither either Life or Spirit. Suidas, apud Vossium, ibid.

(16) Dionys. Halicarn. de collocat. verbor. cap. 8, pag. 58.

(17) Diodor. Siculus, lib. 1, init. I write his Words above, Citat. (12).

(18) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 38.

(19) See, above, Citat. (12), the Sequel of it.

(20) Strabo, lib. 13, pag. 618.

(21) Suidas in Ἔφορος.

(22) Id. ibid.

(23) Harpocrat. voce Λίνος.

(24) Plutarch. de vita Homeri, init. apud Vossium, ubi supra.

(25) Jonsius, pag. 67, seems also to ascribe it to him.

(26) Hardouin. in Indice autorum Plin. l. He quotes Polybius apud Strabonem, lib. 10, pag. 463, for the Treatise de Origine Urbium; and the Scholiast of Apollonius, in lib 4, ver. 260, for the Treatise de Nili Incrementis.

(27) Strabo, lib. 1, init placed him among them.

(28) Ibid lib. 8, init.

(29) Cicero, in Oratore, cap. 51.

(30) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 36.

(31) Theoph. Progymnasm. cap. 2, pag. 25.

(32) These Words have been omitted in the Translation, which Henofus has corrected.

(33) See Plutarch. de Homero, & Tatian. ad Græc.

(34) See Scaliger, in Euseb. n. 2101, pag. m. 62.

(35) Plin. lib. 1, in indice, lib. 7.

(36) Jonsius de Script. Hist. Phil. pag. 46.

(37) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 367.

(38) Athen. lib. 4, cap. 25, pag. 182.

(39) Hardouin. in Indice Auctorum Plinii.

(40) One reads, lib. 6. Strom. pag. 306. The other, ibid. pag. 339.

(41) Etymologicum apud Vossium, ubi supra.

(42) Strabo, l. 7.

(43) See Menage, in Diogen. Laërt. lib. 2, n. 41, pag. 1

played [C]. All this is loſt. I have ſpoken elſewhere (*f*) of the Judgment paſſed on the long Speeches he inſerted in his Hiſtory. He was very much ridiculed for the manner

(*f*) *In Remark* [G] *of the Article* THEOPOMPUS.

(44) Ibid.

Mr *Menage* (44) chuſes to follow *Voſſius*'s Opinion; but this is meer courteſy, ſince *Voſſius* has not proved his Aſſertion. The great *Scaliger* (45) affirms, that in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, they have written twice Εὔφορος inſtead of Ἔφορος; and that by the like Miſtake we find Εὔφορος for Ἔφορος in *Diogenes Laërtius*, in the Life of *Thales*. He believes alſo that the *Euphorbus* in the Chronicle of *Euſebius* (46) is no other than our *Ephorus*, who has firſt been changed into *Euphorus*, and then into *Euphorbus*. It is certain that *Euſtathius* (47), grounded on the Teſtimony of *Stephanus Byzantinus*, has quoted one *Euphorus*, who is called *Ephorus* in the Book of that *Stephanus* (48). I ſhould readily adopt *Scaliger*'s Opinion; for we muſt never multiply Authors, no more than any other thing, without neceſſity.

(45) Scaliger, Animad. in Euſeb. ad ann. 1101, pag. m. 62.

(46) Euſeb. a. 1101.

(47) Euſtathius, in Iliad. lib. 2, fol. 275, apud Ionſium de Script. Hiſt. Philoſ. pag. 44.

(48) Steph. de urbibus voce Ἀπολλωνία.

Here are many trifling Things, will ſome body ſay to me. True, ſay I: But which, at the ſame time, are found in the Writings of the moſt learned Men of this Age. It is a Fatality inſeparable from Criticiſm, and with Submiſſion to the Critics I ſhall make another Remark of the ſame kind. When the Name of an Author is written ſo differently in a Book, that there is ſome ground to think there is more than one Perſon intended thereby, we muſt not always accuſe the Tranſcribers; for the Fault may very well be in the Original: No doubt but *Athenæus* may have written ſometimes Εὔφορος, ſometimes Ἔφορος, though he had the ſame Author in his Thoughts. None will deny but there may be Writers now a-days, who, being often obliged to mention Father *Bouhours* in a Work of great length, would name him ſometimes *Bours*, ſometimes *Bohours*, and ſometimes *Bobours*. I have ſeen Letters written by learned Men, wherein proper Names were ſpelt ſometimes one way, ſometimes another. As for Inſtance: Sometimes *Bordeaux* or *Theloſe*, and ſometimes *Bourdeaux* or *Toulouſe*. See the Remark [*B*], of the Article DEMETRIUS, and the Article DURER towards the end.

[C] *They wrote a Book, wherein his Plagiariſms were diſplayed.*] *Euſebius* has preſerved us a valuable Fragment of the firſt Book of *Porphyrius*, περὶ τῆς φιλολογίας ἀκριβείας, *de erudito auditu*, wherein we meet with a Diſpute between two learned Men, one of whom preferred *Ephorus* to *Theopompus* (49), and the other called *Ephorus* a Plagiary, and accuſed him of having tranſcribed 3000 Lines, Word for Word, from *Daimachus*, *Calliſthenes*, and *Anaximenes*. Αὐτοῖς λέξεσιν ἐγὼ ὅτι τρισχιλίους ὅλους μετατιθέντος στίχους. *Tria nonnunquam verſuum millia totidem verbis in ſua tranſtulerit* (50). I do not find that his Adverſary denied the Facts: He contents himſelf with recriminating, and ſays only, that *Theopompus* was a great Plagiary. We ſhall ſee in another Place (51) what is meant by that. *Porphyrius* ſome Pages after affirms, that there were two Books of one *Lyſimachus*, περὶ τῆς Ἐφόρου κλοπῆς, *de furto Ephori*, and that *Alcæus*, a ſatirical Poet, had expoſed and ridiculed the Plagiariſms of that Hiſtorian.

(49) Αὐτὸν καὶ Θεόπομπον φησὶν ἐλέγχειν. Eum ipſe quoque Theopompo anteponebat. *Porphyrius*, *apud Euſebium Præpar lib.* 10, *cap.* 3, *pag.* 464.

(50) Id. ibid.

(51) *In the Article* THEOPOMPUS, *Rem.* [*M*].

Here occurs a ſmall Difficulty. *Daimachus*, one of the Authors, who according to *Porphyrius* were pillaged by *Ephorus*, was ſent upon an Embaſſy to the Court of the Son of *Androcottus*, King of the *Indies*: By which it appears, that he lived after *Ephorus*, and conſequently that *Porphyrius* is miſtaken. This is a Chronological Argument, which *Voſſius* (52) has made uſe of to confute *Caſaubon* (53), who thought that the *Daimachus*, robbed by *Ephorus*, is he who was a Native of *Platæa*, and whom *Plutarch* (54) and *Athenæus* (55) have quoted. It is certain that the Author, *Athenæus* quotes, has written an Account of the *Indies*, and was of *Platæa* (56); and therefore that he, of whom *Caſaubon* ſpeaks, is the ſame with that *Daimachus* who was ſent to the *Indies* (57), in the Reign of *Allitrorhades*, Son to *Androcottus* (58). Now the Queſtion is, Whether *Ephorus* could be the Plagiary of that *Daimachus*? Chronology, ſome ſay, is againſt it; for *Androcottus* was King of the *Indies* when *Seleucus* laid the Foundation of that Power to which he arrived afterwards (59) *Voſſius* lays no great Streſs upon this Reaſon: 'Cave igitur putes, *ſays he* (60), *after having alledged the ſame*, Ephorum pleraque hujus Daimachi in hiſtoriam ſuam totidem verbis tranſcripſiſſe . . . . nam Ephorum tanto eſſe antiquiorem ſatis ex iis quæ ſupra diximus liquet. —— *Be cautious*

(52) Voſſius, de Hiſt. Græcis, pag. 76.

(53) Caſaub. in Diogen. Laërt. lib. 1, n. 36.

(54) Plut. in Paral. Solon. & Poplic. pag. 121.

(55) Athen. lib. 9, pag. 394.

(56) Harpocrat. voce Ἐργυβίους.

(57) Strabo, lib. 2, pag. 48.

(58) Others call him Sandrocottus.

(59) Sandrocottus ea tempeſtate, qua Seleucus futuræ magnitudinis fundamenta jaciebat, Indiam poſſidebat *Juſtin. lib.* 15, *fub fin. pag.* m. 34.

(60) Voſſius, de Hiſt Græcis, pag. 76.

'*therefore how you believe that Ephorus took a great* '*part of his Hiſtory, Word for Word, from this Dai-*'*machus*; *for from what has been ſaid above, it is ſuf-*'*ficiently proved that Ephorus was the more antient.*' For my part, I lay no Streſs upon it. *Ephorus* ſtuned Eloquence under *Iſocrates* at the ſame time with *Theopompus*. The latter was but Forty five Years old (61) when *Alexander* reſtored him to his Country. He ſaw *Ptolemy* on the Throne of *Egypt*. Why then may not we believe, that *Ephorus* lived to the perfect Eſtabliſhment of *Seleucus*'s Monarchy? Nothing hinders us from ſuppoſing that *Androcottus*'s Reign was not long, and that *Daimachus* was advanced in Years when he was ſent into the *Indies*. He might therefore have publiſhed Hiſtories before he went upon his Embaſſy; *Ephorus* might have peruſed them, and have ſcrupled no more to collect from them, than he did from thoſe of *Anaximenes* his Cotemporary. It muſt not be pretended that *Porphyrius* believed that *Ephorus* pillaged the Hiſtory of the *Indies* written by *Daimachus*: For undoubtedly he meant ſome other Work, ſuch as might be the Hiſtory of the Greeks, plainly alcribed by *Plutarch* to the ſame *Daimachus* (62), who made alſo a Treatiſe *De bellicis machinamentis* (63), and perhaps alſo a Treatiſe of Religion (64). If Mr *Menage* (65) had well examined all theſe things, he would not have adopted *Voſſius*'s Opinion It has likewiſe been adopted in the Collection of Plagiaries (66), wherein it was expected a Method would have been found to clear *Porphyrius*, of which he has no manner of need 'Eadem reprehenſio in Porphyrium cadit ad quem 'provocat Caſaubonus, niſi vel docearet eruditi alium 'quendam fuiſſe Daimachum Ephoro ſupparem aut 'antiquiorem, vel nomen Daimachi apud Porphyrium 'fuiſſe corruptum (67). —— *The ſame charge will lie* '*againſt Porphyry to whom Caſaubon appeals, unleſs* '*the Learned can ſhew there was another Daimachus* '*cotemporary with or more antient than Ephorus, or* '*that the Name of Daimachus in Porphyry has been* 'corrupted.'

(61) *See his Article.*

(62) Plutarch, ubi ſupra.

(63) Πολιορκητικὰ μηχανήματα. *See* Stephanus Byzantinus, Voce Δαιδάλιγον.

(64) *See* Plut. in Vita Lyſandri, pag. 439.

(65) Menagius, Not. ad Diogen. Laert. lib. 1, n. 30.

(66) Thomaſius, de Plagio Literario, pag. 280.

(67) Id. ibid.

For the reſt, all the Curious are obliged to *Euſebius* for having ſaved from Shipwreck ſo fine a Fragment of *Porphyrius*: but methinks he ought not to have made uſe of it in a Work, intituled *Præparatio Evangelica*: for of what Advantage is it either to advance Chriſtianity, or to confound the falſe Deities, that Greek Authors have been Plagiaries one upon another? Is not this a Cuſtom of all Countries, and of all Ages? Did not the Fathers of the Church themſelves take things one from another? Is not the ſame daily practiſed between Catholic and Catholic, and between Proteſtant and Proteſtant? *Euſebius* was more judicious when he ſhewed, that the Greeks had plaged the Plagiaries with the Barbarians (68): For this ſerves, in ſome manner, to ſupport the ſacred Hiſtories. From whence we may infer by the Way, that it was leſs diſadvantageous to the Greeks to ſteal from one another, than to plunder Foreign Riches. This Diſadvantage however is an Exception to the general Rule. 'Marin ſaid, to take from thoſe of one's own 'Nation, was a Theft; but to take from Strangers 'was a Conqueſt; And I think he was in the Right. 'We ſtudy only to learn, and we learn only to ſhew 'that we have ſtudied.' Theſe are the Words of Mr *Scuderi* (69). 'If I have taken ſomething, *cor-*'*rimes be*, from the Greeks or Latins, yet I have 'taken nothing from the Italians, Spaniards, or French; 'eſteeming that what is Learning among the An-'cients, is Theft among the Moderns.' *La Mothe le Vayer* is of the ſame Opinion; for ſee what he ſays in one of his Books. 'To take from the Ancients, and 'make one's Advantage of what they have written, 'is like pirating beyond the Lines; but to ſteal from 'one's Cotemporaries, by appropriating to one's ſelf 'their Thoughts and Productions, is like picking Peo-'ples Pockets in the open Street (70)' I believe all Authors agree upon this Maxim, that it is better to rob the Ancients than the Moderns; and that, amongſt the latter, we ought rather to ſpare our Countrymen than Strangers. Literary Piracy is not in all things like to that of Privateers. The latter think themſelves leſs criminal when they commit their Piracies in the New World, than if they did it in *Europe*. Authors, on the contrary, go more boldly a privateering in the Old World, and have Reaſon to hope they will be commended

(68) Euſeb. Præp. Evang. lib. 10, cap. 5.

OBSERVATIONS upon the various Ways of Plagiariſm.

(69) Scuderi's Preface to Almida.

(70) La Mothe le Vayer, Letter 139, pag. 861, of the twelfth Tome.

manner in which he mentioned his Native Country [D]. He left a Son, of whom I shall say something [E]. He might have followed the Court of *Alexander*, where he was invited; but he refused that Honour (g). *Diodorus Siculus* (b) does not approve what he owns, that the Barbarians were ancienter than the Greeks.

(g) Plut. de Repugn. Stoic. pag. 1043. D.

(b) Lib. I, cap. 9.

commended for the Prize they shall make in it. 'He who has made Annotations on the *Jerusalem* of *Tasso*, thought he did him Credit by marking in his Poem two or three Thousand Places imitated from divers Authors. And the Commentators of *Petrarch* and *Ronsard* have also done the same (71).' All Plagiaries, when it is in their Power, follow the Plan of the Distinction I have alledged; not out of a Scruple of Conscience, but rather that they may not be found out. If a young French Minister makes use of the Sermons of Mr *Daillé*, or some other Minister of his Nation, how shall he conceal his Theft? Ought he not to fear, that his Auditors will soon find where he took that Booty? It is Prudence therefore for him to lead them into an unknown Country, and to set himself off with the Spoils of an *English* Preacher. Woe to him however, if there happen to be too great a Disproportion between his Theft, and what he takes to it of his own (72): for it gives good Judges occasion to think, not only that he is a Plagiary, but likewise an awkward one. They perswade themselves he has spoiled excellent Matter, and that he stole it, since he has put it in so ill a Form (73). The best Remedy for this is good for nothing: It would be, to deliver what one borrows without changing any Thing; but this is the highest Crime, in things of this kind. 'We may steal, after the manner of Bees, without wronging any Body; but the Theft of the Ant, which takes away the whole Grain of Corn, is not to be imitated (74).' If you like this Thought best in Latin, read what follows. 'Multum interest apum more circumvolitans agilis Thyma ex variis floribus odorem excerpas, an vero ignavum fucos pecus imitando mel ex alienis suffurreris.' It is what *Frischlin* presented to his Antagonist.

(71) Scudeti, ubi supra.

(72) Perpetuo late qui furem detexit usque dum assultur pannus. *Horat. de Arte Poet.*

(73) Qui bene, verstando describendo male, ex Græcis bonis latinos facit non bonos. *Terentius, in Prologo Eunuch. ver. 7.*

(74) La Motte le Vayer, ubi supra, pag. 260.

[D] *He was very much ridiculed for the manner in which he mentioned his Native Country.*] In those Days, says he, the City of *Cumæ* was quiet. Σκώπτεται δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἔφορος ὅτι τῆς πατρίδος ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ πράξαι ἐν τῇ διηγήσει τὰ ἄλλα ἐφεξῆς, ὃ μὲν δὴ δυσμενέστερον αὐτῷ φίλοι ἔλεγον, ὅτως ἀτιμάσει. Καίτοι ἦν τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν Κυμαῖοι τὰς ἡσυχίας ἄγον. *Ephorus notatur solite, quòd in rerum gestarum enumeratione cùm nihil haberet quòd à suis diceret actum & tamen patriæ vellet mentionem facere, ita declamaverit: Eo tempore quieti erant Cumæi (75).* Had it not been much better to have said nothing of that People, than to bring them upon the Stage to so little Advantage?

(75) Strabo, lib. 13, pag. 428.

[E] *He left a Son, of whom I shall say something.*] This Son was called *Demophilus*; who, being a Man of Learning, was thought to have put the last Hand to his Father's History, that is, that he finished, toward the end, what his Father *Ephorus* left imperfect. Hence it is, that *Athenæus* (76), being obliged to quote the last Book of that Work, seems uncertain whether he ought to ascribe it to *Ephorus*, or to *Demophilus*. Father *Hardouin* did not well understand this, for he supposes (77) that *Athenæus* doubts whether the thirty Books, which that History contained, were the Work of the Father, or of the Son. *Junius*'s Conjecture appears to me to be solid. 'Causa quæ ita dubitet, (*Athenæus*) says he (78), est quod Ephorus belli non ita pridem consecti historiam imperfectam filio pertexendam forte reliquerit —— *The reason of this doubt of Athenæus is this, that Ephorus might possibly leave an imperfect History of the late War, to be finished by his Son.*' Five or six Lines after, he speaks no more dubiously, but affirmatively, grounding himself on the Authority of a famous Historian, 'Brevi autem post . . . . historiam suam Ephorus imperfectam necdum absolutam Demophilo filio tradidit pertexendam, teste Diodoro. Ut ita Athenæus historiam belli Phocici à patre & filio simul descriptam utrique eorum dumtaxat non immerito tribuat (79).' *Soon after Ephorus left his History unfinished to his Son Demophilus to be completed as Diodorus testifies. So that Athenæus may justly doubt whether to ascribe the History to the Father or Son, since it was wrote jointly by both.*' I do not find that *Diodorus Siculus* observes, that *Ephorus* charged his Son to supply what was wanting in his History; and methinks, if *Junius* had read it in *Diodorus Siculus*, he ought not to have spoken sometimes dubiously *forte*, sometimes in a decisive Tone.

(76) Athen. lib. 6, cap. 4. pag. 257.

(77) Hardouinus, in indice Auctorum Plinii.

(78) Junius, de Scriptor. Hist. Philos. pag. 49.

(79) Id. ibid. pag. 44.

EPICURUS, one of the greatest Philosophers of his Age, was born at *Gargettium* [A] in

[A] *He was born at Gargettium.*] For this Reason *Statius* call him *Gargettius Auctor* (1), and *Senior Gargettius*,

Dulcior quas ipse suis digessit Athenis
Mallet deserto Senior Gargettius horto (2).

Joys, which the old Gargettian Sage *approv'd, From his own Athens to his Grot remov'd.*

(1) Stat. lib. 2, Silv. 2, ver. 123.

(2) Id. lib. 1, Silva, 3, ver. 93.

Cicero had shewn him the Way. *Catus . . . . . quæ ille Gargettius, etiam ante Democritus videbat, hic spectra nominat* (3). *Ælian* (4), and several others, have made use of the same Surname, when they speak of our *Epicurus*. I wonder therefore how *Casaubon* could believe, that *Stobæus*, by using this Surname, meant another *Epicurus*. *Nevertheless*, says he, Stobæus *often mentions a certain* Epicurus, *whom he also surnames* Gargettius. People do not speak so, when mention is made of the Great *Epicurus*; or if they do, they deserve to be exploded as a silly Country Squire was, who said, *Oui Turenne* (5). Let *Casaubon* take his Choice; and whatever side he takes, he will be guilty of a blunder. If he says, that he thought that the *Gargettius Epicurus* of *Stobæus* is the Founder of the *Epicurean* Sect, he will own he has spoken impertinently: the Terms of *Epicuri cujusdam*, are not to be used when one speaks of that Founder (6). If he says, he knew not that the Epithet of *Gargettius* was proper to the Great *Epicurus*, he will acknowledge he was ignorant of a very common Thing. I do not think him guilty of the rustical Uncivility, or rather Impertinence, which is found in the Words *a certain Epicurus*, applied to him, who is the subject of this Article. I believe, that, remembring that there have been several Persons of the Name of *Epicurus* (7), he fancied that he, to whom *Stobæus* gives the Epithet of *Gargettius*, is one of those that differ from the Founder of the *Epicurean* Sect. That my Reader may judge whether my Conjecture be well grounded, I shall set down the whole Passage of *Cruquius*; which I take out of his Commentary upon these Words of *Horace*, *Gallis hanc Philodemus*, that are in the 121st Verse of the second Satire of the first Book. 'Foit hic Philodemus Epicurus (ut Strabo scribit) patria Gadarænus, quem Asconius Pedianus in Oratione Cic pro Lucio Pisone scribit Epicureum fuisse ea ætate nobilissimum: sed arbitror apud Asconium legendum esse pro Epicureum, Epicurum dictum, ut habet Strabo, vel hunc ex illo restituendum: tamen Epicuri cujusdam (quem etiam Gargettium nominat) frequens est mentio apud Stobæum. —— *This Philodemus Epicurus, as Strabo writes, was by Birth a Gadarene, whom Asconius Pedianus, in Tully's Oration for L. Piso, makes to have been the same with Epicureus the most renowned Philosopher of his Age. but I fancy we ought to read in Asconius, instead of Epicurus, Epicurus, as Strabo has it, or that the latter should be restored by the former. There is however frequent mention made, in Stobæus, of a certain Epicurus, whom he surnames Gargettius.*' This *tamen* shews, that the Author had rather that they should put the Word *Epicurus* in *Asconius Pedianus*, than the Word *Epicurus* in *Strabo*; and I do not even know whether he would not insinuate, that the *Epicurus Gargettius*, of *Stobæus*, and the *Epicurus Gadarænus* of *Strabo*, differ only because the Transcribers have mis spelt their Names. However he manifestly insinuates, that since *Stobæus* has mentioned a *Gargettius Epicurus*, it is very probable

(3) Diogenes Laertius, lib. 10, n. 26, reckons *fourty Men* of that name; *besides three more*; *besides which* Gassendus, Pantalcon Vitæ &c. Veterum Epicurei, *speaks of one* Epicurus, a *Maker of Plaisters, mentioned by* Galen.

(4) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 13.

(5) *Menage, Anti Baillet, Tom. I. pag. 39.* I heard him lay it in one of his Assemblies upon occasion that a Person, there present, had said, That a certain Mr Cossart had done a certain Thing.

(6) *See above, Rem.* [F] *of the Article* ARNAULD (Antony), *Doctor of the Sorbonne.*

in *Attica*, the third Year of the CIXth Olympiad (a) [B]. His Father *Neocles*, and his Mother *Chærestrata* [C], were among those Inhabitants of *Attica*, whom the *Athenians* sent into the Isle of *Samos* (b). This is the Reason why *Epicurus* passed his Youth in that Island, and did not return to *Athens* till he was eighteen Years old (c). He did not design to settle there; for at the Age of twenty three, he went to his Father, who lived at *Colophon*, and afterwards he travelled and sojourned in several Places before he fixed at *Athens*, as he did, being about thirty six Years old (d). He set up a School in a fine Garden which he purchased (e), and there passed his Time with his Friends

(a) Diog. Laërt. in Epicuro, lib. 10, n. 14.

(b) Ibid. n. 1.

(c) Ibid.

(d) Gassendi de Vita & Moribus Epicuri, lib. 1, cap. 3.

(e) Laërtius, ubi supra, n. 10.

hable that *Strabo* speaks of a *Gadarean Epicurus*; which, methinks, is as much as to distinguish those two *Epicurus*'s from him who was the Founder of a Sect. Several other Things might be criticized upon in *Cruquius*. I. That *Philodemus* of *Horace* is not the same with him of *Asconius Pedianus*: For the Maxims of *Horace*'s *Philodemus*, in Matters of Love, are directly opposite to those of *Pedianus*'s *Philodemus* (8). II. It is not true, that one may read in *Strabo* (9) *Epicurus* instead of *Epicureus*. III. The Oration of *Cicero* is not for *Piso*, but against him, and a very violent one too.

[B] . . . *The third Year of the CIXth Olympiad.*] We must correct here an Error of *Vossius*, who places the Death of *Epicurus* in the CVIIth Olympiad. 'At Epicurus est mortuus Olymp. CVII. quo tempore Philippus Alexandri M. parens, duodecimum regnabat annum (10). - - - - *But Epicurus died in the CVIIth Olympiad, in the twelfth Year of the Reign of Philip, Father of Alexander the Great.*' We cannot excuse him, by saying he wrote Olympiad CXXVII, which is the true Time of that Philosopher's Death (11), but that the Printer left out two Numerical Letters. This Apology would avail him nothing in this Place; for it would throw him into an Error as palpable as that from which one would clear him, and charge him with believing that the twelfth Year of the Reign of *Philip*, Father to *Alexander the Great*, belonged to the CXXVIIth Olympiad. Let us therefore conclude, that the Fault was in his Manuscript. Now it is very strange his Memory failed him so far that Day, as to let him write, that *Epicurus* died before *Alexander* ascended the Throne.

(8) *See Mr Dacier, upon the 22d Satire of the 1st Book of Horace, pag. 82. 1758.*

(9) Lib. 16, pag. 522. Diogenes Laertius, lib. 10, n. 3, *calls that Philosopher an Epicurean. See Gerrewyn Menage, who believes with the old Scholiast of Horace, that this Poet has spoken of that Philodemus.*

(10) Vossius, de Histor. Græc. lib. 1, cap. 21, pag. m. 137.

(11) Laërt. ubi supra, n. 15.

[C] *And his Mother Chærestrata.*] I know not upon what ground Mr *Moreri* says, *She was born of a very Noble Family.* *Laërtius* and *Gassendus*, whom he quotes, say nothing of it. He calls her *Charestrata* in the Article of *Epicurus*, which is his second Mistake. He may also be charged with Faults of Omission; for there were two curious Things to be said of this Woman.

I. She went with her Son, *even into Houses that were uninhabited, to drive from thence Hob goblins by Prayers.* It is thus Mr *du Rondel* (12) has interpreted this Greek Passage of *Diogenes Laërtius*. Σὺν τῇ μητρὶ περιῄοντα αὐτὸν εἰς τὰ οἰκίδια καθαρμοὺς ἀναγιγνώσκειν (13). He has explained the thing more at large in his Latin Edition, and always to *Epicurus*'s Advantage. 'Certum est, *says he* (14), Epicurum ut pote pusionem & matris affectum hinc hausisse peritatem suam ineffabilem, ὁσιότητα ἄσκητον, ex illoque tempore fuisse Divis addictissimum, ut patet ex illâ portentificâ superstitione, quâ cum matre Epicurus circumeundo ædiculas *carmina lustralia, καθαρμοὺς, legeret*, vel ad affectus moderandos, vel ad spectra abigenda; quasi Hecates diaconi fuissent, in cujus nomine pleraque patrare tum poterant miracula. —— *It is certain*, says he, *that from hence Epicurus, as being an attendant on his Mother, sucked in his unspeakable Piety, and from that time became entirely devoted to Religion, as is manifest from that Excess of Superstition, which appeared in his accompanying his Mother; and reading the expiatory Forms, either to soften the Disorders of the afflicted, or to drive away Spectres, as though they were Ministers of Hecate, in whose name they could then perform many Miracles.*' When I say, he has turned the Thing to *Epicurus*'s Advantage, I do not mean to charge him with pretending that *Chærestrata*'s Employment was honourable. He has too much Sense and Erudition, not to know that the practice of those old Women was looked upon as mean and mercenary, who made it their Business to go and read certain Forms of Prayer, in order to purify Houses or Persons.

(12) Du Rondel, *in the Life of Epicurus, pag. 3, & 4.*

(13) Diog. Laërt. in Epicuro, lib. 10, n. 4.

(14) Du Rondel, in Vita & Moribus Epicuri, pag. 5.

Et vepiâ quæ instret anus lectumque, locumque,
Præferat & tremula sulphur & ova manu (15).

Let the lean Hag her Eggs and Sulphur bring,
And, round the Bed-place, walk the magic Ring.

This Trade of an Exorcist was not accounted honourable. The Orator *Æschines*, Son to a Woman who had practised it, was ignominiously reproached with it by *Demosthenes*. *Epicurus*'s Case was the same; for they had both assisted their Mother in that Ceremony: And as *Demosthenes* reproached the one with it, so did the *Stoics* the other. Here is what one of the modern Commentators of *Laërtius* (16) has remarked upon these Words, 'καθαρμοὺς διαγινώσκειν Eadem exprobrat Æschini Demosthenes in Orat. de Coron (17). Τῆ μητρὶ τελέση τὰς βίζας ἀναγιγνώσκειν καὶ τἄλλα συνεκύαρε, &c. 'Nempe Epicuri mater dicitur fuisse anicula pratrix quæ domos circumibat, & piaculo aliquo contactas solvebat aut totam domum expiabat. Epicurus vero matri præibat carmen piaculare utrumque ministerium ἀτιμο.. Note, that some famous Authors have composed such Forms of Expiation (18). It may be objected to me, that it does not appear that the Forms of *Chærestrata*, and her Son *Epicurus*, were Exorcisms of Hob goblins: But nevertheless, Mr *du Rondel* had Reason to advance what he did; for it is unquestionable that the Ancients had certain Rites to drive away Spectres. *Lomeierus* has quoted *Ovid* (19), *Valerius Flaccus* (20), and *Lucian* (21). Now see how the Turn Mr *du Rondel* gives the Thing is advantageous to *Epicurus*. That Philosopher professing to believe, that the Gods did not concern themselves with human Affairs, was thereby suspected of Impiety, which rendered him odious and infamous: Therefore nothing can be more effectual to preserve his Reputation, than to say, that from his tender Infancy he went from House to House to read Prayers for the Service and Comfort of his Neighbours; which was an Act of superstitious Piety.

(15) Ovid de Arte Amandi, lib. 2. *See* Lomeier de Illustrationibus Gentilium cap. 13, pag. 129.

(16) Jacob. Micyllus Kuhnius, pag. 544. Edit. Laertii Amstel. 1692.

(17) *See* Lomeier de Lustrationibus, p. 119.

(18) Polemiden *is one of them. See* Vossius de Poetis Græcis pag. 17.

(19) Fasior. lib. 5. apud Lomeierum, ubi supra, pag. 231, 232.

(20) Argon lib. 3. ver. 448. apud eumd. pag. 309.

(21) In Necyom. apud eumd. pag. 313.

II. The second curious Thing, which might have been said of *Chærestrata*, is, that, according to her Son's Opinion, she had in the Composition of her Person that quantity of Atoms, whose concurrence is necessary to form a Sage. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἀτόμους ἔσχεν ἐν αὐτῇ τοσαύτας, οἵαι συντελεσθῆναι σοφὸν ἂν ἐγένοντο. *Matrem quoque suam in se tot tantasque habuisse atomes quarum congressu sapiens ederetur* (22). *Plutarch* mentions this as a Proof of *Epicurus*'s Vanity. This Proof is not ill chosen; for indeed it is great Presumption in a Man to believe that he was formed of choice Atoms, and that Nature has taken care to gather in the Body of his Mother all the Ingredients necessary for the Formation of a Sage. I know no Body that has related faithfully this Passage of *Plutarch*: For every Body imagines that it was *Neocles*, Brother of *Epicurus*, who said such a thing of his Mother. *Gassendus*, who understood Greek very well, would not have committed that Fault (23), if he had had recourse to the Original: but because he supposed the Translations to have been faithful, he gave himself no further Trouble. The Latin Version, and that of *Amiot*, are such, as one cannot say but that they contain the meaning of the Original: Nevertheless they are defective, because they are both equally capable of two Interpretations. They may as well signify that *Neocles* said This, as that *Epicurus* said it. From whence we may infer, by the by, that the *Faugelas*'s and the *Bouhours*'s have more Reason than it is generally thought to recommend such a Structure of the Words, as may exclude the minutest Ambiguities. *Naudæus* had committed this Fault before *Gassendus*. *Neocles*, says he (24), *said in Praise of* Epicurus, *his Brother, that at the Time he was begot, Nature had assembled in the Belly of his Mother all the Atoms of Prudence*. It is plain, that this is a very loose Paraphrase, or rather a Falsification of the Greek of *Plutarch*. Father *Rapin* is still more out of the Way. 'Epicurus, *says he* (25), was 'naturally

(22) Plut. in Tractatu quod non possit suaviter vivi juxta Epicurum, pag. 1100. A.

(23) De Vita & Moribus Epicuri, lib. 1, cap. 8.

(24) Apologie des Grans Hommes, cap. 17. pag. m. 592.

(25) Reflexions on Philosophy, n. 2. pag. 362, Dutch Edit. 1686. *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, May 1686. Art. 4. pag. 528, *where it is only insinuated, that this Passage of* Plutarch *is ill translated.*

Friends in great Tranquillity, and caught a great number of Disciples. They lived all in common with their Master [D]; and there had never been a Society so well regulated

naturally wise, being a Philosopher even in Pleasure: He was so enlightened, that his Brother *Neocles* says in *Plutarch*, that Nature had assembled all the Atoms of Wisdom and Know edge to compose his Person, whilst he says himself that he knows nothing.' The best of it is, to see that he alledges, as a Proof of *Epicurus*'s Modesty, what *Plutarch* had mentioned to convict him of Pride. *Rapin* supposes, that *Epicurus*, out of Humility, rejects the Praises his Brother offers him, whereas it is himself arrogates those Praises in the Author cited; so true it is, that when one ventures to apply Passages not taken in their Source, or to draw Inferences from them before one is certain of the literal and natural Meaning, he exposes himself to strange Blunders! Mr *Chereau* has followed *Gassendi*'s and Father *Rapin*'s Error. See the second Page of the first Tome of the *Chereæana*.

[D] *His Disciples lived all in common with their Master.*] *Laertius* (28) says, that *Epicurus* had so many Friends, that even whole Towns could not have contained them. They flocked to him from all the Cities of *Greece* and *Asia* (27). And even *Egypt* sent him Disciples (28). The Town of *Lampsacus*, where he had professed Philosophy (29), furnished him with many. He would not imitate *Pythagoras*, who taught, That among Friends all things ought to be common; he found that such a Regulation denoted Distrust (30), and therefore chose rather to establish such a Society, wherein every one should freely contribute towards the Wants of others, when there was occasion. It is certain, that this Notion comes nearer Perfection than the Community of Goods; and one cannot sufficiently admire the Union of *Epicurus*'s Disciples, and the Generosity with which they relieved one another, every one continuing Master of his own Inheritance. Here is a fine Passage out of *Cicero*.

'De qua (*amicitia*) Epicurus quidem ita dicit, omnium rerum quas ad beate vivendum sapientia comparaverit, nihil esse majus amicitia, nihil uberius, nihil jucundius. Neque vero hoc oratione solum, sed multo magis vita, & moribus comprobavit. Quod quàm magnum sit, fictæ veterum fabulæ declarant, in quibus tam multis tamque variis ab ultima antiquitate repetitis, tria vix amicorum paria reperiuntur, ut ad Orestem pervenias profectus à Theseo. At vero Epicurus ona in domo, & ei quidem angusta, quàm magnos, quantaque amoris conspiratione consentientes tenuit amicorum greges? Quod si etiam hunc ab Epicureis (31)——*Of which (Friendship) Epicurus thus speaks. Of all things which Wisdom has found to make Life happy, nothing is greater, nothing is more fruitful, nothing is more agreeable than Friendship. Nor did he maintain this Doctrine in Words only, but much more in his Life and Conversation. How uncommon a thing this is, the Legends of the Antients declare, in which, though the greatest variety of Subjects occurs, scarce three couple of Friends are to be found in the whole Collection, from Theseus down to Orestes. Yet what multitudes of Friends, united by the sweetest Harmony, did Epicurus's little House contain? which harmony is still kept up by his Followers.' Now after all this, who will dare to affirm, that People that deny Providence, and lay their supreme Good in their own Satisfaction, are no way capable to live in Society, but must of necessity be Traytors, Cheats, Poisoners, Thieves, &c.* Are not all those fine Assertions confounded by this single Passage of *Cicero*? Does not a Matter of Fact, such as *Cicero* is Witness of, overthrow a hundred Volumes of speculative Reasonings? Here is *Epicurus*'s Sect, whose practical Morals about the Duties of Friendship have still been the same for several Ages; and we are going to shew, that whereas the most devout Sects were full of Quarrels, and divided into Parties, that of *Epicurus* enjoyed a profound Peace. There they followed without Dissensions and Contradictions the Doctrine of the Founder (32). 'Dolet profecto mihi eos (*Successores Platonis*) omnia molitos non esse ut plenam sibi atque integram in omnibus cum Platone consensionem defenderent. Et ea quidem Plato dignus erat, qui magno illo Pythagora ut melior non fuerit, non fuit tamen fortasse deterior: quem discipuli quod sequuti omnes ac venerati fuerint, id etiam egere potissimum, ut summo apud omnes in 'gentio haberetur. Hoc ipsum Epicuri, perperam illi quidem, sed tamen cum intelligerent, nulla unquam in re ab Epicuro dissidere visi sunt, sed potius eadem omnino se cum Sapiente sito sentire professi, jure propterea id nominis duxere. Quin etiam qui longissimo deinceps intervallo consequuti Epicurei sunt, ii nec abs se mutuo, nec ab eodem Epicuro tantillum, quod quidem meminisse attineat, discessere. Imo sceleris apud eos, vel potius impietatis ille damnatur, qui novi quippiam invexerit. Quare nemo prorsus id audeat. Sed eorum dogmata ob eam causam illam omnium inter se perpetuamque concordiam, in utilissima quadam & tranquillissima pace versantur. Ita hæc Epicuri secta verè quidam Reipublicæ perfimilis est, quam ab omni seditione remotissimam, mens quædam una communis, unaque sententia moderetur. Quam illi disciplinam & amant sequuti sunt multi peritissimi, & sequuntur etiamnum, atque adeo, ut simillimum veri sit, in posteram sequentur. At Stoicos inter factiones extitere, quæ ab ipsis eorum commissæ Principibus, ad nos usque propagatæ sunt (33). —— *I am heartily concerned that the followers of Plato have not strove to the utmost, to maintain a perfect compliance to his Principles. Plato indeed merited this, who, as he was not inferior, so perhaps was not inferior to the great Pythagoras, whom his Followers, as they copied and adored him themselves, laboured likewise to make universally honoured. The Epicureans have done the same. They indeed are in the wrong, yet, when they had well considered it, they never appeared to deviate the least from Epicurus, but altogether professed the same Opinion with their wise Founder, and have therefore justly deserved that Denomination. The Epicureans also, who followed at the greatest interval of Time, had not the least material difference, either with themselves, or Epicurus. Nay, an Innovation amongst them would be condemned of Baseness, or rather of Impiety. For which reason no one is so hardy to attempt it. From that constant and uninterrupted Harmony, their Tenets enjoy the most profound Tranquillity. So that this Sect of Epicurus is like a well modelled State, which, secure from all Sedition, is governed by one common Consent and mutual Concurrence. Many have voluntarily embraced this Discipline, which they still pursue, and in all probability for ever will maintain. But amongst the Stoics, Factions have arisen, which, begun by the very Leaders of that Sect, have been propagated down to us.* This was said by a Man who lived in the IId Century: The Union of *Epicurus*'s Disciples had preserved it self till then, and seemed not threatened with any Interruption. This is what *Numenius* testifies: And I do not know that his Conjecture has been proved false.

I will perform in this Place a Promise I made in the last Lines of the Article CARNEADES. One Thing charged upon *Epicurus*, was his having spoken satirically of the most illustrious Philosophers. *Diogenes Laertius* (34), to shew the senselessness of this Calumny, contents himself to say, that there were sufficient Proofs of *Epicurus*'s Civility, and extream Meekness towards every Body. He alledges the Statues of Brass erected to that Philosopher, the great number of his Friends, the unalterable Attachment of all his Disciples to him, and the perpetual Succession of his School. He says, that *Epicurus*'s Lectures were a Syren's Song, that captivated all his Hearers, except *Metrodorus of Stratonice*, who left him to follow *Carneades*: Οὔτε γνήσιοι πάντες, ταῖς δογματικαῖς αὐτῶ σειραῖς προσκατασχεθέντες, πλὴν Μητροδώρου τοῦ Στρατονικέως πρὸς Καρνεάδην ἀποχωρησαντος, ταχὺ βαρυνθέντος ταῖς ἀκαταβλήτοις, αὐτῶ χρησομένου. That is, according to the Latin Version, printed with the Greek of *Diogenes Laertius*: *Præterea omnes discipuli quos illius dogmatum sirenes occuparunt præter unum Metrodorum Stratonicensem, qui ab illo se ad Carneadem contulit; cui forte gravis erat ejus incomparabilis bonitas.* According to this Translation, *Epicurus*'s unparalleled good Nature was the occasion of *Metrodorus*'s going from him. This Sense, at first sight, shocks the Readers, but it agrees perfectly well with *Diogenes Laertius*'s Design; and when one seriously reflects on the odd Caprices of

(26) Laërt. libr. x. p. 9.

(27) See Gassend. in hâc supra, cap. 7.

(28) Id. ibid. & in Plutarcho.

(29) *During four Years according to Suidas.*

(30) Laërtius ibid. p. 18.

(31) Cicero, de Finibus, lib. 1, cap. 20.

(32) Et quæ Epicuro placuerunt, ut quædam Solonis aut Lycurgi leges ab Epicureis omnibus servari. Themistius, Orat. 4. apud Gassendum, ubi supra, lib. 2, cap. 1. Apud istos quicquid a dicit Hermachus, quicquid Metrodorus ad unum referitur. Omnia quæ quisquam in illo contubernio loquutus est, unius doctu & ausu ejus dicta sunt. Seneca, Epist. 33.

(33) Numenius, apud Euseb. Præpar. Evang. lib. 14, cap. 5. pag. 767.

(34) Laërt. libr. x. p. 9.

regulated as this. The Respect his Followers paid to his Memory, is to be admired: For his School was never divided; and his Doctrine was followed, and reverenced as an Oracle (*f*). His Birth-day was still observed in *Pliny*'s Time; and even the whole Month wherein he was born was a perpetual Festival. They put up his Picture every where (*g*). He wrote many Books, and valued himself on his making no Quotations [*E*]. He brought the Atomical System into great Reputation. He was not the Inventer

(*f*) *See the Remark* [*D*].

(*g*) Gassend. ubi supra, lib. 2, cap. 4, ex Cicerone, lib. 5, de Finibus, init. & ex Plinio, lib. 35, cap. 5.

of Man's Heart, it does not seem incredible, that some Men may be importuned and fatigued by the excessive Goodness and Complaisance of their Benefactor. Therefore if we suppose, that *Diogenes Laërtius* meant, that *Metrodorus*, who was the only Disciple of *Epicurus* that went from him, was perhaps prompted to it, because *Epicurus*'s Excess of Goodness was troublesome to him, we shall find a conclusive Reasoning, and a Thing not impossible: Nay we shall find, that *Metrodorus*'s Desertion serves to prove the incomparable Humanity, the Praise and Possession which were intended to be secured to *Epicurus*. But as it happens more frequently, without Comparison, that excessive Marks of Friendship do rather gain People than alienate them, there is an Interpretation of *Laërtius*'s Words, a thousand Times more natural than that which has hitherto been current: Which is to say, That *Metrodorus* went from *Epicurus* to *Carneades*, perhaps because the Obligations he had to *Carneades* lay heavy upon him. This Interpretation is less favourable to the Scope of the Author than the first, and yet it does not cross it very much. For if you suppose that nothing got *Metrodorus* away, but the extraordinary Friendship and excessive Caresses of *Carneades*, you cannot affirm that his Desertion destroys what has been said of *Epicurus*'s Good-nature, and which, amongst other Reasons, has been proved by the faithful Adherence of his Disciples to him. So that nothing hinders us from taking this new Interpretation of *Diogenes Laërtius*'s Words for the most natural. It is not, perhaps, what he had a mind to say; for that Author being but little more exact in his Reasonings than in his Relations, one may very well be mistaken in ascribing to him such Thoughts as seem naturally to result from his Phrases. Whatever it be, let me acquaint the Reader, that Mr *de la Monnoie* is the Author of the fore-mentioned new Interpretation: I shall give you here an extract of one of his Letters. 'I 'am perswaded with *Gassendus*, that when *Diogenes* 'writes, That of all the Disciples of *Epicurus*, *Metrodorus* alone left him to follow *Carneades*, it is not 'to be understood, that *Metrodorus* had been a Disciple of *Epicurus*, but barely that he was the only *Epicurean* who changed his Sect, and renounced *Epicurus*'s Philosophy, to follow that of *Carneades*. 'Mr *Menage* declares, that he would incline to that 'Opinion, were it not for these Words of *Diogenes*, 'τάχα βαρυνθέντος ταῖς ἀνυπερβλήτοις αὐτῦ 'χρηστότησιν, by which, says he, it appears that notwithstanding all the Explanations of *Gassendus*, *Metrodorus* must have been cotemporary of *Epicurus*, since it was only to ease himself of the troublesome 'Affection of so good a Master, with which he was 'overwhelmed, that he ceased to be an *Epicurean*, and 'went from that Sect to that of *Carneades*. Neither 'Mr *Menage* nor *Gassendus* have observed, that the 'true Sense of *Diogenes*'s Passage is, That if *Metrodorus*, from an *Epicurean*, as he was before, became 'a Follower of *Carneades*, the only Reason might be 'the latter's Excess of Goodness towards him. The 'Pronoun αὐτῦ, which ought to be understood of '*Carneades*, has hitherto been ill referred to *Epicurus*: 'And this has occasioned all the Perplexity (35).

(35) La Monnoie's *Remark*, MS.

Those, who refer the Pronoun αὐτῦ to *Epicurus*, must agree that *Diogenes Laërtius* is guilty of a signal Mistake; that is, that he believed that *Carneades* and *Epicurus* philosophized at the same Time. *Gassendus* (36) shews very well, that this is a gross Error, and that *Epicurus* died before *Carneades* was born. He observes, that *Metrodorus* did not go from the Sect of *Epicurus* to the School of the same *Carneades*, of whom *Cicero* speaks, towards the end of the fifth Book *De Finibus*; for that *Carneades* himself was an *Epicurean*, *Epicuri perfamiliaris*. He proves also, that *Metrodorus* of *Stratonice* was not a Disciple of one *Carneades*, Cotemporary of *Epicurus* and *Arcesilaus*, but of that *Carneades*, who was the fourth Successor of *Arcesilaus*, and the Founder of the third Academy. We may add to his Proofs what *Jonsius* observes (37), that *Metrodorus* of *Stratonice* could not be a Friend of *Epicurus*, who died before the Foundation of the Town of *Stratonice*. Note, That *Jonsius* (38) and Mr *Menage* (39) agree, in saying that *Diogenes Laërtius* has expressed himself, as if he would give us to understand that *Epicurus* and *Carneades* flourished at the same Time. This is rejecting *Gassendus*'s Explanation (40), which I do not wonder at, for it is extreamly forced. He fancies that the Historian meant only, that *Metrodorus* was the only *Epicurean* that forsook his Party, because the good nature of *Epicurus*, who had been dead a pretty long while, was still living among those of his Sect. 'Quod 'bonitas verò Epicuri gravis illi (*Metrodoro Stratonicæo*) 'fuisse dicatur, intelligi potest de ea quam Epicurus 'tametsi mortuus spiraret adhuc in summa illa consen'sione, charitate, & sui memoria, apud sectatores (41). There is no occasion for such a bad Solution, when one explains the Passage as Mr *de la Monnoie* does. I must not forget that Mr *Foucher* (42) made use of these Words of *Diogenes Laërtius* to maintain his false Supposition, that *Carneades* and *Epicurus* were Cotemporaries. Mr *Lantin* answered him, among other things, that '*Diogenes Laërtius* is not an Author one 'can depend upon, and that it is easy to find several 'Contradictions in his History, because he followed 'Authors that contradict one another (43).' We shall find one of these Contradictions without leaving our Subject. We have observed that he affirms, that *Metrodorus* of *Stratonice* was the only Person that had renounced that Sect; and nevertheless he said a little before, that *Timocrates*, a Disciple of *Epicurus*, had left that School (44), and published afterwards many Calumnies against his old Master (45). I have read no Author that has taken notice of this Fault. If *Gassendus* had seen it, he would not have made use of the following Argument. 'Sane, says he (46), *si* '*Metrodorus à vivente adhuc Epicuro defecisset, quæ*'*situm non fuisset ex Arcesila (qui duodecim annis E*'*picuro superoixit)* • cur homines à cæteris ad Epi'cureos, ab Epicureis verò ad cæteros non commigra'rent. — Surely, *says he*, if Metrodorus had deserted from Epicurus still living, this Question would never have been put to Arcesilas, who survived Epicurus twelve Years; *Why do Men go from other Sects to that* 'of Epicurus, *but not from that of Epicurus to others?*' Is it not certain that *Timocrates* separated from *Epicurus?* Since then his Desertion did not prevent the Question which was put to *Arcesilaus*, viz. Why People went from other Sects to that of *Epicurus*, and not from this to the other? *Metrodorus*'s Desertion could not have obviated the same Question, and consequently *Gassendus* makes use of a very bad Proof. The Proverb, *One Swallow does not make a Summer*, is the Solution of this; for though the Inconstancy of one of *Epicurus*'s Disciple was known, it was rightly concluded in the main, that no Body left Epicureism.

(37) Jonsius, de Scriptor. Histor. Philos. pag. 350.

(38) Id. ibid. pag. 121.

(39) Menag. in Diog. Laërt. lib. 10, n. 9, pag. 455.

(40) Gassend. ubi supra.

(41) Id. ibid.

(42) *See the* Journal des Sçavans, August 6, 1691, pag. m. 511.

(43) Journal. des Sçavans, March 24, 1692, pag. m. 210.

(44) Μαθητὴς δὲ αὐτῦ τῆς σχολῆς ἐκφοιτήσας. Ipsumque (*Epicurum*) discipulus ejus reliquit a quo... *Diogen. Laërt. lib. 10, n. 6.*

(45) *See the Remark* [*K*].

(46) Gassend. ubi supra, pag. 205.

• Apud. Laërt. lib. 4.

[*E*] *He wrote many Books, and valued himself on his making no Quotations.*] *Diogenes Laërtius*, speaking of the Philosophers who have written most (47), puts *Chrysippus* in the first Rank, and *Epicurus* in the second: It is thus he disposes of Places in his Preface. But in his Tenth Book he says absolutely, and without Reserve, That, of all Authors, *Epicurus* had written most. Γέγονε δὲ πολυγραφώτατος ὁ Ἐπίκουρος πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενος πλήθει βιβλίων. *Scripsit autem Epicurus infinita volumina, adeo ut illorum multitudine* CUNCTOS *superarit* (48). His Works, continues he, amount to Three hundred Volumes, which contain nothing but what is his own; for he borrows from none, nor quotes any Body. As for *Chrysippus*, who could not bear to be surpassed by *Epicurus* in the Number of Compositions, he did but heap up Quotations upon Quotations; insomuch that if what he cites was taken away from him, his Papers would be as white as before he wrote. Καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ τῶν λογμάτων φησὶν ὅτι τὰ

(47) Diog. Laërt. in Proœmio, n. 15.

(48) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(b) See the Article LEUCIPPUS.

Inventer of it (b); but he made some Alterations in it, tho' not always for the better: For instance, he spoiled the System, in not retaining *Democritus*'s Doctrine touching the

τὰ Ἐπικούρου οἰκεῖα δυνάμει γεγραμμένα, καὶ ἀπαράδεκτα ὄντα, μυρία ἁπλῶς ἐστὶ τὰ χρείας βιβλίων φαῦλα ὄντως αὐτῷ τὸ λέξει. Εἰ γὰρ τις ἀθροίσει τὰ χρείαις βιβλία, ὧν ἄλλοτρια παρατεθείται, κενὸς αὐτὸς ὁ χάρτης καταχεῖται. Apollodorus quoque Athenensis in collectione dogmatum, cum vellet asserere Epicurum viribus suis tretum confecisse & absque auctorum testimonis, esse ejus incomparabiliter plura quàm Chrysippi opera, sic ad verbum dixit. Nam si quis tollat de Chrysippi libris, quæ aliena sunt, vacua illi charta relinquetur (49). His Emulation was such, that as soon as *Epicurus* had publisht a new Book, he composed another (50); and that in such haste, not to be long behind hand, that he did not read over his Composition; which engaged him in Tautologies, and made him advance many incorrect Things. *Diogenes* quotes in another Place (51) *Apollodorus*, who proved by that Argument, that *Epicurus* had composed more Books than *Chrysippus*. The latter had only copied what others had said, but *Epicurus* had drawn every thing out of his own Stock.

(49) Id. lib. 7, n. 181.

(50) Id. lib. 10, n. 26.

(51) See Citat. (49).

AN OBSERVATION upon Books made of Quotations.

Since it falls in our way, let us say something of those two ways of writing, I mean of that of *Epicurus*, and that of *Chrysippus*. It would be unreasonable to pretend, generally speaking, that *Epicurus*'s Method is that of great Genius's, and such as cost most Pains; and that *Chrysippus*'s way of writing is that of narrow Minds, and what stands them in less Pains. Take notice, that by *Chrysippus*'s Method, I only mean the Custom of collecting Authorities; but not the personal Negligence of that Philosopher, and his Excesses in compiling. This being premised, I maintain, that there are as great Authors, and as sublime Wits in *Chrysippus*'s Sect, as in that which is opposite to it; and I prove it by the three great Men, whom *Gabriel Naudæus* is going to bring on the Stage. 'Methinks, *says he* (52), it only belongs to 'those who never hope to be quoted, to quote no body. It is too great a Presumption, to persuade 'one's self that one is able to have such Thoughts as 'will please so great a Variety of Readers, without 'borrowing from any: For if there ever were any 'Writers that could pretend to that Privilege, those 'have been, without Controversy, *Plutarch*, *Seneca*, 'and *Montagne*; who nevertheless have left nothing 'unbeholden from others that might embellish their 'own Writings witness the Greek and Latin Verses 'which one meets with in almost every Line of their 'Works, and, among others, that consolatory Piece 'of seven or eight Sheets, which the First sent to 'Apollonius, wherein, by Computation, one may find 'above One hundred and fifty Verses out of *Homer*, and 'almost as many out of *Hesiod*, *Pindar*, *Sophocles*, 'and *Euripides*. Besides, I do not think that these 'new Critics have so little Judgment as to oppose to 'the preceding Authorities that of *Epicurus*, who, in 'Three hundred Volumes he left behind him, had 'not inserted one single Quotation; because they 'would thereby furnish me with Means to confute 'them, since the Works of *Plutarch*, *Seneca*, and 'Montagne, are daily perused, sold, and reprinted; 'whereas the Catalogue of those of *Epicurus* is hardly 'extant in *Diogenes Laërtius*.' One might add *Cicero* to these three Examples; and we cannot condemn those who add to them *Apuleius*, since he was one of the most ingenious Men of his Age. Mark well the following Examples. 'We see, in that fine Dialogue 'of the most illustrious Orators of *Rome*, that they 'did not think that their Eloquence could be corrupted by Quotations, the Speech of *Aper* teaching 'us, That in those Days it was expected that Orations should be adorned with the poetical Beauties of *Horace*, *Virgil*, or *Lucan*; not to mention *Ennius* or *Nevius* who fill up whole Pages in *Cicero*'s philosophical Writings (53). And we may also observe by *Apuleius*'s Apology (one of the most eloquent Pieces of all Antiquity, notwithstanding some incorrect Expressions of which we have already spoken) that in the Time of the *Antonines*'s they were not of Opinion, that Greek and Latin Passages could spoil a fine Piece of Work, since that is full of Passages out of *Plato*, and several other Philosophers, with a great Number of Verses of *Homer*, *Catullus*, and *Virgil* (54).' *La Mothe le Vayer* pleads there his own Cause; for he was the greatest Quoter in the World. Let People say as much as they please, that his Books would be better if they were not so stuffed with foreign Thoughts, yet no Man that has any Judgment or Taste will deny that he had a great Genius. People may say also as long as they please, that *Costar*'s Writings are too full of Authorities; they may, if they think fit, call him the Protector of Common-Places (55), yet they cannot rob him of the Honour of being a great Wit. Mr *Menage*, who gives him that Praise, is himself one of those Authors that will do most Honour to *France*. I see but few Men who dispute him the Title of the *French Varro* (56). In a Word, he is a great Author, nevertheless, he said of himself, *Madam Scudery* [illegible] *has wrote eighty Volumes out of her own Head, and I have gathered here and there all I have writ.* (57). Let us content ourselves with these Examples, without mentioning the *Tiraqueau's*, the *Brisson's*, the *Servin's*, and such other great Men of the Parliament of *Paris*. Let us pass over in Silence that they quoted prodigiously, and that the same was done in those set Pieces, which the first Presidents, or the King's Council, recited in that Age (58) at the opening of the Courts. Neither shall we speak of the excellent and admirable Pleadings of Mr *Le Maistre*, the Ornament of the same Parliament in the following Age: Who does not know that they are full of Quotations? (§ α).

(53) See the first Part of the Preface Chagrine of la Motte le Vayer, pag. 321, of the ninth Tome, wherein it is said, That *Cicero*, *Seneca*, and *Pliny*, in their Philosophical Writings, never lose an Opportunity of bringing in what they had learned from the greatest Poets, Orators, and Philosophers, that went before them, whose Works they endeavoured to imitate, and which they had reduced into Common-Places.

(54) La Mothe le Vayer, Discourse de l'Eloquence Françoise, pag. 84, of the fourth Tome of the Edit. in 12mo.

(55) This is the Title Furetiere gives him in the Nouvelle Allegorique.

(56) He surpasses even *Varro*, who was learned without being polite. Mr *Menage*, with a great deal of Erudition, was Master of the trifling Delicacies of Wit.

(57) Menagiana, pag. 290, of the first Dutch Edit.

(58) That is in the XVIth Century.

(§ α) Not that they were pronounced so, but Mr *le Maître* adorned his Pleadings with Citations, especially his last Edition. REM. CRIT.

Therefore it is an incontestable Fact, that there are great Genius's and great Authors in the Sect of *Chrysippus*, and that it is not the distinguishing Character of Writers of that kind to quote little or nothing. Let us now examine the other Question, *viz.* Which way of writing is most laborious.

I think Authors who cite much may be reduced to two Classes. Some there are that content themselves with pillaging modern Authors, and collecting into one Body the Compilations of several others who have written upon the same Subject. These never verify any thing; or have recourse to the Originals; they do not even examine what goes before, or what follows in the Author, which serves them for an Original; they do not write out the Passages, but only refer the Printers to the Pages of such printed Books, whence these Passages are to be taken. It cannot be denied, that this Method of making Books is very easy, and that these sort of Writers can soon fill up ten great Volumes, without much fatiguing themselves. There are other Quoters who trust none but themselves; they are for verifying every thing; they always run to the Fountain; they examine into the Scope of the Author; they are not contented with the Passage they have occasion for, but consider attentively what goes before, and what follows. They endeavour to make fine Applications, and to connect well their Authorities: They compare them together, and either reconcile them, or shew wherein they clash. Besides, these may be Men who are religiously scrupulous in Matters of Fact, not to advance any thing without Proof. If they say, that such a *Greek* Philosopher believed this or that, that such a *Roman* Senator or Captain followed such and such Maxims, they presently produce Evidence for it; and because, upon some Occasions, the Singularity of the Thing requires several Testimonies, they therefore gather many. I will not scruple to say of this Method of compiling, that it is a hundred times more laborious than that of our *Epicurus*; and that one would write in less time a Book of a thousand Pages, according to this last Method, than a Book of Four hundred Pages, according to the first. An Example will make this plainer. Let an able Man undertake to prove, that such a Father of the Church was of such an Opinion (59). I am sure he will bestow more Time in gathering the Passages necessary to his Purpose, than making a rambling Discourse upon those Passages. Having once found his Authorities and Quotations, which perhaps will not fill up six Pages, and which may have cost him a Month's Labour in collecting, he will make up in two Mornings Work twenty Pages in Reasonings, Objections, and Answers to those Objections: And consequently, what flows from our Genius, costs sometimes

(59) I do not mean all forts of Opinions, but such as are only here and there insinuated.

the Soul of Atoms [F]. What he taught concerning the Nature of God, is moſt impious [G]. As for his Doctrine relating to the Supream Good, or Happineſs, it was very

times much leſs Time, than what we are obliged to compile (60). I am ſure Mr *Corneille* would have written a Tragedy in leſs time than he could have anſwered the Criticiſms made upon it, by collecting a great many Authorities, even ſuppoſing his Defence to contain no more Pages than his Tragedy. *Heinſius*, perhaps, beſtowed more time upon juſtifying (61) againſt *Balzac* his *Herodes infanticida*, than a *Spaniſh* Metaphyſician does upon a great Volume of Diſputes, which he writes out of his own Stock. I believe likewiſe, that the Pleadings, wherein Mr *le Maître* gathered many Authorities, coſt him more than the others, and were compoſed with more Pains than thoſe of Mr *Patru*, who ſeldom quoted any thing.

I will not examine the Queſtion, which of the two is to be preferred? I will content myſelf to ſay, That Authors, who borrow nothing from others, are generally leſs inſtructive than thoſe who diſplay their Collections. *A good Thought, whoever be the Author of it, will ſtill be better than an Abſurdity of one's own Growth* (62), *with ſubmiſſion to thoſe who boaſt finding every thing at home, and borrowing of no body* (63). I add, that there is not leſs Wit, nor leſs Invention, in applying rightly a Thought one finds in a Book, than in being the firſt Author of that Thought. This appears in the Dialogues of *Voiture*. Cardinal *du Perron* has been heard to ſay, that the happy Application of a Verſe of *Virgil* has deſerved a Talent (64). I lay aſide thoſe who compare the firſt Production of a Thought with the Act of Generation, and the Art of applying old Thoughts with the Power of raiſing the Dead; this is being too partial for Collections. Nevertheleſs, I ſhall quote the Words of one who has been thus partial. 'As a great many commit a Fault 'in the immoderate Uſe of Quotations, there are 'not wanting others as ridiculous, by a fooliſh Affecta- 'tion never to quote any body, and to fetch every 'thing from home; like that *Ælian Hippias*, who 'merrily boaſted all he had about him was his own 'handy Work. For I eaſily aſcribe to that Vanity 'the great Contempt ſome make of all Authorities, 'to ſhew that they produce nothing but what is 'their own; that fine Thoughts come out of their 'Head, as *Pallas* out of that of *Jupiter*, and that 'like him they procreate without the help of another. 'To which nevertheleſs it may be anſwered, That 'Generation is performed by ſo common an Action 'in all ſorts of Creatures, that there is no reaſon to 'glory in ſo eaſy a thing; whereas it is a Miracle to 'raiſe the Dead, and make them ſpeak again; inſo- 'much that it has been ſaid by Divines, that the 'Bones of dead Saints had wrought more Miracles than 'the Bodies alive; it may likewiſe be affirmed by 'Rhetoricians, that thoſe, who are now no more, have 'more Power to perſuade us than the living (65).'

[F] *He ſpoiled the Syſtem in not retaining Democritus's Doctrine touching the Soul of Atoms.*] St *Auguſtin* puts it out of all doubt, that *Democritus* believed all Atoms to be animated. 'Democritus, *ſays* 'he (66), hoc diſtare in naturalibus quæſtionibus ab 'Epicuro dicitur, quod iſte ſentit ineſſe concurſioni 'atomorum vim quandam animalem & ſpiritalem. . . . 'Epicurus vero neque aliquid in principiis rerum po- 'nit præter atomos. —— *Democritus is ſaid herein* 'to differ from Epicurus in Natural Philoſophy: the 'former imagines there is an animal or ſpiritual Na- 'ture in the Concourſe of Atoms. . . . . *Whereas Epi-* 'curus allows nothing but Atoms in the Principles 'of Things.' To pretend that a Collection of inanimate Atoms can be a Soul, and can emit ſuch Images as occaſion Thoughts, is as confuſed an Hypotheſis as *Heſiod*'s Chaos: However, it is what *Epicurus* ſuppoſed. 'Quorum corpuſculorum concurſu fortuito '& mundos innumerabiles, & animantia, & ipſas ani- 'mas fieri dicit, & Deos quos humana forma, non 'in aliquo mundo, ſed extra mundos, conſtituit, & non 'vult omnino aliquid, præter corpora, cogitare: quæ 'tamen ut cogitet, imagines dicit ab ipſis rebus, quas 'atomis formari putat, deſluere, atque in animum in- 'troire ſubtiliores, quam ſunt illæ imagines, quæ 'ad oculos veniunt (67). —— *By the fortuitous Con-* 'courſe of which Atoms he maintains, that innumerable 'Worlds, animated Beings, and Souls themſelves, 'were formed, as alſo Gods, whom he paints under 'human Forms, and places not in any particular World, 'but beyond the Limits of them all, nor will allow 'any thing but Bodies to think; and in order to make 'them capable of Thought, he ſays, that Images flow 'from thoſe Subſtances which he ſuppoſes to be 'Atoms, and inſinuate themſelves into it. Mean, as 'being of a more ſubtle Contexture than that 'preſent themſelves to the Eye.' But if we once ſuppoſe that Atoms have a Soul, we may eaſily conceive that their ſeveral Combinations form diverſe Species of Animals, divers Manners of Senſation, and divers Combinations of Thoughts, and thereby we are ſheltered from the thundering Objection of *Galen*. 'Cum Atomus una dolere non poſſit, quod alterationis, '& ſenſus incapax ſit, ſi dum caro acu pungitur, a- 'tomus una non ſentiat, non ſenſuras duas, nec treis, 'nec quatuor, nec plureis; perindeque ſore, ut ſi a- 'damantum, aliarumve rerum invulnerabilium acer- 'vus fodiatur. Et, ut digiti connexi abſque dolore 'ſeparantur; ſic iri atomos diductum, abſque ullo 'doloris ſenſu, cum ſeſe mutuo ſolum contingant (68). 'At one Atom cannot be affected with Pain, ſince it 'is deſtitute of Senſe, and unalterable: if then the 'Fleſh is pricked with a Needle, one Atom feels not, 'neither will two, three, four, or more: it would be 'the ſame thing as if a Heap of Diamonds, or other 'impenetrable Bodies, was diſturbed. And as Fingers 'linked together may be ſeparated without any Un- 'eaſineſs, ſo might Atoms which touch each other be 'parted without any Senſe of Pain.' *Plutarch* had made the like Objection to *Colotes* (69). Let People put their Wits upon the Stretch, and turn themſelves which way they pleaſe, as *Lucretius* and *Gaſſendus* (70) have done, to reſolve that Difficulty, they will never be able to touch it; and the beſt that can be ſaid in this Matter is, That all the Philoſophers, who acknowledge that the Principles of mixed Bodies are deprived of Senſe, lay themſelves open to the ſame Difficulty as well as *Epicurus*. To ſpeak the Truth, the Hypotheſis of the Soul of the World, or that of *Automata*, is the only way to get out of that Plunge; for it would be dangerous to acknowledge in Brutes an immaterial Soul, as in Man: And as for the Diſtinction of our *Peripatetics*, between *Matter* and the *Material Soul* of Brutes, it is a vain Subterfuge, no leſs exploded by *Galen*'s Objection than *Epicurus*'s Atoms (71). Moreover, is it not more abſurd to ſuppoſe that Atoms are eſſentially animated, than to ſuppoſe they exiſt and move of themſelves? See the Article LEUCIPPUS, Remark [A].

Thoſe who have a mind to know the other Differences between *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, need but conſult *Cicero* (72).

[G] *What he taught concerning the Nature of the Gods, is moſt impious.*] It would be too great a Neglect of the ſacred Laws of Equity, to charge *Epicurus* with believing that the Gods do not deſerve our Worſhip, Reſpects, and Adorations: For he openly profeſſed the contrary, and publiſhed excellent Books touching the Duties Men owe to the Gods. 'De 'ſanctitate, de pietate adverſus Deos libros ſcripſit Epi- 'curus. At quo modo in his loquitur? Ut Corun- 'canum aut Scævolam Pontifices maximos te audire 'dicas (73). —— *Epicurus wrote of Sanctity, and of* 'the Duty which we owe to the Gods. But how does 'he treat them? In ſuch manner, that you would 'ſay you heard Coruncanus or Scævola, the High- 'Prieſts.' I own that it was objected to him, that if he acted according to his Principles, he muſt have no Religion; but this Conſequence did not deſtroy the Matter of Fact; for his outward Religion was never queſtioned. We cannot produce a more creditable Witneſs than *Seneca*, who ſpeaks thus about it. 'Tu 'denique, Epicure, Deum inermem facis: omnia illi 'tela, omnem detraxiſti potentiam . . . . hunc non 'habes quare vereare, nulla illi nec tribuendi nec 'nocendi materia eſt . . . . Atqui hunc vis videri co- 'lere, non aliter quam parentem: grato, ut opinor, 'animo: aut ſi non vis videri gratus, quia nul- 'lum habes illius beneficium, ſed te atomi & illæ 'micæ tuæ forte ac temere conglobaverunt, cur 'colis? Propter majeſtatem, inquis, ejus eximiam, 'ſingularemque naturam. Ut concedam tibi: 'nempe hoc facis nulla ſpe, nullo precio inductus.

(60) *See the new Letters of the Critic upon Maimbourg, in the beginning of the tenth Letter, pag.* 298, 299.

(61) *That Apology contains* 264 *Pages in* 8vo.

(62) *See* St *Amant, Preface to his* Moiſe ſauvé.

(63) La Mothe la Vayer, Tom. IX, pag. 341.

(64) *See the Abbé* de Marolles, *in the Preface to his* Abregé de l'Hiſtoire de France.

(65) La Mothe le Vayer, Tom. IV, pag. 83, 84.

(66) *Auguſt. Epiſt.* 56. *I have quoted, before, this Paſſage at length, in Citat.* (107) *of the Article* DEMOCRITUS.

(67) Id. ibid. pag. m. 273.

(68) Galenus cum interpretatione illud Hippocratis, *ſi unum eſſet homo, non doleret, quia non eſſet cui doleret.* Amſt. (1) Tom. I. pag. 344. *He quotes likewiſe* Conſt. Art. cap. 4, de Elem. 3, & 4.

(69) Plut. adverſus Colot. pag. 1111.

(70) *See* Gaſſendus ibid.

(71) *See the Remarks* [G] *and* [I] *of the Art. de* DICEARCHUS, *Diſciple of Ariſtotle.*

(72) Lib. 1, de Finib. Fol. m. 215.

(73) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1, cap. 41.

Et

very liable to be misinterpreted, and it had such ill Effects, as discredited his Sect: But at the bottom it was very reasonable: and it cannot be denied that, allowing the Word *Happiness* to signify what he meant by it, Man's Happiness consists in Pleasure. In vain has Mr *Arnauld* censured that Doctrine [H]. The *Stoics*, who may be called

'Est ergo aliquid per se expetendum, cujus te ipsa dignitas ducit id esse honestum (74). —— *In short, Epicurus, you disarm God, you divest him of his Power. You have no reason to fear him, since he is incapable of doing either Good or Hurt: and yet you would revere him as a Parent, from a Principle of Gratitude. If you do it not from that Principle, as being formed by a fortuitous Concourse of Atoms, and consequently lying under no Obligation to him, why do you worship him? You answer, for the Majesty, and the Excellence of his Nature. It is granted that neither Interest nor Expectation are your Motives. There is therefore something in itself desireable, by the Dignity of which you are influenced: It is generous.*' We see here, in few Words, what Religion *Epicurus* professed: He reverenced the Gods, because of the Excellence of their Nature, though he neither expected any Good, nor feared any Ill from them (75). He paid them a free unmercenary Worship, wherein he in no manner regarded his own Interest, but purely the Notions of Reason, which requisite that we should respect and honour all that is Great and Perfect. It may be those were not mistaken, who accused him of doing this out of Policy only (76), and to avoid the Punishment he would infallibly have incurred, had he overthrown the Worship of the Gods. But this Accusation would have been rash, though perhaps not without Ground: For we ought in Equity to judge of our Neighbour by his Words and Actions, and not by the secret Intentions we fancy he has. We must leave to God, the only Searcher of Hearts, to judge of what passes in every Man's Conscience. After all, why should we rob *Epicurus* of the Notion of a Worship, which our most orthodox Divines recommend as most lawful, rational, and perfect? They tell us daily, that though we should neither hope a Paradise, nor fear a Hell, yet we ought to reverence God, and do all Things we think will please him (77). I shall presently cite (78) the Testimony *Diogenes Laërtius* has given of *Epicurus*'s Piety.

Therefore the only Proof of the Text of this Remark is, that *Epicurus* confined the divine Nature to a State of Inactivity; that he took from it the Government of the World, and did not acknowledge it as the Cause of this Universe. Authors disagree about the Question, Whether he taught that the Gods were composed of Atoms? If he had taught such a Thing, he had robbed the Divine Nature of it's Eternity and Indestructibility; a monstrous and most blasphemous Doctrine! But which I think cannot be charged upon him, for one of his first Principles was, that God, being happy and immortal, hurts no body, nor concerns himself in any Thing. *In illis selectis suis brevibusque sententiis quas appellant κυρίας δόξας hæc, ut opinor, prima sententia est, quod beatum & immortale est, id nec habet, nec exhibet cuiquam negotium* (79). We see that the first thing he proposed as a Subject of Meditation to his Disciples, was the Immortality and Felicity of God. Πρῶτον μὲν, τὸν Θεὸν, ζῶον ἄφθαρτον καὶ μακάριον νομίζων, ὡς ἡ κοινὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ νόησις ὑπογράφει· μηδὲν μήτε τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἀλλότριον, μήτε τῆς μακαριότητος ἀνοίκειον αὐτῷ προσάπτε· πᾶν δὲ τὸ φυλάττον αὐτὸ δυναμένου τῆς μετὰ ἀφθαρσίας μακαριότητος, περὶ αὐτὸν δόξαζε. Primum quidem, Deum esse animal immortale ac beatum, puta, sicut communis de Deo dictat intelligentia, nihil illi aut ab immortalitate alienum, aut à beatitudine, applicans. Cæterùm omne quod illius cum immortalitate beatitudinem servare possit, de eo opinare (80). —— *Look upon God, in the first place, as a Being, happy and incorruptible, such as the general Idea represents him, ascribe nothing to him repugnant to Bliss, or incompatible with Immortality.* Therefore he did not believe, that the Gods were made like the World, by the fortuitous Concourse of Atoms. He was sensible enough, that he would have thereby manifestly subjected them to Death. 'Idem facit in natura Deorum, dum individuorum corporum concretionem fecit ne interitus & dissipatio consequatur, nequæ esse corpus Deorum, sed tanquam corpus: nec sanguinem, sed tanquam sanguinem (81). —— *He pretends on the same Principles when he treats on the nature of the Gods, by avoiding to form them from a concourse of Atoms, least Death and Dissipation might be the consequence. He denies that the Gods have either Bodies of Blood, but something resembling each.*' Tertullian (82) and St *Augustin* (83) maintain, nevertheless, that he affirmed the Nature of the Gods to be composed of Atoms; but *Lactantius* has better related the Opinion of that Philosopher. 'Deos, *says he* (84), aiunt incorruptos, æternos, beatos esse: solisque dant immunitatem, ne concursu atomorum cohæreri esse videantur: si enim Deos quoque ex illis constituissent, dissipabiles fierent, seminibus aliquando refolutis, atque in naturam suam revertentibus. ' —— *They affirm, says he, the Gods to be incorruptible, eternal, and happy, and they alone are excepted from their Hypothesis of all things being formed from a Concourse of Atoms. For had they likewise formed them in the same manner, they would have been dispersible, the constituent Particles being liable to be disunited, and to return to their primitive Nature.*' I end this Remark with censuring these Words of Mr *Moreri*: Epicurus's *Opinion concerning the Soul and the Deity does not seem reasonable to some.* Is it possible that a Priest should speak in this manner of an Opinion, which destroys the Immortality of the Soul, and the Providence of God?

[H] *In vain has Mr Arnauld censured that Doctrine.*] To render what I have to say the more intelligible, I observe first of all, that most of the ancient Philosophers, who have treated of the Happiness of Man, have confined themselves to an external Notion, and this has occasioned great variety of Opinions amongst them (85). Some placed the Happiness of Man in Riches, others in Sciences, others in Honours, others in Fame, others in Virtue, *&c.* It is plain, they kept the Idea of Happiness, not to it's formal, but to it's efficient Cause, that is, they called that our Happiness, which they thought capable to produce in us the State of Blessedness, and that they did not define what is the State of our Soul when she is happy. It is this State which I call the formal Cause of Happiness. *Epicurus* was not mistaken in this: He considered Happiness in itself, and in it's formal State; and not according to the relation it has with Beings or Objects altogether external, such as are efficient Causes. This way of considering Happiness is undoubtedly the most exact, and the most worthy a Philosopher: Wherefore *Epicurus* has done well to chuse it; and he has made so good use of it, that it has brought him precisely whither he ought to go. The only Assertion that could reasonably be established by that Method, was, that the Happiness of Man consists in being at his Ease, and in having a sense of Pleasure; or, in general, Satisfaction of the Mind. This does not prove that the *Epicureans* place Happiness in good Cheer, and in the impure Intercourse, which different Sexes may have one with another; for at most, these can be no more than efficient Causes, which are not here in question. When there is occasion to speak of the efficient Causes of Content and Pleasure, they will mark out the best: On the one side, they will direct you to those Objects which are most capable to preserve the Health of your Bodies, and on the other, they will tell you what Occupations are the most proper to prevent the uneasiness of your Mind. Therefore they will prescribe you Sobriety, Temperance, and the checking of tumultuous and disorderly Passions, which deprive the Soul of it's State of Tranquility: that is, of the soft and quiet Acquiescence in it's Condition: For these were the Pleasures or Delights wherein *Epicurus* placed Man's Happiness. People exclaimed against the word Pleasure. Those, who were already loose and debauched, made an ill use of it; the Enemies of that Sect took Advantage from it, and so the Name of *Epicurean* became odious. All this is accidental to the fundamental Opinion of *Epicurus*, which is grounded only on solid Philosophy; though it must be owned he committed a great Fault, in not acknowledging

(74) Seneca de Beneficiis, lib. 4, cap. 19.

(75) See what Cicero puts in the Mouth of the Epicurean Velleius, in the first Book de Natura Deorum, cap. 8, & seq.

(76) See Cicero, ibid. cap. 44, fin.

(77) See Classendon de Vita & Moribus Epicuri, lib. 4, cap. 3.

(78) In the Remark [I].

(79) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1, cap. 30. Also after cap. 17.

(80) Diog. Laërt. lib. 10, n. 123.

(81) Cicero de Natura Deorum, lib. 1, cap. 25, fin.

(82) Tertull. adv. Gentes, cap. 47.

(83) [illegible] corpus esse omne quod aliquid dat [illegible] de mundo [illegible] elementis [illegible] Epicuro [illegible] 273.

(84) Lactant. de ira Dei, cap. 10, pag. 101, 102.

(85) Do not believe however what many People say, that according to *Varro* there were 288 different Opinions about the Nature of Supreme Good. This is a Jest of *Varro*. See St Augustin. de Civit. Dei, lib. 19, cap. 1.

the *Pharisees* of Paganism, did all that lay in their Power against *Epicurus*, both to render him odious, and expose him to Persecution. They charged him with destroying the Worship of the Gods, and introducing Debauchery among Mankind. He was not wanting to himself on this Occasion (*i*). He published his Sentiments to the whole World; he wrote Books of Devotion; he recommended the Veneration of the Gods, Sobriety, Continence; and it cannot be denied that he lived exemplarily, and according to the Rules of Philosophical Wisdom and Frugality (*k*): But nevertheless, some Calumnies were dispersed against his Morals [*I*], and a Deserter of his Sect said a great

(*i*) Rondellus, de Vita & Moribus Epicuri, pag. 19, 20.

(*k*) See Remark [*N*].

ledging that God alone can produce in our Soul that State which makes it happy.

Let us now come to Mr *Arnauld*. He manfully opposed this Doctrine of *F. Mallebranche*, *Every Pleasure is a Good, and actually renders him happy who enjoys it* (86). The Author of the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, when he gave the Extract of Mr *Arnauld*'s Book, declared himself in this Dispute for *F. Mallebranche*. 'There is nothing more innocent, 'says he (87), nor more certain than to say, *That* 'every Pleasure makes him happy who enjoys it during 'the Time he enjoys it; and that nevertheless we ought 'to shun those Pleasures that attach us to Bodies. '.... But some will say, it is Virtue, Grace, the 'Love of God, or rather God alone, that is our 'Happiness. Right, as an Instrument or *efficient* Cause, 'as Philosophers speak; but as a *formal* Cause, it is 'Pleasure and Satisfaction which is our only Felicity.' Thereupon Mr *Arnauld* attacked the Author of the *République des Lettres*, and addressed to him an Advice (88), wherein he confuted him from point to point, and according to his usual Method of disputing, which without doubt was such as argued an able Logician. The Journalist replied (89), and still maintained his Opinion, and made it his chief Business to remove the Equivocations that have been introduced into this Matter, by the variety of *Tropological* Phrases that have been used; most Writers having given the Cause the Name of the Effect, I mean, having called Happiness or Misery not what is so in effect, but what causes it. He went further; for he engaged to refute those, who imagine that the Pleasures of our Senses are not spiritual. He maintained, that if we consider them only with regard to their Physical *Entity*, they are purely spiritual, and that they cannot be called corporeal, but by Reason of an accidental and arbitrary Relation they have to the Body: For that Relation has no other Foundation than the Will of God, whereby the Action of certain Objects upon the Body of Man, is made and established the occasional Cause of those Pleasures. Mr *Arnauld* would not have the last: He confuted his Adversary again by a learned Dissertation (90), the last Part of which, in my Opinion, is the most important. It is intituled, *Examination of a new Speculation, concerning the Spirituality and Materiality of the Pleasures of Sense*; which he begins thus. 'I have no more to do now, Sir, than 'to tell you one Word concerning the most important Part of your Writing. It is a metaphysical 'Thought, so subtle and so abstracted, that I have a 'double Fear upon me: First, That I have not understood your Thought perfectly well: Secondly, 'That I shall not be able to express mine, so as to be 'understood by every Body. You pretend, Sir, that 'we must distinguish two things in the Pleasures of 'the Senses; their *Spirituality*, which you look upon 'as essential to them; and their *Materiality*, which 'you would have to be *accessary* and *accidental* to 'them. From whence you conclude, that a Pleasure 'of Sense might continue *idem numero*, (*numerically the same*), and yet have nothing material, because Materiality may be abstracted from it (91).' He afterwards very clearly unfolds the Doctrine of his Adversary, and opposes it in a manner most worthy of his Logic and Skill: but nevertheless I believe he is mistaken at the bottom, and that he has not sufficiently observed the Difference which is found between our Sensations, and our Ideas. The Relation between our Ideas and their Objects is essential; and he is in the right to say, that it is not possible for God to make the Idea of a Circle to be separated from it's Relation to a Circle. But it is not the same with our Sensations. Our Soul might feel Cold without referring it to a Foot or a Hand, just as it feels the Joy of good News, or Grief at bad, without referring either to any part of the Body. And if, whilst it is united to a Body, it refers to some Parts of that Body some Pains and Pleasures, as the smart of Burning, the being tickled, &c. it is only by a free Establishment made by the Author of it's Union with the Body, that it may the better watch over the Preservation of the Machine to which it is united. If this Reason ceased, it would no longer be necessary that it should refer it's Sensations out of it self, and nevertheless it would still be susceptible of the Modification which is called Pain, Pleasure, Cold, Heat, and God might impress upon it all these Modifications, either without any Occasional Cause, or by means of an Occasional Cause, which should not be a Body, but the Thoughts of some Spirit. The Author of the *Art of Thinking* justly says, 'That it is possible for a Soul 'separated from the Body to be tormented by the Fire 'either of Hell or Purgatory, and to feel the same 'Pain one feels when burnt, since, even while it was 'in the Body, the Pain of burning was in itself, and 'not in the Body, and was no other than a Thought 'of Sadness she had, upon occasion of what passed in 'the Body to which God had united it (92).' But he has no Reason to suppose, that it would be necessary that God should dispose a certain Portion of Matter, with relation to a Spirit, in such a Manner, that the Motion of that Matter should occasion afflicting Thoughts in that Spirit. A Being, altogether immaterial, might perform the Function of such an Occasional Cause, and, in that Case, our Soul might feel the same Pleasure we call sensual and corporeal: it might, I say, feel such a Pleasure without referring it to a Mouth, or an Ear, as we now do the Pleasure of good Chear and Music. From whence it follows, that Pleasure, of what kind soever it may be supposed, may make the Soul happy, whether it be united to Matter or no. This would deserve a Treatise by it self. If the Author of the *News from the Republic of Letters* had not been sick, when Mr *Arnauld*'s Dissertation came out, he would have confuted it: But he thought it was too late to do it, when his Health permitted him to write.

[*I*] *Some Calumnies were dispersed against his Morals.*] He was represented as a Glutton, a lewd Man, and a new *Sardanapalus*; and because, according to the custom of those Ages (93), he received into the Number of his Disciples some Women who loved Philosophy, his School was represented as a downright Brothel. It was reported, that the Courtezan *Leontium* being grown curious of Philosophy, and having applied herself to that Philosopher, did not give over her former Trade, but gratified with her Embraces the whole School, and particularly *Epicurus* himself, even openly. Ἡ δὲ οὐχ ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖν ἤρξατο, ἐπαύσατο ἑταιροῦσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἐπικουρείοις συνῆν ἐν τοῖς κήποις, Ἐπικούρῳ δὲ καὶ ἀναφανδὸν. *Quæ Philosophiæ operam navare cum incapisset non ideo scortari destitit, sed Epicureis omnibus in hortis se prostituit, & palam quidem Epicuro* (94). They were not contented to spread these Slanders in Conversation, but inserted them in Books; and, what was most unjust, they forged lascivious Letters, which were published in that Philosopher's Name. Διότιμος δὲ ὁ Στωϊκὸς δυσμενῶς ἔχων πρὸς αὐτὸν σκληρότατα αὐτὸν διαβέβληκεν ἐπιστολὰς φέρων σφόδρα ἀσελγεῖς, ὡς Ἐπικούρου καὶ τὰς εἰς Χρύσιππον ἀναφερομένας ἐπιστόλας, ὡς Ἐπικούρου συντάξας. Diotimus autem Stoicus infesto adversus illum animo, acerrimè infectatus eum est, quinquaginta circumferens lascivas, veluti ab Epicuro scriptas, epistolas, easque quæ Chrysippi feruntur, veluti sub Epicuri nomine componens (95). —— *Diotimus the Stoic, his inveterate Enemy, treated him very barbarously, forging fifty lascivious Letters, and published them, with those ascribed to Chrysippus, under the name of Epicurus.* We have still a Letter fathered upon *Leontium*, but that is a forged Piece. They feign,

(86) *See the* Reflexions Philosophiques & Theologiques sur le nouveau Système de la Nature & de la Grace, *liv. I. cap. XII, pag.* 407, *& seq.*

(87) Nouvelles de la République des Lettres, *for* August 1685, *Art.* 3. *p.* 876.

(88) Ibid. *for* Dec. 1685. *Art.* 1.

(89) Ibid *for* January 1686, *pag.* 93.

(90) *See the* Bibliotheque Universelle, *Tom. VI, pag.* 379.

(91) Arnauld Dissertat. sur le pretendu Bonheur des Sens, *pag.* 108.

(92) Art of Thinking, *Part I, chap. 12, pag.* 86.

(93) *See* Casserdus, de Vita & Moribus Epicuri, *lib. VII, cap.* 5.

(94) Athenæus, lib. XII, p. 588.

(95) Diog. Laërt. lib. X, n 3.

great many scandalous Things of him [K]. A very Learned Man maintained, about two Years ago (*l*), that this Philosopher did not deny a Divine Providence [L]. Those

(*l*) This was written in 1695.

that *Leontium* wrote to *Lamia* what Trouble she underwent with *Epicurus*, an old lousy Dotard of eighty Years, who was become as fifty as a Child, and to crown all, he looked at the Mistress, and treated her with his Suspicions. Οὐδὲν δυσκαθεκτότερον, ὦ ἑταῖραι, ἐστὶ παλαιᾶς μειρακιευομένης προσώπου, διὰ μὲ Ἐπίκουρος ὁ δι' ὑμᾶς, πάντα λοιδορῶν, πάντα ὑποπτεύων, ἐπιτολὰς ἀβαλεύτους μοι γράφων. [illegible] ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐμὸν ἄνδρα, εἰδὼς ὡς ἀδύνατον γεγονὸς ἔστι καὶ αὐτὸ πεισχόμενον, φιλεῖν τε καὶ καταπίνεσθαι, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ τοιοῦτος ἐστὶ, καὶ τὰ. Nihil est, ut mihi videtur, repugnantiæ sene importunius. Quo sanè modo erga me Epicurus iste se habet, omnia improbans, omnia in suspicionem vertens, literas ad me ambagiosas scribens abacturus sanè ex Horto ipsum Venerem, tametsi Adonis foret, natus jam, ut est, annorum octoginta. Abit illius amore teneat, qui & fœtet pediculis, & plane morbidus est, contractus præ senio, nec injuriâ vellera gestans pro pileis, &c. (96). —— *Nothing is more impertinent than an old Man in his second Childhood. Here am I plagued with this Epicurus? He is always peevish and jealous, and writing unintelligible Letters to me. Were he an Adonis, whereas he is an ape among flies of four-score, he would inevitably fright even Venus out of the Garden. I am quite sick of his Life, this Diet-drink, and his cargo of Fur-night-Caps.* It is evident this Letter is forged, since *Leontium* died before *Epicurus* (97), and that *Epicurus* did not live much above seventy one Years. It is certain, that *Metrodorus*, one of *Epicurus*'s great Friends, lay with that *Leontium*, either as a Wife, or at worst as a Concubine. Now among the Heathens, Concubinage was not very scandalous. *Danae*, Daughter of *Leontium*, was no chaster than her Mother (98). Some pretend, that *Leontium* lay with one *Cotnidas*, who might know often he had enjoyed her; for he kept a Journal of his Debaucheries: and when he had a mind to call back to his Remembrance his amorous Adventures, and jolly Days, he consulted his Journal: 'Nos inepte quia intelligat, 'ubi se are Gassendus's Words (99), ex hoc contubernio deturpatum quod Plutarchus scribit Cotnidam 'quasi ex Ephemeride repetere soliti quoties cum Hedia & Leontio rem habuisset, Thasium bibisset, 'opiare cœnasset.' Others pretend, that *Gassendus* has suffered himself to be deceived in this Place by the Latin Translator of *Plutarch*, and that the meaning of the Greek is, That modest People do not entertain in their Minds the Images of past Pleasures, and are not guilty of what made *Cornades* ridiculous, that is, they do not rehearse, as if they were reading in their Table Books, or their Books of Accounts, how often they had to do with *Hedia* or *Leontium*, &c. Those who can understand the Greek I quote, may judge of the true Sense. For my Part, I should rather follow that of *Gassendus*. Οὐκοῦν μάρτυρε καὶ ἀφορμὰς ἐκεῖνε τρίβειν τὴν ἐπιποθὲ τῶν τοιούτων. ὑβρὶ ἄπο ἐσκαπτε τὸν Κορνιάδην πράττοντα. οἷον ἐξ ἐφημερίδων ἀναλογίζεσθαι, ποσάκις Ἡδείᾳ καὶ Λεοντίῳ συνῆλθον, ἢ πῶς θάσιον ἔπιον, ποίας σύκλιδας ἐβύτιναν παλυκλίσατο. δεινὸν γὰρ ἐμφαίνει καὶ ἀηδιῶδη περὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα καὶ παροδεύοντα τῆς ἡδονῆς ἔργα ταραχὴν καὶ λύσσαν ἢ τοσαύτην πρὸς ἀναμνήσεις βακχεύσεις αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ φρενήσεις. *Neque probabile est, modestos ac temperantes homines hujusmodi cogitationibus immorari, aut ea facere, ob quæ Carneadem subjannat ille, tanquam ex ephemeridibus repetentem, quoties cum Hedeia aut Leontio rem habuisset, ubi Thasium vinum bibisset, quibus Idibus fulmentis sese cœnasset. Abrcem enim ac bellinam in frugibus aut exsecrandis voluptatibus exagitationem animi a rabiem designat tanta ipsius ad recordandum becchatio atque ad-basio* (100). See in *Gassendus*, in the seventh Book of the Life of *Epicurus*, a solid Confutation of the Calumnies I have mentioned. See likewise the Remark [N] Note, That instead of Καρνεάδην, methinks we ought to read Καρνεάδης in that Place of *Plutarch*; for we know, that one of *Epicurus*'s Friends was called *Carneades*. I have quoted upon this Subject a Passage out of *Cicero* in the Remark [M] of the Article ARCESILAUS.

(95) Ex secundo libro Aleiphronis apud Gassendum ubi supra, lib. vii, cap. ii.

(96) Metrodorus and Leontium His Concubine left a Son, whom Epicurus mentions in his Will as an Orphan whom he recommends. See Gassendus, ibid. cap. vi.

(97) Athenæus, lib. xiii, pag. 593. See the Article LEONTIUM, Remark [D].

(98) Ubi supra, lib. vii, cap. i.

(99) Plut. non posse vivi suaviter juxta Epicur. pag. 1089. C. ex vers. Xylandri.

[K] *A Deserter of his Sect said a great many scandalous things of him.*] That kind of People do generally slander most bitterly the Party they abandon. The Desire of revenging some Injury, or of making People believe that it is not out of Levity they leave it, prompts them to defame it: and though they ought to be suspected, yet they never fail to impose on the Credulity of many. I remember I have read somewhere, That a Nun, who came out of *Port Royal* discontented, spread several little Stories, of which the Jesuits took Advantage in their Writings (101). But let us speak of the Deserter here in Question: He was Brother to *Metrodorus*, and named *Timocrates*. He gave out, That there were Nocturnal Assemblies in *Epicurus*'s Gardens, from which he had much ado to escape: and there being some Women among *Epicurus*'s Disciples, I leave every one to judge how *Timocrates*'s Words were commented upon by the censorious World. Ἔφασκε τὰ δυσχερέστατα μέγας ἐκφέρων ὀνείδεα τῶν παρανύκτων ἐκείνων φιλοσοφίας χάριν συνόδων, ἐν αἷς γυναῖκας πολλὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις συνεῖναι. *Sequi ipsum narrat vix effugere potuisse nocturnas illas philosophandi conjunctiones arcanamque illam conventiunculam* (102). Some have not stuck to compare those Conventicles of *Epicurus* with the Midnight Revels of the Witches (103); and I do not doubt but they have been as much reflected on as the Assemblies of the *Adamites*: 'Præter comessationes '& compotationes possunt ea intelligi quæ in noctur-'nis Bonæ Deæ sacris patrari quondam objecta sunt' (104). —— *Besides their Feasts, there are other Matters, to be understood, such as were formerly condemned in the Nocturnal Solemnities of Cybele.* Besides that, *Timocrates* reported *Epicurus* to be a Glutton and a Drunkard, who through Excess of eating and drinking vomited twice a Day (105). *Epicurus* did not spare this Deserter of his Sect; for he wrote against him, and treated him very severely. We find in one of *Cicero*'s Pieces, that, in order to insult over that Philosopher, they supposed that his Quarrel with *Timocrates* was grounded on a Trifle: 'Cum Epicu-'rus . . . Metrodori sodalis sui fratem Timocratem, 'quia reticio quid in Philosophia dissentiret, totis vo-'luminibus concideret' (106) —— *Epicurus unmercifully fell upon Timocrates, Brother to Metrodorus his Companion, making him run the Gantlet through whole Volumes for some insignificant difference betwixt them in Philosophy.* There is no Equity in this Objection: For if upon any Occasion a Writer's Passion may be excused, it is when, like *Epicurus*, he contends with a fugitive Disciple.

(101) *See the Letters, intitled,* Les Imaginaires & les Visionaires.

(102) Lært. lib. x, n. 6.

(103) Cur Item illud sodalitium comparetur gregi eorum Ulyssi, ac jam a nostrorum plerisque & cæ Magorum Synagogæ. *Gassendus, ubi supra, lib. vii, cap. i.*

(104) Id. ibid.

(105) Lært. ubi supra.

(106) Cicero, de Natur Deor lib. i, cap. xxxiii.

[L] *A very learned Man has maintained, that Epicurus did not deny a Divine Providence.*] This learned Man is Mr *du Rondel*, who had been several Years Professor of Eloquence at *Sedan*, when the Academy there was suppressed in 1681. Some time after he retired to *Holland*, where his Merit being soon known, he was called to *Maestricht* to be Professor of the *Belles Lettres*; which employment he still discharges with great Reputation. Before he had left his own Country, he had obliged the Public with an Edition of *Musæus*, in Greek and Latin, with Notes (107); the Life of *Epicurus*, in French (108); and a Dissertation *de Gloria* (109). Since he has been out of *France*, he has published some Reflections on a Chapter of *Theophrastus* (110); a Dissertation on the *Chemix* of *Pythagoras* (111); and a Treatise *de vita & moribus Epicuri* (112). It is in this last Work he has undertaken to prove, that *Epicurus* did not deny Divine Providence. Those who have a mind to know the value of his Productions (113), and have not them by them, will do well to consult the Journalists that have mentioned them, where they will find the Praises due to his profound Learning, and his penetrating Genius. When he shall be pleased to bring forth the Treasures of his Closet, the Public will be convinced, that the Journalists ought to make use of the greatest Encomiums, if they mean to do him Justice. I would dwell longer on this Subject, if the Friendship which is between us had not taught me that it would not be acceptable to him. See the Preface to the Project of this Dictionary, which I addressed to him. No Man could maintain more learnedly or more subtilly than he has done the Paradox of *Epicurus*'s Orthodoxy concerning Providence.

(107) *Printed at* Paris *for* Leonard Cellier, 1670, *in* 12mo. *It was reprinted in* Holland *with a new Title. See the* Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, January 1686, pag. 86.

(108) *Printed at* Paris *for* Anthony Cellier, 1670, *in* 12mo. *It was reprinted in* Holland *with a new Title. See the* Nouvelles de la Repub. des Lettres, January 1686, pag. 86.

(109) *Printed at* Leyden, 1680, *in* 12mo.

(110) *At* Amsterdam, 1685, *in* 12mo.

(111) *At* Amsterdam, 1690, *in* 12mo.

(112) *At* Amsterdam, 1693, *in* 12mo.

(113) I do not pretend to have given an exact List of them.

none of *Epicurus*'s Works are now extant, yet there is no ancient Philosopher whose Sentiments are better known than his. We are beholden for it to the Poet *Lucretius*, and to *Diogenes Laertius*, but much more to the Learned *Gassendus*, who, with great Diligence, has gathered all that could be found in ancient Books relating to the Doctrine and Person of that Philosopher, and reduced it into a compleat System. If ever there was Reason to conclude, that Time at last does Justice to oppressed Innocence, it is with respect to *Epicurus*; for so many Illustrious Persons have stood up in Defence both of his Practical and Speculative Morals [*M*], that at this time none but the opinionated and ignorant judge wrong of them. He died in great Torment of a Retention of Urine, with a singular Patience and Constancy, in the second Year of the CXXVIIth Olympiad (*m*), when he was just entered into the Seventy second Year of his Age. One cannot sufficiently commend the Purity of his Morals, nor sufficiently condemn his Opinions in Religion. Infinite numbers of People are orthodox, and live ill: He on the contrary, and many of his Followers, taught a bad Doctrine, and lived well [*N*].

(*m*) Diog. Laërt. ibid. n. 15 & 22.

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dence. He has not forgot to take advantage of, and improve the *VIS ABDITA QUÆDAM* of *Lucretius* (114). When Mr *Minutoly* was informed that this Book of Mr *du Rondel* was published, he wrote to me, That in the Collection of *John Michael Brutus*, there is 'a Letter from *Peter Victorius* to *John della Casa*, 'Archbishop of *Benevento*; which runs upon the 'Question, Whether *Lucretius*, who in the Beginning of his Poem invokes *Venus*, does not in that 'very thing clash with the Doctrine of *Epicurus*? 'And whether that be compatible with the inaction 'that Philosopher ascribes to the Gods.'

(114) Pag. 79.

[*M*] *So many illustrious Persons have stood up in Defence of his Morals.*] The learned *Gassendus* observes that upon the Revival and Restoration of Learning in the XVth Century, there were able Men who spoke for *Epicurus*, who for so many barbarous Ages was oppressed under a Load of Prejudices: 'Cum Epicurus 'infamis fuisset habitus totâ illâ penè sæculorum setie, 'quâ literæ bonæ sepultæ jacuerunt; vix tamen libros 'humaniores, pulvere excusso, rediisse in manus ante 'duo ferè sæcula, quàm omnes penè eruditi symbolum 'pro eo contulerunt (115). —— *Though Epicurus had* 'been branded with Infamy during almost the whole Series 'of Ages that Learning had lain buried; yet scarce had 'the politer Authors shook off their Dust, and appeared again in public, about two Centuries ago, before the 'greatest part of the learned World had declared in his 'favour.' He names *Philelphus*, *Alexander ab Alexandro*, *Cælius Rhodiginus*, *Volaterranus*, and *Johannes Franciscus Picus* (116). He observes, upon the Credit of *Trithemius*, that *Baptista Guarinus* made a Book of the Sect of *Epicurus*. He adds, that *Marc Anthony Bonciarius* had composed one, to prove, that of all the ancient Philosophers *Epicurus* came nearest to Truth (117). Lastly, besides *Palingenius*, of whom he quotes many Verses in Praise of *Epicurus*, he remarks that *Andrew Arnaud* of *Provence* has made an Apology for that Philosopher: 'Andreas Arnaudus Forcalqueriensis in hac Provincia Professescallus in libello, cui nomen Joci, Apologiam pro Epicuro inter cætera edidit, brevem illam quidem, & foliolis paucis; sed in quâ tamen ea delibantur ex Lærtio præsertim, atque Seneca, unde convincatur, quod vir ille pereruditus initio proposuit, *fuisse Epicurum injustius lacessitum, & laniatum ab obtrectatoribus* (118). —— *Andrew Arnaud of Forcalquier, Deputy-Seneschal of* 'Provence, *in a Treatise intituled* Jests, *among other* 'things published as Apology for Epicurus, a short one 'indeed, containing but few Pages, which however 'gives us a sketch of those Passages, particularly from 'Seneca and Lærtius, so as to demonstrate what the 'learned Author at his setting out proposed, viz.* that 'Epicurus had been maliciously attacked, and barbarously treated.' The Curious will not be sorry to find here a further Account of that Apology; for which I am indebted to the obliging and most learned Mr *Minutoly* (119). Here is what he wrote to me in *November* 1693': 'I found the other Day a little Book 'printed at *Avignon*, intituled, *Andreæ Arnaudi, Jureis, Epistolæ, Rara, Epigrammata, Tumuli, Apologiæ*. 'This last Class of Pieces contains the Apologies for '*Bacchus*, *Epicurus*, *Phalaris*, and *Apuleius*'. 'In the Collection of Epistles, there is one of *Guichardus Arnaudo*; where, after having spoken in Commendation of *Ravisii Textor*, whose Dialogues he 'sent to him as a Novelty, he tells him, 'tu nôno 'Dialogo mirabéris Textorem, cujus scripta tantam 'doctrinam testantur, tam male de Epicuri voluptate 'testari, nec animadvertisse Epicurum opinione Sardanapalum, re Stoicissimum, Bacchanalia simulasse, & 'Curios vixisse. *Epigr.* 152.

(115) Gassend. ubi supra, lib. vii, cap. vii, pag. m. 224.

(116) *I wonder he forgets* Laurentius Valla.

(117) *See the Words of* Gassendus, *above, in the Article* BONCIARUS, *Rem.* [C], *Citat.* (6), *where I found an Error.*

(118) Gassendus, ubi supra.

(119) *A Minister and Professor at* Geneva.

Nam licet illecebris hominem velit esse beatum,
Stoïcus interea moribus ipse fuit.

'Ita Frusius, sed tu fusius nuper dicebas & docebas, 'cum non sine miratione opinionem quorundam sapiebas ad paradoxum de Bacchio, Epicuro, Phalaride, & Apuleio. O nostri sæculi felicitudo, si omnes Epicuri essent, nulla hypocrisis, si Bacchi, nulla 'Bacchanalia, si Phalarides, nulla injustitia, si Apulei, 'nulla ineloquentia. —— *In the ninth Dialogue you* 'will be surprized that Textor, whose Writings carry 'an evidence of so much Learning, should determine so 'wrongfully of Epicurus's Pleasure, not considering that 'he was by Profession a Libertine, in Practice a rigid 'Stoic, in Appearance a Debauchee, in reality abstemious.

His Practice with his Doctrine disagreed,
Strict was his Life, tho' Pleasure was his Creed.

'Thus Frusius! but you have lately given us a more full 'Information, when in a surprising manner you forcibly 'engaged the Opinions of the Readers to the Paradox concerning Bacchus, Epicurus, Phalaris, and Apuleius. 'How happy would our Age be, when if all were like 'Epicurus, there would be no Hypocrisy, like Bacchis 'no Revels, like Phalaris no Cruelty, like Apuleius no 'want of Eloquence.'

(120) Nic. Antonio, Bibl. Script. Hispan. Tom. I, p. 354.

I forgot to say, that *Gassendus* mentioned *Erycius Puteanus* among those that have commended *Epicurus*. The famous *Don Francisco Quevedo* published, at *Madrid* in the Year 1635, an Apology for that Philosopher, in a Book intituled, *Epicteto Español en versos con consonantes, con el origen de los Estoicos y su defensa contra Plutarcho, y defensa de Epicuro contra la opinion comun* (120). I have not seen that, which *Sarrazin* has written in our French Tongue, for the Morals of *Epicurus*; and which Mr *Colomiès* mentions in the 125th Page of his *Bibliotheque Choisie*: But I have read Mr *St Evremont*'s Reflexions upon this Matter [*o*], which are curious and just. The Baron *des Coutures* published the Morals of that Philosopher with Reflexions in 1685; the same Year the *Paris* Edition was twice reprinted in *Holland* (121). That Book sets *Epicurus* in a good Light, and is as good as a Panegyric. He produces the Chancellor of the Church and University of *Paris* (122), under the Character of an Apologist for *Epicurus*. *La Mothe le Vayer* (123), and *Sorbiere* (124), have acted the same Part; but I do not believe that any thing was ever writ in any Country, that can equal what our *Gassendus* has done in behalf of that Philosopher: His Performance being a Masterpiece, and the most curious, well-digested, and judicious Collection that ever was seen. Sir *William Temple*, so illustrious by his Embassies and fine Productions, has lately stood up in Defence of *Epicurus* with marvellous Address (125).

[*o*] These Reflexions are falsly ascribed to *St Evremond*; they are *Sarrazin*'s, and are inserted in that Author's new Works, printed at *Paris*, 1674. *See the Life of St Evremont, by Mr* Des Maizeaux, *pag.* 135, *of the* London *Edit.* 1728. REM. CRIT.

(121) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, January 1686, Art 9, pag. 86.

(122) *Mr* Coquelin. *In the Appendix to the Book, which contains four Pages.*

(123) Traité de la Vertu des Payens, *in the Fifth Tome of his Works, in* 12mo.

(124) *Letter* xxxiii, *in* 4to.

(125) *See his Miscellanies.*

[*N*] *He and many of his Followers taught a bad Doctrine, and lived well.*] Nothing is more capable of extinguishing Devotion in the Heart of Man, and to make him intirely renounce all Worship of God, than a Belief that God does neither good nor harm to Mankind; and neither punishes those that offend him, nor rewards those that serve him. The most devout Christians, if they speak with sincerity, will acknowledge,

We must not forget, that he had very good Notions and Maxims, touching the Obe-
dience
and Ho

acknowledge, that the most powerful Tie, that unites them to God, is the looking upon him under the Notion of a Benefactor; and the Consideration, that, as he distributes infinite Rewards to those that obey him, so he eternally punishes those that offend him. But here is a Man, who discharged the Duties of Religion, according to the Custom of his Country, (126) without any Motive of Interest; for he professed to believe, that the Gods neither bestowed Recompences, nor inflicted Punishments (127). 'He 'was very assiduous in frequenting the Temples; 'and the first Time *Diocles* saw him, he could not 'forbear crying out, What ravishing Delight it is to 'me to see *Epicurus* in a Temple (128)! All my Suspicions vanish, Piety resumes it's Place, and I never was more convinced of the greatness of *Jupiter*, 'than since I see *Epicurus* on his knees! Ὢ θεοὶ χαρίεντες ἐγὼ ἥδομαι, &c.' To this I add *Laertius*'s Words, Τῆς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς Θεὸς ὁσιότητος, καὶ πρὸς πατρίδα φιλίας ἄλεκτος ἡ διάθεσις (129). According to some they signify, *That his Piety towards the Gods, and his Love of his Country, were beyond expression* (130); but hitherto the several Editions of *Laertius* furnish us with another Interpretation. The Greek Words there signify, that *Epicurus* was never remiss, either in the Worship of the Gods, or in his Zeal for his Country's Good. *Nam quid de cultu in Deos, & de amicitia adversus patriam dicam quam constantissime usque ad finem tenuit.* It seems as if the Translator read not ἄλεκτος, as it is in the printed Book, but ἀλάκτος. Whatever the Translation be, this is a great Commendation of *Epicurus*'s Piety.

(126) *He was constantly seen in the Temples, he made many Sacrifices and Offerings, &c.* Du Rondel, Vie d'Epicure, pag. 20. *See the whole Sequel of the Passage; and in the Latin Edition, see pag.* 60.

(127) Id. pag. 34. *the French Edit.*

(128) *See an Application of this in the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *for* Dec. 1684, *in the Catalogue of new Books, n.* 2.

(129) Laërt. lib. 10, n. 10.

(130) Gassendus *has translated,* Nam sanctitatis quidem in Deos & charitatis in patriam fuit in eo effectus ineffabilis.

(131) Seneca, Epist. 21.

'To confute fully those who charge him with Gluttony, it is enough to refer to the Testimony which his very Enemies have given to his Frugality. See how *Seneca*, who, as a great Stoic, ought to have had a Fling at him upon all Occasions, if the Appearances were never so little against him, does nevertheless agree, that they made but indifferent Cheer in *Epicurus*'s Gardens. 'Eo lubentius, *says he* (131), 'Epicuri egregia dicta commemoro, ut illis, qui ad 'illa confugiunt, spe mala inducti, qui velamentum 'sibi ipsos vitiorum habituros existimant, probem, 'quocumque ierint, honeste esse vivendum. Cum 'dicerint ea hortulos, & inscriptum hortulis, Hospes 'hic bene manebis, hic summum bonum voluptas 'est, paratus erit ibi custos domicilii custos, hospitalis, humanus, & te polenta excipiet, & aquam quoque large 'ministrabit, & dicet, Ecquid bene acceptus es? Non 'irritant, inquam, hi hortuli famam, sed extinguunt; 'nec majorem ipsis potionibus sitim faciunt, sed naturali & gratuito remedio sedant. —— *I mention,* says he, *the more willingly those golden Sayings of Epicurus, that I may thereby prove to those, who, out of an ill design, endeavour to shelter their own Vices under that cover, that wherever they went, they were enjoined Sobriety. When they went to the Gardens, where the Inscription was;* Here, O Stranger, thou 'shalt find welcome, here pleasure is the greatest 'good; the keeper of this Place is generous and humane, 'he shall be ready to wait upon thee, he shall entertain thee with Bread, and furnish thee with Water in plenty, and will ask whether thy Entertainment has not been good. *These Gardens, I say, do not inspire, but extinguish Thirst; instead of inflaming it afresh, they cool it by a cheap and natural Remedy.*' By *Seneca*'s own Confession, *Epicurus*'s Guests fared little better than upon Bread and Water. You may see many such Authorities in the Book I quote (132). As for venereal Pleasure, not only *Epicurus*'s Maxims and Counsels were extreamly Wise (133), but he preached so much by his own Example, that *Chrysippus*, his constant Antagonist, was forced to explain that Phenomenon, by the insensibility and coldness of Temper, which he imputed to him. 'Scribit Stoicus quempiam fuisse qui & non iri captum 'amore virum sapientem dixerit, & ipsius Epicuri 'exemplo inter cæteros id probarit: Chrysippum autem contradixisse, & Epicurum quod attineret, excepisse nihil ex ejus exemplo concludi, quoniam foret ἀνάλγητος, sensu carens (134). —— —— —— *Stobæus writes, that a certain Person said, a wise Man would never be a Slave to Love, and proved it by the Example of Epicurus amongst others: Chrysippus opposed it, and, as to Epicurus, he excepted against the validity of the Instance, judging that no Consequence could be drawn from him, since he was insensible.*' I refer the Reader to *Gassendus*'s fine Collections (135); but I cannot pass over these Words of *Cicero*: 'Ac mihi quidem, quod 'ipse bonus vir fuit, & MULTI EPICUREI fuerunt, & hodie sunt, & in amicitiis fideles, & in omni vita constantes & graves, nec voluptate, sed officio consilia moderantes, hæc videtur major vis honestatis, & minor voluptatis. Ita enim vivunt quidam ut eorum vita refellatur oratio, atque ut contra dicam, non dentur melius facere quàm dicere (136). —— *In my Opinion indeed, as he himself was an honest Man, and* MANY EPICUREANS *have been, and at this time are, faithful in their Friendships, constant and exemplary in their Lives, not guided by Pleasure, but governed by Prudence; in this case, Honour seems to have the Ascendant over Pleasure. For these live in such manner, that their Lives are a Confutation of the Charge against them: and as others are thought to speak better than they act, so these appear to me to act better than they speak.* You see here *Epicurus* and several of his Followers commended as good Friends, honest Men, and grave Persons, who strictly observed the Practice of Virtue. It is only objected to them, that they did not live according to their Principles: An Objection which is no less true against the Orthodox, and which, in respect to them, is a thousand Times more shameful. *Cicero* owns it as a Matter of Fact, that no fault can be found with *Epicurus*'s Morals; and that he is only blamed, for not having been so wise as to reconcile his Doctrine with his Conduct: 'Ratio ista quam desertis, præcepta quæ didicisti, quæ probas, funditus evertunt 'amicitiam, quamvis eam Epicurus, aut facis, in cœlum efferat laudibus. At colunt ipsi amicicias, quis 'si quis illum neget, &c. bonum virum, & amicum, & humanum fuisse. —— De ingenio ejus in his disputationibus, non de moribus queritur (137). —— *The reason which you maintain, the Precepts which you have imbibed, and which you approve, lay the very Foundation of Friendship, however Epicurus may, as he does, extol it to the Skies. But he had the highest Veneration for Friendship. Does any one deny him to be a good Man, generous and humane? In these disputes the question turns upon his Genius, not upon his Morals.*'

(132) Gassend. ubi supra, lib. vi. cap. iii & iv.

(133) *See* Laërt. lib. x. n. 118.

(134) Gassend. ibid. lib. vii. cap. iv. *the quotes* Stobæus, Serm. de ven. & am.

(135) Bibl. a cap. v, vi, vii.

(136) Cicero, de Fin. lib. ii. cap. xxx.

(137) *See* Bibliot. d. C.

Some perhaps may wonder, how *Epicurus*, notwithstanding his fine Morals, is fallen into such an Infamy as has rendered both his Sect and his memory odious for many Ages wherever he has been heard of. Upon this, I make three small Observations: The first is, That in this, as in many other Things, we may see the Power of Fatality. Some Men are happy, others are unhappy: That is the best Reason can be given of their various Fortune. In the second Place, *Epicurus*'s competition with the famous Philosopher, who was the Founder of the *Stoics*, must needs have had ill Consequences. The *Stoics* professed a great Severity in their Morals: Now to contend with those Men, was much the same disadvantage at that Time, as to quarrel in this Age with Bigots. They interested Religion in their Quarrel; they insinuated their Fears, that Youth would be perverted; they alarmed all good Men; their Accusations were regarded and credited; the People easily perswading themselves, that true Zeal and austere Maxims go always together. Now as there were no greater Defamers than these Men, it must not be thought strange, if by their Invectives against *Epicurus*, by their pious Frauds and forged Letters, they have made disadvantageous Impressions, which have lasted a long Time. I say, in the third Place, that it was an easy thing to give an ill Sense to the Tenets of that Philosopher, and to scare honest Men with the Word *Voluptuousness*, of which he made use. If People had spoken of it with the Explications he added to it, no body had been alarmed; But they carefully removed all the Explications that might be favourable to him: And after all, there were some *Epicureans* who made an ill Use of his Doctrine. They did not debauch themselves in his School, but had the Cunning to shelter their debaucheries under the Authority of so great a Name. 'Non ab Epicuro impulsi luxuriantur, sed vitia sua dedita, luxuriam suam

An Enquiry into the Causes of the ill Opinion People have had of *Epicurus*.

'in

dience due to Magistrates [O]. His Reputation was much greater after his Death, than during his Life [P], as *Seneca* had observed, and as *Metrodorus* had foretold.

It will not be amiss to give here an Instance of the Malice and Disingenuity with which *Epicurus* was censur'd. He wrote a Book, intituled, *The Banquet*, and therein he treated the Question, Which Time is properest to embrace a Woman? His Censurers, greedy of a Pretence to slander him, represented unfaithfully his Proceedings, by changing the Circumstances of it. There is no doubt but he was innocent, since *Plutarch* has been so just, as to shew, that there was nothing in it unworthy of a Philosopher [Q]. The same *Plutarch* has written a Treatise on purpose to prove, that one

' in philosophiæ finu abscondunt: & eo concurrunt ' ubi audiunt laudari voluptatem. Nec æstimatur vo- ' luptas illa Epicuri (ita enim mehercules sentio) quam ' tobria & sicca sit: sed ad nomen ipsum advolant, ' quærentes libidinibus suis patrocinium aliquod ac ve- ' lamentum (138). ---- *Vices that Revels are not owing* ' *to the Indigation of Epicurus, but being abandoned* ' *to Vice they hide their Luxury in the Bosom of* ' *Philosophy, and throw themselves into the Arms of* ' *that Sect which espouses Pleasure. Nor do they con-* ' *sider how narrow and jejune, (for such indeed I* ' *look upon it) the pleasure of Epicurus is; but fly to* ' *the bare name, thinking to find a shelter and Pro-* ' *tection under it.*' Consult *Gassendus*; who unfolds this marvellously well, and shews how many great Men, carried away with the Torrent, have, from Age to Age, followed the established Prejudices, without examining Things to the Bottom. This is the Case of several Fathers: But *Gregory Nazianzen* did not suffer himself to be imposed upon (139); and I remember I have read in *Origen* (140), that the Followers of *Epicurus* forbore Adultery as much as the *Stoics*, tho' upon a different Motive.

[O] *He had very good Notions and Maxims touching the Obedience due to Magistrates.*] We have seen before (141), how he is commended on account of his constant Zeal for the Good of his Country. He did not abandon it in difficult Times, but shared the Miseries of his Country-men. He lived upon Beans, and fed his Disciples with them, whilst *Demetrius* besieged *Athens*, dividing the Beans one by one with them: Κυάμους τοῖς ἑταίροις μετ' αὐτὸν διανεμόμενος; *Fabas cum ipsis ad numerum partiens* (142). He wished for good Sovereigns, but submitted himself to those that governed ill. ' A Mazum most necessary for the Public Good, and the Foundation of the Safety and Tranquillity of States. ' Semper vota fecit pro Reipublicæ prosperitate ac vetere regimine, acquievit vero tempori præsenti ac Dominis sorte datis. Donec iracundos habuit magistratus, patiens fuit ac docilis, quum verò bonos ac mites, gratus fuit ac obsequiosus. (142*). ---- *He put up continual* ' *Vows for the Safety of the Commonwealth, and the an-* ' *cient Form of Government, but complied with the present* ' *State of Affairs, and submitted to those who had the For-* ' *tune to govern. Whilst the Magistrates were severe, he* ' *was patient and peaceable, but when they were* ' *mild and indulgent, he was grateful and dutiful.*' I am a Witness, said a modern wise Man (143), and not a Judge of the Life of Princes; and though I should not approve their Conduct, I should stick fast to that old Oracle, *Bona tempora vota expetere, quælibet tempora tolerare.* This is taken out of *Tacitus* (144), and is also to be found in a Speech which an Emperor made to his Soldiers: Χρὴ δ' ἀνδρὸς γενναίου τὰ μὲν εὐτυχοῦντα μὴ ὑπερχαίρειν, τὰ δὲ βάσανα, φέρειν δὲ τὰ παρόντα ἔτι. Decet autem viros fortes atque moderatos optima quidem optare, sed ferre quæcunque incidant (145). ---- *Brave and* ' *considerate Men ought to wish for the best, but to bear* ' *with what happens.*

[P] *His Fame was much greater after his Death, than during his Life.*] *Seneca*, speaking of several great Men, whose Contemporaries had not done them Justice, does not forget *Epicurus*. ' Quam multorum ' profectus, *jam hic* (146), in notitiam evasere post ip- ' sos, quam multos fama non excepit sed extulit? Vides ' Epicurum, quantopere non tantum eruditiores, sed ' hæc quoque imperitorum turba miretur. Hic igno- ' tus ipsis Athenis fuit, circa quas delituerat. Mul- ' tis itaque jam annis Metrodoro suo superstes, in ' quandam epistolam, cum amicitiam suam & Metrodori, ' grata commemoratione cecinisset, hoc novissime ad- ' jecit, nihil sibi & Metrodoro inter bona tanta no- ' visse, quod ipsos illa nobilis Græcia non ignotos ' solum habuisset, sed pene inauditos. Numquid ergo ' non postea, quam esse defierat, inventus est? num- ' quid non opinio ejus emicuit? Hoc Metrodorus quo- ' que in quadam epistola confitetur, se & Epicurum non ' satis emmuisse: sed post, se & Epicurum, magnum pa- ' ratumque nomen habituros, apud eos qui voluissent ' eadem ire vestigia. --- *How many have there been,* says he, *whose merits have not been known till they were* ' *almost forgot? How many have there been, to whom* ' *Fame gave at first a cool reception, and afterwards raised* ' *from Obscurity. You see Epicurus: how much is he admired* ' *not only by the learned, but also by the undisciplined* ' *Vulgar? He was unknown even at Athens. Having sur-* ' *vived his Friend Metrodorus several Years, he wrote an* ' *Epistle, wherein he published a grateful Acknowledgement* ' *of their Friendship, and concluded with saying, that he* ' *and Metrodorus, amidst their great good Fortune, had* ' *received no Disadvantage from being not only unknown,* ' *but almost unheard of in Greece. But was not he* ' *found after he had ceased to be? Did not his Doctrine blaze forth? Metrodorus, in a certain Epistle,* ' *makes the same Confession, that he and Epicurus had* ' *not appeared with sufficient Lustre, but that they* ' *both should one day have a more noble Esteem from* ' *those who would tread in the same Paths.*' Notes That in *Seneca*'s Time, not only the Learned, but also the Ignorant, had great Admiration for *Epicurus*. We have the Testimony of a Father of the Church, that *Metrodorus* did not feed himself with chimerical Notions, or vain Hopes, when he thought that the Sect of his good Friend *Epicurus* would make more Noise in the succeeding Ages, than it did during their Lives: For *Lactantius* declares that that Sect was ever more flourishing than the rest (147). ---- ἀκμὴν

[Q] *Plutarch has been so just, as to shew that there is nothing in his* Banquet *unworthy of a Philosopher.*] His Prejudices against *Epicurus* are sufficiently known, and therefore we may be assured that he does not favour him, and that when he justifies him, it is because he finds that he is wrongfully censured. He begins with saying, that ' They inveighed against *Epicurus* for ' introducing, in his *Banquet*, an impertinent and unseemly Discourse, about what Time was best to have to do with a Woman. For an old Man, at Supper, in the ' Company of Youths, to talk of such a Subject, and ' dispute whether after or before Supper was the most ' convenient Time, argued him to be a very loose ' and debauched Man (148).' He says as little after, that *Zopyrus*, the Physician, a Man very well read in *Epicurus*, represented to those Critics, ' That they ' had not duly weighed that Piece; for the first not ' propose that Question at first, and as the beginning ' of the Discourse on purpose; but after Supper he ' desired the young Men to take a Walk, and then ' discourse and dispute upon it, abate their Desires, ' and restrain their Appetites: shewing them, that it ' was very hurtful at all Times, but especially after ' they had been eating and making merry. But suppose he had proposed this as the chief Topic for ' Discourse, does it not become a Philosopher to enquire which is the convenient and proper Time? ' Ought we not to time it well, and direct our Embroils by Reason? Or may such Discourses be otherwise allowed, and must they be thought unseemly Problems to be proposed at Table? Indeed I am of another Mind. It is true, I should blame a Philosopher, that in the middle of the Day, in the Schools, before all sorts of Men, should discourse of such a Subject; but over a Glass of Wine, between Friends and Acquaintance, when it is necessary to propose something besides dull serious Discourse, why should it be a Fault to hear or speak any Thing that may inform our Judgments, or direct our Practice in such Matters? And I protest, I had rather that *Zeno* had inserted his loose Topics of Pleasures

(138) Seneca, de Vita Beata, cap. xii, pag. m. 625. *See the Pensées sur les Comètes, pag.* 53.

(139) *Il acknowledged, that Epicurus's Morals were very regular.* Iamb. de Sect. Gassend. lib. vii, cap. iv.

(140) Origen. contra Celsum lib. vii, pag. 375.

(141) *Rem.* [N], Citat. (129).

(142) Plut. in Demetrio, pag. 905. *A.*

(142*) Rondelius, de Vitâ & Moribus Epicuri, pag. 126.

(143) Balzac, *Letter xxvii, of the fourteenth Book, pag.* 613. *Edit. in Folio.*

(144) Histor. lib. iv, cap. viii.

(145) Alexander Severus, apud Herodian. l. b. vi, cap. ult. pag. m. 262.

(146) Seneca, Epist. lxxi, pag. m. 325.

(147) Epicurei disciplina celebratur semper fuit quam cæterorum. *Lactant. Divin. Instit. lib. iii, cap. xvii.*

(148) Plutarch, *in the third Book of his Table-Talk, chap. viii.*

one cannot live agreeably according to *Epicurus*'s Principles. He shews, amongst other Things, that the Doctrine, which denies God's Providence, and the Immortality of the Soul, deprives a Man of a Thousand Comforts in Life [*R*], and drives him to Despair when he is near Death. I am not sorry that the Author has forborn examining, whether those, who denied a Providence, argued more consistently than those who acknowledged one: I mean, Whether supposing, as all Philosophers did, that Matter was *self-existent*, it was not a more solid Reasoning to maintain that the Gods did not actuate Matter, than to suppose they disposed of it (as they pleased). I say once more, I am not sorry *Plutarch* did not enter upon the Examination of that Question; for he was too much prepossessed against *Epicureism*, and too far engaged in certain Hypotheses, not to embarrass and embroil that nice and great Subject; but I am sorry I have met with no Book wherein this Matter was in some measure discussed. Methinks that, among so many Apologists for *Epicurus*, there should have been some, who, at the same Time that they condemned his Impiety, should have endeavoured to shew, That it was a Natural and Philosophical Consequence of the Error common to all the Heathens, about the Eternal Existence of Matter [*S*]. I shall make some Observations

' *flutes* in some merry Discourses, and agreeable Table-
' talk, than in such a grave serious Piece of his Po-
' lities. The Greek is, Νὴ τὸν κύνα, καὶ τὸ Ζή-
' νωνος ἂν εὐλογῶμεν διαιωρούμενοι ἐν συμποσίῳ
' τινι καὶ παιδιᾷ μᾶλλον ἢ σπουδῇ τοσαύτῃ ἐ-
' χόμενον συγγράμματι τὴν πολιτείαν καταγινώ-
' σαι. *Per canem adjure optare me suos libros diametri-
' mos obscœnos Zenonem in convivio aliquo aut jocoquam
' in tam seria de republica opere posuisse* (150) Here you see *Epicurus* justified, by a Writer who was not much his Friend; justified, I say, both in the Thing itself, and in the Manner of it, against a Set of Slanderers, who after all were in the wrong, and who unfaithfully related the Circumstances. But here is another sort of Justification. *Plutarch* himself imitates him; he disputes at Table about the same Question; he turns it every way, and reasons like a great Master in these Things. He is nevertheless one of the gravest Authors among the Heathens, and one who constantly inveighed against Immorality: Which ought to teach our false Zealots and pretended nice Critics, that they are rashly, and without Reason, offended at the liberty the Author has taken, in this Dictionary, to relate what they call merry Stories. Do not our Christian Physicians, even those who carefully keep up the Character of Gravity, and shew a great Zeal for the Purity of Morals, handle the same Question, the handling of which was charged upon *Epicurus* as a Crime? Let their Style be never so clean, can they examine that Question without raking into Filthiness, and without presenting a great many obscene Images to the Mind? But would it not be ridiculous to pretend, under this pretence, that they ought not to discuss it, let the Rules and Cautions they give, and the Observations they make, be never so useful? Note, that *Amiot*, Bishop of *Auxerre*, and Great Almoner of *France*, made no manner of scruple to publish in French the whole Chapter, out of which I have taken some Passages; though it be stuffed with obscene Matters which he has ingeniously expressed. It must also be confessed, that the Morality of *Plutarch* in it is very fine; for he prescribes the Night for Love-Sports, out of a Principle of Religion. ' For, *says he* (151), all Men
' have not the Command of that happy Ease and Tran-
' quillity, which *Epicurus*'s Philosophy procured him;
' for many great Incumbrances seize almost upon every
' one every Day, or at least some Disquiets, and it is
' not safe to trust the Body with any of these, when
' it is in such a Condition and Disturbance presently
' after the Fury and Heat of the Embrace is over. Let,
' according to his Opinion, the happy and immortal
' Deity sit at ease, and never mind us; but if we re-
' gard the Laws of our Country, we must not dare
' to enter into the Temple and offer Sacrifice, if but
' a little before we have done any such Thing. It is
' fit therefore to let Night and Sleep intervene, and
' after there is a sufficient space of Time passed be-
' tween, rise as it were pure and new, and, as *Demo-
' critus* was wont to say, *with new Thoughts upon the
' new Day*'

(150) Plut. in Sympos. lib. III, cap. VI, pag. 653.

(151) Plut. ibid. pag. 655.

[*R*] *The Doctrine which denies God's Providence, and the Immortality of the Soul, robs Man of a Thousand Comforts.*] *Plutarch* proves this so solidly, that after having read his Reasonings, one cannot sufficiently wonder at the powerful Influence the first Impressions of certain Objects have upon our Minds. The first Idea, which presents itself to those who will examine the Case of Irreligion, is the Idea of a Liberty most happy according to human Notions, wherein a Man may gratify all his Desires without either Fear or Remorse. This Idea takes so deep a Root in the Mind, and fills it up to that degree, that if any one tells us, that the Condition of a pious Man, in Point of temporal Advantages, is incomparably above that of an *Epicurean*, we reject that Assertion as a most absurd Lye. Nevertheless, this pretended Lye is supported by a vast number of strong Reasons, as *Plutarch* has very well made it appear. The Honesty of that Author, in this part of his Dispute, seems very considerable to me, in case he was sensible how far his Reasons might serve to justify *Epicurism*; for if it be certain, that by denying God's Providence, and the Immortality of the Soul, a Man deprives himself of a thousand Blessings and Comforts, it was not thro' Motives of Interest, through Self-love or Voluptuousness, that *Epicurus* chose the Philosophical Hypothesis he taught. He would rather have chosen the other, if he had been determined by such Motives. There are many Things to be said upon this Matter; but I chuse to refer them to another Book (152), wherein I shall likewise examine an Objection which Mr *le Fevre* has proposed against *Plutarch*. He accuses him of having contradicted himself: to prove which, he mentions what *Plutarch*, disputing against *Epicurus*, has said about the temporal Advantages and Comforts of Religion, and what the same *Plutarch* has maintained in another Place, that Superstition is worse than Atheism (153).

(152) *In the Sequel of the Pensées diverses sur les Comètes.*

(153) Tanaq. Faber, *Preface to his Translation of Plutarch's Treatise concerning Superstition. See the same also towards the End of his Remarks upon that Treatise.*

[*S*] *Some of Epicurus's Apologists should have endeavoured to shew that his Impiety was a natural Consequence . . . . . of the eternal Existence of Matter.*] There was, among the Natural Philosophers of the Heathens, a great variety of Opinions, about the Origin of the World, and the Nature of the Element or Elements, of which they pretended particular Bodies to have been formed. Some maintained, that Water was the Principle of all things, others gave that Quality to the Air, others to the Fire, others to *Homogeneal Parts*, &c. but they all agreed in this Point, that the Matter of the World was unproduced. They never disputed among themselves upon the Question, whether any Thing was made out of Nothing. They all agreed, that this was impossible; and consequently the independent Eternity, which *Epicurus* attributed to Atoms, was not an Opinion which other Sects might condemn with respect to that necessary and increated Existence; for every one of them ascribed the same Nature to the Principles they admitted. Now I say, this Impiety being once supposed, to wit, that God is not the Creator of Matter; it is less absurd to maintain, as the *Epicureans* did, that God was not the Author of the World, and did not concern himself with the Government of it, than to maintain, as many other Philosophers did, that he had formed it, and did both preserve and direct it. What they said, was true indeed; but however, they spoke not consistently with their Principles. It was an intruding Truth, which had got into their System, not thro' the Door, but thro' the Window; and if they found themselves in the right Way, it was because they went astray from the Road they had first entered upon. If they had known how to follow it, they would not have proved orthodox; and

ſervations thereupon, which will ſhew, amongſt other Things, I. That when a Man does not follow the Syſtem of the Holy Scripture, concerning the Creation, the more conſequentially

and therefore that Orthodoxy was a baſtard and monſtrous Production, which by chance reſulted from their Ignorance, and for which they were indebted to their Incapacity of reaſoning well. This Reproach was yet much ſtronger with reſpect to thoſe Philoſophers who lived before *Anaxagoras*, ſince they explained the Generation of the World without the Intervention of the Finger of God (154). If after that they admitted a Divine Providence, they reaſoned much worſe than thoſe, who did not admit it till after they had ſuppoſed that the Divine Intelligence preſided over the Reduction of the Chaos to Order, and the firſt Formation of the Parts of this World.

(154) See the Dictionary, ANAXAGORAS, Rem. [L]

If I ſhould ſay no more, moſt of my Readers would imagine that I advance as impious a Paradox as the Doctrine of *Epicurus* itſelf. I muſt therefore explain this as clearly as poſſible: In order to that, I ſhall firſt lay down this Foundation, That, according to the Syſtem of all the Heathen Philoſophers who believed a God, there was an eternal, increated Being diſtinct from God; to wit, Matter; which owed it's Exiſtence to it's own Nature only, and had no Dependance upon any other Thing, either as to it's Eſſence, Exiſtence, Attributes, or Properties. Therefore it could not be affirmed, without contradicting the Laws and Notions of Order, which are the ſtanding Rules of our Judgments and Reaſonings, That another Being has exerciſed ſuch a great Power over Matter, as to have made an abſolute Change in it: And conſequently thoſe, who have advanced, that Matter, having eternally exiſted by itſelf, without being a World, began to be a World when God was pleaſed to move it in a thouſand different Ways; condenſing it in one Place, rarifying it in another, *&c.* have advanced a Doctrine that ſhocks the moſt exact Notions, to which thoſe who philoſophize are bound to conform themſelves. If *Epicurus* had thus interrogated a *Platonic Philoſopher*, *Pray tell me by what Right God has deprived Matter of that State wherein it had eternally ſubſiſted? What is his Title? Whence has he his Commiſſion to make this Reform?* What could the *Platonic* have anſwered? Could he have founded God's Title upon the ſuperior Force with which he was endowed? In this Caſe, would he not have made God act according to the Law of the ſtrongeſt, and after the Manner of thoſe conquering Uſurpers, whoſe Conduct is manifeſtly oppoſite to Right, and which Reaſon and the Notions of Order repreſent to us as unjuſtifiable? Would he have ſaid, that God being much more perfect than Matter, it was juſt he ſhould ſubject it to his Dominion? but even this claſhes with the Notions of Reaſon. The moſt excellent Man of a City has no Right to make himſelf Maſter of it, and cannot lawfully govern there, unleſs that Authority is conferred upon him. In ſhort, we know no other lawful Title of Dominion than that which either the Quality of Cauſe, or the Quality of Benefactor, or that of Purchaſer, or a voluntary Submiſſion, *&c.* can give. Now nothing of all this can have Place between an increated Matter and the Divine Nature: therefore we muſt conclude, That, without violating the Laws of Order, God could not make himſelf Maſter of that Matter, to diſpoſe of it at his Will. If you alledge what paſſes between Man and other Animals, and the Dominion he exerciſes over Beaſts he has neither produced nor fed (155), I will anſwer (156), That either his Wants, or his Paſſions, being the Baſis of that Dominion, that cannot ſerve to make us apprehend how God could aſſume the Command over Matter; he who wants nothing, and who finds in himſelf the whole Stock of his infinite Felicity; and who is capable of no Paſſion, and cannot do any Action that is not perfectly conformable to the ſtricteſt Juſtice.

(155) I ſpeak thus, becauſe I conſider Men and Beaſts in general; and not a Man in particular, who buys, feeds, *&c.* ſuch or ſuch a Beaſt

(156) I ſuppoſe, that it is *Epicurus* makes this Anſwer, and not a Man who has reaſon, in *Geneſis*, what is the lawful Cauſe of the Authority we exerciſe over Animals.

> Omnis enim per ſe divum natura neceſſe eſt
> Immortali ævo ſumma cum pace fruatur
> . . . . . .
> Ipſa ſuis pollens opibus, nihil indiga noſtri (157).

(157) Lucret. lib. 1, ver. 57.

> *For whatſoe'er's Divine muſt live in Peace,*
> *In undiſturb'd and everlaſting Eaſe,*
> *From all Dependance on our Nature free,*
> *Sufficient to it's own Felicity.*

A *Platonic*, thus preſſed, would be obliged to ſay, That God exerciſed his Power over Matter merely from a Principle of Goodneſs. God, would he ſay (158), knew perfectly theſe two Things: the one, that he would do nothing againſt the Inclination of Matter, by ſubjecting it to his Dominion; for being inſenſible, it could not be capable of being grieved at the loſs of it's Independency: The other, that it was in a State of Confuſion and Imperfection; a diſorderly heap of Materials, of which an excellent Edifice might be made, and ſome of which might be converted into living Bodies and thinking Subſtances: Wherefore he was pleaſed to communicate to Matter a more beautiful and more noble State than that which it was firſt in. Is there any thing in this unworthy of a King ſovereignly juſt, and ſovereignly good? This, methinks, is the moſt rational Anſwer a *Platonic* could make; but I think, at the ſame time, that *Epicurus* would deſire no better than to ſee the Controverſy brought to that Iſſue: For he would have many Difficulties to propoſe.

(158) *Note*, That this *Platonic*, preſſed by *Epicurus*'s Objections, muſt be forced to abandon the Opinion which *Plutarch* aſcribes to *Plato*, touching the Soul of Matter. *See the Rem. [I], towards the End.*

I. He would aſk, in the firſt Place, whether a thing can be capable of a more convenient State than that it has ever been in, and in which it has eternally been placed by it's own Nature, and the Neceſſity of it's Exiſtence. Is not ſuch a Condition the moſt natural that can be imagined? Can that want any Reformation which has been regulated and determined by the Nature of Things, and by that Neceſſity to which all that exiſts by itſelf owes it's Exiſtence? Is it not neceſſarily to laſt a whole Eternity? And is not this a Proof that any Reformation would come too late, and conſequently would be incompatible with the Wiſdom of the Reformer?

II. But let us ſuppoſe the Maxim, *Better late than never*; *Præſtat ſero quàm nunquam*: How will that Reformer do to change the State and Condition of Matter? Muſt he not produce Motion in it? And, in order to that, muſt he not touch and puſh it? If he can touch and puſh it, he is not diſtinct from Matter; and if he be not diſtinct from Matter, it is without Reaſon you admit two increated Beings; the one which you call *Matter*, the other which you call *God*: For ſince there is in effect nothing but Matter in the Univerſe, our Diſpute is at an End; the Author of the World, that Director, the Divine Providence in Queſtion, vaniſh into Smoak. If he be diſtinct from Matter, he has no extenſion: tell me then, how he can apply himſelf to Bodies to drive them out of their Places? The *Platonic* would anſwer, That Matter was ever in Motion, and therefore it was only neceſſary to direct that Motion: But it will be replied, that in order to direct the Motion of certain Bodies, it is neceſſary to move others. This appears in the working of a Ship, and in all machines: Wherefore the Divine Nature, unleſs it were Material, could with no more eaſe give a new Determination to a Motion already exiſting, than produce Motion originally. Note, That *Ariſtotle* has acknowledged the Suppoſition of the eternal Motion of Matter to be abſurd: He ſolidly confutes *Plato*, who advanced, that before the Formation of the World there was a diſorderly Agitation in the Elements. Πρὶν γενέσθαι τὸν κόσμον ἐκινεῖτο τὰ στοιχεῖα ἀτάκτως. *Elementa inordinate movebantur antea quam mundus eſſet* (159). He convinces him of contradicting himſelf; and obſerves in general againſt thoſe who taught, That the Motion that preceded the Exiſtence of the World was irregular, that they advanced an Abſurdity; ſince the Motion which agrees to moſt things, and for a longer Time, ought to be accounted natural: From whence it follows, that the Production of the World would rather be an Overthrow of the State of Nature, than an Introduction of the true natural State: Ἔτι, τὸ ἀτάκτως, εἲν ἐστι θατέρῳ ἢ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν, ἡ γὰρ τάξις ἡ οἰκεία, τῶν δὲ ἀδυνάτων φύσις ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦτο ἄτοπον καὶ ἀδύνατον, τὸ, τὸ ἄπειρον ἄτακτον ἔχειν κίνησιν· ἐσὶ γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἔκπυρ τῶν πραγμάτων, οἷαν ἔχει τὸ πλεῖω, καὶ τὸν πλείω χρόνον. συμ-

(159) Plato, in Timæo apud Ariſtotelem de Cœlo, lib. iii, cap. ii, pag. m. 300. G.

consequentially he reasons, the more he goes astray. II. That that System alone has the

Cæterùm in eâ ipsâ turbâ, tum ἀταξίαν esse quandam, tum τάξιν. Ἀταξίαν quidem, quæ sit secundùm naturam: τάξιν verò, quæ sit præter naturam. Et in mundo quidem ἀταξίαν præter naturam esse: in eâ verò, quæ sit in mundo, secundùm naturam. Et in animalibus quidem ἀταξίαν præter naturam esse: in eâ verò, quæ sit in animalibus, secundùm naturam. Et in animalibus quidem ἀταξίαν præter naturam esse: in eâ verò, quæ sit in animalibus, secundùm naturam. Et in animalibus quidem ἀταξίαν præter naturam esse: in eâ verò, quæ sit in animalibus, secundùm naturam.

(160) Aristotel. de Cœlo, lib. iv. cap. ii, pag. 371. E.

Cæterùm in eâ ipsâ turbâ, tum ἀταξίαν esse quandam, tum τάξιν. Ἀταξίαν quidem, quæ sit secundùm naturam: τάξιν verò, quæ sit præter naturam. Et in mundo quidem ἀταξίαν præter naturam esse: in eâ verò, quæ sit in mundo, secundùm naturam. Et in animalibus quidem ἀταξίαν præter naturam esse: in eâ verò, quæ sit in animalibus, secundùm naturam. Et in animalibus quidem ἀταξίαν præter naturam esse: in eâ verò, quæ sit in animalibus, secundùm naturam.

(161) Id. Ibid. C.

Cæterùm in eâ ipsâ turbâ, tum ἀταξίαν esse quandam, tum τάξιν. Ἀταξίαν quidem, quæ sit secundùm naturam: τάξιν verò, quæ sit præter naturam. Et in mundo quidem ἀταξίαν præter naturam esse: in eâ verò, quæ sit in mundo, secundùm naturam. Et in animalibus quidem ἀταξίαν præter naturam esse: in eâ verò, quæ sit in animalibus, secundùm naturam. Et in animalibus quidem ἀταξίαν præter naturam esse: in eâ verò, quæ sit in animalibus, secundùm naturam.

(162) See Erasmus upon the Proverb, Adagium in nostris quæ prava aut rectè geruntur; which is the 85th of the VIth Century of the first Chiliad, pag. 222.

(163) Horat. Epist. I, lib. III, ver. 5.

Romulus, & Liber pater, & cum Castore Pollux,
Post ingentia facta, Deorum in templa recepti,
Dum terras hominumque colunt genus, asperа bella
Componunt, agros assignant, oppida condunt (163).

Bacchus, Quirinus, and the Sons of Jove,
Whose Virtues rais'd them to the Gods above,
Whilst here they liv'd, thrik'd War's destructive Rage,
Built Towns, made Laws, and civiliz'd the Age.

Let us consider in another Sense, if those Motives of Goodness you mention ought not to have been overruled by Reasons of Wisdom.

IV. A wise Agent never undertakes to employ a great Heap of Materials, without having first well examined their Qualities, and being assured they are susceptible of the Form he designs to give them: and if, upon examining their Qualities, he finds that they have incorrigible Faults, which would render their new Condition worse than the former, he will not meddle with them. He abandons them to themselves; and judges, he will act with more Wisdom and Goodness in leaving Things as he finds them, than in giving them another Form which would become pernicious. Now you *Platonics* agree (164), that there has been in Matter a real Defect, which was an Obstacle to God's Project; an Obstacle, I say, which has not permitted God to make a World free from those Disorders we perceive in it: And it is certain, on the other side, that those Disorders render the Condition of Matter infinitely more unhappy than that eternal, necessary, and independent State in which it had been before the Generation of the World. All was insensible in that State: Grief, Pain, Crime, all Physical and Moral Evils, were then unknown. It is true, there was no Pleasure felt: But that Privation of Good was not an Evil; since it cannot be so, but as it is felt and lamented. You see therefore that it did not become a wise and good Being to change the Condition of Matter, to transform it into such a World as this is. It contained in it's Bosom the Seeds of all the Crimes and Miseries we now behold. But those were unfruitful Seeds; and in that State they did no more Harm than if they had not existed; nor were they pernicious and fatal, till after the Animals were hatched out of them by the Formation of the World. Thus Matter was a *Camarina* which should not have been stirred (165); it should have been left in it's eternal Rest: Well remembring, that the more one stirs a stinking Matter, the more it spreads it's Infection round. We must not doubt but the Divine Nature has acted by this Notion; and therefore it is not she has made the World.

(164) See what must upon the Proverb Movere Camarinam. It is the 66th of the IVth Century of the first Chiliad. Μὴ κινεῖν κάμαρινα. Μὴ κινεῖν κάμαρινα. Μὴ κινεῖν κάμαρινα

the Advantage of laying the ſolid Foundation of the Providence, and Perfections of God [T]. There is nothing more wretched than *Epicurus*'s way of explaining the Liberty

ſome did not ſerve as Food to others. It happened that the moſt perfect of thoſe Animals did not ſpare even the Fleſh of thoſe of his Kind; there happened to be Cannibals among them: And thoſe, who abſtained from that Brutality, did not forbear perſecuting one another, and were a prey to Envy, Jealouſy, Fraud, Avarice, Cruelty, Diſeaſes, Cold, Heat, Hunger, *&c.* Their Author ſtruggling continually with the Maligny of the Matter productive of theſe Diſorders (167), and obliged to have always the Thunderbolt in his Hand (168), and to pour down upon the Earth Peſtilence, War, and Famine; which, with the Wheels and Gibbets with which Highways abound, do not hinder Evil from maintaining itſelf: Can their Author, I ſay, be looked upon as a happy Being? Can one be happy, when at the end of four thouſand Years Labour he has made no further Progreſs in his Work than the firſt Day he undertook it, and which he paſſionately deſires to finiſh? Is not this Image of Infelicity as lively as *Ixion*'s Wheel, *Siſyphus*'s Stone, and the Tub of the *Danaides*?

I ſay nothing but what is very likely, when I ſuppoſe that *Epicurus* perſuaded himſelf that the Gods would ſoon have repented the having made the World; and that the Trouble of governing ſo indocile and refractory an Animal as Man, would diſturb their Felicity. Do we not ſee in the Scripture, that the True God, accommodating himſelf to our Capacity, has revealed himſelf as a Being, who, having known the Malice of Man, repented, and was ſorry he had created him (169), and as a Being who is provoked, and complaining of the ill Succeſs of his Labour (170)? *He ſays to Iſrael, All the Day long I have ſtretched forth my Hands unto a diſobedient and gainſaying People* (171). I know well enough that the ſame Book, which teaches us all theſe things, teaches us likewiſe how to rectify the Idea they preſent to us at firſt Sight: But *Epicurus*, deſtitute as he was of the Light of Revelation, could not rectify Philoſophy, and muſt of neceſſity follow the Path which ſuch a Guide ſhewed him. Now, faithfully purſuing this Track, and ſupported by theſe two Principles; one, that Matter was ſelf-exiſtent, and ſuffered not itſelf to be managed according to God's Deſire; the other, that the Felicity of God cannot admit the leaſt Diſturbance; he muſt have reſted in this Concluſion, that there is no Divine Providence. We ſhall draw from thence ſome Conſequences advantageous to the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion See the following Remark. Note, That if inſtead of engaging *Epicurus* with a *Platonic*, I had made him diſpute with a Prieſt of *Athens*, he would have carried the Victory with more Eaſe. See alſo the following Remark.

[T] *The Syſtem of Scripture alone has the Advantage of laying the ſolid Foundation of the Providence, and Perfections of God.*] *Epicurus*'s Objections, which have been ſet forth in the preceding Remark, and were ſufficient to nonplus the Heathen Philoſophers, diſappear and vaniſh away like Smoak, with reſpect to thoſe whom Revelation has taught, That God is the Creator of the World, both as to it's Matter and to it's Form. This Truth is of the utmoſt Importance: For we draw from thence, as from a plentiful Source, the moſt ſublime and moſt fundamental Doctrines, and one cannot lay down the Hypotheſis oppoſite to that, without overthrowing ſeveral great Principles of Reaſoning. From God's being the Creator of Matter, it reſults, I. That with the moſt lawful Authority that can be, he diſpoſes of the Univerſe as he thinks fit: II. That he needs only a ſingle Act of his Will to do whatever he pleaſes: III. That nothing happens but what he has placed in the Plan of his Work. It follows from thence, That the Conduct of the World is not an Employment that can either fatigue or trouble God, and that no Events whatſoever can diſturb his Felicity. If ſome Things happen which he has forbidden, and which he puniſhes, they do not however happen contrary to his Decrees; and they are ſubſervient to the Ends he has propoſed to himſelf from all Eternity, and which are the greateſt Myſteries of the Goſpel. But the better to know the Importance of the Doctrine of the Creation, we muſt alſo caſt our Eyes upon the inextricable Difficulties into which they involve themſelves who deny it. Conſider therefore what *Epicurus* might have objected to the *Platonics*, as we have ſeen before, and what may be ſaid now-a-days againſt the *Socinians*. They have rejected the Evangelical Myſteries, becauſe they could not reconcile them with the Light of Reaſon. They would have contradicted themſelves, if they had agreed that God created Matter: For this Philoſophical Axiom, *Ex nihilo nihil fit, Nothing is made out of nothing*, is as evident as the Principles by Virtue of which they have denied the Trinity and the Hypoſtatic Union. They have therefore denied the Creation: But what have they got by it? Why, the falling into one Abyſs by avoiding another (172): For they have been obliged to acknowledge the independent Exiſtence of Matter, and at the ſame time to ſubmit it to the Authority of another Being. They have been forced to own, That neceſſary Exiſtence may belong to a Subſtance which is befides full of Defects and Imperfection; and this deſtroys a moſt evident Notion, to wit, That what is eternally and independently ſelf-exiſtent, ought to be infinitely perfect: For what could have ſet Bounds to the Power and Attributes of ſuch a Being? In ſhort, they muſt anſwer moſt of the Difficulties, which I have ſuppoſed *Epicurus* might have propoſed to the Philoſophers who admitted the Eternity of Matter (173). From whence we may infer, by the by, That it is very advantageous to the True Religion, to ſhew that the Eternity of Matter draws after it the Deſtruction of Divine Providence. By this Means we ſhew the Neceſſity, Truth, and Certainty of the Creation.

I am ſure one of the greateſt Philoſophers of this Age, and at the ſame time one of the moſt zealous Writers for the Doctrines of the Goſpel, will agree, that by making an Apology for *Epicurus*, ſuch as you have ſeen it *ex hypotheſi* in the preceding Remark, one does the true Faith no ſmall Service. He teaches not only, That there would be no Providence, if God had not created Matter; but even, That God would not know that there is Matter, if it was uncreated. I ſhall cite his Words at large, wherein the *Socinians* will find their Condemnation: ' How ſtupid and ridiculous Philoſophers are! They imagine the Creation to be impoſſible, becauſe they do not conceive the Power of ' God to be ſo great as to make ſomething out of nothing. But can they conceive how God's Power is ' able to move a Straw? If they conſider it well, they ' conceive not the one more clearly than the other, ' ſince they have no clear Idea of Efficacy or Power: ' inſomuch that if they followed their falſe Principle, ' they ought to affirm, That God wants even the ' Power to give Motion to Matter. But this falſe ' Concluſion would engage them in ſuch impertinent ' and impious Opinions, that they would ſoon become the Objects of the Contempt and Indignation ' even of the leaſt underſtanding Perſons: For they ' would ſoon be reduced to maintain, That there is ' no Motion or Change in the World: or elſe, that ' all thoſe Changes are not produced by any Cauſe, ' nor regulated by Wiſdom . . . . . (174). If Matter ' was uncreated, God could neither move it, nor form ' any thing out of it: For God can neither move ' Matter, nor wiſely diſpoſe of it, without knowing it. ' Now God cannot know it, unleſs He gives Exiſtence ' to it: For God can have no Knowledge of any ' thing but from Himſelf. Nothing can act in Him, ' or enlighten Him. Therefore if God did not ſee in ' Himſelf, and by the Knowledge He has of His Will, ' the Exiſtence of Matter, it would have been eternally unknown to Him: He could not therefore ' diſpoſe it into Order, or form any Work out of it. ' Now Philoſophers agree, as well as you, That God ' can move Bodies: And ſo, tho' they have no clear ' Idea of Power or Efficacy, tho' they ſee no Connexion between the Will of God and the Productions ' of Creatures, they ought to acknowledge, that God ' has created Matter, unleſs they mean to make Him ' impotent and ignorant; which is corrupting the ' Idea we have of Him, and denying His Exiſtence ' (175).'

Before I end, I will make another Obſervation. I have made *Epicurus* diſpute againſt a *Platonic* Philoſopher; which was not making the moſt of his Advantages: For he would have confuted all the other Sects much more eaſily than that of *Plato*. But his greateſt

Advantage

(167) Utrum . . . Deus quod vult efficat, an in multis rebus illum ſuæ ſanctæ deſiſtunt, & à magno artifice prave fermentur multa, non quia ceſſat ars, ſed quia id in quo exercetur ſæpe inobſequente arte eſt. *Seneca*, in *Præf. lib. 5. Quæſt. Natur.*

(168) . . . neque Per noſtrum patimur ſcelus Iracunda Jovem ponere fulmina. *But ſtill averſe to Jove's Command We won't permit his lifted Hand To lay his angry Thunder down.* Horat. Od. III, lib. 1, ver. 38.

(169) Gen. vi, 5, 6.

(170) Iſaiah, v, & paſſim alibi, *the Prophets and Pſalms.*

(171) Rom. x, 21.

(172) Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Charybdim. *See* Braſmus. Chil. 1, Cent. v, n. 4.

(173) *Note*, That it is [illegible] have found in the Hypotheſis of a material Principle exiſting by itſelf, and diſtinct from God.

(174) *Father* Malebranche, Meditations Chrétiennes, ix Meditation, n. 3, pag. m. 140.

(175) *Id.* ibid. n. 5, pag. 141, 142.

A PICTURESQUE Diſpute between *Epicurus* and a Pagan Prieſt.

berty & Human Actions (U).

Advantage would have been to dispute with a Priest. Let us give a Specimen of it: Let us suppose that *Epicurus* told him, You call me impious, because I teach, That the Gods do not meddle with the Government of the World, and I charge you with not knowing how to reason, and, besides, with doing the Gods a great Injury. Is it consonant to the Light of Reason, to believe that *Jupiter* has an absolute Power over the Universe; he who is Son of *Saturn*, and Grandson to Heaven? Is it for an Upstart-Deity, as he was, to govern Matter, which is an eternal and independent Being? Know that whatever has a Beginning, is as new as what was done yesterday and to day in comparison of Eternity. Do not therefore subvert all order, by subjecting the Matter of the Universe to so young a God. Let us come to the other Point. Answer me, pray, are the Gods pleased with their Administration, or no? Mind well my Dilemma. If they are pleased with what happens under their Providence, then they delight in Evil; if they are displeased with it, then they are unhappy. Now it clashes with common Notions, that they should love what is Evil, and that they should not be happy. They do not like Evil, would the Priest answer? nay, they look upon it as a great Offence, which they punish severely: And from hence proceed Plagues, Wars, Famines, Shipwrecks, Inundations, &c. I conclude from your Answer, would *Epicurus* reply, that they are unhappy. For nothing can make one's Life more unhappy, than to be continually exposed to Injuries, and continually obliged to revenge them. Sin never ceases among Men, therefore there is not one Moment in the Day wherein the Gods have not some Affronts put upon them. The Plague, War, and the other Evils you have mentioned, never cease upon Earth: For if they end from Time to Time in one Country, they never cease with respect to all Nations, and so the Gods have no sooner taken Revenge of one Nation, but they must begin to punish another: Their Work is never at an end. What a Life is this? Could one wish a greater Torment to one's mortal Enemy (176)? I had much rather attribute to them a quiet Condition, void of care. But, would the Priest say, you suppose then, that they see the Disorders of Mankind unconcerned, and without endeavouring to redress them. Does this Indifference do them much Credit? Are they not younger than the Heaven? would *Epicurus* reply: do not you say, that the most ancient of the Gods, who reigns at present, accounts the Heaven his Grandfather? They did not then make the World; and therefore it is not for them to concern themselves with what passes upon Earth, or elsewhere. They know that Matter exists from all Eternity, and that the fatal Necessity of self-existing Beings cannot be changed. They therefore let the Stream run on, and do not undertake to reform an immutable Order. Neither ought we to wonder that their Perfections are limited, since you confess that those of Matter, which exists eternally, are very small. Your *Jupiter*, and his Assistants in the Celestial Council, have little Reason to pretend to punish Lewdness, since they themselves are so unfaithful to their Wives, and have deflowered so many Virgins. You cannot deny however (would the Priest answer) but the Doctrine of Providence is of great Force to keep the People in their Duty. That is not the thing in question now, would *Epicurus* reply. Do not change the State of our Dispute. We seek not what may have been established as an useful Invention, but what truly flows from the Light of Reason.

(176) Hostibus eventus talis deus meis.

[U] *There is nothing more wretched, than Epicurus's way of explaining the Liberty of human Actions.*] There is no System, from which the fatal Necessity of all things flows more inevitably, than from that which *Epicurus* borrowed of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*: For what they said, that the World had formed itself by Chance, or by the fortuitous Concourse of Atoms, did not exclude the Direction of an intelligent Cause, and did not signify, that the Production of the World was not a Consequence of the eternal and necessary Laws of the Motion of corporeal Principles. And indeed, it is certain that *Democritus* attributed all things to a necessitating Destiny. 'Quum duæ sententiæ fuissent veterum philosophorum, una eorum qui censerent, omnia ita fato fieri, ut id fatum vim necessitatis afferret, in qua sententia DEMOCRITUS, HERACLITUS, EMPEDOCLES, ARISTOTELES fuit: altera eorum, quibus viderentur sine ullo fato esse animorum motus voluntarii. Chrysippus tanquam honorarius arbiter, &c (177). —— *There have been two Opinions amongst the ancient Philosophers; one that made every thing so dependant upon Fate, as to imply a necessity; on this side stood* Democritus, Heraclitus, Empedocles, Aristotle: *The other, which maintained that the Action of the Mind were voluntary, and not influenced by Fate.*' *Epicurus* not liking an Opinion which seemed to overthrow all Morality, and reduce the human Soul to the Condition of a Machine, abandoned in that Particular the System of Atoms, and sided with those who admitted Freedom in the Will of Man. He declared against fatal Necessity, and even took unnecessary Precautions: For lest it should be inferred, that if every Proposition is either true or false, all happens by Fatality; he denied that every Proposition was either true or false (178). However, though he had granted that, no Body could have reasonably concluded from thence the Necessity of *Fatum*. Consider well how *Cicero* shews him the Truth of what I have said: 'Licet enim Epicuro concedenti, omne enunciatum aut verum aut falsum esse, non veren ne omnia fato fieri sit necesse. Non enim æternis causis naturæ necessitate manentibus verum est id quod ita enunciatur. Defendit in Academiâ Carneades, nec tamen sine causis. Sed interest inter causas fortuito antegressas, & inter causas cohibentes in se efficientiam naturalem. Ita & semper verum fuit, Moritur Epicurus, quum dup & septuaginta annos vixerit, Archonte Pitharato: neque tamen erant causæ fatales cur ita accideret: sed quod ita accidisset, certè casurum sicut accidit fuit (179) —— *Had Epicurus granted that every Proposition was either true or false, there would have been reason to fear that all things must necessarily be determined by Fate. The Truth of this Proposition,* Carneades *entered the Schools, depends not upon Causes flowing from a Necessity of Nature, and yet some cause of it's Truth there must be. But there is a difference between accidental Causes, and Causes that carry with them a Nature of Necessity. Thus it was always true, Epicurus will die, at the Age of seventy two, under the Administration of Pitharatus; yet was there no Necessity why it should so happen; but since it did so happen, it is certain it was to happen accordingly.*' This Doctrine of *Cicero* has been fully explained in the Courses of Philosophy of the Jesuits, who of all Philosophers are the most zealous in maintaining that 'dearum propositionum contradictoriarum de futuro contingenti, altera est determinate vera, altera falsa. —— *Of two contradictory Propositions concerning a future Contingent the one is absolutely true, the other false.*' And nevertheless we see few Men that are greater Sticklers for the Doctrine of the Liberty of Indifference. From whence we may conclude, that there are means to reconcile the Free-will of Man with the Hypothesis, *That every Proposition is either true or false.* But because *Epicurus* was not well assured of this Matter, he was afraid to intangle himself if he did not deny that Doctrine. He was not acquainted with all the Consequences of it, and therefore, to go upon sure Grounds, he chose to stand upon the Negative. *Chrysippus* had no clearer Notions of it; for he believed, that unless he proved that every Proposition is either true or false, he could never prove that all things happen by the Force of Destiny: 'Contendit omnes nervos Chrysippus, ut persuadeat omne dictum aut verum esse aut falsum. Ut enim Epicurus veretur, ne, si hoc concesserit, concedendum sit fato fieri quæcunque fiant (si enim alterutrum ex æternitate verum fit, esse id etiam certum. & si certum, etiam necessarium. ita & necessitatem & fatum confirmari putat) sic Chrysippus metuit, ne, si non obtinuerit, omne quod enunciatur, aut verum esse aut falsum, omnia fato fieri possint ex causis æternis rerum futurarum (180). —— *Chrysippus labours with all his Might to evince that every Proposition is either true or false. For as Epicurus feared, that if he made this Concession, he must likewise allow an absolute Fatality, (for if either side be eternally true, it must be certain; if certain, necessary; and thus he imagined Fate and Necessity could be established) so Chrysippus was afraid, that, unless he gained this point, viz. that every Proposition was either true or false, all things*

(177) Cicero, de Fato, cap. xvii. See, before, Citat. (183).

(178) See Cicero, de Natura Deor. lib. i. cap. xxv. & seq. & Quæstiones Academ. lib. iv. cap. xxiii.

(179) Id. de Fato, cap. ix.

(180) Id. ibid. cap. x.

'would not be subject to Fate from the eternal Causes of 'future things.' Neither of these two great Philosophers apprehended, that the Truth of this Maxim, *Every Proposition is either true or false*, is independent upon what was called *Fatum*; and therefore it could not serve as a Proof for the Existence of *Fatum*, as *Chrysippus* pretended, and *Epicurus* feared. *Chrysippus* could not have granted, without doing himself Prejudice, that there are Propositions that are neither true nor false; but he got nothing by establishing the contrary: For whether there be free Causes or no, it is equally true that this Proposition, *The Great Mogul will go to morrow a hunting, or he will not go*, is either true or false. It is with a great deal of Reason that this Discourse of *Tiresias* has been accounted ridiculous (181), *viz. All I shall say, shall either happen or not; for the Great Apollo bestows on me the Faculty of prophesying!*

(181) Quid hoc refert vaticinio illo ridiculo Tiresiæ? *Quicquid dicam aut erit aut non.* Boetius de Consol. Philosoph. lib. v, Prosa iii, pag. m. 194.

O Laertiade, quicquid dicam aut erit aut non:
Divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo (182).

Ulysses, what I sing shall be the state
Of Things to come, I read the leaves of Fate.

(182) Horat. Sat. v, lib. ii, ver. 59.

If it was possible there was no GOD, it would nevertheless be certain, that whatever the greatest Fool in the World should foretel, should either happen or not happen: This was not observed by *Chrysippus* or *Epicurus*.

But let us see what *Epicurus* invented to extricate himself from the Inconveniencies which arise from the Notion of Fate. He gave his Atoms a Motion of Declination, wherein he established the Seat, Source, and Principle of free Actions; pretending, that by this means there were Events independent of fatal Necessity. Before him, no other Motion was admitted in Atoms, but that of Weight, and that of Reflexion: the first of which was always in perpendicular Lines, and in the Vacuum was ever the same; nor was it changed but when an Atom struck against another. Now *Epicurus* supposed, that even in the midst of the Vacuum Atoms did somewhat decline from the direct Line, and from thence, said he, proceeded Liberty. 'Sed Epicurus declinatione atomi vitari fati necessitatem putat: itaque tertius quidam motus oritur extra pondus & plagam, quum declinat atomes intervallo minimo, id appellat ἐλάχιστον: quam declinationem sine causâ fieri, si minus verbis, re cogitur confiteri . . . . . Hanc Epicurus rationem induxit ob eam rem, quòd veritus est, ne, si semper atomus gravitate ferretur naturali ac necessaria, nihil liberum nobis esset, quum ita moveretur animus, ut atomorum motu cogeretur. Hinc Democritus auctor atomorum accipere maluit necessitate omnia fieri, quàm à corporibus individuis naturales motus avellere' (183). —— *Epicurus by the Declination of Atoms thinks to escape the Doctrine of Necessity, for which reason he superadds a third Motion to that of Gravity, and Impulse, whereby the Atom deviates a little, as he expresses himself, from it's direction; which deviation he is forced to confess, if not expressly, yet in reality to be without Cause . . . . . Epicurus introduced this Argument, because he was afraid, lest, if the Atom should be always carried on by a natural and necessary Gravity, Liberty would thereby be entirely destroyed, since the Motion of the Mind would be necessarily determined by that of the Atom. For which reason Democritus, the Author of this System of Atoms, chose rather to admit the Doctrine of Fatality, than to deprive Bodies of their natural Motions.* Let us remark by the way, that this was not the only Motive that induced him to invent that Motion of Declination: He likewise made use of it to explain the Concourse of Atoms; for he saw well enough, that by supposing that they all moved with equal Celerity in direct Lines, which all tended from higher to lower, he should never be able to explain how they could have met: And so that the Production of the World had been impossible. He therefore was obliged to suppose, that they declined from the direct Line (184). *Lucretius* describes this double use of the Motion of Declination.

(183) Cicero, de Fato, cap. x.

(184) See Cicero, lib. i, de Finib. cap. vi.

Illud in his quoque Te rebus cognoscere avemus:
Corpora cum deorsum rectum per Inane feruntur,
Ponderibus propriis incerto tempore ferme,
Incertisque locis spatio decedere paullùm:
Tantùm quod Momen mutatum dicere possis.
Quod nisi Declinare solerent, omnia deorsum,
Imbris uti guttæ, caderent per Inane profundum:
Nec foret Offensus natus, nec Plaga creata
Principiis: ita nil unquam Natura creasset (185).
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Denique si semper motus connectitur omnis,
Et vetere exoritur semper novus ordine certo,
Nec Declinando faciunt Primordia motus
Principium quoddam, quod Fati fœdera rumpat,
Ex infinitò ne causam causa sequatur:
Libera per terras unde hæc animantibus extat,
Unde est hæc (inquam) fatis avolsa Voluntas,
Per quam progredimur, quo ducit quemque voluptas (186)?
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Quare in Seminibus quoque idem fateare necesse'st,
Esse aliam præter Plagas, & Pondera causam
Motibus, unde hæc est nobis innata potestas:
De nihilo quoniam fieri Nil posse videmus.
Pondus enim prohibet, ne Plagis omnia fiant,
Externa quasi vi, sed ne Mens ipsa necessum
Intestinum habeat cunctis in rebus agendis;
Et devicta quasi cogatur ferre, patique:
Id facit exiguum CLINAMEN Principiorum
Nec regione loci certa, nec tempore certo (187).

(185) Lucret. lib. ii, ver. 216.

(186) Id. ibid. ver. 251.

(187) Id. ibid. 284.

Uncertain when or where,
But Seeds in downward Motion must decline
A very little from th' exactest Line.
For did they still move streight, they needs must fall
Like drops of Rain, dissolv'd and scatter'd all;
For ever tumbling thro' the mighty Space,
And never join to make one single Mass:
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Besides, did all things move in a strait Line,
Did still one Motion to another join
In certain order, and no Seed decline,
And make a Motion fit to dissipate
The well wrought Chain of Causes and strong Fate;
Whence comes this perfect Freedom of the Mind?
Whence comes the Will so free and unconfin'd
Above the Pow'r of Fate, by which we go
Where'er we please, and what we will we do?
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
Therefore we must confess, as these things prove,
There is another Cause by which things move,
Besides dull Weight and Stroke, from whence is wrought
This Pow'r, for nothing can arise from nought.
For Weight forbids that things be only join'd
By Stroke and outward Force; and lest the Mind
Should be by strong Necessity confin'd,
And, overcome, endure Fate's rigid Laws,
This little DECLINATION *is the Cause.*

CREECH.

If it was necessary to expose the Absurdities of this Doctrine, I could shew several: For, in the first place, what can be more unworthy of a Philosopher, than to suppose *high* and *low* in an infinite Space? This is nevertheless what *Epicurus* supposed; for he pretended that all Atoms moved from higher to lower. If he had supposed that they moved in all manner of right Lines, he had assigned a good Reason for their concourse, without being obliged to the pretended Motion of Declination. Secondly, That Motion forced him to contradict himself: For he taught, that Nothing was made out of Nothing, and yet the Declination of Atoms, according to him, depended upon no Cause, and therefore proceeded from Nothing. This Consequence is the stronger, in that we have seen (188), that *Lucretius* confesses, that the free Actions

(188) *Above, Citat.* (187).

Actions of our Souls would proceed from Nothing. If Atoms had not a Motion of Declination. He pretends that they depend neither upon the Motion of Weight, nor the Motion of Repercussion of Atoms: for in such a Case he would be forced to acknowledge, that they are comprehended in the Concatenation of eternal and necessary Causes; and consequently that they are subjected to the fatal Necessity from which he designs to free them. And the Reason why, according to him, they do not proceed from Nothing, though they do not any ways depend either on the Gravitation or Repercussion of Atoms, is because Atoms have a Motion of Declination. From thence I conclude, that this Motion proceeds from Nothing: or, which is the same, that it has no Cause (189), and so I throw *Epicurus* into the Abyss he endeavoured to avoid. If he answer, That it is as much the Nature of Atoms to decline, as to move downwards, and to strike one another as often as they meet. I reply, that their Declination is of no use to human Liberty, and does not hinder Fatality; and I maintain, *ad hominem*, that all the Fatality of the Stoics is preserved; for he owns that the Motion from Gravitation, and that of Repercussion, do inevitably introduce fatal Necessity. Thirdly, It is absurd to suppose, that a Being that has neither Reason, Sensation, nor Will, should deviate from a strait Line in a void Space; and that it does not always deviate from it, but at certain Times, and in certain undetermined Points of the Space (190). For a fourth Absurdity, I alledge the manifest Disproportion between the Nature of Liberty, and the Motion, whatever it be, of an Atom which neither knows what it does, where it is, or that it exists. What Consequence is there between these two Propositions, *The Soul of Man is composed of Atoms, which moving necessarily in strait Lines, decline a little from the right Way: therefore the Soul of Man is a free Agent?* Cicero has made a right Judgment of this Hypothesis of *Epicurus*, when he says, That it were less shameful to own we cannot answer our Adversary, than to have recourse to such Answers as these. ' Hoc persæpe facitis, ut cum aliquid non verisimile dicatis, & effugere reprehensionem velitis, afferatis aliquid, quod omnino ne fieri quidem possit: ut satius fuerit illud ipsum de quo ambigebatur, concedere, quam tam impudenter resistere: velut Epicurus cum videret, si atomi ferrentur in locum inferiorem suopte pondere, nihil fore in nostra potestate, quod esset earum motus certus & necessarius, invenit quo modo necessitatem effugeret, quod videlicet Democritum fugeret, qui Atomum cum pondere, & gravitate directa deorsum ferretur, declinare pendulum. Hoc dicere turpius est, quam illud quod vult non posse defendere (191). —— *It is a common thing with you, when you have advanced something that seems improbable, and would avoid Reproach, to alledge something which is altogether impossible, so that it would be much better to give up the Point in debate, than defend it in so unreasonable a manner as the Epicurus, who, when he saw, that if the Atoms were carried downwards by their own Weight, the Freedom of Action would be lost, since their Motion was determined and necessary, found out an Expedient which had escaped Democritus. He says, that an Atom, though carried directly downwards by its own Gravity, has a little Declination, which Subterfuge is more base, than to advance what he is not able to defend.*' He has very happily described the Perplexity wherein this Philosopher found himself. ' Nec quum hæc ita sint, est causa cur Epicurus fatum extimescat, & ab atomis petat præsidium, easque de via deducat, & uno tempore suscipiat res duas inexplicabiles: unum, ut sine causa fiat aliquid, ex quo existat, ut de nihilo quippiam fiat: quod nec ipsi, nec cuiquam Physico placet: alterum, ut quum duo individua per immensum ferantur, alterum a regione moveatur, alterum declinet (192). —— *Nor, as the Case stands, has Epicurus any reason to dread Fatality, or fly for Refuge to Atoms, endeavour to frame them to his Purpose, and plunge himself at once into two irretrievable Difficulties; the one, that there may be an Effect without a Cause, from whence it would follow, that something may arise out of nothing, which is neither agreeable to himself, nor any Philosopher; the other, that when two Individuals are carried thro' the Vacuum, the one should move direct, and the other decline.* It was easy, methinks, to perceive him. How can you pretend, might one have said to him, that the Liberty of Man is founded upon a Motion of Atoms, which is performed without any Liberty? Can the Cause give what it has not? Can a hundred Atoms, which decline without knowing what they do, form a Judgment, whereby the Soul may, with Knowledge, be determined to the Choice of either of two Things that present themselves? *Epicurus* might from thence have known, how much it concerned him to ascribe to each Atom an animated and sensitive Nature, as *Democritus* seems to have done (193); and as *Plato* had supposed, that Matter had a Soul, even before God had framed the World. Ἄκοσμία γάρ ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου γίγνεται: ἀκοσμία δέ, ἐκ ἀνάγκης, καὶ ἀτάξια, καὶ ἀψυχία. . . . . Ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ὅτε ἔφατο τὸ δεύτερον ἔστι ψυχὴν τῷ ἀψύχῳ ἐνοικίσας. Fuit nimirum antequam mundus nasceretur, materies, non corporis ea, non motus, non animæ expers. Atenim Deus neque corpus de incorporeo, neque animam de inanimo redigit (194). —— *Before the Creation there was Matter, indigested indeed, but not void of Substance, Motion, or Soul. . . . . For God did not create Body from incorporeal, nor Soul from inanimate Substance.*'

We must not forget what *Cicero* mentions, to wit, that *Carneades* invented a Solution, much more subtle than all the Suppositions of the *Epicureans*; which was to assert, That the Soul had a free Motion, of which she was the Cause. ' Acutius Carneades, qui docebat posse Epicurum suam causam sine hac commentitia declinatione defendere. Nam quum doceret esse posse quendam animi motum voluntarium, id sufficere melius, quam introducere declinationem, cujus præsertim causam reperire non possunt: quo defenso, stabit Chrysippo posse resistere. . . . . (195). De ipsa atomo dici potest, quum per inane moveatur gravitate & pondere, sine causa moveri, quia nulla causa accedat extrinsecus. Rursus autem, de animo à physicis tribuemus, ut dicamus quicquam fieri sine causa, distinguendum est, & ita dicendum ipsius individui hanc esse naturam, ut pondere & gravitate moveatur, eamque ipsam esse causam cur ita feratur. Similiter ad animorum motus voluntarios non est requirenda externa causa, motus enim voluntarius eam naturam in se ipse continet, ut sit in nostra potestate, nobisque pareat, nec id sine causa. Ejus enim rei causa, ipsa natura est (196). —— *Carneades was more ingenious, who taught that the Epicureans might defend their Cause, without this imaginary Declination. For it is more easy to defend a Possibility of the Soul's having a voluntary Motion, than to introduce a Declination, of which no Cause could be assigned. This Point gained, they might easily withstand Chrysippus. . . . . Of the Atom it may be said, that in being moved through the Void by Gravity, it is moved without Cause, since no exterior Force is applied. But again, that we may not all be the Jest of Philosophers, if we say any thing is done without a Cause, a Distinction is to be made in this manner. It is the nature of that Individual to be moved by Gravity, and that this alone is the Cause of it's being moved. In the same manner, no external Cause is required to the voluntary Motion of the Soul, for this voluntary Motion does in itself contain that Nature, being in our Power, and subject to our Controul, and that not without Cause. For it's own Nature is it's Cause.*' It is certain, that thus *Carneades* furnished them with an Answer, not only much more solid than what they made use of, but also the most ingenious and the strongest that human Wit can produce. I own one might have asked him, Do these voluntary Actions of the Soul, which are independant upon any external Cause, depend upon the Nature of the Soul, as the Motion from Gravity depends upon the Nature of Atoms, according to *Epicurus*? In that case you do not remove the Fatality of the Stoics; for you admit no Effect, which is not produced by a necessary Cause. Neither *Carneades*, nor any other Heathen Philosopher, was able to make any solid Answer to that Question.

(189) *The Atomists objected that to Epicurus* Ἐπικούρῳ μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἀναίρεσις συνέβαινε τὸν ἄτομον συγκρούεσθαι, καὶ ἀναίτιον ἐκφέρεσθαι κατὰ μὴ ἐπιπροσθοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ ἐπιπροσθοῦσαν.

(190) Id enim exiguam eliminationem principiorum Nec regione loci certa, nec tempore certo. *Lucret. vide supra, pag. 795.*

(191) Cicero, de Natura Deorum, lib. I, cap. XXV.

(192) Idem, de Fato, cap. IX.

(193) *See the Remark* [F].

(194) Plat. de Animæ Procreatione in Timæo, pag. 1014. E.

(195) Cicero, de Fato, cap. XI.

(196) Ibid.

EPISCOPIUS (SIMON) one of the most Learned Men of the XVIIth Century, and the chief Pillar of the *Arminian* Sect, was born at *Amsterdam* in 1583; and

I having

having gone through his Classic Learning there, went to study at *Leyden* in the Year 1600. He took there his Degree of Master of Arts in 1606. Afterwards he applied himself to the study of Divinity, and made such Progress in it, that in a little Time he was judged fit for the Ministry. The Burgomasters of *Amsterdam* desired he might be advanced to it; but because, during the Disputes between *Gomarus* and *Arminius*, he had sided with the latter, he found many Obstacles to his Reception: Whereupon he left the University of *Leyden* in disgust, and went to that of *Franeker* in 1609. He did not stay long there; for he perceived, that, having disputed with too much Heat, he had thereby provoked the Professor *Sibrandus Lubertus*, a great *Gomarist*. He therefore left *Franeker*, and returned into *Holland*, and was there received Minister in the Year 1610, and presented to a Village (*a*) in the District of *Rotterdam*. He was one of the Deputies at the Conference held at the *Hague* in 1611, before the States of the Province, between six Anti-Remonstrant and six Remonstrant Ministers; and there he displayed his Wit and Learning to great Advantage. The next Year he was chosen Professor of Divinity at *Leyden*, to supply the Place which *Gomarus* had voluntarily quitted, and lived peaceably with *Polyander* his Colleague, tho' they had contrary Opinions about Predestination. The Duties of his Office, and the Studies of his Closet, were an easy Burden to him, in comparison of the Insults and Slanders to which he saw himself exposed, during the Troubles of *Arminianism* [*A*]: for the heat of Division and Hatred seized in a short Time the Minds of the People. The States of *Holland* having invited *Episcopius* to the Synod of *Dort*, that he might take his Place there as the other Professors of the Seven United Provinces, he was one of the First that repaired thither, accompanied with some Remonstrant Ministers; but the Synod would not suffer that any of them should appear in the Assembly as Judges, but as Persons cited. They were forced to yield to this Necessity; and having made their Appearance, *Episcopius*, in a set Speech, declared they were ready to confer with the Synod. He was answered, That the Assembly was not there to confer, but to judge. They excepted against it, and refused to acquiesce in a Decree the Synod had made, That they should explain and defend their Opinions, no farther than the Assembly should think fit. Upon their refusing to submit to those Terms, they were expelled the Synod, and they proceeded to pass Judgment upon them, by their Writings (*b*). They defended their Cause with the Pen; and it was *Episcopius* who composed most of the Pieces they produced on this Occasion, and which were made public some Time after. They were deprived of their Employments by the Synod; and because they refused to subscribe a Writing, containing a Promise not to exercise any Function of their Ministry in private, directly nor indirectly, they were banished the Dominions of the Republic. *Episcopius* stayed in the *Spanish Netherlands* as long as the Truce lasted [*B*]; and was not so taken up with the Concerns of his oppressed

(*a*) Called Bleswick.

(*b*) Cum Synodus libertatem ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... [illegible]

oppressed Party, but that he wrote against the Church of *Rome*, in Defence of the Common Cause of the Protestants [C]. When the War between the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch* broke out again, he went into *France*; and, by his Writings, endeavoured as much as in him lay to strengthen and comfort his Brethren [D]: And at last, a more favourable Time being come, he returned into *Holland* in 1626, in order to be Minister of the Remonstrant Church at *Rotterdam*. Here he married the next Year [E], and removed to *Amsterdam* in 1634, to govern the College which those of his Sect had erected there. He died in that Employment the fourth of *April* 1643, of a retention of Urine, having loſt his Sight some Weeks before [F]. He composed several Books after his return into *Holland*, wherein he did not always uſe that moderate Stile, which his Principles of Toleration, joined to the Evangelical Duties, exacted from him in a moſt particular Manner. His Friends endeavour to excuſe him in that Particular [F]. It is said, his

(e) Taken from the Preface to his Works compoſed by *Curcellæus*. Note, that I do not warrant the Facts I borrow from thence, either in the Body, or in the Remarks of this Article.

triumphant; but generally it lays an Obligation on one to caſtigate the other Party: For, becauſe the Victory we gain is attended with many Violences againſt the depreſſed Party; it is neceſſary, in order to juſtify them, and to hinder honeſt Minds from pitying the perſecuted, to publiſh againſt them the moſt odious Accuſations. I do not apply this to the Arminians, PARTICULARLY AND EXPRESSLY, AND BY CAPITAL LETTERS. But theſe are the Words of one of them: 'Antuerpiæ durantibus inter Hiſpaniarum regem & Ordines induciis domicilium elegerat, non ut cum patriæ hoſtibus conſilia agitaret, aut adverſus religionem reformatam quicquam moliretur, quemadmodum malevoli quidam miſeriæ illorum inſultantes dictitabant: ſed quia propinquus erat ille locus, & ex quo Eccleſiæ ſuæ dilectis & familiis commodius quam ex remotiore proſpicere poterant (5). —— *They took up their Reſidence at Antwerp, whilſt the Truce ſubſiſted between the King of Spain and the States General, not to cabal with the Enemies of their Country, & conſpire againſt the Reformed Religion, as ſome, to inſult over their Diſtreſs, maliciouſly gave out; but becauſe the Place was near, and from thence they might keep a more commodious Watch over their dear Churches and Families.*

(f) Bayle, Curcellæus, ubi ſupra.

[C] *He wrote againſt the Church of Rome, in Defence of the Common Cauſe of the Proteſtants.*] He not only, in concert with his Fellow-Exiles, compoſed a Confeſſion of Faith, which was ſoon followed by a Book called, *Antidotum adverſus Synodi Dordracenæ Canones*, but he diſputed likewiſe with great vigour againſt *Peter Wadingus*. He was a Jeſuit (6), who did him a thouſand Kindneſſes; and who, taking Advantage of his Diſcontent, endeavoured to draw him into the Boſom of his Church. He diſplayed the moſt captious Arguments of the Controverſiſts of his Party; and, without being diſcouraged by the Anſwers that were made him, he changed their Diſpute, which was by way of Converſation, into a Controverſy in writing. He compoſed two Letters, the one upon the Rule of Faith, the other upon the Worſhip of Images, and ſent them to the Refugee Profeſſor, who did not fail to write a moſt ſolid Anſwer to them immediately (7). It was not publiſhed till after his Death, *viz.* in the Year 1644. It has, ſince that, been inſerted in the Edition of all his Works, in *Folio*.

(6) He was an Iriſhman. *See* Alegambe.

(7) *See the Preface to that Work of* Epiſcopius.

[D] *He endeavoured by his Writings . . . . . to ſtrengthen and comfort his Brethren.*] I do not ſpeak only of ſeveral private Letters which he ſent into *Holland*, but likewiſe of the Works he compoſed for the Public during his ſtay in *France*. Of this Number are his Remarks upon ſome Chapters of St *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Romans*; his *Bodekerus inceptus*, his *Examen Theſium Jacobi Gepelli*; and his Reply to *Cameron*, &c (8).

(8) Ex Præfatione, Steph. Curcellæi.

[E] *Here he married the next Year.*] It was with the Widow (9) of *Henry de Nielles*, Miniſter at *Rotterdam*. Brother to that *Charles de Nielles*, whom the Remonſtrants looked upon as one of their chief Confeſſors. He was a long time in Priſon; and ſeveral of his Letters are to be ſeen among thoſe the Remonſtrants have publiſhed. He recovered his Liberty, and was Miniſter at *Amſterdam* (10); *Epiſcopius* loſt his Wife towards the end of the Year 1641, and never had any Children by her (11).

(9) Her Name was Mary Poſſet.

(10) Ex Curcellæo, ubi ſupra.

(11) Ibid.

[F] *His Friends endeavoured to excuſe the Bluntneſs of his Stile.*] *Curcellæus* not being able to deny, that *Epiſcopius* might have written ſome things with more Moderation (12), adds, that ſeveral Reaſons prompted him to that way of writing. In the firſt Place, ſays he, *Epiſcopius* who never the Aggreſſor

(12) Quia etſi forte quædam ſimilia dici poterunt, quam ab eo factum fuerit, graviſſimas tamen ita ſcribendi cauſas habuerit. *Ibid.*

he never attacked any body, but only repelled thoſe that attacked him. Secondly, the Writings he confuted were ſometimes very violent; an Inſtance of which is the Book the Profeſſors at *Leyden* publiſhed under the Title of *Confeſſionis Remonſtrantium Cenſura*, and it is pretended they were obliged by very powerful Motives to ſpeak in ſuch a Tone. It was neceſſary to perſuade the World, that the Anti Remonſtrant Doctors had juſtly condemned the Arminians in the Synod of *Dort*, and juſtly excited the Magiſtrates to uſe great Severity againſt that Party. This Synodical Condemnation, this fiery Zeal in exaſperating the Magiſtrates, were two things that might blemiſh the Reputation of thoſe Gentlemen, if it ſhould appear that the condemned Party was only guilty of ſmall Errors: And therefore, to ſave the Credit of the Judges, it was neceſſary to give an odious Character of that Party. Now becauſe the World began to ſay, that the five famous Articles were not a ſufficient Reaſon to perſecute People, they were obliged to maintain, that the Confeſſion of the Remonſtrants was full of execrable Hereſies; that every thing in it was corrupted from the beginning to the end, and that the very Title was a Sore; And thereupon to grow mighty angry. 'Quam '(*Confeſſionis Remonſtrantium Cenſuram*) acerbiſſimam 'eſſe, nemo qui vel obiter inſpexerit negare poteſt. 'Nempe exiſtimationis ſuæ intereſſe putabant, ne inde 'juſte primum Remonſtrantes in Synodo Dordracena 'condemnaſſe, & poſtea Magiſtratus ad eos perſequendos inſtigaſſe crederentur. Jam enim vulgo 'dictitabatur non fatis eſſe cauſſæ in quinque illis 'decantatis de Prædeſtinatione articulis, cur ita in 'eos ſæviretur, cum in illis totum Chriſtianum Orbem, 'excepta duntaxat Calvini ſchola, Remonſtrantes Jeſum conſpirantem haberent. Ideo perſuaſum omnibus voluerunt Profeſſores iſti Confeſſionem illorum 'horrendis hæreſibus ſcatere, nihil in ea à capite ad 'calcem, imo ne in titulo quidem, ſani eſſe (13). *Which* (Cenſure of the Remonſtrants Confeſſion) *every one at firſt Sight muſt allow to be very bitter. They thought it concerned their Reputation, to make the World believe, that in the firſt Place they had not condemned the Remonſtrants in the Synod of Dort without Cauſe, nor, in the ſecond place, ſpirited up the Magiſtrates to perſecute them. For it was already publickly given out, that there was nothing in thoſe memorable Articles concerning Predeſtination that deſerved ſo harſh a Treatment, ſince the Remonſtrants therein had the Concurrence of the whole Chriſtian World, except the Calviniſts. Wherefore thoſe Profeſſors labour'd to perſuade Mankind, that their Confeſſion fowrand with dreadful Hereſies, that from the beginning to the end, not even excepting the Title-Page, there was nothing Orthodox to be found.* Thus that Author inſinuates, that the Profeſſors of *Leyden* wrote ſo ſharply out of meer Policy, and that their Anger was a feigned Paſſion, intended only to remove a public Scandal, and clear their own Reputation. Thirdly, he ſays, that *Epiſcopius* loſt all Patience, when he ſaw that theſe Gentlemen pried into the ſecret Intentions, and moſt intimate Receſſes of the Heart, when they found nothing to carp at in the Expreſſions of the Confeſſion of Faith they cenſured. Here is an infallible way to make one's Adverſary appear an Heretic: for tho' he ſpeaks the Language of the Orthodox, it may be ſaid, that he conceals in his Heart the Poiſon of Hereſy (14). 'Imo quod omnes modeſtiæ limites excedit, cum in confeſſionis verbis & phraſibus nihil 'occurrebat quod cum ſpecie aliqua admodere poſſet, 'ſe Dei oculis ingredi juta tenentario ſuis in-

(13) Ibid.

(14) *See, againſt the Proceedings of ſuch Men, ſeveral Paſſages of the* Plaintes du Janſeniſme, *and the Preface to* Janus Cedronus Reſcenſus.

volantes

his Works have been approved in *England* by the Episcopal Party; but that there are now some Authors in that Kingdom, who make it their Business to run them down, as if they were dangerous Books. It cannot be denied, that the Distinction he observes, in saying, That certain Articles, which have always been accounted fundamental, are true, but that the Belief of them is not absolutely necessary to Salvation, may have very dangerous Consequences. The learned Father *Mabillon* has lately been censured, upon occasion of *Episcopius*'s Works [G]. The *Arminians* made a remarkable Step in the Year 1690, which shews how much they are concerned for the Honour of that Minister: For it is known that they engaged one of their Professors publickly to charge Mr *Jurieu* with Calumny, for having spoken ill of *Episcopius* [H]. I forgot to say, that the Posthumous Works of that Learned *Arminian* were sent to *Curcellæus* by *Francis Limborch*, Son-in-law to *Rembert Episcopius*, Brother to our *Simon* (d); and that in the Preface, which has furnished me with this Article, there is no mention made of the Journey (d) Steph. Curcell. ibid.

' volantes suspicionem lectoribus ingerere studuerunt, ' an ita ex animo sentirent Remonstrantes prout ora- ' tione sua profitebantur. Nihil ergo mirum si adeo ' barbara & Christianis plane indigna agendi ratio ' D. Episcopium moverit ut duro nodo durum cu- ' neum adhiberet, & sordida illa censuræ ulcera ' acriori apologiæ sale & aceto aliquando perfricaret: ' quod etiam adversus unum aut alterum Censoribus ' illis similem usurpavit (15). —— *Nay, what exceeds all Bounds of Modesty, when nothing occurred, either in the Words or Phrases of the Confession, which they could, with any shew of Reason, condemn, they endeavoured, by arrogantly assuming a Power which only belongs to God, the Searcher of Hearts, to make the Reader doubt whether the Remonstrants did, in their own Breasts, believe what they there professed. No wonder therefore if a Proceeding so barbarous and unbecoming Christians, should move Episcopius to apply a harsh Medicine to so rancorous a Sore, or practise the most proper Methods to defeat their Calumny, as he had done in the Case of others of the same Stamp with those Censors.*' Though these Excuses were better than they are, one might still say with Reason, that those who have need of them, are less to be commended than those that do not want them.

(15) Curcellæus, ibid.

[G] *Father Mabillon has been censured on account of Episcopius's Works.*] A Letter printed in 1691, with the Title of * *Important Advice to Mr Arnauld, about the Project of a new Library of Jansenist Authors*, contains what follows (16). ' Father *Mabillon*, ' in his Treatise of Monastical Studies, has given a ve- ' ry great Encomium to *Episcopius*'s *Theological Insti-* ' *tutions*; wherein, you know, Socinianism is coun- ' tenanced. Mr *Nicole* was no sooner informed of ' that fine Commendation, but he pressed that the ' Author might be advertised of it, that he might ' strike it out: But there was no Remedy, the ' Book being already published. Several young Ab- ' bots had already asked the *Paris* Booksellers for the ' Works of that Arminian, the reading of which ' was so expressly recommended by Father *Mabil-* ' *lon*. It is a great Happiness the Booksellers have ' none of them, there being no Divine so oppo- ' site to St *Augustin*'s Doctrine, and even to that of ' the whole Church, as *Episcopius*, who has even ' introduced in his Party the Toleration of Religions. ' Here, Sir, is the Abstract of that Father. *I can-* ' *not forbear saying in this Place, that if some Things* ' *had been retrenched out of* Episcopius's *Theological In-* ' *stitutions, which were so highly esteemed by* Grotius, ' *that he ever carried them about him, one might use* ' *them with Profit in Divinity. That Work is divid-* ' *ed into four Books, whose Order and Method is quite* ' *different from what is commonly in Use. The Style* ' *is fine; the Manner of treating the Subjects is an-* ' *swerable to the Stile; and one would not lose his Time* ' *in perusing it, if it was purged of some Places, where-* ' *in he speaks rather against the Catholics, or in fa-* ' *vour of his Sect.* What Purgation, I beseech you, can that make of an Author, who calls in Question ' the Mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation, not ' judging the Belief of those Mysteries to be necessary ' to Salvation, because, according to him, they are ' not clearly revealed in Scripture. He passes the ' same Judgement upon other Mysteries. From ' hence he concludes, that there is no Reason to re- ' ject the *Socinians* from Communion. Father *Mabil-* ' *lon* would be more excusable, if he had not read *Ep-* ' *iscopius*'s Book: But he has owned himself, that ' he had borrowed it of the Library-keeper to the ' Archbishop of *Rheims* (17), and that he kept it ' above two Months.' The Author of the *Advice* speaks, two Pages lower, of a Regular Canon, who *told his Friends, that the reading of* Grotius *had begun to open his Eyes.* ' He is not the only Man of his Com- ' munity that speaks thus: Several of them dogma- ' tize; and there are some who read in private the ' Works of *Courcelles*, which contain an Abridgment ' of the Theology of *Arminius*, and a good Part of ' that of the *Socinians*. It is much to be feared, ' that the excessive Praises Father *Mabillon* has given ' to *Episcopius*'s Theological Institutions will set some ' *Benedictines* in quest of his Works, or of *Courcelles*'s ' Theology.

(17) Judge by this how scarce *Episcopius*'s Works are in *France*, since the Benedictines are obliged to borrow them of a Prelate who has been very curious in collecting such Books as are most difficult to be found. *See the Catalogue of his Library, printed at Paris, in* 1693, *in* Folio

[H] *The Arminians . . . . engaged one of their Professors publickly to charge Mr Jurieu with Calumny, for having spoken ill of Episcopius.*] Mr *le Clerc*, Professor in the College of the *Arminians* at *Amsterdam*, and one of the most learned Men of this Age, was ordered, they say, by his Superiors, to publish a Letter addressed to Mr *Jurieu*, wherein he sets forth, That those ' who are never so little acquainted with *Epis-* ' *copius*'s Writings, and the Society of the Remon- ' stants, do not want a Justification of either: And ' as for those who have not read that Author, nor ever conversed with any Remonstrant, if they were ' so unjust as to judge upon Mr *Jurieu*'s bare Ac- ' cusation without enquiring further into the Matter ' in Question, they do not deserve that one should ' endeavour to undeceive them; they would be ut- ' ter Strangers to Equity, and would, in all probabi- ' lity, have their Ears shut against all manner of ' Justification: That he is persuaded, that there is ' no equitable Person, either in the United Provinces ' or elsewhere, that is inclined to believe that Ac- ' cuser upon his bare Word: That therefore it is not ' to undeceive the Public he addresses this Letter to ' Mr *Jurieu*, but only to endeavour, if possible, to ' make him reflect with himself, and engage him to ' ask Pardon of God for the Sin he has committed, ' in calumniating his Neighbour in so odious a Man- ner. That one thing might give hopes, that he ' would be induced to give Glory to God after the ' reading of this Letter, which is, that in what he ' says there appears more inconsiderate Zeal and Ob- ' stinacy, than Artifice and Premeditation: For, after ' all, to accuse without Proof a famous Author, whose ' Books are in every Body's Hands, of having en- ' tertained Opinions which he absolutely rejects, and ' which have no necessary Connexion with his Prin- ciples, is not the Way to persuade any Body.

Some Passages out of a Letter of *Mr le Clerc*.

After this Preamble, Mr *le Clerc* comes to the Point. ' You accuse, *says he*, *Episcopius* of two things: First, ' of being a *Socinian*; Secondly, of being an Enemy ' to the Christian Religion. This last Article is but ' a consequence of the other, according to your Way ' of Reasoning; so that if I should prove that the ' first is a gross Calumny, I shall, by your own ' Principles, convince you of accusing, without Rea- ' son, of the most detestable Hypocrisy that can be imagi- ' ned, a Person who always professed to believe in ' Jesus Christ, and who has given signal Proofs ' of his Faith. The more heinous the Accusation ' is, the clearer the Proofs ought to be, and yet you ' bring none that has the least Probability.' He shews afterwards, that as to the Trinity, and the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ, Episcopius's *Opinion was very remote from that of the* Socinians; He mentions several of his Books, wherein he has clearly explained

journey *Episcopius* took into [illegible] 1619, about which his Enemies spread many false Reports [*l*]; but instead of mentioning that actual journey, they only speak of an imaginary one about the Year 1610.'

explained his Sentiments about those two Capital Points, and confuted the *Socinians*: He proves, that Mr *Jurieu* has unfaithfully quoted two Passages of *Episcopius*: the one touching the Mystery of the Trinity, and the other touching the eternal Torments of the Reprobate: And having thus confuted the first Accusation, he as easily overthrows the second: not only because it is but a Consequence of the first, but because *Episcopius*'s Morals and Writings are a most clear Evidence, that he was virtuous, conscientious, and zealous for the Christian Religion. He marks the Place of his Institutions (18), 'wherein the *Truth of the Christian Religion* is so clearly and strongly 'proved, that if Libertines weighed well his Reasons, 'it might be hoped that there would be no more of 'them in the World: And you must him, Sir, as an 'Enemy to Christianity, as 'tis plain Mr *le Clerc* speaks 'to Mr *Jurieu*, when it does not appear that you have 'so much as perused his Writings, or examined his 'Morals? In Truth, nothing but the Distraction of 'that blind Zeal, which has possessed you so long, 'can make me say, Forgive him, O Lord, For indeed 'you know not what you do. You could not have 'pitched upon a better way to pass for a Man little 'acquainted with the Duties, either of Christianity or 'Civil Society, than by speaking at that rate. There 'is none, except some few silly Women leaden with 'Sins, and who go to a Sermon without understand-'ing any thing in it, or indeed in the Gospel, that 'can be imposed upon by you.'

(18) Vin. Book VI. Sect. 1, cap. 8, & 11.

Reflections upon that Letter, and the Consequence of it.

This signal Step of the Remonstrants is a manifest Sign that *Episcopius* had been calumniated; for there is no likelihood that Mr *le Clerc* would have put his Name to the Letter I mention, if he had thought it possible that Mr *Jurieu* could justify his Accusations; but what was only a Sign, or, if you please, a strong Presumption of *Episcopius*'s Innocence, is become a clear Demonstration by the silence of the Accuser. Every Body knows how much he ought to value his Reputation; therefore nothing but the absolute Impossibility of maintaining his Accusation has obliged him to be silent, and patiently to suffer the public shame Mr *le Clerc*'s Letter has cast upon him. After this, who will say that Mr *Jurieu* is so possessed with the Spirit of Revenge, that he never gave an Instance of Patience? The most coy Soul in the World would not have suffered, as he has done, without opening his Mouth, the atrocious Injury of the *Arminian* Professor. An Injury however, which, supposing *Episcopius*'s Innocence, is but an Act of Justice. It may perhaps be wondered, that the Superiors of the Accuser did not interest themselves in his Honour, as much as all the *Arminian* Party have been concerned for the honour of *Episcopius*: As soon as the latter was accused, his Party flirted to manifest his Innocence to the Public; but no Body has obliged the Accuser to purge himself before the whole World, and to wipe off the infamous Note of being a Calumniator, with which Mr *le Clerc* has stigmatized him. But this different Conduct ought not to be surprising: The Honour of *Episcopius* is of greater Consequence to his whole Party, than the Honour of Mr *Jurieu* to the *Walloon* Churches. And besides, though according to Reason all the Infamy an accused Person should deserve, if he was justly accused, ought to redound to him who calumniates him; yet People judge otherwise according to the Canon Law (19). To find Heresies in a Book, tho' there be none, passes often for a sign of Zeal; a Man comes off with a Caution not to be so forward for the future, nay; sometimes he comes off without such a Reproof. It is therefore more necessary to fly to the Assistance of a Doctor unjustly accused, than to the help of a false Informer against Heresy.

(19) This ought to be understood with relation only to common Practice, for otherwise the Canon Law, as well as the Civil, subjects a Calumniator to the *Lex Talionis*.

Two solid Reasons have engaged me to make this Remark. First, It is the chief Design and Business of this Dictionary to correct false Matters of Fact; more much, that without an Affectation, and a Respect of Persons, which would very justly have been blamed, I could not have passed over in Silence the diffamatory Untruth which has been published against *Simon Episcopius*. Secondly, There being an Occasion to shew Mr *Jurieu* in a fair Light, I had been an ill Husband if I had neglected it. It is honourable in him to repair, by his Silence, the Injury he had done to the Memory of that learned Man. He might have invented a hundred Cavils, Tricks, and Equivocations, to maintain his Accusation; and he might have been sure, that abundance of People would have believed, upon his Word, all he had pleased to say of the *Arminian* Minister. Mr *le Clerc* was under an Obligation with the Public not to reply. Who therefore can deny, that Mr *Jurieu* deserves great Commendations for chusing to be silent, and to moderate his Resentment, rather than to take Advantage of his inventing Faculty, the favourable Prepossessions of his Readers, and Mr *le Clerc*'s Promise? I own, he would still be more to be commended, if, instead of being silent, he had publickly acknowledged that he was mistaken: but a Man does not arrive at one Step to such a Pitch of Heroical Virtue: that is to be attained by degrees; and it is a good Beginning not to reply to the Apology of that Person one has calumniated.

[*l*] *He made a Journey into France, about which his Enemies spread many false Reports.* They said he had had secret Conferences with Father *Coton*, in order to contrive with him the Ruin of the Reformed Church, and of the United Provinces. They maintained he affected to have no Conversation with Mr. *du Moulin*, Minister of *Paris*, and that he did not so much as pay him a Visit. He protests, that these are Impostures, and that he had never seen Father *Coton* but once, and that too by meer Chance, when that Jesuit coming from the King's Palace went into his Coach. 'Utinam Deus hoc illis non imputet! imprimis charago ipsorum Plancio, qui eo imprudentiæ devenit, ut ea clam quæ palam affirmare non dubitaverit, secreta me & arcana consilia agitasse cum Patre Jesuitarum Cotone, in perniciem Reip. & Ecclesiæ nostræ; cum ego eum non nisi semel redeuntem à Rege & currum suum adscendentem, idque obiter & in transcursu, viderim (20) ——

(20) Episcopius, Epist ad Johannem Bylandium. This is the 25th in the Edition in Folio of the Epist. Ecclesiastica & Theologica, pag. 414; but is dated the 9th of October 1625.

'*May God not lay it to their charge, more especially I wish it may not be heavy on Plancius their Leader, who has had the impudence, both in Public and in Private, to affirm that I had secretly engaged with the Jesuit Coton in Councils pernicious to the Church and State, though I never saw him but once, and that accidentally as he came from the King, and was getting into his Coach.*' Taking to witness the Person to whom he writes, he declares, that nothing is more false than the Affectation he is charged with, in relation to *Du Moulin*; and he observes, that *Plancius*, one of the Ministers of *Amsterdam*, was the Author of those Calumnies. Lastly, he says, that every Body began to know the Falsity of the second Accusation. 'Neque hoc solum, sed & 'quod colloquium cum Du Molineo studio declinaverim; neque unquam de compellando eo cogitaverim: Quam rem falsam & vanam esse, tu, si ita videbitur, testimonio tuo confirmare potes, & quicquid ea in re acte & me factum est verbulo significare, etiamsi forte opus non sit futurum. Manifestum enim hujusmodi mendacium vanitate sua propria diffluit tandem, & sponte sua extinguitur atque evanescit (21).' Without making any Application to the Subject in question, I observe, that, generally speaking, the Heads of Parties, in Disputes of Literature or Religion, do not spend Money enough in maintaining Spies. Not but that they are extreamly curious to know whatever their Adversaries say or do; but they easily believe all Reports, and are too forward to confirm them with the Weight of their Testimonies. Zeal makes People often persuade themselves, that an Heretic is capable of the most infamous Plots; and from this Persuasion, they easily pass on to another, which is, that they fancy that he actually contrives all the Machinations of which they suppose him to be capable. As soon as they have got this in their Heads they practise what the Scripture says, *From the abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh* (22), and change their own Suspicions and Surmises into public Discourses, and formal Accusations.

(21) Epist. Eccles. & Theolog. pag. 414.

(22) Matth. xii, 34.

APPENDOR F

EPPENDORF (Henry), a *German* Nobleman [*A*], would have been at this day altogether unknown in the Republic of Letters, if he had not had a great Diſpute with *Eraſmus*. He maintained that Quarrel with great Vigour; and perhaps never did the Great *Eraſmus* meet with an Adverſary that reduced him to ſo diſagreeable Terms of Accommodation. The Articles of this Pacification not having been obſerved, *Eppendorf* made great Complaints of it; and publiſhed a Book, which contains the Hiſtory of that Diſpute [*B*]. Therein we learn, that he went out of his Country

[*A*] *A German Nobleman.*] Here is what we find about it in the Book he intituled, *Ad D. Eraſmi Roterodami libellum, cui titulus*, adverſus mendacium & obtrectationem utilis Admonitio, *juſta Querela*; and which he printed at *Haguenau* (1) in 1531. 'Natus ſum in agro cui gens mea nomen dedit, non 'longè à Friburgo Urbe Miſniæ celebri: avos, atavos, parentes item (quibus & claris & optimis progreſſus ſum) tam ſoleo jactare quam aliis ſuas ſordes exprobro. Quid enim mea refert qua lena, quove aut Sacerdote aut Monacho, quibuſve è ſterquilinii quis prorepſerit, modo ingenii dotibus damna, quæ non ſua culpa accidunt, rependat ſupereſque? 'I was born in a Country to which my Family gave 'it's Name, not far from Friburg, a famous City of Miſnia; my Anceſtors and Parents (tho' great and good) 'I as ſeldom boaſt of, as I reflect on others for the 'meanneſs of their Extraction. For what does it 'concern me from what Whore, what Prieſt, or Monk, 'or from what Dunghil a Man ſprings, if, by the 'Endowments of his Mind, he retrieve and ſurmount 'thoſe Miſfortunes for which he himſelf is not to be 'blamed.' Methinks I ſee here a tacit Reflexion on *Eraſmus*'s being a Baſtard. Note, that *Eppendorf* was accuſed of boaſting of his Nobility, tho' he was Son to a *Plebeian*. 'Dux (*Saxoniæ*) non admiſit hominem, negans ſe velle eum agnoſcere qui non agnoſceret patrem ſuum. Jactavit enim ſe nobilem 'quum ſit plebeius (2). —— *The Duke (of Saxony) 'would not admit him; ſaying he would not own the 'Man who denied his own Father. For he boaſted of 'his Nobility, tho' he is a Plebeian.*'

(1) Apud Joannem Setzerium.

(2) Eraſmus, Epiſt. III, lib. 30, pag. 1940.

[*B*] *He publiſhed a Book, which contains the Hiſtory of that Diſpute with Eraſmus.*] You have ſeen the Title of it, and the Year it was printed in, in the foregoing Remark. It is a book I have not read, but I have had long Abſtracts ſent me out of it (3), which have acquainted me as fully with the State of this Diſpute, as if I had uſed my own Eyes. *Eppendorf* was the Plaintiff in this Controverſy; having made his Complaint againſt *Eraſmus* before the Magiſtrates of *Baſil*, who promiſed to do juſtice. The thing in queſtion was an injurious Letter, of which he accuſed *Eraſmus* of being the Author. He demanded three Things, beſides the Retractation of the Letter: I. That *Eraſmus* ſhould dedicate a Book to him: II. That he ſhould write in his Favour to the Duke of *Saxony*: III. That to repair the Injury he had done him, he ſhould be obliged to give Three hundred Ducats to the Poor (4). *Eraſmus* anſwered, that he diſowned the Letter (5); and that if *Eppendorf* gave him Marks of his Friendſhip, he would not ſcruple to dedicate a Book to him. He promiſed to write to the Duke of *Saxony*; but would promiſe nothing as to the laſt Point. Here is more at large, and in Latin, what he anſwered. 'Ad quam poſtulationem ſic reſpondit (Eraſmus): Epiſtolam quam 'prælegit non agnoſco, nec arbitror me ſcripſiſſe talia 'nec exemplar in meis ſchedis reperio, & epiſtola 'ducis, ſi proferatur, teſtabitur me talia non ſcripſiſſe, 'tantum admoneri ducem, ut illum ad honeſtam ſunctionem ab ocio revocaret, aut certe quietem mihi 'ab illo impetraret; de inſcriptione libelli, ſi videro 'animum illius factum amicum, non gravabor, majora facturus amicitiæ nomine: quam ſit illi princeps 'iratus neſcio, aut quas iraram cauſas habeat mihi 'non conſtat: habebat Eppendorphius Emſerum hoſtem capitalem apud principem: ſi ex mea querela 'Princeps factus eſt alienior, non gravabor hoc meis 'litteris civiliter ſcriptis mitigare quatenus licet cum 'tantis principibus agere. De eleemoſynis ipſe curabo cum mihi Deus in mentem miſerit, nec mea refert quomodo hic aut Friburgi vixerit, quo ſanctius 'vixit hoc magis gaudeo: de aureis quos poſtulet ſibi 'dari præſtat ſilere, ne videatur ob hanc cauſam intendiſſe litem; agat amice & definat populum in me 'concitare, uberius illi prodeſſe poſſum officiis quam ſi dem 200 aureos. —— *To which demand Eraſmus 'made this Reply. I diſown the Letter which he read, 'nor do I imagine I wrote any ſuch thing, neither do 'I find any Copy thereof amongſt my Papers, and if 'the Duke's Letter be produced, it will witneſs that I 'did write no ſuch thing; I only requeſted the Duke 'to give him ſome honeſt Employment, that he might 'have ſomething to do, or at leaſt prevail with him 'not to give me any future Moleſtation. As to the 'Dedication of a Book, if I find he has laid aſide all 'Animoſity, I ſhall not ſcruple to do it; I ſhould not 'ſtick at greater things when Friendſhip is the Caſe; 'I am ignorant of the Prince's anger, and the Cauſes 'he may have are ſecrets to me; Eppendorf had an 'implacable Enemy with the Prince in Emſer: but 'if my quarrel has been the Cauſe of his Diſgrace, 'I ſhall not refuſe by Letter to intercede for him in 'the beſt manner I can, ſo far as may be conſiſtent for 'me to act with ſuch great Princes. As to the Alms, 'as God ſhall pleaſe to direct my choice, I will be anſwerable; nor does it concern me how he lived here or 'at Friburg; the more uprightly he lived, the more am 'I rejoiced. With reſpect to the Ducats he demands, 'it were better to be ſilent, leſt he ſhould be thought 'to have founded his quarrel upon them. Let him act 'like a Friend, and ceaſe to ſtir up the Multitude a-'gainſt me; my Services may be of more value to him 'than two hundred Ducats.' Beatus Rhenanus, who took upon him the Office of Mediator in this Quarrel, put *Eraſmus*'s Anſwer into the Hands of *Eppendorf*. The latter finding himſelf wronged as to the ſecond Article, ſince it was previouſly required of him, that he ſhould promiſe his Friendſhip to a Perſon that had affronted him; *Eraſmus* was forced to engage himſelf to dedicate a Book to him without any Condition, under this Form. 'Eraſmus Roterodamus Henrico 'Eppendorphio S. D. Divites divitibus mittunt equos, ſuſes, gemmas & aurum, muta nimirum munera nec duratura, poſtremo quæ nec melliorem, 'nec ornatiorem reddunt eum cui mittuntur, & pauperiorem illum à quo proficiſcuntur: inter eos vero 'quos litterarum communis amor fœderavit aliud donorum genus commeare decet, quæ nec exhauriunt largientem & fructum ſimul ac decus afferunt ſuscipienti Proinde libellum mitto, tuo dicatum nomini litterariæ ſocietatis olim inter nos initæ monumentum, quam ego perpetuum eſſe vehementer cupio, 'nec tantum permittemus malis linguis ut noſtram amicitiam Muſarum auſpiciis conciliatam dirimant, utcumque moliti ſunt nos inter nos committere: ſed 'non te remorabor amplius, quo tibi vacet audire 'quid loquatur libellus. —— *Eraſmus Roterodamus to 'Henry Eppendorf, Greeting. The Wealthy to the Wealthy ſend Horſes, Tapeſtry, Jewels, and Gold, dumb 'Preſents theſe end of ſhort Duration, ſuch moreover as 'make the Receiver neither better nor more valuable, and yet impoveriſh the Giver. But amongſt 'thoſe whom a common Love of Learning has united, 'there ought to be an Intercourſe of a different kind 'of Preſents, ſuch as drain not the Giver, yet enrobble and enrich the Receiver. To you therefore I ſend 'this Treatiſe, dedicated to your Name, as a Monument 'of that Litterary Alliance, into which we formerly entered, and which I earneſtly deſire may be perpetual. 'Let us not pay ſo much regard to malicious Tongues 'as to ſuffer them to diſſolve a Friendſhip ſo happily 'formed under the influence of the Muſes, however ſome 'have laboured to ſow diſcord between us. But I will 'not detain you any longer.*' *Eppendorf*, ſatisfied upon the two firſt Articles, was not ſo upon the third. He found a great deal of Artifice in *Eraſmus*'s pretending he did not underſtand to what uſe the Money was deſtined, which was exacted from him (6). *Eppendorf* complained, that he was accuſed of ſtirring up the Populace; three Days being ſpent in this Diſpute, the Deciſion of it was at laſt referred to the Judgment of two Arbitrators, to wit, *Bonifacius Amerbach*, and *Rhenanus*; who, in the preſence of *Lewis Berus*, and *Henry Glareanus*, pronounced this Sentence: 'Quoniam

(3) My Bookſeller des Marets, born at Rheims, and dwelling at Paris, where he has a fine Library, has been ſo kind as to make them, and to ſend them to me in a moſt obliging manner by Mr Jannigon.

(4) 200 for thoſe of Baſil, and 200 for thoſe of Straſburg.

(5) Cum tamen, ſays Eppendorf, vix unum ovum ſimile eſſet, ſic per omnia reſpondebat Eraſmus.

(6) Cum articuli mei habeant propter impetitam & innocentiam & ſimplicitatem meam pauperibus eſſe elargiendam pecuniam. 'Tis to be obſerved in my Articles, that, in regard of my unqueſtioned Innocence and Integrity, the Money ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the poor.

try to perfect himself in the Sciences; that he had been the Disciple of the famous *Zasius*, Professor of the Civil Law; That he had lived a long time at *Strasburg*; and, that

quam ex consensu utriusque nobis jam fortis dissidii inter vos amice componendi, visum est nobis ut D. Erasmus ad evitandam molestiam & sumptum Christianum concordiam præstandorum articulorum scripto præscripsit: pro tertio eodem animo non gravabitur in subsidium pauperum dare florenos circiter viginti, nostro arbitrio dispensandos, & hæc facienda censemus citra ullam alterutrius tantum ut utriusque offensis, querelis & suspitionibus, abolutis, de integro certamen inter vos sit benevolentiæ, cum oblivione Præteritorum omnium perinde quasi nihil esset aut dictum aut factum. D. Henricus Eppendorfius premat, si quid scripsit: & utrique liberum relinquimus, an visissim aliqua benevolentiæ symbolo an potius mutuo animo contenti esse velint. Actum Basileæ postridie purificationis anno MDXXVIII. —— *Since by mutual Consent you have empowered us to make an amicable determination of the Quarrel betwixt you: It appears reasonable to us that Erasmus, to avoid Contention, and to promote Christian Concord, perform the two Articles which he received in writing, and from the same Motives, with respect to the third, he will not scruple to give about twenty Florins for the relief of the Poor, to be disposed of as we shall think proper: and these things we judge ought to be admitted by both Parties without Alteration, that so, all Animosities, Quarrels, and Jealousies being forgot on both sides, as tho' nothing of that Nature had ever subsisted, ye may enter afresh into a contest of good Nature. If Eppendorf has wrote any thing, let him suppress it, and we leave it free to both, to chuse the Exchange of some token of Reconciliation, or rest satisfied with the Assurance of each other. Done at Basil the Day after Candlemas-day 1528.*' The contending Parties acquiesced in the Sentence, and embraced one another as a Mark of their Reconciliation. The next Day they were brought to dine together: but the War was like to break out again: For, as they rose from Table, *Eppendorf* having desired *Erasmus* to get ready the Letter he had promised to write to the Duke of *Saxony*, and *Erasmus* answering he would write to the Chancellor only, there arose a high contest between them, and they parted that Day very ill satisfied with one another. However, the next Day *Erasmus* wrote to the Prince, and sent his Letter open to *Eppendorf*, who was well pleased with it. Not long after, some Reports were spread, injurious to *Erasmus*, as if had consented to a shameful Accommodation. You will see how he complained of the Rhodomontades of his Adversary. The Quotation is pretty long, because I have a mind to comprehend in it what belongs to the Agreement, according to *Erasmus's* Way of telling it. My Reader may compare together the Narratives of each Party.

' Opinor Dilum tibi narrâsse de reatu meo. Ego hac in re obsecundavi consilio Berti Rhenani, & Ludovici Beri. Auoqui sciebam illum nihil acturum. Fumos hominis jam olim novi. Sed Beati ingenio semper abusus est ad hujusmodi dramata. Turbam amoliti sumus qualibuscunque conditionibus, pacem iniquam æquo bello præferentes. Nihil omissum est, compromissum est. Adhibiti duo testes. Arbitri datis dextris stipulati sunt obsequium. Pronunciatum est de scripto arbitrium. Assensimus utrique. Subscripsimus manu utrique. Deinde bibimus ex eodem poculo, fracto inter nos pane, datæ dextræ. Ominatus sum amicitiam fore perpetuam. Annuit ille, & comprobavit. Exhibitum est omnibus convivium φιλικον. In abitu petiit epistolam ad Ducem. Id præter pacta præstiti, nè quam darem occasionem. Petiit præfationem in librum ipsi dicendum. Id, quanquam absurdum & ineptum, tamen autore Bonifacio feci. Quid consecutum est? Mox dicitur mutasse tumultum proponum, qui sub nundinas vulgaret atrocem rumorem, Erasmum esse damnatum Basileæ, conditionibus gravissimis, ut scriberet librum & epistolam contra seipsum, deinde daret pecuniam. Ex hac ante abitum jactavit se adigisse Erasmum ad conditiones, ad quas ipse nollet descendere pro tribus millibus aureorum. Hic rumor mirum quantum exhilaravit pseudo evangelicos. Qui triumphi! Quæ exultatio de nihilo! Hæc ego suspicabar futura, sed neque Beato, neque Bero potui persuadere, qualis esset artifex (7). —— *Especially Dulfus has informed you of my Case. In this Matter I followed the Advice of Beatus Rhenanus, and Lewis Berus; otherwise I knew he would do nothing. I had long been acquainted with his Levity. But he has always abused the good Nature of Rhenanus on such Occasions. We sought a Pacification on any Terms, preferring an ignoble Peace to a just War. No Stone was left unturned: the Matter was made up. Two Witnesses were called. The Mediators in a friendly manner drew up the Articles of Reconciliation. The Award was read. We both gave our Approbation, and both subscribed it. Afterwards we drank out of the same Cup, broke Bread together, and joined Hands. I looked on that as an Omen of a lasting Friendship. He signified his Assent by his Behaviour. A Friendly Entertainment was provided for us all. At his departure he required a Letter to the Duke. Though not contained in the Stipulations, I wrote it, to avoid giving him a handle of Reproach. He demanded a Preface to a Book that was to be inscribed to him: This, tho' absurd and ridiculous, I consented to at the Instance of Amerbachius. What was the Consequence? He imported to have sent his Servant soon after to publish a scandalous Rumour at the Fair, that Erasmus had been censured at Basil, and sentenced to write a Book and an Epistle against himself, and fined into the bargain. Even here, before his Departure, he boasted to have compelled Erasmus to such Terms as he would not submit to for three thousand Ducats. It is surprising how agreeable this Report was to the Pseudo-Evangelists. What Triumphs! What Rejoicings for nothing! I suspected all this would happen, but could neither persuade Rhenanus nor Berus, what a Shuffler he was.*'

(7) Erasmus, Epist. xlvi, lib 30. pag. 1033. *It is dated from* Basil, Apr. 1528.

This Peace was ill observed: For there was hardly ever a Cessation of Hostilities in Words and Manuscripts, and at last Books entered into the Quarrels. *Erasmus* having published one, wherein *Eppendorf* was ill treated, his Adversary confuted the same in the Book printed at *Hoguenau* in the Year 1531, whose Title I have given. We may observe, that these Literary Wars much resemble those of Princes: Each of the contending Parties boasts of their having religiously observed the Treaty of Peace, and charges the other with a Thousand Infractions. *Eppendorf* sets forth, that after the Agreement he was informed *Erasmus* continued to defame him (8), and therefore he did but follow the Dictates of Prudence in defending himself. He would not believe any such Reports, till *Erasmus's* Letters were shewn to him. ' Respondi me nihil horum expectare ab Erasmo, nec putare eum bonorum & præclarorum virorum arbitrium violaturum: quid dicam, literas mittunt hujus animi testes; queror apud amiculos, alterum item ex judicibus coram appello: quid mihi post pactum accidat, injurias tam atroces diu sustinere non posse. Et tamen interim expectat Dominus Erasmus à me multas salutes, honorificam mentionem, literas amicas: nec sustem has efflagitat, verum etiam urgere me vult ut in omnibus conviviis cum per ora hominum vehar. In Utopia fortiter offenduntur qui pro tam insignibus maleficiis bonas gratias referunt. Officii ducat quod par pari non retulerim: post initam concordiam non scripsi unam litteram in Erasmum, & quæ sunt concordiam ad tuendum nomen meum adornarunt, concordia sic jubente supprelli. —— *I answered, that I expected no such treatment from Erasmus, and that I could not imagine he would have broke through the Determination of so good and so eminent Men. What shall I say? The Letters, which they send, confirm his Design: I complain to my Friends: Appeal to one of the Referees. I inform him what has happened since the Agreement: that I cannot long put up such glaring Affronts: Yet Erasmus expects from me a World of Complaisance: that I should speak of him with Honour, and write to him with Respect: nor does he only demand this, but would oblige me to extol him in all Companies above the rest of Mankind. In Utopia perhaps Persons may be found who return Civility for such notorious ill usage. Let him think I have used him cruelly in not making a suitable return. Since the Reconciliation, I have not wrote one Letter against Erasmus, and what I had published before in my own Justification, for the sake*

(8) Nonnulla eum ignominiosa in libellos suos transfudisse.

' of

that he ſtood neuter between the violent Factions which *Luther*'s Reformation raiſed in *Germany* [C]. It muſt be confeſſed, That, in order to get Satisfaction for an injurious Writing publiſhed againſt him, he made uſe of a moſt effectual Means to reſtrain the moſt

' *of Peace I had ſuppreſſed.*' Now if we conſult *Eraſmus*, he will tell us, that his Adverſary broke the Peace even before they went out of the Place where it was ſigned; and that he was a noted Liar, who had been at the Diet of *Ausburg* in the Year 1530, with Deſign only to vent his Falſities there (9). Scripſit ad me Dux, ut Julii literis fidem haberem. Julius ſcripſit amantiſſimè doctiſſimeque multa, quorum hæc erat ſumma, ut præfationi adderem libellum Eppendorpio dicatum, veluti ex fœdere, quoniam ille multis modis violarit fœdus, priuſquam exiret Baſileam, nec poſt deſiterat de me hoſtiliter & ſcribere & loqui, ſubinde recitans furioſum librum, quem in me ſcripſit. Nec in aliud quærebat librum, niſi ut iterum gloriaretur, ad quas conditiones adegiſſet Eraſmum. Sperabat ex arbitrorum ſententia nonnihil prædæ: id quoniam feſellit, factus eſt ex inimico inimicior, & quum nemo neſciret, illum omnia feciſſe contra pacta, tamen perinde perit ſuum jus, quaſi omnia præſtiterit, nec pudet quicquam. Decreveram omnia perpeti potiùs, quàm leviſſimi hominis nomine meas chartas contaminare, ſed poſteaquam ille nullum ſcit mentiendi finem, cauſæ ſummam perſtrinxi excuſo libello, nè toties fatigem amanuenſes meos (10). —— *The Duke wrote to me to give credit to the Letters of Pflug, which indeed contained many things full of Learning and Friendſhip, of which this is the Sum: that in Compliance with the Pacification I ſhould write a Preface to the Book which was to be dedicated to Eppendorf. The reaſon of all this is; Eppendorf, even before he left Baſil, had violated the Treaty in ſeveral Reſpects, and had not from that time ceaſed, either in Writing or Converſation, to treat me like an Enemy, every now and then mentioning what a furious Treatiſe he had wrote againſt me. Nor had he any other Deſign in demanding this Treatiſe and Dedication, than to have an Opportunity of boaſting, to what Terms he had again reduced Eraſmus. He hoped for ſome Booty from the Determination of the Arbitrators; but, failing in that, he was the more exaſperated; and tho' every one is ſenſible that he has done every thing contrary to the agreement, yet he impudently demands Juſtice to be done him, as if he had performed all that was required of him. I was determined to abide the worſt rather than ſully my Papers with the Name of ſo trifling a Man, but ſince he makes no end of miſrepreſenting the Cauſe, I have publiſhed the whole State of the Matter, that I may not be obliged to give my Amanuenſes a ſecond trouble.*' To underſtand the Beginning of this Paſſage, we muſt know, that *Eppendorf*, not having been able to ſpeak to the Duke of *Saxony*, nor willing to tell his Reaſons to *Simon Piſtorius*, to whom that Prince had referred him, obtained that he might tell them to *Julius Pflug*. ' Tandem improbitate ſuâ perfecit, ut ' Dux cauſam delegaret Julio Pflug, cujus aures Eppendorpius noſter explevit innumeris mendaciis, quod erat illi bonum atque commodum, quod Julius nec Eppendorpium nôſſet, nec cauſam (11).—*At laſt by his unjuſt Artifice he obtained of the Duke to refer the management of the Affair to Julius Pflug, whoſe Ears Eppendorf had filled with a multitude of Lies, as beſt ſuited with his own Intereſt, Pflug being neither acquainted with him nor the Matter in Debate.*' He made the beſt of his Caſe known to him, and by the Favour of a thouſand Lies (according to *Eraſmus*'s Aſſertion); after which the Duke of *Saxony* wrote to *Eraſmus*, to give Credit to the Letter of *Julius Pflug*.

(9) Qui videtur hac potiſſimum de cauſa veniſſe *Auguſtam* ut in ea celebritate hominum ſemina ret ſua mendacia quæ non aliter ex ſe gignit quam arena ſilum. *Eraſmus, Ep. LIII, Libri XXX, pag.* 1940.

(10) Id. ibid.

(11) Id. ibid.

[C] *He ſtood neuter between the Factions ..... which the Reformation raiſed in Germany.*] Without doubt he was of the Opinion of thoſe who believed, that the Church of *Rome* wanted Reformation, and that the Proteſtants did not reform it well: So that he diſpleaſed both Parties, and they went ſo far as to charge him with being a Penſioner to the Papiſts and Lutherans at the ſame time. He repreſents himſelf as a Man who, not knowing well as yet which Party had moſt Juſtice on their Side, expected that Time would clear the Matter. Theſe are his Words: ' Oblatæ ſunt nuper literæ ſcriptæ ad principem quendam virum, ubi nephandiſſimus ſcurra ſcripſerat ' me quingentos aureos habere à Lutheranis totidemque à Pontificiis, ut vocant, utroſque à me emungi auro atque haberi ludibrio, me enim neque novum neque vetus Evangelium curare, Quid facerem? Riſi impudentiam nebulonis; nec ita multo poſt in colloquium accerſitus rogatuſque ab eo qui Romanæ ſedi plurimum favet quidnam mihi de præſenti rerum ſtatu videretur? Prodidi hbere quæ tum in animo haberem: Rurſum Evangelicis aperui quæ mihi pro meo pluſquam juvenili captu, temere aut exigi aut novari viderentur, non admodum bonam gratiam apud utroſque iniens. Volui in hunc uſque diem ab negotio illo quod Evangelicum vocant eſſe integer, precans ſaltem ut in fatali hunc illa & memorabili rerum immutatione mihi miſeris mortalibus eveniat quod ſiuſtum fœlix bonumque ſit. Nec nomen alicui ſectæ darurus niſi novus aliquis Solon huc me perpulerit, tum ſcias me ſaniori ſubſcripturum parti etiam ſi vita impendenda ſit. —— *Letters were lately ſhewn me which had been written to a certain great Man, wherein a moſt ſcurrilous Sycophant had affirmed, that I received five hundred Crowns from the Lutherans, and the ſame Sum from the Papiſts, as they are called; that I choufed them both of their Money, and made a jeſt of them, ſince I had no regard for either Religion. What could I do? I laughed at the Fellow's Impudence. Soon after being invited into Company, and aſked by one who zealouſly eſpouſes the Church of Rome, what my Opinion was of the preſent State of Affairs? I freely diſcovered my Sentiments: I have likewiſe declared to the Evangelics what Demands or Innovations, according to my weak Apprehenſion, they ſeemed too unadviſedly to inſiſt on, nor did I carry any extraordinary Favour with either. I have choſe to this Day to keep my ſelf clear of thoſe Engagements which they call Evangelic, praying however that in this fatal and memorable Change, we poor Mortals may only reap the good Effects thereof; nor would I enliſt my ſelf in any Sect, unleſs ſome new Solon ſhould ariſe; then ſhould I not fail to declare for the ſounder Party.*' To judge of things according to the Principles of natural Light, the Courſe *Eppendorf* took was the moſt reaſonable. He had a Mind to ſee the End of this Affair, before he ſided either with the Party that maintained Abuſes, or with the Party that oppoſed them. He thought both too hot, and the Storm too fierce; ſo that he ſaid with *Cicero*, *Quem fugiens habeo, quem ſequar non habeo* (12); and he loved Peace too well, to embark in this religious War. But it was in vain that he hoped to ſtand upon the Shore a quiet Spectator of the Boiſterouſneſs of that Sea: For he found himſelf more expoſed to the Storm, than if he had been in either of the Fleets. Thus is the inevitable Fate of thoſe who pretend to keep a Neutrality during the Civil-Wars, either of Church or State. They are expoſed to the Inſults of both Parties at once; they get Enemies without procuring themſelves Friends: Whereas by eſpouſing with Zeal either of the two Cauſes, they have Friends as well as Enemies. A deplorable Deſtiny of Man, a manifeſt Vanity of Philoſophical Reaſon! It makes us look upon the Tranquillity of the Soul, and the Calmneſs of the Paſſions, as the end of all our Labours, and the moſt precious Fruit of our moſt painful Meditations; and yet Experience ſhews, that as to the World, there is no Condition more unfortunate, than that of Friends who will not devote themſelves to the Waves of Factions: Nor any Condition leſs neeaſy, than that of ſuch Men as howl with the Wolves, and follow the Torrent of the moſt boiſterous Paſſions. Among other Advantages, they have that of not knowing that they are in the wrong: For no Men are leſs capable of ſeeing the Faults of their Faction, and the Good that may be found in the other Party, than thoſe who are tranſported with a fiery Zeal, and a quick Reſentment, and under the Power of ſtrong Prejudices. *Beati pacifici*, ſays the Scripture (13), *Bleſſed are the Peace-makers*: Which is moſt true not to the other World, but in this they are miſerable. They will not be a Hammer, and therefore they are an Anvil, upon which both Sides beat continually.

(12) Cicero, ad Atticum, Epiſt. VII, lib. viii.

INCONVENIENCES of a State of Neutrality and Moderation.

(13) Matth. v, 9.

[H] *He*

most slandering Authors [D].

[D] *He made use of a most effectual Means to restrain the most slandering Authors.*] He brought an Action before the Judges: and, among other Reparations of the Injury done him, demanded that the Aggressor might be adjudged to pay a Fine for the benefit of the Poor. This is a most efficacious Remedy against the Spleen of many Writers. They are more quarrelsom, and more difficult to be reconciled than Soldiers. It is, say they, because Soldiers decide their Quarrels with Sword in Hand at the hazard of their Lives: but Authors that quarrel, do not expose themselves to the hazard of spilling their Blood; it costs them only some Paper and Ink. If they exposed their Skin to the Point of a Sword, as they do to the Point of a Pen, they would be more pacific. We may say likewise, that if their Purse ran any hazard for every Affront they should give, their Stile would be more civil, and therefore our *Eppendorf* had recourse to a good Method. Authors ought to be allowed to criticize one another, as to Erudition, or a false Reasoning: For these are Things out of the Cognizance of Civil Judges But it were to be wished, that they would put the Rigour of the Laws in Execution, and at least inflict Pecuniary Mulcts on such Authors who attack the Reputation of their Neighbours, and do them other Injuries. This would banish out of Books an infinite number of diffamatory Expressions, and introduce Moderation into the Controversies of *Parnassus*, where it is but little known.

ERASMUS (Didier, in Latin, Desiderius) was born at *Rotterdam* the twenty eighth day of *October* 1467 [A]. It cannot be denied that he was a Bastard [B]: And it was an ill grounded Scruple not to dare to publish it in the Beginning

[A] *He was born . . . . the twenty eighth of October* 1467.] I fix *Erasmus*'s Birth to this Year, not because I am ignorant that many place it in the Year 1465, but because I chuse to conform myself to the Inscription of his Statue at *Rotterdam*, wherein it is probable they have not put 1467, rather that 1465, without a due Examination which of the two was properest. Mr *Joly* has made use of the same Observation. 'It is not likely, says he (1), that he was 'born in 1465, as some hold, because in his Epitaph, 'which is at *Basil*, it is said, that he died, being 'above seventy Years old (2), the twelfth of *July* 1536, 'which could not be if he was born in 1467; for 'that Inscription of *Rotterdam* is to be more depended 'upon than any thing else, it being to be supposed 'that the Time of his Birth was better known at 'Rotterdam, which was his native Place, than at *Basil*, 'where he was a Stranger; especially considering that 'one can gather no Certainty about it, either from 'his Writings or even from his Letters; by which it 'appears he was not truly informed of it himself, 'and that some Errors have been committed as to the 'Date of those Letters, by those that have copied and 'printed them.' The last Part of this Passage is necessary to the first: For if *Erasmus* had known exactly the Year of his Birth, it had been as easy to set it down right on his Tomb at *Basil*, as on his Statue at *Rotterdam*. I am inclined to believe, he did not know it precisely, but only in such a Manner as he thought he knew the Day of his Birth; which, in the Beginning of his Life, he contents himself to fix on the Eve of St *Simon* and St *Jude* (3), *in vigilia Simonis & Judæ*. But on the other Hand, I do not doubt but he placed his Birth before the Year 1467. Hence it is that *Bonifacius Amerbach*, his Heir, *Jerom Frobenius* and *Nicolas Episcopius*, his Executors, chose in his Epitaph the undetermined Expression of *Jam Septuagenarius*, which is more proper for a Man that died the twelfth of *July* 1536, when he is supposed to have been born before the Twenty eighth of *October* 1467, than when he is supposed to be born that Day. *Beatus Rhenanus* sufficiently intimates, that *Erasmus*'s Friends could not learn any certain Information from him about it: He intimates it sufficiently, I say, though not without ascribing to *David*, what *Moses* said of the Duration of our Life. 'Vixit ad septuagesimum annum quem communem 'humanæ vitæ terminum regius propheta David sta- 'tuit, aut certè non multum est supergressus, nam de 'anno quo natus est apud Batavos nobis non constat: 'de die constat qui fuit ad quintum Kalend. Novembr. 'Apostolis Simoni & Judæ sacer (4). — *He lived to the Age of seventy Years (which the Royal Prophet David fixes as the common Limit of human Life) or however could not much exceed it. The Year, in which he was born, is not certainly known to us, tho' we are certain with regard to the Day, which was the Twenty eighth of October, the Festival of St Simon and Jude.*' The Passage following will be a Confirmation of it. I have taken it out of a Letter which *Erasmus* wrote to a Professor (5), who defamed him in a cruel manner. *Erasmus* declares to him that if he attacks him publickly, he will let him know that though he be near seventy Years old, he has still good Teeth and Claws. 'Quod si cognovero, quod 'equidem non spero, te vel tantillum contra me pub- 'licare, experieris (ni fallor) Erasmum jam 70 annos 'natum neque edentulum esse omnino neque exunguem. This Letter, dated the ninth of *January* 1535, is the Sixty eighth of the thirtieth Book of the *London* Edition. It may be objected, that this Month of *January* belongs (6) to the Year 1536. Well, let it be so; it will remain true however by this Passage, that *Erasmus* thought he was born before the Year 1467. I own he was not always of that Opinion; for in the nineteenth Letter of the second Book, dated *February* 1516, he says, he is only in the Forty ninth Year of his Age, *annum ago non plus quam undequinquagesimum*. The first Letter (7) he wrote to *James de Horn* the seventeenth of *April* 1519, says, that he was in the Fifty third Year of his Age, which shews he was born in 1466.

Erasmus's Birth does not only run upon the Years 1465, and 1467, but is tossed up and down through the Mistakes of Printers, if not of Authors themselves. *Chytræus* (8) fixes it to the Year 1466; *Magirus* (9) to the Year 1467; see the *Chronological Index of Buchholt* on the Year 1465: And Father *Theophilus Raynaud* has placed it in the Year 1469 (10). Nor are the Opinions less various about *Erasmus*'s Death: *Konig* (11) places it in the Year 1526; the Author of the Notes upon *Priolo* in 1546; *Moreri* in 1516, the eleventh of *July*. *Du Verdier Vau Privas* (12), and *Hofman*, commit this last Fault. *Melchior Adam* fixes it to the fifth of the *Ides* of *July*, (which is the tenth). They have put under the Print of *Erasmus*, which is before his Epistles, printed at *London*, that he died the thirteenth of *July*. In the Edition of his Life, in 12°, there are some Pieces in the Beginning, and among the rest the Story of the pretended Restitution of the Money that was taken from him at *Dover* (13); at the End of which it is said, that he died on the Day of the *Ides* of *July*, which is the fifteenth. We must no more trust Inscriptions, either in Marble or Brass, since People falsify so many Ways that of *Erasmus*'s Tomb, which contains in large Characters the Date of the fourth of the *Ides* of *July*, that is, the twelfth of that Month. It shews also, that *Bonifacius Amerbach* was Heir to *Erasmus*; and that *Jerom Frobenius* and *Nicolas Episcopius* were his Executors: Therefore *Melchior Adam* (14), *Swert* (15), *Magirus* (16), and *Bullart* (17), do not truly copy the Epitaph; for they bestow equally upon those three Persons the Quality of Heirs. *Freherus* does the same in his *Theatre*, pag. 848. and *Catherinot* in the *Art of Printing*, pag 6. It is a vexatious thing that the Mistakes of Transcribers should extend even to sepulchral Inscriptions: for in other Matters such Mistakes might occasion Disputes very hard to be determined. There are some Writers, such as he who composed *Les Delices de la Hollande* (18), who are mistaken as to the place of *Erasmus*'s Death: they say, that it was at *Friburg* in *Alsace*.

[B] *It cannot be denied that he was a Bastard.*] He owns himself that his Father and Mother were never married. It is true, he says, that his Mother granted the

(1) Joli Voyage de Munster, pag. 144.

VARIOUS Opinions concerning the time of the Birth and Death of *Erasmus*.

(2) His is mistaken: The Epitaph says, *Jam septuagenarius*, almost seventy Years old; a Title which belongs to a Man, as soon as he is passed sixty nine Years of Age. However, the Objection remains good, since the Inscription of the Epitaph is inconsistent with *Erasmus*'s Birth on *Oct.* 28, 1467 as it is set down in the Inscription of the Statue.

(3) That is the 27th of *October*, and yet most Authors place his Birth-day on the 28th of *October*, according to the Inscription at *Rotterdam*.

(4) Beatus Rhenanus, Epist. dedicat. Origen.

(5) His Name was *Peter Curtius*, and he taught Rhetoric at *Rome*.

(6) The Year did not always begin in *January*; but since *Erasmus*'s Will is dated *Febr.* 12, 1536, he has followed our way of reckoning, else his Will must be referred to the Year 1537.

(7) This is the XXXIId of the Vth Book.

(8) Chron. Saxon.

(9) Epocrymol. pag. 327.

(10) See Remark [D].

(11) Biblioth. Vet. & Mod. pag. 277.

(12) Prosopogr. Tom. III, pag. 1428.

(13) See Remark [B].

(14) In Vitis Exter.

(15) Athen. Belg. pag. 207.

(16) Epocrymol. pag. 327.

(17) Academ. des Sciences, Tom. II, pag. 162.

(18) Pag. 156, Edit. 1685. See also Il Ceremoniale Politico, Tom V, pag. 763.

ginning of the XVIIth Century [C]; for the Thing was then too well known. But one may well deny some odious Circumstances, which *Erasmus*'s Enemies have published concerning

CIRCUMSTANCES concerning *Erasmus*'s Father and Mother.

the last Favour only upon Hopes, and, as some pretend, upon a Promise of Marriage: *Clam habuit rem cum dicta Margareta, spe conjugii, & sunt qui dicant interceſſiſſe verba* (19). But whatever it be, he was born illegitimate, and was never legitimated *per ſubſequens matrimonium*: Therefore, as long as the World endures, he will be justly ranked among the number of illustrious Bastards. 'Pontus Heuterus has not forgot him in the long List he has given us of that sort of Bastards (20), and so far he cannot be accused of having followed the passionate Humour which appears in his Writings; but he ought to have explained himself a little more exactly than he has done, on the Character of him to whom *Erasmus* owed his Life. He calls *Erasmus* a Priest's Son: That is true in a certain Sense; as it is true that a Person, that becomes a Monarch, communicates the Quality of Royal Issue to the Children he has already. However since, according to the Maxim of the Civilians, we ought to extend whatever is favourable, and contract whatever is not so; we ought never to call one simply and absolutely a Priest's Son, that is not begot by a Man actually a Priest at the Time of the Generation: For it is a greater Dishonour to be an illegitimate Son of a Man actually a Priest. This is *Erasmus*'s Case: Nay, he pretends, that his Father's going into Orders was occasioned by his Grief upon the false News he received at *Rome*, that his Mistress was dead: that having found out the cheat at his return, he lived very chastly in relation to that Damsel; who, for her Part, had no other Thoughts than to give a good Education to their common Son, without desiring to marry.

(19) Erasmus, in vita sua, à Merula anno 1615. vulgata.

(20) In Tractatu de libera hominis Nativitate, seu de Liberis Naturalibus.

This is what we find in a Life of *Erasmus*, which some pretend was composed by himself, and published by *Merula* in 1607, from the Original which *Erasmus* had entrusted with *Conradus Goclenius*, Professor in the Latin Tongue at *Louvain*. This is a Piece composed with the utmost Negligence, and wherein we find nothing but a great Simplicity, without any particular Detail. The only thing you learn there, touching *Erasmus*'s Mother, is, that her Name was *Elizabeth*; that she was of *Sevenbergben* (21), and Daughter of a certain Physician called *Peter, Filia Medici cujuſdam Petri*. As for the Father, one cannot learn from thence from whence he came, nor where he dwelt; Wherefore the Reader will do well to have recourse to a Letter of *Baudius* (22), wherein we find, I. That *Erasmus*'s Father was a Burgher and Inhabitant of *Torgou*, of an honest Family, tolerably learned considering those Days, and of a merry, facetious Humour, which got him the Sirname of *Praet*, or *Facetious* (23). II. That the Time of his Mistress's Lying-in drawing near, it was thought fit to send her to *Rotterdam*, the better to conceal the Matter; and that the Father gave his Name of *Gerard* to the Child. III. That, bating this Irregularity, *Erasmus*'s Mother was blameless; and might with *Dido* say,

(21) *It is a Town in* Brabant, *three Leagues from* Breda.

(22) *Dated the* 18th *of* October, 1606, *and thro' an Error of the Press it is marked the* 17th, *instead of the* 28th *of the* XIth *Century, in the Edition in* 12mo *of* 1650.

(23) Baudius *uses the Word* Eutrapelus, *which answers to that* 'wittneſs ebie Paſſage of Mr le Camus, *Bishop of* Belley, *in his Essais against Mr* Dreſincourt: Truly this Phrase, *of Blanks given to the Virgin* Mary, is so facetious, that it seems that, in gathering those fine Pearls, you study to practise the Virtue of *Eutrapelia*.

Huic uni forſan potui ſuccumbere culpæ.

This only Error stains my spotless Life.

It is certain that her Sin, very different however from those committed by profligate, lewd, Women, has produced so excellent a Man, that, if she had lived long enough to see the extraordinary Merit of her Son, she would have had more Reason than the Mother of *Peter Lombard*, of *Gratian*, and of *Comestor* (24), to use the Answer which is ascribed to the latter: For twenty Authors like those three are not worth one half of *Erasmus*. But she died of the Plague, when her Son was in the thirteenth Year of his Age.

(24) There is a false Story current about these three Authors; to wit, That they were Bastards of the same Mother, who thought she had no Occasion to repent, by reason of the Services they had done the Church.

According to *Baudius*, the good Man, *Gerard*, took Care of his Son's Christening: However *Erasmus*'s Life says, that *Gerard*, not being able to change the Resolution of his Father, Mother, and Brothers, who would have him by all means turn Priest, he withdrew privately out of his Country, sent them Word they would never see him again, and went to *Rome*, leaving with Child the Person he designed to marry. *Valarius Andreas Deſſelius* (25) copies very exactly what *Baudius* had said in Praise of *Erasmus*'s Father; but *Boxhornius* (26) makes a notable Alteration in it; for he would have that good Priest to have been surnamed *Praet* on account of his eloquent Sermons. To justify this Alteration of *Baudius*'s Passage, it had been requisite to bestow on the Sermons of *Erasmus*'s Father the Character of those of *Menot, Maillard, Barlette*, the little Father *Andrew*, &c. For the Term of *Facundia*, which *Boxhornius* uses, does not answer the Virtue of *Eutrapelia*. I would fain know where he has learned, that *Gerard* was of *Sevenberghen*? *Erasmus*'s Life says this of his Mother only; and *Baudius* contents himself to assure us, that the Father was a Burgher and Inhabitant of *Tergou*. *Valerius Andreas* joins what they affirm separately: *Patrem habuit*, says he, *Gerardum Septimontanum, civem & incolam urbis Gaudanæ*. Mr *Seckendorf* is mistaken, when he says (27), that a young Man of *Rotterdam* was *Erasmus*'s Father.

(25) Valer. Andr. Bibliothec. Belg. pag. 375.

(26) Theatr. Urbium Hollandiæ pag. 284.

(27) Hiſtor. Lutheran. lib. 1, pag. 140.

[C] *It was an ill grounded Scruple not to dare to publiſh it in the beginning of the XVIIth Century.*] The forementioned Letter of *Baudius* shews, that *Merula* had great Scruples to contend with, before he fully resolved to publish the Writing entrusted with *Goclenius*; he was a long time under an Apprehension of wronging *Erasmus*'s Memory, and, by the Discovery of this Secret, of incurring the Indignation of the Partisans of that great Man. *Baudius* represented to him, by solid Reasons, that the best Way was to print it: 'Nec eſt quod in eo pertimeſcas offenſam 'cujuſquam probi, quaſi ſcilicet invidioſa proditione 'detexeris quædam arcana digna ſacro ſilentio . . . . . 'nec ipſe alio animo ſeriem vitæ ſuæ penes principem 'amicorum depoſuit, quàm ut ſe rebus humanis 'exempto poſteritas hujus horribilis ſecreti particeps 'eſſet (28). —— *You have no Reason to be afraid of* 'thereby giving offence to any honeſt Man, as if by a 'malicious Diſcovery you had brought to light Things 'which ought not to have been revealed . . . . . *Nor* 'did he with any other deſign depoſit the Hiſtory of 'his Life in the Hands of his moſt valuable Friend, 'than that after his Death, Poſterity might be in-'formed of the infamous Secret.' But since he forgets the Reason I am going to mention, it is likely he was ignorant that *Erasmus* had already been reflected on for being a Priest's Son. That Reason is, that there was nothing got by the Suppression of that Life of *Erasmus*; and that, on the contrary, it's Publication might serve to extenuate the common Report, about his Father's and Mother's Miscarriage, which had already been made public with aggravating and false Circumstances. There is no doubt but *Baudius* would have made use of that Reason, if he had known what was in *Loosius*'s Catalogue, printed in 1581; and in *Pontus Heuterus*'s Book printed in 1600. I do not mention what *Deſſelius* quotes from *Paulus Jovius*; and I do not wonder *Baudius* was not acquainted with the Contents of the Letters of *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*. You will see presently what I mean. *Baudius* was not obliged to know a Book of *Deſſelius*, which was not yet printed; and I think he deserves to be excused for not having believed that *Paulus Jovius* had said any thing of *Erasmus*'s Illegitimacy: For a very learned Man has assured me, I. That no such Thing is found in *Paulus Jovius*'s Works, and that therefore *Deſſelius* misquotes him. II. That *the firſt Man that divulged this Secret in a public Writing, concerning the Birth of* Erasmus, is the Author who concealed himself under the Name of *Philalethes* (29). 'John Herold, in his *Philopſeudes*, or 'Apologetical Answer, in Opposition to the Dialogue 'published under the Name of *Philalethes* against 'Erasmus's Memory, about five Years after his Death, 'finds himself very much embarrassed about the Ob-'jection touching *Erasmus*'s Birth; and not being able 'to get clear of it, he seems at first to yield, by say-'ing, Ut donemus te verum dicere, per Chriſtum dic, 'rogo, an parum videatur tibi homo ille optimus à te 'toties laceſſitus, niſi hanc quoque notam addas. —— 'Suppoſe we grant that what you say is true: For 'Heavens sake, do you think that good Man has not been 'ſufficiently reviled by you, but you muſt likewiſe fix this 'mark upon him. His Adversary, without calling *Erasmus* positively a Priest's Son, said, that he was *ex condemnato 'concubitu natus*. *Herold* protests against the Enormity of the Slander, and says, That among all those who had till then written against *Erasmus*, none had ever 'thought

(28) Baudius, Epiſt. xxviii, Centur. ii.

(29) *That is, in his Opinion,* Hortensio Lando. *See the Article* LANDO, *Rem.* [A].

concerning his Birth [D]. Being nine Years old he was sent to *Deventer*, where he made a very considerable Progress in his Studies; for it is not true, as many believe, that he was slow in learning [E]. At fourteen Years of Age, having lost both Father and Mother,

(30) These Words are taken from a Memoir of Mr *de la Monnoie*; I shall quote it again in the Remark [L].

(31) Reversus (*Roma*) sacris initiatus est: unde parente parocho, Gaudano civitatis vicino, natum fuisse, præpositore Jovius scripsit. *Valer. Andr. ubi supra.*

Note, That *Erasmus* says in his Life, That his Father turned Priest before he returned into his Country. *Bullart, Acad. des Sciens. Tom II. pag.* 160, says the same thing with *Valerius Andreas.*

(32) I believe it is that which was made by a Priest a Native of *Tergou*, called *Cornelius Loosanus*, printed at *Mentz* in 1588.

(33) Th. Rayn. Erotem. de Libris, pag. 25.

Reflexions on the Alterations of Transcribers. Faults of the *Bernardine* Friar *St Romuald.*

(34) *He should have said Raynaud.*

(35) Abrég. de l'Hist. Chron. Tom. III. at the Ann. 1536, pag. 289 & 290, Edit. 1660.

* *PATIN* quoted and censured.

(36) *Letter* 277, *Tom. II.*

'thought to reproach him with any such Thing. He 'was to the right (30).'

[D] *One may deny some Idioms Circumstances concerning his Birth.*] *Erasmus*'s Enemies have made his Birth much more scandalous than indeed it was. Several *Roman* Catholics acknowledge it: Among the rest, *Valerius Andreas*, who having said, that *Gerard* went into Orders upon his return from *Rome*, concludes from thence, that *Paulus Jovius* was very much in the wrong, to write that *Erasmus* was Son to one that was a Curate near *Tergou* (31). Father *Theophilus Raynaud* has published the same Falsity, upon the Credit of a Catalogue of the illustrious Writers of *Germany* (32). 'Erasmum si jocari de joculari homine in scelere licet, non fuisse filium Regis, licet is, 'qui tam genuit, fuerit coronatus, ut de alio quodam 'dixit Petrus Blef. *Epist* 21, fuisse, inquam, Erasmum patre Gondani (*read* Goudani) in Batavia oppidi 'prope Roterodamum, Parocho genitum, ex famula, 'catalogus illustrium Germaniæ Scriptorum prodit, 'etc (33). That is, *If it may be allowed, in a criminal Matter, to jest upon a Jester, we may say, that 'Erasmus, though he was not a King's Son, had nevertheless a crowned Head to his Father; that is to say, a 'Curate of Tergou, a Town in Holland, near Rotterdam; who having got his Maid with Child, in order 'to conceal the Crime, sent her to Rotterdam, where 'she was delivered of Erasmus in* 1469. We shall see, by and by, that *Scaliger* says yet worse of *Erasmus*'s Father.

To give an Instance of the Alterations which Accounts of Facts undergo, by passing from hand to hand from one Compiler to another, I shall show here how *Peter of St Romuald* has copied a Passage of that Jesuit. '*Erasmus, says he*, was not a King's Son, tho' 'he that got him was crowned; for the Curate of his 'Birth-Place was his Father, who got him by his 'Maid, if we may believe Father *Theophilus Regnaut* (34). He was called at first *Gherardus Gherardi*; 'but he would be called *Desiderius Erasmus*, taking a 'Pleasure in changing his Name, to which he was 'invited by several others; particularly by *Capnio*, 'who was called before *Reuchlin*, which signifies 'Smoak; by *Peter Martyr*, called before *Vermillius*; 'by *Martin Bucer*, who disguised himself under the 'Name of *Aretius Felinus*, *&c* (35).' That honest *Bernardine* Friar does not so much as know the Name of the Jesuit he copies; but besides, he falsly ascribes to him the having said, that *Erasmus* was born in his Father's Parish. The Instances he gives, of the changing of Names, contain several Mistakes. If the Word *invited* has been misprinted instead of *imitated*, as it is very likely, the Author quotes *Reuchlin* very preposterously; *Reuchlin*, I say, who lived before, not after, *Erasmus*. If this be not an Error of the Press, *Peter Martyr* and *Martin Bucer* are misquoted as Precedents, since *Erasmus* lived before them. Add to this, that *Peter Martyr* did not change the Name of *Vermillius* into that of *Martyr*: For all his Life-time he was called *Petrus Martyr Vermilius*; the two first being his Christian Names, the other the Name of his Family. It is true, that either for Brevity sake, or for other Reasons, he has oftener been quoted by the Name of *Martyr*, than by that of *Vermilius*. As for *Bucer*, he never took the Name of *Aretius Felinus*, but in the Title of some Books: And therefore there is no Conformity between what he has done, and our *Erasmus*'s changing his Name.

Theophilus Raynaud's Words have displeased his great Admirer, *Guy Patin*: 'I wonder, *says he* (36), how 'learned Man, such as Father *Theophilus Raynaud*, 'can be guilty of the same Slanders. It is true that *Erasmus* was a Bastard, and a Priest's Son, as it is 'easy to be seen in his Life written by himself: 'Nevertheless the Friars are not the first that have reproached him with the Misfortune of his Birth; 'but *Scaliger* in his *Ciceronianus*, and after him the 'whole Brotherhood of the Cowls.' That Author had said before, 'That *Erasmus* was never a Monk, 'but only a Novice in a College of Regular Canons 'of St *Augustin*; where his Guardian had sent him 'at fourteen Years of Age, with Design to keep him 'there, and so enjoy his Estate: But the Spark, *says* 'he, had no mind to be a Friar: Though some say 'he entered himself into that Order.'

There are some Things to be censured in this: I. It does not become a Man, who takes *Erasmus*'s Part with so much Heat as that Paysant, to act without the Explanation I have given before, that That great Man was a Priest's Son. II. It is true indeed, that *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* has reproached him with it; but not in his *Ciceronianus*, or rather in the two Harangues he has made against *Erasmus*'s *Ciceronianus* (37). III. Lastly, It is most true that *Erasmus* entered himself into the Order of the Regular Canons of St *Augustin*. I own he had a great mind to get out of their Hands before the end of his Noviciate; and that his entring into Vows was much less an Act of his Free Will, than the Effect of his natural Bashfulness, which hindered him from defeating, by his Knowledge and Inclination, all the various Arts they used to blind his Mind: But at last he yielded his Neck to the Yoke, as he owns it himself in his Life (38), and in a long Letter to *Lambert Grunnius*. 'In summa, vicerunt improbitate. Adolescens & animo abhorrens & verbis reluctans coactus est capistrum 'accipere, non aliter quàm bello capti vinciendas manus victori præbent, ut diutinis vicii tormentis fa'ciunt, non quod velint, sed quod cuilubuit potentiori (39). —— *In short, their importunity prevailed. The Youth, notwithstanding his Aversion, notwithstanding he declared his Reluctance, was forced to submit 'his Neck to the Yoke, as Slaves taken in War stretch 'forth their Hands to their Conquerer, and receive his 'Chains, as those who are wearied out with continual 'Torments do, not what they chuse, but what a stronger 'is pleased to command.*' And when Providence sent him a Deliverer, who freed him from his Cloyster, I mean a Bishop of *Cambray*, who had a mind to have his Company in his Journey to *Rome*, he did not content himself with his Bishop's Leave, but added to it that of his Prior (40), and kept the Habit of his Order for several Years: 'Nec horum quicquam fa'ctum est, *says he* (41), *speaking of himself to Grunnius*, nisi permissu atque adeo jussu Episcopi ordinarii, permissu Præpositi, tum domestici tum generalis, denique cum pace totius Sodalitatis. Quamquam autem esset libera conscientia, scireique se voto 'adacto non teneri, illud tamen interim dedit 'ne vestem mutaret.'

[E] *It is not true that Erasmus was slow in Learning.*] There is a Tradition current in *Holland*, which seems to me to be ill grounded, and which is, That *Erasmus* was at first of so heavy and slow an Understanding, that it was many Years before they could make him learn any thing: And People make use of this Instance to comfort the Parents of such Children as do not improve. This puts me in mind of *Moliere*'s Play, called *Le Malade Imaginaire*; where Monsieur *Dyafoirus* says of his Son *Thomas*, 'That when he was 'young, he was not what People call brisk and 'sprightly; that he always appeared sedate, quiet, 'and sullen, that he never spoke a Word, and never 'minded boyish Play; that they had much ado to 'teach him to read, and that he was nine Years old 'when he could scarce tell the Letters. Good, *said 'the Father to himself*; Backward Trees bear the best 'Fruit; it is harder to engrave on Marble, than to 'write on Sand; but then the first retains Things 'much longer: And this slowness of Apprehension, 'this Heaviness of Fancy, is a sign of a sound Judg'ment to come (42).' It is said, that *Thomas Aquinas*, who has been so vast and penetrating a Wit, was accounted a great Blockhead while he was at School, and that his School-Fellows called him the *mute Ox*. *Suarez*, who was one of the most subtle School-Men of the XVIIth Century, went through his Course of Philosophy with so little Success, that he thought he should never be able to attain to any competent Knowledge in it (43). Therefore, though what so many honest People say of *Erasmus* should be true, there would be no Reason to be surprized at it; but the Question is, if this be not a Fable? For my Part, I believe it is; and the Ground I go upon, is what I have read in an Harangue of *David Chytræus* (44), besides some other Testimonies.

Chytræus

(37) *Those two Pieces of Scaliger are intitled*; *the one*, Pro M. Tullio Cicerone contra Defid. Erasmum Roterodamum, Oratio I. *The other*, Contra Defid. Erasmum Roterodamum, Oratio II.

(38) Parantem ubire ante professionem partim pudor humanus, partim necessitas coercuit. —— *I was diverted from my Design of quitting the Place before the Time of my Probation was expired, partly by Modesty, partly by Necessity.*

(39) Epist. Epist. V, lib. IV, pag. 1292.

(40) Adjunxit auctoritatem Prioris & Generalis. *Id. in Epist. sua.*

(41) Id. Epist. 6, lib. IV, pag. 1296.

(42) *See the Remark* [N] *of the Article* XENOCRATES.

(43) Alegambe, Biblioth. Scriptor. Societ. Jesu, pag. 136.

(44) De Invidiâ Westphalus.

Mother, he was put under the Tuition of Guardians, who uſed him very ill. They forced him to embrace a Religious Life: He ſhewed a long time a great Averſion for it; but at laſt he was forced to enter among the Regular Canons in the Monaſtery of *Stein*, near *Tergou*. Some time after, with the Permiſſion of his Superiors, and in the Habit of his Order, he attended the Biſhop of *Cambray*; but finding he could not much depend upon that Prelate's Protection, he got himſelf ſent to *Paris*. Having ſtudied in that famous City, in the College of *Montaigu*, he went into *England*, where he found many People that did him Juſtice, and was wonderfully pleaſed with the Learning, and other Advantages of that Country [F]; but not ſeeing the Effect of thoſe Promiſes by which he had been invited thither, he took a Journey to *Italy*. He continued above a Year at *Bologna*; from whence he went to *Venice*, where he publiſhed his *Adagia*; afterwards to *Padua*, and at laſt to *Rome*, where his Reputation was great. He might have ſettled there to Advantage, if the magnificent Promiſes of his Friends in *England* had not engaged him to return thither towards the Beginning of the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. He would have ſtay'd there the Remainder of his Life, if he had found what had been promiſed him; but being diſappointed, he went over into *Flanders*, where he was made Counſellor to *Charles* (*b*) of *Auſtria* (*c*). I forgot to mention, that he took his Degrees of Doctor in Divinity in the Univerſity of *Turin*. He lived ſeveral Years at *Baſil*, and publiſhed there a great many Books. He went from thence when the Maſs was aboliſhed there, and retired to *Friburg* in *Briſgau*, which he left ſome

(*b*) *Who was afterwards the Emperor* Charles V.

(*c*) *Taken out of his Life written by himſelf.*

Chytræus relates, That *Rodolphus Agricola* having read the Exerciſes of the Scholars of his Friend *Hegius*, who had made his School at *Deventer* very famous, found that of *Eraſmus* the beſt of them all, and deſired to ſee that young Scholar, who was then fourteen Years old (45). He was called out of the School to ſalute *Agricola*, who taking him behind the Head, and looking attentively upon him, ſaid to him, *You will be one Day a great Man.* If *Eraſmus* had not employed ſome witty Strokes, and ſhewn a forward Judgment, *Agricola* would not have had the Curioſity to ſee him. Therefore there muſt have been ſome ingenious and nice Turns, which argued much (46) with ſo good a Judge as *Agricola*. How can a Scholar be called backward and dull-witted, when at twelve or fourteen Years of Age he gives ſuch Proofs of his Capacity? Neither muſt we forget, that in thoſe Days People did not hurry the Studies of Youth as they do at preſent, and that the Barbarity of the Schools was very great.

(45) *Others, as* Melchior Adam, in Vita Eraſmi, *ſay he was then but twelve Years old.*

(46) Buchholcer, Ind. Chron pag. 420, *ſays, that* Agricola *preferred that Exerciſe to the reſt,* Propter inventionis acumen, orationis puritatem & figuras apte ceu floſculos interſeruſos. — *For the Strength of Invention, the Purity of Stile, and the delicate mixture of Rhetorical Flowers.* Valer. Andr. Bibl. Belg. pag. 175, *and* Melchior. Adam, in Vita Hegii, *make uſe of the ſame Words.*

What I am going to ſay, after *Beatus Rhenanus*, will, perhaps, better confute the Tradition I am now contending againſt. That Author relates, that *John Sintheimus*, one of the beſt Maſters in the College of *Deventer*, was ſo well ſatisfied with *Eraſmus*'s Progreſs, that he one Day embraced and kiſſed him, ſaying, *Cheer up, You will one Day attain the higheſt Pitch of Learning* (47). *Eraſmus* was not then fourteen Years old. He was nine when his Mother carried him to *Deventer*, having fetched him from *Utrecht*, where he was a Singing-boy in the Cathedral. His Wit ſhone preſently: He apprehended in an Inſtant whatever was taught him, and retained it well, ſo that he ſurpaſſed all his Companions. He had *Terence* and *Horace* at his fingers ends, ſo happy was his Memory, and ſo ſubtile his Wit. 'Ingenium Eraſmi 'mox eluxit, quum ſtatim quæ docebantur perci- 'peret & fideliter retineret æquales ſuos omnes ſupe- 'rans. . . . . Fuit memoriâ feliciſſimâ, nam puer to- 'tum Terentium & Horatium memoriter complexus 'eſt (48). Terentii Comœdias puer non ſecus tenebat ac digitos ſuos, memoria namque fuit tenaciſſima, ingenio perſpicaciſſimo (49).' This we have from *Rhenanus*, who, without doubt, deſerves more Credit than a popular Opinion, which I find can have no other Ground than theſe Words of *Eraſmus*'s Life: *His Father ſent him to School as ſoon as he was four Years old; he made no Progreſs during the firſt Years in thoſe unpleaſant Studies, for which he was not born. As ſoon as he was nine Years old, he was ſent to Deventer.* This is intricate and hard to be underſtood: For what unpleaſant Studies, and for which he was not born, could he be put upon at the Age of five or ſix Years? Was he not born to learn to read and write, to decline and conjugate in *Latin*? I ſuppoſe he means ſomething elſe; Muſic, perhaps, or ſuch other Exerciſe of a Singing-boy. But though he had made no Progreſs in that, the Tradition I confute would nevertheleſs remain falſe.

(47) Complexus aliquando puerum, macte ingenio Eraſme, inquit, to ad ſummum eruditionis ſaſtigium olim perveniſſe, ſimulque oſculum dedit & dimiſit. *Beat. Rhenan. Epiſt. præfixa Operib. Eraſm. Edit.* 1540.

(48) Id. ibid.

(49) Id. Epiſt. Dedicat. Operib. Originis præfixa.

[F] *He was wonderfully pleaſed with the Learning, and other Advantages of England.*] He looked upon *England* as his own Country by Adoption, and deſired to ſerve it as much as his own Country by Birth. 'Neque tamen deſeci nec unquam deſecturus 'ſum ab eximio Mecœnate meo Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi. Verum in confinio conſtitutus confido futurum ut utrique ſatisfaciam patriæ, tum ei in qua 'natus ſum, tum ei in quam ſum cooptatus (50). '—— *I never have, nor ever ſhall be, unmindful* '*of my excellent Patron, the Archbiſhop of Canter-* 'bury. *And being ſituated on the Confines, I hope* 'I *ſhall diſcharge the Duties which I owe to both* 'my *Countries, to that wherein I was born, and* 'to *that into which I have been adopted.*' He ſhews in ſeveral Places that he was charmed with that Country, where he had found ſeveral illuſtrious *Mecœnat's* and the Triumph of the Sciences. *Apud Anglos triumphant bonæ literæ* (51), *recta ſtudia* (52). He ingenuouſly confeſſes (53), that the flouriſhing State of Learning, with which he had congratulated *England*, began to make him ſomewhat jealous and uneaſy. And even he pretends, that the learned Men, with which it abounded, might well raiſe the Envy of *Italy* (54). He obſerves (55), that this Honour was an ancient Prerogative of that Nation, and informs us, that the great Lords there diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the Culture and Improvement of the Sciences: This is an Advantage, wherein, to this Day, the *Engliſh* Nobility ſurpaſs all other Nations. It is pleaſant to read the Difference he makes between the Meals and Feaſts of the Churchmen, and thoſe of the Nobility. The firſt were only remarkable for hard drinking, Noiſe, ſcurrilous low Jeſts, and raging Scandal; whereas, among Noblemen, the Sciences and religious Matters furniſhed the Company with Table-Talk. 'O miras rerum humanarum viciſſitudines! 'Olim litterarum ardor penes religionis profeſſores 'erat: nunc illis magna ex parte ventri, luxui, pe- 'cuniæque vacantibus amor eruditionis ad principes 'profanos ac proceres aulicos demigrat. Nam quæ 'Schola, quod Monaſterium uſquam tam multos habet 'inſigni probitate doctrinaque præditos quam veſtra 'habet aula? An non optimo jure nos noſtri pudeat? 'Sacerdotum ac Theologorum convivia mâdent vino- 'lentia, ſcurrilibus opplentur jocis, tumultu parum 'ſobrio perſtrepunt, virulentis obtrectationibus ſcatent: '& ad principum menſas modeſtè diſputatur de iis 'quæ ad eruditionem ac pietatem faciunt (56).' This was the great Character he gave of *England*, when he ſpoke ſeriouſly. Nor did he make a Deſcription of it leſs agreeable when he took up his jovial Stile. See what he writes to *Andrelin*, to invite him into that Country. 'Si Britanniæ dotes ſatis pernoſſes, 'Fauſte, næ tu alatis pedibus huc accurreres: & ſi 'podagra tua non fineret, Dædalum te fieri optares. 'Nam ut à plurimis unum quiddam attingam: ſunt 'hic nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, & quas 'tu tuis camœnis facilè anteponas. Eſt præterea mos 'nunquam ſatis laudatus. Sive quo venias, omnium 'oſculis excipieris: ſive diſcedas aliquo, oſculis di- 'mitteris: redis, redduntur ſuaviæ venitur ad te, pro- 'pinantur ſuavia; diſceditur abs te, dividuntur baſia; 'occurritur alicubi, baſiatur aſſiatim; denique quo- 'cunque te moveas, ſuaviorum plena ſunt omnia. 'Quæ

(50) Eraſm. Epiſt xix, lib. II.

(51) Id lib. xvi, Epiſt. xix.

(52) Ibid. Epiſt. xx.

(53) Ibid. Epiſt. xxvii.

(54) Ibid. Epiſt. xii.

(55) Ibid. Epiſt. xxvii.

(56) Ibid. Epiſt. xxvi, lib. vi.

some Years after for his Health-sake, and returned to *Basil* [G], where he died the 12th of *July* 1536. He was honourably interred, and his Memory is still very much respected there [H]. We shall see elsewhere (*d*) how it is honoured in his own Country, and whether *Rotterdam* can be denied the Honour of being his Birth-Place. It would be needless to remark, that he was one of the greatest Men that ever was in the Commonwealth of Learning; this being a Truth little contested. He had many Enemies; and among others, *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*, who published the most abusive Reproaches against him, tho' not that of being a Bastard [I]. The occasion of this Quarrel is not fairly

(d) *To the Article* ROTTERDAM.

full

'Quæ si tu, Fauste, gustâsses semel quam sint mollicula, quam fragrantia, profecto cuperes non decennium solum, ut Solon fecit, sed ad mortem usque in Anglia peregrinari (57). —— *If you did but sufficiently know, my Faustus, the Pleasures of England, you would haste hither with Wings at your Feet, or if your Gout would not permit you to do that, you would wish yourself a Dædalus. To mention only one Pleasure out of Multitudes: Here are Nymphs beautiful as Angels, lovely and debonair; you would readily confess, that your Muses are not to be compared to them. Besides, we have a Custom, which can never be sufficiently commended. Wherever you go you shall be welcomed with Kisses from them all; and when you depart you shall be dismissed with as endearing a Farewel: Return, the same sweet Welcome shall be repeated. Do they take their Leave of you, Kisses are interchanged at parting. Wherever you meet them, you feast on their rosy Lips. In a word, all Places you enter are full of Kisses, which, my Friend, had you once but tasted, how soft, how fragrant they are, you would not, I am positive, like Solon, desire to live ten Years, but till Death, in England.* You see he did not like *English* Women less than *English* Men.

(57) Ibid. Epist. x. lib. v. pag. 315.

[G] *He left Friburg some Years after for his Health-sake, and returned to Basil*] Mary, Queen of *Hungary*, and Governess of the *Low Countries*, invited him to come to *Brabant*; which made him remove to *Basil*, both to print there his *Ecclesiastes*, which he had not yet finished, and to get quit of the Remains of a long Fit of Illness. He lodged with *Jerome Frobenius*, his old Friend, his Design being to go by Water into the *Netherlands*, as soon as his Book should be printed, and his Health permit him. In the mean time he was attacked with a mortal Disease. This is what we find in a Letter of *Rhenanus* (58); but *Erasmus* says somewhere, that he designed, when he left *Basil*, to retire to *Bezançon*. And what is to be noted, is, that though he was at *Basil* with most sincere Friends, he had rather have died somewhere else; the Reason he gives for it, is, because they were of another Persuasion. 'Si mea bene noviſſes, debebas illi respondere, me necessario valetudinis causâ relinquisse Friburgum, hoc animo, ut *Ecclesiastâ* absoluto Besontium peterem, ne non essem in ditione Cæsaris, sed hic ingravescens valetudo cogit hybernare. Hic enim, quanquam sum apud amicos sinceriſſimos, quales Friburgi non habebam, tamen ob dogmatum dissensionem malim alibi finire vitam. Utinam Brabantia esset vicinior (59). —— *If you had been well acquainted with the State of my Affairs, you should have answered him, that I was forced to leave Friburg for the sake of my Health, with a Design to go to Bezançon, as soon as I had finished my* Ecclesiastes, *that I might be in the Emperor's Territories; but my Illness increasing, I am obliged to winter here. Where, though I live with the sincerest Friends, and such as I had not at Friburg, yet, in regard of the Difference of Opinions, I could chuse to finish my Life elsewhere. I wish Brabant was nearer.*'

(58) *This is the Epistle Dedicatory of* Erasmus's Origin. *You will find it before* Erasmus's *Letters, London Edition,* 1642.

(59) Erasm. Epist. xxxiv. lib. xxxv. pag. 1961.

[H] *Erasmus's Memory is very much respected at Basil*] Travellers do not speak less of *Erasmus*, when *Basil* falls under their Pen, than when they mention *Rotterdam*; so that it may be said, that he makes his Burying no less famous than his Birth place. And indeed it must be confessed, that he made a more considerable Stay in the first of those two Towns, than in any other Place. I say, a more considerable Stay, not perhaps as to the length of Time, but at least for the Importance of his Performances. He had liked *Basil* extreamly (60); he left it sometimes, but returned to it again: *Hic illius arma, hic currus fuit* (61). The Revolution that happened there in 1529, in Matters of Religion, was the only Reason that hindered him from settling there for good and all. 'Obscurum esse non potest mihi non omnis probari quæ illi (Evangelici) faciunt, quæ si probassem non tanto meo tum periculo tum dispendio relinquissem civitatem cui tot annis assueveram, sed jam pridem ipsorum sodalitio totus adhærerem (62). —— *It is notorious, that I approved not all that those Evangelics do; which had I done, I should never have left a City wherein I had lived so many Years, and after suffering Losses, and running apparent Hazards, but should long before this have entirely embraced their Party.*' However, they shew at *Basil* the House wherein he died (63); they call that *Erasmus*'s College, wherein the Professors in Divinity read their Lectures in Winter time, and wherein the Academical Assemblies are sometimes held. *Erasmus*'s Closet is one of the greatest Rarities of the City; wherein are to be seen, his Ring, his Seal, his Sword, his Knife, his Bodkin, his Will written with his own Hand, his Picture by *Holbein*, which is a Masterpiece, *&c.* The Magistrates bought that Closet in 1661, and gave Nine thousand Crowns for it to the Descendants of *Bonifacius Amerbach*, *Erasmus*'s Heir (64): They made a Present of it to the University, if we may credit Mr *Patin* (65; but another Traveller says, they received a Consideration of a thousand Crowns for it. See the Travels to *Switzerland*, of the Sieurs *Reboulet* and *Labrune*.

(60) *See his* 10th *Letter of the* 24th *Book.*

(61) *This was said by* Virgil. Æneid. lib. i. ver 16, *about* Carthage, *in respect to* Juno.

(62) Erasm. Epist. ad Fratres German. inferiores.

(63) Relat. Histor. de Charites Pays-Bas.

(64) *Mr* Patin *calls him only* Legatus.

(65) Ibid. pag. 123.

[I] *Julius Scaliger published the most abusive Reproaches against him, though not that of being a Bastard*] Some People will easily imagine, that this modern *Julius Cæsar* knew nothing of *Erasmus*'s Birth; for he if had, will they say, he would not have failed to have called him *Son of a Whore* in the two Invectives he published against him, and which he stuffed with the most bitter Reproaches and Slanders that a passionate Declaimer can muster up. Not that *Erasmus* had done him the least Injury: He only had blamed the excessive Prepossession of those who were then called *Ciceronians*, who thought that there was no Salvation for the *Latin* out of the Writings of *Cicero* (66); and had, at the same Time, observed some Spots in that Sun of the *Roman* Eloquence. Thereupon *Scaliger* cried out, Murder, Parricide, Tripple Parricide; threw all manner of Filth on *Erasmus*'s Head; called him a hundred times Drunkard; and maintained, that *Erasmus*, getting his Livelihood by being a Corrector to *Aldus Manucius*, overlooked many Faults when he was drunk. 'Non tu in Aldi 'Officina quæstum fecisti corrigendis exemplaribus? 'Nonne errores ii qui tum illis in libris legebantur haud tum erant librariorum atramento quam tuo 'confecti vino? Haud tam illorum somnum olebant, 'quam tuam exhalabant crapulam (67)?' In a Word, his Exclamations and Invectives were no less, than those *Cicero* made use of at the Discovery of a horrible Conspiracy against the Commonwealth:

(66) *Pasquier* had for some time the same Prepossession for the *Roman* History of *Cæsar*; saying, One could no more be saved out of the *Roman* History, than out of the *Romish* Church.

(67) Jul. Cæsar. Scaliger. Orat. II.

Sacrilegum strueret cum Catilina nefas,
Cum gener atque socer diris concurreret armis,
Mœstaque civili cæde maderet humus (68).

(68) Mart. lib. ix. Epig. lxxii.

When Cataline the impious Storm prepar'd,
When Rome's great Lords in hostile Terrors stood;
And their griev'd Country mourn'd in Tears of Blood.

To see all the Storms *Scaliger* has raised, one would be apt to enquire, Whether *Erasmus* was not some profligate Fellow that deserved the Gallows.

—— —— utrum
Minxerit in patrios cineres an triste bidental
Moverit incestus (69)?

(69) Horat. de Arte Poët. vers 470.

Whether he piss'd upon his Father's Grave,
Or rob'd a Shrine.

Or

fully related in the *Scaligerana* [*K*]. This is somewhat surprizing; for who could

Or if he was not some *Wiſigoth* or *Oſtrogoth* Captain, who had reſolved to exterminate all Sciences and Liberal Arts, and to fire all Libraries? Judge if one can forbear laughing, when one finds that the only Cauſe of that furious Paſſion, which breaks forth and rages in thoſe two Declamations of *Scaliger* (which deſerve more to be called *Stelitextics* than thoſe of *Gregory Nazianzen* againſt *Julian* the Apoſtate), is, That *Eraſmus* did combate a pernicious Superſtition, which crept into the Commonwealth of Learning, and which would have laid in Irons the Study of Eloquence. But leaving that Subject, which has been ſo nobly, and ſo agreeably touched in the twelfth Dialogue of *Balzac*, ſhall we allow the Concluſion, that if *Scaliger* had been informed that his Adverſary was a Baſtard, he would have made a ſtrange Uproar about it? I cannot admit that Concluſion, and this is the Ground I go upon.

(70) *It is the 156th in the Edition of* Toulouſe. *He wrote it to* Arnauld Ferron, *who did not approve his publiſhing of many Invectives againſt* Eraſmus.

Among *Julius Cæſar Scaliger's* Letters which his Son had ſuppreſſed, there is a very long one (70), wherein he juſtifies his firſt Paſſion by one that is perhaps greater. It is then he calls *Eraſmus Son of a Whore*; and declares, that his not having done it before, was not becauſe he had not heard of the Thing, but becauſe he was not aſſured of it, and becauſe he would not venture the Credit of his true Accuſations, by mixing them with uncertain ones. It may be objected, That this is ſomewhat doubtful, and that *Scaliger* ſeems too angry in his two Invectives, not to give his Readers Reaſon to think, that a ſmall Uncertainty, in ſuch a Report, would not have hindered him from making uſe of it againſt *Eraſmus*; that he might have ſecured himſelf a Retreat under the Cannon of common Fame, in Imitation of paſſionate Satiriſts, ſince he does not appear to have been ſo ſcrupulous in other Hear-ſays, that had no more Probability than this: That therefore what he ſays in relation to that, is nothing but a Trick common enough among railing Writers; who if they learn ſomething againſt the Reputation of their Adverſaries, after the Publication of their firſt Satires, claim an Honour to themſelves for not having mentioned it; and turn into a rational Silence one which was altogether involuntary. I have nothing to anſwer to theſe Conjectures, ſave only, that it was not long after *Scaliger* had ſent his ſecond Oration to the Printers that he wrote the Letter I have juſt now quoted (71). But let us come to the Point, and the Paſſage in that Letter. The Author aggravates in it the Crime both of the Father and Mother of *Eraſmus*, making her a Proſtitute, and him a concubinary Prieſt, condemned at laſt to Puniſhment, after the repeated Canonical Cenſures, which he had incurred by his Relapſes, had proved ineffectual. 'Ego vero mentiri? quod
'te putidum atque noctumum caput, ſpurium in illa
'Oratione appellare auſus non ſim? Neque enim incerti quidquam à me aſſerri debuit. Verum hoc
'erat tamen. At non conſtabat. Eras tunc atque
'etiam nunc ſpurius es Eraſme, hoc multi mihi è
'commilitonibus retulerunt noſtris. Verum ei rumori
'fidem non habui neque objeci tibi, ne vera compertaque cætera dicenti mihi omnis fides non haberetur. Nunc populares tui, aliquot etiam vicini viri
'boni nobiles ex inceſto natum concubitu, ſordidis
'parentibus, altero ſacrificulo, alterâ proſtitutâ; qui
'pater tuus ſemel atque iterum à Pontifice caſtigatus,
'cum ex illius præceptionibus ad vetera ſcelera nova
'propenſione fieret irritatior exilio mulctatus vertit
'ſolum (72). —— *I a Liar? What! becauſe in that*
'*Oration I did not adventure to call thee a Baſtard,*
'*thou baſe-born Mockworm? I ought not indeed to*
'*advance any Uncertainties; and though this was true,*
'*I was not throughly aſſured of it. Thou waſt, Eraſmus,*
'*and art ſtill, a Baſtard. This I had been informed of*
'*by ſeveral of my Fellow-Soldiers, but I gave no*
'*Credit to their Report, nor did I object it to thee,*
'*leaſt the leſt Credit ſhould have been given to all*
'*the reſt which was true. Now thy own Countrymen,*
'*and ſome of thy very Neighbours, Men of Probity*
'*and Diſtinction, have aſſured me, that thou art of*
'*inceſtuous Birth, of contemptible Parents, the one a*
'*beggarly Prieſt and the other a Whore. Thy Father,*
'*for his Incorrigibility, having been chaſtiſed by the*
'*Pope over and over, was baniſhed.*'

(71) *See his Letters, pag.* 35.

(72) Jul. Cæſar Scaliger, Epiſt. xv, pag. 45.

[*K*] *The Occaſion of this Quarrel is not faithfully related in the Scaligerana.* We have ſeen with what Bitterneſs *Eraſmus* was inveighed againſt: Let us now ſee what *Joſeph Scaliger* ſays about that Quarrel. 'My Father, *ſays he*, has made an Oration againſt
'*Eraſmus*, who ſince wrote, that my Father was not
'the Author of that Oration, *quia miles erat*. My
'Father made another, wherein he fell into a great
'Paſſion. *Eraſmus*, knowing that he would print
'it, procured ſome of his Friends, who bought
'up all the Copies they could find, in order to ſuppreſs them; inſomuch, that there is none now to
'be had. My Father was ſenſible afterwards of his
'Folly in writing againſt *Eraſmus*. . . . . He had written many Epiſtles againſt *Eraſmus*, which were printed; but I have cauſed them to be ſuppreſſed, and
'have by me the Copies which have coſt me Seventy two golden Crowns, Thirty ſix Double
'Piſtoles: I have ordered *Jonas* to burn them after my
'Death. My Father attacked *Eraſmus* like a Soldier.
'Afterwards, when he had ſtudied, he found that
'*Eraſmus* was a great Man. Perhaps my Father had
'not either read, or did not underſtand *Eraſmus*.
'. . . . . Pœnituit patrem adverſus illum ſcripſiſſe, *he*
'*ſaw his Fault*, ſed fuerat irritatus cum vocaretur
'ab Eraſmo miles quaſi per contemptum, ut Amphi-
'theatrum (73) vocat Dominos Pleſſæum & Lano-
'vium, milites per contemptum. . . . . Duas Epiſtolas
'ſcripſerat (Eraſmus) ad amicos quas ipſius amici ad
'patrem miſerunt: unam illarum curavit pater ex
'cudi in qua mirabatur ſuo libro militem r ſpondiſſe,
'ut Vaſatenſis Pleſſæum tractavit tanquam miratus
'militem poſſe ſacra tractare. —— *My Father was*
concerned that he had wrote againſt him. He ſaw
'his Error. *But he was provoked at being called a*
'*Soldier, as it were, out of Contempt! As the Amphi-*
theatrum calls Meſſ. Du Pleſſis and Lanoi Soldiers,
'*by way of Contempt. Eraſmus wrote two Letters to*
'*his Friends, who communicated them to my Father,*
'*one of which he procured to be publiſhed, wherein it was*
'*ſaid, he was ſurprized to ſee his Book anſwered by*
'*a Soldier, as Vaſatenſis treated Du Pleſſis, as tho'*
'*he had been aſtoniſhed that a Soldier ſhould write*
'*concerning Religion.*' My Reader eaſily perceives, by the frequent Repetitions of the ſame Thing, that this is taken out of the Book called *Scaligerana*, which contains the domeſtic Converſations of *Scaliger*. The Article concerning *Eraſmus*, which is in it, contains ſeveral honourable Things, and much truer than ſome of thoſe I have juſt mentioned.

(73) *He means the Book of the Jeſuit* Criſanius, *intitled*, Amphitheatrum Honoris.

For, I. It is not true, that *Julius Cæſar Scaliger's* Provocation was founded on ſome Word of Contempt uſed by *Eraſmus* againſt him, ſince his firſt Oration againſt the *Ciceronianus*, full of paſſionate Invectives, was compoſed before *Eraſmus* had either done or ſpoke any thing againſt him; and perhaps, even before he had heard ſo much as his Name mentioned (74). Therefore *Scaliger's* Paſſion could not proceed from any Injury he had received from *Eraſmus*, unleſs with relation at moſt to the ſecond Writing. II. It does not appear by that ſecond Writing, either that *Eraſmus* called *Julius Cæſar Scaliger* a Soldier, or that the latter took it as an Affront. That would not have been a Provocation to that Prince of *Verona*; for he valued himſelf upon having been in the Wars, and nothing could be more honourable to him, than to paſs for a Soldier and an Author at the ſame time. He himſelf had boaſted, in an inſulting manner, that though he was a young Man and a Soldier, he had taught his Adverſary his Leſſon about an Aphoriſm of *Hippocrates*. 'Hem Eraſme quanto
'pudore tuo, quanto gloriæ tuæ periculo ab juvene
'homine, à rudi Oratore, à non Oratore, à MILITE
'. . . . docearis (75). —— *What Shame, what Reproach, O Eraſmus, to thy Fame, to be corrected by*
a young Man, by a raw undiſciplined Orator, by a
'SOLDIER.' But whatever Notion he had about it, it is certain that there is no Proof that *Eraſmus* provoked him by calling him a Soldier.

(74) *We ſee in* Scaliger's *ſecond Oration, pag.* 32, *That* Eraſmus *deſired a* Dutchman *to enquire what ſort of a Man* Scaliger *was.*

(75) Orat. I.

I have two very good Reaſons for it: The firſt, That in the ſecond Oration of *Scaliger*, we find no Complaint or Reply that has any Relation to that Reproach; and that, on the contrary, we find in it ſome Paſſages (76) wherein the Author obviates the Objections, which he thinks his Confeſſion of having learned,

(76) Pag. 16, 17, 42. Edit. Tholoſ. 1620, in 4to.

could be better acquainted with the Truth of this Passage, than the Son of the Aggressor? *Erasmus* was sensibly touched with that Invective, and endeavoured to suppress the printed Copies of it [L]. He mistook for some Time the true

learned among Military Men, certain Passages he has published to blast *Erasmus*'s Reputation, would furnish his Adversary with. This will be better understood, if it be remembered, That *Erasmus* had given it out, that *Scaliger* was not the Author of the Oration published under his Name *Scaliger*, who was highly offended at it, confuted that Pretence of *Erasmus*; and because he feared he had fortified it, by counselling, he had born Arms, as if a Man who had not passed all his Life-time in his Closet, was not capable of being an Orator, he obviated that Objection; which proves invincibly that *Erasmus* had not made use of it. My other Proof is taken out of *Erasmus*'s own Letters, which *Scaliger* published at the Head of his second Oration, and which his Son mentions, as we have seen before. The two Friends, to whom *Erasmus* had written, or jointly communicated it to *Scaliger*, without adding to it any Word of Civility or Advice. In this Letter *Erasmus* says, that he had it from very good Hands, that the Oration *Scaliger* had published against him, was not *Scaliger*'s Performance (77); but he does not say a Word of what *Joseph Scaliger* attributes to him, *That he wondered a Soldier could answer his Book.*

How can we, after this, depend upon what your learned Men tell us in their Chimney Corners. Here is one of the first Rate, who at every Turn repeats, concerning his Father, two or three Falsities, which public and original Pieces evidently confute. He pretends that *Erasmus* denied *Scaliger* to have been the Author of the Oration, because *Scaliger* was a Soldier: He pretends that thereby *Erasmus* did very much provoke *Scaliger*: He pretends that *Erasmus* wondered a Soldier could answer him: And lastly, he pretends that this his Wonder is expressed in a Letter, which *Scaliger*'s Father caused to be printed. All which is positively false; though, upon his single Testimony, given out as Truth by all other Authors, particularly by Sr *Thomas Pope Blount*, in his laborious and most useful Collection, intituled, *Censura celebriorum Authorum* (78), and by *Magirus*, in his *Eponymologium* (79), &c. The Excuses *Joseph Scaliger* alledges, that his Father attacked *Erasmus* as a Soldier, and before he had studied, and that perhaps he neither had read nor understood *Erasmus*, seem to be frivolous. For the Oration against the *Ciceronianus* was printed in 1528; by which Time the Author was Forty seven Years old, had studied much, was acquainted with the Writings of his Adversary, and had a great deal of Erudition; for he had studied with marvellous Application whilst he bore Arms, and it was then a pretty long while since he had wholly dedicated himself to Learning, as the Author of the *Scaligerana* informs us himself (80). What he says of the Suppression of his Father's Letters against *Erasmus*, and which very exact Writers (81) have understood of the two Orations, (because he would, indeed, have likewise been at the Expence of suppressing the Orations, if he had not been persuaded that they had already disappeared, and been bought up) is generous, and ought to be accounted true; though his Intention was defeated, by the Care Mr *de Maussac* took to cause the Orations and Letters in question to be printed at *Toulouse* in 1620. For the rest, it is not in Conversation only that *Scaliger* committed these Faults: You will find a good part of them in his Answer to *Scioppius* (82), that is, in a most elaborate Piece, well knowing he had to do with the most formidable Critic in the World.

I wish some Body would inform us where, when, and by whose Care, the Edition *Josephi Scaligeri* suppressed was made. The Sorrow he speaks of, agrees very well with a Letter his Father wrote to *Omphalius* (83); and with the Verses he composed on the Death of *Erasmus*, and which begin with *Tunc etiam moreris*: Though not with some Passages of his Books (84) wherein he treats him very rudely, and that too sometimes upon a false Supposition.

But after all, might not that great Uneasiness, at the Reproach of being a Soldier, be no more than a romantic Fiction that has no Foundation in History?

For my Part, I find no other Original of it but a Letter (85), wherein *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* relates, That during the Contests which arose at *Paris* about the Licence to print his first Oration, *Erasmus*'s Friends found means to get a Copy of it, and to transmit it to him secretly; and that having perused it, he conjured them, by all that was most sacred to them, to oppose the printing of it, otherwise the Glory he had acquired with so much Labour, which was common to them with him, would be blasted and ruined by a unknown young Man, and a foreign Soldier, *Unius juvenis ignoti militis peregrini operâ*. It is therefore certain at least that *Scaliger* was informed, that *Erasmus*, writing to his Friends, called him a Soldier; but it is false that *Scaliger* was the more exasperated by it. What increased his Indignation, was only his being despised by *Erasmus*, who did not vouchsafe to answer him, and by whom he was treated as a voluntary Cuckold, with relation to the Oration, of which he knew himself to be the true Father. This contempt was the most cruel method of Revenge that *Erasmus* could put in practice. He had reckoned upon the Honour of being *Erasmus*'s Antagonist, and thereby to get a great Name in the Commonwealth of Learning; but he was disappointed at this Time, and obliged to seek out another Door to the Palace of Fame. Who could forbear being enraged at it, *Julius Scaliger* made an Oration thereupon? 'Est mihi perfecta 'oratio qua ruficitati quorundam respondebam qui 'ita dictitarent, Erasmum à scribendo manum abstinuisse qui me indignum putaret quicum loqueretur (86), '—— *I have wrote an Oration in order to certain 'native People, who have given it out that Erasmus 'had laid down his Pen, as thinking me below his 'Notice.*'

[L] *Erasmus was sensibly touched with Scaliger's Invective, and endeavoured to suppress the printed Copies.*] Those who have printed *Erasmus*'s Life in *Holland*, with several of his Letters not till then published, own (87), that he caused his Emissaries to collect and burn all the Copies of the second Oration, which *Scaliger* had published against him at *Paris*; insomuch, say they, that it is now no where to be found. This last Circumstance was false, when the Edition I make use of was printed; for it was printed in 1642, and the two Orations of *Scaliger* had been reprinted at *Toulouse* in 1620, or 1621. Whatever it be, they confirm what we find in the *Scaligerana*, touching *Erasmus*'s Design against the second Oration of *Scaliger*; in which Design he was so successful, that some Years after it was not to be found with any of the Schoolmasters in *Paris*. 'Curavi conquiri Parisiis apud 'omnes Pedantes, nemo habet: per emissarios 7, 'aut 8. curavit omnia exemplaria conquiri & comburi '(88). —— *I caused an enquiry to be made for it 'amongst all the Schoolmasters of Paris: but to no Effect, 'for, he having by some or eight Emissaries collected 'and destroyed them all.*' This ought to persuade us of the Truth of what *Scaliger*, the Father, says in a Letter to *Arnaud Ferrar* (89), That *Erasmus*, by the Dutchmen, burnt wherever he came, as many Copies as he could recover of his first Oration, either buying or borrowing them. By this it appears, that both the Orations had been exposed to near the same Fate. Why then does *Joseph Scaliger* and those who have published *Erasmus*'s Life, mention this thorough search, and burning of the printed Copies, with relation only to the second Oration? I believe *Erasmus*'s Emissaries were more diligent against the latter, than against the other, and that this is the Reason why the first only was reprinted at *Cologne* in 1600; for if those that published it could have found the second, they would infallibly have printed them both together. *Joseph Scaliger* tells us, *That the first Oration was reprinted by the Jesuits, with his Epistle concerning his Father's Life, curtailed where they thought fit.* I do not know whether he means the *Cologne* Edition of 1600, which, according to *Draudius* (90), and the Catalogue of *Thuanus*'s Library (91), contains no other Additions than some Divine Poems of *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*'s own; whether he speaks of another Edition, in which last

(77) Julius Scaliger ingenue edidit se non obtinuisse impudentissimi mendacii ne furiosis quidem convitiis fidem. Ejus tamen ipsum non esse autorem multæ certe argumentis comperium habeo. Sed hoc calcimentum ab alio mihi non ignoto confutatum inquit. *Note, That instead of* inquit, *it should be read* indult.

(78) *Printed at* London, 1690, *in Folio.*

(79) *Printed at* Frankfort, *and at* Leipsic, 1687, *in 4to.* L'Histoire des Ouvrages des Scavans *did give an Account of it in* December, 1688.

(80) Epistolæ, de Vetust. Gentis Scaligeræ, & Jul. Cæs. Scaligeri Vitâ.

(81) Baillet, Jugem. des Sav. Tom. II. pag. 13. & Tom. III. pag. 114. Beauval. Hist. des Ouvrages des Scavans, ubi supra, pag. 359.

(82) *I shall quote the Passage in the Remarks* [L] *and* [M].

(83) *It is the 257th in the* Toulouse *Edition. The Author shows in it his Inclination to be reconciled with* Erasmus.

(84) Postrema lib. III. cap. LXXXIII. & lib. IV. cap. I. Not. in Aristot. Hist. Animal. lib. IV. cap VIII. (Vide Vossium, de Idol. lib. IV. cap. 13.) Exercit. in Cardan. 239. & alibi, ut patet ex indice, voce *Erasmus.*

(85) *It is the 24th in the* Toulouse *Edition.*

(86) Epist. XIII. pag. m. 30, 31.

(87) *In a little Memorandum inserted in the 33d Page of the* Leyden *Edition,* 1642.

(88) Scaligerana, pag. 74.

(89) *It is the 15th in the* Toulouse *Edition.*

(90) Bibliotheca Classica, pag. 1727. 1731. Edit. 1654.

(91) *Part II. pag.* 367.

true Author [*M*], and, with extream Confidence, fathered it upon another, which deserves

last Case it would appear, that they had succeeded better in the suppressing the second Oration, than in suppressing the first.

This is all I could say upon this Matter in my Project of this Dictionary: I have at present something to add to it, by the Favour of the illustrious Abbot (92), who sent me some Remarks of Monsieur *de la Monnoie*. I have learned thereby, that *Erasmus* could not procure the Copies of the second Oration of *Scaliger* to be suppressed; for he was dead when it came out: You will see the Proof of it in the following Words (93). ' The first Declamation of *Julius Scaliger* against ' *Erasmus*, sent to *Paris* in 1529, was printed there ' in 8vo, by *Peter Vidouë*, with a Licence of Lieutenant *Morin*, dated the first of *September* 1531. The ' second, though finished by the Twenty fifth of *September* 1535, was not printed by the same *Vidouë* ' till 1537. There is before it a Letter from *Hubert Susfanneau* (94), to *Hubert de Pradine*, wherein he ' mentions that second Piece of *Scaliger* against *Eras-* ' *mus*, about which he discoursed with *Scaliger* himself at *Agen*. Inter colloquendum, *says he*, de oratione suâ adversus Erasmum secunda percunctatus ' est. Legisse dixi sed manu scriptam. Ibi illi subiratus: O amici, inquit, si usquam ulli amici sunt, ' jam pridem extisse oportuit, ante complures menses ' opusculum in hoc Lutetiam missum, & huc ad me ' propter viam perlongam, & non satis tutam raro ' admodum nunciis asseruntur. Proinde te per Musas, Susfanæe, rogo, atque etiam multis precibus obsecro, si qui sunt Lutetiæ tua mandata curaturi, ' commendatione editionis maturitatem adjuva —— *During the Conversation*, says he, *he enquired about his second Oration against Erasmus: I said I only had read it in Manuscript. At which with some Emotion, O Friends*, says he, *if there be any such things as Friends! That discourse ought, before this Time, to have appeared in Public, being sent to Paris some Months ago to that purpose; by reason of the distance, and danger of the way, I seldom get any Information from thence. Wherefore, O my Friends, I most earnestly, and by the respect you have for Learning, entreat you; If you have any Correspondent at Paris on whom you can rely, to use your Interest with him to forward the Impression.* After which, *Susfanneau* recommends to his Friend to forward that Edition, and to chuse *P. Vidouë* for the Printer. The Letter is from *Bourdeaux* the fifth of *June*, without the date of the Year. It is certain it cannot be 1535, since *Erasmus*'s Letter *ad Morbellium & Laurentium*, to which that second Invective serves for an Answer, was not delivered to *Scaliger* till the twelfth of *September* of that Year, as he tells us himself in the Epistle Dedicatory. It must therefore of necessity be the Year 1536. The Care of *Susfanneau* and his Friend was effectual; the Piece did probably come out towards the end of the same Year, though the Bookseller, to preserve the longer the Grace of Novelty to the Edition, caused the Date of the following Year to be put to it in these Words: *Venit Lutetiæ à regione gymnasii Remensis, apud P. Vidoveum, MDXXXVII.* This Oration follows the first; and the Copies of it are not so scarce, but that several may be found still: I have one of them myself, and ' I remember I have seen above four others.' The Case being thus, to speak henceforward with exactness, we must say, that *Erasmus* did no other ways contribute to the burning of the Copies of the second Oration, than because out of Respect to him, and even, perhaps, at his Desire, his Partizans threw into the Flames all the Copies they could find (95). For we must remember, that *Erasmus* was not ignorant that *Scaliger* had written another Invective: ' Scaliger ' rursus evomuit nescio quid libelli in me quemadmodum & Petrus Curtius. Neutrum vidi. —— *Scaliger has again discharged his Malice against me in print, as also Peter Curtius. But I have seen neither of their Productions.*' Thus he speaks in a Letter dated the eleventh of *March* 1536 (96). I suppose his Emissaries acquainted him that the second Oration was in the Press, as soon as the Manuscript was come to *Paris*: Wherefore he spoke of that Piece the eleventh of *March* 1536, as if it had already been printed; not knowing how negligent *Scaliger*'s Friends, or the Booksellers, had been about the Impression (97). We shall see presently that his Son was little acquainted with the Circumstances of this famous Quarrel.

Let us first lay down these two Things. I. That a Letter of *Erasmus*, written the eighteenth of *March* 1535, and communicated to *Scaliger* the twelfth of *September* of the same Year, determined the latter to compose a second Oration against the former, which was finished before the 25th of the same Month (98). II. That in the Month of *June* 1536, that second Oration was not yet printed (99), though the Author thought it had been published some Months before (100). We must conclude from all this, that *Julius Cæsar Scaliger*'s Son is mistaken, when he says, I. That *Erasmus* caused the Copies of the second Oration to be burnt. II. That after that Execution he wrote a Letter, wherein, by way of Contempt, he called his Adversary a Soldier, and thereby accused him of being incapable of composing such Orations as III. That *Scaliger*, being acquainted with it, wrote a third Oration, the Edition of which was interrupted by *Erasmus*'s Death. IV. That *Erasmus* being advertised of that third Oration wrote in 1535, 101, that *Scaliger* threatened him with some Book. Every Body may find out, without my help, the Anachronisms and other Mistakes of *Joseph Scaliger*, wherefore I content myself to set down his own Words. ' Erasmus, qui ubique gentium ὠτακουστὰς habuit, in quibus etiam ' mercenarios non paucos, tantum abest, ut amet, ' quam Scaligerum vocaverit, ut quia monitus erat ' eum fere semper militasse, hoc solo argumento negare ' ausus sit eum auctorem fuisse orationis, quam pro ' Cicerone adversus illum scripsit; idque testatus est Epistola, quam ad amicos duos scripsit. Quod coëgit ' Julium aliam orationem scribere, qua se prioris auctorem asserit; quæ una cum epistola ilia Lutetiæ apud Vidoveum edita est. Sed Erasmus homo vaferrimus per emissarios suos omnia exemplaria magnis ' sumptibus conquisita flammis aboleri curavit. Unum exemplar Josephus reliquit Aginni. Neque illum ' præter illud postea nancisci, aut videre potuit. Tanta fuit emissariorum Erasmi diligentia. Quum autem postea in alia Epistola eum per contumeliam militem vocaret, & hoc solo aliis vellet persuadere tantum eruditionis illi non fuisse, ut ejusmodi orationes ' meditari potuisset, ob eam causam Julius ad tertiam ' orationem commentandam animum appulit, cujus ' editionem mors Erasmi interpellavit: & cum reliquis ' operibus ejus in direptione suppellectilis primo bello ' civili periit .... De hac tertia oratione monitos ab ' emissariis ita scribit ab Damianum a Goes, anno ' MDXXXV. *Ajunt Doletum quendam in me scribere. Minitatur nescio quid & Julius Scaliger* (102). ' —— *Erasmus, who had his Emissaries in all Parts,* ' *and some that he kept in regular Pay, is so far from* ' *treating Scaliger otherwise than he had called him,* ' *that having heard he had been much in the Army,* ' *from that sole Argument he dared deny him to have been* ' *the Author of that Oration, which he had wrote a-* ' *gainst him in defence of Citero, at his Letter to his* ' *Friends testifies; which obliged my Father to write* ' *another Oration, wherein he asserts that he was Au-* ' *thor of the former; which together with that Letter* ' *was published at Paris by Vidouë. But Erasmus, a* ' *crafty Man, by his Emissaries, caused all the Copies to* ' *be bought up at an extravagant Price, and destroyed* ' *them in the Flames. One Copy was left by Joseph* ' *Scaliger at Agen, and so great was the Industry of* ' *the Emissaries, that not one besides that could after-* ' *wards be found. Having in another Epistle again* ' *called him a Soldier by way of Contempt, and by this* ' *one reason endeavoured to persuade others, that he had* ' *not so much Learning as was requisite for the compo-* ' *sing such Orations; Julius Scaliger set himself about* ' *making a Third, the publishing of which was pre-* ' *vented by the Death of Erasmus, and perished with* ' *the rest of his Works, when his House was plundered* ' *in the first Civil War. Erasmus being informed by* ' *his Emissaries of this third Oration, he writes thus* ' *to Damian de Goes in the Year M D XXXV.* It is ' said that one Doletus has wrote something against ' me, and that Scaliger threatens me with something.' I know not what to think of the Menace *Erasmus* mentions in his Letter to *Damianus de Goes*; for *Julius Cæsar Scaliger* protests, he thought no more of that

(92) *The Abbot* Nicaise. *See the Rem.* [*B*] *of the Article* BALBI. S BALBI, *at the third Paragraph.*

(93) *They are taken out of the Memoir of Mr de la Monnoie.*

(94) La Croix du Maine *calls him* Hubert Susan; *but* Susfanneau *was his true Name. His Letter to* Hubert de Pradine *has not been printed.*

(95) *It is certain, that both the Orations were so served.* Nostratum orationum exusta exemplaria. *Jul. Cæsar. Scalig. Epist* xvi, pag 55.

(96) *It is the* 57*th of the* 27*th Book, pag.* 1566.

(97) *See, above,* in *Cicat.* (94, *the Passage of Susfanneau's Letter.*

(98) *See the Epistle Dedicatory to the second Oration.*

(99) *See, above,* Susfanneau's *Letter.*

(100) Eam . . . . muneri misi P. Ramo . . . Speroque esse Lutetiæ [illegible] *Letter of* [illegible] *Epistles*, [illegible] *Book*, [illegible] *Letter, by the* [illegible] *Epistle to the Reader in which he gives an account of the manner of recovering it.*

(101) *That Letter is the* 6 *in of the* 3*rd Book.*

(102) Confutat. Fabulæ Burdonum, pag. 278, & seq.

serves to be observed, Those who have denied, that they had a Design at *Rome* to make him a Cardinal, have been in the wrong [*N*]. The Report that was current at *Paris*, that

(109) Confule ſeel ut de iisdem ſcripſerit in certamen quod à me jam deceſſatum eſſet. *Epiſt. Dedicat. II. Orat.* Veterum inimicitiarum memoriam quæ à me ſane depoſitæ eſſent renovarent. *Epiſt.* 14, pag. 36.

(104) Epiſt. ad Goclenium edita cum Vita Eraſmi, pag. m. 328. *It is the 26th Book in the London Edition.*

(105) He offers, in the ſecond Oration, to produce the Original written with his own Hand, full of Raſure, &c.

(106) Eraſmus, Epiſt. lxx, lib. xxx, pag. 1059, *dated the 22nd of Sept.* 1535.

(107) *See* Jul. Cæſar. Scalig. Exift. xiv, pag. 55.

(108) Confutat. Fabulæ Burdoenſium, pag. 280.

(109) In Icoſibus.

(110) Hiſtoria de Fort. Gnoſ. pag. 250.

(111) Eraſmus, Epiſt. III, & ſy, lib. xxiii.

(112) Sentimens d'Eraſme, pag. 22, 23.

that Quarrel (103), when, on the twelfth of *September* 1535, he received the Letter *Eraſmus* had written to *Marbelius* and *John Laurentius*. Now *Eraſmus*'s Letter to *Damianus de Goes*, is dated the Twenty firſt of *May* 1535.

[*M*] *He miſtook for ſome Time the true Author.*] Let us ſay a Word of the Confidence with which *Eraſmus* affirmed, that *Scaliger* had only lent his Name to the firſt of theſe two Orations. I know it, ſaid he, by ſeveral certain Proofs, *multis ac certis argumentis compertum habeo*. He had affirmed in other Letters (104), that *Alexander* was the true Author, and that he was as ſure of it as of his own Exiſtence; but that he thought fit to diſſemble it, not to render him more furious by the Diſcovery of the Cheat. ' Julii Scaligeri libellum ' tam ſcio illius (Alexandri) eſſe quam ſeio me vivere. ' Id tamen diſſimulandum eſt ne magis inſaniat prodito ' fuco.' He repeats the ſame thing, and fortifies it with Reaſons in the Fifty eighth Letter of the thirteth Book. However, it was moſt true, that no other but *Julius Cæſar Scaliger* had compoſed that Oration (105). From whence it appears, that the moſt learned are miſtaken in the fathering Books upon ſuch and ſuch Authors: and if *Eraſmus*, who was all Meekneſs and Modeſty, has pronounced a falſe Judgment with ſo much Confidence in a Caſe of this Nature, we muſt give no manner of Credit to what ſome fierce, haughty, paſſionate, opinionated, and fanatic Spirits may declaim, with a magiſterial Tone, upon the like occaſion. *Eraſmus* was guilty of the ſame Miſtake with reſpect to another Book: for he fathered upon *Alexander* a Piece, which had been publiſhed with the Name of *Stephen Doleti*. ' Alexander denuo emiſit librum ſu- ' ioſum ſub nomine Doleti (106).' However, it was not true that *Alexander* was the Author of it: For that Book was really compoſed by him, whoſe Name was in the Title Page (107). This Fault of *Eraſmus* is more pardonable, than that which *Joſeph Scaliger* has committed in theſe Words: ' Nihil Eraſmus tam ſerio ' affectavit quam ex militia ejus (Julii Scaligeri) eum ' literarum imperitum probare, quum tamen aliter ſe ' ſentire apud amicos diſſimulare non potuerit: quod ' quidam ad Conradum Goclenium epiſtola teſtatur: ' *Julii*, inquit, *Scaligeri libellum tam ſcio illius eſſe, quam ſeio me vivere. Id tamen diſſimulandum eſt, ne magis inſaniat proditi fuco.* Vides credidiſſe, & diſſimulaſſe, ex quo conſcientiam hominis æſtimare licet (108). — *Eraſmus affected nothing ſo much, as, from his (Julius Scaliger's) having been in the Army, to prove that he was no Scholar, though he could not diſſemble a quite contrary Opinion amongſt his Friends, a proof of which may be found in his Letter to Conrad Goclenius. I know, ſays he, the Libel of Scaliger to be his as well as that I live: but the Mask is not to be thrown off, leaſt I ſhould thereby exaſperate him the more. You ſee he knew it, yet pretended he did not; whence you may form an Opinion of his Honeſty.* It is moſt certain, that by his (*illius*) we muſt underſtand *Alexander*, and that therefore, after having committed that Miſtake, there was no Reaſon to charge the Fraud upon *Eraſmus*.

[*N*] *They who have denied, that they had a Deſign at Rome to make him a Cardinal, have been in the wrong.*] *Boiſſard* (109) affirms, that it was reported that *Eraſmus* had refuſed the Cardinalſhip, and that the other Eccleſiaſtics had looked upon as a Miracle the Refuſal of a Dignity ſo much ſought after. *Lorenzo Craſſo* (110) pretends, that this was a Story, more to be laughed at than credited: But he expoſed himſelf to the Laughter of his Readers, ſince it was *Eraſmus*'s own Fault, if he was not made a Cardinal. He would undoubtedly have attained that Dignity under Pope *Hadrian* VI, if he had gone to *Rome*, to make his Court to him, as he was powerfully ſollicited to do by that Pope himſelf, who was his Countryman, his Friend and School-fellow (111). ' He excuſed his not ' undertaking that Journey, both becauſe of his great ' Infirmities, and principally to ſtop the Mouth of his ' Enemies, who would report every where that he ' was gone a Hunting after the Dignities of the ' Church (112).' But under Pope *Paul* III, the thing went further: The Cardinalſhip was at one Time Fruit for *Eraſmus*, who might have gathered it if he had but reached his Hand. It is what he acquainted us with himſelf. ' Quum dixiſſet (Paulus III.) in ſtatu- ' ram Synodum aliquot eruditos in Cardinalium ordi- ' nem allegere, propoſitum eſt & de Eraſmo. Sed ' objiciebantur impedimenta, valetudo ad obeunda mu- ' nia inutilis, ac cenſus tenuis. Aiunt enim eſſe Se- ' natuſconſultum quo ſubmoventur ab ea dignitate qui- ' bus annui redditus ſunt infra tria ducatorum millia. ' Nunc hoc agunt ut me onerent præpoſitura, ut hinc ' joſto cenſu parato doner purpureo galero (113). — *Paul III deſigning to advance in the ſucceeding Synod ſome learned Men to the Dignity of Cardinals, a Propoſal was made in favour of Eraſmus. But the ill ſtate of his Health, and the narrowneſs of his Circumſtances, were made Objections; for it is ſaid there is a Decree, whereby thoſe are excluded whoſe yearly income does not amount to Three thouſand Ducats. Now they intend to load me with Benefits, that my Income may thereby be ſufficiently large to qualify me for receiving the Hat.*' He affirms in the ſame Letter, that he had a Friend at *Rome*, who ſtirred very much in that Affair, although he had often written to him, that he had no Thoughts of Benefices or Penſions, being ſenſible of his approaching End. We find the ſame thing in another Letter (114), with a more expreſs Declaration of *Eraſmus*'s Reluctancy. ' Pa- ' lo III viſum eſt ... quinque jubis Magno ambitu ' agitur ut me præpoſituris onerent, recalcitrantem, ac ' manibus pedibuſque recuſantem, ac perpetuo etiam ' recuſaturum. — *It was the Intention of Paul III: for which reaſon they now earneſtly preſs me to accept of Benefices, not only againſt my Inclination, but againſt an unchangeable Reſolution.*' *Rhenanus* ſpeaks not only of this Deſign of *Paul* III, but ſays alſo, that That Pope beſtowed the Provoſtſhip of *Deventer* upon *Eraſmus*, and deſired the Queen of *Hungary*, Governeſs of the *Low-Countries*, to ſecure the Poſſeſſion of it to him; but *Eraſmus*, not caring for that Benefice, did not ſend the Pope's Letter to that Princeſs (115). Mr *Joly* (116) quotes the Teſtimony of *Peter Bembo*, and that of Mr *de la Rocheposi*, Biſhop of *Poitiers*, and ſeveral Letters of *Eraſmus* (117), to confirm what I have ſaid; and which *Lorenzo Craſſo* pretended to be ridiculous. Another Writer (118) quotes two or three Letters on the ſame ſubject, which do not ſay, as he pretends, ' That *Eraſmus* was deſigned the firſt, and ' nominated to fill the eminent Dignity of Cardinal, ' and that *Lewis Ar*, a Doctor of *Louvain*, who was ' his Friend, and ſince a Biſhop, was ſent to him by ' Pope *Paul* III, with Letters of Credence, which ' aſſured him of it.' Nevertheleſs, the thing is true, ſo far as it has been proved before by *Eraſmus*'s own Words. I do not find this *Lewis Ar* in the Letters quoted (119), but only one *Lewis Berus*, a Canon of *Baſil* (120), who had delivered to the Pope a Letter from *Eraſmus*, and whom the Pope ſent back to *Eraſmus*, to be more fully informed of his Intentions. A Man muſt be very penetrating, to find there an Expreſs ſent to *Eraſmus* by *Paul* III, to acquaint him that he was the firſt that was nominated to be a Cardinal: If he had received any ſuch Meſſage, he would have mentioned it in the two Letters I have quoted; for that had been more poſitive, than to ſay, that they endeavoured to remove one of the Obſtacles to his Promotion, by ſeeking for him Benefices, and Supplies, as for a poor Cardinal. I am very much miſtaken, if Mr *Richard* has not taken theſe Words, *He was deſigned the firſt, and nominated*, &c. out of a Letter he does not quote: It is the Sixty eighth of the thirtieth Book, wherein *Eraſmus* relates, that *Paul* III, having charged two Cardinals to exhort the learned Men of *Germany* to ſuccour Religion, one of theſe Cardinals had reſolved to name *Eraſmus* the firſt. But how vaſtly diſtant this is from a Nomination to the Cardinalſhip, notified by an Expreſs from the Pope! Nothing is more ordinary, than to ſtretch the Senſe of what one quotes; the Reaſon of which is, that that great Inconvenience is ſeldom to be avoided, without a diligent Application, which reduces an Author to compoſe but few Pages in a Day.

We may now judge whether Mr *Pitis*, the Son, has hit upon the right Cauſe, when he has ſaid, ' That it

(113) *Eraſmus, Epiſt. XXVI, lib. XXVI.*

(114) *See a paſſage of the 29th Book.*

(115) Epiſt. præfixa Operib. Eraſmi.

(116) Anti-pall. Inſtitution des Enfans, pag. 99.

(117) Some of the Letters he quotes do not mention that thing in Queſtion.

(118) *Vid.* Richard, Præf. of Hadrian VI. *See Amyot*, pag. 374 *of the* Sentimens d'Eraſme.

(119) The Index of *Eraſmus*'s Letters, in the *London* Edition, which is very exact, and very uſeful, does not mention any *Lewis Ar*.

(120) Epiſt. xxvi, lib. xxvi.

that they were printing a new Edition of his Works at *Rotterdam* was ill grounded [O]. They promised his Life [P]; but that Promise has not yet been accomplished. Of all his Works, those that have been printed oftenest are his *Colloquies* [Q], and his *Praise of Folly*

' it had not been for the untimely Death of the Pope, ' *Erasmus* had been raised to the first Honours of ' the Church (121).' Without doubt he means *Hadrian* VI. Now we see, that *Erasmus*'s want of Ambition, not the short Life of that Pope, hindered him from being a Cardinal.

(121) Charles Patin, Relat. Histor. pag. 129.

[O] *The report . . . . that they were about a new Edition of his Works at Rotterdam was ill grounded.*] It is *Guy Patin* who tells us, that this Report was current at *Paris*. ' I hear, says he (122), that those of *Rotterdam*, out of the Respect they have for the Memory of him who has been the Honour of their Country, cause, at their own Expence, all the Works of *Erasmus* to be new printed. That Piece of News rejoices me very much. There is still some Virtue in the World, and some honest, generous, Persons. I pray God it may be true.'

(122) Tom. I, pag. 115, *dated* Aug 15, 1657.

[P] *They promised his Life.*] Let us hear Mr *Patin* again. ' We have here an honest Man who is writing ' the Life of honest *Erasmus*, who has been a great ' and excellent Person, and died at *Basil* the twelfth ' of *July*, 1536. He has had the Misfortune not to ' please the Monks; but this is common to him, ' with so many honest Men, that I think no body ' ought to be concerned at it (123).' He spoke of the same Work a Year after: ' We have here a very ' learned Man of Quality and Probity, who has almost ' finished the Life of *Erasmus*; and thereby you see, ' that there are still some honest Men in the World ' who cherish Virtue. It is now two hundred Years ' since he was at Nurse, for he was born in the Year ' 1467; and, in my Opinion, next to St *Austin* and ' St *Thomas Aquinas*, he has been the greatest Wit ' among the Christians, whatever the Monks can say ' to the contrary, who are his Enemies, because he ' has exposed them, and made them too well known to ' the World (124).'

(123) Tom. III, *Letter* CDLVIII, *dated* Sept. 2, 1667.

(124) Tom. III, *Letter* CDLXX-VI, *dated* Sept. 23, 1668.

Several good Reasons induce me to believe, that the Life Mr *Patin* speaks of is not that which Mr *Mercier*, Sub-Principal of the College of *Navarre*, has published at *Paris*, with *Erasmus*'s Colloquies commented upon, and castrated. I could be easily persuaded that it is that of which Mr *Bottier*, *a learned Man of* Basil *in* Switzerland, spoke to Mr *Colomiés* in 1668 (125). He told him, *That Mr* Joly, *a Canon of* Nostre-Dame *in* Paris, *was writing* Erasmus's *Life; for which Purpose he had read over Seven times all the Works of that great Man.* Here is then a Life of *Erasmus*, to be inserted in Mr *Almeloveen*'s *Bibliotheca promissa & latens* (126). The Life of *Erasmus*, promised by *Mallincrot* (127), Dean of *Munster*, is also a Piece for the same *Bibliotheque*. That Dean had written the Life of *Erasmus* in a Chronological Order; which is an excellent Method, and which clears a thousand Difficulties; as may be seen in the Life of *Cicero*, composed by *Francis Fabricius*. It were to be wished, that the Life of *Erasmus* might be drawn up after that Model, and that the first Edition of all his Works should be exactly set down in it; for the most learned are sometimes mistaken about it (128). *Verbeiden* gave a great Idea of a Manuscript preserved as a Relic by *Otto Werckman* of *Nimeguen*, and containing *Erasmus*'s Life written with *Erasmus*'s own Hand. It is that which *Merula* published five Years after (129). A very laborious and exact Author (130) has placed among the Writers of the Life of *Erasmus*, *Merula* and *Scriverius*, who have been no more than the Editors of some Pieces composed by others: and yet he has forgot to mention among them *Beatus Rhenanus*, who has actually composed a fine Discourse on the Life of that illustrious Person. That little Fault is only in the tenth *Index*, for the Body of the Book is right in that Particular.

(125) Colomiés, Biblioth. choisie, pag. 139.

(126) It is a Catalogue of Books that have been promised the Public, and have not been printed. It was printed at *Tergou*, in 1692. A *German* named *Rodolphus Martinus Meelbergius*, published in ... 1699, *Accessiones* to that *Bibliotheque* promissa & latens. See the *Acta* of *Leipsic*, 2699. pag. 359.

(127) In Præfat. Tractatuy de Arte Typographica.

(128) See Remark [R].

There is a Report (131) That Mr *Joly* has delivered his Life of *Erasmus* into the Hands of the Examiners of Books, in order to get their Approbation, and obtain afterwards a Licence to print it. Let us wish that News may prove true: and that those Gentlemen may not be so hard with Mr *Joly*, as they are with so many Writers who complain, that their Manuscripts are detained too long, and that many things are struck out of them. See the *Nouvelles de la*

(129) This is written in 1699.

(130) Teissier, Catalog. Auct. pag. 373.

République des Lettres, the third Article of *February*, 1685.

[Q] *Of all his Works his Colloquies have been oftenest printed.*] Messieurs *Hofman* and *Moreri* say, that a little after the Edition which *Erasmus* caused to be made of his Colloquies at *Basil*, being sixty Years old, *Colinæus*, who reprinted them at *Paris*, in 1527, printed 24000 Copies of them; which, according to Mr *Hofman*, were all sold. A Passage so singular as that required an Account somewhat better circumstantiated; so that those two Gentlemen would hardly clear themselves in this Place of a Fault of Omission. They ought to have acquainted us, that That Bookseller made use of a Stratagem to increase the Sale; which however he might have expected should be great, because his Edition was very fair, and the Volume very small. His Stratagem was to raise a Report, that That Book would be prohibited: ' Colinæus quidam excuderat, ut aiunt, ad 24 millia Colloquiorum in modum enchiridii, sed eleganter. Id fecerat non studio mei, sed amore quæstus. Quid multis? nihil erat in manibus præter Colloquia. ' Præcesserat nescio quis rumor, forte à typographo ' studiosè sparsus, fore ut hoc opus interdiceretur, ea ' res acuit emptorum aviditatem. Itaque Bedda, &c (132). —— *One Colinæus, as it is reported, printed off ' Twenty four thousand copies of the Colloquies, in form of ' a Manual, but very neatly. This he did not out of Respect for me, but for the sake of Lucre. In short, the ' Colloquies were universally read. A rumour was in ' dustriously spread, perhaps by the contrivance of the ' Bookseller, that this Work would be prohibited. This ' gave an Edge to the Curiosity of the Buyers. Whereupon, &c.* The Apprehension People had of it made every Body buy it betimes: which quick Sale caused *Bedda*, *Erasmus*'s declared Enemy, to solicit the Interdiction of his Colloquies; which he obtained: But in all Probability this Prohibition did *Colinæus* more good than harm. We see thereby, that the Tricks, like that which the Author of *La Religion des Hollandois* ascribes to a Bookseller of *Amsterdam*, with respect to a *Socinian* Book, did not begin in *Holland*. He pretends, that That Book was sentenced to be burnt at the Bookseller's request, in order to raise the Price of it. It was not this sort of Cheats of which *Erasmus* complained most; for they played him Tricks of a far greater Consequence. They published with his Name some Books, of which he was not the Author (132*); they sold to Booksellers some Manuscripts he had dictated only for domestic Uses: And all this was done for Lucre-sake, because it was presumed his Name alone would sell off a bad Book. It was in this manner his Colloquies were first published (133). He never had by him either the Original or a Copy; but one *Helenius*, having got a Manuscript Copy of it, sold it for a good Sum of Money to *Frobenius*, who caused it to be printed a long time before the Year 1522 (134). The Author was very much displeased at it; but not being able to suppress the Book, endeavoured to put it in a better Condition, by Additions done in haste: ' Colloquia me invito atque etiam irato prodierunt. Quibus adjeci quædam in gratiam typographi, levi sane brachio, ut qui uno die interdum tria ' absolverim colloquia (135). —— *The Colloquies were ' published without either my Knowledge or Consent: ' To which I made some Additions for the sake of the ' Printer; but in too great a hurry, finishing sometimes ' three Colloquies in one day.*' You may see in the thirty third, and in the forty second Letter of the twenty first Book, his Justification concerning his Colloquies: of the uselessness of which he also writ a Letter worth the Perusal, and which is generally printed at the End of that Book. But above all, it is necessary to read the Memorial he sent to the Divines of *Louvain*, wherein, among other things, he represents, that one ought to consider well what Persons he brings upon the Stage (136). For the Rules of Dialogue requiring, that each of the Interlocutors speak not according to the Sentiments of the Author, but conformably to his Character; nothing could be more unjust than to father upon Authors what they put in the Mouths of the Persons they bring in. Otherwise

(131) Erasmus, Ep. ult. xxix, libri xix. Note, That in the Book intituled, *Jugemens d'Erasme*, p. 234 this Letter is said to be directed, *Alphonso Valdesio*, in 1528; but it is *Alph. à Valdesio*, in 1529.

(132*) Id. Epist. xlii. lib. xxvii.

(133) Id. ibid.

(134) Epist. Erasmi, lvii. libri xxx.

(135) Erasmus, Purgat. adversus Epist. Lutheri, pag. 54, 55.

(136) Idem, Ep. lvii, libri xxx.

Folly [R]. It was with great difficulty that he suffered his Picture to be drawn [S]. At last he consented. *Holbein*, a famous Painter, and his particular Friend, drew it, and *Beza* honoured it with an Epigram which has been commended (*e*). *Erasmus* not embracing *Luther*'s Reformation, and yet condemning many things practised by the Papists, drew upon himself a thousand Reproaches both from the Catholics and Protestants [T]. No Man was ever more averse than he to the furious Temper of

(*e*) See a Criticism upon it in the Remark [S].

one must believe a Writer to be a *Turk*, when he makes a *Turk* speak according to his Principles. 'Nisi 'forte, si Turcam loquentem facerem, mihi imputan- 'dum putent quidquid ille dixerit (137).' It is worth one's while to see what he says to excuse the Discourses he ascribes to Folly, *in Moriæ Encomio*: for that is very judicious. 'Non perpendunt id quod in 'dialogis est potissimum, personæ decorum .... quasi 'verò si quis Ethnicum cum Christiano loquentem 'faciat, nefas sit Ethnicum quicquam dicere quod ab- 'horreat à doctrina Christiana (138). —— *They do not consider the most essential Part of Dialogue, the Propriety of the Characters .... as if, when you introduce a Heathen talking with a Christian, it would be criminal to make the Heathen speak any thing repugnant to the Doctrine of Christianity.*' Add to this *Lystrius*'s Commentary upon the Preface of the *Encomium Moriæ*. The only Objection that can be made to it is, that a Writer of Dialogues, or such like Author, who under the Fiction of a borrowed Person has a Mind to disclose his Thoughts, ought to choose such Subjects as by the Laws of Probability will not engage them to say any thing which is not edifying. This is all the Objection that can be raised. if this also be added to it, that whoever makes Heretics advance the strongest Arguments that can be urged for their Heresy, pleads the Cause of his own Heart, or falls into a rash and ridiculous Judgment. Be this as it will, few Books have made so much noise as *Erasmus*'s Colloquies. They have been publickly read in the Schools; in divers Places they have been prohibited to be read (139), or even to be sold (140). The Cardinals and Prelates delegated by Pope *Paul* III. for the Reformation of Abuses, found it concerned their Commission to forbid the teaching of *Erasmus*'s Colloquies in the Schools (141). They have been translated into divers Languages (142), commented, castrated, &c. (143). I remember a Passage in *Erasmus*'s Letters, in which he complains that his Colloquies depraved by a Jacobine Friar were published at *Paris*, with a Preface forged by the Corrupter under *Erasmus*'s Name: 'Lu- 'tetiæ rursus Dominicanus quidam corrupit mea Col- 'loquia, & addidit Præfationem meo nomine in qua 'damno me ipsum (144).'

[R] .... *And his Praise of Folly.*] *Barbolter*, who sometimes (145) has given the date of *Erasmus*'s Writings, is mistaken (146), concerning the first Edition of the *Encomium Moriæ*, by placing it on the ninth of *June* 1508. If he had read the Catalogue of *Erasmus*'s Works, contained in a Letter of the Author to *John Botzhemus*, he would have known that the date of the Epistle Dedicatory, *V. Idus Junias* 1508, was not to be followed, since *Erasmus* assures us that having wrote that Book in *England*, he despised it in such a manner that he did not think it worth printing (147), and that he was at *Paris* when *Richard Grocus* put out a bad Edition of it. If Mr *Patin*, the Son, had remembered this Place, he would not have reckoned (148), *Frobenius*'s Edition at *Basil*, in 1514, for the first of a hundred Editions, more or less, that have been made of this *Praise of Folly*. It appears by a Letter of *Erasmus* (149), that *Badius* printed this Book in 1512. *Accepi*, says he, *postremas Badii literas .... in quibus scribit* Moriam *à se formulis extusam, quam tamen hic non viximus. Herald*, in his *Physiognomics*, seems to acknowledge *Badius* for the first that printed the Praise of Folly. *Vix igitur tum Badius*, says he, speaking in the Person of *Erasmus*, *Moriam absolverat Lunæ X inaugurato Bafilicam hac me contuli.* This Work was very well received by the Publick. People of Distinction especially were pleased with it. Some loose Monks and four Divines were offended at it, and many disliked the Commentary of *Lystrius*, because he had explained things which they had found their account in keeping obscure. 'Vix aliud 'majore plausu exceptum est, præsertim apud Mag- 'nates. Paucos tantum Monachos, colque deterrimos, 'ac Theologos nonnullos morosiores offendit libertas; 'sed plures offensi sunt, ubi Lystrius adjecit Com- 'mentarios, quod antea profuerat non intelligi (150).' See what the modern Author says who has criticised *Maimbourg*'s History of Calvinism (151).

[S] *It was with great difficulty he suffered himself to be drawn.*] It was because he was little pleased with his own Face: *Ac ne facie quidem propria delectabatur, cùmque extorsum est amicorum precibus, ut se pingi paterétur.* This he says himself in his Life: but this must be understood only of the first time, since it is certain *Holbein* painted him several Times (152). He drew him only at half length, which occasioned an Epigram of *Theodore Beza*, that has been much approved. *Du Verdier Vau Privas*, at page 2392 of the third Volume of his *Prosopographia*, falsely attributes it to *Buchanan*, and gives it as an Epitaph. *Beza* owns himself the Author of it, speaking of *Erasmus*, in his *Icones*. The Epigram is as follows.

Ingens ingentem quem personat orbis Erasmum,
Hic tibi dimidium picta tabella refert.
At cur non totum? mirari desine lector,
Integrâ nam totum terra nec ipsa capit.

One half this Canvas shews of that great Sage,
Whom Worlds proclaim the wonder of the Age.
Why not the whole? Cease, Reader, thy Surprize,
Him the whole Earth's not able to comprize.

I agree there must be some Wit to make these four Verses, and that they seem to belie the Maxim, that a Thought cannot be fine unless it is true; but, all things considered, I should rather maintain that there is false Wit in this Epigram, since it terminates in a wrong Thought, than to destroy that Maxim. I prove that *Beza*'s is a wrong Thought, because a Painter has no more difficulty to draw the full length of a learned Man or Hero, whose Fame is spread far and near, than that of a mean Person who is known only in his own Village. So that the reason alledged by the Poet, why *Erasmus* was only drawn at half length, is perfectly chimerical (153). There are some who have looked for other Subtilties, and those a little malicious in the Epigram, as if the Poet had alluded to that kind of Neutrality, which it seems *Erasmus* would have preserved between the Pope and the Lutherans (154): but even that would be false Wit, for it is impossible such a reason as that should make it hard to draw the Thighs of a Man. I must not forget that in the Latin Translation of *Lewis Guicciardin* (155) there is an Addition importing, that they keep at *Rotterdam*, in a public Place, a Picture of *Erasmus*, representing him very naturally, just as he was four Years before his Death; that this Picture was sent by the Senate and People of *Basil*, and that it is the same upon which *Beza* had made so subtile an Epigram, *Ingens ingentem, &c.* All those I have consulted have answered me, that they never heard of such a Present made by the Gentlemen of *Basil* to those of *Rotterdam*, nor that the Picture of *Erasmus* was ever kept in a public Place in that City. Only I am informed that there is an excellent Original Piece of him, by the famous *Holbein*, to be seen at the House of Mr *Beukel* Rear Admiral of the Maese (156). I have read in *Fasori*, at page 307 of the third Part of the Lives of the Painters, that *Albert Durer* had made a Print of *Erasmus*'s Head.

[T] *He drew a thousand Reproaches upon himself, both from the Catholic and Protestant Party.*] The Question is not to examine here, whether *Erasmus*'s Conduct with respect to Religion was good or no. I shall only observe that he seems to me to be one of those Witnesses for the Truth, who were willing for a Reformation in the Church, but who did not think it was to be procured by erecting another Society to be supported by Leagues, and that should put immediately *à verbis ad verbera*, from *Words to Blows*. He had too narrow a Mind of the Divine Providence, not sufficiently considering

(137) Id. ibid.

(138) Id cbil 2, cent. 2, n. 40.

(139) *At Paris*, in 1528. Erasmus, Epist. lxx, libri xx. Epist. xx x, libri xix.

(140) *In England*, in 1526. Idem. Ep. xxxiii, libri xxi. *At Delo*, in 1636. Idem. Epist. lv, libri xxvii.

(141) Sleidan. lib. xii.

(142) *See* Colomies, Biblioth. choisi. pag 140, 141.

(143) Baillet, Jugem. sur les Critiq. Tom. III, pag. 230.

(144) Erasmus, Epist. xxxii, lib. xxi; *it is dated Easter-day* 1526.

(145) In Indice Chronolog.

(146) Pag. m. 457.

(147) He tells us in his second Chiliad, at the fortieth Proverb of the second Century, that he wrote it in seven days, without the help of any book.

(148) *Epistola Dedicatory* of the Edition of this Book which he published at *Basil* in 1676 in 8vo. with *Holbein*'s Figures.

(149) The XVth of the Xth Book, dated from Louvain in the year 1512. The 8th and the following. Passages were communicated to me in a Memoir of Mr *de la Monnoye*.

(150) Erasmus, Epist. at Botzhemum.

(151) Nouvelles Lettres de l'Auteur de la Critique générale du Calvinisme de Maimbourg, pag. 75 [illegible]

(152) See *Beza*'s Life, at the beginning of Paire's Edition of the Encomium Moriæ.

(153) Aemilius, *Professor at Utrecht, has imitated this Thought of Theodore Beza in the Distich which he put under the Print of Mrs Schurman.*

Nam qui dimidiam spectatur imagine virgo
Maxima quod totum nulla tabella capit
You view but half the Maid; to take in all,
The largest Table would be far too small.

(154) Apud Vanheiden, Elog. præfat. Theolog. pag. 19.

(155) Pag. 308. Arnhem Edit. 1616. The Author of that Latin Version is named *Regnerus Vitellius Zuricanus.*

(156) He was killed in a Sea Fight in the Channel, *July* 10, 1690.

of certain Divines, who approve of violent Actions, and delight to ſpirit up War; but he was a Lover of Peace, knowing the value of it [U]. He was too much concerned at the Libels publiſhed againſt him, as it appears by the Complaints he made againſt the Printers of thoſe Libels [X]. He has been thought the Author of ſeveral Books

conſidering that it leads us to the ſame end, ſometimes by one way, ſometimes by another. So that with his *non amo veritatem ſeditioſam*, —— *I hate ſeditious Truths*, he reſted in the Mire, and ſillily imagined the beſt way was to ſecure the main Point, ſince *Luther*'s way of writing, and the Wars which accompanied his Reformation, was an Argument that the time of Reliefs was not yet come. 'Si Lutherus 'omnia bene ſcripſiſſet, mihi tamen magnopere diſ- 'pliceret ſeditioſa libertas. Ego vel falli malim in 'nonnullis, quam tanto orbis tumultu pro veritate di- 'ſadiari (157). —— *Had all that Luther wrote been* 'good, his ſeditious Freedom would ſtill have been 'diſagreeable to me. I would rather ſubmit to ſome 'Errors than raiſe a Civil-War, and put the whole 'World in an uproar for the ſake of Truth.' But in vain did he live and die in the *Romiſh* Communion, and undergo many Reflexions from ſome zealous Proteſtants: he was not the leſs ill treated both during his Life, and after his Death, by ſeveral Catholic Writers, as is ſufficiently plain from the ſingle Book of *Gaſpar Cbiocius* (158). It is pity the Author of *Eraſmus*'s Sentiments, publiſhed in 1688, went no farther than the firſt Part. See the Subſtance of *Eraſmus*'s Thoughts concerning the Pacification of the Church, extracted by Mr *Seckendorf* (159). He has taken them from the Expoſition of the Eighty fourth *Pſalm*, publiſhed in 1533. It cannot be denied, that, taking all things together, *Eraſmus* was what they call a Catholic; but he did not ſee without Joy the firſt Steps of *Luther*, and was greatly concerned when he thought Lutheraniſm near it's Ruin. In the Year 1528, he believed *Luther* had retracted the greateſt part of his Doctrines, and had thereby expoſed himſelf to the Contempt of his Brethren as a Dotard. This was a Trouble to *Eraſmus*, becauſe he feared the Monks, being delivered from this Storm, would act new Tragedies. He opened his Heart upon this Subject to *Gattinara*, Chancellor of *Charles* V. 'Indies miteſcit febris Lutherana, 'adeò ut ipſe Lutherus de ſingulis propemodum ſcribat 'palinodias, ac cæteris habeatur ob hoc ipſum hæ- 'reticus ac delirus. Sed vereor ne quorundam mo- 'nachorum ſtolida improbitas excitet nobis aliam tra- 'gœdiam (160). —— *Luther's Fever abates daily, inſo-* 'much that he retracts almoſt all that he has ſaid, 'and is therefore accounted by the reſt a Heretic and a 'Madman; but I fear leſt the ill-adviſed Zeal of cer- 'tain Monks ſhould give birth to another Tragedy.' To this refers what he wrote the ſame Year to a Count of the Empire. 'Si inclinat factio Lutherana, quod 'ut fiat ipſi ſedulo dant operam, exoritur intolera- 'bilis Pſeudomonachorum tyrannis (161). —— *If Lu-* 'ther's Faction, as they ſtrenuouſly endeavour to ef- 'fect it, ſhould decline, we ſhall be plagued with the 'inſufferable Tyranny of Mock-Monks.' He had already been loaded with Reproaches by *Luther* and ſome others of that Party: nevertheleſs he did not deſire the Downfal of that Sect; but was glad they kept the Monks in play, and held them within due Bounds. The next Year he wrote two Letters, which are very diſobliging to the Lutherans (162). *Luther* publickly charged him with Atheiſm, in 1534.

[U] *He was a Lover of Peace, and knew the Value of it.*] One of the fineſt Diſſertations that can be ſeen is that of *Eraſmus* upon the Proverb, *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, —— *Want of Experience makes War ſweet.* He makes it appear therein, that he had profoundly weighed the moſt important Principles of Reaſon and the Goſpel, and the moſt common Cauſes of Wars. He proves, that the Wickedneſs of ſome particular Perſons, and the Folly of the People, are the Source of almoſt every War, and that a thing ſo blameable in it's Cauſes, is commonly followed by a very pernicious Effect. He pretends, that thoſe, whoſe Profeſſions ought to lead them to diſſuade from War, are the Inſtigators of it. 'Si quis exactius rem excutiat, repe- 'riet omnia fere Chriſtianorum bella vel è ſtultitia, vel è 'malitia naſci. Nonnulli juvenes, & rerum imperiti, ma- 'jorum malis exemplis, hiſtoriarum, quas de ſtultis pro- 'didere, ſtulti monumentis, ad hoc inflammati, dehinc 'inſtigantibus adulatorum hortatibus, extimulantibus 'Jureconſultis ac Theologis, aſſentantibus, aut con- 'niventibus Epiſcopis, fortaſſis & exigentibus, teme- 're magis quam malitioſe bellum ſuſcipiunt, & tanto 'totius orbis malo diſcunt bellum rem eſſe modis om- 'nibus fugiendam. Alios occultum odium, alios am- 'bitio, alios animi feritas in bellum impellit. Quan- 'doquidem ne noſtra quidem Illas quicquam præter- 'quam ſtultorum Regum & Populorum continet 'iras (164). —— *If any one would examine this mat-* 'ter more thoroughly, he would find, that all the 'Wars in Chriſtendom have been owing, either to 'Folly, or to Malice. Some unexperienced young Men, 'miſled by the ill Example of former Reigns, inflamed 'by hiſtorical Traditions, propagated from Fool to Fool, 'or hurried on by the Perſuaſion of Flatterers, the 'Inſtigation of Lawyers and Divines, with the Con- 'nivance, and perhaps Influence, of Biſhops, have en- 'gaged themſelves in Wars, more out of Raſhneſs 'than Malice, and, from ſo univerſal a Calamity, 'learn that War is an ill which ought by all poſ- 'ſible means to be avoided. Others precipitate them- 'ſelves into War from Hatred, others from Ambition, 'and ſome from a Savageneſs of Mind. Nor is our Iliad 'any thing elſe but a Detail of the Quarrels of fooliſh 'Princes and their Subjects.' He goes on: Laws, Statutes, Privileges, are all ſilenced by the Din of Arms: Princes then find a hundred ways of attaining to arbitrary Power; from whence it happens, that ſome of them cannot endure Peace. 'Sunt qui non 'aliam ob cauſam bellum movent, niſi ut hac via 'facilius in ſuos tyrannidem exerceant. Nam pacis 'temporibus, ſenatus authoritas, magiſtratuum digni- 'tas, legum vigor, nonnihil obſtant, quo minus liceat 'principi quidquid libet. At bello ſuſcepto, jam omnis 'rerum ſumma ad paucorum libidinem devoluta eſt. 'Evehuntur quibus bene vult princeps, dejiciuntur 'quibus infenſus eſt; exigitur pecuniæ quantum libet. 'Quid multis? Tum demum ſentiunt ſe vere Mo- 'narchas eſſe. Colludunt interim duces, donec in- 'felicem populum uſque ad radicem arroſerint. Hoc 'animo qui ſint, an eos putas gravatim arrepturos ob- 'latam quamcunque belli occaſionem? —— *Some* 'there are whoſe ſole Motive to War is, that it 'may give them an Opportunity of exerciſing their 'Tyranny over their own Subjects with the greater 'eaſe; for in times of Peace, the Authority of a Senate, 'the Dignity of Magiſtrates, the Force of the Laws, 'are no ſmall Curb to a Prince's Will. But in War 'the Management of all Affairs is left to the Caprice 'of a few. Thoſe who are in their Prince's Favour 'are raiſed, thoſe in Diſpleaſure are trampled on. 'Supplies are demanded in an arbitrary manner. In 'a word, it is then they find themſelves Monarchs 'in reality. The Chiefs in the mean time juggle to- 'gether, till the poor People are totally robbed of 'their Liberty. Can it be imagined, that Men of 'ſuch a Diſpoſition would not willingly lay hold of 'the firſt Opportunity of War, which preſented itſelf?' This Diſſertation is to be found in the *Adages* of *Eraſmus*, and has been printed apart under the Title of *Bellum*. The Author promiſes in it a Book he wrote at *Rome*, under Pope *Julius* II. I know not whether it was ever printed: it was to have been intituled, *Antipolemus*.

[X] *He was too much concerned at the Libels that were wrote againſt him: this appears by his Complaints againſt the Printers of thoſe Libels.*] See the third Letter of the Twenty firſt Book, where he blames the good Offices that one of his Friends had done a Bookſeller who was like to be puniſhed for publiſhing ſome ſatirical Writings. *Eraſmus* ſhews his Friend, that ſuch an Indulgence was wrong, becauſe that Man, far from deſiſting from printing Libels, followed it more than ever. When ſome endeavoured to juſtify him, becauſe he did not know how to maintain his Wife and Children (165), let him beg, replied *Eraſmus*, or proſtitute his Wife, for that is a leſs Crime than to ruin the Reputation of his Neighbour. One muſt be ſtung to the quick by a Satire to uſe ſuch Language as this. The Author's *Latin* will please, but Plainly

(157) Eraſmus, Epiſt. xxvi, libri xvii, pag. 769. *See alſo the ſecond Letter of the firſt Book, pag. 8, 9.*

(158) See the Article *SAWICKI*, Remark [B]. See alſo what *ALEANDER* ſays thereupon in Remark [I] of his Article.

(159) Hiſt. Lutheran. lib. iii, pag 49.

(160) Eraſmus, Epiſt. lxiii, libr. xx, pag. 1024.

(161) Ibid. Epiſt. lxxii, lib. xx, pag. 1030.

(162) One *in Pſeudevangelicos*, the other *ad Fratres Germaniæ inferioris*.

(163) *See* Seckendorf, lib. i, §. 77.

(164) Eraſmus, Adag. Chil. iv, cent. i, num. i, pag. m. 859.

(165) I was told ſome days ſince (in 1696) that a certain man, who is continually publiſhing Sa- tires, gives this reaſon for it, that he has no other way to maintain his Family, but thoſe-

Books which were none of his [Y]. It is reported that the reading of the *Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum* had a great effect upon him [Z]. I shall make a Remark on the Errors of *Mareri* [AA], and another on some Errors, which I consent my self, to some

those who are good Judges. Wherefore I shall quote it. You will see, that in the beginning of it *Erasmus* represented to his Friend, who was a Protestant, that the Libels and satirical Figures, which the Lutherans called *Europe* with, would be a Prejudice to their Party. ' An vos creditis talibus prædidis processurum Evangelii negotium? Magis metuo ne talium stulta malitia & malitiosa stultitia, subvertat cum bonas literas, tum Evangelium, si fieri possit, & vos vestramque civitatem aliquando pertrahat in grave discrimen.' Scottus, inquis, habet uxorem & teneros liberos. Num ista excusatio videatur justa, si scriptis meis extractus fustulisset aurum? Non opinor. Et tamen hoc quod facit longè sceleratius est. Nisi forte putas mihi famam esse viliorem pecuniâ. Si deest unde alat liberos, mendicet. Pudet, inquies. Et hujusmodi facinorum non pudet? Prostituat uxorem, & ad calices vigilanti naso stertat adultero? Nefarium, inquis? Magis nefarium est quod facit. Nulla lex punit capite qui uxorem prostituat, at capitalem pœnam denunciant omnes ita qui libellos edunt famosos (166). —— *Do you imagine the Interest of Religion can be promoted by these Endeavours? I rather fear, that the Folly and Malice, which appear united in such Men, may overturn, if possible, both Learning and Religion, and, one day, bring both you and your City into imminent Danger. Scottus, you say, has a Wife and small Children. Would this Reason hold good if he should break open my Trunk, and steal my Gold? I fancy not. Yet what he does is by far more base. Unless you think my Reputation less valuable than my Money. If he has not wherewithal to maintain his Family, let him beg. He is ashamed, you will say. What, and not be ashamed of such monstrous Crimes? Let him turn Bawd, and stand Pimp to his own Wife. That would be abominable, you say. Yet what he acts is more so. No Law makes it capital for a Man to prostitute his Wife; but all denounce Death against the Man who publishes false and scandalous Libels.*'

[Y] *He has been thought the Author of several Books, which were none of his.*] He made himself a great many Enemies by the Liberty of his Pen. He boldly found fault with the scandalous Lives of the Clergy, for which reason they lost no Opportunity to make him pass for a Heretic, and an impious Man, particularly for an Abettor of *Luther*, charging him with Books which *Luther* was known to be the Author of. ' Quorundam tanta est perversitas ut ea quoque mihi tribuant, quæ Lutherus in conventu Cæsareo agnovit pro suis (167).' They imputed to him the Book intituled, *Captivitas Babylonica*, because the two first Words in that Work are almost the same with those *Erasmus* had placed in the beginning of his Panegyric. ' Fassus est quosdam fuisse suspicatos hoc opus esse meum quod initium esset, *Velim, nolim*, non admodum abhorrens ab exordio Panegyrici mei, quo Philippo ex Hispaniis reverso gratulor qui sic incipit, *velis nolis*: bella conjectura (168). —— *He confessed that some suspected this Treatise to be mine, because it begun thus*, Velim nolim, *which is not much different from the Exordium of my Panegyric, wherein I congratulate Philip upon his return from Spain, which begins thus*, Velis nolis: *Admirably well guessed!*' Was not this a fine Proof? This is the Temper of Men now-a-days who cannot bear that their dangerous whims should be laughed at (169); I say, should be laughed at, in order to preserve our Brethren from those whims, immediately they turn Informers, alledging the most impertinent Proofs in the World, and find Fools enough who either are satisfied with them, or pretend to be so. They attributed to *Erasmus* two other Books which he did not so much as know the Titles of, and in one of which he himself was very ill used. ' Alexander indicavit mihi tribui duos libellos, quorum alteri titulus est *Eubulus*, alteri *Lamentationes Petri*. Emoriar si unquam mihi fuerat auditus titulus antequam ille protulisset. Prorsum necdum quivi nanciscì. In altero sic tractor, ut fi sciam Autorem fim illi gratiam non optimam habiturus (170). —— *I was informed by Alexander that two Treatises were fathered upon me, the one intituled Eubulus, the other* Peter's *Lamentations. Let me die if ever I heard the Titles before he communicated them to me. The first I have not hitherto been able to procure. In the other I have been so finely dealt with, that, if I knew the Author, I should make him some of the most complaisant returns.*' In another Letter (171), he says, I. that the Divines of *Louvain* had charged him with a Satire of *Hutterus* intituled *Nemo*. II. That they had also imputed to him that called *Febris*; and yet, says he, both my Genius and Stile are very different from that Piece, *cùm tamen totus genius totaque phrasis à meâ dissentiat*. III. That they fathered upon him *Moseltanus*'s Oration against the Enemies of the three learned Languages, and *Fisher*'s (172) Book against *Faber*, without considering how much the Stile of that Prelate differed from that of *Erasmus*, *cùm tanta sit orationis dissimilitudo*. IV. That they attributed to him Sir *Thomas More*'s *Utopia*, and a certain Writing in favour of *France*. V. That for Proof of it, they urged the Conformity of the Stile. VI. That he never did, nor ever would, write any thing without putting his Name to it. *Nullum adhuc Opus confripsi neque conscripturus jam, cui non præfigam meum nomen.* Those who shall consider the Words I am going to quote, will have reason to wonder, that any body should be ignorant of the deceitfulness of Proofs taken from the Conformity of Stile. ' Impingunt (*suspicionem mihi*) non alio fieri argumento quàm stili, qui tamen mei non admodum similis est, nisi meus mihi parum est cognitus: quanquam quid mirum adeo foret, si quid illic aut alibi cum phrasi mea congrueret? cùm nemo ferme scribat hisce temporibus, qui non aliquid mei stili referat, propterea quòd meæ lucubrationes multorum manibus terantur, adeò ut in horum etiam libris qui scribunt adversum me, non rarò stilum meum agnoscam, neque meis pennis transigi sentiam (173). —— *This Suspicion is founded on no other Argument but the Similitude of Stile, which is not very great, if I know my own. But where would be the wonder, if here or there a Period should occur, or a Phrase be found that may bear some resemblance to mine? since scarce any one writes now a days who has not something of the same turn with myself. For my Writings are in the Hands of most; and in the Writings of my Enemies I can discover instances of my own stile, and often find myself combated with my own Weapons.*'

[Z] *The reading of the* Epistolæ obscurorum Virorum (174) *had a great effect upon him.*] It made him laugh so heartily, that a Swelling full of Matter, which he had in Face, broke, and thereby saved him the trouble of having it opened as the Physicians had ordered. I quote my Author's Words: ' Adeo ejus lectione in risum profusus fuit, ut abscessum in facie enatum, quem Medici secare jusserant, præ nimio risu ruperit.' *Similar*, who observes this in *Bullinger*'s Life, says, that *John James Anton*, a Native of *Zurich*, lent *Erasmus* the Book which made him laugh so heartily, and so much to his Advantage. Should not this be put among the Instances of the Advantages that accrue by reading?

[AA] *I shall make a Remark on the Errors of Mareri.*] The first is this: *Erasmus's Father ran away with a Physician's Daughter, named* Margaret, *who was then with Child by him.* We have shewn before (175), that *Margaret* did not run away with her Gallant, and that she only retired to a neighbouring Town to lie in, while he secured himself. The second is saying, that *Erasmus took the Habit of a Regular Canon in the Monastry of* St Augustin *of* Sion. It is true, his Guardians would have had him gone into that Monastry which was near *Delft* and the chief House of the Order, but for the present he avoided their Solicitations, and when he was obliged to comply, it was in the Monastry of *Steyn* near *Gergow*, where he was inrolled in that Militia. I cannot find, either by the Account he gives himself of his own Adventures, in his Life, and in his Letter to *Lambert Grunnæus*, or in *Rhenanus*'s Preface, that he ever studied in the Convent of *Sion*, as *Beatus Rhenanus* and *Valerius Andreas* affirm. The third is to say, that *at the Age of forty Years he came to Basil*,

(166) Erasmus, Epist. iii, lib. xxi, pag. 1001, written to Caspar Hedion, in 1524.

(167) Erasmus, Epist. xiv, lib. xvii, pag. 758, col. 2. It was written in the Year 1521.

(168) Ibid.

(169) *Erasmus in Vita Ferdinandi Maximi. Plurima simul risu digna revisit ne gravitate elevetur.*

(170) Erasmus, Epist. xiv, lib. xvii, pag. 758.

(171) *In the first Book, written the first of June, 1528.*

(172) *Bishop of Rochester.*

(173) Erasmus, Epist. i, lib. xi, pag. 54 c. *See also the first Letter of the twelfth Book.*

(174) Quibus non tantum genius decendi, sed mores quoque Theologorum falsè perstringuntur. —— *Wherein not only the Stile, but the Morals of the Dromes are ridiculously censured.* Simler in Vita Bullingeri, folio 6 verso.

(175) *In the first Book.*

for

at [*BB*]. I do not think there was any Reason to say, that *Cœlius Rhodiginus* accused *Erasmus* of being a Plagiary [*CC*].

It might with more reason have been said, That he was accused of having but little knowledge of the Greek Tongue [*DD*], and of having wrote in haste a great deal of what he printed (*f*). We have seen (*g*) that he was reproached with loving excessive Drinking: I do not

(*f*) See above, Rem. [61] of the Article BUDE.

(*g*) In the Remark [*I*], Cent. (67).

for the Series of the Article shews, that, according to *Moreri*, it was then *Erasmus* took his first Journey to *Basil*. Now it is easy to prove, that this is false in this manner. The sixtieth Year of *Erasmus* coincides either with the Year 1525 or 1527, since his Birth is placed by *Moreri* indefinitely either in the Year 1465 or 1467. If it appears then that *Erasmus* was at *Basil* in the Year 1516, or 1518, as is plain by his Letters (176), then it is evident *Moreri* is mistaken. We have already cited (177) a Man who says, that *Erasmus* went to *Basil* a little after the Installation of *Leo* X. Now that Pope was chosen in the Month of *March*, 1513. The fourth Fault is of the same Nature with the third. He says, that *Erasmus*, being gone to *Basil*, *there printed his* Colloquies, *which were presently sold off*. This plainly relates to the first Edition of that Book; but we have seen before, that there had been several Editions of it before the Year 1522. The fifth Fault is in saying, that *Erasmus being informed the Heretics were returned to* Basil, *where they committed incredible Disorders, he retired to* Friburg, *in the Year* 1529. For this is to suppose, that the Protestants had been expelled *Basil* some time before. Now nothing is more fabulous than such a Supposition. Their Party continued increasing from the Year 1522 to the Year 1529, when the other Party was entirely ruined: All the Images, which loaded twelve Carts, having been placed before the Town-House, in nine Piles, and burnt, to put and end to the Differences among the common People, who would have made use of them in their Houses (178). The sixth is: that *all the learned Men of the Country carried* Erasmus *upon their Shoulders into the Cathedral Church at* Basil, *where he was interred*. Then his Coffin must not have been less than the Bed of the King of *Bashan* mentioned in the third Chapter of *Deuteronomy*; for else all the learned Men of the Canton of *Basil* could not have found a Place for their Shoulders. He should have said, that those who carried the Body studied in the University of *Basil*, and that all the other Students, with all the Professors, and a good Part of the Magistrates, assisted at the Funeral Solemnity. 'Elatus 'est humeris studiosorum ad ædem Cathedralem at- 'que ibi . . . honorificè sepultus; nam in pompa 'funebri non Consul modo, sed etiam è Senatoribus 'plerique viscbantur, Academiæ Professorum ac stu- 'diosorum aberat nemo (179).' I say nothing of his placing his Death on the eleventh of *July* 1516, which are plainly two Errors of the Press. At least it is plain, if Mr *Moreri* put the eleventh of *July* for the twelfth, the Printers made the Year 1516 instead of 1536. *Hofman* also makes it the eleventh of *July*, and has fallen only into *Moreri*'s third and fourth Fault.

[*BB*] . . . *and another on some Errors which I shall only point at*.] I shall not now examine whether it be true, as *Boissard* had heard say, that *Erasmus* had been Rector of the University at *Basil*, and that, upon being ill treated by the Students, he had thrown part of the Records that contained the Privileges of that University into the Fire. Nor shall I refute the Story which is in the beginning of *Erasmus*'s Life, and in *Melchior Adam* (180), *viz.* that *Henry* VIII, King of *England*, ordered him to be searched, and to take from him all the Money they should find upon him, above what was allowed to be carried out of the Kingdom, and that *Erasmus*, coming to the King to complain of it, set him a laughing, and received a Present from him, together with Letters, ordering the Custom-house Officers to restore what they had taken from him. If the thing had happened in this manner, *Erasmus* would not have passed it over in Silence, when he gives an Account in one of his Books (181) how he lost his Money at *Dover*.

[*CC*] *I do not think there was reason to say, that Cœlius Rhodiginus charged Erasmus with being a Plagiary*.] *Erasmus* complains a little of *Cœlius Rhodiginus*, tho' at the same time he highly commends him; he complains of him (182); I say, because he had observed, in the first Volume of the *Lectiones Antiquæ*, some Footsteps of an Author's Ingratitude, who uses the Labours of another, not only without confessing it, but even with an ill Intention against the Person so plundered. And as otherwise he does not complain of *Rhodiginus*'s charging him with any Theft, I am inclined to think the learned Mr *Morhof* has taken one for the other, when he said that *Rhodiginus brought a little charge against* Erasmus, *as if the latter had robbed him of some Thoughts concerning the Adages* (183). He adds, *Rhodiginus* ought not to glory in having furnished two or three drops to that Fountain, since he has said but very little upon some Proverbs in his *Lectiones Antiquæ*. It is certain the first Edition of *Rhodiginus*'s Book was many Years later than the Publication of *Erasmus*'s Adages. I should add, that the Author being already dead when *Erasmus* made the aforesaid Complaint, it does not appear at what time he could have made the Charge mentioned by Mr *Morhof*, or boast of his Supplies; I say, I should add this, if I did not discover a fraud in *Erasmus*'s Words. He says, that when he was writing that Complaint, he heard of the Death of *Cœlius Rhodiginus*. *Cum hæc scriberem, ex eruditorum literis cognovi Rhodiginum obiisse supremum diem* (184). But this was added to a new Edition. The Complaint appeared in a preceding Edition and during the Life of *Rhodiginus*.

This particular may be proved by a Letter that *Rhodiginus* wrote to *Erasmus* the Twenty second of *April* 1519 (185). He tells him he was very much surprized to hear that *Erasmus* was angry with him. The Cause of this displeasure, it was said, was, that the Sentiments of *Erasmus* had been criticised in the *Lectiones Antiquæ* with an Air of Authority, and a magisterial Tone: *Te, ait, in antiquarum lectionum Commentariis ab ejus sententia diversum abisse, atque id tanquam docere cupere*s (186). *Rhodiginus*, having justified himself upon this Point, adds, that he had read some days before the complaint *Erasmus* had inserted in the last Edition of his Adages. He affirms, I. That it was the only Work of *Erasmus* he had read when he published his Book; II. That as soon as he had read it, he felt his Bowels in a manner torn out, seeing himself obliged to abandon his Work, having long laboured upon the same Subject. The way he took was to put what he had done into a new dress. 'Facto tuo, qui occu- 'pasti, ad restim mihi redit res. Evigilasse mihi tot 'noctes periere, hausiæ incernarum fuligines, fudori- 'bus toties rigatæ vestes in nihilum recidere . . . . 'nova fuit redordienda tela (187). This was part of the materials of the *Lectiones Antiquæ*. He promises *Erasmus* to dedicate one of the Books to him. All this persuades me more and more that Mr *Morhof* is mistaken.

[*DD*] *He has been accused of having but very little Knowledge of the Greek Tongue*.] See what I have said in the Remark [*E*] of the Article CASTELLAN, and add to it the following Passage of Mr *Baillet* (188). 'There is another Point which prejudices that 'Universality of Learning, that some have been willing 'to attribute to *Erasmus*, and which seems to be bet- 'ter founded; it is pretended that he had only an im- 'perfect and superficial Knowledge of the Greek 'Tongue. Mr *Hales* says †, that it must be con- 'fessed *Erasmus* had a great deal of Subtilty, Ex- 'actness, and Facility, in criticising the Latin Authors; 'but he was not the same with respect to the Greek 'Writers. The celebrated *Marianus Victorius* ‡, who 'has given us the Works of St *Jerome*, went yet far- 'ther, and said that *Erasmus* knew nothing at all of 'that Language.' The Abbot *de Billy* might have been joined to these two Evidences; read these Words of *Girac*. 'He is even so blind both in Mind and Body, 'says he (189), *speaking of Costar*, that tho' *Erasmus* 'is the most faulty Writer in the World, yet he could 'never discover any of his Faults. Nevertheless he is 'mistaken in an infinite number of Places, so that the 'Abbot *de Billy* ‖ seriously affirms, that in the Version 'which that Author has made of eight of St *Chrysostom*'s 'Homilies, he has reckoned above a hundred and fifty 'gross Errors: and elsewhere ¶, he is said to count 'by

(176) The 19th of the second Book, the 53d and 55th of the third; and the 29th of the fifteenth. Add to this, that *Melch. Adam*, in *Vitâ Erasmi*, speaking of *Erasmus*'s going out of *Basil*, in 1529, says, that he first came there fifteen Years before, returning from time to time out of *Brabant*. This is taken out of *Erasmus*'s tenth Letter of the 24th Book.

(177) *In the Remark* [*R*].

(178) Lexicon Hofmanni, Tom. I. pag. 258, Edit. 1677.

(179) Rhenanus, Epist. Dedicat. Origenis.

(180) Mr *Patin*, the Son, tells it without confuting it, in the Life of *Erasmus*, prefixed before the *Encomium Moriæ*, which he printed at *Basil*, in 1676.

(181) In Catal. Lucubrat ad Joan. Botzheimum Abbatem. *See also* Rhenanus, in Epist. præfixa Operibus Erasmi.

(182) Erasmus, Civilid. I, Cent. I, pag. 16, Edit. Basil, 1546.

(183) Morhof. Polyhistor. pag. 254.

(184) Erasm. Adag. Chil. I, Cent. I, pag. 16.

(185) *It is the 3rd in the Collection of Oudin's Letters printed at* Utrecht, *in* 1697.

(186) Epist. Gudii, pag 117.

(187) Idem. pag. 118.

(188) Baillet, Jugem. des Sçavans, Tom. III, pag. 140.

† Hales. Vide ad Chrysostom. Paul. ex Marianæ.

‡ Mar. Vict. Rest. Præfat. ad Hier. Oper. Item poster. Scaligeran. pag. 74.

(189) Girac, Replique à Costar, Sect. 20, pag. m. 133.

‖ Quod quidem de magis mirot quod in Chrysostomo quoque, quo nemo unquam loculentius facilius que scripsit, hoc tam enormia quam accidit deprehendit ac numerum in octo prioribus tomis pod. ad Corint. Epist homilias in quibus hoc serio affirmare quam eum plusquam 150 errores admisisse. *Bill Obs. Sacr. lib.* 1.

¶ In eod. c. fin.

now doubt but this was Calumny; for in the same Place wherein he owns that he did not always keep himself chaft, he protests he was ever temperate [EE], and would have been glad if he could have lived without eating or drinking. What

by thousands the Blunders which are to be found in the entire Translation of the Homilies upon St *Paul*; tho' no Body ever wrote with less Obscurity than St *Chryſoſtom*; and those who have compared the Riches and Beauty of his Expreſſion to Gold, might with as much Reaſon compare the clearneſs of it to the pureſt and moſt poliſhed Cryſtal, and to the cleareſt and beſt of Fountains. Notwithſtanding, *Eraſmus* was a very learned Man, and I believe the Faults he committed in tranſlating that great Saint, are owing to the Contempt he had of him, ſince he was arrived to ſuch a Degree of Inſolence, that he was not afraid to boaſt in a Letter to Biſhop *Tonſtal*, that if he were drunk he ſhould write better things than St *Chryſoſtom* in his Commentaries upon the Acts. Theſe are the Liberties the Wits of theſe later Ages give themſelves.' I have conſulted the Letter written to *Tonſtal*, and am convinced by it that *Girac* did not make uſe of an Hyperbole; but there is, in the Paſſage of *Eraſmus*, a little Supplement which ſeems to inſinuate that he did not believe the Writings, he ſo much deſpiſed, to be St *Chryſoſtom*'s I have inſerted the whole Paſſage, that the Reader may judge it. 'Ex *Chryſoſtomo* in Acta verteram Homilias tres, cujus operæ me pœnituit, quum nihil illic viderem *Chryſoſtomi*. Tuo tamen hortatu recepi codicem in manum, ſed nihil unquam legi indoctius. Ebrius ac ſtertens ſcriberem melius. Habet frigidos, & ineptos ſenſiculos, nec eos ipſos commode poteſt explicare. Ex Commentariis in Epiſtolam ad *Corinthios* poſteriorem verti Homilias ſex, eundem artificem ille loqui ſentio Itaque non eſt animus bonas horas collocare malè. Aliud ſpirat *Chryſoſtomus* (190). —— *I had tranſlated three Homilies from Chryſoſtom on the Acts, but am ſorry for the trouble I took, ſince I find nothing of Chryſoſtom in them: at your Perſuaſion, I again took up the Book, but never did I read any thing more illiterate A Man that is drunk or aſleep might write better; his Thoughts are low, lifeleſs, and trivial; nor is he more happy in his manner of explaining them. I have tranſlated ſix Homilies from his Annotations on the ſecond Epiſtle to the Corinthians, and find them like the others, and conſequently muſt have no Inclination to throw away my precious time on Trifles. The Spirit of Chryſoſtom breathes different Things.'*

[EE] *He confeſſes that he had not lived ſo chaſtly as he ought, but proteſts he had been temperate*] This he ſays in a Letter he wrote in the Year 1524, which contains a fine Deſcription of the Diſpoſitions of his Heart. I ſhall obſerve only theſe two Particulars in it. He affirms that he never was a Slave to *Venus*; nay, that he had no Leiſure for it, becauſe of his laborious Studies; but that in ſhort, the Faults he might have committed of that Nature, were long ſince over; Age having delivered him from that Tyrant, which alſo makes old Age very agreeable to him Theſe laſt Words have a great deal of Virtue in them, and there are but few Men who can adopt them without a notorious Falſehood, ſo much they follow the Taſte of *Malherbe*, and not that of *Sapbocles* (191)! As to his Sobriety, *Eraſmus* could ſay nothing more conſiſtent with a Chriſtian Philoſopher, or leſs agreeable to the Practice of Men, than what he has ſaid 'Et juvenis cibum ac potum ſemper ita ſumpſi, ut pharmacum. Ac ſæpenumerò doluit, non licere ſine cibo potuque perpetuò degere. *Veneri* nunquam ſervitum eſt, nè vacavit quidem in tantis ſtudiorum laboribus. Et ſi quid fuit hujus mali, jam olim ab eo tyranno me vindicavit ætas, quæ mihi hoc nomine gratiſſima eſt (192). —— *In my Youth I always took meat and drink as Phyſic, and often lamented that Man might not be ſupported without the uſe of them. I was never a Slave to Love, nor indeed in ſuch multiplicity of Buſineſs had I leiſure for it. And if I ever was touched with that Paſſion, Age has long ſince freed me from it's Tyranny, for which reaſon I think myſelf more happy in being old*' Of the two things he advances, one that he had nouriſhed his Body only by a kind of Neceſſity, and took in his Food as a Remedy or Medicine; the other, that his Studies had not allowed him much leiſure; the firſt is worthy of Credit, and the ſecond is undoubtedly proved by the great number of Books he publiſhed to the World. Now theſe two Facts being admitted, one cannot reaſonably doubt of what he ſays concerning his Chaſtity he does not pretend it was perfect; he confeſſes he had not always reſiſted impure Love, but he denies he was in a ſtate of Servitude to that Iniquity; if he was not able always to maſter it, yet he was never a Slave to it. A Man of much leiſure, and addicted to indulge himſelf, would be ſuſpected of a lye, if he talked in this Manner; for Idleneſs and good Cheer are the Nurſes of Luxury.

Fac monitis fugias otia prima meis.
Hæc ut ames faciunt: hæc ut fecere tuentur.
Hæc ſunt jucundi cauſa cibuſque mali.
Otia ſi tollas periere cupidinis arcus, & ſic (193).

In the firſt place, take leave of Idleneſs.
'Tis this that kind'ſt firſt your ſond Deſires:
'Tis this brings Fuel to the amorous Fire.
Bar Idleneſs, you ruin Cupid's Game.

Sine Cerere & Libero friget Venus, ſaid *Terence* (194): *Diſtento ventre, diſtenduntur ea quæ ventri adhærent*, ſaid St *Jerome*. Let it not be objected that there are ſober and laborious Perſons who are very ſubject to Impurity; a few Exceptions to a general Rule, founded upon the occult Qualities of the Conſtitution, ought not to ſerve us for a Guide, when we are to judge of our Neighbour and thus, while we are ignorant that *Eraſmus* was of a Conſtitution to break through the general Rule, we ought to believe that by neglecting to indulge his Appetite, and applying himſelf cloſely to his Studies, he deadened the edge of Love, and preſerved himſelf from Servitude. Add to this, that his Character, the Reputation he had acquired, and the Profeſſion he made to be a wiſe and honeſt Man, neceſſarily engaged him to ſave Appearances, and not to ſuffer himſelf to trangreſs the Laws of Chaſtity without great Circumſpection; now for this he muſt be a Man of a great deal of leiſure; he muſt turn his Thoughts, now towards *Venus vulgivaga*, towards thoſe *Thais*, who diſpatch upon the ſpot the firſt comer, but towards Perſons who are alſo careful for the Appearances of things. They require Preliminaries; they will be beſieged in Form, and when they ſurrender it is a Benefice that demands a Reſidence (195), a thouſand Cares great and ſmall: it is a Heaven which does not always preſerve the ſame ſerene Face; Coldneſſes, Jealouſies, Complaints, Explanations, Ruptures, Reconciliations, continue to produce changes in it, and that without any Rule.

In amore hæc omnia inſunt vitia: injuriæ,
Suſpiciones, inimicitiæ, induciæ,
Bellum, pax rurſum: incerta hæc ſi tu poſtules
Ratione certa facere, nihilo plus agas,
Quàm ſi des operam, ut cum ratione inſanias (196).

Love is ſtrangely whimſical, full of Affronts, Jealouſies, Jars, Parleys, Wars, then Peace again; and for a Man to follow Reaſon in Love, is the ſame thing as to follow Reaſon in Madneſs.

It is ſeldom that a man, who once falls under this kind of Engagement, retires without a ſhackle: this Chain, which ſoon forms a new Captivity:

Nec tu, cùm obſtiteris ſemel, inſtantique negaris
Parere imperio, rupi jam vincula dicas.
Nam & luctata canis nodum abripit: attamen illi,
Cùm fugit, à collo trahitur pars longa catenæ (197).

Nor think when once thou haſt reſiſted one,
That all thy marks of Servitude are gone:
The ſtruggling Greyhound gnaws his Leaſh in vain,
If when 'tis broken, ſtill he drags the Chain.

It will be confeſſed that a Man, who after *Eraſmus*'s Example has almoſt always his Pen and Books in his Hand,

(190) Eraſmus, Epiſt. [illegible] xxvij. pag. 1476.

(191) *See the Remark* [C] *of the Article* MALHERBE.

(192) Eraſm. Epiſt. v. libr. xxiii, pag. 1221, F.

(193) Ovidius de Remedio Amoris, ver. 149, & ſeq.

(194) Terentius Eunuch. Act. [illegible] Scen. v. ver. 6.

(195) *See the Remark* [I] *of the Article* EREMITA, n. 4.

(196) Terent. Eunuch. Act I, Scen. I, ver. 14.

(197) Perſius, Sat. V, ver. 157.

Matthew Slade, Rector of the College of *Amsterdam*, and a great Enemy of the *Arminians* objected againſt him with ſo much Violence [*FF*], was ſolidly confuted by *Gaſpar Barlæus*, in the Year 1615, in a Work entituled *Bogermannus*, ἐλεγχόμενος. There goes a Report (*b*), that all the Works of *Eraſmus* are going to be printed at *Leyden*, under the Direction of Mr *Le Clerc*. This is a very commendable Undertaking; and all Lovers of Learning ought to wiſh it may be accompliſhed (§ 2). It is given out, that this new Edition will contain ſome Pieces never before printed; and it is to be ſuppoſed will be fairer than that which was publiſhed at *Baſil* in 1540, in Nine Volumes in Folio, and which was dedicated to the Emperor *Charles* V. by *Beatus Rhenanus*.

(b) *I write this in* 1699.

[§ 2) This new Edition was publiſhed in 1703, *&c.* in eleven Volumes in Folio, REM. CRIT.]

Hand, can never find time for all theſe things, and that therefore *Eraſmus* ſpeaks reaſonably when he ſays his Studies did not allow him to devote himſelf to Love.

[*FF*] *Matthew Slade ... declaimed violently againſt Eraſmus.*] He wreſted with the utmoſt Malice a Paſſage he found in the firſt Edition of *Eraſmus*'s Letters, where it ſeems as if the Author called in queſtion the Authority of St *Paul*. 'Ego ſane nec Hieronymo, 'nec Auguſtino ſic addictus eſſe vellem, vix etiam 'Paulo, ut omnia illius ſcripta tuerer ac probarem '(198). —— *I would not be ſo bigotted to St Jerome, St Auſtin, nay ſcarcely to St Paul, as to eſpouſe and 'maintain all he has writ.*' Note that *Eraſmus* added in the other Editions this Salvo, *Ut aliquid dicam by parbolicè, Hyperbolically ſpeaking.* *Barlæus* (199) did not fail to exclaim againſt *Matthew Slade*, who had not the Equity to regard that Salvo. He exaggerated the Injuſtice that is committed, when Authors are reproached with Faults they themſelves have corrected, and made a good Apology for *Eraſmus* upon that Head, as alſo upon the Accuſation which *Slade* had brought againſt him for favouring Arianiſm. This was renewing the old complaints publiſhed before by the Monks. The Apologiſt mentions ſome of their Impertinences, not forgetting (200) that of *John Standitius*, an *Engliſh Franciſcan*, and Biſhop of St *Aſaph*, who complained to the King his Maſter, that *Eraſmus* had put *Sermo* inſtead of *Verbum*, in the beginning of St *John*'s Goſpel. He obſerves (201), that the Sons of *Martin Lydius*, Profeſſor of Divinity at *Francker*, carefully preſerved the Manuſcript of the Apology *pro Eraſmi Theologia*, which their Father had compoſed.

(198) Erasmus, Lib. ad Petrum Barbirium. *It is the third of the firſt Book and is dated from Bruges, the thirteenth of Auguſt*, 1521.

(199) Barlæus, in Bogermanno ἐλεγχ. pag. 47, & ſeq.

(200) Ibid. pag. 58, 59.

(201) Ibid. pag. 60.

ERESUS, in the Iſle of *Leſbos*, was the Birth place of *Theophraſtus* (*a*). The Barley which grew in this Territory yielded a Meal ſo white, that they thought it fit to make a Divine Morſel. From hence it is that the Poets feigned, That *Mercury* went to *Ereſus* to buy up that Meal for the Bread of the Gods [*A*]. *Henry Stephens* mentions this upon occaſion of the good Tables of the Clergy [*B*]; but he has not quoted *Athenæus* as he ought to have done. Conſult *Hadrian Junius* (*b*).

(*a*) Strabo, lib. xiii, pag. 452.

(*b*) *Andropæd.* lib. iii. cap. iv.

[*A*] *The Poets have feigned that Mercury went to Ereſus ..... for the Bread of the Gods.*] *Archeſtratus*, a *Sicilian* Poet, has mentioned this Story in a Poem (1) which treats of good Cheer. The Poem is loſt; but *Athenæus* cites ſeveral Paſſages of it, and among others that in Queſtion (2).

[*B*] *Henry Stephens mentions this upon occaſion of the good Tables of the Clergy.*] His Words are (3): 'When 'one would expreſs in one word, Wine excellently good, 'fit for a King to drink, it muſt be called Prieſt-Wine; 'in like manner if we are to ſpeak of fine and exqui-'ſite Bread, (ſuch as that of the City of *Eriſus*, which 'Mercury took the pains to come down from Heaven, 'and provide for the Gods, if we believe the Poet 'Archeſtratus) muſt we not have recourſe to Chapter-'Bread?'

(1) *It was intituled*, Γαστρονομία. *It is alſo quoted under other Titles. See* Athenæus, lib. i, p. 4

(2) Lib. iii, cap. xxix, p. m. 111.

(3) Apologie pour Herodote, pag. m. 264, 265.

ERFURT, Capital of *Thuringia*, and one of the greateſt Cities of *Germany* [*A*], was given to the Archbiſhops of *Mentz* by the Emperor *Otho* [*B*], after the Death of *Barcard*, Lord of *Thuringia*. The Emperor conſented that his Son *William*, who obtained this Archbiſhopric, ſhould poſſeſs not only the City, but alſo all *Thuringia*. The Succeſſors of *William* maintained themſelves in this Poſſeſſion till *Lewis the Bearded* ſeized *Thuringia*, and left it to his Deſcendants, who have enjoyed it near two Centuries, under the Title of Landgraves. After this it paſſed by Marriage into the Family of the Marquiſſes of *Miſnia*, which is the ſame with that of the preſent Dukes of *Saxony*. Such a long Diſpoſſeſſion has cauſed the Archbiſhops of *Mentz* to renounce their Right to *Thuringia*; but they have never quitted their Pretenſions to *Erfurt*; of which they have always been acknowledged Lords. It is true, that for a long time, they have had little more than the Title, the Citizens pretending they have purchaſed, at divers times, all the Rights of the Archbiſhops, and even maintaining that thoſe Prelates, not being Lords of the Territory, could not poſſeſs, in their own Right, an Inch of ground in the City. The Archbiſhops reaſſumed more or leſs Authority according to the variety of Factions which divided the Citizens; but when the City, after it had embraced the Reformation of *Luther*, was put under the Protection of the Dukes of *Saxony*; the Archbiſhops were no longer able to preſerve any Power there.

[*A*] *It is one of the greateſt Cities of Germany*] 'Nay, it may be affirmed, that by it's Compaſs it ſur-'paſſes all the Cities of *Germany*. It has alſo many 'Places in it's Dependance, conſiſting of three Lord-'ſhips, and ſeventy two Villages. It takes it's Name 'from the Caſtle of *Effort*, ſituated ſeven Leagues 'from it, the Lord of which had a Right of Toll from 'the City. Many Hiſtorians believe, that St *Peter*'s 'Monaſtery on the Mount was built there by *Dagobert* 'King of *France*; others by King *Pepin*, Lord of *Thu-'ringia*; and there are ſtill to be ſeen ſix *Flower-de-'Luces* upon the Gate of that Monaſtery (1).

(1) Hiſt. Hiſt. de l'Empire, live vi, cap. 1, pag. 194, Tom. II. *firſt Dutch Edit.*

[*B*] *Erfurt ..... was given ..... by the Emperor Otho.*] As all the Body of this Article has been taken from an Extract which comes from Mr *Sallo*, I contented myſelf to ſay with him *the Emperor Otho*; but for fear I ſhould be taxed with extream Negligence in uſing ſo indeterminate a Word, I add here that *Otho* I is the Emperor in queſtion, and I quote an Author for it, who deſerves to be credited. The City of *Erfurt*, ſays he (2), 'was not walled round till the Year '1163, long after the Emperor *Otho* I had given it, 'together with *Thuringia*, to his Brother *William* (3) 'Archbiſhop of *Mentz*.'

(2) Heiſs, Ibid. pag. 199.

(3) *It is* Otho's *Son in the Extract of the Journal des Sçavans.*

[*C*] *The*

there. *Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, secured that City, but afterwards, for taking the Swedish Party, it was again subdued by the Arms of General *Banner*. The Swedes consented, by the Treaty of *Westphalia*, that it should return to the Obedience of the Archbishops. The Inhabitants pretended, that this was only to be understood of an imaginary Obedience, such as they had paid in latter Times; but the Archbishop of *Mentz* maintained, on the contrary, That by that Article of the Peace, he ought to be invested with all the Rights of a true Lordship. The Emperor declared for him, and put the City of *Erfurt* under the Ban of the Empire. After which, the Archbishop, with the Assistance of the Troops *France* lent him, forced the Inhabitants to submit [C]. So that, at present, he is Master of the City and (a) Citadel (b). The University of *Erfurt*, which had been in so flourishing a Condition, fell to Ruin by the Insolence of the Scholars [D].

(a) It is called St Cirince, because it was built on a Place where there was formerly a Nunnery of that Name. Journal. des Sçavans. Jan. 19. 166-. The Germans call it Cyriaksburg.

(b) Taken from a Memoir concerning the City of Erfurt in Ecrosse of which is in the Journal des Sçavans. Jan. 19. 166-.

[C] *The Archbishop of Mentz, with the Assistance of the Troops sent him by France, forced the Inhabitants of Erfurt to submit.*] Here is another Passage of Mr *Heiss* (a) . . . Upon this occasion of *Erfurt*, it is just that I should remember the Generosity of the Most Christian King, who, in the Year 1664, sent at his own charge, to *John Philip de Schonborn*, his Ally, Elector of *Mentz*, a powerful Body of Troops, commanded by the Count *de Pradel*, to assist him in the Reduction of the City to his obedience, pursuant to the Ban the Emperor had published against it.' This is sufficient to satisfy those who would have a Narrative supported with the Circumstances of Time, Persons, &c. They are not to blame for this Taste; for without this an account is a Body without a Soul, or a Machine out of order: *scena sine calce*: and yet an infinite number of Authors give us no other accounts than these.

(a) Hist. de l'Empire, liv. 2. cap. 2. pag. 249.

[D] *The University of Erfurt fell to ruin by the Insolence of the Scholars.*] *Eobanus Hessus* had had fifteen hundred Auditors in that famous University: There *Luther* took his first Degrees, and called it the Paradise of *Germany*. But the State of things was changed: The Citizens not being able to endure any longer the Debaucheries and Insults of the Students, took Arms, besieged the Colleges, made themselves Masters of them, wounded or killed as many of the Scholars as fell into their Hands, and did not rest till they had driven them all out of the City. I shall quote a long Passage of an Oration of *Alstedius* (c), in which he complains bitterly of the disorderly Life of the Students. 'Quam vellem nobis semper ob oculis versaretur catastrophe florentissimæ Academiæ *Erfordiensis*! Cum studiosi illic loci & petulantius gererent adversus cives; cum tumultibus nocturnis urbem lacesserent, eam lapidibus tessis domosque obruerent, cum fenestras & fores hospitum frangerent, populus magno agmine arcium collegiorum domos admoris bellicis tormentis obsedit, expugnavit, & ut quemque studiosorum juvenum obviam habuit, velut hostem, insipuit, vulneravit, trucidavit, neque prius quievit, quam vitalantium adolescentium multitudo mœnibus urbis esset profligata. Fuerat ea illo die etiamnum, olim florentissima Academia, quam Lutherus, qui primum ibi lauream consecutus est, paradisum Germaniæ id ætatis fuisse testatur: in qua Eobanus Hessus mille & quingentos auditores habuit, quæ denique id fuit in Germaniâ, quod Bononia in Italia, mater scilicet studiorum. —— *I could sincerely wish we had always before our Eyes the Catastrophe of the most flourishing University of Erfurt. The Students therein committing Outrages on the Inhabitants, exasperating the Citizens with nightly Tumults, assaulting their Houses with Stones, breaking their Windows, and forcing their Doors, the People, in a vast body assembled, attacked the Colleges with all the Artillery of War, took them by Force, seized, wounded, or slew all the Students they met, as Enemies, nor ceased till they had driven the whole Multitude of these hot brained Youths from the City. From that day to this lies in Ruins the once most flourishing University, which Luther, who there received his first Laurel, called the Paradise of Germany: Wherein Eobanus Hessus had fifteen hundred Students: and which, in a word, was the same in Germany, as Bononia in Italy, the Mother of Studies.*'

(c) It is published De Providentia Dei circa Scholarum decrementum. It is in the Encyclopædia, col. 2294. and following.

EREMITA (DANIEL) a Native of *Antwerp*, and Secretary to the Duke of *Florence* (a) about the beginning of the XVIIth Century, was a pretty good Writer [A]; but neither his Morals, nor Conduct, were consistent with the Profession of Learning, to which he had devoted himself. *Scaliger* had conceived a great Esteem for him, and had recommended him to *Casaubon*, which he repented of not long after [B], when he knew that that young Man was turned Catholic. *Casaubon* has given

(a) Valer. Andr. Biblioth. Belg. pag. 189.

[A] *He was a pretty good Writer.*] The Panegyric upon the Duke of *Florence* which he published in 1608 was applauded. The *Epistolica Relatio* (1) *de Itinere Germanico quod Legationi magni Etruriæ Ducis ad Rodolphum II. Imp. Principesque & Respublicas aliquot Germaniæ anno* 1609 *peractum fuit*, and his Letter *de Helvetiorum, Rhetorum, Sedunensium Situ, Republica, & Moribus*, deserve to be read. *Scaliger* makes the following judgment of him (z): 'Quas (literas) ad te ab *** scriptas mihi misisti aliquam 'bonæ frugis spem faciunt. Interest illud ingenium 'quibusdam finibus coërceri, in quibus si contineatur 'ac illam luxuriem depascatur, nihil ab eo non bonum 'expectandum est. —— *The Letters wrote to you by* *** *which you imparted to me, give me some hopes of a future Harvest. Certain limits ought to be prescribed that Genius, within which if it be restrained, and it's Luxuriancy be retrenched, we may thence expect nothing but what will be praise worthy.*' His Latin Verses were inserted into the second Volume of the Select Pieces of the *Flemish* Poets.

(1) Christopher Arnoldus quotes it honourably in the *Life of Marc Velserus*.

(z) Epist. xcvii. pag. 245, Edit. Francof. 1628. *He wrote it to Casaubon: the Letter is dated the fifteenth of August, without the Year; but it is thus.*

[B] *Scaliger . . . had recommended him to Casaubon, which he repented of soon after, when he knew he was turned Catholic.*] We have just seen what he wrote to *Casaubon* the fifteenth of *August* 1603, and thus he writes to him the eighth of *December* of the same Year. 'Proh facinus indignum! quid de *** audio? adeo 'immoratum ingenium ejus, ut alius ab eo quam ibi commendavi discederet? Me verò stipitem qui in alio ξυζυγίαν τινα, in illo ἀνωμαλίαν ἐπεφαντάσμην. . . . Nescio an unquam quicquam mihi acciderit quod aut justius aut gravius doluerim, tum quia in illa ætatula vulpem non deprehenderim, tum quia à me expressérit, ut ei tibi commendarem. Sed væ illi qui in te ingratus fuit, & me hominem stultum qui vulpem non hominem tibi commendavi. Obstrinxerat me aliquo privato beneficio, non tamen quod æquaret comitatum qua illum amplexus sum, sed tamen (quæ est ἀγοραστομία mea) quantulumcunque esset quod mihi præstitisset pro magno beneficio habui, neque potui illum splendidius remunerare quam si illi portam aperirem ad amicitiam meam. —— *Oh Heavens! What do I hear of* *** *? Is it possible a Man should be so altered in his Mind, as to become the reverse of what I recommended to you? However quick sighted I may be in other Matters, I must look on my self as a mere Stock to be thus overseen. . . . Scarce any thing ever befel me, for which I am more sensibly or more justly uneasy, not only because I could not discover the lurking Fox, but that I should be prevailed on to recommend him to you. Feel that I was to mistake a Fox for a Man: yet once he to him that proves ungrateful to you. I had some private obligations to him, but not equivalent to that humanity wherewith I treated him. I looked on the favour, tho' small, with a grateful Eye, and thought I could not make*

given an ample Account of this Adventure [C]. This change in Religion did not hinder *Eremita* from preserving a good Opinion of *Scaliger*; which he gave a public Evidence of, even after *Scaliger* was dead; for he wrote in his defence againſt the terrible *Scioppius* [D]; but he did not find his Account in it. *Scioppius* confuted him in his uſual way, that is to ſay by publiſhing a thouſand diffamatory Stories concerning the Life of *Daniel Eremita* (E). The latter died of the French-Pox at *Legborn*,

' *him a more noble return, than opening him a way to* ' *your Friendſhip.*' I believe with Mr *Colomiés* (3) that the change of *Daniel Eremita's* Religion is here intended; but I cannot imagine why thoſe who publiſhed *Scaliger's* Letters ſhould be ſo tender of the Memory of that Perſon, as to put Stars inſtead of his Name. They have miſplaced the two Letters which ſpeak of him; for they reckon that for the ninety ſeventh in which *Scaliger* makes the Judgment of him mentioned in the preceding Remark, and they reckon for the eighty eighth that wherein he ſays what I have juſt now quoted. Mr *Colomiés*, who believed that *Daniel Eremita* was meant in both Letters, ought to have taken notice that they were miſplaced; for, according to his Suppoſition, it is plain the ninety ſeventh Letter is prior to the eighty eighth. This is evident from another place. *Scaliger* in the ninety ſeventh informs him, that he has received *Caſaubon's* Commentary upon the *Roman* Hiſtory, and in the eighty fifth he ſays, that he had already twice informed him of the Reception of that Book: it is certain then that the ninety ſeventh Letter was writ before the eighty fifth. Now this latter is dated the nineteenth of *September* 1603: therefore, in order to ſupply the date of the Year, which is wanting in the ninety ſeventh Letter, 1603 muſt be added to 18 *Kalend. Septembris* ſet down by the Author. This is what the Publiſhers of thoſe Letters took no notice of, who have placed it among thoſe of the Year 1604, at a good diſtance from the eighty eighth Letter dated the eighth of *December* 1603.

(3) In Clavi Epiſtolarum Scaligeri, pag. 152. Opuſcolorum Edit. Ultraj. 1662.

[C] *Caſaubon has given an ample account of this Adventure.*] He conceived a Friendſhip and Eſteem for this Perſon upon *Scaliger's* Recommendation (4); he procured him a place, and was endeavouring to get him into Mr *Montaterre's* Family in quality of Preceptor. The thing was almoſt concluded when *Eremita* found means to creep into Mr *de Vic's* Retinue; who was preparing for his Embaſſy to *Swiſſerland*. Mr *de Vic* was a very honeſt Man, but exceedingly attached to the minute Devotions of his Party, and poſſeſſed with the converting humour: ' Eſt autem Vicquius ' optimus vir quidem & ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα φιλοκα- ' λῶν, ſed ſuperſtitionibus τῶν ἐξ ἐναντίας ſupra ' fidem obnoxius (5).' He ſoon gained *Eremita*; a ſingle Conference with one of the great Clamourers of that time effected it. This was what grieved *Caſaubon*. He knew the ſtrength of the Converter and the Converted: he knew that *Eremita* had more Learning than the *Portugueſe* Monk; and notwithſtanding he was informed that at the firſt attack of the Monk, *Eremita* was confounded. ' Adoleſcentem ' πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα ἱκανῶς & bene doctum ab ' imperitiſſimo plano cui nullus ineſt melioris eruditionis ſenſus prima congreſſione devictum eſſe, indigniſſime fero (6). —— *It is with extream concern* ' *I conſider that a young Man of good Learning, and great* ' *Abilities, ſhould at the firſt onſet be entirely vanquiſhed by a Fellow that had not a tolerable ſhare of either.*' But he ſoon diſcovered the reaſon of ſuch a weak Reſiſtance: *Eremita* wiſhed no better than to be perſuaded that the richeſt Religion was alſo the beſt. ' Ergo, mi Daniel, Luſitanus iſte mirabile aliquod pietatis arcanum te docuit, antea tibi incognitum? Ego qui hominem intus & in cute novi ſatis acceptum habeo non te ab illo, ſed ipſum à te potuiſſe doceri: non acumen in eo tantum, non eruditio, non lectio patrum, ut ad primum ejus congreſſum herbam porrigere cogeteris. Victus igitur es non quia reſiſtere non poteras, ſed quia volebas optabaſque vinci (7). ' —— *Did that Portugueſe, my Friend, lead you into* ' *a Myſtery of Religion before that time unknown? I* ' *who can perfectly ſee through the Man am ſufficiently* ' *convinced that it was not in his Power to inſtruct you,* ' *but in your's to have inſtructed him. He has not that* ' *extraordinary force of Genius, that Eruditions or* ' *Knowledge of the Fathers as to force you to ſurrender* ' *on the firſt ſummons. You were conquered then not* ' *becauſe you were unable to make a Reſiſtance, but be-* ' *cauſe you wiſhed to be conquered.*' The greedineſs of riches, which was obſerved in him, was no good omen. ' Erat mihi dudum hoc ingenium ſuſpectum ' propter incredibilem in ea ætate opum ſitim, quam ' non levibus notis in eo deprehenderam (8). —— *I for-* ' *ſome time had ſuſpected his Inclination from his incre-* ' *dible Avarice at that Age, which I had diſcovered by too* ' *convincing proofs.*' The place they procured him was worth fifty Crowns a Year. ' Collocaveram ipſum in ' honeſta conditione ubi præter victum quinquaginta ' annuos aureos habebat (9).' This Sum at firſt ſeemed very great to him, then ſmall, and at laſt nothing at all. He watched all opportunities to get Money, and particularly had his Eye upon the Epiſcopal Houſes. *Caſaubon* hindered him twice from engaging himſelf; but he did not oppoſe his entrance into Mr *de Vic's* Family. The young Man there turned Papiſt, and went into *Swiſſerland* with the Embaſſador. His Father a good old Man, and a good Proteſtant, was overwhelmed with grief at this Revolt; he endeavoured to bring back his prodigal Son into the good way: and it ſeems he made him recant; but it was all fraud. *Caſaubon* wrote word to *Leyden*, that *Daniel Eremita* was mad after Images, and the greedieſt Man in the World of Maſſes. ' Scito neminem hodie vivere Miſarum inexplebiliorem, aut fitientiorem, quare illa ' μαλτροδία ſimulata fuit, mendax & ὑποκριτική. ' In dies ejus herus exſpectatur, quo præſente veram ' vocem audiet à me iſte Proteus (10). —— *There is no* ' *Man living more greedy after, or bigotted to, Maſſes* ' *than he, wherefore that recantation was only a feint.* ' *His Maſter is expected every day, in whoſe preſence* ' *that Proteus ſhall hear from me the Truth.*' Another Artifice this; for his Deſign was only upon a Penſion. He had been heard to ſay, that all the Controverſies between the Catholics and Proteſtants ſeemed indifferent to him, and that for his part, he was ready to accommodate himſelf to the Times, according to the Intereſt of his Affairs; and one day he laughed at the folly of thoſe who do not chooſe the way to Fortune. ' Vir fide dignus & ſibi notiſſimus his diebus narrabat ' mihi auditſſe ſe cum diceret, *omnia ſibi quæ hodie diſ-* ' *putantur æque & probari & improbari, paratumque* ' *ſe ad omnia pro tempore & rerum ſuarum emolumento.* ' Cum vir pius hanc vocem abominaretur, cachinno ' Eremitæ eſt exceptus, ſtultitiam eorum σκηπτῶς ri- ' dentis qui neſcirent τὰ ἴδια οὐ τιθέσθαι (11). —— *A Gentleman of Credit, and one that is very in-* ' *timate with him, ſome days ago informed me that he* ' *had heard him ſay, that* all the preſent ſubjects of Controverſy were indifferent to him, and that, in compliance with the Times and his own Intereſts, he could embrace or relinquiſh any of them. *The* ' *good Man ſhewed an abhorrence of ſuch a Principle, but* ' *was anſwered by Eremita with a loud laugh, who ſeemed* ' *to deride the folly of thoſe Men, that were ignorant* ' *what was beſt for themſelves.*'

(4) Urgebat optimus & tui obſervantiſſimus Eremita noſter. *Caſaub. Epiſt. ad Scaligerum. It is the* cclxxxiii d, pag. 324. Edit. Græviana, 1646. *It was written in* February 1603. Ego illum ſemper tua maxime gratia habui chariſſimum, & quibuſcunque potui officiis ſum proſecutus. *Idem, Epiſtola* cclxxxv *ad eumd Scaligerum.*

(5) Idem. Epiſt. cclxxxiv.

(6) Idem. Epiſt. cclxxxv.

(7) Idem. Epiſt. cclxxxvi, *dated the* 11th of April, 1603.

(8) Caſaubonus, Epiſt. cclxxxv.

(9) Id. ibid.

(10) Idem. Epiſt. cccxxx i, ad Scaligerum ſcripta vi Kal. April. 1604.

(11) Id. Epiſt. cclxxxv.

[D] *He wrote for Scaliger againſt . . . . . Scioppius.*] *Scioppius* aſſures us that (12) *Daniel Eremita* is the Author of the *Epiſtola nobiliſſimi & literatiſſimi viri Patavio ad Gaſp. Scioppium Romam ſcripta. Excuſa anno* 1610. I fancy he is not miſtaken.

(12) Scioppius, in Oporini Graphidi Archetypi Scioppiani, pag. 335: *This Book was printed in the Year* 1611.

[E] *Scioppius confuted him . . . . by publiſhing a thouſand diffamatory Stories.*] It was five Years ſince *Scioppius* had ſeen him at *Rome*: *Eremita*, ſays he, met him with the two Brothers the *Rubeins*, and two other Flemings, to go to *Tivoli*, and thoſe Gentlemen were horribly ſcandalized at his Diſcourſes during that little Journey. He talked of nothing but *Petronius*, and *Aretine's* poſtures, and rudely inſulted thoſe who ſeemed to be ſhocked with the impurity of that Converſation. Nay more, he drew all kinds of obſcene things upon the Walls of the Inn where they lodged. ' In ' toto illo itinere illud unum agere viſus eſt ut Petro- ' nium volut unicum & quemadmodum ipſe loqueba- ' tur, *diviniſſimum pædoraſtiæ deſcriptorem, magi-* ' *ſtrum, & artificem* . . omnibus quotquot ſunt, Græcis

Leghorn in 1613. Some rather think he was poisoned (b). He was naturally addicted

(b) Obiit Libernæ ex morbo Gallico, anno à Christo nato 1613. Sunt qui veneno extinctum scribant. Quid juvat humanos scire atque evolvere casus, Si fugienda sacis & facienda fugis. *Swert. Athen. Belgica, pag.* 203.

Græcis ac Latinis Scriptoribus multum ad laudem anteferret. In quo ne parum profecisse crederetur non modò obscenissimis picturis diversorii parietes implevit, sed perpetuo variæ *Veneriæ* schemati in ore habuit, & tanquam *Elephantides* libellorum commentatorem atque interpretem ageret, *historias spectare docentes*, quibus vel Hippolyto fibula laxari ac nequitia persuaderi posset, recitare non cessavit. Ac si quis ex comitibus ejus nequitiam reprehenderet, suaque aures tam impuris & nefandis sermonibus violare nollet, huic ille hypocrisin & pudicitiæ simulationem invidiosè objiciebat. Nec enim quemquam mortalium casum ac pudicum esse persuasum habet conjectura scilicet de animo suo ducta, sed plerosque sive propter Dyspepsiam, sive quod animi satis non haberent, semasque metuant, suam cujuscunque generis libidinem dissimulare & occultare credit. Itaque verisimile non est quam se comites ejus gavisos esse dixerint, simul ac Romam reversi à tam propudioso monstro liberatos se senserunt. Nam piscatores sibi sacri Nicolaitas, cum ejusmodi exsecrabiles turpissimi & impudentissimi scurræ sermones, quos neque *Sybarunde puella* æquo animo audirent, in aures tuas admiserunt (13). —— *He made it his Business, during the whole Journey, to extol Petronius as the only, or, to use his own Words, as the most Divine Virtuoso, and Professor in the Science of Pederasty, preferring him to the whole Class of Greek and Roman Writers, and, to shew himself no unworthy Disciple of so great a Master, he not only filled the Walls of the Inn with the most obscene Representations, but was perpetually haranguing on the various Postures, and like a Commentator or Translator of Elephantis never ceased repeating the most lascivious Stories sufficient to debauch the chastest Ear. And if any of his Companions checked him in his Loudness, and desired he might be no longer pestered with such odious and unmanly Discourse, he immediately charged him with Hypocrisy and counterfeit Modesty. 'Nor could he persuade himself that any Man was chast or modest, drawing the Conclusion from the Corruptness of his own Heart, but that many, he believed, out of Bashfulness, from want of Courage, or from a dread of Punishment, disguised their several loose Inclinations. Therefore it is not improbable his Companions, at their return to Rome, should express their Satisfaction in having got rid of such a Monster of Uncleanness. For the hearing such abominable Discourses from a most base and profligate Wretch, as would even make the Crew of a Brothel house to blush, was very grievous to them.*' Disappearing some time after, it was imagined his Misery had forced him to throw himself into some Carthusian Monastery; but it was known he was retired to *Sienna*, where he made his Court to the Archbishop *Ascanio Piccolomini*, who recommended him to *Silvio Piccolomini* Great Chamberlain of the Duke of *Florence*; and by that means he obtained a Pension from that Prince, as a Reward for a Panegyric he made upon the Marriage of the Great Duke with *Magdalen* of *Austria*. He solicited so much to be sent into *Germany* with the Deputy who was going to notify to several Princes of the Empire, and Imperial Cities, the Death of the Grand Duke's Father, that he obtained his Request. To which the Reasons of *Silvio Piccolomini* contributed not a little, who represented that such a Man being a *German* might upon divers Occasions serve at the same time for a good Interpreter, and a good Spy. *Eremita* boasted in a letter written from *Ausburg*, that he was one of the Envoys of the Great Duke, which seemed a ridiculous thing to *Leonard le Coq* Confessor to *Christina* of *Lorrain*, Great Duchess of *Tuscany*. Upon his return to *Florence* he told a hundred Stories of the Drunkenness of the *Germans*, in order to make his Court to the *Italians*. He made the latter very merry when he told them of the Studies of *Maurice* Landgrave of *Hesse*, and of the Verses that Prince made in honour of the Youth who took the Degree of Bachelor. He told them that this Landgrave, with the Marquis of *Anspach*, and the Prince of *Anhalt*, had drunk the Health of the King of *France*, and the King of *England*, and Destruction to the King of *Spain*, and had made that Health go round, and drank it to the Great Duke's Envoy. 'Florentiam reversus, nihil prius habuit, quam Germaniam veluti porcorum patriam Italis, quorum in eo gratiam aucupabatur, describere, quantumque Principes Germani quotidie potare ac vomere soleant, satis festivè commemorare: sed in nulla historia tam sitientes expertus est auditores, quam cum de *Grammatica Mauritii Hassiæ Landgravii*, deque carminibus, quibus ille novis Baccalaureis & Magistris honorem gratulari soleat, narravit. Hoc enim Italis, præsertimque Florentinis, usque adeò insolens ac novum videtur, ut id ad Ovidii Metamorphosē rectissimè adjici posse existiment. Cum porrò ex eodem Aretalogo suo audiunt, quod idem Landgravius simul cum *Marchione Brandenburgico Onspacensi*, & *Christiano Anhaltino*, pro salute Regum Galliæ & Angliæ, proque pestè ac mala morte Regis Catholici votivum poculum circumtulerit, idque legato Florentino propinare nihil veritus fuerit, non viderunt Itali tam barbaram immanitatem satis pro merito exsecrari posse (14). —— *At his return to Florence he made it his Business to paint Germany to the Italians in a Country of Hogs (by which means he insinuated himself into their favour), and with a great deal of Humour to recount how much the German Princes daily used to guzzle and spew. But in none of his Discourses did he more divert his Audience, than when he spoke of the Grammar wrote by Maurice Landgrave of Hesse, and his Verses wherewith he used to compliment the Bachelors and Masters of Arts. For this seems to the Italians, and especially the Florentines, so whimsical and new, that they think it justly intitled to a Place at the end of Ovid's Metamorphoses. But when they hear him relate that the said Landgrave, with the Marquis of Brandenburg Anspach, and the Prince of Anhalt, had drank a Health to the Kings of England and France, and to the Downfal and Destruction of the King of Spain, the Italians imagine that such a savage Insult could not be sufficiently detested.* He was very kind to the Lutheran Nobility who went from *Germany* to *Florence*: those young Gentlemen were very glad to find there a Fleming who understood *Italian*, and informed them of the Customs of the Country, and they willingly took up their Lodging with his Landlord. By this means, he made good Chear at a little charge, and then he introduced them to the Courtezans, where they had the goodness to defray his Expences, without which he would have found it difficult to have satisfied Nature. 'Cum illud nescio quid satietatem ejus, tentare cœpit, *venasque inflavit tetra libido*, quia *non habet infelix Quintillæ quod dare possit*, leonis opera ei navanda, & adventoribus ad ipsam perducendis, amicam sibi propitiam morigeramque facit (15). —— *When his Mistress was pall'd, and his Veins still burned with raging Lust, not having wherewith to satisfy her avaritious Temper, he turned Pander, and by introducing Strangers to her, made her more obsequious and complying.* One Day he led, to the Lodgings of a Woman of Pleasure, a Catholic who had received the Communion the Day before, and not being in a humour to relapse so soon into Sin, and suspecting he was carrying him to a Brothel, was in suspence whether he should go in. *Eremita* swore to him it was the place where he kept his Library, and his Study. He believed his Oath and went in: the Woman was abroad, but yet he knew by several Signs it was an ill place. When he complained of this to *Eremita*, he laughed at him, whether he ridiculed his Scruples, or took him for a Hypocrite. He collected together all the political Dissertations and Pasquinades he could find and gave them to the Lutheran Gentlemen, who, with this Traffic, imagined themselves transformed into perfect Statesmen, and highly extolled the Name of *Daniel Eremita*. 'Quidquid consultationum ac relationum de rebus politicis undecunque corrogare potuit (sicut ejusmodi frivolorum, quos vocant *discursuum* plena est Italia) tum præcipuè *pasquinis* sive *satyris*, quibus summi Pontifices, Cardinales, omnis Clerus, præcipuè Jesuitæ conturnelliosissimè ac plerumque mendacissimè inflamantur, eis communicat. Et illi postea mercibus ejusmodi

(13) Scioppius, ubi supra, pag. 336, 337.

(14) Scioppius, ubi supra, pag. 341, 344.

(15) Scioppius, ubi supra, pag. 343.

dicted to Slander, which he shewed by his Account of *Germany* [F]. The way of writing a Panegyric, which is ascribed to him, has been put in practice by several Orators [G]. The

' modi onusti, plurimumque sibi de tantarum rerum ' scientia . . . gratulantes, consummatissimos politicos ' se factos putant (16).' Besides *Eremita* set up for a consummate skill in Affairs of Government, and promised a Commentary which was to excel all that had ever been written upon *Tacitus*. ' Parum ' adhuc profecisse se putat nisi etiam Florentinis im- ponat, seque ingentem *Statistam*, quem vulgo dicunt, ' sive politicum & civilis scientiæ imprimis gnarum ' videri faciat. Eo consilio passim jactat, se *commen- ' taries politicos in Tacitum* moliri, quibus cornici o- ' culum configat (17). —— *He thinks the Progress ' he has made insufficient, unless he can impose likewise ' on the Florentines, and persuade them that he is a ' great Statesman, and profound Politician. In order ' thereto he has given it out in all Places, that he ' is composing Political Remarks upon Tacitus, which ' shall cut out all that have gone before them.*' He hated the Inquisition exceedingly, and had wrote a Letter to the Great Duke's Secretary, in which he terribly inveighed against the Inquisitors, who had forced him to retrench several things in his Panegyric which they judged to be impious and void of Christianity. ' *Atheïas* quidem specimen vel hodie Pa- ' gyricus ejus nobis exhiberet, nisi non pauca, im- ' pietatem & omnis Christianæ religionis vacuitatem ' redolentia Inquisitores inde sustulissent: quod qui- ' dem usque eò Eremitæ doluit, ut Epistola *Lauren- ' tio Ufimbardo* Magni Ducis Secretario inscripta do- ' lentissimè & rabiosissimè in Inquisitorum ruditatem, ' barbariem, inscitiam ac Tyrannidem invectus fuerit ' (18). —— *His Panegyric would at this Day have ' given us a Proof of his Atheism, had not the In- ' quisitors lopped off a multitude of its Parts, that ' favoured strong of Impiety and Irreligion; which so ' much vexed Eremita, that in his Letter to Laurence ' Ufimbard, Secretary to the Grand Duke, he exclaim- ' ed most furiously against their Ignorance, Barbarity, ' and Tyranny.*' Fear of what might come made him hate that formidable Tribunal, no less than his Resentment for what was past. He got an ugly Distemper among the Women, and from that time he turned his Amours another way. ' Criminis nomine quàm ' habeat Eremita, cur ab Inquisitione metuat, nequa- ' quam ignorant ii, qui eum sciunt, ex quo *Scabiem* ' ei *Gallicam* affricuit

' Famæ non nimium bonæ puella,
' Quales in media sedent Suburra,

' totî propemodum femineo, & quemadmodum ipse ' seriò censet, *sequiori* sexui inimicum esse factum, ' & illud Umbri Callimachi suum feciſſe:

' Hostis si quis erit nobis, amet ipse puellas,
' Gaudeat in puero si quis amicus erit (19).

Another thing gave him an Aversion for the fair Sex. Being informed that a Company of Singing-Women were come to *Florence* at the time of the Great Duke's Marriage, in order to get something by playing on Instruments, and perhaps also by some less lawful Methods; he went with a rich *Sicilian* to their Lodgings, and did his utmost to be admitted into their Chamber; but not being able to succeed, to be revenged of them, he sung a long time at their Door the most scandalous things he could invent. They complained of it to the Great Duchess, which had such an Effect, that *Eremita* was committed to Prison, and would never have come out but to go to the Gallies, if *Scipio de la Scala* had not interceded for him: but by his Interest he escaped with the Strapado (20). ' Auxit ejus erga mulieres odium, quod propter ' ipsas non ut prius *Penalem*, sed panè *Capitalem* in ' fraudem incidisse se persensit. Cum enim Citharis- ' trias sive Fidicinas quasdam mulieres satis speciosas, ' quæ occasione nuptiarum Magni Ducis ex arte, at- ' que haud scio an etiam ex corpore suo, quæstum ' facturæ Florentiam venerant, in hospitio *Coronæ* di- ' vertere accepisset, comite Silesio quodam Equite, eo- ' demque Lutherano, quod is bene nummatus non ' minus in se lenonem ac perdustorem suum, quàm ' in ipsas amicas liberalis fore videretur, ad diversos- ' rium Illarum venit, omnique vi diruptis pæne clau- ' stris atque valvis, in cubiculum earum ut admitte- ' retur contendit, ac postquam nihil profecit, irritus ' & exclusus oblicum occentare, ac benè diu turpissi- ' mum ante ædes convicium eis facere non destitit (21).' But when he had seriously reflected upon the Inconveniences of being burned alive, he relented a little toward the Ladies of Pleasure, and overlooked the fear of a second venereal Distemper. ' Mox tamen ut sa- ' tietatem hominis, postquam se alicubi in Magni ali- ' cujus amici flore Liberi sauciasset, libido distenta ' rursum tentare cœpit, quod à mala illa Bestia, quam ' *Vivicomburum* dicunt, male metueret, utcumque in ' gratiam cum Suburranis puellis redit, & recidivi ' Gallicani illius morbi periculum infra fiduciam posu- ' it, fraudavitque animum diffidentem (22).' As he treated the History of JESUS CHRIST as a Fable, he took a delight to rail against the Inquisitors and Clergy, of whom he had a thousand Stories to tell, which he expressed comically (23). One Day *Scipio de la Scala*, not being able to bear his abusive Tongue, boxed him sufficiently. ' Cum more suo Eremita cursaretur & ' de Inquisitorum fama atque honore ita, uti dixi, im- ' probissimè maledicentissimeque detrahere nec moni- ' tus desineret, Scaliger, qui tum aderat, scurram pug- ' nis & colaphis ita accepit, & os ejus ferreum adeò ' molle reddidit, ut, *&c* (24).' This is the Idea *Scioppius* gives us of *Daniel Eremita*. I do not say whether it is a true one or no; but this I know, that *Scioppius* was a very satirical Man. But *Casaubon* has told us (25) some things which make these Stories of *Scioppius* pretty probable.

[F] *He was inclined to Scandal; which he shewed by his Accounts of Germany.*] The Letter he published relishes of Satire. *Cuiringius* does not determine whether the Scandals which are in it against certain Courts of the Empire are false; but he confesses they may make one blush. ' Nonnihil illa Epistola simile ' quid habet famosis Literis, siquidem quædam de Ger- ' manicis Principibus eorumque aulis scripsit, quæ pu- ' dorem incutiunt. An falso an vero scripserit animo, ' nescio (26). I have already mentioned the Reproaches *Scioppius* makes to *Eremita* for having diverted the *Italians* with Stories of the drunken humour he observed in *Germany*. It is a comfort to the *Italians*, loaded with a thousand Satires on Account of their Lechery, to oppose their Sobriety to the Drunkenness of the northern Nations, from whence proceed the Lampoons against them: and methinks even the religious Controversies are sometimes mixed with these mutual Reproaches. It cannot be denied that the Christians of *Europe* are addicted to two great Vices, Drunkenness and Lewdness. The first of these two Vices reigns in cold Countries, the other in hot: *Bacchus* and *Venus* in this manner dividing the Nations between them. It happens that the Reformation having divided into two this part of Christianity, the Portion subjected to *Venus* remains as it was before, but the best part of *Bacchus*'s share has renounced Popery. From hence it is that *Spain* and *Italy* are more forward to run down Drunkenness, and to object it as a great Crime to the northern Nations (27); as if this could compensate for Crimes of Incontinency, and hinder one Religion from silencing the other by Reproaches of Immorality. The Question is not to examine here if *Bacchus* encroaches upon *Venus*, or *Venus* upon *Bacchus* (28). It is enough for me to have explained by this little Commentary the flattery of *Daniel Eremita*. *Casaubon* and *Scioppius*, so opposite every where else, would easily have agreed in the chief Lines of his Picture. ' Homo procax ' & dicax, *according to Casaubon* (29), quales esse so- ' lent qui per gradus syncretissimi in spoliatam labun- ' tur. —— *He is a pert satirical Fellow, such as ' they usually are, who are gradually lead into Apo- ' stacy by ill Company.*'

[G] *The way of composing a Panegyric, which has been ascribed to him, is practised by many Orators.*] That Method consisted in reading attentively the ancient Panegyrists, and collecting their Phrases and Thoughts, and then applying them to the Subject they undertook to praise: this is the Practice of an infinite number of People. There is in their Pieces scarce any Encomium which is not to be found in the ancient Panegyrists. *Pliny* has almost exhausted all

(16) Ibid. pag. 345.

(17) Id. ibid.

(18) Ibid. pag. 351, 352.

(19) Ibid. pag. 352.

(20) Cum plus semel SURIUM CHORDA subductus ac vicissim demissus fuisset nec paulo molestiore quam Petronii sui Eumolpus officiationis genere lusisset — *Having been several times bowled up by the Cord, and let down again, he underwent a more troublesome swinging Bout, than Eumolpus, in his favourite Petronius.* Scioppius, in Oper. Grub. Amphet. Scior. pag. 360.

(21) Ibid. pag. 359.

(22) Ibid. pag. 360.

(23) Ibid. pag. 363, 364.

(24) Ibid. pag. 319.

(25) *In the Remark* [C].

(26) Contringius, Dissert. MSS. Rerum Pol. apud Majorum Eponymol. pag. 320.

(27) I have heard say, that a *Flemish* Monk told his Auditors, that God would judge Drunkenness according to the Ideas of the *Spaniards* and *Italians*; and Lewdness according to the Ideas of the northern Nations.

(28) *See the Remark* [I].

(29) Epist. eccelviii. pag. 551, apud Majorum, Eponymolog. pag 328. *I quote this, because it does not agree with the Edition I make use of.*

The learned *Conringius* is mistaken, when he says that *Eremita* lived to an Age [*H*].

They are printing at *Utrecht* some small Pieces of *Daniel Eremita*, and among the rest, his Treatise *de cultu & civili vita*. They were in Manuscript in the Duke of *Florence's* Library, and thither the Original is to be returned as soon as the Edition is finished. Mr *Grævius* will confute in the Preface the Slanders of *Scioppius*; this he has promised me in a Letter he honoured me with in the Month of *June* 1699. For the rest, the words I used in one of my Remarks, *viz. It is not the Question to examine here whether* Bacchus *encroaches more upon* Venus, *or* Venus *upon* Bacchus (c), have induced a Man of Wit, and a great Traveller, to write me word, he could wish I had not omitted that Inquiry. He desired me to mention it in the second Edition, tho' it were only to refute certain things which he had often heard asserted in *Spain* and *Italy*. I cannot wholly comply with his Desire, nor absolutely refuse his Request, therefore shall add, below, some Collections and Notes relating to the Hints he has communicated to me [*I*].

(c) *In the Remark* [*P*] *of the Article* Catus (28).

Most

all the Ideas of the Perfection of a Prince. They little examine now, if the Prince they are to praise is adorned with the Qualifications so nobly expressed in ancient Authors: they suppose he has them; after this Supposition the Thoughts and Expressions cost them little; they are found ready made in other Panegyrics. all the Difficulty consists in making some little Alterations according to Times and Places. *Daniel Eremita*, if we may believe his Adversary, would have been strangely perplexed if he had had a second Panegyric to make a little after the first; for he exhausted all his Collections in the first, and he would have wanted a considerable time to gather fresh Flowers. *Scioppius's* Expressions are so fine that they deserve to be quoted here. 'Quoniam à multis jam annis legendis *Panegyricarum Orationum* Scriptoribus vetustis, nemque Martiale, Ausonii & similium præfaciunculis pedestri sermone contextis, quasdam sententiarum verborumque argutiolas floresque laboriosè comporarat, *Magni Ducis & Magdalenæ Austriacæ* nuptias occasionem suam ratus est, qua suam facundiam ita, qui *patricias artes* istas ac solemnem Criticastris hodiernis fucum ignorabat, venditaret. Ediditergo *panegyricum*, in quo omnem suam scientiam ita consumpsit; ut si repentè hec opinanti novæ alicujus Orationis scribendæ necessitas imposita fuisset, omnino jejunus, siccus nudusque, & ab omni cum verborum . . . . tum sententiarum quoque instrumento flagitiosissime imparatus futurus fuerit *&c* (30).

(30) Scioppius, Oper. Orub. Amphos Reipublicæ, pag. 338.

—— *By reading for several Years the ancient Writers of Panegyrics, and the Prefaces of Martial, Ausonius, and such like, in Prose, he had with much Pains thrown together some tolerable Turns, both of Words and Sentences. The Nuptials of the Grand Duke and Magdalene of Austria he thought was the fairest Opportunity to dispose of his Rhetoric to those that are unacquainted with that Patrician Cunning, and the common Drollery of modern Would-be-Critics. He therefore published his Panegyric, wherein he expended his whole Stock of Knowledge, so that had any sudden and unexpected Occasion obliged him to write an Oration, he would have been poor, insipid, jejune, and most terribly at a loss both for Words and the Management of his Periods.*'

[*H*] *Conringius in making him live to the Age is mistaken*] *Scaliger* and *Casaubon* speak of him as a young Man in 1603 (31): and as he died in the Year 1613, he can never be spoke of in the manner *Conringius* has done. 'Diu in Italia vixit, ibique in aula Florentina tandem consenuit (32). —— *He lived a long time in Italy, and grew old in the Court of Florence*.'

(31) *See the Remarks* [*B*] *and* [*C*].

(32) Conringius, Differt. MSS. Rerum PP. apud Magir. Eponymol. pag. 320.

[*I*] *Some Collections and Notes relating to the Hints he has communicated to me*.] He wrote to me, that being upon the Spot in such places of *Europe* as are most devoted to the *Roman* Catholic Religion, he took a Pleasure in observing to them the enormous and unbridled Lasciviousness which is predominant there. They perceived, that his Intent was to draw Consequences from this in favour of the Protestants: but they did not fail to tell him that he was mistaken; that Religion was not concerned in the Matter; that the Vices in question are Vices of the Climate, and not Vices of Religion; that if *Italy* was Protestant it would be addicted to the same Vices as at present, and that the same Judgment ought to be made of the northern Crowns if they were Catholics. They added, that the Catholics of *Germany* loved drinking neither more nor less than the Protestants of the same Country, and that the difference of Religion between the *Poles* and the *Muscovites*, does not hinder them from having a prodigious Inclination to Drunkenness (33). That however an Allowance is to be made. Forgive us, said they, to him, our Failing for the sake of our Sobriety, and we will pass over your Drunkenness: you will get by the Change: for it will not be in favour of the Chastity of cold Countries that we shall forgive your Intemperance in drinking. Such a Chastity is a Chimera. They are as lewd in the northern Countries as the Southern, and all the Advantage that the former can claim respects only the Sin against Nature; for as for the other, it reigns there no less than in *Italy*. To prove this Paradox they alledged the Effects of good Cheer and Wine. They confessed, that the Food in hot Countries is more juicy, and disperses the spirituous Parts more freely and plentifully over the whole Body, which Parts easily disengage themselves from the Flegm and heavy Parts by Digestion and Circulation: the Sun has already done half the Work before the Stomach begins to act. But what is wanting in the Quality of the Aliments in cold Countries, they make up in the Quantity. There they eat much, and drink more; whereas the Inhabitants of hot Countries eat but little, and instead of Wine they drink cooling Liquors; by which means they weaken the Powers of *Venus* just as the others augment them by their hard drinking. The Person who wrote me this was greatly surprised at such a Discourse as this; and as by his Travels, much more considerable than those of *Ulysses*, he has observed the Elogy made upon that Greek Prince (34), *viz.* that he had compared the Customs of several Nations, he could not endure to be referred to Experience. Inform yourself of this, say they, from those who have travelled into cold Countries; they will tell you they have found the Fair Sex there more frail, and more easy to be prevailed upon, than in hot Countries. They wondered at the Easiness and Rapidity of their Conquests; they met the critical Moment after the first Request; and this makes them put the following good Advice among the Instructions they give those who travel to the same Places. *When some Inconveniencies, or other important Reasons, prevent you from improving the Opportunity, take care you do not press your Suit with the Ardour of a Man who would obtain what he asks; for you may be taken at your Word, and Shame and Reproach will follow.* Some pretend, continued they, that this Readiness to grant the last Favours does not proceed from Lewdness, but from a simple, easy, and easy Temper; but this is false; if you take away their Money, you would find them all Fire and Flame. Not at all, replied my Traveller, I know the Truth of the Matter, and that these are all idle Stories. This is the Substance of his Letter, and my Compilations, or Remarks, are as follow:

(33) *See* Matthias à Michow, lib. II, cap. III, de Sarmatia Europ.

1. I shall cite, in the first Place, a Passage of *Sorbiere*, in which the Toleration, granted at *Rome*, for Houses of Prostitution, is compared with that in *Holland* for Drunkenness. This is one of the things *Sorbiere* answered, to confute the Hopes they had entertained, that his Journey to *Rome* would promote his return to the Protestant Communion. 'The Faults, *says he*, 'of some private Persons ought to do no Injury to the Public, nor the Liberties of certain Governments affect

(34) Πολλῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω. Multorum autem hominum vidit urbes & mores cognovit. *Wond'ring from Clime to Clime observant stray'd; Their Manners noted, and their States survey'd.* Homer. Odyss. lib. I, ver. 3. *See also* Horace de Arte Poetica, ver. 142, *where he has translated that Greek Verse of the Odyssey, in the same manner.*

Qui mores hominum multorum vidit & urbes.

Most disinterested Persons will undoubtedly confess what he has asserted, That Loudness prevails

affect the Strictness which is observed in the Courts of Conscience, where that is condemned which the Reasons of a wise Government do not punish with temporal Penalties with the same Rigour. You need not doubt, Sir, that what I hint to you, and which it seems you reproach *Italy* with, has been often examined, and that by good old Men, who had no Interest in the Connivance, and that if human things had been capable of the Perfection which you do well to wish for, they would not have endeavoured it in this Particular. But in every Country Men have vicious Inclinations, and private Intemperances, which it is very hard to correct, without running the hazard of spoiling some other things which are useful. It is for this Reason, in my Opinion, that in all the North Sobriety is esteemed a small Virtue, or at least Drunkenness is tolerated, if not counted a Piece of Gallantry, and the Effect of indispensible Civility. And yet this does not hinder you from thinking, that the true Religion is harboured there. I know very well, that the Protestant Preachers declaim against it, but the Magistrates tolerate it; believing, with some Probability, that without a Permission of this Defect Men would remain in an unsociable State, as elsewhere they apprehend worse Vices than those they suffer.' *Courcelles*, an Arminian Professor at *Amsterdam*, confuted that, among other Reasons, with this: 'That it is one thing to connive at a Vice, which it is impossible to root out, and another to authorize it by Laws, or public Permissions (35).' And that, among Protestants, the Magistracy, and the Office of Pastor are not joined in one single Person, as they are in the Pope.

(35) Courcelles, Reponse à Sorbiere, pag. 16.

II. I say, in the second Place, that those, who accuse the Inhabitants of cold Countries with being as lewd as the Inhabitants of hot Climates, leave them one great Advantage, since they except the Sin against Nature. But they were not satisfied with this Advantage in a Dispute which arose between a *German* and an *Italian*; the former pretending, that even with respect to Fornication in general, *Italy* was most disorderly. 'Lepida est inter Italum & Germanum altercatio .... ille nimiam hanc bibendi consuetudinem, tanquam probrosam objiciebat, iste inconcessam Venerem exprobrabat, tanto perniciosiorem ebrietate, quanto leges severiores in eam latas. Sed elegans Epigramma apponam:

Ut nos vina juvant, sic vos Venus improba vexat,
Proposita est Veneri Julia, nulla mero (36).

(36) Dempsterus, Paralipom ad Rosinum de Antiq. Romanis, lib. v, cap. xxx, pag. m. 866.

'—— *There is a merry Dispute between an Italian and a German; ..... the former objected against the Excess of drinking as infamous. The other upbraided him with unlawful Love, by so much more pernicious, as the Laws against it were the more severe; I shall subjoin a beautiful Epigram:*

Lost is your Curse, our Joys are sparkling Wine,
For there's no Julian Law against the Vine.

III. It is certain, that there are Travellers who have been such Lovers of Scandal, as to publish, that the Women have no great Virtue in cold Countries, but quickly yield to Temptation. I shall only cite a *French* Gentleman, whose Account has just been reprinted at *Amsterdam*. 'It is no extraordinary thing, *says he* (37), to see fine Women in *Denmark*: the Country Women are generally very pretty, and the young Girls are most of them very free, easy, and gay.... They set off their Hair in great Rolls..... Their fair Tresses would make an amorous Poet say many fine new Things. The Virtue of the *Danish* Women seems made for their Beauty: that is, it suffers them to use it, and will not let it be a useless Treasure; and yet this is not a vicious Inclination in them; it is a negligent Easiness, and I am persuaded that they sin only because they have not Power enough to forbid Men from sinning.' To this may be opposed the Testimony of another *Frenchman*, who assures us, that the *Danish* Women are so grave and modest, that they leave no hope to those who visit them. They lay no Snares for the Eye, says he, they neither shew their Breasts nor Hair; they have nothing of the Coquet in their Walk or Gestures. He expresses all this with more Force in his *Latin*. 'Cæterum illæ sua nimia gravitate atque modestia omnem amorem, & familiaritatis spem, & occasionem excludunt. Nullæ ibi prætereuntium oculis insidiæ tenduntur, nullum ab incedendi, aut vibrandi sese lenocinium; non pectus detegunt, non capillos crispant, ac ne ostendunt quidem (38).' This Writer deserves the more Credit, as upon other Occasions he has taken a Pleasure to expose the Incontinence of the People of the North; particularly he attacks the Clergy. He tells a Story (39) of an old *Swedish* Minister, who was in such a merry Humour, after having well emptied his large Cup, that he was heard to sing several lewd Songs. This Minister was a Man of Learning, and had a Daughter who spoke Latin. He used to divert himself with other Women, though he had a Wife of his own. The Author, upon this, makes the following Reflexion, *viz.* that *Luther* was in the wrong to pretend, that the Marriage of the Priests would restrain their Lasciviousness. 'Deprehendimus hujusmodi homines, tametsi litteratos, & senes, & in oculis omnium positos, cum sive vino, sive cervisiâ incaluerunt, non in ineptas tantum voces, sed in turpes etiam atque inceptas efferri. Circumferatur (inquiebat ille) cantharus: adducatur virgo nuda. Atque hoc carmen canens repetebat, addebatque, en inquit, cantilena quam juvenes personabamus. Didicimus postea, illum hac etiam ætate petulco more in oves suas insilire. At enim uxorem habebat, in quam libidinem istam despumare poterat. I nunc, & Luthero crede, nefandorum sacerdotum lasciviam matrimonio compesci posse (40).' The Author does not stop here; he adds several other things to his first Remark. It cannot be imagined, says he (41), how much the Love of drinking, and Women, prevails upon the greatest Part of these Men. As to the first, it is notoriously true, *de potu manifestum est*; and I have observed as to the second, that there is nothing they inculcate more upon the most virtuous Divines than the Necessity of Marriage, if they desire to live chastly and piously. 'De altero verò observavi, nihil magis castissimis Theologis inculcari, quàm hanc matrimonii necessitatem omnibus, qui castè, ac piè vivere cupiunt, esse subeundam. Hanc doctrinam adolescentulis ipsis, qui nondum puberes sunt, & nondum de Venere cogitant, in infimis scholis insinuant (42).' They insinuate this Doctrine in the lowest Classes to the School-boys, who, being of a tender Age, have no Thoughts of Love. They spread among the People a false Report, that Pope *Urban* VIII proposes to marry, and that all the Cardinals have the same Intention. Eo denique amentiæ ac impudentiæ devenerunt perversissimi Doctores, ut apud populum rumores spargant, Urbanum hunc VIII. Pontificem Romanum de uxore ducenda cogitare, idemque consilium omnium Cardinalium animos subiisse; quam stolidissimam fabulam non in hac modo Suecia, quæ longius ab hominibus abest, sed jam in ipsa Dania audieramus (43).' Is not this to insinuate, that, according to these Doctors, the Reformation of the Church would not be carried on in an suspicious manner, unless it began by abolishing Celibacy, and by the Celebration of the Marriage of the Sovereign Pontiff, and all the Members of the sacred College? And is not this to pretend, that those very Doctors prove in their own Persons such an Incapacity of abstaining from the other Sex, that they think none can live chastly without Marriage? But let us go on to hear Mr *Ogier*. Another Minister, says he, excusing himself, that he could not lodge us so conveniently at his House as he could have wished, alledged, that he was almost quite ruined, and his Life was a Burden to him. When he was asked the Reason of it, he replied, I have lost my Wife: 'Suas quippe fortunas pene esse subversas utramque sibi invitam: cum rogarem, quid rei esset? uxorem, inquit, non habeo amplius (44).' Perhaps, said Mr *Ogier*, you are not allowed to marry a second time. I am allowed, returned he, sighing, but must wait till the Year of mourning is expired. The Author adds, that by considering what he had seen, and what he had inquired into, he judges, that the Law of Celibacy is the only Obstacle that hinders them from being reconciled to the Church of *Rome*. 'Hunc solum matrimonii & concubitûs obicem eos à nostra communione

(37) Memoires du Chevalier de Beaujeu, livr. i, cap. ii, pag. 58, Edit. of Amsterdam, 1700.

(38) Catalus Operum, in Itinere Danico, pag. 34, 35.

(39) Idem. In Itinere Suetico, pag. 208.

(40) Id. ibid.

(41) Mirum est quantum hæc tam potus, quam concubitus libido in plerisque hic hominibus ardeat. *Id. ibid.*

(42) Id. ibid.

(43) Id. ibid. pag. 210.

(44) Id. ibid.

prevails more in hot Countries than cold.

munione dividere.' When he speaks so much to the Disadvantage of the *Swedes*, with respect to Continency, does he not deserve to be credited in the things he acknowledges concerning the Chastity of the *Danish* Women? So that I justly opposed Mr *Ogier* to the Sieur *Beaujeu*. I confess there is one specious Objection may be raised against me. Mr *Ogier* speaks of what he saw in the Year 1634. and the other of what he saw in the Year 1679. This is an Interval more than sufficient to change the whole Face of Affairs in the Republic of Decencies. The Modes, which tend to suppress the Laws of Austerity and Modesty, make so surprizing a Progress, that a Traveller, who goes twice into the same Country, thinks himself transported into a new World; for when he compares the Conduct of the Maids and young Wives with what their Mothers formerly observed, he sees almost a total Change.

Excesses of Wine with relation to Impurity.

IV. Generally speaking, there is nothing material to be said against what the *Italians* object, that Wine and good Chear excite to Impurity: it is the constant Doctrine of the ancient Pagans and Fathers; confirmed by the experience of all Ages and Places. There is nothing the Ascetic Writers recommend with more vehemence, than fasting and abstinence to those who are devoted to Celibacy. *Tertullian* exaggerates almost every thing, and at last he proceeds to condemn several sorts of Food, and presses more than he ought the use of dry Meats. Nevertheless he ought not to be charged with an Hyperbole, when he observes the Connexion between Gluttony and Lust, by reminding us of the Situation of the Organs. But this is better represented in the Language he makes use of. 'Monstrum haberetur libido sine gula, cum duo hæc tam 'unita atque concreta sint, ut si disjungi omnino potuissent, ipsi prius ventri pudenda non adhærerent. 'Specta corpus & una regio est. Denique pro dispositione membrorum ordo vitiorum: prior venter, & statim cetera faginæ substructa lascivia est: per edacitatem salacitas transit (45).' *Clemens Alexandrinus* remarks that, not to irritate the venereal Passion, it is good not to eat Flesh, and he quotes an Author who says, that Wine and Flesh render the Body more strong, and the Soul more weak. Τάχ' ἂν τις τῶν γνωσικῶν, καὶ δοκήσεως χάριν σαρκοφαγίας ἀπόσχοιτο, καὶ τὸ μὴ φερεγάν περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια τὸν σάρκα. Οἶνῳ γάρ, φησὶν Ἀνδροκύδης, καὶ σαρκῶν ἐμφορήσεις, σῶμα μὲν ῥωμαλέον ἀπεργάζονται, ψυχὴν δὲ νοχλαστικόν. *Fortasse autem ex iis, qui sunt prædita cognitione, exercitationis quoque gratia abstinuerit à carnibus aliquis, & ne care nimis luxuriet, & nimis impetu feratur ad rem Venerem. Vinum enim, inquit Androcydes, & carnis ingurgitationes, corpus quidem robustum efficiunt, animam verò debiliorem* (46). There are several sentences in the Greek Poets of the same nature. Consult *Erasmus* upon the Proverb *Sine Cerere & Bacche friget Venus* (47). Especially they judged that Wine prompted to Lechery, and from thence *Aristophanes* called it the Milk of *Venus* (48). The ancient *Romans* prohibited it very strictly to the Women, because they considered it as an incentive to Adultery: 'Vini usus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit, ne scilicet in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur: quia proximus à Libero patre intemperantiæ gradus ad inconcessam Veherem esse consuevit (49). *Martial*, describing the sordid Life of a certain Man, says among other things, that when he was inflamed with Wine, he chose no other object than a Country-Woman.

(45) Tertullian, de Jejun. cap. 1, pag. 544.

(46) Clem. Alexandr. Strom. lib. vii, pag. 718. C.

(47) *It is the seventh of the IIId Century of the IId Called.*

(48) Athen. lib. x, pag. 444.

(49) Valer. Maxim. lib. II, cap. I, n. 5, pag. m. 334.

Villica vel duri compressa est nupta colono:
Incaluit quoties saucia vena mero (50).

(50) Martial. Epigram. Lxii. lib. ix.

Whene'er the Bowl had fir'd his blooded Veins,
The Farmer's Wife allay'd his lustful Pains.

The *Thracians* were anciently stigmatized as a Nation equally abandoned to drunkenness and lewdness: Fuisse apud Thracas (Alcibiaden) homines vinolentos rebusque venereis deditos (51).' They are *Cornelius Nepos*'s Words. One of his Commentators (52) has collected together a great number of Authorities to prove the Connexion between those two Vices. He has cited in Scholiast (53), who says, that the Tradition of the *Phallus* joined to *Bacchus* was founded upon venereal Actions being a Consequence of Wine.

(51) Cornel. Nepos, in Vit. Alcibiad. fub fin.

(52) Jul. Cæs. Bardus.

(53) Ulpian. Aristophanis Acharn.

He does not forget *Agrippina*, that abominable Woman, who to preserve her Authority endeavoured to contract an incestuous Commerce with the Emperor her Son: she took her opportunity, when he had well drunk, to shew herself to him with all her Allurements, and made her first Steps (54).

(54) *See* Tacitus, Annal. lib. xiv, cap. ii.

All these things favour the Opinion of those who pretend that Lasciviousness obtains no less in the Northern, than in the Southern Climate; for it is certain they eat much more Flesh, and drink more Wine in cold Countries, than any where else. Nay, the strongest Wines are not sufficient; they also consume a prodigious quantity of Brandy, and take great care to feed upon Aliments proper to warm them. These are great Obstacles to Chastity. What Opinion then must one have of those young Women in *Flanders*, who drink down the Officers of a Garrison (55)? If their Heads are strong enough to bear a great deal of Wine without being drunk, does it follow that they are secured from passing to the other debauch? It is to be feared the strength of the superior part is the weakness of the inferior. And what is more likely than the supposed Answer *of one of those Heroines of Bacchus* to an Officer; *If we were as much Mistresses of Love, as we are of Bacchus, you should not do your business so well as you do in this Country.* If they had read *Ovid*, they would have known that the Bottle was long since looked upon as the great Router of *Cupid*.

(55) *See the Fortieriana*, pag. 179, and following. Dutch Edit.

Dant etiam positis aditum convivia mensis:
Est aliquid, præter vina, quod inde petas.
Sæpe illic positi, teneris adducta lacertis
Purpureus Bacchi cornua pressit amor.
Vinaque cum bibulas sparsere Cupidinis alas,
Permanet, & capto stat gravis ille loco.
Ille quidem pennas velociter excutit udas:
Sed tamen & spargi pectus amore nocet.
Vina parant animos, faciuntque calentibus aptos:
Cum fugit, multo diluiturque mero.

(56) Ovid. de Arte Amat lib. I, ver. 229, &c.

Illic sæpe animos juvenum rapuere puellæ:
Et Venus in vinis, ignis in igne fuit (56).

In Feasts, as at our Shows, new means abound,
More Pleasure there than that of Wine is found.
The Paphian Goddess there the Vine imbusht lays,
And Love betwixt the Horns of Bacchus plays.
There Cupid's purpl'd Wings no Flight afford,
He shakes his Pinions, but he cannot move;
Fix'd he remains and turns a maudlin Love.
Wine warms the Blood, and makes the Spirits flow;
Care flies, and wrinkles from the forehead go.

Love sparkles in the Cup, and fills it higher,
Wine feeds the Flame, and Fuel adds to Fire.

Dryden.

A *German* Writer I have quoted gives his Evidence in favour of the pretension of the *Italians*. He confesses two things: first, that Wine is the forerunner and incentive of Lust; secondly, that the coldness of the Air increases the Violence of this Passion, by turning inwards the heat of the Body, and that Wine is like Oil, which being diffused over the internal Fire, provokes it to a great vehemence. These are his Words (57): 'Ebrietatis pedissequa est Libido, Bacchusque certus Veneris hortator & armiger Apulcio appellatur, neque fortuito homines in Venerem stimulantur, quam cum mero aliquo generosiore potu incaluerunt. . . . Alterum (frigido cœlo esse natum) intendendam ad libidinem non minimum conferre norant omnes, præsertim cum interiore parte per frigus cohibitus calor vino, quasi fussulo oleo, gravius succendatur (58).' Another *German* laments (59) the Corruption which reigns in certain Colleges among the Scholars; and says it is most remarkable in Germany.

(57) James Gebhardus, Not. ad Cornel. Nepot. in Alcib. fub fin. pag. m. 154.

(58) Ibidem, pag. 95.

(59) Lyserus, in Polygamia triumphat. pag. 352.

V. But,

V. But, here is one thing which does not favour the pretension of the *Italians*: they drink too much in cold Countries; and by this excess they destroy what Wine moderately taken had produced: the Remedy arises from the heighth of the Distemper; for as it is true that a Man elevated with Wine finds himself more inclined and disposed to trangress the Laws of Chastity; so it is also true that a Man perfectly drunk has no great disposition that way. *Ovid*, who was capable to give Aphorisms upon this subject, as certain as those of *Hippocrates*, shall be my voucher here.

Quid tibi præcipiam de Bacchi munere, quæris?
Spe brevius monitis expediere meis.
Vina parant animum Veneri, ni plurima sumas;
Ut stupeant multo corda sepulta mero.
Nutritur vento, vento restinguitur ignis.
Lenis alit flammam, grandior aura necat.
Aut nulla ebrietas, aut tanta fit, ut tibi curas
Eripiat: si qua est inter utramque, nocet (60).

(60) Ovidius, de Remedio Amoris, sub. fin. ver. 803.

Would you that I my Thoughts on Wine declare,
Short my Advice, and few my Precepts are.
With Moderation drank, it warms the Blood,
But the Heart sinks beneath too great a load.
A gentle breath of Wind but fans the Fire,
Whose Flames would in a ruder blast expire.
Drink not too deep; but if you should transgress
Drown all your Cares; there is no Mean in Drunkenness.

I shall add to this the Testimony of a modern Author, whose Wit will be admired as long as there are good judges in the World. I speak of *Michael de Montagne*. He observes that they began to drink less in *France*: 'Is it, *asks he* (61), 'that in some things we are going 'to be reformed? Certainly no: but it may be that 'we are much more given to Fornication, than our 'Fathers. These are two things which destroy each 'other's vigour. One weakens the Stomach; and on 'the other hand, Sobriety serves to render us more 'complaisant, and proper for the exercise of Love.' I should be to blame if I did not cite the Great *Aristotle*, who says, that too much drinking disqualifies for the venereal Act, for which he gives several Reasons. *Athenæus* mentions this, in the place where he speaks of the Drunkenness of *Alexander the Great*, a Vice, says he, which perhaps was the Cause of his little Inclination to the Love of Women (62): Μὴ ποτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια τέλεον ἀμελῆ ἐξυδρῶσθαι γάρ φησιν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἀφροδισιακοῦ τοὺς τοιούτους τὴν γονήν. *Ob immodicam forte illam vini appetentiam, ad Venerem ideo proclivis non fuit (Alexander) quoniam, ut explicat Aristoteles in quæstionibus physicis, hominum ejusmodi genitura in aquam eliquescat.*

(61) Montagne, Essais, lib. ii, cap. xi, p. m. 202.

(62) Athen. lib. x, cap. x, pag. 434.

VI. Upon the whole, I think it cannot be denied that the Vices of the South make more Progress in the North, than the Northern Vices do in the South; and consequently it must be said that *Bacchus* does not encroach upon *Venus*, so much as the latter does upon *Bacchus*. Drunkenness is abhorred in most of the hot Countries; it is looked upon as infamous: the most outragious Name you can give to a *Spaniard* is to call him Drunkard; and I have been told, that if a Master should call his Footman by that Name, he might complain to the Magistrates, and have satisfaction, though otherwise he bears with great patience, and without a Right of complaining, the Terms of Rascal, Scoundrel, Dog, *&c.* It does not appear that Fornication is treated in this manner in any Country in the World: Men in the most frozen Parts are at Liberty to divert themselves in amorous sports, without any injury to their Reputation, and, far from being ashamed of it, they glory in it, and ridicule those who live otherwise. The Empire of *Venus* ought not, like the Earth, to be divided into five Zones, one Torrid, two Temperate, two Frigid: they are all Torrid Zones, with this only difference of more and less (63). Never Monarchy was more universal than this; no corner of the World has been exempt from the Yoke of it: there are some particular Persons who aspire to a state of Independance, and who even bind themselves by a Vow not to acknowledge this Sovereign; but they are sometimes the most faithful subjects of that Empire. The Pagans professed to believe that the Monarchy of *Venus* extended farther than that of any other Deity. Heaven was the lot of *Jupiter*, *Neptune* ruled in the Sea, and *Pluto* in Hell; but *Venus* governed in all those three Worlds, the whole animated Nature being her Lot:

(63) *Compare the Remark* [E] *of the Article* BOREAS.

Illa, quibus superas omnes, cape tela, Cupido,
Inque Dei pectus celeres molire sagittas,
Cui triplicis cessit fortuna novissima regni.
Tu superos, ipsumque Jovem, tu numina ponti:
Tartara quid cessant? cur non matrisque, tuumque
Victa domas, ipsumque regit qui numina ponti.
Imperium profers! agitur pars tertia mundi.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Dixit Venus. Ille pharetram
Solvit, & arbitrio matris de mille sagittis
Unam sepositt: sed quâ nec acutior ulla,
Nec minus incerta est, nec quæ magis audiat arcum:
Oppositoque genu curvavit flexile cornu,
Inque cor hamata percussit arundine Ditem (64).

(64) Ovidius, Metam. lib. v, ver. 363.

Go send a conquering dart
At once quite thro' the gloomy Tyrant's Heart.
Great Jove himself, and all the Gods above,
Neptune, and all his Court submit to Love.
Shall Hell be free? Enlarge our Empire, Boy,
Let's now at length the World's third part enjoy.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
She spoke, the winged Boy, with eager cares,
One, and the surest, swiftest shaft prepares:
Then bends and shoots; the whirring Reed soon found,
And on his Heart impress'd a fatal wound.

ESCHYLUS, in *Latin Æschylus*, a Tragic Poet, was of *Athens* [A]. There are a thousand Disputes about the Year of his Birth [B]; but it may be certainly known when

(5) According to others, the first of the LXXVth Olympiad: a difference, which may arise from the last Months of an Olympiad, and the first of the following, answering to the same Year of the *Romans*.

(3) Saturnal. lib. v, cap. xix.

[A] *He was of Athens.*] *Macrobius* (1) who makes him a *Sicilian* is mistaken: nor can it be said he speaks of another *Æschylus*; for he speaks of him who made a Tragedy intituled *Ætna*. Now it is certain that he who wrote that Tragedy is the same with him that was vanquished by *Sophocles*, and who, out of vexation, banished himself from *Athens* his native City, and retired to *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse*. *Hiero* built at that time the City of *Ætna*; which was the reason of *Æschylus*'s writing a Tragedy of that Name (2). The learned *Giraldi* would not have stumbled as he has done, if he had minded this particular. He pretends (3) that the *Æschylus* of *Macrobius* was of *Sicily*, and different from him of whom we have some Tragedies extant. Nay, he does not know whether *Athenæus* did not speak of that other *Sicilian Æschylus*, in saying (4) that *Æschylus* made use of *Sicilian* Terms. I do not understand the meaning of these words, *Fuit Cyrenæus* (*Æschylus*) *familiaris Callimachi*. *Athenæus lib.* VIII. They are in *Valerius Maximus Variorum* upon the twelfth Chapter of the ninth Book. They are ascribed to *Celerus*.

(1) In Saturn. lib. v, cap. xix.

(2) Scholiastes, in Vita Æschyll.

(3) In Dialogis, de Poet. Græc.

(4) Athen. lib. ix.

[B] *There are a thousand disputes upon the Year of his Birth.*] The Life of *Æschylus* composed by his Scholiast imports that he was born in the XLth Olympiad, and gave proofs of his valour in the Battle of *Salamis*. These two Facts are incompatible; for that Battle was fought the last Year of the LXXIVth Olympiad (5). Could *Æschylus* behave like a good Soldier at the Age of 140 Years, or thereabouts? It is not disputed among the Critics whether the number of forty has been foisted into the Life of *Æschylus* by ignorant Transcribers: all confess it; but the question is what other number to substitute in the room of this. *Casaubon* (6) makes it 63; *Samuel Petit* (7) 65; *Meursius* (8) 70. This last Opinion cannot be defended,

(6) De Satyrica Poesi, lib. i, cap. v, apud Stanleium Not in Æschyli pag. 702, 703.

(7) Miscellan. lib. iii, cap. xiv, apud eund. ibid.

(8) De Archont. apud eundem, pag. 704.

when he flourished, since it is agreed (a) he signalized his Courage at the Battles of *Marathon* (b), *Salamis* and *Platea*. He informed the public that he applied himself to the writing of Tragedies by the command of *Bacchus* [C]. Some have said, that he never set himself to work till he was drunk [D]. They meant perhaps that he indulged in such a manner the raving Transports of his Imagination, that he wrote more like a Man in Liquor than like a sober Man. The Character of his Genius has been admirably well drawn by Mr *le Fevre* of *Saumur* (c). This Poet is not indeed the Inventor of Tragedy; but he made several Alterations in it [E], which carried it so near to Perfection, that he deserves more Praise than those that preceded him. Upon some Occasions he did not shew respect enough to Religion, which drew upon him a Prosecution that had like to have been fatal to him [F]. The vexation to see his Plays less acceptable

(a) Scholiaster, in Vita Æschyli.

(b) *Fought the second Year of the* LXXIId *Olympiad.*

(c) *In the Lives of the Greek Poets* See *also Mr* Baillet, Jugem. sur les Poetes, Tom. I, pag. 145, & seq.

ed, since *Æschylus* signalized himself at the Battle of *Marathon* the second Year of the LXXIId Olympiad, according to the Author of his Life. *Vossius* corrects it as *Mmarsian* does, and, not to be perplexed with the objection, he supposes that the Scholiast has marked, not his Birth, but the flourishing State of *Æschylus* (a). But this is wrong: the Scholiast uses the word γεγονὼς. *Stanley*, depending upon the Arundelian Marbles, places the Birth of this Poet in the fourth Year of the LXIIId Olympiad. According to these Marbles *Æschylus* died in the Age of sixty nine Years, when *Callias* was *Archon*, that is to say, the first Year of the LXXXth Olympiad. The Consequence that *Stanley* (10) draws from this principle is right, Mr *Barnes*, in the Life of *Euripides*, follows the same Marbles relating to the Life of *Æschylus*.

(a) Vossius, de Poet. Græc. pag. 83.

(10) Not in Æschyl. pag. 704.

[C] *He informed the Public that he applied himself to the writing Tragedies by the command of Bacchus.*] When he was a Youth he was sent into the Country to look after the Vineyards. He dreamt one Night that *Bacchus* commanded him to write Tragedies: as soon as it was day he obeyed the Deity, and happily succeeded in it without any trouble. Ἔφη δὲ Αἰσχύλος ῥηθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Διονύσου ἐνυπνίου κελεῦσαι τραγῳδίας ποιεῖν, ἃς δὲ ἡμέρᾳ (εὐθὺς δὲ ἦν ἡδέως) ἔδρασε καὶ οὐκ ἐπόνησεν. *Hæc autem ipse de se scriptum reliquit, quare fides olim dum apes custodiret, in agro dormienti Bacchum imperasse ut tragœdiam scriberet, seque cum primum illuxisset dicto audientem periclitatum quid in ea re posset, eumque se minime negotio confectum* (11).

(11) Pausanias, lib. 1, pag. 15. [illegible]

[D] *Some say he did not set about his Work till he was drunk.*] This is what *Chamæleon* had observed in his Book of the Life of *Æschylus*. Μαθεῖν δὲ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τραγῳδίας Αἰσχύλου, ὃν φησι Χαμαιλέων (12). From hence they reproached him with making good Tragedies without knowing what he did. *Sophocles* gives him this rub: Σοφοκλῆς ἐν ὑποβολίμῳ αὐτῷ ὄντι καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδέ γε. *Quapropter et Sophocles objecit etiamsi ea traderet scriptis quæ oporteret, id tamen inscientem fecisse* (13). He was happy to hit the point of perfection by chance, and in the dark, which so many others can never do with all their Study. There is another fault objected to him, that he was the first who introduced drunken Folks into a dramatic Performance, as if he would justify his own defects by imputing them to the Heroes of his Tragedy (14). *Chamæleon* is not the only witness to be called for this: *Callisthenes* having said the same thing. Οὐ γὰρ ὡς τὸν Αἰσχύλον ὁ Καλλισθένης φησὶν ὠνείρατα τὰς τραγῳδίας ἐν οἴνῳ γράφειν, ἐξορμῶντα καὶ ἀναθαρραίνοντα τὴν ψυχήν. *Non enim ut Æschylum dixit aliquis Callisthenes tragœdias scripsisse quam vino prolutus incaluisset* (15). *Plutarch* relates the same, and pretends that all *Æschylus*'s Pieces, not excepting that which they looked upon as an Enthusiasm of the God *Mars* (16), were the effect of a Bacchic Inspiration (17). To avoid all Equivocation, I must inform the Reader, that by a Bacchic Inspiration, I mean a real and true Drunkenness without Metaphor, and not such transports as *Horace* mentions in the nineteenth Ode of the second Book, and in the twenty fifth of the third, where it is plain he means the Enthusiasm of the God of Poetry. See Mr *Dacier*'s Commentary: where you will find that *Bacchus* and *Apollo* were the same God.

(12) Athen. lib. 1, pag. 21, & lib. 2, pag. 428.

(13) Id. Ibid.

(14) Athen. lib. 2, pag. 428.

(15) Lucian. in Demosthenis Encomio, Oper. Tom. II, pag. m. 904.

(16) *It is intitled,* Ἕπτα ἐπὶ Θήβας Septem contra Thebas.

(17) Plut. Sympof. lib. viii. Quæst. 2. pag. 715. Stanley, Not. in Æschyl. pag. 701, *has very ingeniously restored these Passages:* instead of μαγίσας "Αρεος *he would have it* μαγὼν "Αρευ.

[E] *He made several Alterations in Tragedy.*] *Horace* has not taken notice of them all:

Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ

Dicitur, & plaustris vexisse poëmata Thespis
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora.
Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ
Æschylus, & modicis instravit pulpita tignis,
Et docuit magnumque loqui, nitique cothurno (18).

(18) Horat. de Arte Poët. vers. 275.

Thespis, the first Professor of the Art,
In Basking taught to tread a Stage a Cart,
His Actors grim with filth, and rude in every part.
Next Æschylus did greater Art express,
He built a Stage and taught them how to dress;
In decent Motions to his parts convey'd,
And taught them how to look like what they play'd.

Upon which Mr *Dacier* makes this Note. 'It is not 'so easy to invent as to add to the Inventions of 'others. The Alterations that *Thespis* had made in 'Tragedy, gave *Æschylus* an occasion to make new 'ones, and more considerable. He gave his Actors 'a Mask: for *persona* is here a Mask, and not a *person* 'or Actor, dressed them in trailing Robes, put Buskins upon their Feet; instead of a Cart, got a Stage built of a moderate heighth, and changed entirely 'the stile, which became grave and serious, whereas 'before it was burlesque, λέξις γελοία: but I wonder that *Horace* says nothing of the most important 'Alterations which *Aristotle* attributes to *Æschylus*: 'for he says in his Treatise of Poetry, that he added 'an Actor to that of *Thespis*, that he diminished the 'Songs of the Chorus, and that he invented a first 'Part, πρωταγωνιστὴν λόγων. This deserved to be 'mentioned (19).' They ascribe to *Æschylus* an Innovation little consistent with his Poetic Rapture. The Ancients give him the praise of being *the first to remove from the Eyes of the Spectators all Murders and terrible Objects* (20).' So then it was he that first practised the rule of not staining the Stage with Blood. Mr *Dacier* pretends that those who find this rule not observed in *Æschylus*'s Tragedies, are mistaken. Concerning what he says after *Aristotle*, that *Æschylus* diminished the Chorus, I have one word to add. An unhappy accident gave occasion to this Reform. In the Tragedy of the *Eumenides* (a piece of *Æschylus*) the Chorus composed of fifty Persons appearing upon the Stage in frightful Habits (21) so terrified the Spectators, that the Women with Child miscarried, and the Children swooned away. Whereupon a Law was made, reducing the number of the Chorus to fifteen (22). *Pherecrates* (23) hath spoken very advantageously of the Reformation of the Stage, invented and perfected by *Æschylus*. The Decorations, the Machines, Tombs, Altars, Apparitions, Furies, and Trumpets, which appeared upon the Stage were the invention of this Poet (24).

(19) Dacier, in Horace, Tom. X, pag. 290, *Edit. of Holl.*

(20) Dacier, ibid. pag. 244. *where these Words of* Horace, Nec pueros coram populo Medea trucidet, &c. *De Arte Poetica*, ver. 185.

(21) *Æschylus* was the first who put Serpents about the Heads of the Furies instead of Hair.

(22) *See the Scholiast upon* Aristophanes, in Equit. & Julius Pollux, lib. iv. cap. xv, apud Stanleium, pag. 702, 703.

(23) Philostrat. in Vita Apollon. lib. vi, cap. vi.

[F] *He did not shew respect enough to Religion upon some occasions, which drew upon him a Prosecution that had like to have been fatal to him.*] He had been condemned for an impious Man, on account of a dramatic Piece, and they were upon the point of stoning him, when his Brother *Amynias* turning up his sleeve, shewed the People that he had lost a Hand in the Service of the Common Wealth. *Amynias*, had been maimed in this manner at the Battle of *Salamis*, where he had signalized himself above all the *Athenians* (25). The Judges, in consideration of his Valour, and the Friendship he expressed to his Brother, shewed mercy to *Æschylus*, and acquitted him in this manner. *Ælian* tells the Story (26). I have read somewhere (27) that he would have been stoned upon the Stage, if he had not fled

(24) Vita Æschyli, Editioni Robortelli præfixa, apud Stanleium, pag. 700.

(25) *See* Diodor. Siculus, lib. xi, cap. xxvii.

(26) Var. Hist. lib. v, cap. xix.

(27) Apud Scaligerum, Not. ad Manilii Astronom. pag. 149.

acceptable to the *Athenians* than those of *Sophocles*, who was much younger than himself [G], made him leave his Country and retire to *Hiero*, King of *Syracuse* (*d*). This is not without it's Difficulties [*H*]. He lived but three Years after his Arrival in *Sicily*.

(*d*) Scholiast in Vita Æschyli.

fled to the Altar of *Bacchus*, and that afterwards they accused him before the Judges for reflecting in one of his Tragedies upon the Mysteries of *Ceres*. *Plato* is much in the right, for not allowing any Tragedies to be acted, in which the Gods are abused, as they were in some Verses he cites: he also forbids the Tutors to use such Books for the instruction of their Pupils (28). The Verses I speak of were *Æschylus*'s. In which he cruelly rallies the Gods: introducing *Thetis* as speaking almost in this manner. 'Apollo on my Wedding-'day sung a Hymn, in which he assured me, that I 'should have a Son that should live long without any 'Distemper; he filled me with joy by his Praises and 'the great hopes he gave me. I thought he would 'have been a true Prophet, and yet it is he himself 'that has killed my dear Son.' No Men take so much Liberty in broaching impious Maxims, as those who write dramatic Pieces; for if you call them to an account for it, they may answer that they only make the profane, or those that are enraged with their Fortune, speak according to the Rules of Probability. It is very certain that the Author of a Tragedy ought not to be charged with believing every thing he exhibits: but there are some allegations which discover what may be put to his account: however there are certain Plays, which may justly be prohibited the Stage, whether the Author does or does not declare his own sentiments therein. *Cirano Bergerac* inserted some Impieties in his *Agrippina*, which caused it to be suppressed (29).

(28) Plato, de Repub. lib. ii. sub fin.

[*G*] *His Pieces pleased the Athenians less than those of Sophocles, who was much younger than himself.*] This is a disgrace to which the greatest Authors are subject. Some raise themselves in such a manner above their Rivals, that the public Voice loudly proclaims their Sovereignty in the Science they have cultivated. One reigns in dramatic Pieces, another in Romances, &c: unhappily, this Empire is not always for Life. There comes a rising Sun, who by little and little draws all the applause to himself; and then the great Author, who wore the Crown many Years, sees himself degraded by a young Man, which is as a hundred stabs to him, against which it is but a poor comfort to him to complain of the ill taste and injustice of the Public, and to appeal from them to the judgment of Posterity (30). The Poet, who deserves to well the disadvantages of a long Life (31), ought not to have forgot that it exposes Authors of the first Rank to this terrible disgrace. They ought to die as soon their Glory is arrived at it's Meridian, and not give time to a new Star to gain an ascendant over them (32). However it is pretended, that *Sophocles*'s triumph over *Æschylus* was attended with a remarkable Circumstance. The Contest had been appointed in honour of a famous Solemnity which was then celebrating (33). *Cimon*, who was chief Actor in this Festival, nominated the Judges, one of each Tribe, and this was the first time *Sophocles* had presented a dramatic Piece to the Public. What a killing blow must this be to *Æschylus*, to see himself vanquished by a first Essay, he, a Veteran, covered over with Glory, and proud of several poetical Triumphs! This made him fly from his Native Country. Νενικαντος δε τε Σοφοκλεους, λαγχανει τον Αισχυλον στεγειν γιγνομενον και βαρεως ενεγκοντα, χρονον τε πολυν Αθηνησι διαγωγαδην, επι δ' ολιγοσιν ημερων εις Σικελιαν, ενθα και τελευτησας περι Γελαν τεθαπται. Victore Sophocle, Æschylum fama renet discruciatum, atque id iniquo animo ferentem non diu Athenis hæsisse, indeque profectum fuisse ex indignatione in Siciliam, ubi defunctus quoque & circa Gelam humatus est (34). *It is said, that, after the Victory had been obtained by Sophocles, Æschylus did greatly and highly resent the affront he lodged not long at Athens, but went into Sicily, where he died and was buried near Gela.* The Scholiast relates this; it is true he adds that others will have it that it was *Simonides*, and not *Sophocles* who triumphed over *Æschylus*. The Dispute between *Simonides* and *Æschylus* was not of Tragedy against Tragedy, but of the Fragment Elegy. Wherein *Simonides* contended on his strong, and *Æschylus* on his weak side. A gigantic Imagination like that of *Æschylus*, a turn of Wit like his, his Affectation of the Sublime, were not fit for Elegy (35). It is observed that Women never excelled in his Tragedies; he would have drawn that Passion ill: but he was inimitable when he was to represent a Woman transported with Fury. 'Nam nemo mulierem furen-'tem quam exhibuit, fuit ab omni parte imitabilis. Ad-'mirandi enim in eo sunt furentium motus, & commi-'nationem orationem in Agamemnone [illegible] 'quam superatum agnoscet (36).' As to the rest, it must be confessed the subject of that Elegy was favourable to *Æschylus*; for it was to be composed in honour of those who lost their Lives at the Battle of *Marathon*: now he had a particular concern in that Battle, having given proofs of his Courage therein, and the present of the Glory of that to all he had acquired by [illegible]. See the following Remark. I must observe, by the way, that every body has not understood *Simonides*, when he said that [illegible] became the Benches broke with one of his Tragedies was acting. Some have taken it in a literal Sense, not considering that such a Jeste the Auditory would do a great deal of honour to *Æschylus*'s Genius; it would be a sign that his Pieces drew such a Crowd of Spectators together, that the seats not being able to bear them broke under them. The thing must be taken [illegible] *Leger* has understood it; that is to say, that *Æschylus*'s Play, upon this occasion, was condemned and expended. 'Eamden fortasse occasionem innuit Suidas qui Æschy-'lum in Siciliam demigrasse refert; quod dum tabulam 'exhiberet ruerent subsellia, Ανα το πλειους τε 'ικρια επεδεικνυμενα αυτω, *Subsellia fracta de-'cidebant*, qui ut Comici loquuntur non stetit, sed ex-'cidit, hoc est non placuit, sicut à viro doctissimo Jo-'sepho Scaligero jam diu monitum est. Author locis. 'Nec me movet quod alii aliter Juvenalis versum fregerit 'subsellia versa, sint interpretati (37).

(29) See Le Grand des Auteurs, par Gueret, pag. m. 155.

(30) This is what Æschylus did when he fell, I confess, said he, my Works to Time. Athen. lib. viii. pag. 347.

(31) Juvenal. Sat. x. ver. 140, & seq.

(32) Hæc data pœna diu viventibus. Id. ibid. ver. 343.

(33) It was the Discovery and Translation of the Bones of Theseus. Plut. in Cimone, pag. 483.

(34) Plut. ib. &

(35) See Mr. Le [illegible]

(36) Scaliger, [illegible]

(37) Scaliger, p. 6. 167.

[*H*] *This is not without it's difficulties.*] I have already said, that according to the Arundelian Marbles the Birth of *Æschylus* must be placed in the 1st Year of the LXIIId Olympiad, and his Death in the first Year of the LXXXIst. Now according to *Diodorus Siculus* (38) we must place the Death of *Hiero* in the second Year of the LXXVIIIth Olympiad: therefore it is not true, as so many People affirm, that *Æschylus* retired to King *Hiero*, and died there a few Years after. He survived that Prince about twelve Years. I know not whether we might not suppose that he retired twice into *Sicily*, and that the Authors who speak of but one do not distinguish those two Journies. It is agreed that the Victory *Sophocles* obtained over him forced him to go to *Hiero*'s Court. At which time *Sophocles* began to enter the Lists, and might be about twenty eight Years old. This dispute falls upon the third Year of the LXXIIth Olympiad. *Hiero* died three Years after more or less. It is probable that *Æschylus* upon the loss of so good a Patron left *Sicily* and returned into his own Country, from whence he was driven again by some fresh discontents some Years after. What little retreat could he choose that he was, as no doubt he had left some Friends where he departed from it the first time? Note, it was the Inhabitants of *Gela* that built him a Monument (39). If *Hiero* had been than alive, would he not have had the honour of that Monument? And it is probable he would have built it in *Catana* his favourite City, which he had ordered to be called *Ætna* (40). Hence it appears that the beginning of the LXXVth Olympiad (41), he would have the City of *Catana* change both it's Name and Inhabitants and subject the judgement of that new City. Now Authors [illegible] when *Æschylus* retired to *Hiero*'s Court, he found him busy in building the City of *Ætna*, and that he made a present upon that new Town. He did not then retreat to the Court of *Hiero* as *Scaliger* assumes for that, young Poet did not vanquish him till after the middle of the LXXVIIth Olympiad (42). Of all the parts of ancient History, that which concerns Sicily is the most confused, and the most inaccessible to the exact Calculations of a Chronologer.

(38) Diod. Sicul. lib. xi. cap. lxvi.

[illegible] Ter. [illegible] 173.

Sicily. The Inhabitants of *Gela* erected a Monument to him with a fine Inscription [*I*]. The *Athenians* publickly expressed the particular Esteem they had for his Tragedies [*K*]. We have but seven of them remaining, though he composed a very great number. The best Edition of *Æschylus*, is that of *London* in 1663 [*L*]. See in

[*I*] *The Inhabitants of Gela erected a Tomb for him with a fine Inscription.*] The Words of the Scholiast who has written the Life of *Æschylus* are: Ἀπεδήμησε δὲ Ἱέρωνος πολιτεύσαντος ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πόλει Γέλᾳ, ἔνθα καὶ τετιμήσατο μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ συγγράμματος ἐτύχετο

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει
Μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλᾳ·
Ἀλκὴν δ' εὐδόκιμον Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι
Καὶ βαθυχαίτης Μῆδος ἐπισταμένη.

Martyrum Gelæ inter publica monumenta sepulturæ magnificè honoratus, hoc inferentes Epitaphium:

Euphoriones patre Eupatria Æschylus ortus Athenis
Mortuus ad lati conditur arva Geles,
Virtutis specimen, Marathonie campe, fateris
Atque experte tuo, Mede comate, malo.

The Inhabitants of Gela buried him in a magnificent Manner amongst the Public Monuments, and inscribed this Epitaph on his Tomb.

Æschylus, Euphorion's Son, whom Athens bore,
Lies here interred on Gela's fruitful Shore.
The Plains of Marathon his Worth record,
And heaps of Medes, that fell beneath his Sword.

Pausanias does not leave us room to doubt that *Æschylus* himself was the Author of this Epitaph. I shall produce his Words, because *Romulus Amasæus* has misunderstood them: Θρυλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τῇ πίνακι ταύτῃ μᾶλλον ἐπαινέσαι. Καὶ δὴ καὶ Αἰσχύλος, ὡς οἱ τὰ μὲν προεδοκήθη τραγῳδοῖς, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἐμνημόνευσαν οὐδενὸς δόξης ἕνεκα τοιαύτης· ἐπὶ τοίνυν καὶ περὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχήσας, ὁ δὲ, τὰ τῆς ἀνδρείας μάρτυρας ἔχοι τὸ Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ἐς αὐτὸ ἀποβάντας. *Nullam autem fuisse victoriam quæ fuit magis Athenienses gloriatî, quàm eo quam ex Marathonia pugna sunt adepti, hinc præcipuè ut eodem adducer; quòd Æschylus, cum propè jam esset ut è vita decederet, qui de scipso ante prorsus conticuerat, cui tanta in poëti nomine celebritate, cujusque virtus navalibus prælîis ante ad Artemisium & Salaminem emicuerat*, de Marathonia pugna cùm suum carmen ederet, *in ipsa operis fronte suum & patriæ nomen inscripsit: Marathonium nempe illum* [1] *& Persas qui illuc descenderunt, quæ testes virtutis citat* (43). The Translator, in my Opinion, is three times mistaken. I. When he says that *Æschylus* never spoke of himself before. II In presupposing that That Poet signalized himself at the Naval Battle of *Artemisium*, and that of *Salamis*, before he did so at the Battle *Marathon*. III. When he imagines that *Æschylus* placed at the beginning of a Poem upon the Battle of *Marathon*, what is mentioned by *Pausanias*. This is not the drift of the Greek Author: his Design was to prove that the Victory of *Marathon* was that in which the *Athenians* gloried most: to this end he alledges that *Æschylus*, perceiving himself near Death, laid aside every thing else, and contented himself with writing his Name, and the Name of his Country, adding that *Marathon* and the *Medes* who lost their Lives there were the Evidences of his Valour. Nevertheless he had obtained great Fame by his Poems, and was present at the Battles of *Artemisium* and *Salamis*. When one compares the Words of *Pausanias* with the Epitaph of *Æschylus*, one cannot doubt that he had a view to that Epitaph. But if any one will obstinately question whether that Poet was the Author of the Inscription which the Inhabitants of *Gela* engraved upon the Tomb, he may be referred to *Athenæus* (44), who observes that *Æschylus*, having acquired a great Reputation by his Verses, yet did not make choice of

(43) Pausanias, lib. I, pag. 13.

(44) Αἰσχύλος ποιητὴς ὢν ἐκ τῶν τραγῳδῶν δόξαν ἔχων ὑπὲρ τὴν ποιητικὴν, οὐδὲν ἄξιον ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ ἔγραψεν ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν· τοιγαροῦν ἐπαινέσας ἑαυτὸν ὁ εὐδόκιμος, φησὶ, Αἰσχύλος φιλοτιμίαν μεγίστην ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ ὅτι γεγόναμεν ἡμεῖς μάλιστα τὴν ἀνδρείαν. τοιγαροῦν ἐπαινέσας ἑαυτὸν ὁ εὐδόκιμος, φησὶ, Αἰσχύλος φιλοτιμίαν μεγίστην ἔσχεν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ ὅτι γεγόναμεν ἡμεῖς μάλιστα τὴν ἀνδρείαν. *Æschylus quamvis maximam famam consecutus esset ob poëticen, nihilo secius monumento inferri fortitudinem meluit, dicens præclarum animi fortis constantiam, &c. Athen. lib. XIV, pag. 627.*

their part of his Glory for the subject of his Epitaph, but rather what he had obtained by his Valour (45). For a Proof of this *Athenæus* quotes the two last Verses of the Epitaph mentioned above.

[*K*] *The Athenians publickly expressed the Esteem they had for his Tragedies.*] They made a publick Decree that his Tragedies should be acted after his Death, and he was the only one whose Performances were thus honoured (46). Therefore they introduce him boasting that his Poems did not die with him, as those of *Euripides* expired with their Author (47). *Philostratus* observes in the fifth Chapter of the fifth Book of *Apollonius*'s Life, that the Athenians considered *Æschylus* as the Father of Tragedy, and he seems to say that after his Death they invoked him in the Feasts of *Bacchus*. Ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τεθνεῶτα ἐς Διονύσια, *in Dionysii festis etiam mortuum invocant*: so *Rhinutius* has translated it. *Morellus* has rendered it *convocant*. *Vigenere* translates it, *bring still used to invoke him at the Games and Feasts of Dionysius*. But without doubt he meant no more than that they invited him to those Feasts, in as much as his Tragedies were ordered by a public Decree to be then acted, by which he obtained fresh Triumphs. Consult *Vossius* at the thirtieth Page of his Treatise of the Greek Poets. *Quintilian* diminishes his Honour a little; for he only says they permitted *Æschylus*'s Tragedies to be acted at *Athens* after they were corrected, and he observes that several of those who corrected them carried away the Prize. Of this number were *Euphorion* and *Bion* the Sons of *Æschylus* (48). The Scholiast who has written the Life of *Æschylus* gives another turn to the *Athenian* Decree: he pretends that they ordered that those who would act *Æschylus*'s Tragedies should have a Chorus allowed them (49). He says also that it was the custom of all the Tragic Poets to go to the Tomb of *Æschylus*, in honour of his Memory, and that they acted their Pieces there. Once more, *Quintilian* was not a Man that would mention these Stories; for he degrades that Poet from the Rank that others give him. Some (50), set him above *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, others without determining the Superiority will have it that each of these three Poets excelled in certain things (51). But this is the Judgment of *Quintilian*. 'Tragœdias primus in lucem Æschylus protulit, sublimis & gravis, & grandiloquus sæpe usque ad vitium: sed rudis in plerisque & incompositus propter quod correctas ejus fabulas in certamen deferre posterioribus Poëtis Athenienses permisere; suntque eo modo multi coronati. Sed longè clarius illustraverunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides: quorum in dispari dicendi via uter sit poëta melior, inter plurimos quæritur (52). —— 'Æschylus was the first that offered Tragedies to the Public: he was Majestic and Sublime, and often lofty to a Fault. But in many Places he is uncouth and loose, for which reason the Athenians permitted his Plays when corrected to be represented in the Games by the later Poets, by which means many carried off the Prize. But Sophocles and Euripides brought that Work to far greater Perfection. It is a question whether of them excels in these different way.' *Mencœmus* the Philosopher always assigned the first Rank to *Æschylus*. See his Life in *Diogenes Laertius*, second Book, Section 134.

[*L*] *The best Edition of Æschylus is that of London* (53).] *Thomas Stanley* published it in 1663, in Folio. He added a Latin Translation to it, and a learned Commentary of his own, together with the Notes of the old Scholiast, the Fragments of Pieces lost, the different Readings of the Manuscripts, and the Observations of some learned Critics who have commented on this Poet. The preceding Editions were published in the following Order. The first was that of *Aldus Manutius* at *Venice* in 1518: it contained only six Tragedies (54). *Turnebus* reprinted them at *Paris* in the Year 1552, with the *variæ Lectiones*. The same Year *Francis Robertel* published the seven Tragedies of *Æschylus* at *Venice*, with his Conjectures, and those of *Michael Sophianus*; and with as many *Scholia* as he could collect together by consulting the old

(45) Athens had the same Desire. See Cicer. (56) of the Article ARCHILOCHUS.

(46) Scholiastes Aristophanis, apud Stanleium, pag. 707.

(47) Aristophanes, in Ranis.

(48) Vide Vossium de Poët. Græcis, pag. 36.

(49) Τὸν δὲ χορὸν ἔδοσαν τοῖς δράμασιν αὐτοῦ χορὸν λαμβάνειν (ὅτε δὲ χορηγοῖ) quod quicunque fabulas Æschyli docere velit choro (vacuo alioquin) donetur.

(50) Aristophanes, in Ranis.

(51) Plutarchus apud Stanleium, & Phrynichus apud Photium, citante eodem Stanleio, pag. 701, 702.

(52) Quintilianus lib. X, cap. I.

(53) *See the* Journal des Sçavans, March 2, 1665.

(54) *That intitled* Choephoræ *is wanting in the*

in *Moreri* in what manner that Poet is said to have been killed; *viz.* By a Tortoise [*M*], which an Eagle let fall upon his Head. I forgot to observe, that *Salmasius*, discouraged with the difficulties he found in *Æschylus*, has declared, *That this Poet was more obscure than the Holy Scripture* [*N*]. *Moreri* has committed many Faults [*O*].

old Copies. Five Years after, *Henry Stephens* published an Edition which surpassed the preceding ones. It contained the whole *Agamemnon* which till then had appeared imperfect: in many places *Æschylus*'s Text was corrected, and also the *Scholia* which were enlarged. This was the performance of *Peter Victorius*. To which were added the Observations of *Henry Stephens*. Lastly, *William Canterus* published a new Edition at *Antwerp* in 1580, in which he corrected an infinite number of Errors, and disposed each Verse in it's proper order, which had never been done before. The Latin Version published by *John Saurmannus*, and printed by *Operinus*, is good for nothing (55). The Authors of Historical Dictionaries should not omit the History of Editions.

(55) Taken from Stanley's Preface.

[*M*] *He was killed . . by a Tortoise.*] *Valerius Maximus* (56), cited by *Moreri*, is not the only one who says this: *Suidas* affirms the same in two Places (57): also the Scholiast upon *Æschylus* (58). *Pliny* had said the same before them (59), and with this Circumstance that *Æschylus* went into the open Country in order to shun the Effect of a Prediction which threatned him that Day with the fall of something. 'Ingenium est 'ei (*aquilæ*, testudines raptas frangere è sublimi jaciendo, 'quæ fors interemit poetam Æschylum prædictam 'fatis (ut ferunt) ejus diei ruinam secura cœli fide ca- 'ventem (60).

(56) Lib. IX, cap. XII.

(57) In Voce Αἰσχύλος & in Voce Δικάνη.

(58) In Vita Æschyli.

(59) This does not agree with Valer. Maximus.

(60) Plin. lib. X, cap. III, pag. m. 391.

[*N*] *Salmasius . . . . has declared that this Poet is more obscure than the Holy Scripture.*] These are his Words (61): 'Quis Æschylum possit adfirmare Græcè 'nunc scienti magis patere explicabilem quam Evan- 'gelia aut Epistolas Apostolicas? Unus ejus Agamem- 'non obscuritate superat quantum est librorum sacro- 'rum cum suis Hebraismis & Syrismis, & tota Hel- 'lenistica supellectili vel farragine. —— *Who can affirm* 'that Æschylus is more intelligible at this Day than 'the Gospels or Apostolical Epistles? His Agamemnon 'alone is more perplexed with Obscurities, than the whole 'Holy Scripture, with all it's Hebraisms, Syrisms, 'and the whole Posse of Hellenisms.'

(61) De Hellenistica, pag. 39. Epist. Dedicator.

[*O*] *Moreri has committed a great number of Faults.*] Having said that *Æschylus* had shewed in three Battles 'that he was no less a Soldier than a Man of 'Learning, *he adds that*, to give a particular Proof of 'his Courage, it is sufficient to say that he was the 'Brother of that famous *Cynegyrus*, who when both 'his Hands were cut off, upon going to stop one of 'the Enemies Ships, yet did not desist fighting with 'the *Barbarians*. I find four faults in these Words. I. It is no Proof of the Bravery of a Man, that he has a very brave Brother. II. At least this is not so convincing a Proof as to persuade the Reader by the bare proposing of it. III. At least it is not so particular a Proof as that which is taken from the Courage a Man has shewn on three great Occasions. IV. As to *Cynegirus*, he should have kept to what *Herodotus* says of him: that he was killed having had his Hand cut off, the Hand, I say, with which he held one of the *Persian* Ships. The other things which the *Greeks* have added are more like the Legends of *Roland*, and *St George*, than History. Who can believe that a Man who had both his Hands cut off should be able to catch a Ship of War with his Teeth and hold her fast? 'Cynæ- 'giri quoque militis Athenienfis gloria magnis Script- 'torum laudibus celebrata est, qui post præcii innume- 'ras cædes, cum fugientes hostes ad naves egisset; o- 'nustam navem dextra manu tenuit, nec prius dimisit 'quam (manum) amitteret; tum quoque amputata 'dextra, navem sinistra comprehendit, quam & ipsam 'cum amisisset, ad postremum morsu navem detinuit. 'Tantam in eo virtutem fuisse, ut non tot cædibus fa- 'tigatus; non duabus manibus amissis victus; trun- 'cus ad postremum, veluti & rabida fera, dentibus di- 'micaverit (62) —— *Historians likewise bestow uncom-* 'mon Encomiums on the Bravery of Cynegirus, an 'Athenian Soldier, who, after an incredible Slaughter, 'having driven his flying Enemies to their Ships, seized 'one that was laden with his right Hand, nor loosed 'his hold till his Arm was lopped off, then immediately 'layed hold of it with his left, which having under- 'gone the same fate with the other, he held it with 'his Teeth. So great was his Valour, that, not wea- 'ried with such a number of Encounters, nor disheart- 'ened by the loss of both his Hands, he fought at last 'with his Teeth like a Wild Beast.' I should as easily believe what *Pliny* says of the *Remora* in the first Chapter of the third Book. *Moreri*'s fifth Fault is saying that *Æschylus*, *after* the Battles of *Marathon*, *Salamis*, and *Platæa*, *applied himself to Tragedy*. He has said before (63) that he applied himself to it whilst he was a Youth, and disputed the prize of Tragedy against *Pratinas* about twenty Years before the Battle of *Platæa* (64). VI. The Scholiast does not place the Death of this Poet under the LXXVIIIth Olympiad.

(62) Justinus, lib. II, cap. IX.

(63) Citat. (11).

(64) In the LXXth Olympiad. Suidas, in Πρατίνας.

ESMENDREVILLE (JOHN DU BOSC Lord of) President of the Court of Aids at *Roan*, died by the hands of the Executioner, with the Minister *Marlorat* and some others, as one of the principal Authors of the Resistance of that City to the Arms of the King in the first Civil War under *Charles* IX (*a*). 'He was 'worthy of a better Fate, having, in his Person, all the great Qualities that are to 'be desired in an accomplished Magistrate. He had been educated like the illustri- 'ous Men of his Time, who aspired to a thorough Knowledge of the Sciences, and 'particularly the Civil Law, having travelled on purpose into *Italy* to derive it from 'it's very fountain Head . . . He was admitted Counsellor and Commissary of the Re- 'quests of the Palace of *Roan*, the last Day of *June* 1544, and from thence was promoted 'to the Office of Second President of the Court of Aids, in the same City, the '26th of *January* 1562, which was the very Year of his Death, having been be- 'headed, and his body hanged the first of *November* following (*b*). He left by 'N. *Guyot*, his first Wife, three Sons and two Daughters, who had nothing of 'his Estate. *Catherine Guerin*, his second Wife, was afterwards married to *Robert du* 'Tour. *Martin du Bosc*, Lord of *Bourneville*, his younger Brother, who belonged to 'the Company of the *Vidame* of *Chartres*, obtained, by a Decree, the Lordship of 'Esmendreville, and from him and *Isabel le Moine*, his Wife, Lady of *Surdeval*, are 'descended the other Lords of *Esmendreville*: He was a Catholic, and is mentioned 'in the Spanish *Catholicon*, as a great Leaguer.' This Family is ancient [*d*], and has

(a) Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Memoires de Castelnau, Tom I, pag. 878, 879.

(b) Id. Ibid. pag. 881.

[*d*] *This Family is ancient.*] He was the Son of LEWIS DU BOSC, Lord of *Radepont*, *Esmendreville*, &c. and his elder Brothers were, 1. LEWIS DU BOSC, Lord of *Radepont*, from whom descended the Lords of *Radepont* and *Fleuri*: 2. ROBERT DU BOSC, Lord of *Bretteuseck*, who left only two Daughters. He was Grandson of LEWIS DU BOSC, Lord of *Radepont*, and Great Grandson of ROBIN DU BOSC, Lord of *Esmendreville*, *Branville*, &c. whose Father WILLIAM DU BOSC, Lord of *Tendal*, of *la Chapelle*, and *Esmendreville*, was a Hostage for King *Charles* VII, in *England*, and died the first of *November* 1430. He was the Son of WILLIAM DU BOSC, Lord of *Coqueraumont*,

has produced several Branches. The President of *Esmendreville* is the Author of some Books [B]. *Mezerai* calls him *James du Bosc Mandreville* [C], a zealous Huguenot, adds he, *but who ruined himself by his ill Oeconomy* (c). Mr *le Laboureur* (d), relates this last Circumstance.

(c) Mezerai, Hist. de Charles IX, pag. 8c. of the third Volume, in Folio.

(d) Addit. to Castelnau, ubi supra, pag. 879.

Coqueraumont, Posthamp, Esmendreville, &c. who died in the Year 1409, and Grandson of JOHN DU BOSC, who died in the Year 1380, the Son of MARTIN DU BOSC, Lord of *Tendos*, Lord Chief Justice in Eyre of *Normandy*. This *Martin* died in the Year 1360, and was Father of two other Sons, viz. of MATTHEW DU BOSC, Lord of *Bretteville*, who was the Father of SIMON DU BOSC, Doctor of the Canon-Law, Monk of *St Ouen*, Abbot of *Jumieges*, and Chamberlain to the Pope: and of NICOLE (1) DU BOSC, Bishop of *Baieux*. *This Prelate equally advanced the Honour and Possessions of his House; for it was he that bought the Lands of* Esmendreville, Espinai, Bois d'Annebont, *and other Estates. He was first Counsellor in the Parliament of* Paris, afterwards Bishop of *Baieux*, in the Year 1394, *then First President Clerk of the Chamber of Accounts, with a thousand* Parisian *Livres a Year, during his Life.* The Letters of his Creation, bearing Date the thirteenth of *February*, 1398, import, that *this Post was given him in Reward of his faithful Services for forty Years. By other Letters, of the last of* December, 1380, *he was made Counsellor to the King, in the Assemblies and Sessions, with a Salary of a thousand gold Francs, containing* (2) *still First President of the Chamber of Accounts.* He died the nineteenth of *September*, 1408. He had been employed in this important Embassies, *one into Bretagny, in the Year* 1394, *with the Duke of* Burgundy, *and the other to Ardres, in the Year* 1381, *for the Negotiation of Peace with the English, at twelve Francs a Day for his Expences. He was buried in the Chapel of* St Lewis, *in the Church of the Franciscans* (3). See, in Mr *le Laboureur*, divers Branches of this Family.

(1) See the Errata of Mr le Labourer.

(2) I copy Mr *le Labourer* Word for Word; but it is plain there is a Mistake in the Numbers; for if this Bishop was made First President in 1398, he could not join that Office, in the Year 1380, with that of Counsellor for the Domeines.

(3) Taken from Mr le Laboureur's Additions to Castelnau, Tom I. pag. 877, & seq.

[B] *He is the Author of some Books.*] During his Travels into *Italy* he composed a *Latin* Book, printed in the Year 1532, intituled, *Joannis Bosci ad Nemesium Encomiasticon* (4). Besides this he wrote a Treatise of the Virtue and Properties of the Number *seven*, and of the Reason why *Justinian* divided his *Pandects* into seven Parts, (in which he cuts

(4) It is in Mr le Laboureur's Annotations, where it is commonly mentioned under the Title De Lætitiis Septem.

ESOP, in Latin *Æsopus*, the Name of several ancient Personages whom I shall treat of in separate Articles. I shall begin with him upon whom both the order of Time and his own Merit ought to bestow the first Place.

ESOP, or *Æsop*, the first or chief Author of Fables [A], was a *Phrygian*, and flourished in the time of *Solon*; that is to say, towards the Lth Olympiad (a). His Life, such as *Planudes* has given it us, is so well known to every body, even to the very Children, that That alone might determine me to make no Extracts out of it. But

(a) See the Remark [C].

[A] *He is the first or chief Author of Fables.*] I would not say, that *Æsop* was the Inventor of them, for *Quintilian* is not of this Opinion. 'Illæ 'quoque fabellæ *sive Io* (1), quæ etiamsi originem 'non ab Æsopo acceperunt, (nam videtur eorum primus autor Hesiodus) nomine tamen Æsopi maxime 'celebrantur, ducere animos solent, præcipue rusticorum & imperitorum, qui & simplicius quæ ficta sunt, audiunt, & capti voluptate, facile in quibus delectantur consentiunt. —— *These Fables likewise, which, though they do not derive their Origin from Æsop (for Hesiod seems to have been the first Author of them), are however known by the Name of Æsop, usually command the Attention, especially of the ignorant and rustic Part of Mankind, who listen to Fiction, and being charmed with it's Simplicity, give a ready Assent to that wherewith they are pleased.* It is therefore to *Hesiod* I should rather ascribe the Glory of the Invention; but without doubt he left the thing very imperfect. *Æsop* brought it to that Perfection, that he was looked upon as the true Father of this sort of Productions.

(1) Called Inachi. Orator. lib. v, cap. xi, pag. m. 291.

Æsopus auctor quam materiam repperit,
Hanc ego polivi versibus senariis.

The Plan which Æsop first designed
I, in Iambics, have refin'd.

Thus *Phædrus* begins his Fables. *Avienus* makes the same Observation in the Preface to his (2). *Priscian* makes use of the Word Inventer with respect to *Æsop*, but a little after he corrects himself, and speaks as he should do. 'Usi sunt ea (Fabula), *says he*, vetustissimi quoque autores, Hesiodus, Archilochus, Pacuvius, 'Horatius. Nonnumquam autem ab inventoribus fabularum aliæ Æsopiæ, aliæ Cypriæ, aliæ Libyæ, aliæ 'Sybariticæ, omnes autem communiter Æsopeæ; quoniam in conventibus frequenter solebat Æsopus fabulis uti. —— *The most ancient Authors likewise, as Hesiod, Archilochus, Pacuvius, and Horace, made use of Fable. They derive their Names from their Inventors, as Æsopian, Cyprian, Lybian, Sybaritic, but all taken together are called Æsopian, because in public Debates Æsop frequently made use of Fables.* This is not exact, for if *Hesiod*, who is more ancient than *Æsop*, made use of Fable, it follows, that *Æsop* was not the Inventer of it. Of the four sorts of Fable mentioned by *Priscian*, three of them are denominated from the Country, and not from the Inventer. Lastly, if all those four kinds are commonly called *Æsopian*, because *Æsop* usually spoke by Fables, why was it said, a few Lines before, that the Fables named *Æsopiæ* were so called from the Inventer of them? *Aphthonius* is fallen into almost all these Mistakes: Καλοῦται δὲ, *says he* (3), Συβαριτικοὶ, καὶ Κιλικες, καὶ Λίβυες πρὸς τὸν εὑρετὴν μεταβάσεις τὰ δὲ μέσα,

(2) Hujus Materiæ ducem nobis Æsopum reverentia qui fecundo Delphici Apollinis monitu ridiculum se esse et legenda fingere. —— *You know that Æsop at our Goddess's Oracle, who according to the Direction which he received from Apollo at Delphi, first attempted to establish Fable.*

(3) In Præexercitamentis.

μέσα,

But another Reason makes me resolve to have no manner of regard to that Work; which is, that all learned Men are agreed it is a Romance [B], and that the gross Absurdities, found in it, render it unworthy of any Credit. Therefore referring those to *Morери*, who desire an Article taken from *Planudes*, I shall say nothing but what I have from

μᾶλλον δὲ μᾶλλον Αἴσωπος λέγεσθαι τῷ τὸν Αἴσωπον ἄρισα πάντων συγγράψαι τοὺς μύθους. Vocatur autem & Sybaritica, & Cilix, & Cypria accepto ab inventoribus nomine. Verum quoniam Æsopus egregie præter cæteros conscripsit fabulas, evicit ut potius Æsopia diceretur. —— *It is called,* 'says he, *Sybaritic, Cilician, and Cyprian, borrowing* 'it's *Name from the Inventor; but because Æsop was* 'eminent above others for writing Fables, the Name 'of Æsopian prevailed above the rest.' *Macrobius* makes one Remark, which will not be amiss here. He distinguishes between *fabula* and *fabulosa narratio*; he pretends that a Fable is a Narrative absolutely false, and that a fabulous Narration is a heap of Fictions, built upon a true Foundation. This is the Nature of Epic Poems and Romances. *Macrobius* gives the Fictions of *Æsop* for an Example of Fable; and the Accounts of *Hesiod*, the Rituals, or Books of Religion, for an Instance of fabulous Narration. 'In quibusdam & argumentum ex ficto locatur, & 'per mendacia ipse relationis ordo contexitur, ut sunt 'illæ Æsopiæ fabulæ elegantia fictionis illustres. At 'in aliis argumentum quidem fundatur veri solidi-'tate: sed hæc ipsa veritas per quædam composita '& ficta profertur, & hoc jam vocatur fabulosa nar-'ratio, non fabula, ut sunt cerimoniarum sacra, ut 'Hesiodi & Orphei quæ de Deorum progenie actuve narrantur (4). —— *In some both the Argument is* 'fictitious, *and the whole Superstructure is connected* 'by Fiction: *such are the Fables of Æsop, admirable* 'for the Beauty of Invention. *But in others the Ar-*'gument *is founded on solid Truth, but that Truth is* 'afterwards *compounded and wrought up with Fiction,* 'and this then receives the Name of a fabulous Narra-'tion, not of a Fable; *such are the sacred Solemni-*'ties, *the Accounts of Hesiod and Orpheus concerning* 'the Descent and Exploits of the Gods.' *Freinshemius* did not well comprehend *Macrobius*'s Thought, when he brings it to explain the Passage in *Priscian*, where it is said, that *Hesiod*, *Archilochus*, &c. made use of Fable. Whereupon *Freinshemius* makes this Observation, that there is a great Difference between *Hesiod*'s Fables and those of *Æsop*: *Hesiod*'s are fabulous Narrations; *Æsop*'s are properly a Fable (5). He takes this Distinction in *Macrobius*'s Sense, and quotes him: this is wrong; for when *Quintilian*, *Priscian*, and others say, that *Hesiod* used Fable; they mean he made use of the Fictions of the *Apologue*: not thinking of the fabulous Narrations he has sung upon the Birth and Actions of the Gods (6). So that the Fables of *Hesiod* here in question, and those of *Æsop*, are of the same Nature.

(4) Macrobius, in Somn. Scipion. lib. i, cap. ii.

(5) Freinshem. in Notis ad Fabulas Phædri, init.

(6) *Consider these words of Mr* Menage *in* La vie d'Ésope le Phrygien, *Liv. I, num.* 72. Dicitur eft Æsopus λογοτοιὸς, non quod primus multa loqui docuerit, nam ante eum Hesiodus hoc fecerat in sermone Lusitanico ad Accipitrem, sed quia præcipue hoc se obtendit genus secutum est. *Æsop had the name of Fabulist given him, not because he first taught the dumb part of the Creation to talk; for Hesiod had done that before him, in his Dialogue between the Nightingale and Hawk; but he was first looked upon as the method of versifying in a more peculiar manner.*

[B] *All learned Men agree, that his Life, by Planudes, is a Romance.*] It is with reason that the Reader is told in the *Moreri*, printed in *Holland*, that *Planudes* had not written the Life of *Æsop*, but collected a Heap of Lies and Absurdities. Mr *de la Fontaine* was not ignorant of the Judgment of the Public upon that Life of *Æsop*. *I hardly know any* 'body, says he (7), *who does not look upon what Pla-*'nudes *has left us as fabulous*; yet he follows him, and even says, *that after all he finds but little Cer-*'tainty in the Criticism upon that Work of *Planudes*. *It is partly founded*, continues he, *upon what passes* 'between *Xanthus and Æsop, in which there are too* 'many *Trifles*. He answers, that such things happen to all wise Men. But if that Answer appeared sufficiently solid to him, why has he retrenched from *Planudes*'s Work *what seemed to him too childish, or* 'was *in some manner inconsistent with Decency?* Thus Mr *de la Fontaine* approves, by his Actions, a Criticism he condemns by his Words. This is not the only thing he is to be charged with; it may be maintained against him, that the Historical Falsities, for this Reason: *As Planudes*, says he (8), *lived in* 'an Age *in which the Memory of the things which hap-*'pened *to Æsop might not be yet forgotten, I supposed* 'he knew, *by Tradition, what he has transmitted to us.* If *Planudes* had lived two hundred Years after *Æsop*, his Knowledge from Tradition would have been very uncertain. A Man, who is upon his Guard, believes but little, concerning the Life of a private Person, the Traditions of two Ages. He asks, if the Facts related were committed to writing at the time they were fresh; and if it is told him no, but the Memory of them is preserved from Father to Son by word of Mouth, he knows well, that in such a case a wise Man will be a Sceptic. With much more reason should *Planudes*'s Facts be rejected, if they come only from Tradition, since he did not come into the World till eighteen Ages after *Æsop*. If Mr *de la Fontaine* had minded this, would he have said, that *Planudes lived in an Age, in which the Memory of the things that happened to Æsop might not yet be forgotten*. Some body has very well observed, that, in things which concern the Patriarchs and Prophets, the Jews of the VIth Century are no more to be believed than the Jews of the XVIIth; I mean the Jews who only quote Traditions handed down by Word of Mouth. We may say the same thing concerning *Æsop*. He was not known with more Certainty by Tradition to the *Greek* Monks of the XIIth or XIVth Century, than he is to those of the present time.

(7) La Fontaine's *Preface to his* Fables choisies.

(8) Ibid.

I forgot the gross Ignorance of *Planudes* in point of Chronology. He did not know, that *Æsop* lived a long time before *Euripides*, but has introduced *Æsop* alledging two or three Verses of *Euripides*, and even naming *Euripides*. From whence we conclude, that all the rude things *Æsop* said to his Master's Wife, the first time he saw her, are the Invention of *Planudes*; and if he forged that first Conversation, he might also forge other things. He supposes, that *Xanthus*, the Philosopher, having bought *Æsop*, was blamed for it by his Wife, on account of the prodigious Deformity of that Slave, and that *Æsop* said to her thereupon. Σύ, δ δέσποινα, οὐκ ἄλλο τὸν φιλόσοφον ἠδικῆσθαί σοι δέδοκα γυναῖ, συνεπεμψάμην, σφίγγ' ἔνδυτα, ἵν' ἐδύτι γυμνὸν σε κἀν τῷ βαλανείῳ θεασάσθαι, καὶ σοι περιπαίζειν καὶ εἰς αἰσχύνην τῷ φιλοσόφῳ Εὐριπίδου. ἐγὼ σὺ φημὶ τὸ σῶμα τοιαῦτα λέγων. Tu, ô domina, velles philosophum emisse tibi servum juvenem, bono habitu, vigantem, qui ne nudam in balneo spectaret & tecum luderet in dedecus philosophi; O Euripides, aureum ego tuum inquam os talia dicens (9). —— *You wish, Madam, your* 'Husband *had bought you a young handsome lusty* 'Fellow, *who should see you naked in the Bath, and* 'play *with you at a Game fatal to the Honour of your* 'Husband. *O Euripides, thy Mouth was of Gold to* 'pronounce *the Words thou hast done!* Upon which he repeated *Euripides*'s Verses against Women. Is it not true, that *Planudes*, having a Common place in his Head, makes *Æsop* speak in this manner without Judgment? I have read, in Mr *Menage* (10), that this chronological Error has been observed by Mr *Huet* and Father *Pouffines*. As to the latter, as I have his Book *de Ludicra Dictione*, I can verify Mr *Menage*'s Quotation. It is very just: for these are the Words of that Jesuit (11): 'Quale autem, Dæmon, 'putas quod Æsopo primum in hominem dominum lu-'gentio, cumque hero (12) colloquenti sententiolam 'affingit Euripidis adversus mulieres, atque ipsum 'etiam Euripidem appellari nomine facit qui octogin-'ta (13) minimum annis natus eli post quam Æsopus 'vivere desiit? —— *What an Absurdity, my Friend,* 'must *it appear to him to put into Æsop's Mouth,* 'at *his first Entrance into his Master's House, and* 'whilst *he talked to his Master, a Sentence of Eu-*'ripides, *and to make him call him by Name, when* 'Euripides *was not born 'till at least eighty Years af-*'ter *Æsop died.* As for the Life of Æsop by the learned *Meziriac*, it has been impossible for me to get it. I am no otherwise acquainted with it than by these Words of Mr *Pelisson*, in the Catalogue of *Meziriac*'s Works (14): *The true Life of Æsop in French, I say the true Life, has not yet appeared*

(9) Planudes, in Vita Æsopi, p. m. 230.

(10) In Diog. Laert. lib. i, num. 72.

(11) Vavasseur de Ludicra Dictione, pag. 19.

(12) *It should be* here.

(13) *This does not agree with the Extract of* Æsop's Fables *published by* Leo Grammaticus. Among others Father Vavasseur observes, that they make Æsop live to be above 100 years old. Leo Grammaticus is a little more Ancient.

(14) Histoire de l'Academie Françoise, *Ouvrages des Savans, Decembre* 1692, *pag.* 158.

from very good Hands (b). *Plutarch* assures us (c), I. That *Croesus* sent *Æsop* [C] to *Periander*, Tyrant of *Corinth*, and to the Oracle of *Delphi*. II. That *Socrates* found no other Expedient to obey the God of Dreams, without doing any Injury to his Profession, than to turn *Æsop*'s Fables into Verse (d) [D]. III. That *Æsop* and *Solon* saw each other at the Court of *Croesus*, King of *Lydia* (e). IV. That the Inhabitants of *Delphi*, having cruelly and unjustly put *Æsop* to Death [E], and finding themselves [illegible] exposed

(b) That is to say, borrowed from ancient Authors.

(c) In Convivio Sapientum, pag. 150.

(d) De Audiendis Poetis, p. 16.

(e) In Vita Solonis, pag. 94.

[illegible] Festival was then celebrating. Afterwards considering that to be a Poet, he must publish Fables, which his Profession did not allow, he turned some of *Æsop*'s Apologues into Verse, the first that came into his Mind (22). This is the account *Socrates* gave *Cebes* (the very day he was put to Death) of the Poems he had made in Prison. The occasion of writing which *Cebes* had enquired of him. *Plutarch* will explain to us the Medium *Socrates* invented to reconcile the Character of a Poet with that of a Philosopher. Which was to chuse a subject for his Fables containing solid Truths, and excellent rules of Morality. Ὅσον δὲ Σωκράτης ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἀπεπήδησε χρόνοις, εἰπόντος μοι, ὅτε δὴ γεγονὼς ἀλκιβιάδης ἀγαπᾷ νέος τὸν Σωκράτη βίον, ἃ παιδιὰς ἂν τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐποιεῖτο ψευδῆ λήματα· τὰς δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῖς ἔπεσι μύθους ἐποίησε, καὶ φοιτῶν ἐς ἔσχατον ἐκεῖνος μύθος ἐφοίτησεν. Itaque Socrates quibusdam somniis ad scribendum carmen compulsus, quum ipse, ut qui per omnem vitam pro veritate decertasset, facultate probabilia mendacia fabricandi destitueretur, Æsopi fabellas argumentum sibi delegit: poesin non putans eam, à qua abesset mendacium (23). *Socrates being directed in several Dreams to apply himself to Poetry, but having been all his Life-time a Champion for Truth, he was at a loss how to proceed in this undertaking. He therefore chose for his Subject the Fables of Æsop, thinking nothing could be Poetry where Fiction was not an Ingredient.* Mr. *de la Fontaine*, a Man of all *France* who knew how to give a happy turn to a Tale, did not think himself obliged to follow, in a servile manner, *Plato*'s Narrative. The Reader will judge by the following Remarks if the turn he has given to this account be as just as it ought to be coming from such a Pen.

(22) Plato, in Phædone, pag. 46, C.

(23) Plutarchus de audiendis Poetis, p. [illegible]

I. The beginning and end of Mr. *de la Fontaine*'s Narrative do not seem adapted to each other (24). *The Fables which are attributed to Æsop were hardly published when Socrates thought fit to dress them in the Livery of the Muses.* This is the beginning. *He spent the last Moments of his Life, to turn them into Verse.* This is the end. The beginning intimates a great deal of Impatience in *Socrates*: The end informs us that he stayed till the hour of his Death; and as the lived seventy Years it is easy to know he was in no great haste, for it cannot be said *Æsop*'s Fables did not appear till the last Years of *Socrates*'s Life: they were published during the Life of the Author, and about a hundred Years passed between the Death of *Æsop*, and the Birth of *Socrates*. Judge then if one may say that *hardly* were those Fables *published when Socrates* thought fit to turn them into Verse. II. Mr. *de la Fontaine* has spun in such a manner the Thread of his Narrative, that it does not appear by it whether *Socrates* translated *Æsop*'s Fables the very day of his Death, or some days before, and the first seems more probable by it than the last. Nevertheless the first is false. III. The Author advances that *Socrates* had the dream after his Condemnation, and yet *Socrates* did not say this to *Cebes*. IV. The Author supposes that *Socrates* was warned in a dream to apply himself to Music, and that he was in Pain about the meaning of such a dream because of the uselessness of Music, with respect to Morality. But it is plain by *Plato*'s Account that *Socrates* never imagined the God of Dreams required him to learn to sing and play on Instruments. That Philosopher always supposed that in a literal Sense his Dreams exhorted him to Poetry.

(24) La Fontaine, Preface to Fables choisies.

[E] *The Inhabitants of Delphi having put Æsop to Death.*] This History is found in *Plutarch* (25). He says that *Æsop* came to *Delphi* with great store of Gold and Silver, being ordered by *Croesus* to offer a great Sacrifice to *Apollo*, and to give every Inhabitant a considerable Sum. The Quarrel, which arose between him and the Inhabitants, caused him to send back to *Croesus* the Money he had received of him, after he had ended his Sacrifice, judging those, he had appointed it for, were unworthy of it. The *Delphians* contrived

(25) Plut. de Serâ Numinis Vindictâ, pag. 556, 557.

(15) See the 4th part of the Grand Cyrus.

(16) In Æsop's Life.

(17) Διήγησιν περὶ Κροίσου ἐπλάσαμεν.

(18) Animadv. in Euseb. n. 1413, pag. 92, 93.

(19) Μανικὴν φασὶ καὶ ἐγκύκλιον τὴν μουσικὴν ἄσκησιν. Plato in Phædone, pag. 46. C. It appears by what follows, that μανικὴ is to be taken for Poetry, that Art over which the Muses preside.

(20) Plato, ibid.

(21) It was Apollo.

expofed, by Injuſtice, to divers Plagues, they publiſhed that they were ready to make ſatisfaction to the Memory of *Æſop* (*f*). V. That having compromiſed this with a Man of *Samos*, they were delivered from the Evil that afflicted them. One may eaſily know, by the Converſation that *Æſop* and *Solon* had together, that the former talked like a perfect Courtier, and the latter like a true Philoſopher [*F*]. Notwithſtanding this, it muſt be confeſſed that *Æſop* uſed the moſt judicious and the moſt ingenious Leſſons that could be contrived againſt the Vices of Mankind [*G*]. Thoſe who have ſaid that his Apologues are the moſt uſeful of all the Fables of Antiquity [*H*], make a right Judgment of things. The Anſwer he made to *Chilo* is admirable

(*f*) De Sera Numinis Vindicta, p. 556, 557.

(*f*) In Corpore Sapientum pag. 152.

hereupon to accuſe him of Sacrilege, and pretending to have convicted him of it, threw him from the top of a Rock. The Gods provoked by this action chaſtiſed them for it by a Peſtilence and Famine: ſo that to make theſe Plagues ceaſe, they gave notice in all the Aſſemblies of *Greece*, that if any Body in honour of *Æſop* would come and demand Juſtice for his Death they would give him Satisfaction. In the third Generation a Man of *Samos* (26) preſented himſelf, who had no other Relation to *Æſop*, than being deſcended from ſome Perſons that had bought that Writer of Fables at *Samos*. The *Delphians* gave Satisfaction to this Man, and were thereby delivered from the Diſeaſes and Famine that tormented them. Καὶ τότε τινὰς ἄνδρας ἄγοντες οἱ Δελφοὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀπηλλάγησαν. *Hinc pro delicto jam dedisse Delphos, itaque eos malis liberatos fuiſſe* (27).

(26) He was called *Idmon* according to *Plutarch*, and *Jadmon*, according to *Herodotus*, lib. ii, cap. 134, who ſays that he was the Son of a Son of *Jadmon*, whom *Æſop* had ſerved at the ſame time with *Rhodope* the Courtezan.

(27) Plut. de ſera Numinis Vindicta, p. 557, *A*.

[*F*] *If Æſop ſpoke like a Courtier, Solon ſpoke like a true Philoſopher.*] *Solon* abated nothing of his rigid Maxims before *Cræſus*: he diſcourſed with him of the Vanity of humane Greatneſs in the ſame Tone, as if he had been comforting a poor ſick Man, nor had he any Complaiſance for the Prejudices of a Monarch, infatuated with a Perſuaſion that Riches are the ſource of Happineſs. This diſpleaſed *Cræſus* to ſuch a Degree, that he diſmiſſed *Solon* without any mark of his Eſteem. *Æſop*, who had been ſent for by that Prince, was very much reſpected at Court: he was concerned for *Solon*'s Diſgrace, and talking with him as a Friend, *you ſee, Solon*, ſaid he *either we muſt not come near Kings, or we muſt entertain them with things agreeable to them. That is not the Point*, replied Solon, *you ſhould either ſay nothing to them, or tell them what is uſeful.* Ὁ δὲ λογοποιὸς Αἴσωπος (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ εἰς Σάρδεις ἥκων παρὰ Κροίσου, καὶ τιμώμενος) ἠγωνία τῷ Σόλωνι, μὴ ἐμπέσῃ τυχὸν φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ πρωτεύων αὐτὸν, Ὦ Σόλων (ἔφη) τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δεῖ ἢ μὴ ὁμιλεῖν, ἢ ἡδέα ὁμιλεῖν. καὶ ὁ Σόλων, Μὰ Δί' (εἶπεν) ἀλλ' ὡς ἥκιστα ἢ ὡς ἥδιστα. *Erat eadem tempeſtate Sardibus fabularum ſcriptor Æſopus, quem Cræſus accitum in honore habebat. Hic vicem Solonis doluit illiberaliter dimiſſi, monenſque eum, Cum regibus, Solon (inſit) eſt aut nequaquam aut quàm jucundiſſimè agendum. Cui Solon, Minimè, inquit, imò nequaquam aut quam optime* (28). It muſt be confeſſed this caution of *Æſop* argues a Man well acquainted with the Court and Great Men: but *Solon*'s anſwer is the true Leſſon of Divines who direct the Conſcience of Princes.

(28) Plut. in Solone, pag. 94.

[*G*] *Æſop employed the moſt judicious and moſt ingenious Leſſons he could deviſe againſt the Vices of Men.*] Can there be more happy Inventions than the Images made uſe of by *Æſop* to inſtruct Mankind? they are very proper for Children, and not without their uſe to Perſons in Years: they have all that is neceſſary to the Perfection of a Precept, I mean the mixture of the profitable and delightful.

> Omne tulit punctum qui miſcuit utile dulci,
> Lectorem delectando pariterque monendo (29).
>
> *But he's the Man, he with a Genius writes,*
> *Who joins them both, who profits and delights.*

(29) Horat. de Arte Poetica, ver. 343.

Aulus Gellius has expreſſed this very well in the Twenty ninth Chapter of the ſecond Book of his *Noctes Atticæ*. ' Æſopus ille ὁ Φρυγὶα fabulator haud immeritò ſa-
' piens exiſtimatus eſt: quum utilia monitu ſuaſuque
' erant, non ſeverè, non imperioſe præcepit & cenſuit,
' ut philoſophis moreſt, ſed feſtivos delectabilesque a-
' pologos commentus, res ſalubriter ac prolixe ver-
' animadverſas, in mentes animoſque hominum cum
' audiendi quadam illecebra indut. —— *Æſop the*
' *Phrygian Fabuliſt was juſtly eſteemed wiſe, ſince he*
' *did not deliver or enjoin his uſeful Precepts in a*
' *pedantic imperious Manner, as it is uſual with Philoſo-*
' *phers, but contrived agreeable and entertaining Fa-*
' *bles, whereby he inſtilled into the Mind a fondneſs*
' *for profitable and prudent Advice.*' In all times they have been made to ſucceed the Tales of Nurſes. '*Æſopi fabellas quæ fabulis nutricularum proximè ſuccedunt narrare ſummè pars & nihil ſe ſupra modum extollente, deinde eamdem gratitudinem ſtylo exigit & indicant* (30). And they have never fallen into Contempt. Our Age, as delicate and haughty as they are, admire and value them, and dreſs them up in a hundred Shapes. The inimitable *la Fontaine* in our Days has added great Honour and Luſtre to them. And they ſpeak with great Encomiums of the Work of an *Engliſh* Wit upon the ſame Fables. His Name is Sir *Roger l'Eſtrange*. See what Mr *de Beauval* ſays of it in his Journal of the Month of *December* 1697.

(30) Quintil. Inſtitut. lib. i, cap. ix.

[*H*] *His Apologues are the moſt uſeful of all the Fables of Antiquity.*] *Plato* makes this Judgment of them; for ' having baniſhed *Homer* from his Com-
' monwealth, he has given *Æſop* an honourable place in
' it. He wiſhes that Children would ſuck in thoſe Fa-
' bles with their Milk, and recommends them to the
' Nurſes to teach them, for one cannot be too ſoon
' accuſtomed to Wiſdom and Virtue.' I borrow theſe Words from Mr *de la Fontaine*'s Preface, who juſtly ſpeaks in this manner: for tho' *Plato* names no Fabuliſt, whoſe Inventions he would have Children learn, it is enough that he ſays, there are Fables to be rejected, and Fables to be retained, and that he puts among the Fables to be rejected ſuch as repreſent the Gods as Authors of divers blameable Actions. Such, he adds, are the Fables of *Homer* and *Heſiod*. From whence it may be inferred that he puts *Æſop*'s Fables among thoſe that are to be retained: now he recommends the Fables of this kind in the following manner (31): Τὰς δὴ ἐγκριδίστας (μύθους) σχολῇ μὲν τὰς τροφὸς τε καὶ μητέρας λέγειν τοῖς παισὶ καὶ φιλτάτοις τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς μύθους πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ σώματα ταῖς χερσίν. Quas denique elegerimus (*Fabulas*) per nutrices & matres pueris narrandas curabimus, ut ipſorum animi fabulis multo magis informentur quàm corpora manibus. —— *Special care ſhall be taken that the Fables, which we have approved, be read to the Children by their Mothers and Nurſes, that their minds may be formed with far greater care by the Fables, than their Bodies by Hands.* *Apollonius Tyanæus* expreſſes himſelf more clearly than *Plato* upon the preference of *Æſop*'s Fables: they are more proper, *ſays he* (32), than all other Fables, to inſpire us with Wiſdom: for thoſe of the Poets only infect the Ears of the Auditors; they repreſent the infamous Amours of the Gods, their Inceſts, their Quarrels, and a thouſand other Crimes: they offer to our view, Fathers devouring their Children: thoſe who hear ſuch things related by the Poets as certain Truths, learn to luſt after Women, Riches, Dominion; to believe they commit no Crime in gratifying their moſt inordinate Deſires, ſince they do but imitate the Gods. *Æſop*, not content with rejecting this kind of Fables, in behalf of Wiſdom, has invented a new method. *Apollonius*, continuing his Parallel, ſhews by many other Arguments how much *Æſop*'s Fables excel thoſe of the Poets; after which he tells a Story he had learnt from his Mother in his Infancy. That *Æſop* being a Shepherd, and feeding his Flock near a Temple of *Mercury*, often begged of that God with ardent Vows the enjoyment of Wiſdom. He made great number of Competitors; what was the Conſequence? They all went into *Mercury*'s Temple, each carrying rich Offerings in their Hands. *Æſop*, who was poor, was the only one who had nothing valuable to offer: he only preſented a little Ho-

(31) Plato, Republica, lib. ii, p. m. 604, *B*.

(32) *See* Philoſtratus *in the* Life of Apollonius, lib. v, cap. v.

ney

admirable [I]. There is no probability that the Fables, which now bear his Name, are the same which he made. They proceed from him for the most part as to Matter and Thought; but the Words are another's [K]. If all the Fables of the Poets had been

ney and Milk, and some Flowers, which were not so much as tred together (33). *Mercury*, in the distribution of Wisdom, regarded the value of the Offerings: according to this Proportion he gave to one Philosophy, to another Rhetoric, to another Astronomy, to another Poetry. He did not remember *Æsop* till after he had made his Distribution, and at the same time recollecting a Fable, the *Hours* had told him in his Cradle, he gave *Æsop* the Gift of inventing Fables, which was the only thing left in the House of Wisdom. An angry Critic relying upon this account of *Phil. Iratus* would have quarrelled with Mr *de la Fontaine*, for saying, *I do not know why the Ancients did not make these same Fables come down from Heaven, and why they did not appoint a God over them, as well as over Eloquence and Poetry* (34). One might have remembered this Passage in *Philostratus*, and yet have spoke as Mr *de la Fontaine* has done, for there was never any well established Tradition among the Ancients, concerning the divine Original of the Apologue. I shall not cite *Strabo*; for though his Apology for Fables comprehends the Fictions of *Æsop*, it is certain it is principally designed in Vindication of those of *Homer*. It is a strange sort of Apology, since *Strabo* ingenuously confesses that it was necessary the Legislators and Commonwealths should adopt the Tales of the Poets, in order to impress Sentiments of Religion upon the Minds of the People: for you are not to imagine, *says he*, that Women, and the Common People, can be led to Faith and Piety by philosophical Discourses; there is need of Superstition to do this, and without Fables Superstition can never be produced; it was therefore necessary to invent Fables in order to make use of them as Spectres and Phantoms to terrify the ignorant. Philosophy is only for a few. Fables are a public Benefit. they fill the Theaters. Οὐ γὰρ ὄχλον δεῖ γυναικῶν, καὶ παντὸς χυδαίου πλήθους ἐπαγαγεῖν λόγῳ δυνατὸν φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ προκαλέσασθαι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, καὶ ὁσιότητα καὶ πίστιν, ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ διὰ δεισιδαιμονίας τοῦτο δ' ἐκ μόνων μυθοποιίας, καὶ τερατείας. Κιρκαὶ γὰρ, καὶ αἰγίς, καὶ τρίαινα, καὶ λαμπάδες, καὶ δράκοντες, καὶ θυρσολόγχαι τῶν Θεῶν ὕλη μύθου, καὶ πᾶσα θεολογία ἀρχαικὴ ταῦτα δ' ἀπενδύσαντο οἱ τὰς πολιτείας καταστησάμενοι μορμολύκειά τινας πρὸς τοὺς ὑποβεβρυκότας . . . . . Αὐτὴ μὲν οὖν ὁ τῶν ἐλέγων, ἡ δὲ ποιητικὴ δημωφελεστέρα, καὶ θεάτρα πᾶσιν ἄφθονα ἐστι. *Fieri enim non potest, ut mulierum, ac promiscuæ turbæ multitudo, Philosophica oratione excitetur ducaturque ad religionem, pietatem, ac fidem; sed superstitione præterea ad hoc opus est quæ incutiat fine fabularum portentis regulis. Etenim fulmen, ægis, tridens, faces, anguei, hastæque Deorum thyrsis præfixæ, atque universa pene theologia, fabulæ sunt, receptæ à civitatum autoribus; quibus veluti larvis insipientum animos terrerent . . . . Verum hæc ipsa* (Philosophia) *ad paucos pertinet: poetica in publicum utilior est. quæ etiam theatra implere valet* (35)

[I] *The answer he gave Chilo is admirable*] *Chilo* one of the seven Wise Men of *Greece* was already an old Man in the LIIId Olympiad (36), when *Æsop* was in his Bloom. *Chilo*, it is not well known where and when, having asked *Æsop* what was the Employment of *Jupiter*, received this Answer: *he lowers things that are high, and raises those that are low. Θεὸς δ' αὐτὸς καὶ Αἰσώπῳ συμβῆναι, ὁ Ζεὺς τί μὲν ποιεῖν, τὸν δὲ φάναι, τὰ μὲν ὑψηλὰ ταπεινῶν, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ ὑψῶν. Ferunt cum & Æsopum interrogasse quidnam faceret Jupiter, illumque respondisse, excelsa humiliat, & humilia extollit* (37). Without doubt this answer is an exact Epitome of the History of Mankind. Take that History at which end you please, and follow the Course of it, from the beginning to end, you will see every where Instances of the Alternative meant by *Æsop*. The World is a true Wheel of Fortune, where every thing by turns ascends and descends, and wherein we ought to admire the depths of a wise Providence, and the Activity of our Passions. Does a Man grow rich, his Children, brought up in Wealth, are puft up with Vanity, become prodigal, and ruin themselves. The Children of the latter, having nothing to trust to but their Industry, labour Day and Night to enrich themselves, and succeed accordingly. A Kingdom acquires great Power, they grow proud, and treat their Neighbours haughtily: each fearing to be subdued, to secure themselves from Danger, make such formidable Leagues, that they humble the Prince who had raised himself so high. This Rule is not without it's Exceptions, for there are Families and States who preserve their Grandeur a long time. The *Roman* Commonwealth, which pulled down so many Sovereigns, encreased in Greatness for many Ages. The Pagans were so thoroughly persuaded that Heaven purposely humbled high things, that they feigned there were some Gods who were filled with Jealousy at the Prosperity of Men. The Philosophers themselves, who denied a Providence, acknowledged I know not what which affected to overthrow great things.

> Usque adeo res humanas vis abdita quædam
> Obterit, & pulcros fascis, sævasque secures
> Proculcare ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur (38).

And hence the fancy unseen Powers in things,
Whose Force and Will such strange Confusion brings,
It spurns and overthrows our greatest Kings.
CREECH.

If Man was not an undisciplinable Animal, would he not have been cured of his Pride, after so many Proofs of *Æsop*'s Maxim reiterated in every Country, and every Age? two thousand Years hence, if the World should last so long, the continual Revolutions of the Wheel will have made no changes in the Heart of Man. Why then are they repeated without Intermission or end? here it becomes us to adore in humble Silence the Wisdom of the Governor of the Universe, acknowledging at the same time the infinite Corruption of our Nature, and it's Servitude under the Yoke of machinal Impressions, an invaterate Disease which yields to nothing but the miraculous Operations of Grace. If we understood the full extent of this Servitude, and the Nature of the Laws of the Union of the Soul with the Body, one might write a Book upon the Causes of the Reciprocation contained in *Æsop*'s Answer; I say a Book, which might be intituled *De centro oscillationis moralis*, in which one might reason upon Principles almost as necessary as those of Mr *Hugens* and other Philosophers, who have treated *De centro oscillationis*, or of the Vibrations of Pendulums.

[K] *His Fables are derived from him as to the Matter; but the words are another's.*] I mean of *Planudes*. This is the Opinion of a very good Critic. 'Verisimile ac prope certum videtur *says he* (39), Planudem partim auribus accepisse à majoribus natu commenta Æsopica, partim legendo diversis ex auctoribus mutuatum: quædam etiam invenisse per se & concinnasse ad arbitrium suum: etiam ἐπιμύθιον & appendiculam illam explicatricem fabulæ subjecisse plerumque ex suo sensu: omnia porro verbis complexum fuisse propriis & suis. —— *It seems probable, and almost certain*, says he, *that Planudes collected the Fables of Æsop partly from his Ancestors, partly from reading several Authors, that some were his own Invention, that he added the Moral and Explication of the Fable, and often agreeably to his own fancy, and that the whole was put into his own Form and Words.*' He confirms his Conjecture by the conformity of Stile which is observed between the Life of *Æsop*, and the Fables of *Æsop*. Now no body is ignorant that *Planudes* is the Author of that Life. It is remarkable that *Henry Stephens*, in his *Thesaurus Linguæ Græcæ*, never cited *Æsop*'s Fables (40); which shews that he took them for the Work of a modern *Greek*. The Reader will not be sorry to find here some other proofs of *Francis Vavassor*'s Opinion. That learned Jesuit observes (41), that there is mention made of the Piræus in one of *Æsop*'s Fables: now the Piræus was not built till about the LXXVI.th Olympiad; before that time the Phalerum was the Port of the *Athenians*: so that it would have been the Phalerum, and not the Piræus, that

(33) He had not taken the pains to make a Noseguy of them: Would it be just, said he to *Mercury*, that I should neglect my Flock, while I should mind Noseguys.

(34) La Fontaine ubi supra.

(33) Strabo, lib. 1, pag. 13.

(36) Diog. Laërt. lib. 1, num. 72, in Chilone.

(37) Idem, ibid. num. 69. See the Index Achillini of Mr Dreihncourt, num. 377.

The World a Wheel of Fortune.

(38) Lucret. lib. v. ver 1233.

(39) Franciscus Vavassor, de ludicra dictione, pag. 21.

(40) Parker Vavassor, de ludicra dictione, makes this Remark.

(41) Ibidem, pag. 19.

like his, *Strabo* would have had no need to have undertaken an Apology for them [*L*]. It is not eaſy to comprehend why *Seneca* lays it down, for Matter of Fact, that the *Romans* had not yet attempted this kind of Compoſitions [*M*]. The Athenians erected a Statue to *Æſop* (*g*). Some think it is he, who under the Name of *Lockman* is become ſo famous among the *Eaſtern* Nations. He has been placed in the Number of Perſons that are riſen from the Dead [*N*].

(*g*) Phædrus, Fabul. X, lib. ii.

Since the firſt Edition of this Work, I have read *Æſop*'s Life compoſed by *Mezi-riac*. Out of which the Reader will find ſome Extracts below [*O*].

Æſop would have mentioned; *Æſop*, I ſay, who died (42) long before *Themiſtocles* built the Piræus. We find in the Explanation of one of *Æſop*'s Fables theſe words of St *James* (43). *God reſiſteth the proud, but giveth Grace to the humble.* Ὁ μὲν Φαῖδρος δηλοῖ, ὅτι Κύριος ὑπερηφάνοις ἀντιτάσσεται, ταπεινοῖς δὲ δίδωσι χάριν, *Fabula declarat quod Deus ſuperbis reſiſtit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.* From whence we may conclude, that *Planudes* made that Fable, or at leaſt added that Explanation to it. If it is not *Planudes*, it is ſome other Chriſtian, or at leaſt a Jew (44). Nor can it be ſaid that there are certain common notions which may as well come from the Pen of a *Phrygian*, as from that of *Solomon*, or *Planudes*; for beſides that it is very rare, that two Perſons ſhould chance to light upon the ſame words, and the ſame diſpoſition of Letters, to expreſs the ſame thought, it is certain that *Æſop* would not have put Κύριος into the Mouth of *Xanthus*, as I have ſhewn in queſtion. That word is taken for God only in the LXX, and in the Authors who follow them (45).

(42) In the LIV Olympiad according to *Vaſſius*, *ibidem* Sect. above, Rem. [*C*].

(43) Epiſt. cap. iv, ver. 6.

(44) The ſame Sentence is in the third chapter of the *Proverbs of Solomon*.

Father *Vavaſſor* is not the firſt who has taken *Planudes* for the Author of *Æſop*'s Fables now extant. *Nevelet*, who publiſhed in 1610 a Collection of Fabuliſts, declared himſelf of this Opinion. 'Ex MSS. illis quos 'habui ne unicus quidem vulgatas jam habuit Æſopi 'fabulas quas à Planude, ut Æſopi Vita eſt, ſcriptas 'exiſtimo (46). —— *Of all the MSS. in my Poſſeſſion, 'not one had the Fables of Æſop which now are publiſh-'ed, which I imagine to be written by Planudes, as 'well as Æſop's Life.*' The Manuſcripts he ſpeaks of were in the Library of *Heidelberg*, and had furniſhed him with about 136 Fables, which he added to thoſe of *Æſop* already printed. But if he added thoſe 136 Fables to thoſe of *Æſop*, it was not that he thought him the Author of them; for he confeſſes he knows not who to attribute them to, and that they ſeem to be of ſeveral Authors: thoſe wherein the Monaſtic Life is applauded he aſcribes to certain Monks (47). Father *Vavaſſor* (48) obſerves, that there are 150 Fables in the Compilation of *Æſop*'s done by *Planudes*, and that three are wanting therein, which Antiquity aſcribed to *Æſop* (49). *Nevelet*'s Collection contains 296 Fables of *Æſop*.

(45) See Father *Vavaſſor*, p. 103, 104; and the Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *Dec.* 1684, *Art.* I, *toward the end.*

(46) Nevelet, in Præfatione

(47) Idem, ibid.

(48) De ludicra Dictione, *p.* 180.

(49) Lucian *in* Philopatro, *ſpeaks of one*. Aul. Gellius lib. ii, cap. xxiii, *ſpeaks of another*. Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. x, cap. v, *ſpeaks of another. But this laſt ſeems not to have been an Æſop.*

Note, the obſervation concerning the word Κύριος needs an amendment. Father *Vavaſſor* pretends that it is peculiar to the ſeventy Interpreters to make uſe of this word for God, and that therefore *Æſop* would not have uſed it in that ſenſe. 'Adde quod horum 'Interpretum proprium fuit pro יהוה *kyrion* hic, ut 'ubique vertunt, uſurpare: quod Æſopum facere non 'convenit, ſed τὸν Θεὸν appellare, ſeu τὸ Θεῖον '(50).' I believe he is right with reſpect to *Æſop*; but I am not of the ſame Opinion I was at the firſt Edition of this Work: Knowing at preſent that a Pagan Author, who lived ſince the Apoſtles, has given to God the Name of Κύριος, and has even joined it with that of ἐλέησον, as they have done in the Litanies of the Church. *Arrian* is this Author; his words are: Νῦν δὲ τράμοντες τὸ ἀρτιφάνειον κεστῶμεν καὶ τὸν Θεὸν ἐπικαλέσωμαι διόμεθα αὐτό. Κύριε ἐλέησον, ἐπίτρεψόν μοι ἐξελθεῖν. *At nunc tremibunat meramur aviculam, & Deum implorantes rogamus ipſum ſupplices: Miſerere mei Domine, da ut è flamma evadere* (51) It muſt be remembered that he obſerves in the ſame Chapter, that thoſe who went to conſult a Diviner gave him the Name of Κύριος; let us quote this. Διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦμεν τοὺς Μάντεις· κληρονομήσω Κύριε τὸν πατέρα; ἐπεδυσώμεθα. καὶ Κύριε, ὡς ἡ τύχη θέλει; ἐπὰν ἔτι κληρονομήσεις· ὡς πᾶς ἀντὶ τῆς κληρονομίας ἐλαβόντες, εὐχαριστοῦμεν αὐτῷ. That is to ſay, *Therefore we flatter the Diviners: My Lord, ſhall I inherit my Father's Eſtate? Let us ſee, let us conſult the Entrails of the Victims. Yes, my Lord; what is the Will of Fortune? and when he has anſwered, you ſhall inherit, we thank him as if we received the inheritance from him.* *Arrian* juſtly ridicules that Practice.

(50) Vavaſſor, ubi ſupra, p. 20.

(51) Arrianus, in Epictet. lib. iii, cap. xxii, n. 55. Mr *de Rendel* furniſhed me with this Paſſage.

[*L*] *If all the Fables of the Poets had been like his, Strabo would have had no need to have undertaken an Apology for them.*] We have already ſeen (52) what that Apology is. The Author has forgot the chief Point in it. Which *Plato* and *Apollonius Tyaneus* touched upon, when they ſaid that thoſe, who ſee the Gods commit all manner of enormous Crimes, are apt to believe there is no harm in doing the ſame (53). What could *Strabo* anſwer to this objection? His Rhetoric taught him to conceal his knowledge of ſuch Objections being made againſt the Fables of the Poets.

(52) In Remark [*H*].

(53) See Remark [*H*], Cit. 2 [32], and *les Penſées ſur les Comètes*, *pag.* 559.

[*M*] *Seneca lays it down for Matter of Fact, that the Romans had never attempted this kind of Compoſitions.*] Theſe are *Seneca*'s words: 'Non audeo te 'uſque eo producere ut fabellas quoque & Æſopeos 'logos, intentatum Romanis ingeniis opus, ſolita tibi 'venuſtate connectas (54). —— *I dare not proceed ſo far as to point out Fables, and the Stories of Æſop, as 'a proper ſubject to employ your elegant Pen, it being a 'task not hitherto attempted by a Roman Genius.*' When *Seneca* ſaid this, had they not ſeen at *Rome* the Fables of *Phædrus*, which is an incomparable Work? In anſwer to this queſtion, *Lipſius* ſays, *Phædrus* was not a *Roman*, and that *Seneca* ſpeaks only of *Roman* Wits, *Romanis ingeniis*. I can hardly think ſo great a Man as *Lipſius* would take up with ſo ſorry a reaſon as this. Did not the Comedies of *Terence*, who was born in *Africa*, paſs for the production of a *Roman* Author? Why ſhould not the Fables of *Phædrus*, born in *Thrace*, and freed by an Emperor, have the ſame Fate? It is certain *Seneca* oppoſes the Latin Tongue to the Greek Tongue: therefore his meaning is, that there had been none but Greek Books upon the ſubject of the Apologues. Shall we ſay that *Phædrus* did not publiſh his Fables himſelf, and therefore they might yet be a private Manuſcript in *Seneca*'s time? This is neither probable, nor conſiſtent with all the Author's preambles. It muſt be ſaid then that *Seneca* forgot there was ſuch a Book in the World as the Fables of *Phædrus*. Men as learned as himſelf in theſe latter Ages have been ſubject to ſuch miſtakes.

(54) Seneca, de Conſolat. ad Polybium, cap. 27.

[*N*] *He has been placed among Perſons that are riſen from the dead.*] *Ptolemy*, the Son of *Hephæſtion*, perhaps ſpoke fully of it: but we know no more of it now than thoſe two Lines: Ὡς Αἰσωπῷ ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ Δελφῶν ἀπεζήσας· καὶ συνεμαχήσατο τοῖς Ἕλλησι περὶ Θερμοπύλας. *As Æſop, killed by the Inhabitants of Delphi, roſe again, and fought with the Greeks at the Paſs of Thermopylæ* (55). If I am not miſtaken, this was the Title of a Chapter in the Work, of which *Photius* has preſerved ſome Extracts, and was not unlike a Chapter of the Chronicle of the antient Worthies. *Scaliger* (56), having cited the Greek words above, juſtly cries out *Nugæ Græculorum*; but I do not underſtand what he had ſaid before he quotes them, *Nugatur Græculus Alexander apud Photium* 252. He ſeems to tax here one *Alexander* who had made a Collection of wonderful things (57). But beſides that *Photius* places him under the number 129, he does not tell us that this Author ſpoke of *Æſop*. If we may believe an Author of the XVIth Century, *Plato the Comic* had mentioned that Reſurrection (58). Let us ſay rather, if *Suidas* is to be credited (59).

(55) Photius, fol. Biblioth. n. 190, pag. 439.

(56) Scalig. Animadv. in Euſebium, n. 2453, pag. 93.

(57) Θαυμασίων συναγωγή. Adm Fabitium Collectio. *Photius*, n. 189, *p.* 468.

(58) Porro ex Græcis ſunt qui Æſopum hunc reviviſſe fabulentur, quod Comicus item Plato ſignificavit. *There are moreover ſome Grecians, who pretend that the Æſop was reſtored to Life, which Plato the Comedian likewiſe mentions.* Cæl. Rhodiginus lib. xx, cap. xxvi, pag. m. 824.

(59) In Ἀναβιώναι. See, before, a Note of *Francis Portus*, which contains a Paſſage of the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes*.

[*O*] *The Life of Æſop compoſed by Mezeriac. . . . We ſhall give . . . . ſome Extracts of it.*] It is a ſmall Book printed at *Bourg* in *Breſſe*, in the Year 1632. It contains only forty Pages in 16o. And is become extreamly ſcarce. Mr *Simon de Valhebert* (60), Library Keeper to the Abbot *Bignon*, has been ſo kind as to ſend me his copy; from which I have taken what follows. It is more probable that *Æſop* was born at *Cotiæum*, a Town in *Phrygia*, than that he was born at

(60) See the Epiſtle Dedicatory of the *Origines de la Langue Françoiſe de Mr Menage*, Edit. 1694, Fol.

at *Sardis*, or in the Isle of *Samos*, or at *Mesambria* in *Thrace*.' The first Master he served was one *Zoilus*, or *Demarchus*, surnamed *Carasius*, a Native and Inhabitant of *Athens* (61). 'It is therefore probable that he was there he learned the purity of the Greek Tongue as in it's Source, and became acquainted with Moral Philosophy which was then in Esteem and in process of time, he was sold to *Xanthus*, a native of the Isle of *Samos*, and afterwards to the Philosopher *Idmon* or *Iadmon*, who was also a Thracian by Nation, *and who made him free* (62). After recovering his Liberty, he soon obtained a very great Reputation among the Greeks .... so that the report of his extraordinary wisdom having reached the Ears of *Croesus*, he sent for him, and taking an Affection for him, engaged him by his Benefits to devote himself to his service as long as he should live. .... *He travelled* through *Greece*, either for his own pleasure, *or for the particular Affairs of* Croesus, *and passing* by *Athens* (63), a little after *Pisistratus* had usurped the Sovereign Power, and abolished the popular Government; and seeing that the *Athenians* bore the Yoke with great impatience .... he told them the Fable of the Frogs who asked a King of *Jupiter*. .... He met again with the seven wise Men of *Greece* (64) in the City of *Corinth* at the Court of *Periander the Tyrant* (65). ..... Some relate (66) that to shew that human Life is full of Misery, and that one Pleasure is accompanied with a thousand Pains, *Æsop* used to say that *Prometheus*, having taken a piece of Clay to knead and form a Man out of it, diluted it not with Water, but with Tears.' Here is an Authority which confirms the Opinion of *Xenophanes*, that the evil surpasses the good.

(61) Menrsius ex Aphthonio.

(62) Idem, ex Schol. Aristoph. in Aves, Herodoto, & Plutarcho.

(63) Idem, ex Phædro.

(64) *Menrsius* had said before, that *Æsop* met them at the Court of *Croesus*.

(65) Idem, ex Plutarcho.

(66) Idem, ex Themistio.

I pass by some other particulars mentioned by *Menrsius*, which may be found in the Remarks upon this Article. He concludes his little Book with these words: 'Certainly if it is agreed that this (67) is a genuine Work of *Æsop*, it must be confessed we have no writings more antient than these, except the Books of *Moses*, and some others of the Old Testament.' With all the respect due to the Memory of this learned Man, I must observe that he ends his Book with a very gross mistake; for who does not know that the Poems of *Homer* and *Hesiod* were before any thing that *Æsop* could be Author of? Does he not confess himself (68) that the honour of the invention of Fables is due to the Poet *Hesiod*? How comes it to pass then that a few Pages after he makes *Æsop* elder than *Hesiod*? Meer heedlessness.

(67) That is to say, the Fables which appear under his name.

(68) Idem, ex Quintiliano.

Note, that Mr *Menage* (69) falsely ascribes to him the having confuted the chronological blunder of *Planudes* with respect to the Quotation of *Euripides*.

(69) See Remark [B], Citat. (10).

ESOP, or *Æsop*, Author of a Panegyric upon *Mithridates*, was Reader to that Prince. He also wrote a Piece upon *Helen* (a), in which he mentioned a thing that has all the Air of a Fable [A]. *Moreri*'s Article of this *Æsop* is full of falsities [B].

(a) Suidas in *Aleanus*.

[A] *He mentioned a thing which has all the air of a Fable.*] He said, that in a Fish named *Pan*, there is found a Stone called *Asterites*, which the Rays of the Sun will set on Fire. He added that they make good Philtres of it. *Suidas* informs us of this. It is probable *Æsop* spoke of this Philtre, because, to excuse *Helen*, he feigned that *Paris* could not carry her away till he had by some extraordinary Methods caused her to love him.

[B] *Moreri's Article ... is full of falsities.*] I. We find in it, that *Æsop* the Greek Historian *wrote the History of Alexander the Great in Letters*. So *Moreri* has translated this *Latin* of *Vossius*, *Vitam Alexandri Magni literis prodidit* (1). No doubt he imagined that this *Æsop* was one of *Alexander*'s Retinue, and that he wrote the News of the Army to his Friends, and *that the Collection of those Letters was afterwards* a History of that Conqueror. II. *Moreri* adds, *that he is different* (he speaks of the Epistolary Historian) *from him mentioned by Diogenes Laertius in the Life of Chilo*. A Man, who must have known that *Diogenes Laertius* spoke there of *Æsop* the Phrygian, would not have expressed himself as *Moreri* has done; for besides that *Æsop* ought to be characterized by the wonderful Talent he had for Fable, you must know that *Moreri* had just given a long Article of *Æsop* the Phrygian. Therefore he believed the Person named *Æsop*, whom he speaks of in the following Article, differs from *Æsop* the Phrygian; so that it is undeniable he was ignorant that the *Æsop* in *Chilo*'s Life is the same that gained so much fame by his Fables. This then may be deemed his second falsity. The IIId consists in saying, that *Æsop* the Author of *Mithridates*'s Panegyric was *Pompey*'s Friend. He cites *Suidas* and *Vossius*: not that he consulted the first of those two Authors: he saw him quoted by the latter, and that was enough for him. The cause of his mistake was this; he had read in *Vossius* these words (2): 'Pompeji familiari (3) ac Mithridatici belli scriptori subdatur Mithridatis anagnostes Æsopus, cui Mithridatis encomium nomen peperit. — *To this Favourite of Pompey, and Writer of the Mithridatic War, may be subjoined, Æsop Reader to Mithridates, who gained a Name by his Panegyric upon Mithridates.*' He thought this signified that *Æsop* was *Pompey*'s Friend. So exact was he in examining attentively what he copied.

(1) Vossius de Hist. Græc. pag. 466.

(2) Idem, pag. 525, 529.

(3) He means *Theophanes* the Historian, whom he had mentioned just before.

ESOP, or *Æsop*, a *Greek* Author of a romantic History of *Alexander the Great*. It is not known in what time he lived. His Work has been translated into *Latin* by one *Julius Valerius*, who is not much better known than *Æsop*. The Manuscript of this Translation was in the Hands of *Francis Juret* (a), and *Gaspar Barthius* (b). The latter attributes the whole Performance to a Monk. I shall relate [A] what he and *Freinshemius* have said of it.

(a) See his Notes upon the LIVth Letter of the 8th book of *Symmachus*, *Edit.* 1601.

(b) Adversar. libr. 18. cap. 10.

[A] *I shall relate what Barthius and Freinshemius have said of it.*] The learned *Freinshemius*, in the Catalogue he has given us of all the Authors of the History of *Alexander*, has the following words (1). 'JULIUS VALERIUS. Latinam fecit historiam fabulosam de Alexandro, quæ ab aliis Æsopo, ab aliis Callisthenì adscripta fuit. Unde fabulas suas certatim hauserunt Antoninus, Vincentius, Urspergensis, alii. Pretium videbatur adscribere hoc loco judicium C. Barthii ex 2. 10. Adversariorum. Talia multa in non incrudito Monacho sunt, qui vitam Alexandri Magni prodigiosis mendaciis farctam edidit ante aliquammultà secula: quæ fabula tantum olim fidei habuit, ut à prudentibus etiam scriptoribus sit testimonio citata, qualis sane ante plus quam quatuor secula fuit in Anglia Silvester Giraldus, qui non dubitavit ejus cellionis auctoritate uti. An ea egregia historia edita unquam sit nescio, nos in charta scriptam habemus, sed tanti vix æstimamus, ut in Bibliotheca eam recipiamus. Est idem auctor quem Æsopum vocat, & interpretatum à Julio Valerio Fratrefeus Juretus ad Symmachi lib. 1. Epist 54 Editione quidem priore. Ego vero neque de auctore neque de interprete credo Romani Græcive hominis esse, maxima enim in eo Græci sermonis ignorantia, nec ulla Romani notitia est. Hactenus Barthius. Typis excusa est Germanice, anno 1486. Argentorati. Citatur & Salmasio ad Solinum pag. 1025. vetus scriptor qui res Alexandri fabulose composuit. — *JULIUS VALERIUS He wrote a romantic History in Latin concerning Alexander, which by some is ascribed to Æsop, by some to Callisthenes, whence Antoninus, Vincentius, Urspergensis, and others, have borrowed their Fictions. It may not be improper in this place to mention the Opinion of Barthius from* 2. 10. *of the* Adversaria. Many such instances are to be found in a learned Monk, who several Centuries ago published the Life of Alexander the Great, larded with monstrous Fictions, which Romance had formerly in such Credit, that it was quoted as authentic by Writers of good Sense, such as Sylvester Giraldus above four Centuries ago in England, who did not scruple

(1) It is at the beginning of his Commentary upon *Quintus Curtius*.

' scruple to use the authority of that Monk. Whether ' this notable piece has been ever published or no, I ' cannot tell. I have it in Manuscript, but scarce think ' it worth a place in my Library. It is the same Au- ' thor whom Franciscus Juret calls Æsop, and says ' was translated by Julius Valerius, *Symmach. lib.* 1. ' *Ep.* 51. *in a former Edition.* I imagine that neither ' the Author nor the Translator were either Greek or ' Roman. It betrays the grossest Ignorance in Greek, ' and as little Knowledge of Latin. *Thus far Barthius. It was printed in high Dutch at Strasburg* ' 1486. *He is quoted also by Salmasius upon Solinus,* ' *p.* 1025, *as an ancient Writer who composed a roman-* ' *tic History of the Actions of Alexander.*' It is very probable this Romance was forged during the barbarous ages; and as any thing was good enough for such Critics as *Vincent de Beauvais*, it is no wonder so ill a Book should be valued at such a rate.

ESOP, or *Æsop* (Clodius), a celebrated Comedian flourished in the VIIth Century of *Rome*. He and *Roscius* were the best Actors the ancient Romans ever had; he for Tragedy, and *Roscius* for Comedy. *Cicero* put himself under their Discipline to perfect himself in the Action of an Orator (*a*). *Æsop* spent prodigious Sums of Money. There has been much discourse concerning an Entertainment he made, at which he had an earthen Dish served up that cost ten thousand Livres [*A*]. This Dish was filled only with Birds that had learned to sing or talk. Each of which cost six hundred Livres. *Æsop*'s Son was no less extravagant than his Father. He was not content with giving his Guests birds which cost the most, as those are that are taught to sing; but he also gave them dissolved Pearls to drink. Some speak of this as if it was his common Custom [*B*]; but others insinuate that he gave them dissolved Pearls to drink but once

(*a*) Plutarch. in Vita Ciceronis, pag. 63.

[*A*] *There has been much talk of an Entertainment.*] We have this account in *Pliny*, in the following words according to Father *Hardouin*'s Edition. ' Maxime ' insignis est in hac memoria Clodii Æsopi tragici hi- ' strionis patina HS. centum taxata: in qua posuit aves ' cantu aliquo aut humano sermone vocales HS. sex ' singulas coëmptas: nulla alia inductus suavitate nisi ut ' in his imitationem hominis manderet, ne quæstus ' quidem suos reveritus illos opimos & voce meritos ' (1). —— *The most remarkable in our Memory is the* ' *Dish of Clodius Æsop, the Tragic Player, valued at a* ' *hundred Sesterces, wherein he put Birds that sung, or* ' *imitated a human Voice, which cost six Sesterces a* ' *piece; proposing to himself no other gratification but* ' *to eat in them a resemblance of Men; so little did* ' *he reflect on what he himself had gained by* ' *his Voice.*' Father *Hardouin* has corrected this Passage (2); he has made it a hundred thousand Sesterces, which, according to him, are worth ten thousand Livres French Money. This is the value of the Dish: as to that of the Birds, he has made it six thousand Sesterces, that is, two hundred French Crowns. With respect to the hundred thousand Sesterces, he confirms his Correction by a Passage in *Pliny*, and by another in *Tertullian*; for *Pliny* speaks thus in the twelfth Chapter of the thirty fifth Book. ' Nos cum ' unam Æsopi tragœdiarum histrionis in natura avium ' diceremus sestertiis centum stetisse non dubito indig- ' natos legentes. —— *Nor do I doubt but the Reader's* ' *indignation will rise at what I have said in the na-* ' *ture of Birds, that one of Æsop's, the Player, cost an* ' *hundred Sesterces.*' As to *Tertullian* (3) he says that *Æsop*'s Dish cost *centum millium*. Methinks *Pliny* here acts too much the Man of Wit, and that his Thought thereby becomes false. *Æsop*, says he, found no other relish in this kind of Birds, unless it was that, in eating them, he eat a copy of Man: not regarding the immense gain he had made by his Voice. It is easy to understand *Pliny*'s allusion. His design is to reproach *Æsop* with not having respect enough for Creatures like himself: *Æsop*, as a Comedian, was but a copier of Men; his Voice was no more than an imitation of that of other Men, and he had gained immense Sums by that imitation: therefore he ought not have to lavished them away to the destruction of Birds, which, like himself, copied Man. It must be confessed this is too great a subtility. But when *Pliny* adds that the extravagance of the Father exceeds that of the Son, because it is a much greater intemperance to eat the Tongues of Men, than to eat the most excellent Productions of Nature (4), does he not evidently discover the falseness of his Thought? Does he not shew that he misrepresents *Æsop*'s intention? The great Pleasure the Comedian found in that sort of Birds proceeded from the great price they cost. He did not make them a Dish for his Table because they had learned to speak; that Cause entered only by accident into his Motive; but because they were purchased at an extraordinary Price. If there had been other Birds, who without having been taught to speak had been dearer and scarcer, he would have filled his Dish with greater joy. Read what follows. ' O miserabiles quorum pa- ' latum nisi ad pretiosos cibos non excitatur. Pretiosos ' autem non eximius sapor aut aliqua fauciam dulcedo, ' sed vanitas & difficultas parandi facit (5). —— ' *Wretches! whose Appetites can only relish precious* ' *Meats. But it is not the exquisite Taste, or any pecu-* ' *liar Delicacy, but Vanity, and the difficulty of pro-* ' *curing them that gives them a value.*' *Petronius* has very well touched upon this part of Luxury in his *ales phœnicis petita Colchis*, &c.

(1) Plin. libr. x, cap. li, pag. m. 443.

(2) See the Corrections of the 30th Book, num. 62, 63.

(3) De Pallio, p. m. 32. *See upon this the* Commentaries of Salmasius, *where you will find the Correction of Father* Hardouin.

(4) Non sit tanti, ut verum fatear, facile in ter duos hominum furo radices nisi quod nemo est tam crudelis qui non horreat operam hominum ore flic. *Plin. lib.* X, *cap.* LI

[*B*] *He gave . . . . . his guests dissolved Pearls to drink: some speak of this as his common Custom.*] *Valerius Maximus* mentions it upon this foot. ' Huic ' (6) nimirum magis Æsopus tragœdus, *says he* (7), ' in adoptionem dare filium suum, quam bonorum ' luorum hæredem relinquere debuit non solum per- ' dite, sed etiam furiose luxuriæ juvenem: quem con- ' flat cantu commendabiles aviculas immanibus empto- ' prætiis in cœna pro ficedulis ponere, acetoque liqua- ' tos magnæ summæ uniones potionibus aspergere so- ' litum, amplissimum patrimonium tanquam amu- ' ram aliquam sarcinam quam celerrime abjicere cu- ' pientem. —— *To him ought Æsop the Player rather* ' *to have given his Son in Adoption, than have left him* ' *heir to his Wealth, a young Man, not only of a despe-* ' *rate, but a furious Luxury. For it is certain, that* ' *he bought up at most extravagant prices Birds that* ' *could sing or talk, to have them served up at Table in-* ' *stead of Fig-Peckers, and used to mix with his li-* ' *quors Pearls of high rate dissolved in Vinegar, as* ' *though he had laboured to squander away an immense* ' *Patrimony, as if it had been some troublesome incum-* ' *brance.*' I believe I am not mistaken in affirming that two things are confounded in this Passage which ought to be distinguished. He ought not to have charged *Æsop*'s Son with the expence of dissolved Pearls, and that of singing Birds: the latter ought to be put to the Father's account, and the other to the account of the Son: *Pliny* and *Tertullian* are my warrants: they distinguish the Luxury of the Father from the Luxury of the Son: they charge the Father with having spent vast Sums for the fashion of a certain Dish, and filling it with Birds that had learned to sing and speak; they say nothing of his dissolving Pearls to drink. They charge the Son with that piece of prodigality, but do not impute the other to him. See *Pliny* at the place I have cited (8); you will find he adds to the words already related, *Dignus prorsus filio à quo deperatas diximus margaritas. —— A worthy re-* ' *spect worthy but Son whom we have mentioned to have drank* ' *Pearls.* We shall see in the following Remark the Passage to which he refers his Reader. But *Tertullian*'s words are: ' Qua (gula) Æsopus histrio, ex avi- ' bus ejusdem pretiositatis ac exoris & loquacibus, qui- ' busque centum millium patinam confecavit. Filius ' ejus post tale pulpamentum potuit sumptuosius efu- ' rire: margaritas namque vel ipso nomine pretiosas ' dehausit, credo, ne mendicius patre cœnasset (9). ' —— *By which Luxury Æsop the Player feasted on* ' *Birds*

(5) Seneca, Consol ad Helviam, cap. ix.

(6) That is, to *Caius Sergius Orata*, whose prodigious Gluttony he had been speaking.

(7) Val. Maxim. libr. IX, cap. I, num. 2.

(8) Lib. X, cap. LI, pag. 443.

(9) Tertullianus, de Pallio, pag. m. 56.

once [C]. *Horace* mentions only one Pearl of great value [D], which *Æsop*'s Son drank dissolved in Vinegar. *Æsop*, notwithstanding his vast Expences, died worth almost two Millions (*b*). It is said he acted the Passions so well upon the Stage, and with so much vehemency, that he would fall into violent Raptures or Transports. One day he killed a Man during these transports [E]. *Moreri* has committed here several gross Blunders [F].

(*b*) *Æsopum* In parte arte discentis fefellerunt reliquisse filio constat. *Macrob. Saturn. libr. ii.*

cap. 2. Translation Scaligerana, according to Casaubon, in Athen. Scaligeranum ante 1580 *Item, some few pages.*

' *Birds of the same vast value, as being taught to sing* ' *sweetly and talk, for the serving up of which he expend-* ' *ed an hundred thousand Sesterces in a Dish. His Son* ' *after such a regale was still more prodigally luxurious,* ' *for he swallowed down valuable Pearls, but, as I* ' *suppose, he should sup with less Grandeur than his* ' *Father.*'

[C] *Others say he gave them Pearls to drink but once.*] Weigh well the words here under, and I am confident you will find, that they shew that *Æsop*'s Son fell into this excess but one day that he entertained his Friends. Consider chiefly the comparison that *Pliny* has made between the Son of that Comedian and *Cleopatra*, and you will find that he did not believe that Excess was repeated: for if it had, then he would have been very much to blame not to have said so: the inferiority he designed to give *Cleopatra* would have been much more sensible by it. ' Non fe- ' rent tamen hanc palmam, (Antonius & Cleopatra) spo- ' liabuntque etiam luxuriæ gloria. Prior id fecerat ' Romæ in unionibus magnæ taxationis Clodius Tra- ' gœdi Æsopi filius, relictus ab eo in amplis opibus ' hæres, ne Triumviratu suo nimis superbiat Antonius, ' pene histrioni comparatus, & quidem nulla sponsione ' ad hoc producto, quo magis regium fiat: sed ut ex- ' periretur in gloria palati, quid saperent margaritæ: at- ' que ut mire placuere, ne solus hoc sciret, singulos ' uniones convivis quoque absorbendos dedit (10). —— ' *Yet Antony and Cleopatra will not carry off this prize,* ' *but be robbed even of the glory of Luxury. Clodius,* ' *Son of Æsop the Player, and heir to his vast For-* ' *tune, had done the same before at Rome with Pearls* ' *of high value. Let not Antony pride himself in his* ' *Triumvirate, being a degree below a Player, who was* ' *not prompted by any engagement to shew his Gran-* ' *deur, but to experience, in the glory of his Palate, the* ' *taste of a Pearl, and as he found it to be wonder-* ' *fully pleasant, that he might not engross the whole* ' *pleasure to himself, he distributed to each guest a* ' *Gem to be drank down in the same manner.*'

(10) Plin. lib. ix. cap. xxxv.

[D] *Horace speaks only of one Pearl of great value.*] Let us imagine two Men, one of whom swallows a Pearl in the presence of the Friends he is entertaining, and the other, not content with this, makes each of his guests also do the same, we shall find a very notable difference between these two Feasts: the latter will appear infinitely more sumptuous than the first, all other things being equal. Wherefore if *Æsop*'s Son did what *Pliny* imputes to him, it is certain his Feast is much more remarkable, than if he alone had swallowed a Pearl. I go farther, and say that the chief singularity of that Feast, and the Circumstance for which it will be most remembered, was, that each of the guests there drank a dissolved Pearl. Whence comes it then that *Horace* says nothing of this particular and remarkable Circumstance? It is certain that if *Pliny* had forgot it, he would have shewed, that between two remarkable things he did not know how to choose the best, and would have neglected his Advantages: for being to prove that a common Citizen of *Rome*, a Player's Son, had out-done *Cleopatra*, he would have passed over in silence what chiefly heightened the Action of a Citizen above that of a great Queen. The same objection lies against *Horace*: his Argument would have been much stronger, if he had said of *Æsop*'s Son all that *Pliny* has said. Why then did he forget it? Why should he choose between two notable Facts that which is least so? Why should he neglect the Advantages of his proof, and of his moral Reflexion? It will be said perhaps that he knew no more of the prodigality of that Player's Son than what he has said of it. But this raises a difficulty. How is it possible this Man's Feast should come to the Knowledge of *Horace*, by the least remarkable Circumstance of it; by a very singular Fact, I confess, if it is considered in itself, but little singular if compared with the other Fact. Be that as it will, let us see the words of this Poet:

Filius Æsopi detractum ex aure Metellæ
(Scilicet ut decies solidum exhorberet) aceto
Diluit insignem baccham: qui sanior, ac si
Illud idem in rapidum flumen, jaceretve oleacum (11)?

(11) Horat. Sat. viii. lib. ii. ver. 239.

A costly Jewel from Metella's Ear,
Æsop's loose Son dissolv'd in Vinegar,
And drank it down, and then profusely laugh'd,
To think he drank a Province at a draught.
Wa'n't not as mad as to have thrown the Gem
Into a Common-Shore or muddy Stream?

CREECH.

An old Scholiast upon *Horace* says that this *Metella* was the Wife of *Æsop*'s Son. Others (12) say she was not his Wife, but that he was honoured with her favours, and that she made him a present of that Pearl, which was worth twenty five thousand Crowns. They add that she might be the Sister of *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, married to *L. Lucullus*. We shall examine this in another place (13).

(12) Mr. Dacier says this Pas ge in Horace, Tom. VII. p. 301.

(13) In the Article *Æ E I E L L A*, Rem. [*d*].

[E] *He one Day killed a Man during these Transports.*] The thing deserves to be told. Let us see what *Plutarch* says of it. Τὸν δ' Αἴσωπον τὸν ἱστρικὸν ἀνακρινόμενον ἐν θεάτρῳ τὸν περὶ τῆς τιμωρίας τῷ Θυέστῃ βιαιοτέραν ἀπήγαγε τῶν ὑπερπόντων τινὸς ἄρχου παραδραμόντος ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτῷ λογισμῶν διὰ τὸ πάθος ὄντα τῷ σκήπτρῳ πατάξαι καὶ ἀνελεῖν. Hunc Æsopum tradunt dum in theatro agit Atrea de puniendo deliberantem Thyeste ita fuisse motum, ut impos mentis ministrum quemdam qui repente prætercurrebat ferire sceptro, & occiderit (14). —— *It is reported that this Æsop, as he was acting the part of Atreus meditating Revenge against Thyestes, was so transported, that he struck with his Sceptre a Servant who chanced to cross the Stage, and killed him.*

(14) Plutarch. in Cicer. Vita, pag. 863.

[F] *Moreri has committed here several gross Blunders.*] I. It is false that *Æsop* the Comedian was a Tragic Poet. II. He was upon his Decline (15), when, in the Year of *Rome* 698, *Pompey*'s Theatre was dedicated. A good Chronologer then would not have placed him *towards the Year of Rome* 700. III. The Authors quoted by *Moreri* do not say that *Æsop* was *Cicero*'s Friend. If he would speak of this Friendship, he should have quoted other People, and for want of quoting them he deserves in some Respects the Title of a Deceiver. He should have cited *Cicero* himself: I have already quoted the place where he calls him *noster Æsopus* (16), and where he mentions a very particular Adventure, that *Æsop*, being now quite worn out, yet would appear at the magnificent Games *Pompey* exhibited to the People at the Dedication of his Theatre, but he tired all the Spectators, and his Voice entirely failed him when he was reciting that part of the Oath, in which are expressed the Penalties the false Swearer was to undergo. In another Letter *Cicero* desires his Brother *Quintus* to enquire after a Slave that had run away from *Æsop*'s House. *Æsopi tragœdi nostri familiaris Latinius fecerat tibi notus aufugit* (17). *Macrobius* also might be quoted in this Matter. ' Histriones non inter turpes habitos ' Cicero testimonio est, quem nullus ignorat Roscio ' & Æsopo histrionibus tam familiariter usum, ut res ra- ' tionesque eorum tua sollertia tueretur, quod cum ' aliis multis tum ex epistolis quoque ejus declaratur. ' (18) —— *Cicero proves that Players were not looked* ' *on as contemptible Persons, since every one knows he* ' *was so intimate with Roscius and Æsop the Actors,* ' *that he vigorously maintained their Affairs and Causes,* ' *as appears in his Epistles as well as in many other* ' *Places.*' IV. What *Moreri* says of *Æsop*'s often accompanying Cicero *when he went to hear* Hortensius's *Orations, as* Valerius Maximus *observes*, is a notorious Falsehood. *Charles Stephens* was in this an ill guide to *Moreri*: He affirms the same, and cites *Valerius Maximus*, who only says that *Roscius* and *Æsop* went to hear *Hortensius* (19). V. *Moreri* reports all what *Pliny* had said concerning *Æsop*'s Luxury. He was

(15) Honoris causâ in scenam red eant, ti quos ego honoris causâ de scena decessisse arbitrabar. Deliciæ vero tuæ noster Æsopus ejusmodi fuit ut eas defenere per omnes homines lloquas. In jurare cum cœpisset, vox cum defecit in illo loco, si fefelli fallo. *Cicero, Epist. I, Libri VII, ad Famil.*

(16) See the preceding Citations.

(17) Idem, Epist. 11, lib. I, ad Quintum fratrem.

(18) Macrob. Saturn. lib. ii. cap. x.

(19) Valer. Max. *lib. VIII. Cap. X. num. 2.*

ignorant

ignorant that instead of *Sexcentum Sestertium*, it should be read *Centum Sestertium* (20). Must he not wonder at the prodigious Sum he makes the price of a Dish amount to? and if ten thousand Livres, which is the price of it according to Father *Hardouin*'s Calculation, supposing it should be red *Centum*, is something incredible, how monstrous would it be to say, by retaining the reading, *Sexcentum*, that each Great Sesterce *was worth twenty five Crowns?* must not *Moreri* admit it as an unavoidable Consequence, that *Æsop*'s earthen Dish cost Forty five thousand Livres? Farther, what he calls the Great Sesterce is equal to a thousand Sesterces. Now I find that, according to the most exact Authors, the value of a thousand Sesterces is much more than Twenty five Crowns. A thousand Sesterces according to *Gassendus* are worth Ninety three Livres, one Sol, one Denier; according to Father *Hardouin* they are worth a hundred Livres. So that *Moreri* is wrong in every respect. VI. It is not true that *Æsop*'s Dish was full of Bird's Tongues; it was filled with the Birds themselves. One would think that *Moreri* would confound this with the Luxury of *Vitellius* (21), or had taken one for the other. VII. *Pliny* does not say, *that those Tongues cost six Crowns a piece.* He says in the good Editions, that each Bird cost six thousand Sesterces, that is six hundred Livres according to Father *Hardouin*'s Calculations; and in the common Editions he says that each Bird cost six Sesterces, *nummis sex.* Nothing can be more diverting than *Moreri*'s Translation of these Latin Words. He thought that the *nummus* of *Pliny* was a French Crown, and that it was only one Sesterce, that is about two Sols or two pence French Money. From whence it appears that this common reading imputes two Absurdities to *Pliny*; for in that Case he would have said that the best singing, or talking Birds, cost but about twelve pence a piece, and that *Æsop* by buying this sort of Birds was guilty of a notorious act of Luxury and Prodigality. VIII. No Body has said, no not *Valerius Maximus* himself, that *Æsop*'s Son *put powder of Pearl into all his Drink.* This is to surpass honest *Valerius Maximus*, by a thousand Degrees, who was too well versed in Hyperbole, when he mentioned this as the common practice of that extravagant Son. IX. What is most wonderful is to pretend, as *Moreri* has done, that the Pearls he might take out of his Mistresses Ears would be powder enough for all the drinks he should use. X. And what is more strange is to see that he depends upon the Testimony of *Horace*, and even quotes the Verses of that Poet, wherein he says expressly, that *Æsop*'s Son dissolved a Pearl in Vinegar and swallowed it. Therefore this was a thing done in a Moment, which according to *Horace* was not repeated. XI. *Horace* does not observe that *Metella* was a Mistress to *Æsop*'s Son. XII. Lastly, he should not have quoted the thirtieth Book of *Pliny*, but the tenth.

(20) See Remark [A].

(21) In hac (*patina*) scarorum jecinora, phasianorum & pavonum cerebella, LINGUAS phœnicopterum, murænarum lacte a Parthis usque fretoque Hispanico per navarches ac triremes petitarum, commiscuit. *In that dish he mixed the livers of Scare fish, the brains of Pheasants and Peacocks, the tongues of Phœnicopters, and the roes of Lampreys, for which the Fishermen and Masters of boats, ransacked the Sea from Parthia to the Straits of Gibraltar.* Suetonius, in Vitellio, cap. xiii.

ESPAGNE (JOHN D') a Native of *Dauphiné*, and Minister of the French Church in *London*, in the XVIIth Century, has published several small Tracts [A], and among others, one intituled, *Erreurs populaires és points generaux qui concernent l'intelligence de la Religion.*

It is acknowledged that he has very well explained the Doctrine of the Eucharist. He has criticised very freely a Book of *Calvin*, without any regard to the public and extraordinary Favour that Work had been honoured with [B].

[A] *He published several little Tracts.*] They were collected together in the *Geneva* Edition 167.... which is in three Volumes (1), in 12mo. This Author deserves to be read: his Book of popular Errors contains very good things. He dedicated it to *Charles* I King of *England*: he informs us in his Epistle Dedicatory, that the first of his Books was published by the command of King *James*. This shews that Mr *Allard* (2) is not exact as to the times, when he says that *John Despagne* was a Minister at *London* in 1662.

(1) The *Hague* Edition, 1674, contains but two Vols in 12mo.

(2) Bibliotheque de Dauphiné, pag. 87.

[B] *He has criticised ... a Work of Calvin, without any regard to the public Favour it had been honoured with.*] This Book of *Calvin* is a Catechism divided into Fifty five Sections. It serves for a Text to one of the Sunday's Sermons in the Churches of the *Geneva* Confession, and is one of their Liturgical Books. It was received with Applause as soon as it came out and has been translated into several Languages. 'Eodem anno, *that is in the Year* 1540 (3), scripsit (*Calvinus*) Catechismum Gallice & Latine ..... quem tanti fecerunt Calvinistæ, ut non modo vernaculis plurimis linguis, utpote Germanica, Anglica, Scotica, Belgica, Hispanica, sed etiam Hebraica donatus sit ab *Emanuële Tremelio*, & Græca ab *Henrico Stephano* (4).' This is the Book *John d'Espagne* criticised.

(3) I shall examine this Date in Remark [K] of the Article SCHULTINGIUS.

(4) Natalis Alexander, Histor. Eccles. *Tom. VIII, pag.* 135, *Edit.*

ESPAGNET (JOHN D') President of the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, was a learned Man of the XVIIth Century. He relished the new Philosophy, and gave public Marks of the Progress he had made in it [A]. He published in 1616 an old Manuscript,

[A] *He gave public marks of the Progress he had made in the new Philosophy.*] They ascribe a Book to him intituled, *La Philosophie naturelle des Anciens retablie en sa pureté* (1).

(1) See the Preface of the Sieur *de la Montagne*, prefixed to a book intituled *Le Monde dans la Lune*, (A World in the Moon) printed at *Roan* in 1656, in 8vo. It is a Translation of an English Book.

Let us enlarge this Remark a little, which was too short in the first Edition. 'There was printed at *Paris* a Book intituled *Enchyridion Physicæ restitutæ*, which is known to be the Work of *John d'Espagnet*, President of the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, both because some Persons of his Acquaintance have affirmed it, and also they conjecture the same, because at the beginning of the Book there is this device, *Spes mea est in igne*, and before the Treatise of Chemistry, *Pene nos unda Tagi*, which are two Anagrams of his Name. This Book may be said to be the first that appeared in *France*, wherein there is a compleat System of Physics contrary to that of *Aristotle*. Nevertheless the Author pretends that he has only re-established the ancient Philosophy: Though he has added many things of his own Invention. He confutes the Opinion of first matter (*Materia Prima*), which was held to be extended every where without being any where perceived, and incessantly desiring the Union of Forms without having any, being the basis and support of Contraries, to wit of the Elements which are said to be produced out of it. He shews that this System of Nature is an imaginary one, that there is no contrariety in the Elements, and that That which is observed in them proceeds from the excess of their Qualities, and that when they are tempered there is no contrariety in them. Nevertheless he believes that there is a *Materia prima* from whence the Elements result and become the second Matter of things, which are Earth and Water, for he holds neither the Air nor the Fire for Elements. The Elements according to his opinion are not transformed into each other: Water only becomes Vapour and Vapour Water by Circulation. He places the true Fire of the World in the Sun (3), which he calls not only the Eye of the Universe, but the Eye of the Creator of the Universe, by which he beholds in a sensible manner his Creatures, and which is the first Agent of the World. In the rest of his Book there are abundance of curious Particulars concerning the Origin of things, their subsistance and sundry Alterations, relating to the design this new Philosopher had to treat of Chemical things. Therefore he subjoins another Treatise intituled, *Arcanum Hermeticæ Philosophiæ opus*, in which he speaks of the Matter of the Philosopher's Stone and it's Digestions, of the Degrees of Fire, of the Figure of the Vessels, and

(3) *Not to think* the light of the Sun and all other light is spiritual, and that our material fire is in some sort spiritual. *See el, de la Perfection de l'Homme, p.* 250.

script, intituled *le Rozier des Guerres* [B], and added to it a Treatise of his own upon the Institution of a young Prince. It is of him that Father *Abram* speaks in his Commentary upon *Cicero*'s Orations [C].

I had forgot to observe, that in publishing the *Rozier des Guerres*, he did not imitate those who change the old Language of the Manuscripts they publish. He followed his Original with the utmost Exactness, and even kept punctually to the old Spelling. The Reason he gave for it will serve to confirm a Remark I have made upon the new Edition of Cardinal *d'Ossat*'s Letters (a) [D].

(a) See the Article *OSSAT*, in the Text towards the end.

' and Furnace, of the Composition of the Elixir and ' it's Multiplication. . . . . This Book was translated into *French* some Years ago under the Title of ' *La Philosophie des Anciens restablie en sa pureté.*

[B] *He published . . . . a Manuscript intituled* le Rozier des Guerres.] It was found at *Nerac* in the King's Closet. Mr *d'Espagnet* thought his Edition was the first, but he was mistaken. This Book had been printed in Folio in 1523; and that Edition is larger than that of 1616. In the Manuscript of *Nerac* there was wanting all the second Part, and the three last Chapters of the first (4). The Prologue alone is enough to convince us that *Lewis* XI is not the Author of that Work (5), as is assured in the Title: yet he speaks in it, to give Instructions to the Dauphin his Son. See the *Bibliotheque Choisie* of Mr *Colomiés* (6), and the Remark [Z] of the Article LEWIS XI.

(4) *See* Naudé, Addition à l'Histoire de Louis XI, pag. 723 *and in* Syntagm. de Studio Militari, *pag.* m. 78.

(5) Naudé, *ibid.*

(6) Pag. 26.

[C] *It is of him that Father Abram speaks in his Commentary upon Cicero's Orations.*] I make this Remark in favour of those who would be at a loss at the reading of these Words; *Atque etiam nunc pueros à fagis rapi solere, & daemonibus devoveri testatur Spagnetus in sua præfatione ad Petrum Ancboranum* (7). This signifies that the President *d'Espagnet*, in the Preface he had put to a Book of *Petur de Lancre*, Counsellor in the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, testifies that Witches steal Children and consecrate them to the Devil.

(7) Abram in Cicer. Orat. *Tom.* I, *p.* 494, *ed.* 2.

[D] *He retains punctually the old Spelling. The reason he gives for it will serve to confirm a Remark I made upon the new Edition of Cardinal d'Ossat's Letters.*] ' This little Tract, *du Rozier*, says he (8), ' seemed to me so good that I would not imbellish or ' disguise it, but have left it in it's native Simplicity: ' and tho' the Language of it is not in use in this ' Age, yet it may be understood, being so full of ' good sense and meaning, that with all its Jargon it ' may silence the affected Language of the Court and ' Bar. I have also carefully preserved the Spelling, ' because in adding or diminishing a Letter, a Word ' often is changed, and of old made new.' By this means, in my Judgment, they have corrupted the ' Language of *Philip de Commines* in his History: ' thinking to mend the Spelling, and polish the Diction, ' they have destroyed the marks of it's Antiquity. So ' that the Stile of his Book is not the Stile of his ' Age, as we may judge both by this little Manuscript, and by many others of the same Age, which ' are to be found in famous Libraries, especially by ' the History of *Charles* VI, written by *John Juvenal des Ursins*, and lately published by the Sieur *de Godefroy*. I imagine this Error proceeds from the insufficiency of the Correctors; who pretending to correct the Spelling have falsified it, and thereby ' render themselves Plagiaries.'

(8) Espagn. *in his Advertissement to the Reader.*

ESPINE (JOHN DE L') a Minister of the Reformed Church. See SPINA.

ESSARS (CHARLOTTE DES) Mistress of *Henry* the IV, King of *France*, and afterwards of the Cardinal *de Guise* (a), was married to the Marshal de l'HOSPITAL, as I have said elsewhere (b); but I must rectify here a Mistake which escaped me [A], and must add that this Lady meddled too much with great Intrigues [B].

(a) See Remark [B] of the Article *GUISE* (Lewis de Lorrain Cardinal de).

(b) In Remark [B] of the Article of that Marshal.

[A] *I must rectify here a mistake which escaped me.*] Trusting to Father *Anselme*, I thought that the Marshal *de l'Hospital* had married to his second Wife *Francis Mignot* in the Year 1633, from whence I concluded that he had repudiated his first Wife *Charlotte des Essars*, and I made some Reflexions upon this Subject. I drew this Consequence from Father *Anselme*'s having placed the Death of *Charlotte des Essars* in the Year 1651. Since the second Edition of this Dictionary, I have been informed that the Marshal's second Marriage was contracted in the Year 1653 (1). Therefore it cannot be pretended that the first was declared void. I had resolved to suppress my Reflexions; but some Persons, for whom I have much deference, have advised me to let them stand: they represented to me that they were only false in the particular Application of them to *Charlotte des Essars*, and that, provided I informed my Readers they were to be rectified in that respect, it would not be amiss to preserve a Passage which might justly be applied on many Occasions.

(1) See the Errata of Father *Anselme.*

[B] *She meddled too much with great Intrigues.*] I shall give but one instance of it. She had a Son in the Service of the Duke of *Lorrain*; a Son I say who called himself the Chevalier *de Remorantin*, whom she had by the Cardinal *de Guise*. She thought that the way to advance him would be to do some Service to the Duke of *Lorrain* by reconciling him to *France*, and getting him settled in his Dominions again. To this end she engaged Monsieur *du Hallier*, her Husband, who commanded in *Lorrain*, to advise the Court of *France* to treat with the Duke, and at the same time she solicited the Princess *de Canterroix*, whom the Duke had espoused, tho' he was already married, to use all her Power to persuade him to an Accommodation (2). A Negociation was agreed on by both Parties, which terminated in the Treaty of *St Germain* in 1641; but the Duke not performing his Promises, and not finding himself in a Condition to maintain himself, retired with his Troops to his old Post between the *Sambre* and the *Meuse*. ' To colour at least his Retreat, he dispatched a Courier ' to Cardinal *Richlieu*, to inform him that what had ' made him retire, was not that he intended to violate his Treaty; but that the fear Madam *du Hallier* ' had created in him, that there was a Design ' to seize him, was the only cause of it. To ' prove that this fear was not without Foundation, ' he sent him a Note written with that Lady's own ' Hand, to the Lady Superiour of the Congregation ' of *Nanci*, named *Angelica*, her great Confident, in ' which she desired her to let him know that the ' Court took such umbrage at his Conduct, that they ' were thinking of the means of seizing his Person. ' The Cardinal was so incensed, that Madam *du Hallier* should presume to give such Information, that ' her Husband who was then employed in recovering the small places of *Lorrain*, and set down before *Chati*, received an Order from the King, by an ' express Courier, to send his Wife to one of his ' Houses, to change the Major of the Garrison of ' *Nanci*, and to put one in his place named *Belcastel*, ' who was not his Friend, and after the Reduction ' of *Chatè* to come to Court, and give an account ' of his own and his Wife's Actions (3) . . . . . ' Mons. *du Hallier* exactly obeyed the King's Commands, and as he was always beloved by him, and esteemed of an uncorruptible Fidelity, he was sent ' back some time after into *Lorrain* with an Order ' to retake all the places that had been surrendered ' to the Duke, and reduce them to his Majesty's Obedience. As for his Wife, whose Ambition they ' had reason to distrust, she was obliged to remain in ' the House she had been banished to (4).

(2) Mémoirs de Beauvau, pag. 70, 71.

(3) Ibid. p. 76.

(4) Ibid. p. 77.

ESSÉ (ANDREW DE MONTALEMBERT LORD) *one of the most noble and ancient Families of* Poitou, commanded in *Landrecy*, when the Emperor *Charles* the Vth besieged the Place in 1543. He defended it so well, *with a Garrison overwhelmed with misery and ruined Fortifications*, that the Emperor was obliged to retire, the fifth of *November*, after a Siege of three Months and a half. In reward of this Service, *d'Essé* obtained the Post of Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to *Francis* I. He was sent into *Scotland* by *Henry* II, to command the Army which that Prince sent thither to the Assistance of the *Scots* against the *English*. He behaved with great Bravery, and at his return was made Knight of the Order. 'It was he also that defended *Teroüenne* against 'the Army of *Charles* V; and at last was killed in the Breach, after he had withstood 'three furious Assaults which lasted ten Hours. By his Death he was deprived of the 'Dignity of a Marshal of *France*, which was designed for him according to *du Bouchet*, Author of the Annals of *Aquitain*. *Mezerai* says, in the History of *France*, 'That he is the immortal Honour of *Perigord*, being mistaken with respect to the Name 'of his Country, since he was of *Poitou*. *Brantome* speaks largely of him under the 'Name of *d'Essé* (a).

(a) Taken from a Letter in the Mercure Galant of Augustus, pag. 3[illegible], & seq.

ESTAMPES (a), in Latin *Stampe*, a City of *France* in the *Beausse*, with the Title of Duchy; it is situated upon the River *Juine*, between *Paris* and *Orleans* in a pretty fruitful Country. It has a Bailiwic, Provostship, Election, Marshalsea, and Granary of Salt, two Collegiate Churches of Royal Foundation, one under the Title of *Nôtre Dame*, with a Dignitary and ten or eleven Canons, and the other under the Title of *Sainte Croix*, with two Dignitaries and nineteen Canons, five Parishes and several Religious Houses. King *Robert* laid the first Foundations of the Castle of *Estampes*, which was destroyed at the Request of the Inhabitants in the beginning of the Reign of *Henry* IV. The Prince of *Condé* put part of the Troops that *d'Andelot* had brought out of *Germany* into Garrison here in 1562, who, for the six Weeks they continued there, cruelly oppressed the Inhabitants, and especially the Ecclesiastics. This City is of the ancient Domain of the Crown. King *Charles* IV, erected it into an Earldom, in favour of his Cousin *Charles d'Evreux*, before it was a Barony, as appears by the Letters creating it an Earldom, dated in the Month of *September* 1327. Upon it's return to *Charles* VII he gave it in 1421 to *Richard* of *Bretagne*, and afterwards, upon it's being re-united to the Crown, *Lewis* XI gave it to *John de Foix*. The Letters of Donation are of the Month of *April* 1498. *Gaston de Foix*, Son of *John*, having been killed at the battle of *Ravenna*, *Anne* of *Bretagne*, Wife of *Lewis* XII, became Countess of *Estampes*, by the Donation of it from the King her Husband, in the Month of *June* 1513. After the Death of that Princess, which happened the Year following, the Earldom of *Estampes* devolved to Madam *Claude* of *France*, her eldest Daughter, who was afterwards married to *Francis* I, then Duke of *Valois*. This good Princess being dead the King gave it to *John de la Barre*. After his Death, *Francis* I erected *Estampes* into a Duchy, in favour of *John de la Brosse* of *Bretagne*, and *Anne de Puisseleu* his Wife, who was greatly in the King's Favour. Her Name is well known in History. *Henry* II. dispossessed them of this Duchy in 1553, to gratifie with it *Diana* of *Poitiers*, his Favourite, Wife of *Lewis de Brezé*, Great Seneschal of *Normandy*. *Charles* IX coming to the Crown, he restored it to *John de la Brosse* in the Month of *April* 1562. He dying without Issue, *Henry* III gratified Duke *John Casimir* with it in 1576; but he renouncing it the following Year, the King gave it, by Engagement, to the Duchess of *Montpensier*, from whom he took it again to give it to *Margaret de Valois*, his Sister, Queen of *Navarre*, and that Princess bestowed it some years after upon *Gabriel de Estrée*, Duchess of *Beaufort*, who left it to *Cæsar* Duke of *Vendosme*, Natural Son to King *Henry* IV. The illustrious Posterity of this Prince are still in Possession of it. Some pretend that *Artus Gouffier*, Great Master of *France*, was Count *d'Estampes*. The Act of Donation is not to be found: if that were so, the Possession of Madam *Clauda* of *France* was interrupted: However, that Lord did not enjoy it long, he dying in 1518. During the Troubles of 1652, the City of *Estampes*, to the great regret of the Inhabitants, always loyal to their King, was, by a perfidious Man, delivered to the Army of the Princes; but was immediately besieged by the King's Army, who, after they had been six Weeks before the City, and made several Attacks, in which great Numbers were killed on both sides, were at last forced to raise the Siege, to march against the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was coming to the Assistance of the Princes with an Army of nine or ten thousand Men.

(a) See the Advertisement on the second Edition.

COUNCILS of ESTAMPES.

The City of *Estampes* has been honoured with several Provincial, and one National Council. It is not known what was the Cause of the first: it was held in 1048, and convened by *Gerduin*, Archbishop of *Sens*; what follows is found in the Life of the Archbishops of *Sens*. *Gerduinus Synodum Stampis habuit anno* 1048, *in qua Imbertus Parisiensis*,

risiensis, Ysambertus Aurelianensis, Maynardus Trecensis, Hugo Nivernensis, Gilbertus Antissiodorensis, & Galtherius Meldensis, adfuere Rege Henrico præsente. The second was assembled by *Richerius*, Archbishop of *Sens*, in the Year 1092, on Account of the Ordination of *Yves des Chartres*, performed by *Urban* II. The Archbishop pretended, that *Yves* was guilty of High-Treason, for getting himself ordained out of the Kingdom without the King's Permission; and therefore that he ought to be deposed. The third was held in 1112. *Diambert*, Archbishop of *Sens*, presided in it. At first Complaint was made of the ill Conduct of the Bishop of *Troies*, upon which the Council wrote to him. Afterwards they proceeded to the Consecration of a Bishop of *Nevers*, and then made several Regulations for the Reformation of Manners. The National Council held at *Estampes* in 1130, was assembled by the Care of *Lewis the Burley*; it was to know what part he should take between Pope *Innocent* II and *Peter de Leon*, called *Anacletus* II. St *Bernard*, who was present at it, said openly, that *Innocent* had been canonically elected, and that they could not legally proceed to a new Election. The whole Council conformed to the Judgment of St *Bernard*, and *Innocent* was acknowledged for the true and lawful Successor of St *Peter*. The Pope came on purpose from *Chartres* to *Estampes*, to give the Inhabitants Marks of his Thankfulness; he staid there two Days, and lodged in the Abbey of *Morigni* of St *Bennet*'s Order, half a quarter of a League from *Estampes*. This is what we learn from the Chronicle of that Abbey, who never acknowledged any other Superior than the Archbishop of *Sens*. *Lewis the Young*, before his Journey into the East, assembled his Parliament at *Estampes*, and left the Regency of the Kingdom to *Ralph*, Count of *Vermandois*, and to *Suger*, Abbot of *St Denis*. In the Contest between *Alexander* III and Cardinal *Octavian*, who took the Name of *Victor*, the same Prince assembled the Gallican Church at *Estampes* in 1160, to know whom he ought to acknowledge, and, upon the Judgment of the Bishops, the King adhered to *Alexander*.

ESTAMPES (Anne de Pisseleu Duchess d') Mistress of *Francis* I. That Prince fell in Love with her soon after he was released from his Confinement. She was then Maid of Honour to the Queen Regent (*a*), and was called Mademoiselle *de Heilli* [*A*]. She followed that Princess, who went to meet the King her Son upon the Frontiers of *Spain* [*B*]. The King diverted himself with her as much as he pleased, and tho' no body doubted of it, yet he found out a Husband for her, whom he created Duke of *Estampes* [*C*]. This Marriage did not prevent her from keeping her former Post with the King. She rose to the highest Degree of Favour [*D*], which continued during the King's

(*a*) Louisa of Savoy, Mother of Francis I.

[*A*] *She . . . . . was called Mademoiselle de Heilli.*] She was the Daughter of WILLIAM DE PISSELEU, Lord of *Heilli*, and of *Anne Sanguin*, his second Wife (1). He was married three times, and had thirty Children. He was the Son of JOHN DE PISSELEU, Lord of *Heilli*, *who had the Honour to be one of the Knights at the Coronation of Lewis XI, and who was considerable enough to marry Joanna de Draux, a Princess of the Royal Blood, after the Death of Mary de Hargicourt, his first Wife, the Mother of William, Father of the Duchess of Estampes* (2).

(1) Le Laboureur, Addit. aux Mémoir. de Castelnau, *Tom. I, pag.* 863.

(2) Ibid.

[*B*] *She had followed the Queen Regent . . . . . to the Frontiers of Spain.*] According to Mr *Varillas* (3), the Regent excited this new Passion in the King, without intending it, *by carrying as far as the Mount Marsan the young Anne de Pisseleu, who was called Madam Heilli, to meet him, and who was just come into the Family of that Princess in quality of a Maid of Honour.* All the Historians agree, that the Regent went as far as *Bayonne*, and Mr *Varillas* had affirmed the same ten Pages before. Why then does he shorten the Journey here? Does he mean, that she left her Maids of Honour at Mount *Marsan*, and pursued her Journey to *Bayonne* without this Part of her Train? But is not this giving out Paradoxes at Pleasure? The Author of the Galantries of the Kings of *France* having only copied *Varillas*, with respect to *Francis* I, ask me not if he stops at Mount *Marsan*. I cannot persuade myself but that *Brantome* is mistaken when he pretends, that Madam, the Regent, *presented Madam Heilli to King Francis upon his Return from Spain to Bourdeaux* (4).

(3) Varillas, Hist. de François I, *Liv. VI, p.* 101, *at the year* 1526.

(4) Brantôme, Dames Galantes, *Tom. II, p.* 394.

[*C*] *The King found out a Husband for her.*] She married *John de Brosse*, the Son of *René de Brosse*, and *Joanna*, the Daughter of *Philip de Comines*. This *René* had followed the Duke of *Bourbon*, and was killed at the Battle of *Pavia*, the Twenty fourth of *February*, 1525. *By an Arrêt of the Parliament of Paris, made the thirteenth Day of April*, 1522, *he had been condemned to lose his Head, and afterwards to be hanged, and his Estate to be confiscated.* He was descended from *John de Brosse* and *Nicole de Chatillon*, surnamed of *Bretagne*, Countess of *Penthevr*, a very rich Heiress, which *John de Brosse was the only Son of John de Brosse, Marshal of France, who descended from Father to Son from the ancient Viscounts of Limoges. John de Brosse*, the Son of *René*, *imploring in vain the Benefit of the Treaty of Madrid*, to enter again upon the Possession of the Estate his Father had lost by his Rebellion, and finding no other Method of obtaining it, but that of becoming a Cuckold, he resolved to marry Madam *de Heilli*. The King, in Consideration of this Marriage, restored his Estate to him, and added the Duchy of *Estampes* to it (5), and also made him Knight of the Order, and Governor of *Bretagny*. The new Duke of *Estampes* was not the happier for all this; for 'besides that 'all his Wealth and Grandeur were derived to him 'from a poisoned Spring, in which he durst not be'hold himself for fear of seeing a Monster in his own 'Person, he enjoyed them with so little Pleasure, 'that, as he only served for a Cover to his Wife, 'he not only possessed them no otherwise than in 'Name, but also paid very dear for them (6).' Having no Children, his Estate went to *Sebastian* of *Luxembourg*, Viscount *de Martigues*, his Sister *Charlotte*'s Son, and Father of an only Daughter, who was the Wife of *Emanuel* of *Lorrain*, Duke of *Mercœur* (7)

(5) Taken from Mr le Labourer, ubi supra.

(6) Ibid. p. 864.

(7) Ibidem.

[*D*] *She rose to the highest Degree of Favour.*] Which she made use of to enrich her Family. By her Recommendation *Anthony Sanguin*, her Uncle, became *Abbot of Fleury, Bishop of Orleans, Cardinal, and at last Archbishop of Toulouse. She gave to Charles, her second Brother, the Abbey of Bourgueil, and Bishopric of Condom. Francis*, her third Brother, *was Abbot of St Cornille of Compiegne, and Bishop of Amiens*; and the fourth, named *William*, *was provided with the Bishopric of Pamiers. Two of her Sisters were Abbesses, one of Maubuisson, and the other of St Paul in Beauvoisis: she married the others into the Families of Barbançon, Canni, and of Chabot Jarnac, and the last and best beloved had no Children by Francis de Bretagne, Count de Vertus and Guello, Baron of Avaugour. From Adrian de Pisseleu, Lord of Heilli, her eldest*

King's life: Her furious Jealousy against the Dauphin's Mistress (*b*), put her upon a notorious Act of Treachery [*E*], in which the Cardinal of *Lorrain* skreened her from the Punishment

(*b*) It was Diana de Poitiers, Widow of the Great Seneschal of Normandy.

(8) Ibidem.

eldest Brother, are descended the other Lords of Heilli, down to the present time (8). There are some Historians who pretend, that this Duchess, the Constable of *Montmorenci*, and the Admiral *Chabot*, *had the best share in the Management of Affairs* (9); and that *Charles* V, fearing to be stopped at the Court of *Francis* I, found no better Expedient than to gain this Woman, *who absolutely governed the King* (10). He gained her by the Present of a rich Ring, which he let fall on purpose that the Duchess might take it up, and that he might tell her, in a gallant manner, that he would not take what had fallen into so good Hands (11). *Mezerai* rejects this *as a meer Story* (12); but he confesses (13), that the King *could refuse nothing to that Lady*, and that she had Credit enough, 1, To contribute very much to restore the Admiral *Chabot* to favour, who had been degraded, and declared unworthy of his Offices by a solemn Arrêt: 2, To ruin the Chancellor *Poyet*. *His Misfortune, as it is reported*, says he (14), speaking of this Chancellor, *came out of the Lady's Anti-Chamber*. The Duchess had obtained Letters Royal for *la Renaudie*, who was at Law with *du Tillet*, and *who carried them to the Seal, with a Recommendation from that Lady. The Chancellor, who supported du Tillet, refused to seal, unless some Alterations were made in it of some things which were not to his Mind. The Lady, being informed of this, was provoked at the Contempt to the last Degree*, and cruelly revenged it; for she persuaded the King to commit the Chancellor to Prison, and afterwards a thundering Arrêt of Parliament was issued out against him. Some Historians say (15), that she had a great Share in the Disgrace of the Constable; but they also say, that the Queen of *Navarre* joined with that Duchess to ruin the Chancellor. *La Renaudie*'s Letters Royal were shewed to the King, with the Alterations that *Poyet* had made in them, and they represented to that Prince, that this struck at his Authority (16)' He was contented ' to tell ' *la Renaudie* to carry back his Letters to the Chancellor, and to command him positively, in his Majesty's Name, to dispatch them without any Alteration. ' *La Renaudie* returned to the Chancellor, and delivered his Message in an arrogant Stile, in the Presence of the Queen of *Navarre*, who was then soliciting him for one of her Domestics, convicted of having carried off a very rich Heiress. The Chancellor ..... took *la Renaudie*'s Letters, and shewing them to the Queen of *Navarre*, added, *This is the good Ladies do at Court; they are not satisfied with exercising their Empire there, but proceed to violate the Laws, and dictate to the most consummate Magistrates in the Exercise of their Office.* Though the Chancellor intended what he said only against the Duchess, yet, unhappily for him, the Queen of *Navarre* took it also to herself, because the Terms were equivocal, and might extend as well to the Solicitation she had been making to the Chancellor for the Rape her Servant had committed, as to the Violence they did him, in forcing him to seal *la Renaudie*'s Letters..... No sooner was she out of the Chancellor's House, than she went directly to the Duchess, to inform her of that Magistrate's Resentment; nor did she leave her till they had concerted the means to discredit him with the King.' It must be confessed, it is a great Unhappiness that the Fate of People, their Favour, their Disgrace, should depend upon the Fancy of a Coquet, who scandalizes a whole Kingdom by the criminal Conversation she openly maintains with the Prince: but if any body should pretend to be surprized and astonished at it, and should cry out, *ô tempora, ô mores*, he would justly pass for a Stranger to the World. For he would admire, as an extraordinary thing, what was always very common, and is so still (17), and, according to all appearances, will be so to the end of the World. What comforts the discontented Mind is, that these Coquet Powers are very much exposed to the Wheel of Fortune (18).

(9) Varillas, ubi supra, lib. IX, pag. m. 370.

(10) Idem, pag. 389.

(11) Idem, pag. 390, 391.

(12) Mezerai, Hist. de France, in folio, Tom. II, pag. 1007.

(13) Idem, pag. 1008, at the year 1540.

(14) Idem, pag. 1014, at the year 1542.

(15) Varillas, Hist. de François I, Liver. IX, pag. 397.

(16) Idem, pag. 413.

(17) Casus multis hic cogn tus. Et è medio fortunæ ductus acervo. *Juvenal. Sat. XIII, ver.* 9.

(18) See Remark [I], of the Article ESOP, the first.

[*E*] *Put her upon a notorious Act of Treachery*] The Duchess of *Estampes* perceiving *Francis* I to decline every day in his Health, and fearing the worst Extremities after the Death of that Prince, either because she could not hope that her Husband would take her again, or because the Dauphin's Mistress would have the whole Power; the Duchess, I say, in this Situation, held Intelligence with *Charles* V. She was not ignorant of the hatred there was between the two Brothers, the Dauphin and the Duke of *Orleans*: this furnished her with Overtures for her Negociations: she inclined the Emperor to favour the Faction of the Duke of *Orleans*; and as soon as she knew his Imperial Majesty was disposed to give that young Prince the Investiture of the *Milanese*, or *Low-Countries*, ' she entered into so strict a Correspondence with the Emperor, that there was no Secret passed, either at Court, or in the Council, which he was not punctually informed of: and indeed the first Letter he received, by the Count's means (19), did him so great a Service, that it saved his Person and his whole Army (20).' He was then in *Champaign* with a very powerful Army; but he wanted Provisions, ' so that the Soldiers were upon the Point of deserting, when the Count writ him a Note, the Substance of which was, that the Dauphin had large Stores of all sorts of Provisions, for the Subsistance of his Army, in *Epernay*: that the Town was weak of itself; but the *French* imagined the Emperor would not attempt to surprize it, the River *Marne* being between it and him: that there had been an Order given to break down the only Bridge by which they could pass; but that the Duchess had so artfully eluded the Execution of it, that the Bridge was still in a Condition to be serviceable: from whence the Count concluded, that his Imperial Majesty had nothing to do but to make haste, in order to have wherewithal to refresh his own Army, and to throw the *French* Army into the same Straits from whence he had been delivered. The Emperor made use of this Information, and appeared before *Epernay*, when it was least expected, the terrified Inhabitants of which opened the Gates to him. He was still in the Transports of this Conquest, which restored his Affairs, when he received a second Note from the Count, telling him that there was in *Chateau Thierri* another Magazine of Meal and Corn, no less considerable than that of *Epernay*. That there were then no Troops appointed to guard it; and that if the Dauphin lost it, it would be impossible for him to follow his Imperial Majesty's Army so close as to prevent it's principal Progress. The Emperor, allured by the prodigious Benefit he received from the first Advice, turned towards *Chateau-Thierri*, which he forced with very little Loss, the Inhabitants, who had received no supply of Troops, not being able to withstand the Assault. The abundance of all things which was found therein, even beyond the Hopes of the Imperialists, &c (21).' The Court of *France*, reduced to strange Extremities, did all ' that could be done in such a Conjuncture: but the Secret, which should have been the Soul of this great Affair, was not kept, and *France* would infallibly have changed it's Master, if something superior to humane Reason had not prevented the approaching Revolution it was threatened with. The Dauphin acted entirely in concert with the King, his Father, and the King took no Measures which the Duchess did not immediately give the Emperor notice of by the Count *de Bossu* (22).' The Consternation was so great in *Paris*, that the richest Citizens fled *with their most valuable Effects, some towards Orleans, and others to the side of Beau* (23). One Woman was the cause of all this Disorder (24). *Dux fœmina facti*. A Woman would at that time have overthrown the Monarchy, if *Charles* the Fifth's Head had not turned giddy, or if secret Jealousies had not arose between him and *Henry* VIII, King of *England* (25), with whom he had before-hand divided the whole Kingdom. *Francis* I came off at an easy rate, and found himself at Peace in the Month of *September* the same Year (26).

(19) It was the Count *de Bossu*, who managed the Duchess of *Estampes*'s affairs, and negotiated for her with *Charles V*. He was of the House of *Longueval*.

(20) Varillas, Hist. de François I, Liver. IX, pag. 107, at the year 1544.

(21) Id. ibid.

(22) Ibid. pag. 103.

(23) Ibid. pag. 104.

(24) The Description *Mezerai* has made, *Tom. II, in folio, pag.* 1031, of the consternation of the *Parisians*, is comical. The Inns always were plundered upon the road, and the women ravished.

(25) He was at the same time upon the coast of *Picardy*, taking towns.

(26) The Treaty of *Crespi* was concluded the 18th of *Sept.* 1544.

As Mr *Varillas* always took a Pleasure in telling things that are uncommon and wonderful, I should not much depend upon his Account, if I did not find the Substance of the same in *Mezerai*. ' The *French* Army, *says he* (27), had Plenty of Provisions, while ' the

(27) *Vol. II, in fol. pag.* 1031.

Punishment it deserved [F], and which would have brought *France* under the Power of Foreigners, if *Charles* V had known how to improve the Opportunity. As she had used her Husband very ill (c), she had no resource after the Death of *Francis* I, and saw herself reduced to spend the rest of her Life in a Country-Seat [G]. It is said she lived there in the Reformed Religion [H]. The Duke of *Estampes* had caused Informations

(c) See Remarks [C], [F], and [Z].

the Imperialists were in such want of every thing, that, in a few Days, they must have perished, if the Treason of a Woman had not restored them to Strength and Vigour. There were at that time two Parties at Court, that of the Lady *d'Estampes*, the King's Mistress, and that of *Diana de Poitiers*, the Dauphin's Mistress. The former of these Ladies, stimulated with a serious Jealousy against the other, ... adhered to the Interests of the Duke of *Orleans*, that she might have a Support in that Prince, if the King should die . . . . . and informed the Emperor of all that passed in the Council, trusting to the fine Promises he made her, that in case a Peace could be concluded, he would make the Duke of *Orleans* one of the most powerful Princes in *Europe*. And it is said (28), that when he was in such pressing Necessities, that he could no otherwise have saved his Life and Army, than by surrendering it into the Hands of his Enemies, she gave him Advice that there was a great Quantity of Provisions at *Epernay*, one of the Magazines of our Camp, and that the Dauphin having commanded a Captain of Foot to break down the Bridge, and throw into the River all the Provisions they could not carry off in three Days, she retarded the Execution of this Order by the Contrivance of *Longueval*, who was her Confident, and intimate Friend. So that the Enemy, finding Store of Provisions and Plunder in this Town, and still a greater in *Chateau Thierri*, which they surprized by Advice from the same Lady, refreshed themselves to the full, *&c.*'

(28) Mezerai speaks more positively in the Life of Henry II. Nicholas Bossu-Longueval, says he, pag. 1058, Vol. II, who was of the Lady Estampes's Cabal, accused NOT WITHOUT REASON of having offered the Imperialists to take Epernay and Château-Thierri, redeemed his life by his fine house at Marches near Leon, which he gave to the Abp of Rheims by a pretended sale. See the following Remark.

[F] *In which the Cardinal of Lorrain screened her from the Punishment she deserved.*] I shall make use of *Varillas*'s Words to explain this whole Mystery of Iniquity. Here is what he says in relating the State of Affairs, the first Year of the Reign of *Henry* II. 'The Count *de Bossu* was the principal Cause of the Progress the Emperor made in *Champaign* before the Treaty of *Crepi*, and it was imagined that the sole Protection of the Duchess of *Estampes* was capable of exempting him from Punishment. After the Favour of that Lady expired with the King, they thought of bringing *Bossu* to Justice; and it was believed, that his Prosecution would serve to maintain the Reputation of *France*, by letting Foreigners know, that if the Emperor had advanced so near the Capital City, it was only by means of an infamous Treason, the Punishment of which had been deferred, but not omitted. *Bossu* was not wanting to himself in such a dangerous Juncture, and knowing himself guilty, sought for Protection from the Cardinal of *Lorrain* alone (29).' He let him know, that he would give him *his Castle of Marchez, provided his Person and other Effects in France were secured to him* (30). This Proposal was accepted: the Cardinal solicited *Bossu*'s Pardon. 'The Expedient, which was of most service to him, was to shew the King, that the Count *de Bossu*'s Crime was common to him with the Duchess of *Estampes*: and that consequently he could not be legally prosecuted, without involving the Duchess in the same, and blemishing the beginning of his Reign with a remarkable and unnecessary Affront to the Memory of his Father, by leaving to the Vengeance of public Justice the Object he had so tenderly loved for near Twenty two Years. The King yielded to this Reason, though it was not an unanswerable one, and *Bossu* got happily off (31).

(29) Varillas, Hist. de Hen. II, Liv. I, pag. 67, at the year 1547.

(30) He proposed this by *Nicholas de Pisseu* his Sister's son, one of the Cardinal's Domestics.

(31) Varillas, ubi supra, Liv. I, pag. 68.

[G] *She found herself reduced to spend the rest of her Days in a Country-seat.*] Here is what *Mezerai* says of it, speaking of the Alterations at Court after the Death of *Francis* I. 'As for the Lady *d'Estampes*, she retired to one of her Houses, despised by all, and by her Husband himself, who was *John de Brosse*, where she lived yet some Years in the secret Exercise of the Reformed Religion, corrupting abundance of other Persons by her Example (32).' Mr *Varillas* reasons at large upon the Motives which induced the Seneschal's Lady (33) not to carry her Revenge to the utmost Extremity, and he concludes with these Words (34): 'Be that as it will, she was contented to shew an Indifference for every thing that concerned the Duchess, and left her peaceably to enjoy what she had got in the preceding Reign, although there was enough in her Conduct to have exposed her to the Rigour of the Laws. It was easy to see that the Duchess of *Estampes* was happier in this Point than the body, because herself would have thought, since every Courtier concluded that would be ruined. She retired to one of the Country Houses she had purchased; where she bore the Absence and Hatred of the Duke of *Estampes*, her Husband, with the less Trouble, as she never made much Value for him. Private Memoirs do not discover the Cause of this; but it is allowed to conjecture from the Verbal Protests of that Duke against her, which is found among the Manuscripts of *Lomenie*, one would think that either he had but little Sense, or was very insensible (35), since he contributed to his own Infamy, by defaming his Wife that with as much Care, as Persons of his Quality, if they are prudent, take to establish or increase their Reputation.

(32) Mezerai, Tom. II, in folio, pag. 1058.

(33) That is, *Diana of Poitiers*, Mistress to *Henry* II.

(34) Varillas, Hist. de Henri II, liv. I, at the year 1542.

(35) These words are remarked with Care in the Remark [K].

[H] *It is said she lived there in the Reformed Religion.*] We have already seen what *Mezerai* says upon this Particular. He is not so copious as *Varillas*, who seeks for the Motives of it, and relates several Circumstances. 'The Judgments of God, says he (36), are terrible against habitual Sins, and particularly against those which are contrary to Purity. The Duchess of *Estampes* had lived One and twenty Years in public Disorder, and Calvinism appeared to her the properest of all the Sects to stifle the Remorse of her Conscience, because on the one hand it took away the Necessity of Confession; and on the other hand it declared, that all Men were equally Enemies to God, and were only distinguished one from another by an imputative Justice. Nothing was more commodious to encourage the Duchess of *Estampes* in her Crimes than these two Maxims; and she became so thoroughly convinced of the Truth of them, that she not only turned Calvinist, but she protected also, so much as she could, without too much discovering herself, those that had been seized for the new Heresy, and would have been irretrievably condemned to the Stake. For this she had need of all her Charms, and all her Art; for though the Love *Francis* I had for her the first time he saw her at Mount *Marsan*, where she accompanied the Duchess of *Angoulême*, his Mother, in Quality of Maid of Honour, was not diminished: nevertheless, in all Probability, if he had known that she had been a Calvinist, he would have spared her as little as he did his Valet de Chambre *Minon*, whom he reproved in such a manner for the same Fault, that he ran mad, and upon going out of the *Louvre*, threw himself headlong to the first Well he could light upon. But after the Death of *Francis* I, the Duchess of *Estampes* did not think herself obliged to observe such a profound Dissimulation as she had done before. She lived like a Calvinist at her House in the Country; and the only Precaution she took was not to keep a Minister. She went no more to Mass but upon solemn Days, and was not content with perverting those of her Domestics, who had the weakness to change their Religion to please her, and with turning away the rest but farther, she spent only so much of the great Estate she had got while she was in favour, as was absolutely necessary for the Subsistence of her Family, paying the remainder in a place which was then called *la Boete à Perrine*; that is to say, into the Hands of those who distributed it among poor Calvinists, or who employed it in corrupting poor Mechanics, or country People, who made no Scruple to renounce the ancient Religion; because, when they gave them Money, they assured them they should want nothing for the future, provided they embraced the new Religion, and persevered in it.

(36) Hist. de Henri II, liv. I, pag. 34.

mations to be made against her [I], in which a wonderful thing happened, viz. *Henry* II underwent the Interrogatories in Favour of that unhappy Husband. Mr *Varillas* was ignorant

Reflexions upon this Account of *Varillas* concerning the Calvinisme of the Duchess of *Estampes*.

I shall make two Reflexions upon this Account. The first is my wonder at the Silence of *Theodore Beza*. If it is true, that the Duchess of *Estampes* was so extreamly charitable towards those of the Reformed Religion, and contributed so largely to increase the number of the Protestants, certainly he must have known it. How comes it to pass then, that his History of the Churches, wherein there are abundance of things of less Importance, should have nothing concerning that Lady? I grant, that for political Reasons he may have affected not to join her with the Queen of *Navarre*, as *Maimbourg* has done (37), in persuading *Francis* I to hear the Protestant Preachers. I grant, he might think it would reflect Dishonour upon the Reformation, if it was confessed, that That Lady, actually immersed in a public Adultery, favoured the new Religion; but I ask, why should he observe the same Conduct with respect to the good Offices she did the Cause during her Retirement? Was it a Scandal to the Reformation, that such a Woman should make Profession of it? A Woman I say, who had criminally lost her Virginity; who afterwards had been false to her Husband, to her Galant (38), to her King, to her Country; who had abused his Favour to commit a thousand Acts of Injustice; to whom, in short, all *France* might impute the Misfortune of so many Families ruined, and so many Women ravished, the Shame of an injurious Treaty of Peace, and the loss of a very favourable Opportunity to destroy the Army of *Charles* V, and gloriously to revenge all the Affronts they had received of that mortal Enemy of the *French* Name? But, besides that *Theodore Beza* might be ignorant of the detestable Intrigues of that Duchess with *Charles* V, and the black and vile Ingratitude she was guilty of to a King, who loved her so tenderly, would we have this Minister more nice than the Scriptures? Did the Evangelists make any difficulty of publishing, that *Mary Magdalen* followed Jesus Christ? Did not the Apostles place *Rahab*, the Harlot (39), among the Cloud of the most Illustrious Witnesses that the Old Testament can furnish us with, for the support of our Faith? What harm could it do the Reformed Churches, that their Historian should confess, that a Mistress of the Great King *Francis* I, convinced of the Vanities of the Court, should renounce the Papal Superstitions, and give Glory to Truth, in order to expiate her past Guilt? I conclude then, that *Theodore Beza*, and such as he, having made no mention of a Fact they could not be ignorant of, and which they had no good Reason to suppress, we ought to suspend our Belief of it, till good Proof is brought for it. I know, that the modern Author of the History of the Edict of *Nantz* assures us (40), that *this Duchess openly favoured the Lutherans, and that after the King's Death she lived very much retired, in all the Exercises of the Protestant Religion, professing with all her Power those that made Profession of it*; but as I am persuaded he says this only upon *Mezerai*'s Word, I do not alter my Opinion.

My second Reflexion is concerning the Controversies, with which Mr *Varillas* has intermeddled in such a manner, as to provoke some choleric Divines to give him a thousand hard Names. I do not believe, that any Sect of Christians have Doctrines which can fit a Woman sunk into a habit of Adultery in the sight of the World; but of all the Western Communions none should have been less to the Taste of *Francis* the First's Mistress, than what they call Calvinism; for that proclaims open War, not only with Adultery and Galantry, but also with the Vanities of the Court, Gaming, Dancing, and loose Discourse. Judge if such a Gospel as this could be a great Temptation to our Duchess of *Estampes*. The Historian's two Reasons are very bad ones; for Confession is not the only means to awaken the Conscience, nor is it a very forcible means to awaken it. *Diana* of *Poitiers* was no better than the Duchess of *Estampes*, though *Varillas* informs us (41), that she had a prodigious Aversion for the Anti-Catholics. Nay more: That Author confesses, that, during the Life of *Francis* I, that Duchess durst not declare her Sentiments. She was forced then to submit to the Austerities of the *Roman* Discipline, Fasts, Confession, &c. What would she have got by following internally the System of *Calvin*? If she found any thing commodious in it, she was not allowed to take the Benefit of it: so that the whole Charm of it was taken away, and the Allurement lost it's Force. Add to this, that she could not inwardly adhere to Calvinism, without believing, that, by assisting at Mass, she committed the greatest of all Crimes, and consequently nothing was more likely to torment her Conscience, than to follow the Faith of the Reformers in a Court where she was obliged to profess regularly the Catholic Religion. For as to the Doctrine of Imputative Justice, Mr *Varillas* judges of it, as a blind Man does of Colours, since all the Protestants acknowledge, that That Justice is of no Service without Repentance: therefore it is not true, that it is the only thing which distinguishes the good Men from the bad.

(37) Hist. du Calvinisme, livr. i, pag. m. 22.

(38) It is very probable the Count *du Bossu* lay with her. Weigh well *Monsieur*'s Expressions above, Citat. (27). See also Remark [I], and consult *Brantôme Vie de Henri* II, *pag.* 6.

(39) *Hebr.* xi, 31.

(40) Tom. I, livr. i, p. 8, 9.

(41) Varillas, Hist. de Hen. II, Livr. I, *pag.* 36.

Since the first Edition of this Dictionary, I have discovered that *Florimond de Remond* has said something of the pretended Lutheranism of the Duchess of *Estampes*. He places her in the number of those Ladies that the Lutherans *had inveigled*, and who gave them Access to the Queen of *Navarre*, Sister to *Francis* I. He puts into the same Catalogue *the Lady Cani, and the Lady Peisselu, Sister to this Duchess*, and he affirms, that *these gained some others. The Conquest of these simple Souls*, adds he, *and of this weak Sex, was very easy; for the Rigour of the Laws, and Rules of the Church, and particularly the Trouble of Confession, was insupportable to many among them* (42). But besides that he quotes no Author, he instils so little upon this Fact, gives so few Particulars, is so destitute of Circumstances, that I cannot change my Opinion. I fancy his Authorities were reduced to a loose Hear-say, which he had a mind to make the most of, in order to descant upon a common Topic, *viz.* the Stratagem of the old Serpent to deceive the first Woman. Upon which the Historian has collected I know not how many moral Reflexions and Authorities. But this is a pitiful Common-place which has this defect, that it may be retorted by every Sect. See the *General Critticism of the History of Calvinism* (43).

(42) Florimond de Remond, Hist. de la naissance & progrès de l'Heresie, *Livr. VIII. cap. III. pag.* m. 847.

(43) At the 13th Paragraph of the XXXth Letter, 3d Edit. See also the Remark [D] of the Article *GREGORY* I.

[I] *The Duke of Estampes ordered Informations to be taken against her.*] We shall find Mr *Varillas* to be mistaken again: 'She lived, *says he* (44), in such 'a Misunderstanding with the Duke, her Husband, 'that he caused a juridical Enquiry to be made after 'her Conduct since her Marriage: This could be imputed to nothing but Jealousy, which forced him to 'take such shameful Measures, in order to be revenged 'of his Wife, when she should lose the Protection of 'the King.' If *Varillas* had well read the Manuscripts which he boasts were communicated to him, he would not have reasoned as he has done upon the Motives of the Duke of *Estampes*. He would have known, that the Enquiries into the Duchess's Conduct were made long after the Death of *Francis* I, and that the Husband's Design was not to make it known, that his Spouse had not kept her conjugal Vows. He must have been the weakest of all Men, if he had thought there wanted Informations to prove him a Cuckold. All *France* was persuaded of it, would have sworn to it, and would have laughed at any body that should have questioned it. The Enquiry therefore was not a Matter of Jealousy, nor did it tend to a Design of Revenge after the Decease of *Francis* I. I have already said, that it was made after the Death of that Prince. And I add, that it tended not to discover the Damage the Duke of *Estampes* had suffered in his Honour, by his Wife's Conduct, but what he had suffered in his Estate, in order to collect Proofs for a Law-Suit. Mr *le Laboureur* will inform us of this. 'The Duke, *says* 'he (45), not only had but a bare Title to the Estate 'that *Francis* I gave him, but also paid the Interest 'of it out of his own. Here is a Proof of it from 'the very Mouth, and attested upon Oath, in Court, 'by King *Henry* II, whom he intreated to depose in 'his Favour in the Law-Suit he had with *Odet de 'Bretagne*, Count *de Vertus*, his Cousin, as Heir 'of *Francis de Bretagne*, his elder Brother, Count 'de Vertus; which *Francis* having married *Charlotte* 'de Pisseleu, Sister to the Duchess of *Estampes*, she 'obliged the Duke, her Husband, to do her what 'Justice

(44) Varillas, Hist. de François I, *Livr. XI, pag.* 96.

(45) Le Laboureur, Addit aux Memoires de Castelnau, *Tom. I, pag.* 804.

ignorant both of the Time and Motives of this Adventure [K]. I shall examine, in another Place (d), the other Chronological Faults that he and his Transcriber (e) have committed.

(d) In the Article POITIERS, (Diane).

(e) The Author of the Galanteries des Rois de France.

Justice she thought fit upon her Pretensions, on Account of *Magdalen de Brosse de Bretagne*, her Grandmother. And besides the leave of inquiring further into the matter, which the King granted him the third of *June*, 1556, at *Paris*, he also did him the Favour to undergo the Interrogatory the twelfth of the said Month, at the House commonly called the *Maison Maigret*, in the Street *St Avoye*, which he gave afterwards to the Constable *Montmorenci*, in Presence of whom he declared, *That the Duke of Estampes had often told him, that he very much feared the Marriage of the Count de Vertus, with the Sister of the Lady d'Estampes, was done at his Expence..... That there was a common Report, that Longueval managed all the Affairs of that Duchess* (46), *and that the Duke often complained that he made him do many things to his Disadvantage. That the Honours which the said Longueval had had, are sufficiently known, and came by the Favour of the said Duchess. That the Duke often complained, that the said Lady received the Income of his Government of Bretagne, that he enjoyed nothing himself. That he was most aggrieved by the Contracts that were made for the Lady d'Avaugour. That the Duke several times complained to him..... that he was forced to do many things, and make Contracts to the Injury of himself and Family according to the Pleasure of the said Lady, the said Longueval, and others, their Agents; wherefore, &c.*

(46) See Remark [E] Cint. (19).

[K] *Varillas was ignorant of the Time and Motives of this Adventure.*] This evidently appears by our preceding Remark; but here are new Proofs of it. 'Indeed, *says he* (47), *speaking of the Duchess of Estampes*, of humouring, whilst she was in Favour, the Duke, her Husband, whose Temper, little inclined to, and almost insensible of, the Pleasures of Love, would have been amused by any trifling Marks of the King's Liberality, or any empty Employments, provided he had them when he wanted them, she slighted him to that degree, till he was transported beyond all Decency, and by the strangest Caprice that ever Jealousy inspired a Man with, published himself his own Dishonour by the Juridical Enquiry into his Wife's Conduct, mentioned before. This Proceeding, which rendered them irreconcilable, deprived the Duchess of all Hope of ever returning to her Husband, and reduced her to such a Degree of Misery, that the Seneschal's Lady, after the Death of the King, might have employed the same Husband as an Instrument to torment her, till her Revenge should be fully satiated.' Here we find Mr *Varillas* fully persuaded that the Juridical Enquiry of the Duke of *Estampes* was already made in the Year 1544, in the Life-time of *Francis* I; and yet it was not made till 1556. So that all his fine Reasonings, built thereon, are no more than meer Chimeras. It is a dangerous Rock for Historians, who look too much into the Motives of the Conduct of Courts, without sufficiently consulting Chronology. Further, we see this Historian perfectly satisfied that a strange jealous Humour prompted the Duke to inform, in a Juridical Way, against his Wife; and yet those Informations proceeded only from a Desire to get the better in a considerable Law-Suit. For the rest, Mr *Varillas* is not the only one that pretends this Husband had the weakness to expose his own Dishonour to the Eyes of the World. The Abbot *de St Real* was of the same Opinion. His Words are (48): 'What you said of *Cæsar*, who would not accuse his Wife's Gallant, puts me in mind of another Husband I have heard talked of some time ago, who was not so nice. I mean the Husband of the charming Duchess of *Estampes*, first Mistress to *Francis* I. After the Death of that Prince, the good Man would revive a Process against her (49), which he could not pursue till then, because of the Consideration the King had, during his whole Life, for that Lady; and being to prove that Impossibility in Court; he caused an Information to be taken, in which *Henry* II, and the principal Persons of the Court, testified, at his Request, in the most decent Terms they could find, the great Power of that Lady over the late King, and the strict Friendship there was between her and that Prince.' Mr *le Laboureur* is not far from this way of judging: 'The poor Duke, *says he* (50), must have suffered much to have been obliged to leave to Posterity that injurious Monument of his Misfortune and Disgrace.' Mr *Varillas* then, has some Associates, though they do not express themselves so forcibly as he has done, when he assures us (51), 'That the Duke of *Estampes* must have had very little Understanding, or a very great Insensibility, since he contributed to his own Infamy, by exclaiming against his Wife with as much Care as Persons of his Quality, if they are prudent, take to establish or increase their Reputation.'

(47) Varillas, Hist. de François I, *Livr XI, pag.* 98, *at the year* 1544.

(48) Cesarion, *Entretien I, pag.* 21, *Hague Edit.* 1685.

(49) Mr *le Labourer* seems to me much more credible: he says, *Addit. à Castelnau*, Tom. I, pag. 864, that the Duke pleaded not against his Wife, but against the Count *de Vertus* his Cousin.

(50) Idem, pag. 805.

With Submission to these Gentlemen, I think they are a little in the wrong in the Sentence they pronounce against this Duke. Has was not the case of those Husbands who dishonour themselves by publishing their being Cuckolds. When a Man is a Cuckold by a superiour Power, and demonstrates to the World by public Steps, that he is no voluntary Cuckold, but is enraged that he cannot revenge the Insult done him, he openly preserves both his Honour and his Reputation. If the Quality of Sovereign does not clot out the Infamy with respect to a Mistress, at least it does so with respect to a Husband who boldly expresses his Indignation; and a Husband is so far from dishonouring himself by giving public Proofs of the Contempt he has conceived for his Wife, that on the contrary he would dishonour himself if he served her for a Cover, and prevented her Lewdness being known, by fathering the Children she should have by the Prince. I know Courtiers call the ill humour of That Husband a Folly, who has not the Address to arrive at Pensions, Posts, and Governments of Provinces, by a ready consent that his Wife should indulge her Sovereign with the last Favours; but I know also that, on the other side, they despise the voluntary Cuckold who has this Address, and cruelly rally him upon his Horn of Plenty, and it is so true that, even according to the corrupt Judgment of the Age, a Husband does himself an Honour in not conniving at his Wife who is become Mistress to a Prince, that it would be thought an Encomium upon him to observe this Conduct of his in an Epitaph, Funeral Oration, or such like Pieces; and they would not dare to commend the contrary Behaviour of those who should have dissembled such an Affront in order to make their Fortunes. Mankind is greatly depraved, but not to such a Degree, that the Traffic, a Husband should make by his Wife, should be looked upon as an honourable Action. It is indeed a means too commonly made use of to acquire Riches: it was known to old *Rome* (52), and has been in Practice ever since; and yet it is not altogether void of true contempt, and shame it deserves.

(51) Hist de Henri II, *Liv. I, pag.* m. 34.

JUSTIFICATION of the Duke of *Estampes* concerning the Inquiry against his Wife.

(52) Scortator erit, cavere reget: ultro Penelopen facilis pot ori: trade. *Horat. Sat. V, Lib. II, ver.* 75.

Besides, it must be considered there is a difference between our Duke of *Estampes* and *Cæsar*, or any other private Person who goes to Law in order to be declared a Cuckold. The Amours of *Cæsar*'s Wife were not public: the Accused did not confess the Fact: the same may be said of the Causes of Adultery, which sometimes come into our Courts. But as for the Duchess of *Estampes*, she did not deny being *Francis* the First's Mistress: the King denied it still less (53); so that their Commerce passed all over *Europe* for a certain and incontestable Fact. Therefore the Duke made no Additions to his Infamy by his Enquiry: and he ought not to be taken for a Man of Insensibility, or little Understanding on account of the Information: he ought not to be compared to those Husbands who publish domestic Adventures, which it is in their Power to hide behind the Curtain. A Juridical Enquiry is not a Monument so much to be feared as an History. Now the Duke of *Estampes* might be firmly persuaded that a hundred good Historians would eternize his Wife's Adultery; and since the Enquiry might be of great service to him in a Law-Suit of Consequence, he is to be commended for having taken it: for in not taking it he did not hinder his disgrace, if any disgrace there was, from being as public as before.

(53) See the following Remark.

I have

mitted. I can hardly believe that *Francis* I should ever say seriously that he did not lie with that Lady [*L*], and I very much question whether she desired that it should be credited.

If what a learned Man has related be true, *Francis* the First's Love for her did not begin at the Time above-mentioned (*f*), that is to say, upon that Prince's return into *France* from his Confinement at *Madrid*; for that learned Man supposes she was the King's Mistress before the Constable of *Bourbon* entered into the Party of *Charles* V; now he did this in 1523, and *Francis* I was not set at Liberty till 1526.

(*f*) *See the Remark* [*A*].

I have one thing more to say, which alone would be sufficient for his Justification. Which is, that he did not make Enquiries to prove his being a Cuckold, but to prove that his Wife had spent great part of his Estate. Could one blame a Man who, in a Law-Suit for the recovery of that Estate, makes it appear by judicial Proceedings that his Wife had unjustly taken it from him. It is observed, unless it be narrowly looked into, that no Women are more complaisant towards their Husbands, than those that fit them with a pair of Horns. See thereupon one of the Tales of Mr *de la Fontaine* (54). Therefore the Duke of *Estampes*'s Adversaries might have pretended that his Wife had made over to him several Gifts and Benefits, that he might patiently bear the ill Name she had given him. So that he was obliged to prove judicially that she had caused him very great losses.

(54) You may see also a Book printed in Holland in 1688, intitled, *Les Privileges du Cocuage — The Privileges of Cuckoldom.* It is a Dialogue between a Cuckold and a jealous Husband.

Wherefore he is not to be blamed for adding to the Title of Cuckold in Chronicle, that of Cuckold upon Record; for the latter was eminently contained in the former, and not being able to aggravate his dishonour, it might save him a great damage. Blame as much as you please those, who having no reason to fear their disgrace should be inserted in the Annals of the State, carry it to be registered in the Parliament Rolls: but do not blame those who do this, when they are sure not to escape the Pen of the most sincere Historians. The Count *de Bussi Rabutin* received a Letter in 1668, wherein there is a Man mentioned who was in the former of these Cases. These are his Words, *As to the the Letter of Madam de .... to Monsieur de .... it has not been handed about. The Husband showed it to the King and carried it to the Parliament, so that, not being a Cuckold in Chronicle, he shall be one upon Record* (54).

(54) Lettres de Bussi Rabutin, Tom. II, Letter clxii, pag. 335, *Dutch Edit.*

[*L*] *I can hardly believe that Francis* I *should ever seriously say that he did not lie with that Lady.*] The Author I contradict here is not of weight enough to give me any scruple upon the Liberty I take with him. These are his Words: 'King *Francis* then being 'set at Liberty, and returning out of *Spain*, the Regent his Mother came to meet him at *Bourdeaux*, accompanied with several Ladies, among whom was *Ann de Pisseleu* who was afterwards Countess *de Penthievre*, and then Duchess of *Estampes* on her Husband's Account. A Lady who was afterwards always in the King's Favour, for he did for her what he had denied to others, and tho' dishonest Suspicions were raised of that Intimacy, yet the King cleared himself, protesting that he only loved that Lady for her gracefulness and good humour. However it is thought he lay with her, since he was inclined to the love of Women, which was the only Vice that Prince was affected with (56).' It is not probable that Prince should ever think of protesting in earnest that nothing dishonest had ever passed between him, and the Duchess of *Estampes*. He had too much Sense, and too-great Knowledge of the World, not to know that no Body would credit such Protestations, when his Inclination to the fair Sex was so public; and besides, as Matters then stood, he would have feared to made himself contemptible to his whole Court if he had passed for a young Prince, who had had a fine young Lady so long without asking or receiving any Favours from her. The Protestation they impute to him, would be more probable, if he had begun to favour the Duchess when they had both been of mature Age; but he appeared to be in Love with her as soon as he was released out of Prison, when he was but Thirty two Years old, and *Mademoiselle de Heilly* was a young Maid full of Charms. What likelihood is there, that he did not press her to come to a Conclusion, and did not soon obtain his Point? If the fair one had been of an invincible Virtue, no doubt he would have directed his Sighs to another Object be ore the end of the Year. But I know no Author, who is so simple as to commend our *Ann de Pisseleu* for her Chastity. The Credulity of the Author I confute stopped in the middle of it's Course; for if he was persuaded that *Francis* I protested his Innocence, he did not suppose that Protestation was to be believed. If it deserved Credit, and if besides the Duchess had been of the Protestant Party, they would have had in their Communion the greatest instance of Chastity that had ever appeared upon the Earth. In that case this Duchess would have excelled, with respect to this Virtue, not only the Virgins in the Martyrology, but also the Heroines of Romance. Let not this Parallel be wondered at; for I am not the first who has said (57) that the Examples of Virtue, which were feigned in our great Romances formerly (58), went beyond the Practice of the most Holy Women. For the Heroines in the Romance preserve themselves pure and free from all Spot in a Court-Life, beset by a most accomplished Lover they are in love with, stole away from time to time, and always surrounded with the most dangerous Temptations. The Chastity of Nuns, and martyred Virgins, has not the same Difficulties to overcome, and therefore is less wonderful than that of the Ladies in *Clelia* would have been. But as these at the end of two or three Years, more or less, found the end of all their Troubles in a happy Marriage, their incorruptible Virtue is not equal to that, which must be ascribed to the Duchess of *Estampes*, if the King never enjoyed her.

(56) Du Verdier Van Privas, Prolopeger Tom. III, pag. 2367.

(57) *See the Abbé de Villiers, in his Reflexions sur le Defaut d'Autrui.*

(58) Cassandra, Cleopatra, Cyrus, Clelia, &c.

EUCLID, a Native of *Megara*, and Disciple of *Socrates* [*A*], did not follow the Taste of his Master; for instead of addicting himself chiefly to the Doctrine of Morality, he set himself to refine the Subtilties of Logic. He founded a Sect, which passes for

[*A*] *He was a Disciple of Socrates.*] *Cicero* (1), *Strabo* (2), and *Diogenes Laërtius* (3) testify this; but none of them relate one curious Circumstance which we find in *Aulus Gellius*; *viz.* that *Euclid* not daring to go to *Athens*, because the *Athenians* had made it Death for the Megarians to come thither, went by Night disguised like a Woman, and, after having received *Socrates*'s Instructions, returned the next morning to *Megara* under the same disguise. Note, he had been that Philosopher's Disciple before that severe Decree of the *Athenians* was made. 'Decreto suo Athenienses caverant, ut 'qui Magaris civis esset, si intulisse Athenas pedem 'prehensus esset, ut ea res ei homini capitalis esset .... Tum Euclides, qui indidem Megaris erat, 'quique ante id decretum & esse Athenis & audire 'Socratem consueverat, postquam id decretum sanxe-

(1) Cicero, Acad. Quæst. lib. iv, cap. xlii.

(2) Strabo, lib. ix. circa init. pag. m. 272.

(3) Diog. Laërt. lib. ii, in Socrate, p. 47.

'runt, sub noctem, quum adveperascret, tunica lon-'ga muliebri indutus & pallio versicolore amictus, '& caput rica velatus è domo sua Megaris Athenas 'ad Socratem commeabat; ut vel noctis aliquo tem-'pore consiliorum sermonumque ejus fieret particeps: 'rursusque sub lucem millia passuum paulo amplius 'viginti, eadem veste illa tectus redibat (4).' *Aulus Gellius* relates in this place, what he had heard from a celebrated Platonic Philosopher named *Taurus*, who was making a Comparison between what was practised towards *Socrates*, and what the Philosophers did then: we see now-a-days, said he, Philosophers going to teach in rich Houses, and waiting till Noon when their Pupils have dissipated the fumes of Wine. *At nunc*, inquit, *videre est Philosophos ultro currere, ut docerent, ad fores juvenum divitum, atque ibi sedere*

(4) Aul Gellius, lib. vi, cap. 2.

for a branch, or rather a continuation, of the School of *Xenophanes*, *Parmenides*, and *Zeno Eleates* (a). Those, who followed his Method of philosophizing, were named Megarians, *Megarici*, and afterwards Disputers, and at last Dialecticians (b). His Opinions are little known, and it is pretty difficult to comprehend any thing in his Doctrine of the Nature of Good [B]. He made use of nothing but Conclusions in his Disputes [C]; by which we may judge of the ardor and impetuosity he mixed with them. We may also judge of it by the Character of the Temper he inspired his Disciples with, which was a rage or fury of disputing (c). *Eubulides*, who succeeded him, was the Inventor of divers Sophisms exceedingly captious and perplexing [D]. *Alexinus*, who succeeded *Eubulides*

(a) Cicero, Acad. Quæst. lib. iv, cap. xliii.

(b) Diogen. Laërt. lib. ii, n. 106.

(c) See the Remark [D].

(5) Idem, ibid. (22) Aul. Gell.

(6) The third of the first Act.

(7) Diog. Laërt. lib. ii, n. 106.

(8) Id. ibid.

(9) Cicero, Acad. Quæst. lib. iv, cap. xlii.

(10) Diog. Laërt. lib. ii, n. 107.

(11) Cicero, In Quæst. Academ. lib. iv, cap. viii.

(12) Id. de Divinat. lib. ii, cap. lviii.

(13) Gassend de Logic cap. iii, pag. 40, Tom. I, Operum.

(5) *fiderer atque opperiri prope ad meridiem, donec disti-*
pati nebulones omne otium edormient (5). This will put some Readers in mind of the Comedy of *le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, in which one of the most agreeable Scenes (6) is composed of a Master in Philosophy, a Music Master, a Dancing Master, a Fencing Master, *&c.* I know not whether *Aristophanes* and *Lucian* ever railed the Philosophers more cruelly than *Moliere* has done in that place. He represents them escaping from House to House like Dancing Masters, and Fencing Masters; and then he supposes they quarrel with other Masters, and are soundly beaten by them. Note, the Civil Law has been as much debased as Philosophy. Most of the young Men had a Prompter come to them for the Institutes, and did not take the trouble of going to the public Lectures. Mr *le Tellier*, who died Chancellor of *France*, made Regulations against this abuse.

[B] *It is very difficult to comprehend any thing in his Doctrine of the Nature of Good.*] He made it one under different Names they call it, added he, sometimes Prudence, sometimes God, sometimes Understanding, and so of the rest (7). He rejected all things contrary to good, and even taught that they had no Existence (8). Thus his Doctrine is represented by *Diogenes Laërtius*; but *Cicero* says of it, 'Eubides Socratis discipulus Megareus, a quo idem illi Megarici dicti, qui id bonum solum esse dicebant quod esset unum & simile, & idem & semper (9). —— *Euclid the Disciple of Socrates was of Megara; from him those were called Megarians, who maintained that to be the only good, which was one, similar, eternal, and unchangeable.*' Either *Cicero* or *Diogenes Laërtius* have ill described this Doctrine of *Euclid*; for if there is but one good, and if the good is always like itself, and always one, as *Cicero* supposes, how could it be said that Prudence, God, and Understanding, were the good? do not the Prudence and Understanding of Men differ from God? are they like God? do they make one simple and individual Essence with God? I verily believe neither of these Authors did well comprehend the Doctrine of the Megarians; and that they themselves did not understand it, or not explain it aright. We may discern in it some Rays of what our Divines teach of the Nature of Sovereign Good. Our *Euclid* also seems to have had some small Idea of what they teach concerning the Nature of Evil. They say, that Evil is nothing, and that it consists in pure Privation. Whom could the Megarians hope to persuade that Diseases, Troubles, Vices, and every thing contrary to good, are chimeras, which have no Existence? their System in this respect was a Chaos.

[C] *He used only Conclusions in his Disputes.*] These are the words of *Diogenes Laërtius* (10): Τοῖς τε ἀποδείξεσιν ἐχρῆτο, ἀ κατὰ λήμματα, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐπιφοράν. *Utebatur probationibus non his quæ per assumptiones, sed quæ per conclusiones fiunt.* This Latin Translation is better than that of *Aldebrandinus* which I shall copy. *Argumentorum conclusiones non sumptionibus, sed conclusionibus refellendis oppugnabat.* To speak more freely, *Aldebrandinus*'s Version is good for nothing, in vain he cites *Cicero*, who has observed, that the word ἀπόδειξις signifies *argumenti conclusio* (11), and that the word λῆμμα signifies *sumptio* (12). he shall never persuade me there is Sense in these words, *to combate the Conclusions of Arguments, not by refuting the Propositions, but by refuting the Conclusions.* *Gassendus* in my Opinion has very well explained the Thought of *Diogenes Laërtius*. 'Duo fere solum, *says he* (13), novimus ex Laërtio, 'Unum quod soleret Euclides exterorum demonstrationes non sumptionibus impugnare, sed conclusionibus dumtaxat, nimirum quasi consequutiones fierent satis perspicuæ, illationes congeredo. *Ergo, Ergo, Ergo*, quæ arguendi ratio, quasi respirare non sinens, ex omnium urgentissima, quare & cum hoc modo foret instans, premens, ac vehemens, notatus fuit a Timone quasi quandam *litigii*, seu *contentionis rabiem* sectatus *temere*, Megaricis inspiravisse. Alterum quod, *&c.* *There are two things*, says he, *our Knowledge of which is almost entirely owing to Laërtius; the one, that Euclid used to oppose the Propositions of others, not by Assumptions, but by Conclusions only, and, as if the Consequences were sufficiently evident, by crowded Inferences upon Inference. Therefore, Therefore, Therefore, which Method of argumentation, not suffering as it were a Man to take Breath, is of all others the most irresistible. He was reprimanded by Timon for his warmth, vehemence, and overbearing, as having thereby inspired the Megarians with a litigious madness. The other, &c.*' Without doubt nothing is more capable of embarrassing and confounding those who maintain a Thesis, than the vehemence with which a Disputant heaps Conclusions upon one another, *Ergo, Ergo, Ergo*. This was *Euclid*'s Custom.

[D] *Eubulides was the Inventor of divers Sophisms exceedingly captious and perplexing.*] These are the Names of them: *the Liar, the Deceiver, the Ebra, the Veiled, the Sorites, the Horned, the Bald* (14). You will find in *Gassendus* (15) a good Explication of all these Sophisms supported by instances. You will find the same in Mr *Menage* (16). I shall content myself with shewing what the Liar was. He supposed a Man who said *I lie*, and then he argued in such a manner that from what he said true, he concluded that he lied, and from what he lied in he concluded he spoke Truth. 'Si dicis te mentiri, verum-'que dicis, mentiris: dicis autem te mentiri, verum-'que dicis, mentiris igitur (17).' To puzzle the more, they made one confider, that in such Reasonings as this, as to the form, the Conclusion was true; how then dare you reject the Conclusion of this, said they, while you admit that of others? *Cicero* observes that *Chrysippus*, who formed himself these Difficulties, could not resolve them. 'Qui potes hanc non probare, 'quum probaveris ejusdem generis superiorem? Hæc 'Chrysippea sunt, ne ab ipso quidem dissoluta (18).' They built the same Sophism upon that which *Epimenides*, who was of the Isle of *Crete*, had said, that all the *Cretans* were Liars. He lied then in saying so, concluded they: therefore the *Cretans* are not Liars, then they deserve to be believed: then the affirmation of *Epimenides* is to be believed: and then the *Cretans* are Liars. *Aristotle* (19) has acknowledged that these Sophistries are almost inexplicable. *Africanus*, the Civilian, having put a Case, in which the knot was indissoluble, compares it to the Sophism here in question. 'Dixi τῶν ἀνάλυτων hanc quæstionem esse: qui tri-'status apud Dialecticos τὸ ψευδόμενον dicitur, cui 'nim quidquid contruxerimus verum esse, falsum re-'pererur (20). —— *I said this Argument was one of 'the Insoluble, called, by Logicians, the Liar: for 'whatever is said down for true, will be found to be 'false.*' It is good to see how *Seneca* laughs at those who lost their time in such vain subtilities: 'Quid me 'distinta ab eo quem ipse Pseudomenon appellis, de 'quo tantum librorum contorsimus? Hoc ait mihi 'Cretes mentiturus hanc ob rem: omnes Cretes adverti-'mi, si mentiuntur hanc ob rem: Ego Cretes mentior: 'ergo non mentiuntur (21). —— *Why do you trouble me with your Pseudomenos (Liar) on which so many Volumes have been composed? Cease, say, my whole life is a Lie; let me have a specimen of your Art in disproving this, and proving it to be true.*' Some by too intense an application to these kind of things contracted a consumptive illness that killed them, and this has been put in their Epitaph (22): Κινδυνεύσας ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς, ὅσπερ ὁ Κῶος Φιλητᾶς ἐσχάτοις τοῖς ψευδομένοις ἐπεμελήθη τοῦ λόγου,

(14) Diog. Laërt. lib. ii, n. 108.

(15) Gassend, de Logic. cap. iii, pag. 40.

(16) Menag. in Laërt. lib. ii, n. 108.

(17) Cicero, Acad. Quæst. lib. iv, cap. xx, & 29.

(18) Id. ibid.

(19) Aristot. Ethic ad Nichomach lib. vii, cap. iii.

(20) Africanus, libr. lxxxvii, D. ad L. Falcid. Vide ibi Cujacium, item Menag. in Diog. Laërt. lib. ii, n. 108.

(21) Seneca, Epist. xlv, pag. 241.

(22) Athen. lib. ix, pag. 401. See also Hesychius Illustrius, in Philetas.

Eubulides, was a great lover of Diſpute, and engaged in it with ſo much vehemence, that he acquired a firname by it (d). *Diodorus*, another Diſciple of *Eubulides*, was ſo intoxicated and infatuated with this ſort of Conteſt, that he died with Grief, becauſe he could not reſolve upon the Spot the Dialectical Queſtions that *Stilpo* had put to him (e). If this Sect had contributed any thing to the illuſtration of Truth, it ought to be looked upon as a Prodigy; for nothing is more proper to confound and darken things, and to fill the Minds of Readers and Auditors with Doubts, than an Application to the Quinteſſence and Subtilties of Controverſy [E], which degenerate almoſt always into wrangling,

(d) Ἀνὴρ φιλονικότατος, διὸ καὶ Ἐλεγχῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο. Vir acer & contentioſus virtibus ac nervis clarus: unde & Elenxi cognominatus eſt. *Diog. Laert. lib. ii, num.* 109.

(e) *Id. ibid.*

λόγων, ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ διαλυθῆναι. ἰσχνὸς γὰρ πάνυ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὰς ζητήσεις γενόμενος, ἀπέθανεν· ὡς τὸ πρὸ τῆ μνημείῳ αὐτῆ ἐπιγεγραμμένον δηλοῖ.

Ξεῖνε φιλητᾶς εἰμὶ λόγων ὁ ψευδόμενός με
Ὦλεσε, καὶ νυκτῶν φροντίδες ἰσπίεσαι.

Eſt itaque periculum, ne ob has curas aliquando, ut Philetas Cous, perveſtigans ex rationibus, falſas, & mendaces, exolutus pereas. Nam corpore ob id ſtudium valde attenuato is obiit: quod inſculptum ejus monumento declarat hoc Epigramma:

Hoſpes, Philetas ſum; mendax & captioſa ratio
Me perdidit, veſpertinæque ac nocturnæ ſtudiorum curæ.

There is danger, leaſt, like Philetas of Co, you be brought by theſe laborious ſtudies into a Conſumption, and loſe your Life like him, who in ſuch reſearches waſted away, as his Epitaph declares:

Philetas I; deſtroy'd by painful Toils
In ſearch of Subtilties and captious Wiles.

It might be ſaid then, without Hyperbole or Figure, that the Inventions of *Eubulides* were murdering Sophiſms. The ſubtilties of *Stilpo* his Fellow Diſciple were no leſs killing (23). This brings near to Truth what *Timon* the Phliaſian objected to our *Euclid*: His expreſſion *rage of diſputing* becomes thereby leſs hyperbolical.

(23) See the Text of this Article, at Citation (c).

Ἀλλ' ἔ μοι τούτων φλεδόνων μέλει, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλῳ
Οὐδενὸς, ὑ Φαίδωνος, ὅτις γέ μιν, ὑ δ' ἰεμένου
Εὐκλείδου, Μεγαρῆσιν ὀῖς ἔμβαλε λύσσαν ἐριστῆ.

Non ego horum nugatorum curam gero, nec alterius Cujuſquam; non Phædonis, quiſquis ille fit, nec litigioſi Euclidis, qui Megarenſibus contentionis rabiem invexit (24).

(24) Timon, apud Diog. Laërt. lib ii, n. 107, pag. m. 142.

Theſe Triflers, and their captious Clan, I hate,
Phædo and Euclid forward to debate;
From him his Country caich'd th' infectious Rage.

Note, the Schoolmen have tried their skill upon this Matter; you need only ſee what they ſay of the Propoſitions which they call *ſuipſas falſificantes* (25).

(25) See Arriaga, Diſput. II, in Summulas, Sect. iv, Subſect. 19, pag. mi 215 ad.

As I have already ſpoke at large of the *Sorites* in another place (26), it is not neceſſary to repeat it here. I ſhall only ſay, that the Sophiſm, called *the bald*, ſeems to me a ſort of *Sorites*, and which conſiſted in asking the preciſe number of Hairs you muſt take away from a Man to make him bald. Are one or two ſufficient? It muſt be anſwered, no: they continued to ask, going from three to four, and from four to five, &c; and if you anſwered *ſuch a number was enough*, you at laſt found yourſelf obliged to confeſs that the difference between bald and not bald, conſiſted in one ſingle hair. See *Gaſſendus* at Page forty one of the firſt Volume of his Works.

(26) See the Remark [O] of the Article CHRYSIPPUS.

[E] *Nothing is more proper to obſcure Matters, and raiſe doubts . . . . than an application to the Quinteſſence of Controverſy.* Among all the philoſophical Exerciſes there are none in which a moderation is more neceſſary than in that of Diſputation: for no ſooner are you paſſed certain bounds, but you fall into uſeleſs trifles, and even irregularities, which give the mind an ill turn, and hinder it from finding Truth. To this may be juſtly applied the following Words of *Aulus Gellius* (27): 'Hos alioſque tales argutos delectabiliſque deſidiæ aculeos quum audiremus, vel lectitaremus; neque in his ſcrupulis aut emolumentum aliquod ſolidum ad rationem vitæ pertinens, aut finem ullum quærendi videremus: Ennianum Neoptolemum probabamus, qui profecto in ait:

Philoſophandum eſt paucis: nam omnino haud placet.

(27) Aul. Gell. lib 5, cap 15. He says in the next Chapter, Etiſdem illius Enniani Neoptolemi . . . . conſilio utendum eſt, qui ceſſandum ex philoſophia cenſet non in eam ingurgitandum. *We ſhould follow the Advice of the ſame Neoptolemus in Ennius, to taſte of Philoſophy but not intoxicate ourſelves with it.*

'*When I heard or read theſe or ſuch like ſubtilties, the produce of an eaſy and undiſturbed Retirement, but found herein no Solidity, nothing that tended to the Improvement of Life, nor any end of ſuch enquiries, I could not but approve the ſentiments of Neoptolemus in Ennius, who ſays:*

Philoſophy has bounds which it ſhould never paſs.

A Diſputation well regulated, and confined to proper limits (28), and where an Explanation of things is only intended, is the moſt uſeful thing in the World in the ſearch after Truth; Diſputation has not been ill reſembled to the ſtriking two Flints together, which fetches out the inviſible ſparks of Fire (29). But it is very difficult to keep a juſt Medium in this office: and to this chiefly may be applied the Obſervation of *Tacitus*. 'Retinuit quod eſt difficillimum ex ſapientia, 'or in ſapientia modum (30), —— *And what is moſt 'difficult, he retained a mean in Philoſophy.*' If this Paſſion for diſputing be never ſo little indulged, one gets a taſte of falſe glory, which engages always to find ſubjects of Contradiction, and from thence forward good ſenſe is no more hearkened to, and one is abandoned to the deſire of paſſing for a great Maſter of ſubtilties. A Profeſſor may be excuſed the pains he takes to awaken by this way the mind of a young Scholar; but *Euclid*, and his ſucceſſors, can never be juſtified for having made this the principal buſineſs of their whole Lives, and for attempting to diſtinguiſh themſelves by inventions which tended only to confound the Mind. They were of no ſervice for the correcting of Vice, or curing any important defect, and beſides they did not in any manner advance the knowledge of ſpeculative Truths; but were much more proper to retard it. Theſe are two enormous Faults. *Seneca* has very well deſcribed the firſt. 'Inveniſſent forſitan 'neceſſaria, niſi & ſuperflua quæſiſſent. Multum illis 'temporis verborum cavillatio eripuit, & captioſæ diſputationes, quæ acumen irritum exercent. Nectimus 'nodos, & ambiguam ſignificationem verbis alligamus, 'deinde diſſolvimus. Tantum nobis vacat? jam vive're, jam mori ſcimus? Tota illo mente pergendum 'eſt, ubi providere debet, ne res nos, non verba decipiant. Quid mihi vocum ſimilitudines diſtinguis, 'quibus nemo unquam niſi dum diſputat, captus eſt? 'res fallunt: illas diſcerne. Pro bonis mala ample&i'mur. . . . . Adulatio quam ſimilis eſt amicitiæ? . . . . 'Doce quemadmodum hanc ſimilitudinem dignoſcere 'poſſim. Venit ad me pro amico blandus inimicus: 'vitia nobis ſub virtutum nomine obrepunt. temeritas 'ſub titulo fortitudinis latet: moderatio vocatur ignavia: pro cauto timidus accipitur. In his magno periculo erratur: his certas notas imprime. Ceterum 'qui interrogatur, an cornua habeat, non eſt tam ſtultus, ut frontem ſuam tentet: nec rurſus tam ineptus 'aut hebes, ut non habere ſe neſciat, quod to illi ſubtiliſſima collectione perſuaſeris. Sic iſta ſine noxa delpiunt, quomodo præſtigiatorum acetabula & calculi, 'in quibus fallacia ipſa delectat. Effice, ut quomodo 'fiat intelligam: perdidi ipſum. Idem de iſtis captiunibus dico: quo enim nomine potius ſophiſmata appellem? nec ignoranti nocent, nec ſcientem juvant. 'Si vis utique verborum ambiguitates diſcere; hoc

(28) See the *Art de Penſer*, Part. III, cap. 19, n. 7, 8, 9, 10, where the good and ill Effects of Diſputation are very well deſcribed.

(29) Quæſtio vera ſemina flammæ Abſtruſa in venis ſilicis *Some ſtrike from haſhing Flints their fiery Seed.*

(30) Tacit. in Vita Agricolæ, cap. iv.

'nos

ling, obstinacy, fraud, and vain Sophistry. We know nothing of the physical System of these Philosophers, and there is little probability that their Passion for refining dialectical

nos doce, beatum non eum esse, quem vulgus appellat (31). —— *They would perhaps have discovered things necessary, had they not busied after things superfluous. They squandered away much time in cavilling about Words, in captious debates, which exercise the Wit to no purpose, in starting difficulties, distinguishing them in ambiguous Terms, and solving them afterwards. Have we then so much useless time on our Hands? Do we know how to live, or how to die? Our principal endeavour should be to distinguish Things, not Words. To what end all this nicety shown about Words, with which no Man, unless while he is disputing, can be taken up? Fair deceive, distinguish them. We embrace the bad instead of the good . . . . How nearly does Flattery resemble Friendship? Teach me to judge of these Resemblances. A fawning Foe would appear a Friend. Vice creeps upon us under the Name of Virtue. Temerity conceals itself under the Name of Courage. Indolence is termed Moderation, and Cowardice passes for Caution. Error in these cases is of dangerous Consequence. Fix your Criterions here. But the Man, who is asked whether he has Horns, cannot be Fool enough to feel his brows, nor so stupidly credulous as to imagine he has what you by a Chain of subtilities would persuade him. Error in this case is harmless, like the Juggler's box and balls, where the fallacy is entertaining. Make me to know how it is to be done, I have lost the use of it. I say the same of those Quirks; for by what other Name should those Sophisms be called, which neither make him that understands them the better, nor him that does not the worse? But if you will deal in Ambiguities, teach us this, That the Man is not happy, whom the Vulgar call so.*' Nothing can be finer, or more judicious, than these words of *Seneca*. Let us pass to the second Fault.

(31) Seneca, Epist xiv, pag. 240.

A spirit of Disputation easily degenerates into a false subtility. Those who cultivate it fall into their own snare; and after having confounded their Adversary, they find themselves incapable to resist the Sophisms they have invented, and which may be turned against their own Doctrines. See what I have said of *Chrysippus* (32): who is a great instance of what I have observed. He professed himself a dogmatical Philosopher, and yet laboured almost as much for the interest of Scepticism as *Carneades* who professed to affirm nothing. Both sacrificed chiefly to the subtilties of their own Wit, they were in no great Pain about Truth, provided they had the Pleasure to make their Objections sparkle and triumph. He who said that, by too much disputing, we lose sight of Truth (33), was no Fool. How many are there who enjoy a profound Tranquillity in a firm Belief of the Doctrine of Truth, who would be full of doubts if they were to hear the reasons on both sides of the question? And how many are there, who, instead of clearing up their doubts, would involve themselves more deeply therein, if they were to hearken to the answers and replies of two subtle Disputants? The former, I mean those who have no doubts, would complain of the ill offices which disputing had done them, and would curse it in much the same terms as the Orator used to express the Power of Eloquence. *Malam, inquit, crucem importunæ illi eloquentiæ, quæ me securum animi, compositumque in alterum partem, jam suspensum, & utroque trahentem malè perdidit, quasi in foro disceptaretis apud Judicem, adeo me contorto pugnacique isto genere dicendi exanimastis* (34). —— *A mischief seize that unreasonable Eloquence, which has deluded me from a determined Tranquillity of Mind into a state of suspence and uncertainty, and was brought down upon me, as though you had been actually engaged at the Bar before a Judge.*' The latter, I mean those who have some doubts, would complain that they are much more fluctuating than before, and would say to the two Antagonists what *Terence* puts into the Mouth of one of his Actors, *Fecistis probe: Incertior sum multo quam dudum* (35) —— *Thank you, Gentlemen. I am more uncertain than ever.* It was St *Augustin*'s Opinion that subtile logical Disputes were so much to be feared, that the Grace of God should be begged by public Processions that we might not be exposed to them. '*Facere non possum, quin hic referam, quæ de Beato Augustino, viro Admodum Eruditio, quique de Logicis plures libros reliquit, tradit Beatus Ambrosius Serm. 92. illius scilicet pertinaciam & disputationis acrimoniam supplicationibus publicis compescendam, & quasi averruncandam existimasse* (36). —— *I cannot in this place forbear mentioning what St Ambrose says of St Augustin (a very subtile Logician), that public Prayers ought to be put up to restrain or rather extirpate his furious fondness for Disputation.*' It is an Instrument which may be of good use against Lies: but it will not stop there; for after having destroyed Error it attacks Truth: it is like those corrosive Powders, which, after having eaten the proud Flesh of a Wound, would prey upon the quick Flesh, and eat into the very Bones if they were let alone. But not to go so far off, let us be content to consider the ill effect of disputing for the reasons that *Montagne* gives us. '*Our disputes, says he* (37), ought to be as much prohibited and punished, as other verbal Crimes. What Vices do they not awaken and promote, being always commanded and governed by Passion? we quarrel first with the Arguments, and then with the Men. We learn only to dispute, that we may contradict, and each contradicting and contradicted, the Fruit of disputing is the loss and ruin of Truth. Therefore *Plato*, in his Commonwealth, forbids the exercise of it to unskillful and disingenuous Minds. . . . What will be the Consequence? One runs to the East, another as far as the West: they lose the Principal, and put it aside in the crowd of Incidents. At the end of an Hour's storming, they know not what they look for: one is high, another low, another wide. One catches at a word or simile. Another is insensible of what is said in Opposition to him, so eager is he in his Course, and thinks of following himself, not you. One, finding himself weak, fears every thing, refuses every thing, and in the beginning confounds and puzzles his subject: or, in the heat of the debate, stops short, and grows silent through a peevish Ignorance, affecting an insolent Contempt, or a foolish Modesty shunning Contention. One, provided he strikes, cares not how much he lays himself open. Another counts his Words and reckons them for Arguments. Another makes advantage of his Voice and Lungs. Here is one that concludes against himself: and another stuns you with Prefaces and useless Digressions: Another falls into downright railing, and picks a quarrel with his Adversary to free himself from the Society and Argument of a Wit that bears hard upon him. And this last Man sees nothing in Reason, but incloses you with his dialectical Clauses, and the Formularies of his Art.'

(32) In the Remark [A], [F], [K], of this Article.

(33) Nimium altercando veritas amittitur.

(34) Famian. Strada, Prolus. II, lib. II, pag. 248.

(35) Terentius, in Phormione, Act. II, Scen. III, ver. 18, & 19.

(36) Menag. in Diogen. Laert. lib. VII, n. 83, pag. 296.

(37) Montagne, Essais, livr III, cap. VIII, pag. m. 252, 253. See what the Author of the Art de Penser, Part III, cap. XIX, n. 7, pag. 356, has said of these Thoughts of Montagne.

It may very justly be said that the Spirit and Character of our *Euclid*, and his Successors, have prevailed in the Christian Schools ever since the famous Dialectician *Abelard*. But what has been produced by it in favour of Truth? What philosophical Doctrines have the Nominalists and Realists, the Thomists and Scotists cleared? What have they done but multiply Opinions, and found out the Art of maintaining, pro and con, by the help of sundry barbarous Terms? What one maintains, the other denies; and they have all of them Distinctions and Subterfuges ready at Hand to prevent their being put to silence. They have by turns made the most contrary Opinions triumph: now this is the natural Consequence of this Method of philosophizing. Mr *Rohault* has admirably well described it. '*There is*, says he (38), *an invincible stubbornness observed*' in most of those who '*have gone thro' their Course of Philosophy, and who probably are fallen into such a pernicious disposition of Mind, only because they have not been used to convincing Truths, and see that those, who maintain any Doctrine whatsoever in public, always triumph over those who endeavour to prove the contrary, so that with them all things pass for probabilities. They do not look upon Study as a means to arrive at the Discovery of any new Truths; but as a witty sport in which People exercise themselves, the end of which is to confound true with false, by means of certain subtilties, that they may equally defend one or the other, without ever appearing forced to give up, by any Arguments, any extravagant Opinion they may maintain. And indeed this*

(38) Rohault, Preface to his Physics.

cal Ideas, ſhould leave them either a deſire, or leiſure to explain the Effects of Nature. I have read in *Ariſtotle* (*f*), that they taught, that there was no Power ſeparate from it's Act; that is to ſay, that a Cauſe, which does not actually produce an Effect, has not the Power to produce it. This is one of the impious Paradoxes of the Spinoſiſts, which *Ariſtotle* has well confuted (*g*). I refer to the Supplement EUCLID the Geometrician, and ſhall obſerve the Errors of Father *Rapin* [*F*].

(*f*) Ariſtot. Metaphyſ. *Lib. IX, cap. iii.*

(*g*) Id. ibid.

' is the common ſucceſs of all public Actions, where ' often, in the ſame Pulpit, opinions perfectly contrary are alternately propoſed and equally triumph ' without the Matter in hand being explained, or any ' Truth being better eſtabliſhed.' I ſay nothing of an evil infinitely more conſiderable, which this diſputing and dialectician ſpirit has produced. It has paſſed from the Chairs of the Philoſophers into the Schools of Divinity, and has turned the moſt important Points of the Chriſtian Morality into Problems (39); for what Doctrine of Morality have not the looſe Caſuiſts ſhaken, and ſo obſcured, that the only way to arrive at certainty, is to hearken ſolely to the ſimplicity of the Scriptures without any manner of regard to the ſubtile and captious reaſonings of thoſe Doctors?

(39) See the Article *LOYOLA* Remark [*S*].

We ſhall ſee in the following Remark ſome thoughts of Father *Rapin*, which repreſent no leſs the defect of our Philoſophers of *Megara*, than that of the Schoolmen

[*F*] *I ſhall obſerve ſome Errors of Father Rapin.*] But firſt I ſhall ſhew his fair ſide (40): ' The moſt ' lively and ſubtle Wits are not always the propereſt ' for Philoſophy. The imagination had better be a ' little heavy, than ſuffer itſelf to evaporate into too ' refined Speculations. The plain good ſenſe of *Socrates* triumphed over all the Arts, and all the ſubtilty of the Sophiſts. Philoſophy did not become ' abſtract till it ceaſed to be ſolid: they ſtuck to formalities when they had no longer any thing real to ' ſay, nor did they ever think of having recourſe to ' ſubtilties, till they had no hopes of making pure Reaſon prevail †. That *Protagoras*, who firſt ſought ' for captious Arguments, aſſumed this ſubtile air only ' becauſe he had a wrong turn of Mind. . . . . They ' ſpoiled all, ſays *Seneca* ‡, by refining every thing. ' For in order to make a vain Oſtentation of Wit, ' they forſook the moſt eſſential parts of the Sciences: ' they began to weaken the Truth of things by the ' Artifice of Words, making uſe of Sophiſtry, when ' they were at a loſs for good reaſons. By this new ' Art *Narſiphanes* and *Parmenides* overthrew every ' thing. . . . . So that the ſimplicity of Reaſon was ' corrupted by the Artifice of Diſcourſe, and they ridiculed Truth inſtead of treating it with reſpect. ' This was the Error of the *Spaniards* of the laſt Century: they did by Philoſophy as they did by Politics: both which by their ſpeculative Genius they ' carried up to inconceivable ſubtilties, every Scholar ' refining upon his Maſter. From whence happened ' ſuch a diſorder as *Seneca* complains of ‡: Diſputation became all the Fruit of Philoſophy, and they made ' uſe of it, not ſo much to cure the Soul, as to exerciſe ' the Wit.' All this is good and true: and our *Euclid* and *Eubulides* might have ſeen themſelves in it. But let us ſee what Father *Rapin* ſays particularly of them.

(40) Rapin, Reflexions ſur la Philoſophie, n. 28, pag. m. 358, 359.

† Habet hoc ingenium humanum ut cum ad ſolli'a non ſufficerit ſubtilibus attentur. *Vell. de Augm. Scien.*

‡ Vide quantum mala ſecreti nomia ſint litas & quam infeſta ſit veritati. *Seneca, Epiſt. XCVIII.*

‡ Philoſophia non in remedium animæ ſed in exercitium rem ingenii inventa. *Seneca, Lib VII, cap. i, de Benef.*

' *Euclid* of *Megara* ſubtilized yet more the ſubtilties that were in Dialectics, and added to it a ' lively air of diſputing, by giving a greater warmth ' to his Diſcourſe: he even carried this to an exceſs, ' which made *Timon* reproach him with having inſpired the Inhabitants of *Megara* with *a rage of diſputing* *, by that captious and ſophiſtical Logic ' which he taught them, which *Socrates* did not approve of: becauſe there was no ſincerity in it's manner. It was *Euclid* and his Diſciple *Eubulides*, who ' invented theſe Sophiſms, which were afterwards ſo famous in the Schools, mentioned by *Diogenes Laërtius* †; and which after all have nothing real but ' their ſubtilty; as the Dilemma, the horned Argument, the Electra, the Sorites, the celebrated *Megarie* Interrogations (41), which *Plutarch* ſpeaks ' of; and all thoſe Cavils of their making, which rendered Dialectics ſo contemptible at *Athens*, that *Socrates* was obliged to turn it into ridicule, in his Diſcourſes againſt the Sophiſts, to undeceive the Minds of the People. It was of this *Euclid* that *Demoſthenes* learned the Art of the Dilemma, and that earneſtneſs which made him ſo vehement in the Character of Eloquence he aſſumed (42).' There are ſix Faults in this Paſſage. I. *Socrates* was dead when the Logic of *Euclid* appeared: ſo that he was in no Condition to condemn it. II. The Dilemma was not placed by *Diogenes Laërtius* among the Sophiſms invented by *Euclid* and *Eubulides*. I do not believe that other Authors include it in that Liſt; and indeed it is falſe that the Dilemma is a Sophiſm. It is as good a way of reaſoning as the Syllogiſm; and if there are falſe Dilemmas, there are alſo Syllogiſms of that ill quality: but under pretence that there may be ſophiſticated Syllogiſms, they would be very much miſtaken that ſhould ſay a Syllogiſm is a Sophiſm. Apply all this to the Dilemma, and you will find that our Father *Rapin* is miſtaken, both as to his Quotation, and as to the Matter itſelf. III. If *Socrates* could not diſapprove of *Euclid*'s Dialectic, much leſs could he ridicule that of *Eubulides*, the Diſciple and Succeſſor of *Euclid*. IV. *Demoſthenes* learned of *Eubulides*, and not of *Euclid*, the Art of Reaſoning. This is what *Apuleius* (43), and *Diogenes Laërtius* (44), both teſtify. V. After having put the Dilemma among the Sophiſms which *rendered Dialectic ſo contemptible at Athens, that Socrates was forced to turn it into ridicule*, he ought not to have aſſigned it for one cauſe of that Character of Eloquence which made *Demoſthenes* admired (45). VI. It was not by the Dilemma, but by the Enthymem that That Orator diſtinguiſhed himſelf, whether you take the Enthymem according to the Idea of Rhetoricians, or according to the Idea of Logicians. I paſs over Father *Rapin*'s Quotation of *Peter Ramus*. He ſhould have cited *Laërtius*.

* Ἀσκαν ἐφιστικὴν. Iam lib. i. Dialect. cap. vii.

† Diog. lib. II.

(41) See Remark [*G*] of the Article *CHRYSIPPUS*.

(42) Rapin, Réflexions ſur la Logique, num. 31 pag. 378.

(43) Apuleius, in Apologia, pag. mihi 283.

(44) Diog. Laërt. in Euclide, lib. II, num. 108.

(45) Nothing was more admirable in this Orator than his vehemence.

Let us juſtify the firſt of theſe ſix Cenſures. It is certain that the Diſciples of *Socrates* founded no School during their Maſter's Life, and that *Euclid* did not leave *Athens* till after *Socrates*'s Death (46). At which time he retired to *Megara*, and founded a School of Philoſophy, and conſequently the Dialectic he taught, and to which he gave a new air of ſubtilty, was after the Death of *Socrates*. Note, by the way, that he received at his Houſe in *Megara* *Plato* and the other *Athenian* Philoſophers (47), when the ſame Tyranny which had deſtroyed *Socrates* forced them to retire to ſome place of ſafety.

(46) See *Plato in Phædone*, where he ſays that *Euclid* was preſent at *Socrates*'s laſt Diſcourſes.

(47) Diog. Laërt. lib. II, num. 106. Heſychius Illuſtrius, in Euclide.

EUDO, Duke of *Aquitain*, cotemporary with *Charles Martel*, was concerned in the greateſt Tranſactions of his Time. We are not well acquainted with the particulars of his Pedigree; but it is probable he was the Son of *Bertrand*, Duke of *Aquitain*, and younger Brother to St *Hubert* (*a*). He took Advantage of the Troubles of the Court of *France*, and the Calamities *Spain* was involved in by the Invaſion of the *Saracens*; for whilſt the latter thought of nothing but the ſecuring of their new Acquiſitions, and *France* attempted, in vain, to ſubdue *Auſtraſia*, where the Mayors of the Palace had made themſelves independant; he ſeized not only the firſt and ſecond *Aquitain*, between the *Loire* and the *Garonne*, but alſo all the Country of *Thouloufe* and *Uſez*. In the mean time, the *Gaſcons* ſpread themſelves all over the Country, between the *Garonne*, the Ocean, and the *Pyrenean* Mountains. It is not to be wondered at, if *Eudo*, having ſuch Forces, ſaw himſelf courted by *Chilperic* II, King of *France*. *Rinfroi*, Mayor of the Palace, had endeavoured, with the Aſſiſtance of the *Friſons*, to bring the Kingdom of

(*a*) *See* Audigier, Orig des François, *Tom II, pag.* 226.

of *Austrasia* under the Obedience of the Crown of *France*; but *Charles Martel* attacked him so seasonably in the *Ardennes* in 716, that he put him to flight. *Chilperic* and *Rinfroi*, his Mayor, were forced to fly, and being defeated again the next Year, they were under terrible Apprehensions from *Charles Martel*. In this distress they had recourse to the Duke of *Aquitain*, and far from quarrelling with him for his Usurpations, and Power, they declared him a Sovereign Prince [*A*], inviting him into a Confederacy with them against the boundless and rebellious Ambition of their Enemy. *Eudo* assembled all his Forces, and marched to join *Chilperic*'s Army near *Paris*; and after they were beaten, he led the unfortunate King into *Aquitain*, who wanted such a Retreat to secure himself from the wicked Attempts of the Conqueror. For that Conqueror was opening a way to that Usurpation, which afterwards took place in the solemnest Manner (*b*). *Chilperic*'s retreat into *Aquitain*, and his defeat near *Soissons*, happened in the Year 719. *Charles* pursued him as far as *Touraine*. Some time after he sent Ambassadors to *Eudo*, to demand *Chilperic*. *Eudo* would not surrender him, but upon express Condition that he should be treated according to his Dignity. He made him magnificent Presents; and it was, perhaps, by his means that That Prince did not die in a Monastery. Two Years after he did the Nation a signal Service by the Victory he obtained near *Thoulouse*, over the *Saracens*. Those Infidels, aspiring to the Conquest of the Gauls, had no sooner made themselves Masters of *Narbonne*; but they advanced to *Thoulouse*, and laid Siege to it. If they had not lost *Zaman* their General, and a great part of their Army before this Place, it is easy to guess what they would have done. This defeat did not hinder them from returning soon after, and seizing *Carcassonne*, *Nismes*, and all *Septimania*, as far as the *Rhône*: So that *Eudo*, who did not think it reasonable to let *Charles Martel* take such large Steps towards usurping the Crown [*B*], found himself in great perplexity: he was afraid of the *Saracens*; and he would not submit to a Man who had no more Right to the Sovereign Authority than himself. The precautions which he took were, on the one hand, secretly to favour the Cabals which were forming in *Neustria* (*c*), and on the other, to enter into an Alliance with *Munuza*, a brave Mooriſh General, to whom the *Saracens* had trusted *Cerdagne*. *Munuza* being desperately in Love with the Daughter of *Eudo* [*C*], who was a very beautiful Lady, to obtain her engaged to revolt: Therefore *Eudo*, believing that the *Saracens* could take no Advantage of his Absence, being sufficiently taken up at home with the work *Munuza* would cut out for them, made an Irruption into *Neustria*. This Enterprize did not succeed; he was vanquished (*d*) by *Charles Martel*, and his Country plundered by the victorious Army. His Son-in-law was still more unfortunate, as we shall shew in it's place (*e*): He perished

(*b*) When *Pepin* his Son caused the lawful King to be deposed, and himself chosen in his place in the year 752.

(*c*) Thus the western part of the *French* Monarchy was called.

(*d*) In 381.

(*e*) See the Article *MUNUZA*.

[*A*] *Chilperic and his Mayor . . . declared him a Sovereign Prince.*] I might have said they declared him King; for thus *Fredegarius* speaks of it: 'Chilpericus itaque & Raganfredus legationem ad Eudonem ducem dirigunt, auxilium postulantes, rogant: REGNUM & munera tradunt. —— *Chilperic therefore and Rinfroi send Embassadors to Eudo, with Presents, and the Investiture of the Crown, to desire his Assistance.*' It must not be imagined that *regnum* signifies there a meer Ornament for the Head, named a *Crown*, sent to the Duke of *Aquitain*; it must be understood the Dignity and Authority which the Crown is a Symbol of: thus *Valesius* understands it. 'Ut suo, *says he* (1), summoque jure ac regia potestate in Aquitaniæ dominaretur provincia regiæ ditioni exempta. —— *That he might reign in the Province of Aquitain, by his own supreme Authority, and regal Power, it being rendered independant of the King's Authority.*' I make this Remark after a modern Author (2), who seems to charge the learned Father *le Cointe* with thinking that they only sent *Eudo* a Crown without conferring the Royal Authority upon him. In the Passage cited by that Father (3), I agree that *regnum* signifies a Crown, but not a Crown without Relation to the Sovereign Power. *Rheginon* confirms my opinion, when he says, under the Year 725, that *Charles Martel* deprived *Eudo* both of his Kingdom and his Life, *Eudonem* REGNO *simul & vita privavit*. The modern Author cites for a third witness an Inscription of St *Maximin*, which denotes that, in 710, under *Eudo*, the most pious King of the French, and in the time of the descent of the *Saracens*, they removed the Body of St *Mary Magdalene*: 'Anno nativitatis Domini 710, 'sexta die mensis Decembris . . . . regnante Odoino 'pientissimo rege Francorum, tempore infestationis gentis perfidæ Saracenorum. But this Authority has two great Defects: one, that the Year 710 is not a time when an Inundation of *Saracens* was feared in *Gaul*; the other, that *Eudo* at most was but King of *Aquitain*, and here is an Inscription which treats him as King of the *French*. I wonder Mr *Audiger* should not perceive a fault in the Figures 710. It is not in his Book an Error of the Press; but however, it is a Fault. *Catel*, in quoting this Inscription, has pointed it in such a manner that it falls upon the Year 716 (4). *Anno nativitatis Domini septuagesimo decimo sexto, die mensis Decembris, &c.* I have read in *Belleforet* (5), that in the Year 741 the *Saracens* destroyed the City of *Aix* in *Provence*, at which time *Girard de Roussillon*, Earl of *Burgundy* and *Provence*, removed from *Aix* to *Vezelay*, *the Body of the blessed Mary Magdalen*.

(1) Adrianus Valesius, Hist. Francor.

(2) Audiger, Origine des François, *Tom. II, pag.* 335.

(3) Romanus Pontifex in signum Imperii utitur regno, & in signum Pontificii utitur mitra. *The Pope wears a CROWN, as an Ensign of his Temporal Power, and a Mitre to shew his Ecclesiastical.* Innocent III, apud Audiger, ubi supra.

(4) Memoirs de l'Hist. du Languedoc, pag. 524. *He borrows it from his Brother* Bernard Guido *in his* Chronicle of the Popes, *and in the* Life of Nicholas III.

[*B*] *He did not think it reasonable to let Charles Martel take such large steps towards usurping the Crown.*] I do not know well whether to resent or despise the base partiality of so many Writers, who treat all such as opposed the Ambition of *Charles Martel*, and *Pepin*, as turbulent and rebellious Persons. Those same Authors would have turned the Tables, if Fortune had declared for these pretended Rebels, and the Titles of Factious, Disturbers of the public Peace, Perfidious, and Traitors, would have been reserved for the *Martels* and the *Pepins*: So true it is that there are People every where among Historians as well as among the Populace.

(5) Chronique de France, *fol.* 52.

- - - - - - - - Sed quid
Turba Remi? Sequitur fortunam ut semper, & odit
Damnatos. Idem populus si Nortia Tusco
Favisset; si oppressa foret secura senectus
Principis, hæc ipsa Sejanum diceret hora
Augustum, (6)

(6) Juvenal, Sat. X. ver 73.

But the same very Mob, that rascal Crowd,
Had cry'd Sejanus, with a shout as loud;
Had his Designs, by Fortune's Favour bless'd,
Succeeded, and the Prince's Age oppress'd
DRYDEN.

[*C*] *Munuza became desperately in love with the Daughter of Eudo.*] The mistakes of some Authors concerning this matter shall be examined in the Remarks of the Article MUNUZA.

[*D*] *They*

perished in the Commotions he had raised, and then *Abderama*, who had defeated him, finding nothing to oppose him, penetrated into *Aquitain* with a numerous Army. *Eudo* dispatched Ambassadors to *Charles* to beg his Assistance, but, without waiting for the Arrival of the Succours, he rashly ventured a battle with the *Saracens* as soon as they had passed the *Dordogne* (*f*). Policy had, perhaps, a greater share than Courage in this Action. He imagined that if he beat *Abderama* before *Charles*'s Arrival, he might obtain another Victory over the latter, in Case of need; to say nothing of the Glory he had reason to expect, if he could expel the Infidels without any body to help him. He fought bravely; but at last, after a long resistance, was routed. Though it is said that his loss was very great [*D*], yet, re-assembling the broken remains of his Army, he advanced towards the Place where *Charles* was to pass the *Loire*, and joining him, they fought the famous Battle in which *Abderama* was killed [*E*], the seventh of *October* 732. But he could not be content to leave *Neustria* in Peace; he took Arms again in 735. This was the last time; for he died of Grief the same Year [*F*], upon *Charles*'s entring *Aquitain*, and putting all before him to Fire and Sword. *Hunaud*, his Son, no less ambitious than himself, would not acknowledge *Charles*. This kindled the War afresh, which, after various Successes, at last ended to the disadvantage of *Hunaud*. He was forced to submit, and had his Duchy granted him (g).

(*f*) Isidore of Beja, cited by Catel, Memoires de l'Hist. du Languedoc, p. 27. A very little battle was fought between the Garonne and the Dordogne. See it also pag. 529.

(g) See Cordemoi's History of France.

[*D*] *They say his loss was very great.*] *Roderic* of *Toledo* (7) gives a frightful Idea of it, as if God alone knew the numbers of those that perished upon this occasion. I have already observed this in the Article ABDERAMA (8); but these are the Historian's Words: 'Abderamen ... cum amnes Garumnæ & Dordoniæ pertransissent Eudonem de quo 'diximus invenit ad prælium præparatum, sed infelicita-'te præterita comitatus in fugam dilabitur fugitivus, '& tot ibi de ejus exercitu ceciderunt quod ejus numerus omni humanæ scientiæ occultatur. —— *Abderama having passed the Dordogne and Garonne found* 'Eudo, *of whom we have already spoke, prepared for* 'Battle, *but, being pursued by his former ill Fortune,* 'he was totally routed, *and the number of his Troops* 'that there fell exceeds all human Conception.' He adds, what is very false, *viz.* that *Abderama* plundered and burnt the City of *Tours*.

(7) Hist. Arab. cap. XIV.

(8) Remark [*D*].

(9) See Remark [*K*] of the Article ABDERAMA.

(10) The Saracens entered France, they say, with their Wives and Children.

[*E*] *He fought together with Charles Martel in the famous Battle, in which Abderama was killed.*] Several Historians (9) give him the greatest share in that glorious Victory (10); for they say it was he that broke into the *Saracen* Camp, where, putting all to the Sword without distinction of Age or Sex (11), he charged the Enemy in the Rear; upon which imagining they were surrounded on all sides, their courage failed, and they fled away. But if these Historians had no better Authority for this matter, than for what they boldly advance, that *Eudo* brought *Abderama* into *France*, they deserve no Credit. I know *Fredegarius* has affirmed the latter. See *Catel*, at the third Book of his Memoires of the History of *Languedoc*, where, examining this question, he inclines to the Negative, tho' he confesses that *Ado of Vienna*, the Annals published by *Pythæus*, *Sigebert*, *Marianus Scotus*, *Herman Contract*, and several other Historians, have written that *Eudo*, *to oppose Charles Martel, had called in the Saracens to his Aid*. I have confuted this in the Article ABDERAMA (12).

(11) The Saracens entered France, they say, with their Wives and Children.

(12) Remark [*I*].

[*F*] *He died of Grief the same Year.*] The Annalist of *Fuld* is mistaken in placing his Death under the Year 728. *Rheginon* is also mistaken in the Words abovementioned, where he says that *Charles Martel* deprived *Eudo* of his Crown and Life. *Fredegarius* gives a more exact account: He says that *Charles*, hearing of the Death of *Eudo*, called a Council, repassed the *Loire*, marched as far as the *Garonne*, took *Blaie*, &c.

EVE, the Wife of *Adam*, was so named by her Husband, because she was to be the Mother of all living (*a*). She was formed out of one of *Adam*'s Ribs, and brought to him to be his Wife (*b*). God blessed them, and commanded them *to encrease and multiply, and replenish the earth* (*c*), and yet *Adam* did not think upon his conjugal Duty, till after he and his Wife had violated the Prohibition God had laid upon them. It was *Eve* who first disobeyed the Command of God: She suffered herself to be deceived by the Lies and fair Promises of the Serpent [*A*], and then sollicited her Husband to the same Disobedience.

(*a*) Genesis iii, 20.

(*b*) Ibid. chap. ii, ver 22.

(*c*) Ibid. chap. i, 28.

[*A*] *She suffered herself to be deceived . . . . by the fair promises of the Serpent.*] I should never have done if I was to relate all the Fictions that are to be found in Books concerning this Serpent. I. Some have said (1) it was a true Serpent that tempted *Eve*, and they suppose that at that time the Serpent conversed familiarly with Man, and that he lost the use of his Speech as a punishment for his Malice, in abusing the Simplicity of the Woman; but this opinion is so absurd, that it is surprizing such an Author as *Josephus* should not be ashamed to advance it. I wonder less at this than to see, that so great a Visionary, as *Paracelsus*, should say (2), that not only the first Serpent, by the special Permission of God, had Power to raise *Adam* and *Eve* to a sublime Degree of natural Knowledge, but that even to this Day all sorts of Serpents retain the Knowledge of the highest natural Mysteries by the particular Will of God. II. Some *Rabbins* agree with *Josephus* (3), that the Tempter of *Eve* was a true Serpent; but instead of saying, as that Historian does, that the Serpent tempted the good Woman, pushed on by a Spirit of Envy, by considering the happiness promised to Man in case of Obedience to God, they say, he was urged to it by a Spirit of Lust. He saw *Adam* and *Eve* enjoying one another, as the Laws of Marriage allowed them to do: he saw them both naked in this Exercise; such an Object excited very irregular Passions in him; he wished to be in *Adam*'s Place, and hoped he should enjoy that Happiness, if she should become a Widow: now he believed this his Ambush would be fatal only to the Husband, because the Husband would be the first to eat the Apple; therefore he resolved to lay this Snare for them. Is it possible to vent more inconsistent Impertinence than this? Would a Tempter who had such Motives as these have made the Woman eat the Apple in the absence of her Husband? III. If we believe *Abrabanel* (4), the Serpent became a Tempter only by the ill Consequences that were drawn from his own Conduct. He had no design to do harm: he did not say a Word to *Eve*; he only had the Faculty, which other Beasts had not, of climbing up the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and eating the Fruit. *Eve*, seeing he was not the worse for it, concluded from thence, there was nothing to apprehend from that Tree, and eat of it without fear of Death. Is not this to despise Holy Scripture more than *Eve* contemned the Command, to explain in this manner an account, in which so particular a mention is made of a Dialogue between the Woman and the Serpent? IV. Some ancient Heretics have dreamed, that the tempting Serpent was a Virtue (5), produced by *Jaldabaoth* under the form of a Serpent. This *Jaldabaoth* was vexed that a Deity greater than himself had made Man walk upright, who before was but a Worm, and had also given him the Knowledge of the superior Deities; for *Jaldabaoth* would willingly have passed

(1) Joseph. Antiquit. lib. i, cap. ii; Aben Ezra ad Genes. iii.

(2) Paracelf de myster. Vermium, apud Rivinum, Serpent. Seduct. p. 24.

(3) Salom. Jarchi apud Rivinum, Ibid. pag. 27.

(4) *Apud* Rivinum, *ibid. pag.* 95, *& seq.*

(5) Tertull. de Præscript. Adv. Hæret. cap. xlvii. Epiphan. Hæres. xxxvii.

obedience. The Inconveniencies of Child-bearing, the Pains of Travail, and Subjection to her Husband, were the Punishments inflicted upon her by God. *Adam* had no knowledge

pitied for the only true God. Therefore out of spite he produced the Serpent of Paradise, to whose Word *Eve* gave Credit as if it had been the Word of the Son of God. These Heretics had a great Veneration for the Serpent; for it is he, say they, who having taken of the Fruit of the Tree communicated the Knowledge of Good and Evil to Mankind. They were called *Ophites*. V. If we believe St. *Augustin* they carried their furious Reveries a great deal farther (6); for they pretended the tempting Serpent was JESUS CHRIST; and for that reason they fed a Serpent, which at a word from their Priests would creep upon the Altars, and twist about the Oblations and lick them, and then return into his hole again: and then they believed that JESUS CHRIST was come to sanctify their Symbols, and they celebrated their Communion. The most true Opinion, viz. that *Eve* was seduced by the Devil concealed under the Body of a Serpent, has had a thousand Suppositions added to it by the Liberties human Invention has taken. VI. For there are Rabbins (7) who say that *Sammael*, the Prince of the Devils, got upon the back of a Serpent of the bigness of a Camel, and with this Equipage he came to *Eve* to tempt her. VII. Some say (8), the Tempter took an advantage from *Eve's* not declaring the Prohibition in the same Terms that God had made it in to them: God had forbidden them to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil: but *Eve* told the Serpent God had forbidden them to eat of that Tree or to touch it. Now as she passed near the Tree, the Serpent took hold of her, and pulled her against it, and made her observe she did not die for it, and inferred from thence that neither would she die if she eat of it. Several Fathers and some modern Divines (9) condemn *Eve* for not exactly reporting what she had heard from God, and it may be said this was an ill Omen of the misery of Mankind. This probably was the first time that what had been heard said was told again to another: great Alterations were made in it, too' they were yet in the happy State of Innocence. Is it then to be wondered at, that, every Day, fallen Man gives unfaithful Accounts of things, and that a matter of Fact cannot pass from hand to hand for a few hours without being disguised? This by the way, as also what I am going to add, which is that some Authors pretend, that *Eve* did not know the Prohibition, but from what *Adam* told her, and that *Adam* made her believe out of his own Head, that they were not allowed so much as to touch the Tree, that he made her, I say, believe this, that she might be the more circumspect. Useless Precaution! VIII. Some (10) deny that the Serpent spoke at all to *Eve*. He made himself understood, they say, either by his hissing or by signs: for at that time Man understood the voice of all the Beasts. *Cajetan* (11) will not acknowledge in the tempting of *Eve* the Intervention of a Voice: he pretends the Serpent made use of nothing but internal Suggestions. IX. A Rabbin named *Lanjado* has so subtilized the Expression (12) *You shall surely die* †, that he imagined the serpent presupposed a double Death was contained in the threatning of one, which was to depend upon the Quality of the forbidden Fruit, and the other upon the Command not to eat, or that one should be caused by the Wood of the Tree, the other by the Fruit: whereupon the Serpent by a true sophistical Turn, and as if he would have shunned a lye by an equivocal Expression, denied that the threatning would have it's effect with respect to the Wood of the Tree: therefore he persuaded *Eve* to taste of the Wood, and, as she found it of an agreeable taste, she concluded that the Fruit would be quite another thing. So that she eat of it. Ye Distillers of the sacred Letters, you would be much less to blame if you threw away your time in Chymical Distillations, in seeking for that Phantome the Philosopher's Stone. X. It has been feigned that the Serpent affirmed the Face of a beautiful Maid, when he would tempt *Eve*. *Nicholas de Lyra* makes mention of this idle conceit (13), and in the *German* Bible's printed before *Luther*, among other Figures may be seen that of a Serpent with the Face of a very handsome Maid.

Definit in pisces mulier formosa superne (14).

A Virgin's Face joined to a Fish's Tail.

The *Syrens* were also a monstrous Composition, with their upper Part resembling a Virgin. Their treacherous and deluding Voice may well be compared to that of the Serpent; but would to GOD *Eve* had done as *Ulysses* did. She listened too much to the Discourse of this Seducer: not that we are to believe all the fine Compliments that *Hermes Trismegistus* reports to have passed on both sides (15). For, according to the Narrative of *Moses*, this great Affair was ended in a very few Words. Never was an Enterprize of such Importance: It concerned the Fate of Mankind for all future Ages: The eternal Felicity, or eternal Damnation, of all Men depended upon it, without reckoning all the Follies and Vanities of the present Life; and nevertheless, never was any Affair so speedily dispatched, never perhaps had the Devil so cheap a Bargain of Man as this was. In all probability the criminal Thoughts of particular Persons, which are of no consequence, cost him more than this, which was decisive for the whole World; and it must be confessed, that the two Heads, with whom GOD did deposit the Salvation of the Human Race, kept it so ill that nothing could be worse: they delivered up the Place to the Enemy, almost without a Blow; and instead of fighting for so precious a Trust, at least as much as sinful Man will fight for the Religion of his Country, *pro aris & focis*, they made less Resistance than a Child will make for his Toy, that is taken from him. They acted as if a Pin had only been at stake: *pro re non satis*. Nevertheless, we must be far from thinking, either that *Moses* has too much abridged that Narrative, or that, according to the Oriental Taste, he conceals that fatal Event under the Veil of Fable. This would be too much exposing the Interests of our fundamental Truths: and after all the great Innocence of *Eve*, and her want of experience in all things, ought to lessen our wonder at her short and feeble Resistance. There is nothing like being excessive wicked and deceitful to prevent being imposed upon. Men of Probity are those that give the easiest into the Snare. *Incapable of Fraud, they hardly escape the artful Designs of others. An open Heart cannot suspect in another the Malice and Collusion which he is not conscious of in his own Breast.* Therefore it was a Conquest infinitely more profitable than glorious, which the Devil made over the first of all Women, and one might almost, in this manner, expostulate both with him and the Serpent, who was his second:

Egregium vero laudem & spolia ampla refertis,
Tuque puerque tuus, magnum & memorabile nomen,
Una dolo divum si fœmina victa duorum est (16).

High Praises, endless Honours, you have won,
And mighty Trophies with your worthy Son,
Two Gods one silly Woman have out-done.

DRYDEN.

For what a modern Author urges, that the good Angels would not have suffered so unequal a Match between a Devil, thoroughly experienced, and a Woman who was but just formed, and who had never seen the Sun rise or set, deserves no other Answer than this, that such an Argument, by proving too much, proves nothing. 'Quod si hoc totum, says he (17), ab in-'scitia & imbecillitate muliebris provenisse dixeris, æ-'quum utique fuisset ignaræ & imbecillæ fœminæ 'succurrisse ex altera parte bonos Angelos. Æqui 'spectatores rerum humanarum haud tulissent tam im-'parem congressum. Quid enim, si dolo mali Dæ-'monis multifidi & in rebus versatilimi victa fuerit 'imbella fœmina, quæ Solem nond in orientem vel 'occidentem viderat recens in lucem edita, & rerum 'omnium inexperta? Meruit certè tam charum caput 'quod annexam sibi teneat humani generis salutem, 'meruit, inquam, custodiam angelicam. . . . Should 'you alledge, says he, *that all this proceeded from the Woman's want of Power and Experience, it might reasonably have been expected, that some good Angels should have assisted in their turn a weak and unexperienced Creature. Angels of Love could not have been so unequal a Resistance. Heat, wonder of the Work, just opened into the World, that had neither*

(5) August. de Hæres. cap. xvii.

(7) *See* Rivinus, pag. 5, 43, 44.

(8) Ibid. pag. 73.

(9) Ambrosius, de Paradiso, cap. xii. Rupertus de Trinit. libr. iii. Cajetanus Perezius, Calvinus, Oecolampad. ut. Lutherus, Gerhardus, *apud* Rivinum, p. 73, 74.

(10) *Apud* Rivinum, pag. 103.

(11) Ibidem, pag. 124.

(12) Ibidem, pag. 122.

† The Hebr. is, *dying thou shalt die.*

(13) *See* Rivinus, pag. 118.

(14) Horat. de Arte Poet. ver. 4.

(15) *See the* Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, *July* 1686, pag. 764, *where some Faults of* Garasse *are observed.*

WHAT small Resistance Eve made.

(16) Virgil. Æneid. lib. iv. ver. 93.

(17) Burnet, Archæol. p. 441. Ed. Amst. 1694.

knowledge of her till after they were expelled the Garden of *Eden* [*B*]. This is not a neceſſary Proof that it was incompatible with a State of Innocence [*C*]. They had many Children: *Cain* was the firſt-born, and *Abel* the ſecond; as for *Seth*, he was not born till after *Abel* had been killed by *Cain*. All this is unqueſtionable, ſince the word of God ſays it; but as it goes no farther, we may judge as we think fit of the other things which are

' *neither ſuch the Sun riſen or ſet, ſhould be ever-powered*
' *by the Cunning of a moſt pratiſed Fiend? Surely ſo*
' *valuable a Being, on which the Happineſs of Man-*
' *kind depended, deſerved the Protection of ſome Guar-*
' *dian Angel.*'

[*B*] *Adam did not know her 'till after they were driven out of the Garden of Eden.*] None but thoſe who are more guided by their own Imaginations than the Authority of Scripture, will deny that *Adam* and *Eve* came out of the Garden without any carnal Knowledge; and *Cornelius à Lapide* (18) wrongfully charges the Proteſtants with denying it. I. Therefore I refer thoſe to the fabulous Regions, who ſay that *Cain* was conceived in the terreſtrial Paradiſe, and that *Eve* was no ſooner created than ſhe loſt her Virginity: *Adam* enjoying her immediately as ſoon as he ſaw her. The Author of the Sibylline Verſes maintains, that as an Exemption from all Shame was one of the Privileges of Innocence, Man in that State performed his conjugal Duty in the Sight of the Sun, and as freely as the Brutes (19); but he is an apocryphal Author, and deſerves no Credit. The Rabbins who have had the Impudence to ſay (20), that the Serpent fell in love with *Eve*, by ſeeing her in the Act with her Husband, and that upon that Sight he formed the black Deſign of ſeducing them, are much leſs to be born than the pretended Sibyl, and thoſe other Rabbins who have ſaid that *Adam* was aſleep during the Serpent's Converſation with *Eve* (21), and that he was fallen aſleep to refreſh himſelf after his conjugal Exploits. Theſe latter Rabbins are however very extravagant. We ſhall ſee others in the following Remark, who, though not free from Fictions, yet do eſtabliſh the Fact which we maintain with a Father of the Church (22); that *Adam* did not think of celebrating his Nuptials till he was out of Paradiſe. *Nuptiæ terram replent, virginitas paradiſum* (23). —— *The World is a State of Matrimony, but Paradiſe of Virginity.* II. Let us ſhun alſo the contrary extream. Some pretend, that *Adam* deferred the Conſummation of his Marriage fifteen Years, or even thirty Years. Others carry the matter farther, and affirm, that *Adam* and *Eve*, by Conſent, and to bewail their Sin, did not break through their Continence till the end of a hundred Years. The Reaſons which confute this are very good, whether they are taken from the want the World was then in of being peopled, and the Commiſſion they received from GOD on this Account, or whether they are taken from the Diſpoſitions, their Age, the Conſtitution of their Bodies, and the firſt Fires of Concupiſcence, muſt riſe in them. ' Probabiliter cenſet Torniellus in Annal. Cain genitum eſſe mox poſt expulſionem Adæ & Evæ ex Paradiſo, ſcilicet primo anno Mundi & Adæ, tum quia Adam & Eva creati ſunt in ſtatura perfecta & habili ad generandum, tum quia poſt peccatum mox acres libidinis & copulæ ſtimulos ſenſerunt, tum quia ipſi erant ſoli in Mundo, & per eos Deus volebat ſtatim propagari & multiplicari toto orbe genus humanum (24). —— ' *The Conjecture of Torniellus, in his Annals, is not* ' *improbable, that Cain was born ſoon after the Ex-* ' *pulſion of Adam and Eve from Paradiſe, that is the* ' *firſt Year of the World and Adam, both becauſe Adam* ' *and Eve were created in full Stature, proper for* ' *Generation; and that after the Fall they were im-* ' *mediately ſeized with the Stings of Luſt, and an* ' *Impatience for Enjoyment; becauſe they were the only* ' *Couple in the World, and GOD by them deſigned* ' *immediately to people and repleniſh the World.*' III. Thoſe who ſay that *Adam* had no ſhare in that Continence of ſeveral Years, are wretched Dreamers, that do not deſerve any regard. They (25) ſuppoſe, that he continued excommunicated One hundred and fifty Years for eating the forbidden Fruit, during which time he lived with a Woman, who like himſelf had been formed out of the Earth, whom they call *Lilith*. They add, that he begot Devils by his Commerce with this Woman, and that at length, when his Excommunication was taken off, he married *Eve*, who came out of his Head, and begot Men. This Account is more confuſed than what we find in other Books (26), *viz.* that *Adam*, deſiring to do Penance, kept himſelf at a Diſtance from *Eve* for One hundred and thirty Years, and devoted himſelf to another Woman named *Lilithe*, upon whom he begot nothing but Devils. This was a worthy Fruit of ſuch an irregular Penance. But on the other ſide *Epiphanius* mentions a Sect of Heretics (27), who ſaid, that the Devil had to do with *Eve*, as a Husband with his Wife, and that he begot *Cain* and *Abel* upon her. See Remark [*G*]. Strange Equivalents theſe! *Adam* leaves *Eve* to beget Devils upon another Woman, and the Devil aſſociates with *Eve* to beget Men upon her. IV. But what is chiefly to be condemned is the prophane and impious Error of thoſe who ſay, that the Tree of Knowlege of Good and Evil was nothing elſe but the Pleaſure of Love: From whence they conclude, that the Fall of our firſt Parents was only, on the Woman's Part, a Deſire to part with her Virginity, and on the Man's Part the Accompliſhment of that Deſire. *Cornelius Agrippa* is not the firſt that has vented this Folly. The *Cathari*, the *Manicheans*, the *Priſcillianiſts*, and the *Baſilidiani*, had broached it long before (28); and it appears by the Book of the Count *de Gabalis*, that it is one of the Doctrines of the *Cabala*, and that the Initiated and the Adepts explain in this manner the Hiſtory of the Temptation. ' The wiſe Man eaſily explains thoſe ' chaſte Figures, *ſays that Author*, when he ſees that ' the Taſte and Mouth of *Eve* are not puniſhed, and ' that ſhe brings forth with Pain: he knows that it is ' not the Taſte which is criminal, and diſcovering what ' was the firſt Sin, by the Care the firſt Sinners took ' to conceal certain Parts of their Bodies with Leaves, ' he concludes, that it was not the Will of GOD that ' Mankind ſhould multiply by that baſe way.' *Robert Flud* adopts the ſame abſurd Opinion (29). ' Graviter erravit Cornelius Agrippa *in declamat. de Orig. peccati* ' & Robertus Flud, ſub nomine anagrammatiſato Rudolphi Otreb. *in tract. Theologico-Philoſophico, de vita, morte, & reſurrectione, lib. 2. cap. 2. & 3.* ' dum tradunt, primum & originale peccatum aliud ' nihil fuiſſe, quàm copulam carnalem viri mulieriſque, ' & nullum alium Dæmonem Evam tentaſſe arbitrantur, quàm illum de quo ait Job, cujus virtus eſt in ' lumbis & in umbilico poteſtas. A quâ etiam opinione ' non plane alienus videtur Philo Judæus *de opific.* ' *mund. fol.* 26. *& ſeqq.* (30). —— *Cornelius Agrippa* ' in his Declamation on the Origin of Sin, *and Robert* ' *Flud under the anagrammatized Name of Rudolphus* ' *Otreb.* in a Philoſophical-Theological Treatiſe on ' Life, Death, and the Reſurrection, *have been guilty* ' *of a notorious Error in laying down the firſt original* ' *Sin to be nothing but the carnal Commerce of Man and* ' *Woman, and fancying that no other Devil tempted* ' *Eve, but that whereof Job ſpeaks, whoſe Virtue is in* ' *his Loins, and whoſe Power is in his Navel. From* ' *which Opinion Philo Judæus ſeems not to differ much.*' Though it ſhould be granted that there is ſomething figurative in *Moſes*'s account, yet it would be no leſs certain that it is to be literally underſtood as to the order of time. Now it is undeniable that the firſt Embraces of *Adam* and *Eve* are related in Scripture, as after the Sentence that GOD pronounced againſt their Crime. *Reyſſenius* has ſolidly confuted the Fable of theſe Libertines (31). Here are four falſities upon this one point.

[*C*] *This is not a proof that it was incompatible with a State of Innocence.*] Several of the ancient Fathers, too much prejudiced in favour of Virginity, have pretended (32) that if Man had perſevered in Innocence, he would not have entered into the carnal Commerce of Matrimony, and that the Propagation of Mankind would have been effected quite another way; but St *Auguſtin* has maintained the contrary by ſtrong reaſons (33); for, in ſhort, the divine Bleſſing, the Command to multiply, and the difference between the Sexes, were things preceding the Fall; and it would be abſurd to ſay that Sin was abſolutely neceſſary, that GOD might

(18) In Gen. iv. v. See Heidegg. Hiſtor. Patriarch. Tom. I. pag. 168.

(19) Καὶ ὡς θῆρες ἀδιάντοις ἀπὸ συνεπῆσιν. Luce palam volupe coeuntes more ferarum. Lib. I. pag. 45. Edit. Gallæi.

(20) Apud Rivinum, Serp. Sedu&. pag. 27.

(21) Apud Bandem, pag. 77. 78.

(22) Hieronym. lib. I. in Jovin.

(23) *See the following Remark.*

(24) Corn à Lapide, in Geneſ. cap. iv. ver. 1.

(25) *Apud* Saint Romuald. Abregé du Threſor. Chronolog. Tom. I. pag. m. 35.

(26) *See* Heidegg. Hiſt. Patriarchar. Tom. I. p. 168.

(27) Reſut. Hæres. XL.

(28) See Hildrian. Beverland. de Peccato Originis. pag. 44. 45.

(29) Jacobus Molleruis, in Tractatu de Hermaphrodito, cap. vi. pag. 176.

(30) *See in the Remark* [*I*] *what will be quoted of* Leo the Hebrew.

(31) In juſta Bataſtatione ſectarii libelli Adr. Beverlandi. *See alſo* Polygam. Triumphat. pag. 233, & ſeq. Saldeni, Otia Theolog. pag. 558, & ſeq.

(32) Vide Sallustium, Tom. I. pag. 174.

(33) Auguſtinus, de Civitate Dei, lib. xiv. cap. xxiii. & ſeq.

are told us of *Eve*. For instance, that she lay-in every Year (*d*), and every time had a Son and a Daughter [*D*]; or even a greater number of Children of both Sexes; and that she lived 940 Years (*e*) [*E*]. There is nothing improbable in all this, but what I am going to say relishes altogether of the Romance and the Monkish Conceits, viz. That she instituted a Religious Order of certain young Women who were always to remain Virgins and *to preserve unextinguished the Fire* that fell from Heaven upon *Abel*'s Sacrifice, and which was called *Vesta*, or *the Flame of God* (*f*). This is the Origin of the Vestal Virgins, according to this fine Story. We shall see in another place that the same is referred to *Noah*'s Wife. It is another very gross Fable, to say as they do (*g*), that *Eve* cut off a Branch of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, of which she made a great Stick, and forced her Husband with it to eat of the Fruit of that Tree. Farther, it is perfectly prophane to say, as some have done (*h*), that *Eve* herself was the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, whose Fruit was prohibited (*i*). As to

(*d*) See the Chronicle of Genebrard.

(*e*) Sulpitius Annal. Tom. I, pag. 53.

(*f*) St Romuald, Abregé du Threſor. Chronol. at the Year of the World 99.

(*g*) Apud Salian. Ann. Theol. pag. 607.

(*h*) Ibid.

(*i*) See Rem. [A].

might be furnished by human Generations with the number of his Elect (34). It is true St *Auguſtin* grants that in the State of Innocence, Generation would have been performed without any mixture of Paſſion, and without the loſs of Virginity, and that the natural parts would have been intirely ſubjected to Reaſon; ſo that according to him the Rebellion of thoſe parts was the neareſt and moſt immediate Conſequence of the diſobedience of our firſt Parents, as appears by the ſhame they were ſeized with upon the ſpot, and which forced them to make uſe of Girdles. 'Volontati membra illa (in Paradiſo) ut cætera cuncta ſervirent. Ita genitale arvum vas in hoc opus creatum ſeminaret, ut nunc terram manus (35). - Seminaret igitur prolem vir, ſuſciperet fœmina genitalibus membris quando id opus eſſet, & quantum opus eſſet voluntate motis, non libidine concitatis (36). Ita tunc potuiſſe utero conjugis ſalva integritate fœminei genitalis virile ſemen immitti, ſicut nunc poteſt eadem integritate ſalva ex utero virginis fluxus menſtrui cruoris emitti (37). - It ſeems certain Rabbins attributed this to the natural quality of the forbidden Fruit: the mechanic Principles of the new Philoſophy would eaſily furniſh them with Arguments to defend this Opinion. Thoſe Doctors add (38) that the Knowledge the Tempter promiſed our firſt Parents from this Fruit, was that they ſhould have a deſire to couple, the only thing they were Strangers to (39). In this manner the Tree was to open their Eyes. *Adam* was to perceive the Beauty of his Wife which he had not taken notice of before, being too much taken up with intellectual things, and both were to obſerve the parts deſigned for the functions of Marriage. In Conſequence of which they were to produce other Men, and become like to God in the Power of making new Beings. Can there be a bolder Impiety than what is to be met with in *Abrabanel* (40); that God, out of jealouſy to Man, and that he might be the only Producer, forbid him to eat of the Tree which gave him the Power to beget? To this the Rabbins apply the Proverb *Figulus figulo invidet, faber fabro*; and ſome maintain (41), that *Adam* did very well to eat of the forbidden Fruit, becauſe without it Man would have been like a Beaſt, not diſcerning good and evil, and would have had no pre-eminence above the Brutes but the faculty of ſpeaking. The learned *Maimonides* has confuted this extravagance. It ſeems thoſe People believed the Conſtitution of *Adam* and *Eve* was ſuch that they wanted the ſpirituous parts of the forbidden Fruit, to remove ſome obſtructions which rendered them inſenſible and impotent, as thoſe mentioned under the Title *de frigidis & maleficiatis*.

(34) Ibid. cap. xxiii.

(35) Id. ibid.

(36) Id. ibid. cap. xxiv.

(37) Id. ibid. cap. xxvi.

(38) Apud Rivinum, pag. 127, and following.

(39) Unicam rem ignoravit, coitum ſcilicet. *Abra Ezra, apud Rivin. pag.* 127.

(40) Apud Rivinum, pag. 129.

(41) Abrab. Genes. pag. 166 [illegible]

[*D*] *They pretended that ſhe was delivered every time of a Boy and a Girl.*] Some thought that *Cain* and *Abel* were twins: but the contrary may eaſily be proved by *Moſes*'s Narrative. Nor is it the moſt commonly received Opinion. They rather chooſe to imagine that a Son and a Daughter were born at each Birth, and then they ſuppoſe that the who was born with *Cain* was married to *Abel*, and the Daughter that was born with *Abel* was married to *Cain*, and in like manner the reſt (42). By this means they endeavour to ſolve the Inceſt as much as poſſible. But neither this, nor any other reaſon, required that the Twins ſhould be of different Sexes; for if *Eve* had been delivered the firſt time of two Boys, and the next time of two Girls, they might have married as well, and with as little Inceſt in upon the other ſuppoſition. However the moſt common Opinion is, that a Son and Daughter were born together: and they go ſo far as to tell us the very Names of the Daughters. *Cain*'s Twin Siſter was called *Calmana* (43), or *Caimana* (44), or *Debora* (45), or *Azrum* (46): that of *Abel* was named *Delbora* (47), or *Awina* (48). St *Epiphanius*, in his Thirty ninth Hereſy, makes mention of *Azura* and *Sawa* as two Daughters of *Adam* (49), and he ſays that *Sawa* was *Cain*'s Wife. *Cedrenus* and ſome others make *Aſuan* to be *Adam*'s eldeſt Daughter, and the Wife of *Cain*. According to *Teſtatus*, it was very true that the Rabbins gave *Cain* his Twin Siſter for a Wife, but her Name was *Calmana*. See the Remark [*F*] of the Article ABEL. Thoſe who have boldly affirmed theſe ſorts of particulars, deſerved, for the Puniſhment of their raſhneſs and credulity, to be perplexed with a greater variety of Fables than thoſe we have obſerved in them. A Confuſion of Languages ought to be the fate of ſo daring Enterprizes; now what boldneſs is it to penetrate beyond the Deluge, and even to the firſt Origin of things, without the aſſiſtance of the only Hiſtorian we have left? The Tower of *Babel* might ſooner be built, than we at ſuch a diſtance ſhould be able to find out the Names of *Adam*'s Daughters. We ought to adhere in this and ſeveral other things only to the Text of *Moſes*, ſeeking for nothing more than what the inſpired Writers inform us of. They alone knew the Truth of things; the reſt being all fiction. We ſhould ſay to them as the ancient Poets ſaid to the Muſes, *It is your part who know theſe things, to teach us:*

Et memhiniſſe enim divæ, & memorare poteſtis,
Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura (50).

For ye well know, and can record alone
What Fame to future Times conveys but darkly down.

DRYDEN.

We have already conſulted thoſe, in the Article of CAIN, who ſay that *Eve* had had but two Children when *Abel* was murdered.

[*E*] *And that ſhe lived* 940 *Years.*] If you want Vouchers, they produce three, *Marianus Victor*, *Genebrard*, and *Feuardent* (51); but a hundred thouſand ſuch as theſe are not able to leſſen the uncertainty of ſuch a fact. Beſides, I ſee ſome Authors (52) who think it ſtrange that *Eve* ſhould live ten Years longer than *Adam*, notwithſtanding ſo many Child-bearings, notwithſtanding the continual Dominion of her Huſband, the Death of *Abel*, the Schiſm of the Cainites, and her continual Grief for her Sin. They are to blame to croud into this Catalogue *Adam*'s Authority over his Wife; for unleſs they take *Adam* for a bad Husband, it cannot be ſuppoſed ſuch an Authority ſhould ſhorten the Life of *Eve*. However, they muſt allow, to that firſt Woman the beſt Conſtitution in the World, for they pretend, ſince her Husband could live 930 Years, and communicate to his Sons for many generations the Principles of ſo long a Life (which agrees no leſs to *Eve* than to him) he muſt neceſſarily have been of a very vigorous Conſtitution. His long penance, they ſay, and his ſorrow for having loſt ſo much happineſs for himſelf, and his poſterity, perhaps weakened his Conſtitution; but it is not known that he was ever ſick. Tell the thing which way you will, it will always be an Argument from the greater to the leſs to demonſtrate, that the Body of *Eve* was better conſtituted than that of her Husband. - Quemtum porro ſurerit Adami robur, quæ ſpiritus interim, quis nervorum vigor, quis contextus muſculorum - docet

(42) See Heidegg. Hiſt. Patriarchar. Tom. I, pag. 289, 290.

(43) Cornel. à Lapide, in Geneſim, pag. 95.

(44) Comeſtor, apud Salian. pag. 178.

(45) Methodius, apud Radevium, Not. in Chron. Alexandr. citatis Salian. pag. 675.

(46) Saidus Patriciides, apud Heidegg. Tom. I, pag. 289.

(47) A Lapide in Geneſim, pag. 95.

(48) Abulfaragius, apud [illegible]

(49) Epiphan. Hæreſ. [illegible]

(50) Virgil. Æn. lib. vii, ver. 645, *in imitation of* Homer's Iliad. lib. ii, ver. 485. Ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστὲ παρασ' ἴδμεν τε πάντα, Ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν. *Vos enim deæ eſtis, adeſtisque ſcitiſque omnia, Nos autem famam ſolum audimus neque quicquam ſcimus. For Earth's wide Region, Heav'n's unmeaſur'd Height, And Hell's Abyſs hide nothing from your Sight. We wretched Mortals, loſt in doubts below, But gueſs by Rumour, and but hear what's known.* POPE.

(51) Salian. Tom. I, p. 232.

(52) Id. ibid.

those who believe that, if she had not tasted that Fruit, there never would have been any Love between the two Sexes [F], but only Friendship, their Opinion can neither be refuted by solid Reasons, nor supported by good Proofs.

I shall relate two or three other extravagant Fables of the Rabbins. Some of them say, that *Eve* was formed out of her Husband's Tail. They pretend (k) that at first God had given *Adam* a Tail; but perceiving afterwards that it lessened his Beauty, he resolved to cut it off: However he made use of it to produce the Woman, which he presented to the first Man (l). This Woman, they say, was so beautiful, that the Prince of all the Angels fell desperately in love with her (m) [G]; which was the Cause of his falling from a State of Innocence. She alone could satisfy *Adam*'s amorous Passion, who had tried all other Methods in vain [H]; and this made him cry out, *This is now bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh* (n). In this wild manner they not only vent their abominable Conceptions; but also found them on Scripture by the most absurd method of interpretation that can be. The Imaginations of a Jewish Author, who lived in the XVIth Century, and who was commonly called *Leo the Hebrew* (o), are no less

(k) See the Chronicle of Cedrenus.

(l) See Genesis Rabbah, Tom. I, pag. 33.

(m) Ibid. Tom. I, pag. 33.

(n) Gen. ii, 23.

(o) He was Son to Rabbi Abrabanel. See Remark [I] of the Article ABRABANEL.

(53) Id. ibid. pag. 109.

'decet hongentorum & triginta annorum ætas, nullo 'quod senatur languore debilitata, eademque in multorum 'sæculorum posteros propagata, etsi fortassis illam totius corporis simulatem nonnihil tam diuturna pœnitentia, tam multiplex tristitia, de tot tantisque bonis sibi fuisque amissis, afflixerit (53). —— 'How prodigious the Strength of Adam was, how robust his Constitution, how vigorous his Nerves, how compact his Muscles, appears from an Age of 930 Years, never interrupted by any known infirmity, and from his propagating the same to his posterity for many Generations, though it is probable so long a penitence, and such variety of sorrow, for the loss of so many and so important Benefits to himself and his descendants, might somewhat impair the strength of his Constitution.'

[F] *Some think that, if she had not tasted the forbidden Fruit, there never would have been any Love between the two Sexes.*] I have quoted (54) St *Augustin*'s words, which clearly testify that in his Opinion Fathers would have produced their Children with the same ease that Husbandmen sow their Grounds. It might be objected to him that the Brutes remain in their original state of Creation, and yet they are inclined to propagate their Species with incredible Ardor.

(54) *In the Rem.* [C], *Citat.* (35). *The Master of the Sentences, in* 19 distinct. secund. *and other Authors*, apud Casp. à Reies Elys. jucund. Quæst. Campo, Quæst. xlii, n. 2.

Inde feræ pecudes persultant pabula læta,
Et rapidos tranant amnes (55).

(55) Lucret. lib. i, ver. 14.

Each Beast forgets his Rage, and entertains
A fester Fury thro' the flow'ry Plains.

What they call *Ibida*, and all that can be conceived most lewd, eager, and passionate, under that word, may be plainly seen among Beasts when they are stimulated by the Fire of Love: and yet they have done nothing to be deprived of their natural State. Therefore it looks as if those impetuous Motions, which are accompanied with Pleasure, and nevertheless subject to Reason, have nothing in them inconsistent with the State of Innocence. St *Augustin* would certainly have secured himself in the essential difference there is between a reasonable Creature, made after the Image of God, and brute Beasts; and it would have been hard to have beat him out of this intrenchment. Let us leave him there undisturbed, and content our selves to observe, that since Man after his Fall was unable to obey the exact dictates of Reason, there was nothing more necessary than to introduce Love into the World; for it cannot be conceived how Mankind could have subsisted without it. The Passions, with respect to the natural benefits of Society, are the same thing as Repentance in celestial concerns, a Plank after Shipwreck; and since Reason was to become so feeble, we could not have had recourse to a better shift than that of the Passions, of which Love is without dispute the principal one, and in some manner the Soul of the World. Hear what *Lucretius* says of it in the sequel of these Verses above.

Ita capta lepore
Te sequitur cupide, quo quemque inducere pergis.
Denique per maria, ac montes, fluviosque rapaces,
Frondiferasque domos avium, camposque virentes,
Omnibus incutiens blandum per pectora amorem
Efficis, ut cupide generatim sæcla propagent.
Quæ quoniam rerum naturam sola gubernas,
Nec sine te quidquam dias in luminis oras
Exoritur, neque fit lætum, neque amabile quidquam;
Te sociam studeo scribendis versibus esse,
Quos ego de rerum natura pangere conor (56).

(56) Ib. ver. 15, *and following*

To thy soft Charms the whole Creation bends,
And Love's vast Empire o'er the World extends.
On Hills, in Streams, and in the wat'ry Main,
On Leafy Forests, and the verdant Plain,
Thy genial Pow'r the various Nations moves,
The Realms to people, and indulge their Loves.
Since then all Nature owns thy high Decree,
Since all that's lovely owes it's Birth to thee,
Nature's my Theme, do thou instruct my Song,
Soft as thy Charms to flow, and as thy Impulse strong.

See what has been said upon the usefulness of the Passions and Prejudices by *Maimbourg*'s Critic, in the second Volume of his *Nouvelles Lettres*, from page 499 to page 572. See also the *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres* for the Month of *September* 1686, Article I, page 989.

[G] *The Rabbins say . . . . that the Prince of all the Angels fell desperately in Love with her.*] They give him the Name of *Samaël*, and make him the Father of *Cain*, who, according to their fictions, was no more than *Abel*'s Brother by the Mother's side, and there they acknowledge what the Physicians call *Superfœtation*. Read this Latin: 'Ingreditur ad Evam (nempe Samaël) 'equitans super serpentem, & gravidavit eam Cainum; 'deinde ascendit Adam, & fœcundavit eam Abele (57). '—— *Samaël riding on a Serpent went in to Eve, and got her with Child of Cain; Adam afterwards knew his Wife, and she conceived Abel.*' Father *Bartolocci* adds that they suppose all the People of the Earth, except the Jews, are derived from the like Adulteries of *Adam*'s Wife. 'Non Samaël solum cognovit Evam, 'sed & serpens ipse antiquus cum Eva coivit, ex cujus 'semine omnes mundi nationes (Judæis exceptis) pro'venire dicunt (58). —— *Not only Samaël knew Eve, but the old Serpent had also carnal Knowledge of her, from whose seed, they say, all Nations of the Earth, (except the Jews) proceeded.*' They also make her the Mother of several Dæmons. 'Adamum intra spa'tium centum triginta annorum Dæmones procreasse 'ex Lilith . . . . . Evam autem Dæmonum concubitum 'per idem tempus appetiisse, ex qua Dæmones nati 'sunt, volunt (59). —— *They pretend that Adam for one hundred and thirty Years generated Dæmons with Lilith, and that Eve during the same space courted the embraces of Dæmons, which she likewise brought forth.*' What is most strange is, that they found all these Chimeras upon the words of Scripture, which they miserably pervert and sophisticate.

(57) Bartolocci, Bibl. Rabbin. Tom. I, pag. 291. *translating a Passage out of* Jalkut. Sect. Bereschith, pag. 26.

(58) Id. ibid.

(59) Id. ibid. pag. 222.

[H] *She alone could satisfy Adam's amorous Passion, who had tried all other ways in vain.*] Let us use the words of an *Italian* Monk (60): *Quid mirum si hæc dicant.* —— *What wonder, if they will say such things as these,* viz. 1. That *Adam* carnally knew *Eve* the very day he was created: 2. That she conceived four Children, *Cain*, *Abel*, and two Daughters. 3. That they made haste

(60) Id. ibid. pag. 75, 76.

(p) Leo, the Hebrew, Philosophy of Love, Dialogue III, pag. m. 612, 613.

less extravagant. He pretends (p), that the Man, God made the sixth day of the Creation, was both male and female; which Man, after having reviewed all the Birds and terrestrial Animals, without finding any whose Society, and Aid, could be agreeable and convenient for him, was cast into a profound Sleep, that, being divided into two, he might be delivered from the Solitude which God did not see good for him. After this division, the Woman, who before had no particular Name, was called *Eve*. The Author reconciles his Hypothesis, as well as he can, with the *Androgynes* of *Plato* (q), and imagines that Man would never have sinned, if the two Sexes, which at first were united in *Adam*'s person, had not been separated [I]. He pretends also, that in each Sex there

(q) See the Remark [F] of the Article ADAM.

hâste to consummate their Marriage, because their Conduct in this respect was to be a rule and example to all the brute Creatures, to endeavour the Multiplication of their Species: 4. That no Creature had performed that function before Man (61): 'Quæ minora æstimantur, cum de protoparente Adamo ita sinistre sentiant, ut etiam ipsum nefariæ incontinentiæ, quod referre pudet, insimulent? In Jalkut tom. I. n. 24. ante Evæ formationem, omnia jumenta, ferasque campi carnaliter cognovisse aiunt his verbis..... *dixit R. Eleazar, quid sibi vult, hoc vice?* (Vulg. "hoc nunc) *Gen.* 2. 23. *ad docendum, quòd ingressus fuerat Adam super omne jumentum & feram, nuque refrigerata est illius concupiscentia, quousque copulata est ei Eva.*' Father *Bartolocci* observes that some modern Rabbins say, that this is to be understood in a metaphorical sense; but he affirms the contrary, since the last words, *quousque copulata est ei Eva*, are to be taken in the literal sense, and the Rabbi's Thought is so clear, that it is a wonder any Christian Authors should strain it to an allegorical meaning. *Solomon Jarchi* (62), continues he, understood it literally.

(61) Non colvit ullique creaturarum ante primum hominem. *Bartolocc., Bibl. Rabbin. Tom. I, pag.* 25.

[I] *Leo the Hebrew . . . . imagines that Man had never sinned, if the two Sexes . . . . . had not been separated.*] Leo supposes, that the Serpent could not deceive the Woman while she was joined with the Man, nor deceive the Man and Woman jointly (63). So that the power of sinning was a Consequence of the Division of the two Sexes; a Division which God had made for wise ends, *viz.* that each of the Sexes might be an help to the other in the Work of Generation. Let us say something of the Allegories added by the same Author to this. He pretends (64) that each Man and Woman is compounded of a masculine and a feminine Part. The Understanding is the masculine Part, the Matter, or Body, the feminine Part. In the beginning there was a very good understanding between these two parts: *The sensual feminine Corporeity was obedient and subject to the Intellect and masculine Reason; so that there was no manner of Opposition in Man, and his Life was altogether an intellectual one* (65). The prohibition to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, signified that *Adam* should not turn aside his Intellect towards *Acts of Sensuality* (66), nor towards the acquisition of useful things; for corporeal, sensual, and corruptible Objects cause the Intellect, which is too much addicted to them, to become material and corruptible, *that is to say, liable to Condemnation and Punishment* (67). Nevertheless, adds the Jewish Doctor, *the Deity did not permit* the Obedience of *the corporeal feminine Part to the intellectual masculine Part* to be constant. God foresaw that the Union of these two parts would render the Essence of Man more and more immortal and perfect; but on the other side that it would be very prejudicial to the corporeal and feminine part, both with respect to the individual Person, and with respect to the propagation of the human Species; for '1. When the Intellect 'is inflamed with the Knowledge and Love of eternal and divine Things, it neglects the care of the 'Body, and lets it die before it's time. 2. Those, who 'are ardently engaged in intellectual Contemplations, 'despise corporeal Love, and shun the lascivious Act 'of Generation: so that this intellectual perfection 'would cause the loss of the human Race. Wherefore God determined to put some moderate division 'between the feminine sensual Part, and the intellectual masculine Part, that (68) sensuality might 'prompt the Intellect to certain desires, and corporeal 'Acts, necessary for the corporeal individual sustentation, and the succession of the Species. And this 'is what is signified by the Text, when it says, *It is 'not good that the Man should be alone, let us make 'him a help before*, or over against, *him*; that is to say, 'that the sensual feminine Part should not be so subject 'to the intellectual as never to make any resistance, 'but should sometimes draw it to corporeal Things, 'for the benefit of the individual Being, and the 'Species.' As to the sleep *Adam* fell into, when God took a Rib from him, and formed *Eve* out of it, our Author pretends that it signifies (69) that ' the 'primary intellectual watching, and intense Contemplation of *Adam* was interrupted, and that the Intellect began to incline towards the corporeal part, 'as a Husband to his Wife, and to have a moderate 'care for the sustentation of it, as of part of itself; 'and of the Succession of it's kind, for the preservation of the Species: so that the division between the masculine and feminine half, was made for good and 'necessary ends' and afterwards followed the resistance 'of the feminine Matter, and the inclination of the 'masculine Intellect towards it, together with an immoderate pursuit of the corporeal Necessity: And 'was no longer governed by Reason, as it ought to 'have been, and as the Creator intended it should be. 'So that the Intellect yielding and submitting to Matter, and thereby plunging itself into sensuality, Sin 'followed thereupon And this is what the History 'denotes, when it says that the Serpent deceived the 'Woman, bidding her eat of the forbidden Tree, that 'she might know Good and Evil: because as soon as 'they should eat of it, their Eyes would be opened, 'and they should be as Gods, knowing Good and 'Evil. Which the Woman seeing, and that the Tree 'was good to eat, and fine and delectable to the Eye, 'and a Tree to be desired to make her wise; she eat 'of the Fruit, and made her Husband eat with her; 'at which time their Eyes were opened, and they 'knew they were naked, and they sewed Fig-Leaves 'together, and made themselves Aprons. The Serpent is the carnal Appetite, which first stimulates 'and deceives the corporeal feminine Part, when it 'finds it in any manner separated from the Intellect it's 'Husband, and resisting his strict Laws, that it may 'sink into carnal Delights, and blind itself by the Acquisition of superfluous Riches, (which is the Tree of 'Knowledge of Good and Evil, for the two Reasons 'mentioned above) shewing her, that thereby their 'Eyes will be opened, that is to say, that they shall 'know many such things as the Tree of Knowledge 'of Good and Evil discovers to them, and which 'they did not know before. To wit, several Tricks 'and Contrivances belonging to lasciviousness and 'avarice, which before they did not trouble themselves about: telling her also, that they should be like 'the Gods in this; that is in fertile Generation: for as 'God is an intelligent Being, and the Heavens are 'productive causes of Creatures inferior to them, in 'like manner, Man by continual carnal Meditations 'would at length beget a numerous progeny. In 'which case the corporeal feminine Part not only refused to be governed as it ought to be by it's intellectual Husband, but drew him into the sink of corporeal Things, eating the forbidden Fruit with him: 'and immediately their Eyes were opened: not the 'intellectual Eyes, for these were rather closed by it, 'but those of the corporeal fancy towards carnal and 'lascivious Acts. and then they knew they were naked that is, they know the disobedience of the 'carnal Acts to the Intellect: for which cause they 'covered their genital Parts, as shameful and rebellious 'to Reason and Wisdom.'

(62) Le Postille Genes. ad hunc locum.

(63) Leo, the Hebrew, Philosophy of Love, Dial. III, pag. m. 616.

(64) Ibid. pag. 617.

(65) Ibid. pag. 619.

(66) Ibid. pag. 620.

(67) Ibid. pag. 622.

(68) Ibid. pag. 623.

(69) Ibid. pag.

Two things may be censured in this Doctrine of *Leo* the Hebrew. The first is that he says plainly enough, *Eve's* first Sin was an Act of incontinence; from whence it follows, that the Fruit of the Tree she made her Husband eat, was nothing else but her inciting him to enjoy her. In the second place, this

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there was a masculine Part as well as a feminine. This Writer's Explications are very improper to account for the Divine Providence, in relation to the Fall of *Adam*; not being far from their Opinion, who think that the first Sin was an Act of lascivious Love. See the Remark [I]. In thus condemning these unbelieving Doctors, we must not spare a Wit of the Church of *Rome*, a Frenchman by Nation; he made a Sonnet which has been printed, and which, to say no worse of it, is extreamly prophane [K]; it would be a vain and frivolous Excuse to plead the Privileges of Poetry. The just liberty of Poets does not extend so far; and in how many Cases would their Maxims against Morality and Religion be lawfully condemned according to the juridical Forms of the Inquisition? See the Remark [I] of the Article *Garasse*. Another Wit, an Italian, a noble Venetian; in a word, the celebrated *Loredano*: This Wit, I say, deserves to be censured for not consulting the Honour of *Eve* in point of Decency; for he supposes that after she had been driven out of Paradise with her Husband, she exhorted him to perform his conjugal Duty to her, in obedience to the command of God, to increase and multiply (r). The *Decorum* required, that *Adam* should be supposed to demand this. There are some other things to be blamed in *Loredano* [L]. A German Author has been infinitely

(r) See Remark [I].

Author attributes to God a Conduct utterly unworthy of the Sovereign Perfection. He supposes that the Union of the two Sexes, in the first Man, was a State of Immortality and intellectual Life which excluded the unhappy power of sinning, and that nevertheless God soon abolished this State, to remedy two Inconveniences, *viz.* that Man should too much neglect his Body, and should abstain from the carnal Acts from whence Generations result. God foreseeing these Disorders separated what he had joined before. Had it not been better, may one say to this false Doctor, to have formed the two Sexes apart, than first to unite, and presently after to divide them? Should he finish a Work, and immediately be obliged by the defects of it to undo all again? and if God foresaw the two Consequences of the Conjunction, did he not also foresee the Consequences of the disunion? did he not foresee that the two Sexes, by becoming subject to Sensuality, would be hurried into Intemperance thro' the influence of Pleasure? and were not these inconveniences worse than the two others, and required at least as much to be remedied? methinks this Conduct is something like that of those Judges, who being unwilling formally to set a Prisoner at liberty, not yet willing to keep him in Prison, indulge him with the benefit of *salutior custodia*, or privately order the Jaylor to furnish him with an opportunity to make his escape. The feminine Part during it's Conjunction with the masculine was under so good a Guard that it could not deviate from it's Duty; but it was separated from it, and thereby put into a Condition to use and abuse it's Liberty. What should we think of a Physician who should employ Incisions and Burnings (the *Ure, Seca*) to cure those who are not much addicted to sensual Pleasures, and neglect those who are so addicted; who should expel a contempt of Wine, and leave drunkenness alone (70)? We must therefore reject the Hypothesis of this Jewish Author as abominable.

(70) That is to say, should apply only palliating Remedies, which he knows and foresees would be useless.

[K] *A Wit made a prophane Sonnet.*] It is easy to see Lucan *Servasin*'s famous Sonnet, *Quand Adam vit cette jeune beauté. When Adam saw that young Beauty.* The Conclusion of it is not only too satirical against the fair Sex, but is loose and prophane even to Impiety.

Cher Charleval, *dans ce mérite,*
Je crois qu'il fut une femme fidelle;
Mais comme quoy ne l'auroit-elle été,
Elle n'avoit qu'un seul homme avec elle.
Or, ce sola nous nous trompons tous deux,
Car, bien qu' Adam fût jeune & vigoureux,
Bien fait de corps & d'esprit agréable,
Elle aima mieux, pour s'en faire conter,
Preſter l'oreille aux fleuretes du Diable,
Que d'estre femme & ne pas coqueter (71).

(71) Servasin, Poesies, pag. 81, Edit. Paris, 1658, in 12mo.

'That is, Dear *Charleval*, then indeed I believe 'there was one faithful Wife; for how could she help 'it, when there was but one Man with her: and yet 'we are here mistaken; for tho' *Adam* was young, 'jolly, vigorous, and agreeable, rather than be a Woman and no Coquet, she would listen to the amorous Tales of the Devil'. One would think that *Servasin* wrote this in a furious fit of Jealousy, when he had just had an account that his Mistress had been civil to some Sparks that admired her; for this is one of the Caprices of Love. 'A Man is never more disposed to rail against the fair Sex in general, than when he knows, the Person who loves him and whom he loves hearkens willingly to the Courtship of others, that she consents to familiar Conversation, and is very merry when he is absent, &c. He would have the Woman, that has an amorous Intrigue with him, look down with contempt upon every Body else, and scornfully reject all their Civilities, and become to them ill humoured, rude, cruel, and untractable; and when he sees the clean contrary, as it often happens, he grows peevish, and enraged, with so little reason, that all the fair Sex must suffer for it. He inveighs against all Women, charges them with being essentially Coquets, and if at that time he should be writing a Treatise of Logic, when he comes to the Chapter of Universals, he would assign Coquetry for the *proprium quarto modo* of the female Sex, for that property *quæ convenit omni, soli, & semper subjecto, & cum eo reciprocatur.* If he were not in Love he would be far from this Injustice, and would see nothing to be condemned in the pleasure they take in being flattered and wheedled, and in their civil and obliging way of answering a Compliment. Nay he is not thus unreasonable when he is deeply in Love, and his Mistress is a Coquet to no Body but himself. Therefore it is Jealousy that makes him exclaim and rave, not only against his unfaithful or pretended unfaithful Mistress, but against all Women in general, as if Coquetry was inseparable from them. Can any thing be more fantastical and blind, than the Caprice of these jealous Lovers? they cannot endure that their Mistresses should express the least Tenderness even for their own Husbands. Thus one of them complains.

Je penserois n'être pas malheureux,
Si la beauté dont je suis amoureux
Pouvoit enfin se tenir satisfaite,
De mille amans avec un favori:
Mais j'enrage que la coquette
Aime encor jusqu'à son mari (72).

(72) Bussi Rabutin, Histoire amoureuse des Gaules.

'That is, I should not be unhappy if the Beauty I 'admire would be content with a thousand Lovers 'and one Favourite, but I am mad to think she is 'Coquet enough to love even her very Husband.'

[L] *There are some other things to be blamed in Loredano.*] I consider here only his work of the Life of *Adam*: it is a Book that has been translated out of Italian into French: this Translation, *made from the eighth Edition printed at Venice by Valvasense* (73), was published at *Paris* in 1695, and reprinted soon after at *Amsterdam*. In the *Mercure Galant* for the Month of *December* of the same Year, there is a very good Criticism upon this Treatise (74). Mr *Basnage de Beauval* has also made a fine Criticism upon it in his Month of *March* 1696 (75). One cannot give too bad a Character of such a Book, nor forgive the Author the liberty he has taken to mix so many romantic inventions with such a Subject, Inventions so void of Gravity, and much fitter for a comic History. Let us consider only some of his Thoughts concerning

(73) Preface to the French Translation.

(74) See the Remark [A] of the Article *VALERIUS*.

(75) *Art. iv, pag. 321, and following.*

infinitely more favourable to this first of all Women; he thinks *Adam*'s Sin was greater than that of *Eve*, and that God did not drive her out of Paradise; but that *Adam* only underwent that Punishment. We shall see what Grounds he goes upon. *M*

concerning *Eve*. The Author affirms (76) that 'It was the effect of God's goodness towards *Adam*, to let him sleep at that time (77), well knowing that in a little while he would lose his rest in his Wife's Company. *Adam* being endowed with a prophetic Spirit, continues he, could foresee the Evils which the Birth of *Eve* would cause to all Mankind, so that perhaps God excited his sleep, least he should oppose the Creation of his Wife. It does not look as if God by creating only one Woman for *Adam*, intimated to Men that they ought to be content with one Marriage; but perhaps he did it for another reason, that he might not multiply his Sufferings by giving him many Wives, there being commonly nothing more capable of exercising a Man's Patience, and disturbing his Rest, than the cares of Matrimony (78).' He supposes (79) that *Eve* was so beautiful that *Adam was upon the point of adoring her as a Deity* (80). No Romance has a more passionate Declaration of Love than that which *Adam* makes here (81). The Author finds no better incident to prevent the Consequences of that *Eagerness*, with which the first Man expressed the *tenderness of his Heart*, than to feign that God himself appeared and interrupted their Conversation (82). *Adam* warned his Wife *not to touch the fatal Fruit which would bring Death into the World* (83). This Prohibition awakened the Curiosity of *Eve*; for it is enough to forbid a Woman any thing to excite her Curiosity. The Prohibition stimulates and inflames her Desires which are commonly eager for lawful things, but insatiable for what is forbidden. Thus, urged on by that Impatience, which digged the Grave of their Happiness, she leaves *Adam* to enjoy, without Witness, or Reproach, a Sight of the Fruit which she esteemed the most exquisite of all, because forbidden (84). He accompanies this with a piece of Morality, to teach Women always to keep under the eye of their Husbands. 'The farther a Woman goes from her Husband, the nearer she approaches to ruin: Such danger is she in of being lost, when she is divided from him, because she gives every body both opportunity and boldness to attempt her. A Woman being alone is exposed to Temptation even from a Serpent. The Moon is eclipsed when she is too near the Sun, but a Woman on the contrary suffers fatal Eclipses in her Chastity when she is at a distance from her Husband (85). I pass over the Compliments which the Author supposes the Serpent in the shape of a young Virgin made to *Eve*; but we may observe, he pretends she framed a Lye in her answer (86); and that she had recourse to Sighs, Tears, Caresses, and *passionate Kisses* (87), to prevail with *Adam* to eat the Apple she offered him. Could you guess at the employment *Loredano* assigns to Almighty God? 'In the mean time, *says he* (88), God took a walk in the Garden, to enjoy the western Breezes, when towards evening they blow somewhat fresher. This Action of the Divine Majesty did sufficiently denote the uneasiness which the Sin of Man gave him; since to moderate the heat of his just anger, he seemed to beg the assistance of those Winds which are always temperate.' A Pagan Poet would not be excusable to have said such a thing as this of *Jupiter*: but let us leave this, since we have promised to mention only what concerns *Adam*'s Wife.

The Author supposes (89) that she endeavoured to alleviate the miseries of her Husband, who *from time to time sought for some Consolation in the Arms of his Wife*, and that she reminded him of God's command to multiply, and advised him to take great care not to transgress that Commandment. 'Let us endeavour, *said she to him* (90), to recover, by a numerous Posterity, what we have lost. A weak and slight Consolation this for such great Calamities, but yet necessary, since God has so ordered it. Let us take care of disobeying a second time; our disobedience would be without Excuse; it would discourage the divine Mercy, and we should be for ever the Objects of his too just Indignation. Let us follow the Heavenly Will, in procuring the Propagation of Mankind. This is the way to vanquish Death, which is ready to triumph over our Bodies, since we shall live in sight of him in our Children, Grand-Children, and in the Memory of our Posterity. I do not say, that hereafter we should dry up entirely our Tears, or any Sorrow for having offended my God shall have no end but with my Life, and my Heart, which is to repair it the last, shall live no longer than my Grief: but we ought to take care that we do not by a new Offence provoke that God, who has treated us so favourably, which would be equally impious, and dangerous to us.' *Adam* answered her, insisting, 'I shall not for the future fear that your Company should be fatal to me since you persuade me to nothing but what is good. . . . . It is just to give some Relaxation to our Woes, to relieve a little our Senses depressed with the weight of our Affliction, and to people the World in obedience to our Gods: where upon, following his Words with Caresses, he abandoned his Soul to Pleasure, and for some time lost, in the Arms of his Wife, the remembrance of the fatal Cause of his Grief. If after *Abel*'s Death, his Father and Mother tied themselves down to Continence, it was *Adam* who with an Oath first bound himself, and without consulting his Wife (91). This is imitating the Romances, wherein the Heroines made the first Steps (92); but he had better have conformed to the modern Romances, and the temper of the Jewish Nation, who required a very great modesty on the Woman's side in demanding the conjugal Duty; for if any one asked it so loud that the Neighbours could hear their Conversation upon such a Subject, she might be divorced for it (93).

[*M*] *We shall see what Grounds he goes upon.*] So far is he from supposing, as *Loredano* does, that *Eve* was excited by the Prohibition to obvet the forbidden Fruit; that, on the contrary, he says (94) the Serpent tempted her before she thought of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. He adds, I. that she suffered herself to be persuaded that she had not well understood her Husband's Intention, or that her Husband had been deceived by some false Report. II. That believing it was not true that God had given such a Prohibition, she eat of the Fruit, and that her fault consisted in taking her Resolution too hastily in an affair of such Consequence, without consulting her Husband. III. That having sinned thro' ignorance (95), tho' not through an invincible Ignorance, she committed a less grievous Crime than *Adam*; whose Sin was voluntary, and against his Conscience. IV. That *Eve* did not necessarily incur the Punishment of eternal Death; for the Decree of God only signified that Man should die if he sinned against his Conscience, *si sciens prudensque peccasset* (96). V. That tho' God might without injustice have inflicted Death on *Eve*, yet he resolved, so great is his Compassion towards his Creatures, to let her live, seeing she had not sinned maliciously. VI. That being exempted from the Punishment included in the divine Decree, she might retain all the Prerogatives of her former Condition (97), except those which were not consistent with the Infirmities to which God condemned her. VII. That particularly she retained the Prerogative of bringing forth Children who had a right to the celestial Blessedness, upon Condition of obeying the new *Adam*. VIII That as all Mankind were to proceed from *Adam* and *Eve*, *Adam* was preserved alive for no other Reason but because his Preservation was necessary for the Generation of Children. IX. That therefore it was by accident, that the decree of Death was not executed upon him (98), but otherwise he was more severely punished than his Wife. X. That she was not expelled Paradise as he was, but was only obliged to go out of it to find *Adam* in cases of necessity, and then with full Privilege of returning again. XI. That *Adam* and *Eve*'s Children were subject to eternal Death, not as proceeding from *Eve* but from *Adam* (100). This is what directly concerns *Eve* in that Book: those who would see the Proofs and Design of this Author, and the Consequences he draws from these new Thoughts, will do well to have recourse to this Book.

(76) Loredano, Vie d'Adam, pag. 37. Edit. Amst. 1696.

(77) That is when Eve was made.

(78) Loredano, ubi supra, pag. 42.

(79) Ibid. pag. 43.

(80) Ibid. pag. 44.

(81) Ibid. pag. 45.

(82) Ibid. pag. 47.

(83) Ibid. pag.

(84) Ibid. pag. 50.

(85) Ibid. pag. 51.

(86) Ibid. pag. 58.

(87) Ibid. pag. 71.

(88) Ibid. pag. 77.

(89) Ibid. pag. 109.

(90) Ibid. pag. 130.

(91) Ibid. pag. 141.

(92) *See Remark* [G] *of the Article* LONGUS.

(93) Eadem Malm. c. 24, §. 12 & Ammud Golah, seu Liber præceptorum parvus, ubi in glossa additur: *si fuerit exigens debitum conjugale à marito suo voce clara, ita ut ejus vicina audire* potuerint eam loquentem de re ista. *Polygam. Triumphantis, pag.* 56, *col.* 2.

(94) *See the Book intituled* Cogitationes novæ de primo & fecundo Adamo examini Eruditorum compendiosè propositæ, *printed at* Amsterdam, apud Eleutherium Aspidium, anno Dominì 1700, *in* 8vo, *at the 8th Page.*

(95) Ibid. pag. 10, 12.

(96) Ibid pag. 15.

(97) Ibid. pag. 16.

(98) Ib. pag. 18.

(99) Ibid. pag. 19, 20.

(100) Ibid. pag. 23 *See also* pag. 60, 65, 140, & seq.

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It cannot be objected against him, as against *Loredano*, that he has not preserved a *decorum* in supposing that *Eve* went to seek her Husband; for it was by pure necessity, since it was impossible for *Adam* to re-enter the terrestrial Paradise: and besides it is very probable, that if this Writer was asked; *did Adam's Wife make use of her Privilege of remaining in the Garden of Eden?* He would have answered, no What should she have done there alone? she would soon have been tired of it: The most charming Landskips, the most delicious Gardens, are not agreeable to a Woman who finds no manner of Company or Society there. Solitude in the finest place upon Earth is burdensome, unless a Man be a Philosopher, or of a contemplative meditating Temper. Therefore it is to be believed, that *Eve*, as well out of her own personal Interest, as because Reason required it, would prefer the Cottage of her exiled Husband to an abode in the Terrestrial Paradise. Wherever *Adam* pitched his Tent, was to her as the Garden of *Eden* (101). There it was her Duty to settle that she might be an assistance to him according to the end of her Creation, and might share with him the Cares of her Family. See the Margin (102).

(101) *Apply to this what is said of Cornelia.* Tarpeia sede peruſta Gallorum ſacibus, Veloſque habitante Camillo, Illic Roma fuit. *When Gallic Flames the burning City felt, At Veii Rome with her Camillus dwelt.* Lucan. Pharſal. lib. v, ver. 27.

(102) Note, the Author ſuppoſes, that Adam lived very near the Terreſtrial Paradiſe, and that by God's Command.

EUGENIUS IV, created Pope on the third of *March* 1431, was of a Plebeian Family of *Venice* (*a*), and Son to *Angelo Condelmerio*, but not the Nephew of Pope *Gregory* XII [*A*], as is ſaid in *Moreri*. He took the Celeſtine Habit when he was brought to *Rome* by the Nephew of that Pope (*b*). This Nephew was alſo a Celeſtine Monk, and Canon of the Congregation of St *George in Alga*. The brother Monk, he brought to *Rome*, ſoon inſinuated himſelf into the Favour of *Gregory* XII, who made him his Treaſurer, and then Biſhop of *Sienna*, and at laſt Cardinal. *Martin* V gave him the Legateſhip of the *Picentine*, and afterwards that of *Bologna*. That Cardinal diſcharged his Office with great Ability, and ſucceeded *Martin* V (*c*). I ſhall not enlarge upon the Detail of his Actions, which may be ſeen in *Moreri*; but ſhall content myſelf with relating certain Things he has omitted, which highly deſerved a Place in his Dictionary. *Eugenius* began his Pontificate with an Action which was attended with ill Conſequences. He gave Ear to ſome Informers, who reported that *Martin* V governed by an inſatiable Avarice, had amaſſed vaſt Treaſures. According to the Advice of theſe People he cauſed *Oddo Poccio*, Vice-Chamberlain to *Martin*, to be ſeized; but he commanded *Stephen Colonna*, General of his Troops, to bring him without Noiſe, and without expoſing him to any Diſgrace. This Order was not executed. *Oddo*'s Houſe was plundered by the Soldiers, and himſelf dragged, like a Thief, to the Pope's Palace, in the ſight of the whole City. *Eugenius* was very much concerned at this, and by his Threats compelled *Stephen Colonna* to retire to the Prince of *Paleſtrina*, whom he perſuaded to expel the Pope; aſſuring him that unleſs he did ſo, the whole Family of *Colonna* was in danger of being ruined. The Prince giving credit to this Information, and pitying *Martin* V's Friends, who had been ſeverely uſed, reſolved to make himſelf Maſter of *Rome*. He ſeized the *Appian* Gate, and advanced as far at St *Mark*'s Church, committing no violence nor meeting with any Reſiſtance: but here he was forced to encounter *Eugenius*'s Soldiers, ſupported by a good Party of the Inhabitants. After a ſharp Engagement, in which a great many Lives were loſt on both Sides, the Prince of *Paleſtrina* was forced to retire. But afterwards he committed all kinds of Hoſtilities. The Pope did the ſame upon the *Colonna*'s and their Adherents. He fell Sick, either being poiſoned, or for grief on account of ſo perplexing a War. Wherefore he thought of nothing but Peace, which being concluded by the Negociation of *Angelotto Foſco*, a Roman Citizen (*d*), he recovered his Health (*e*). This happened a little before the Journey of the Emperor *Sigiſmond* into *Italy*. The Pope concluded a Treaty with him, received him magnificently at *Rome*, and crowned him there (*f*). Some time after he was expoſed to a terrible Misfortune, which was a perfect Revolution [*B*]. The Romans took Arms, and he

(*a*) Platina, in Vita Eugenii IV.

(*b*) Id. ibid.

(*c*) Ex eodem, ibid.

(*d*) Ex eodem, Platina, ibid.

(*e*) Nauclerus, Generat. xlviii. folio, m. 934.

(*f*) *In the Year* 1458.

[*A*] *He was not the Nephew of Pope Gregory* XII.] Mr *de la Rochpozay* in his *Nomenclator Cardinalium* (1), *Spondanus* in his Annals of the Church (2), and an infinite number of other Writers aſſure us that *Eugenius* IV was the Son of *Gregory* the twelfth's Siſter. I believe they are miſtaken: my reaſon is that neither *Platina*, nor *Volaterranus*, give him that Quality, and they could not have been ignorant of it, if it had been true: and *Platina*'s Silence is attended with ſuch Circumſtances that it amounts to a poſitive Proof. That Author relates that *Antony Corario*, *Gregory* the Twelfth's Nephew, brought to *Rome Gabriel Condelmerio* (3) the ſame religious Order with himſelf (3), and with whom he had lived familiarly from his Youth: *Romam iturus Gabrielem Condelmerium*, that is, the ſame *Eugenius* IV, *qui ejuſmodi profeſſionis erat, quicum ab ineunte ætate familiariter vixerat ſecum aliquandiu recuſantem duxit* (4). Is it poſſible for any Author with theſe Circumſtances not to ſay, that ſuch a one is the Nephew of ſuch a one? and obſerve that *Platina*, mingling together the Preferments of theſe two Men, always gives *Antonio Corario* the Title of the Pope's Nephew, without ever giving it the other. Some unattentive heedleſs Reader may have been deceived by this, without diſtinguiſhing what concerns *Corario*, from what relates to *Condelmerio*; and may have taken the latter for the Nephew of *Gregory* XII, after which Hiſtorians have copied one another without informing themſelves more fully of the Matter.

(1) *Pag.* 73.

(2) Ad. ann. 1408, n. 63, & ad ann. 1431, n. 4.

(3) That is a Celeſtine.

(4) Platina, in Eugenio IV, fol. m. 307.

[*B*] *He was expoſed to a terrible Misfortune, which was a perfect Revolution.*] *Philip* Duke of *Milan*, being incenſed againſt the Pope, made an Irruption into the Territory of *Rome*. His Cavalry in this Expedition was commanded by *Nicholas Fortebraccio*, a famous Warriour, and who had quitted the Pope's Service in great diſcontent; for, having demanded his Salary, *Eugenius* told him he ought to think himſelf ſufficiently paid by the Plunder he had got at ſeveral places. Enraged at this anſwer, he ſought for a new Maſter, and being employed by Duke *Philip* againſt the Pope, he committed terrible Ravages near *Rome*. The City was under the greateſt Conſternation; the Pope himſelf for ſome time was uncertain where to go. The People came in Crowds to him, complaining of the loſſes they ſuſtained: and as he was in an ill State of Health, and knew not which way to turn himſelf, he referred the People to the Cardinal his Nephew, and Chamberlain, an indolent and voluptuous Man, who gave no other anſwer to thoſe that told him they had loſt their Cattle, than this: *You confided too much in your Cattle, the Venetians live much more agreeably without all that* (5). They were ſo enraged at this anſwer, that they immediately began to cry out to Arms and Liberty. They depoſed all the Magiſtrates of *Eugenius*'s making, and put

(5) Eos nimiam ſpem in pecoribus collocaſſe: Venetos quidem ſine pecoribus & jumentis longe urbaniorem vitam ducere. *Platina, in Vita Eugenii* IV, *folio* 310.

he had much ado to escape their fury by flight; but not being able to maintain themselves in the State of Liberty this Revolution put them into, they were severely chastized. *Eugenius* died the twenty second of *February* 1447, being sixty four Years of Age [g]. His Pontificate continued sixteen Years wanting a few Days, and was a true Series of War; for without reckoning the Ecclesiastical Contests, which were very violent between this Pope and the Council of *Basil*, he was embroiled in all the Wars of *Italy*. He perswaded the King of *Hungary* to take Arms against the *Turks*, and provoked the Dauphin to make War with the *Swiss* (b). He was the more accountable for the fatal Consequences of the first of these two Wars, for having sent a Cardinal Legate into *Hungary*, to induce the King to violate a Treaty solemnly concluded with the Port (i). The Reflexion he made upon his Destiny is remarkable [C], and a proof of the Vanity that is found in the highest Dignities by those that are possessed of them. It must not be forgot that, to make it appear, he was not wholly addicted to warlike Employments, he affected to perform in Person, and with great Splendor, some religious Ceremonies, and to procure the Embellishment and Reformation of certain Churches in *Rome* [D]. He was a handsome Man, of a venerable Aspect, and always looked downwards when he appeared in public (k). He drank no Wine, and was frugal as to his own Person, tho' there was a great deal of magnificence in his House (l). He was not learned, but a lover and encourager of learned Men [E]. In his Reign the Cardinals began to keep packs of Dogs and Stables; abandoning themselves to Luxury in their Furniture and Entertainments [F].

(g) Platina, in Vita Eugenii IV, Volaterr. lib. xxii, pag. m. 815, *gives him but* 63 *Years.*

(b) Platina, Ibid.

(i) *See Letter Leonis of Aleneo Silvius.*

(k) Platina, in Eugenio IV, fol. 320.

(l) Volaterr. lib. xxii, pag. 814.

(m) Ibid.

(n) Blondus, St Antonin, Platina, Volaterran, Nauclerus.

(o) *Ad. ann.* 1434. n. 4.

(p) *See the Journal des Sçavans, March* 2, 1682, pag. 79. *Dutch Edit.*

(q) Launoius, Epist Ultima, Part I, pag. 82, Edit. Cantabrig.

(r) Vir ardentis ingenii & res agendi cupidissimus. *Platina, in Vita Eugenii IV.*

Vultu aliquid dei coro, ac venerabili, cedens in publico numquam attollebat, ut à parente meo qui eum sequebatur accepi. *Volaterra. lib. xxii, pag.* 815.

(t) Splendidus in victu familiæ, parcus in eo, & à vino ita alienus ut abdemans mero vicaretur. *Platina, in Vita Eugenii IV.*

put others in their Places, and seized the Cardinal his Nephew. The Pope seeing himself reduced to such Extremities disguised himself in the Habit of a Monk, and went on Board a Bark to make his escape to *Ostia*. Where he had the happiness to arrive notwithstanding the Stones and Darts thrown at him. Afterwards he retired to *Florence* (6). Some Writers say (7) he was committed to Prison in St *Mary's* Church beyond the *Tyber*; but that, deceiving his Guards, he got into a Fisher-boat, and went down the River to *Ostia*, being pursued and pelted with Arrows by the *Romans*. *Volaterran* (8) adds that the latter made themselves Masters of the Capitol and the Castle of *St Angelo*. I fancy he goes too far; for *Platina*, who is followed in this by a great number of Authors, assures us that the Castle of *St Angelo* was not taken. However that be, the Liberty of *Rome* was of no long Duration: the Pope's Authority was re-established in his absence by *John Vitelleschi*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who most severely punished the Mutineers. This Revolution happened in the Month of *June* 1434. It is so remarkable, and so many Authors have mentioned it (9), that I wonder *Morari* has omitted it. He might have had it from *Spondanus*'s Annals (10). *Ambrose de Camaldoli* makes mention of it in his *Hodœporicon*, and when the Abbot *de la Roque* made an Extract of that Work, he did not forget this Passage (11).

[C] *The Reflexion he made upon his Destiny is remarkable.*] Being at the point of Death, he turned towards the Monks who surrounded the Bed, and with a Voice broken with Sighs declared that it had been much better for the Salvation of his Soul, if he had never been Cardinal or Pope. ' Hic (*Eugenius*) ' cum esset morti proximus, apud Raynaldum anno ' M.CCCC.XLVII aliquid dixisse memoriæ proditur, quod ' nisi pœnitentiam ostendat, certè mihi terrorem ' injicit. Verba sunt. *Cumque à religiosis viris circum-* ' *stans esset, interpositis suspiriis voce, versoque ad eos vultu* ' *dixisse fertur*: O Gabriel, *quanto melius tenuisset* ' *animæ tuæ salutis, si nunquam Cardinalatum, nec* ' *Pontificatum obtinuisses, sed in tuo monasterio reli-* ' *giosam disciplinam coluisses!* Hæc ex vitæ Eugenii ' auctore, qui tunc claruit, & à Raynaldo laudatur ' (12). — *This Eugenius, being at the point of Death, as is reported by Raynaldus, in the Year* 1447, *to have used an Expression, which, if it did not denote but* ' *Penitence, does certainly strike me with Terror. Being* ' *surrounded with a religious Attendance, with a Voice* ' *broken with Sighs, and his Countenance directed to* ' *the Company, he is said to have spoke thus*: O Ga-' briel, *how much better had it been for thy Soul's* ' *Safety, hadst thou never been promoted to the Dig-* ' *nity of Cardinal or Pope, but continued a religious* ' *Discipline in thy Monastery. This is quoted from* ' *the Author of Eugenius's Life, who lived at that* ' *time, and is cited by Raynaldus.*

[D] *He affected to perform in Person, and with great Splendor, some religious Ceremonies, and to procure the Embellishment of some Churches in Rome.*] This appeared when *Nicholas* of *Tolentino* was canonized, and when St *Silvester's* Mitre was carried from *Avignon* to *Rome*. Read the following Words of *Platina*, in wich you will also find that he expelled the Secular Canons from St *John* of *Lateran*, and established Regular Canons in their stead. ' Interea vero ' Eugenius ne rem bellicam solum curare videretur, ' Nicolaum Tollentinatem Ordinis sancti Augustini mi-' raculis clarum in Sanctos referens, à sancto Petro ' cum omni clero supplicando ad sanctum Augustinum ' profectus, solennia ipse celebrat ataute populo Ro-' mano Cardinalibusque omnium cœtu: præterea vero ' pulsis omnino è sancto Joanne Laterano canonicis ' secularibus admissisque tantummodo regularibus: & ' porticum illam extruxit quæ ab ecclesia ad sancta ' sanctorum: & claustrum ubi sacerdotes habitarunt ' restituit: auxit & picturam templi à Martino antea ' inchoatam. Præterea vero sancti Sylvestri mitram ' Romam Avenione delatam ipsemet è Vaticano ad ' Lateranum detulit magna cum veneratione & litaniis ' sacerdotum omnium populique Romani (13). —

(13) Platina, in Vita Eugenii IV, fol. 320, verso.

In the mean time Eugenius, that he might not seem to have his Thoughts solely bent on War, canonized Nicholas the Tolentine of the Order of St Austin, a Man eminent for Miracles; and attended by all the Clergy, went from St Peter's to St Austin's, where, all the People, and the whole Conclave standing by, he performed the Ceremony. He expelled moreover all the Secular Canons from St John of Lateran, admitting only Regulars to be built the Piazza from the Church to the Sancta Sanctorum: and repaired the the Cloister, where the Priests reside. He finished the Painting of the Church, begun before by Martin. He moreover with his own Hands carried, from the Vatican to the Lateran, the Mitre of St Sylvester removed from Avignon to Rome, with extraordinary Solemnity, all the Clergy and People of Rome attending the Procession.

[E] *He was not learned, but he was a lover of learned Men.*] According to *Platina* he spoke with more Gravity than Eloquence; he had but little Erudition, he understood History well (14), was liberal to all Men, but especially to learned Men. He took Pleasure in their Conversation, for he had for his Secretaries *Leonard Aretin, Charles Aretin, Poggio, Aurispa, Blondus*, and *George Trapezuntius*. They make him the Author of several Books, but the Catalogue they give of them (15) contains so many writings that were composed by the Secretaries, that the same Judgment ought to be formed of all the rest. The Remark I have already made against *Giustin*. (16) will also serve for this Place.

(14) Gravis in dicendo potius quam eloquens, mediocri literatura: multæ cognitionis historiæ præsertim. *Id. ibid. folio* 321.

(15) *See the* Names of the Cardinalium, pag. 82, and the Bibliotheca Pontificia of Lucas Jacob, pag. 65, *and following.*

[F] *It was under his reign, that the Cardinals began to be luxurious in their Entertainments.*] And it is observable that the Cardinal who began this Innovation had been a Physician. Read *Volaterran's* Words: ' Ludovicum Patriarcham Aquileiensem, cum ' exercitu Florentinis auxilio misit (*Eugenius* IV) qui ' tunc ad Anglare oppidum à Piccinino duce copiarum ' Philippi, vicecomitis, oppugnabatur, ex quo victo-

(16) *See the Article* CHARLES VI. *Rem.* [D].

' sia potiti sunt. Hic Lodoricus patria Paduanus: ' arte medicus, ob sua merita pugnæ, in senatum ' ascitus, tantos sibi spiritus adsumpserat, immemor ' generis, ut primus sit ausus cardinalium, canes e- ' quosque alere: conviviorum, lautitiæque, ac supel- ' lectilis plus quàm illi ordini par erat, splendorem ' introducere (17). ——— *Eugenius the* IV *sent Louis* ' *Patriarch of Aquilea, with an Army to assist the Flo-* ' *rentines who were besieged at Anglara, by Picinin* ' *General of Philip's Forces, from whom they* ' *gained the Victory. This Lewis, Paduan by Birth,* ' *and a Physician by Profession, being raised to the* ' *Dignity of a Senator for his military Services, for-* ' *got his Extraction, and became so elate with Pride,* ' *that he was the first of the Cardinals who took the* ' *Freedom to keep Hounds and Horses, and introduce* ' *the Grandeur of Entertainments, and Equipage, more* ' *than became that Order.*

(17) Platina Vit. XXII, pag. 815.

EUPHRATUS, a Disciple of *Plato*, arrived to so high a degree of Favour with *Perdiccas*, King of *Macedonia*, that he governed as much as the Prince himself. He was a wicked Man, and an Informer, and caused all those to be excluded from the Table of *Perdiccas* who did not understand Geometry or Philosophy [*A*]. *Parmenio* put him to death in the Reign of *Philip*, Successor to *Perdiccas* (*a*).

(*a*) Taken from Athenæus, lib. ix. sub finem, pag. 508.

[*A*] *Excluding from the Table of Perdiccas, all those who did not understand Geometry or Philosophy.*] A Court, which like that of *Macedonia* at that time was just beginning to emerge from Ignorance, no doubt looked upon such a condition as a kind of Tyranny: for if the Professors, who put over the Doors of their Schools, Οὐδεὶς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσίτω, *Let none enter that is ignorant of Geometry*, required very hard Preliminaries; what must the Courtiers of *Perdiccas* think, when they saw that their Admission to their Prince's Table depended upon such a Law? If only a little acquaintance with the Poets, or History, had been required, they might have fulfilled the Condition; but *Euphratus* insisted upon being a Geometrician or Philosopher: now these are two Characters, and especially the first, which very few have a relish for, even among those who cultivate the Sciences.

EURYDICE, Wife of *Amyntas*, King of *Macedonia*, was the Mother of four Children, *viz.* three Sons, *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, and a Daughter named *Eurynone*. She was a most detestable Princess, for she fell so desperately in Love with her Son-in-law, that, in order to marry him, she engaged to set him upon the Throne, and murder her Husband [*A*]. This horrible Conspiracy would have taken effect, if *Eurydice* had not informed the King of *Eurydice*'s Adulteries and pernicious Designs. The King, tho' convinced of his Wife's Crime, did not punish her, pardoning her for the sake of the Children he had had by her. After his Death his Son *Alexander* succeeded him, but did not live long; for *Eurydice*, mad with Lust and Ambition, got him murdered. *Perdiccas*, her second Son, who ascended the Throne, after *Alexander*'s Death, underwent the same fate (*a*). The Historians, that are extant, tell us no more of her; they do not inform us what became of her, or whether she was punished for her wicked Actions. Nay there are some Historians, who without saying any thing of her, either good or bad, ascribe to other Causes the Death of the two Princes who reigned successively after *Amyntas*. This is somewhat strange [*B*]. I shall relate one particular which is be found in the Orations of *Æschines* [*C*], and

(*a*) Taken from Justin, lib. vii, cap. iv, & v.

[*A*] *She fell so desperately in love with her Son-in-Law, that, to marry him, she engaged to set him upon the Throne and murder her Husband.*] These are the Words of *Justin* who acquaints us with this horrible Wickedness. ' Infidiis Eurydices uxoris, quæ nup- ' tias genteri pacta, occidendum virum, regnumque a- ' dultero tradendum susceperat, occupatus fuisset (*A-* ' *myntas*) ni filia pellicatum matris & sceleris consilia ' prodidisset (1). ——— *He had infallibly fallen a Sa-* ' *crifice to the Treachery of his Wife Eurydice, who,* ' *having entered into a Contract of marriage with her* ' *Son-in-Law, had engaged to murther her Husband,* ' *and put the Kingdom into the Adulterer's Hands, had* ' *not her Daughter discovered the infamous Intrigues* ' *and Designs of the Mother.*'

(1) Justin. lib. vii. cap. iv.

[*B*] *This is somewhat strange.*] The *Justin* we have is an Abridgment of a general History, written more at large by *Trogus Pompeius*. No doubt *Eurydice*'s Actions were to be found more particularly in that History, than they now appear in *Justin*: but above all, there is no question that *Trogus Pompeius* had read in very good Authors what he relates of her. Whence comes it then that *Diodorus Siculus* makes no mention of this Queen? how comes he to say that *Alexander*, *Amyntas*'s eldest Son and Successor (2), was killed by *Ptolemy Alorites* his Brother (3), and that three Years after (4) the same *Ptolemy* was served in like manner by *Perdiccas* (5)? had not he read the same Authors that *Trogus Pompeius* had consulted? if he had not read them, we may justly complain of his Negligence, and if he had read them we may affirm that he ought not to have suppressed the story of *Eurydice*. In vain would he pretend it was without Foundation; for we might answer that at least he should have said that she was unjustly charged with causing her Sons to be put to Death. To alledge that he knew she was guilty, but spared her by his Silence, is very improbable; for what reason could he have to spare a Queen who had been dead, and her Posterity extinct, so long since.

(2) Diodorus Siculus, lib. xvi, cap. ii, pag. m. 736.

(3) Idem, lib. xv, cap. lxxi, pag. m. 712, ad ann. 1, Olymp. CIII.

(4) Idem, ibid.

(5) Idem, lib. xvi, cap. ii.

[*C*] *I shall relate one particular, which is to be found in the Orations of Æschines.*] If we knew nothing of *Eurydice* but from this Passage, we should have a great Esteem for her Memory. We read in this Orator, that this Queen, after the Death of her Son *Alexander*, found a very perplexing Affair upon her Hands. *Pausanias*, who was under Banishment, took hold of this Conjuncture, and having some *Greek* Troops at his Command, and many Friends in *Macedonia*, he resolved to usurp the Crown. *Eurydice* saw him very soon Master of some Places, and found there was little dependance upon her Friends. Her Subjects were divided, and a very great number inclined to *Pausanias*. In this sad Extremity she had recourse to *Iphicrates* the Athenian General, who was near *Amphipolis*, and putting her Son *Perdiccas* into his Arms, and *Philip* her Son upon his Knees, she reminded him that he was their Brother by Adoption, and that there had always been a strict Friendship between the late King *Amyntas*, and the Republic of *Athens*; intreating him, that for these reasons he would be pleased to protect her and them, and preserve the Kingdom for them. *Iphicrates* was so moved with these Supplications, that he drove out *Pausanias* (6). It would be well for *Eurydice*, if we had no other account of her; but when *Justin*'s Narrations are called to mind, one is not inclined to commend her for what she did to *Iphicrates*. The most

(6) Taken from Æschines's Oration de falsa Legatione, *p. m.* 250. *See also* Cornelius Nepos, in Vita Iphicratis, cap. iii.

and criticize something in the Jesuit *Bisselius*.] [D] We may observe that *Aridæus*, Prince of the *Lyncistæ*, descended from the *Bacchiades*, was Grandfather by the Mother's side to our *Eurydice* (b).

(b) Strabo, lib. vii, p. 326.

(2) Pag. 402.

(7) Joannes Bisselius, illustrium Ruinarum, Decade IV, pag. m. 1128.

(8) Idem, ibid. pag. 1287.

(a) Vales. Notit. Gall. pag. 18.

(a) Cyna, Philip's Daughter, was Eurydice's Mother. See the Prolegomena of Freinshemius upon Quintus Curtius, chap. iv.

(b) Quintus Curtius, lib. x, cap. vii. Justin. lib. xiii, cap. iii.

(c) See Justin, lib. [illegible] (f)

(d) See Justin, lib. [illegible]

(e) Quo beneficio devinctus Cassander, nihil non ex arbitrio muliebris audaciæ gerit. — Cassander, in return to those extraordinary Favours, readily executes the Designs of an ambitious Woman Id. ibid.

(g) Thus, he is reckoned in the Supplement to Morery (1).

(h) Justin. lib. xiv, cap. [illegible]

(a) Plutarch. de Lybiis, sub fin. pag. 24.

(b) Pocockius found four Greek Verses.

[D] *I shall criticize something in the Jesuit Bisselius.*] He openly declares, that *Diodorus Siculus* acts dishonestly in saying nothing of *Eurydice*'s Parricides: This is the sense of these Words, *Diodorus . . . . perpetuus* Eurydices *parricidiorum dissimulator* (7). I do not object to him, that it cannot be imagined upon what Principle that Historian should have used Dissimulation: contenting my self with saying that he ought to stick close to his first Censure, that he ought to abide by it, that he ought not to refute it by loose and indeterminate Expressions: 'Qui Diodorus, *says he, in another Place* (8), incertum qua causa studiose, de scelere ac parricidio Eurydices, altum silet. —— *It is uncertain for what reason, or with what design, Diodorus is so supinely silent with respect to the Crimes and Parricides of Eurydice.*' He adds one thing which deserves still more to be censured. 'Et è contrario, in Perdiccam verbis claris culpam detorquet necati hujus Ptolemæi, quin & necis Alexandri prædecessoris; quando sic loquitur, *similî fraude fublatus est & Perdicca Ptolemæus*, qua fraude sollicet Alexander quem paulo superius dixerat, *dolo interemptum*.' So he adds, *as on the contrary, he lays the charge of Ptolemy's Murther expressly upon Perdiccas, as likewise that of his Predecessor Alexander; speaking thus*; Ptolemy was taken off by Perdiccas, and by the same sort of Treachery, *as had been practised towards Alexander, whom he did before mentioned to have been treacherously murthered; but had not said* by Eurydice.' He is mistaken: *Diodorus* does not at all pretend to charge *Perdiccas* with the Treason by which *Alexander* was cut off: He imputes it only to *Ptolemy Aloritès*, as is very evident by the Passage in the fifteenth Book (9). If Father *Bisselius* had known of that Passage in *Diodorus*, he would not have spoken as he has done; he would have known that That Author intended only to say (10), that *Perdiccas* deprived *Ptolemy Aloritès* of his Life, by such a piece of Treachery as *Ptolemy* himself had practised to put *Alexander* to Death. By which it appears how necessary it is to know what an Author says in different Places. Besides, what does *Bisselius* mean (11) by citing *Gutherlet*, an Author of yesterday, to prove that the Reign of that *Alexander* continued but one Year, and that of *Ptolemy Aloritès* three Years? should he not have proved these things by *Diodorus Siculus* (12)?

(1) At Page 404.

(2) Page 402.

(9) Diod. Sicul. lib. xv, cap. lxxi.

(10) In Book xvi, chap. ii.

(11) Bisselius, ubi supra, pag. 1287.

(12) Diod. Sicul. lib. xv, cap. 12, fxxi.

EURYDICE, Daughter of *Amyntas*, the Son of that *Perdiccas*, King of *Macedonia*, who was Brother to *Philip*, the Father of *Alexander the Great*, married her Uncle (a) *Aridæus*, Natural Son to the same *Philip*. Every body knows that this *Aridæus* was declared King of *Macedonia* after *Alexander*'s death (b). He was not a very fit Person to support that Dignity, and especially in such a troublesome time as that of his Reign. So that he may rather be called a titular than a real King. *Eurydice*, his Wife, had a greater share than himself in the regal Functions (c), especially when she was obliged to oppose *Olympias*, the Mother of *Alexander*; for then she was more jealous of her Authority, than if her Competitor had been of the other Sex (d). She put a great Confidence in *Cassander*, and ordered *Antigonus* and *Polyperchon* to resign the command of the Army to him; for which Reason he executed whatever she enjoined (e). She had the misfortune to be abandoned by her Soldiers when she would have hindered *Olympias* from returning into *Macedonia* (f). Upon this Desertion *Aridæus* immediately fell into the hands of *Olympias* (g): *Eurydice*, his Wife, escaped to *Amphipolis*, where she also lost her liberty not long after [A]. *Olympias* shut them both up in a Dungeon, and treated them most inhumanly, and, perceiving that her Cruelty made the *Athenians* murmur, she put *Aridæus* to Death by the hands of certain *Thracians*, six Years and a half after *Alexander*'s Death. This Rigour was not able to bridle *Eurydice*'s Tongue; wherefore *Olympias*, enraged at her Prisoner's incessant boasting, that the Crown belonged to her, would not suffer her to live any longer. She sent her a Sword, a Halter, and a Cup of Hemlock Juice, and gave her liberty to chuse which she pleased of these three kinds of Deaths. *Eurydice*, without a Tear, or losing any thing of her Firmness and Courage, and even before the Messenger returned, took her Girdle and strangled herself, begging of the Gods that the like Presents might be sent to *Olympias* (h). After *Olympias*'s Death, *Cassander* made a Royal Funeral for *Aridæus*, and *Eurydice* (i).

(c) *See* Justin, lib. [illegible] (f)

(d) See Justin, lib. [illegible]

(e) Quo beneficio devinctus Cassander, nihil non ex arbitrio muliebris audaciæ gerit. — *Cassander, in return to those extraordinary Favours, readily executes the Designs of an ambitious Woman* Id. ibid.

(f) Justin. lib. xvi, cap. [illegible]

(g) Diod. Sicul. lib. xix, cap. xi.

(h) *Taken from* Diodor. Siculus, ibid.

(i) Idem, lib. xix, cap. lii.

[A] *She lost her Liberty not long after.*] It is said in the Supplement to *Morery* that she was made Prisoner in a Battle. That is not true. I say nothing of other Omissions, and want of exactness: the Reader will observe them by comparing the two Articles together. But I say, the Father of our *Eurydice* was not *Amyntas* III (1). It is uncertain whether he was ever King, and if he was not, he ought not to have distinguished him by a numerical Epithet: If he was, he ought to have said *Amyntas* IV. The reason of this uncertainty is, that *Justin* (2) observes that *Perdiccas* left a Son under Age, of whom *Philip* was Guardian for some time. I will not tell my Readers that if, on the one hand, Women, generally speaking, are much more tender than Men; it is true, on the other, that those of them who are cruel and ambitious exceed Men in those two Vices. *Optimum corruptio pessima.* When Luxury is the reigning Vice, it is much worse: for then they spare neither the Lives of their Husbands nor Children. We have an instance of this in the other *Eurydice* (3).

(1) That of the preceding Article.

(2) Justin. lib. [illegible]

(3) Plutarch. ubi supra, pag. [illegible] (d)

EURYDICE, an *Illyrian* Lady; *Plutarch* praises her, and recommends her for a Pattern, because, though she was of a barbarous Country, and advanced in Years, yet she applied herself to Study, that she might be capable of instructing her Children (a). She consecrated an Inscription to the Muses, which confirms this Account (b), and which is preserved in *Plutarch* (c). By this we are informed, that there was a City in *Illyria*, named *Hierapolis* (d), not mentioned by Geographers. One of *Plutarch*'s Commentators

Commentators has committed some Miſtakes [A].

[A] *One of Plutarch's Commentators has committed ſome miſtakes.*] His Name was *Weſtbuſius*: he was Rector of the College at *Hamburgh*. His Book, printed at *Hamburgh* in 1665, is intituled, *Plutarchi Chæronenſis de puerorum educatione Libellus analyſi logica, grammatica, ethica, politica, & hiſtorica illuſtratus.* In which we find (1) that our *Eurydice* was a Queen, and a little after (2) that ſhe was the Wife of *Orpheus*. Theſe two Titles are not conſiſtent with one another (3): and beſides, the Wife of *Orpheus* had no need of teaching her Children herſelf; for their Father, who was a Man of Learning, would have diſcharged that Office. If he had died before her, my Remark would be an ill one; but it is well known ſhe died young before her Huſband (4). The Commentator (5) affirms, without any proof, that ſhe was born in *Illyria*. What does he mean by obſerving that *Hierapolis*, a City of *Aſia*, was ſituated over againſt *Laodicea*? Does *Plutarch* mean That *Hierapolis* in theſe Words, Εὐρυδίκην Ἱεραπολίτιν, *Eurydice Hierapolitana?* Is it not an *Illyrian* Woman who ſpeaks? he ought to have endeavoured to diſcover this City of the *Illyrians*, or at leaſt he ought to have ſaid that the Geographers knew nothing of it.

(1) *At Page* 404.

(2) *Page* 405.

(3) In vain would they alledge the Authors who ſeem to ſay that Orpheus reigned.

(4) Virgil. Georg. lib. iv. ver. 458. *calls her* puella.

(5) *Pag.* 405.

EURIPIDES, a *Greek* Poet, one of thoſe who excelled in Tragedy, was born the firſt Year of the LXXVth Olympiad, in the Iſland of *Salamis*, whither his Father and Mother retired [A], a little before *Xerxes* invaded *Attica*. There is a Diſpute about their Quality [B]; ſome make them Noble, others Plebeian. A certain Oracle, miſunderſtood, occaſioned *Euripides* to be brought up, like thoſe whom the *Greeks* deſtined for Wreſtlers [C]; but the Event ſhewed, that he was fitter for other things;

(1) In Greek δῆμος, a ſort of Diviſion in Athens.

[A] *He was born in the Iſle of Salamis, whither his Father and Mother retired.*] The Father of *Euripides* was named *Mneſarchus*. He was an Athenian, of the *Oeneide* Tribe, and of the Borough, or People, (1), called *Phlya*. This I find in the Life of *Euripides*, compoſed by the learned Mr *Barnes*, and placed at the Head of his excellent Edition of that Poet. But other learned Men (2) aſſure us, that *Phlya* of the *Ptolemaid* Tribe (3), was the Birth-place of *Euripides*. I ſhould rather ſay it was the Birth-place of *Mneſarchus* the Father of *Euripides*, and expreſsly aſſign the Iſle of *Salamis* for the Country of this Poet. Mr *le Fevre* had done better to have expreſſed himſelf ſo than to ſay, that *the place of his Birth was called Phlya, a Borough of Attica* (4). I know that *Clito, Euripides's* Mother, was accidentally delivered of him at *Salamis*, having fled thither with many other Athenians, when it was thought proper to abandon the City of *Athens* at the time of *Xerxes's* Irruption. I know alſo that this is a good reaſon to affirm that *Euripides* is an Athenian, and of the ſame Country as his Father. But after all we are willing to know where great Men are born, and therefore it is not enough to tell us the Country of their Fathers, upon ſuch Occaſions as theſe where the Children are born during the Flight or Journey of their Mothers. *Clito* was big with *Euripides* when ſhe left *Athens*, together with her Husband, to fly to *Salamis* (5): ſhe was delivered the very day that the Greeks defeated the Fleet of the *Perſian* King near that Iſland (6), and it is pretended that becauſe that Victory was obtained near *Euripus*, the Child, *Clito* brought into the World, was called *Euripides* (7). This Etymology does not agree with *Suidas*, who makes mention of two *Euripides* different from this, and older than ours. They were both Tragic Poets, and the one was Nephew to the other. Add to this, that there is mention made of an Athenian Captain named *Xenophon* the Son of *Euripides*, in the ſecond Year of the Peloponneſian War. *Thucydides*, who ſpeaks of him (8), would probably have added, that this was *Euripides* the Poet, if it had been ſo. His ſilence makes me believe Mr *Barnes* (9) is in the wrong to ſuppoſe that this *Xenophon* was the Son of our *Euripides*.

(2) Spon, Voiage de Grece, Tom II, pag. m. 478.

(3) Mr *Spon*, *ibid. pag.* 477, obſerves, that *Stephanus* and other Authors place *Phlya* under the Cecropian Tribe: as for himſelf he puts it under the Ptolemaid, upon the Authority of a Marble, and of *Heſychius*.

(4) Le Fevre, vie des Poetes Grecs, pag. m. 27.

(5) Suidas, In Εὐριπίδης, & Manuel Moſchopulus, in vita Euripidis.

(6) Id. ibid. Heſychius Illuſtrius, in Εὐριπίδης, & Thom. Magiſter, in vita Euripidis.

(7) Joſua Barneſius, in vita Euripidis. Edit. Cantabrig 1694, præfixa, n. 3.

(8) Lib. ii.

(9) In vita Euripidis, pag. 24.

[B] *There is a diſpute about their quality.*] Some ſay that *Mneſarchus*, the Father of *Euripides*, was a Bœotian, who in all probability had ſuffered in his own Country the Puniſhment of Bankrupts (10). They uſed in ſome parts of *Bœotia* to carry Perſons who did not pay their debts into an open place: where they were commanded to ſit down, and throw a Buſhel. This was a mark of Infamy. As to *Clito*, the Wife of *Mneſarchus*, they pretend ſhe was an Herb Woman, for which they depend not only upon the authority of a Comic Poet, a Slanderer by Profeſſion, but alſo upon that of an Hiſtorian. The Comic Poet is *Ariſtophanes* (11); the Hiſtorian's Name may be ſeen in theſe words of the twentieth Chapter of the fifteenth Book of *Aulus Gellius*. 'Euripidi Poetæ matrem 'Theopompus agreſtia olera vendentem victum quæ- 'ſiſſe dicit. —— *Theopompus ſays, that the Mother of* 'Euripides *the Poet got her living by ſelling Greens.*' Add to this the Teſtimony of *Valerius Maximus*: 'Quam matrem Euripides, aut quem patrem Demoſt- 'henes habuerit, ipſorum quoque ſeculo ignotum fuit: 'alterius autem matrem olera, alterius patrem cultel- 'los venditaſſe, omnium pene doctorum literæ loquun- 'tur (12). —— *The Mother of Euripides, and the Fa- 'ther of Demoſthenes, were unknown even in their own 'Ages; but the greateſt part of Authors agree that the 'former ſold Herbs, and the latter Knives.*' Suidas ſays nothing particularly concerning the Birth of *Mneſarchus*; but he ſays it is not true that *Euripides's* Mother ſold Herbs: ſhe was, ſays he, very noble as is proved by *Philocorus*. Οὐκ ἀλητὸς δὲ ὡς λαχα- νόπωλις ἦν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ τῶν σφό- δρα εὐγενῶν ἐτυγχάνεν ὡς ἀποδεικνυσι Φιλόχορος. He cotteſles that *Mneſarchus* and his Wife fled into *Bœotia*, and afterwards dwelt in *Attica*. This gives rather an ill than a good Impreſſion, confirming in ſome manner what is ſaid by *Stobæus*. Note, that *Ariſtophanes*, to give the greater Edge to his ſatirical ſtrokes, ſuppoſes that *Euripides's* Mother ſold nothing but bad Herbs. 'Hæc eſt ſcandix quam Ariſtophanes Euri- 'pidi Poëtæ objicit jocularitter, matrem ejus ne olus 'quidem legitimum venditaſſe ſed ſcandicem (13). —— *This is the Scandix about which Ariſtophanes 'jeers Euripides the Poet, as if his Mother had not 'ſold good Greens, but (Scandix) wild Chervile.*' Fa- ther *Hardouin's* Notes inform, us in what place *Ariſtophanes* has made this jeſt, and alſo what the Scholiaſt obſerves, with other Particulars. He cites the fourth Scene of the ſecond Act of the Comedy *Acharnenſes*, p 394. He might alſo have quoted the ſame Poet *in Equitibus, Act. I, Sc I*, pag 289, and *in Cereali- bus*, p. 786, G. and p. 790, F. Mr *Dreſincourt* gave me this Information.

(10) Stobæus, in Sermone περὶ νίκων, folio 293, apud Barneſium, ibid. pag. 4.

(11) Τὸν Εὐριπίδη τὸ τῆς λαχανοπωλητρίας. Ab Euripide filio olera- rum venditricis. *Ariſtoph. in Theſmophoriaz, pag. m.* 722. Ἄρχομαι γὰρ ἐκ μικρᾶς ὑφῆς γυναῖκας ὡς κακὰς. Ἀπ' ἐν ἀγρίοις λαχάνοις ἀνὸς τραφείς. Agreſtibus enim nos, ô mulieres, affi- cit malis, utpote inter agreſtia olera ipſe enu- tritus. *Id. ibid. pag.* 776. *Aul. Gell. lib. xv, cap. xx, quotes theſe Verſes.*

(12) Valer. Maximus, lib. iii, cap. iv.

(13) Plin. lib. xxii, cap. xx, p. m. 265, edit.

[C] *An ..... Oracle miſunderſtood occaſioned Euripides to be brought up like thoſe whom the Greeks deſti- ned for Wreſtlers.*] If it was true, as Mr *Barnes* pretends, that the Oracle of *Apollo* was conſulted upon the Fate of *Euripides*, while *Clito* was big with him, it would be probable that ſhe was not an Herb-Woman; for the Husband of ſuch a Woman would hardly think fit to trouble *Apollo* about the Fortune of a Child unborn. 'Quum adhuc Clito mater illum in utero gereret, con- 'ſulenti de eo oraculum patri hoc reſponſum dedit 'Apollo (14). —— *Whilſt his Mother Clito was ſtill 'with Child of him, his Father conſulted the Oracle of 'Apollo, and received this Anſwer.*' I do not affirm the ſame of a Child of ſix or ſeven Years of Age: he might give ſuch particular marks of a great Genius, or great Courage, that his Father, of what Condition ſoever, might be impatient to know what would be- come of ſo hopeful a Child. So, that whilſt we are ignorant of the time the Oracle concerning our *Euri- pides* was delivered, we are able to come to no Con- cluſion in favour of his Nobility, nor contradict thoſe who make him the Son of an Herb-Woman. Now it is certain that we know nothing concerning the time of it: the Author (15) quoted by Mr *Barnes* does not ſay a word of it, he only ſays that the Oracle returned this anſwer:

(14) Barnes in vita Euripidis, n. [illegible] *ſee below, that Aulus Gellius ſays the Chal- deans made this Prediction inſtead of the birth of Eu- ripides.*

(15) Ortelius, apud Euſebium de Præpar. Evangel. lib. v, cap. xxxiii, pag. m. 227.

Ἕξαι

[a] Suidas in Εὐριπίδης; Manuel Moschopulus, in Vita Euripidis. *See also* Aulus Gellius, lib. xv, cap. xx.

things: He learnt Rhetoric under *Prodicus*, Moral Philosophy under *Socrates* [*D*], and Physics under *Anaxagoras*; and when he saw the Persecutions that *Anaxagoras* suffered for having dogmatized against the popular Opinions, he abandoned Philosophy, and applied himself to Dramatic Poetry (*a*); he was then eighteen Years of Age (*b*): but we must not imagine that he neglected, for the rest of his Life, the Study of Moral and

(*b*) Aul. Gellius, ubi supra.

Ἐκεῖνα δὲ πλέον θαυμάζω Εὐριπίδου, ὃ τινα ἔσπευσε
Ἀνδρομάχην τίκτειν, καὶ τὸ κακὸν ἐπάγειν ἑλένῃ,
Καὶ σφῶν ἐχθρὸν ἔμελλε γυναικὶ γόνον φρονεύσειν.

Tὸ, Μνήσαρχε, πατὴρ σὸς ἐμοὶ μέγα κυδαίνοντι ἔοικε
Filius, ac meritæ summa ad fastigia laudis
Conscendens, lætas sacro ex certamine palmas
Auferet.

To thee, Mnesarchus, Fate a Son shall raise,
Whom Greece shall dread, whom the World shall praise;
And oft victorious, Crown the sacred Games.

He might have criticized this Oracle much better than he has done. and I wonder since it was his Business to prove the Deity of *Apollo* an Imposture, that he should take no notice of the lie contained in these three Greek Verses. He must be guilty of great chicane that denies the Oracle promises here the Crowns that are obtained at the Olympic, Pythian, and other Games. Now we never read that *Euripides* (16) gained any of those sorts of Crowns: for the very first time he offered himself to contend for them, he was refused (17). It will perhaps be said that *Euripides* gained Crowns in poetical Combats. I answer, he won but very few, and that if his Glory be estimated that way, it would be very small (18), and that, after all, dramatic Triumphs ought not to have been promised in such a manner. Therefore *Apollo* may justly be said to be mistaken. Nor was it enough to say, he only gave the Epithet of sacred to Crowns that did not deserve that Title (19). So that when I affirm in the Text of this Remark, that the Oracle was misunderstood, I do not pretend to deny that they assigned the most obvious sense of the Terms; but I say they mistook in not apprehending aright the ill expressed intention of him who had spoke. Wherefore *Mnesarchus* was not to blame in promising himself that his Son would become a great Wrestler; but *Apollo* was to blame to foretel it. However, *Mnesarchus* educated his Son with that view. We shall cite an Author who ascribes that promise only to Fortune-Tellers, Astrologers, in a word, to *Chaldæans*. 'Patri autem ejus (Euripidis) nato illo responsum est à Chaldæis, cum puerum, quum adolevisset, victorem in certaminibus fore. Id ei puero fatum esse. Pater interpretatus athletam debere esse, roborato exercitatoque filii sui corpore, Olympiam certaturum eum inter athletas pueros deduxit. Ac primo quidem in certamen per ambiguam ætatem receptus non est. Post Eleusinio & Theseo certamine pugnavit, & coronatus est. Mox, à corporis cura ad excolendi animi studium transgressus, auditor fuit physici Anaxagoræ & Prodici rhetoris, in morali autem philosophia Socratis, tragœdiam scribere natus annos duodevingti adortus est (20). —— *After the Birth of Euripides, his Father was answered by the Chaldæans that the Boy, when he was grown up, should be a Victor in the Games. That such was his Fate. His Father imagining that hereby was meant that his Son should be a Champion, having strengthened and exercised his Body, took him to Olympia to contend among st the young Practitioners. He was at first refused, because they questioned his Age. Afterwards he was admitted a Combatant in the Games of Theseus, and those of Ceres, and was crowned. Passing afterwards from the Care of his Body, to the Improvement of his Genius, he frequented Anaxagoras the Natural Philosopher, Prodicus the Rhetorician, and Socrates the Moralist. He set himself to write Tragedy at eighteen.*'

[*D*] *His learned Moral Philosophy under Socrates.*] I have quoted my Authors for it: but I must observe here that it is very probable they are mistaken; for *Socrates* was younger than *Euripides* by almost thirteen Years. This difference of Age might permit the youngest of these two great Men, when he came to Years of Maturity, to contract an intimate Friendship with the other, and receive benefit by his learned Conversation: but this is not what is called going through a Course of Moral Philosophy under a Professor, being his Scholar, his Disciple. I easily believe, with Mr *Barnes*, that *Socrates* profited very much by the Conversation of *Euripides*; 'Haud bene temporum rationes considerarunt, *says he* (21), qui Socratem Euripidis in Moralibus magistrum affirmant, ipso nempe discipulo duodecim fere annis juniorem. Videtur potius is ex Euripide multa hausisse, quem & apud Platonem haud raro laudare deprehenditur. —— *They have not*, says he, *well weighed the Circumstances of Time, who have made Socrates Master in Ethics to Euripides, almost twelve Years younger than his Scholar. He seems rather to have borrowed many things from Euripides. Of whom he often makes honourable mention, and that in Plato.*' I would not question the Truth of what is said in *Diogenes Laërtius* (22), that *Socrates* assisted *Euripides* in writing his Tragedies; and this being granted, I should not be surprized that *Socrates* should hardly ever see a Play, but when a Piece of *Euripides* was to be acted. Ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης σπανίως μὲν ἐπεφοίτα τοῖς Εὐριπίδου δράμασι· μετὰ δὲ Εὐριπίδου τὰ τραγῳδίας φαινομένης ἐδίδασκε μαλιστα τραγῳδίας, τότε γε ἀφικνεῖτο. καὶ Παυσανίου δέ φησιν ἀγωνιζομένου τὸ Εὐριπίδου καὶ ἐκεῖ παρεῖναι. ἔχαιρε γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ, ἀπλούστερα διὰ τὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἐν τοῖς μαγείοις ἀφετήν. Socrates very rarely went to the Theatre, but when *Euripides* the Tragick Poët came out with new Tragedies: for then it was his Custom to be present. Pausanias also says, that he was present when *Euripides* contended for the Victory. For he loved the Man, because his Writings were more plain, by reason of his Wisdom, and his excellency in the Kitchen. Socrates very rarely went to the Theatre, but when *Euripides* had a new Piece acted. Then he was present. Pausanias also says, that he was present when *Euripides* contended for the Victory. For he loved the Man, because his Writings were more plain, by reason of his Wisdom, and his excellency in the Kitchen.

(16) *See* Barnes, in Vita Euripidis, pag. [illegible].

(17) *See, below*, Aulus Gellius, *Cotta* (a). However, he says that Euripides, after such Refusal, disputed the Prize, and won it in less famous Combats.

(18) *See the Remark* [*I*].

(19) *Ordonnantz* makes his Criticism turn upon that, apud Eusebium, Præparat. Evangel. lib. v, cap. xxxiii, pag. 228.

(20) Aul. Gell. lib. xv, cap. xx.

(21) Barnes. in vita Euripidis, n. 13, fol. fin.

(22) Lib. ii, in Socrate, fait.

(23) Ælian. Var. Hist. lib. ii, cap. xiii.

(24) Origenes contra Celsum, lib. iv, pag. 214. *See the next Remark.*

(25) Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. v, pag. 587, C.

(26) Schott. Notes Ciceronianor. lib. iv, cap. xv.

most

and Natural Philoſophy: his Works are a Proof of the contrary [*E*]. He wrote a great number of Tragedies, which were highly eſteemed, both in his Life-time, and after his Death, and there are ſome very good Judges, who look upon him as the moſt accompliſhed of all the Tragic Poets [*F*]. It is a probable Conjecture, that the reaſon of his not being mentioned by the *Roman* Poets, is becauſe the Syllables of

moſt learned Profeſſor at that time. It is not he, but *Plato*, who taught in the Academy. *Clemens Alexandrinus* (27) and *Euſebius* (28) have erred, with many others, in ſuppoſing that *Euripides* had been the Diſciple of *Socrates*.

[*E*] *His Works teſtify the contrary.*] They are full of moral Aphoriſms, as has been obſerved in the preceding Remark. They alſo contain many Tenets of Natural Philoſophy. See *Diodorus Siculus* (29), who twice recites the Opinions of this Poet in things relating to Natural Philoſophy. But nothing is a better proof of the Inclination of *Euripides* to this Science, than the pains he took to know the Opinions of *Heraclitus*. That Philoſopher concealed his Writings in the Temple of *Diana*, believing that one day or other they would take them from thence, and publiſh them as a myſterious Work; but *Euripides* prevented the Effects of theſe Hopes: he went continually to *Diana*'s Temple, and by often reading over what *Heraclitus* had depoſited there, got it by heart, and publiſhed it to the World. This Account I have from *Tatian*; for as to *Diogenes Laërtius*, he ſays indeed (30), that our Poet was more curious than *Socrates* to recover *Heraclitus*'s Works, ſince it was he that procured *Socrates* the reading of them; but he ſays nothing of this diligent Attendance at the Temple of *Diana*. *Tatian*'s Words are (31): Οὐτ' ἂν ἐπαινέσαιμι καλαχρύλανα τὴν ποίησιν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεῷ, μυσηριωδῶς ἔτως ὕστερον ἢ ταύτης ἐκδοσις γένηται. καὶ γὰρ οἷς μέλον ἦν περὶ τούτων, φασὶν Εὐριπίδην τὸν τραγῳδοποιὸν καλεῖσθαι, καὶ ἀναγινώσκοντα διὰ μνήμης κατ' ὀλίγον τὰ Ἡρακλείτου σκότος σπουδαίως παραδεδοκέναι. Neque hoc in eo laudaverim quod carmina ſua in fano Dianæ occultavit (32), ut olim veluti per myſterium ederentur. Nam quibus iſta curæ ſunt Euripidem Poëtam tragicum ædem Dianæ frequentaſſe, & paulatim tenebras iſtas Heracliti relegendo memoriæ prorſus infixiſſe produnt. —— *Nor can I approve his concealing his Works in the Temple of Diana, that they might be afterwards publiſhed as a Myſtery. For they, to whoſe Care theſe things are entruſted, give out, that Euripides, the Tragic Poet, went frequently thither, and by reading over theſe hidden Remains of Heraclitus, by degrees imprinted them perfectly on his Memory.* I add what has been obſerved by many (33), that *Euripides* often makes it appear by his Tragedies, that he followed the Opinions of his Maſter *Anaxagoras*. I ſaid before that he was called the Philopher of the Stage: the ſame is confirmed by *Origen*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* (34), and *Euſebius* (35). *Vitruvius*, whom I ought to have quoted before them, poſitively affirms it. 'Euripides auditor Anaxagoræ quem Philoſophum Athenienſes ſcenicum appellaverunt (36). — *Euripides, whom the Athenians named the Stage Philoſopher, was Scholar to Anaxagoras.*' I do not believe, though Mr *Menage* aſſures us of it (37), that *Athenæus* and *Diodorus Siculus* alſo teſtify the ſame.

[*F*] *Good Judges ..... look upon him as the moſt accompliſhed of all the Tragic Poets.*] I have ſaid elſewhere (38), that there is a Diviſion among the Critics concerning the Pre-eminence of *Eſchylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*. Each of theſe Poets has their Adherents, who give him the firſt Place: and there are alſo ſome good Judges who will determine nothing concerning it. *Quintilian* ſeems to be of this Party: and yet it is eaſy to ſee that, all things conſidered, he gives the Preference to *Euripides*. Theſe are his Words (39): 'Longe clarius (*quam Æſchylus*) illuſtrarunt hoc opus Sophocles atque Euripides: quorum in diſpari dicendi via uter ſit Poëta melior, inter plurimos quæritur. Idque ego ſanè, quoniam ad præſentem materiam nihil pertinet, judicatum relinquo. Illud quidem nemo non fateatur neceſſe eſt, iis qui ſe ad agendum comparant, utiliorem longè Euripidem fore. Namque is & in ſermone (quod ipſum reprehendunt, quibus gravitas & cothurnus & ſonus Sophoclis videtur eſſe ſublimior) magis accedit oratorio generi; & ſententiis denſus; & multa quæ à ſapientibus tradita ſunt, penè ipſis par; & in dicendo ac reſpondendo cuilibet eorum qui fuerunt in foro diſerti, comparandus. In affectibus verò cum omnibus mirus, tum in iis qui miſeratione conſtant facilè præcipuus. Hunc & admiratus maximè eſt (ut ſæpe teſtatur) & ſecutus, quanquam in opere diverſo, Menander. —— *Sophocles and Euripides have by far ſurpaſſed Æſchylus on this Head, and brought the Art to a much greater degree of Perfection. It is a Queſtion much canvaſſed, to which of theſe two, in their different manners, the Preference, in Poetry, is due, and as it has no relation to my preſent Subject, I ſhall leave it undecided. But this muſt be acknowledged by all, that, to Perſons deſigned for the Bar, Euripides would be far more uſeful. For his Stile (which theſe find fault with, who think the Majeſty, the Air, and the Diction, of Sophocles more ſublime) is more nearly a-kin to that of an Orator. His Sentences are alſo thick ſown, nor does he fall far ſhort of the Sages themſelves, when he handles their Topics. In his Method of arguing and replying he is not inferior to the moſt eminent Speakers at the Bar. In raiſing the Paſſions he is univerſally admirable, but in that of Compaſſion inimitable. Menander, as he himſelf teſtifies, held him in the higheſt eſteem, and copied him, though in a different Work.*' Mr *Barnes* has collected (40) ſeveral Encomiums which the moſt learned Men of Antiquity have beſtowed upon *Euripides*. Conſult him and you will find, that if this Poet did not equal *Sophocles* in Majeſty and Grandeur, yet he has made amends for that by ſo many other Perfections, that he may juſtly aſpire to the firſt Rank. We ſhall ſee preſently, that this is confirmed by a Oracle. The Partizans of *Sophocles* glory in the Judgment of *Lucian*: they ſay he weighed in a Balance the Verſes of *Sophocles* and thoſe of *Euripides*, and found the former heavier than the latter, and conſequently more excellent, as true Gold is more weighty than counterfeit. 'Lucianus Sophiſta qui auctore Lactantio nec Diis nec hominibus pepercit unquam in libriſi ſuſpendit carmina tragicorum Poëtarum, Sophoclis ſcilicet & Euripidis, comminiſciturque Sophoclis verſus tanquam plus gravitatis habentes terram petere, Euripidis vero veluti leviores ad cœlum tendere, tanquam in tragico ſcribendi genere Sophocles ſit Euripidi præferendus. Nec mirum igitur ſi Virgilius ait,

Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno.

'Hoc eſt gravi & excocto plus habente medullæ quam corticis, gravitatis quam levitatis (41). —— *Lucian the Sophiſt, who, according to Lactantius, never ſpared either Gods or Men, weighed in a Balance the Verſes of two Tragic Poets, namely Sophocles and Euripides, and pretends that thoſe of Sophocles, as being the heavier, deſcended, whilſt thoſe of Euripides, being lighter, mounted; intimating that Sophocles, as a Tragic Writer, ought to be preferred to Euripides: no wonder therefore Virgil ſhould ſay,*

Such Verſe as thine a Sophocles would own,

'*That is having more Solidity than Sap, more Force than Flaſh.*' In vain did Mr *Barnes* ſeek for this in *Lucian* (42), and whatever it be, he pretends that Author's Intention was miſunderſtood. He thinks him more favourable to *Euripides* than to *Sophocles*. He believes, that *Lucian* alludes to what is read in *Homer* (43) of the Fates of *Hector* and *Achilles* being put into a Scale by *Jupiter*. The Scale of *Achilles* being predominant mounted towards Heaven, that of *Hector* ſunk towards the Earth. I conjecture, that *Lucian* has been miſtaken for *Ariſtophanes* (44). It is *Ariſtophanes* (45), who ſuppoſes, that *Bacchus* putting a Verſe of *Euripides* into the Scales againſt a Verſe of *Æſchylus*, always found that of *Æſchylus* to weigh moſt. Now it is certain, that the Deſign of *Ariſtophanes* in that Piece

(27) Admonit. ad Gentes, pag. 60, *A*.

(28) De Præparat. Evangel. lib. v, cap. xxxii, pag. 227, *&c.*

(29) Lib. I, cap. vii, & xxxv. ii.

(30) *Lib. II. in Socrate, n.* 28.

(31) Orat. contra Græcos, pag. 143, *B*.

(32) Diog. Laërt. *ſpeaks of that,* lib. 9, n. 6. *Mr* Menage, ib. *obſerves againſt Mr* Cuper, *that* Clemens Alexandrinus *ſays nothing of it.*

(33) *See* Caſaubon, *and* Menage in Diogen. Laërt. lib. ii, n. 10.

(34) See the foregoing Remark, Citation (25).

(35) Præp. Evangel. lib. x, cap. ult. p. 504.

(36) Vitruv. lib. viii, *in Præfat.*

(37) In Diog. Laërt. lib. ii, n. 10.

(38) In the Article *ESCHYLUS*, Remark [*K*].

(39) Inſtit. Orat. lib. x, cap. i, p. m. 468, 469.

(40) In vita Euripidis, n. 20, 21.

(41) Johan. Baptiſta Pius, Annotat. poſterior. cap. xxvili, apud Barnef. in vita Euripidis, p. 19. Thomas Stanleius, Comment. in Æſchyl. folio 701, & Lilius Gyrald. Poet. Hiſt. *Dial. VII, are alſo cited by Mr* Barnes, ibid.

(42) I do not think that *Lucian* has mentioned that. Mr *Drelincourt* writes me word that it may be boldly affirmed, that *Lucian* has ſaid nothing of it.

(43) Iliad Ψ. vers. 212.

(44) Cœlius Rhodigin. lib. xxiv. cap. x, *is probably the ſource of the miſtake.*

(45) In Ranis, *Act. V. Sc. III.*

of his Name had not the Quantity necessary to agree with *Latin* Verses [C]. His Verses did a very great Service to the *Athenian* Soldiers, in the Island of *Sicily* [H], which is a Proof his Pieces met with prodigious Applause, and yet they very seldom carried

Place is to shew, that the first Rank among the Tragic Poets is due to *Æschylus*, and the second to *Sophocles*. This is what I observe against the Explication of Mr *Barnes*.

[C] *The Syllables of his Name were not fit for Latin Verses.*] Floridus Sabinus, in his Answer to *Heraldus*, who had abused *Euripides*, among other Observations, makes use of this (46): 'Cumque Virgilius Sophoclem nominavit, hoc nempe versu, *Sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno*, non ideo factum reor quod eum Euripidi anteponere voluerit, sed quia id nomen heroico metro melius conveniret. Cui & simile est Propertianum illud ad Lynceum Poetam,

Desine & Æchyleo componere verba cothurno,

'Non Æschylum scilicet quasi aliis præstantiorem nominavit Propertius, quem † rudem, in plerisque & incompositum fuisse scimus, ut cujus Fabulas in certamen correctas deferre posterioribus Poëtis permiserint Athenienses, sed quod ab ejus nomine deductum nomen versu recte clauderetur. An cum Horatius de Romano populo sic inquit:

Serus enim Græcis admovit lumina chartis,
Et post Punica bella quietus quærere cœpit,
Quid Sophocles, quid Thespis & Æschylus utile ferrent,

'An idcirco Euripidem non nominavit, quod vel Thespi eum vel Æschylo duxerit postponendum? hoc ne hic quidem Beroaldus per somnium affirmaret. — *And though Virgil mentioned Sophocles in this Verse* Sola Sophocleo tua, &c. *I do not imagine it was done in preference to Euripides, but because the Word was more proper for Heroic Verse. To which that of Propertius to Lyncus the Poet is nearly akin,*

Desist to write Æschylus's Buskins fitted to no more to tread.

'*Properetius did not mention Æschylus as superior to others, for we know him to have been often rude and incorrect (since the Athenians permitted succeeding Poets to bring his Compositions, when corrected, to the Contest); but because a Derivation from his Name would make up the Measure of the Verse. When Horace speaks thus,*

Still, Carthage rivall'd, for grew soft in Peace,
And then inquir'd what mighty Sophocles,
What Æschylus, what Thespis taught the Age,
What good, what profit, did commend the Stage.

'*Could his Reason for not mentioning Euripides be, that he thought him inferior both to Æschylus and Thespis? This Beroaldus himself, though asleep, would not affirm.*' Mr *Barnes* adopts this Reason: 'Quod autem Virgilius, *says he* (47), tanto elogio Sophoclem ornet, Euripidem vero ne nominet quidem, id non tam illius judicio tribuendum (nam & sæpe eum imitatus est ut in † annotationibus ostendimus) quam legum metricarum necessitati, quandoquidem, ut supra diximus, Euripides apud Latinos, ut & apud Græcos, sit vox minus apta versui Heroico. — *Though Virgil bestows so remarkable a Compliment on Sophocles, and does not so much as mention Euripides, this is not so much owing to his own Opinion (for, as I have proved in the Annotations, he has frequently imitated him) as to the Restraint of Metre, since, as I have before observed, Euripides is a Word very improper for Heroic Verse, both in Greek and Latin.*' The God of Verse himself, the *Delphian Apollo*, was forced to submit to the Laws of Quantity. He found no other Expedient than to renounce Hexameter Verse, and answer in Iambics, when he was to name *Euripides*. So that if he had known only how to make Hexameters, he must have suppressed the definitive Sentence which adjusted the Precedence between three illustrious Persons (48)

That is to say, *Sophocles is wise, Euripides no more so, than the wisest of all Men is Socrates*. Geraldus wonders that the Priestess of *Delphi* should make such a Jumble for this Answer, and not of Hexameters, according to Custom (50). But she was forced to deviate from Custom, since Necessity has no Law. *Euripides* and *Socrates* are two Names altogether unfit for Heroic Verse. All the Muses in a Body could never bend them to it. 'Nec mirari debuit Lilius Gyraldus ‡ Pythiam Sacerdotem, *Iambis* jam trimetro responsa dixisse cum heroico solita esset oraculum reddere? Nomina enim certe Socrates & Euripides heroïco versui aptare nec ipse potuit Apollo, nec Musæ ipsæ (51). — *Neither ought Geraldus to have been surprised that the Priestess should have answer in Iambics, when we see she was wont to answer only in Hexameters; for Socrates and Euripides are Words that neither Apollo nor the Muses could adapt to Heroics.*' Now who can say it is of no great Importance to have one Name rather than another (52)? Here is *Euripides* who had perhaps a greater share in the Esteem of *Virgil*, and the rest of the Poets at the Court of *Augustus*, than *Sophocles* he is, I say, deprived of this advantage because they could not bring his Name into their Hexameters; and on account of this impossibility they were forced to immortalize, to his Prejudice, those that were judged inferior to him: but the Laws of Verse pleaded in their Favour. This is one of those Conflicts between Rhime and Reason so well described by Mr *Boileau* (53). *Horace*, being to name a little City of *Italy*, was not able to do it, but was constrained to describe it by certain Characters: the Name of it was *Equotuticum* which could not be brought into an Hexameter.

Quattuor hinc rapimur viginti & millia rhedis
Mansuri oppidulo, quod versu dicere non est,
Signis perfacile est (54).

Hence four and twenty Miles, in four Hours time,
To a small Town whose Name won't stand in Rhime,
But by it's Signs with ease it may be known.

Sometimes it is a Happiness to have a Name not reducible to poetic Laws (55)

[H] *His Verses did a signal Service to the Athenian Soldiers in Sicily.*] The *Athenian* Army, commanded by *Nicias*, suffered all the Miseries in *Sicily* that ill Fortune can inflict. The Conquerors pushed the Advantages they had gained with the utmost Cruelty, but how inhumanly soever they treated the *Athenian* Soldiers, they were exceeding kind to all those that could repeat some of the Verses of *Euripides* to them. Many, who, after escaping from the Battle, wandered from place to place, without knowing what to do, found a Resource by singing the Verses of that Poet. They found means to subsist by it, the People furnishing them with Provisions as a Reward for their Songs. Τότε γὲ φασὶ τῶν σωθέντων ὀλίγους ἐκ τῆς ἀσπασασθαι τὸν Εὐριπίδην αὐλοφορῆσαι, καὶ διηγήσασθαι τοῖς μὲν ὅτι ἐλεύθεροι ἀφικοίντο, ἐκδιδάξαντες ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ποιημάτων ἐμέμνηντο· τοὺς δ' ὡς ἐπανέρχεσθαι μέλα τῆς μάχης, τροφὴν καὶ ὕδατος μεταλαβόντων τῶν μεσῶν ἀσαντες. Plures autem tunc commemorant, qui sospites domum reversi sunt, Euripidem benigne salutavisse, ac præcipisse aliis fuisse se manumissos, quòd quæ ipsius carmina tenuerant memoriæ illis ea docuissent, alios palantes

(46) Franc. Floridus Sabinus, Lectionum subsecivar. lib. ii. cap. xiii. apud Barnes. in vita Eurip. pag. 17.

† Ita Quintil. Institt. Oratoriar. lib. x. cap. i.

(47) In vita Euripidis, pag. 19.

‡ Hecub. vers. 992. Oreft. ver. 1134. Phœniss. vers. 18, &c.

(48) Barnes. pag. 20.

(49) Suidas, in Voce Σοφοκ.

(50) Mr Barnes, pag. 20, observes that Text he alledges, only says, that Pythia uttered her Oracles in Heroic Verse: Concerning which Apollo's Delphicum tamen non nisi heroicis ut plurimum metris ab eo usum Pythia testimonium præbet. To which Meursius replies, that Plutarch in the 18th Book of his Questions Græcæ, Question 21, Remark [A].

(51) Barnes in vita Eurip. p. 20.

(52) See the Article BALZAC (Jean Louis Guez de) Remark [A].

(53) In his Satire. Add to it this Exclamation of the Gentlemen of Port-Royal, How many have been compell'd to lie by rhyme? Art of Thinking, Part III, cap. xix; pag. 368.

(54) Horat. Sat. V, lib. I, ver. 86.

(55) See, before, the end of the Remark [C] of the Article BARNES.

the Prize [I]. The Emulation, and, at length, Enmity, between him and the great *Sophocles* [K], created him less Uneasiness, than the Jeers of *Aristophanes*, who took a Pleasure to abuse him in his Comedies. It is thought the chief reason of his retiring to the Court of *Archelaus*, King of *Macedonia*, was to see the Comic Poets divert the *Athenians* at his Expence (c). There are several parts in his Tragedies against Women, and it cannot be denied he took Delight in ridiculing the fair Sex: for this reason they gave him the Name of *Woman Hater* (d) [L]. Nevertheless he married

(c) Thomas Magister *in ejus Vita.*

(d) Μισογύνης, mulierum osor.

palantes post pugnam fuisse cibo & potu adjutos, quum versus illius canerent (56). —— *It is said, that those, who returned in Safety, in a grateful manner made their Acknowledgements to Euripides, declaring that they had been set at Liberty for teaching their Conquerors what Verses of that Poet they remembered; and that others, who wandered from place to place, were relieved with Meat and Drink in return for singing his Verses.* No doubt it was a great Pleasure to *Euripides* to see many of these unfortunate Men come to him, gratefully acknowledging that his Verses had saved their Life and Liberty. The *Sicilians* gave another remarkable Proof of their Esteem for *Euripides*. A *Caunian* Vessel, chaced by Pirates, endeavoured to make some Port of *Sicily*, but could not obtain Permission to enter, till it was known there were some Persons on board that could rehearse Verses of *Euripides* (57). It must not be forgot, that they were asked if they knew any. This single Question implies more than I can express. Let us quote a Passage of Mr *le Fevre* (58). 'Euripides must be sensibly affected with the Glory of seeing, every day, some of those unhappy Wretches coming to him and returning him thanks as their Deliverer, telling him that his Verses had changed their ill Fortune, and had been of more service to them, than if they had had a Passport signed by the five Ephori, and the two Kings of *Lacedemon* (59). *Euripides* was a great and glorious Poet; but what shall we say of the *Sicilians* of that time? Were they not generous Men? The worst is, such an excellent Example as this has had no effect, and at this day such Histories would pass in *France* and *Spain* as the Stories of old *Greece*, which were always called Lies.'

(56) Plut. in Nicia, *sub finem*, pag. 542. C.

(57) Id. ibid.

(58) Vies des Poëts Grecs, pag. 96.

(59) Gylippus, General of the Lacedæmonians, had beaten the Athenians in Sicily.

[I] *His Pieces seldom carried the Prize.*] Of Seventy five Tragedies that he wrote, only five obtained it. *Varro* says this. 'Euripidem quoque M. Varro ait cùm quinque & septuaginta tragœdias scripserit in quinque folis viciße, cùm eum sæpe vincerent aliqui Poëtæ ignaviſſimi (60). —— *Varro says also, that of Seventy five Tragedies which Euripides wrote, five only carried off the Prize; he being often vanquished by the most grovelling Pretenders to Poetry.*' Those who vanquished *Euripides* were commonly wretched Poetasters, as *Varro* observes. This is not to be wondered at; for at that time the Cabal (61), perhaps more than at present, determined the Fate of Plays, and there were no unfair Methods they did not put in practice to gain the Suffrage of the Judges. See the Indignation of *Ælian* (62) because one *Xenocles*, a Poet of no Merit, was preferred to *Euripides*, in a Contest of four Plays against four Plays, at the Celebration of the LXXXth Olympiad. It may be imagined there are two Errors in these Words of *Varro*; for some Authors say *Euripides* composed Ninety two Tragedies, and vanquished fifteen times (63). Mr *Barnes* has given us the Titles of Eighty four Plays of this Author. Thus *Varro* is convicted of Falsehood upon one of these two Articles. As to the other, there are Critics who read *quindecim* instead of *quinque* in *Aulus Gellius* (64): Their Reason is, that by the Testimony of the *Greek* Authors *Euripides* gained the Prize fifteen times. This Reason is a weak one, since *Suidas* and *Moschopulus*, who are *Greeks*, mention only five Victories. Their Authority is worth as much as that of *Thomas Magister*, who reckons up fifteen of them.

(60) Aulus Gellius, lib. xvii, cap. iv.

(61) Menander à Phile nunquam quoquam pari scriptore in certaminibus comœdiarum ambitu, gratiaque & facilioribus frequenter vincebatur. *Menander was several times vanquished in the Poetical Games by Philemon, who was far from being his equal as a Writer, but what he wanted in merit, he supply'd by base methods and the favour of a factious Cabal.*

(62) Ælian. Var. Histor lib. ii, cap. viii.

(63) Thom. Magister *says it in vita Euripidis.*

(64) Isaacus Casaubonus in Aprl io pro quinque legit quindecim, quoniam Græci, inquit, scriptores testantur Euripidem νίκας πεντεκαίδεκα. *Isaac Casaubon, in Agellius, instead of five reads fifteen, because, says he, the Greek Writers testify that Euripides* did carry off the prize fifteen times. *Barnes. pag.* 20.

[K] *There was an Enmity between him and the great Sophocles.*] It was next to an Impossibility, that two such excellent Poets, aspiring to the same Glory, should love one another. *Athenæus* relates some Particulars of their Quarrel, which are no Honour to them (65). If *Euripides* wrote the Letters which are ascribed to him, he must have lived in a very good Understanding with *Sophocles*. Mr *Barnes* (66), who attributes those Letters to *Euripides*, pretends, those two Poets were a long time at variance, but at last they became good Friends. *Sophocles* expressed a great Esteem for *Euripides* when he heard the News of his Death. He ordered a Tragedy to be acted, at which he appeared in Mourning, and made his Actors lay aside their Crowns (67). This is indeed a very equivocal Proof of Friendship or Grief. Two great Men, aspiring to the same Glory, that is, to exclude each other from the Superiority, inwardly esteem one another more than they would, but cannot love each other. Does one of them chance to die? the Survivor shall be the first to offer Incense to him. Then he praises and honours him with Heart and Good will: he is delivered from the Thorns of Competition, and does Justice with a good Grace to the Merit of the Deceased, because he has the Pleasure not to stand any more in fear of him. Add to this, that he would do himself a great Injury in the Eyes of the Public, if he did not appear concerned at their Loss. This would too much discover his Jealousy.

(65) Athen. lib. xii, pag. 604.

(66) In vita Euripid. pag 27.

(67) Thom. Magister, ubi supra.

[L] *They affected to give him the Title of* Woman-hater.] *Suidas* and *Moschopulus* assure us, that it was given him on Account of his austere and indifferent Temper. Σκυθρωπὸς δὲ τὸ εἶδος ἦν, καὶ ἀμελὴς καὶ αὐγμηρὸς τὰς συνουσίας, ὅθεν καὶ μισογύνης ἐδοξάσθη (68). Subtristis autem erat & risui minime deditus, nec coitus appetebat, unde & mulierum osor vocabatur. —— *He was extreamly grave and serious, and industriously declined the Pleasures of Gallantry, for which Reason he was named the* Woman-hater. He neither laughed, nor cared for the Pleasures that are enjoyed with the Fair Sex. This is the Cause of that Epithet. If after this he is seen pointing a hundred Common-places in his Tragedies against Women, and taking a Pleasure to discover the ill Qualities of some of them under general Characters, this did but confirm the Title to him; and there is no question but his Stars having engaged him in an unhappy Marriage, that personal and domestic Reason fed his ill Humour, and furnished him with satirical Thoughts. 'Mulieres fere omnes in majorem modum exosus fuisse dicitur, five quod natura abhorruit à mulierum cœtu, five quod duas simul uxores habuerat, quum id decreto ab Athenienſibus facto jus esset; quarum matrimonii pertædebat (69). —— *He is said to have conceived a violent Aversion to most of the Female Sex, either from a natural Antipathy to their Company, or because he had two Wives at the same time (such Practices being allowed by a Decree of the Athenians) and was thoroughly weary of his Consorts.*' But otherwise nothing is more false than to maintain, that having quitted his own Country, because of the disorderly Lives of his two Wives, he conceived a general Hatred against the whole Sex, and endeavoured to expose them all for the Faults of some among them. This is confuted without a Reply, by shewing that he did not leave his Country, till a few Years before his Death, and after the Stage of *Athens* had echoed a hundred and a hundred times with his Invectives against the Women. 'Hac ignominia motus Euripides in Macedoniam se contulisse dicitur, & perpetuo in omne genus mulieres odio exarsisse, suarum nimirum uxorum adulteratarum gratia. Sed pace Grammaticaſſicorum liceat dicere, quod & probaturus sum, aliud huic nomini originem & causam dari. Euripides enim non modo quia tot sceleſtas mulieres, tot veneficas, tot adulteras, & viricidas & inceſtas in scenam induxerit, verum etiam quod tot aculeatis omnem illum sexum confoderet sententiis, apud veteres Μισογύνης audiebat . . . . & plures certe, ſi non omnes illius Tragœdiæ, in quibus tantopere mulieres perſtringit, actæ erant antequam ad iter in Macedoniam animum applicaret (70). —— *Euripides, flung with this ignominious Treatment, is said to have withdrawn himself into Macedonia, and from a Resentment of the bad Practices of his Wives, conceived a perpetual Hatred of the whole Sex; but by the leave of these Would-be-Critics let me say, what I shall*

(68) See the Greek Verses quoted by *Aulus Gellius Lib. XV, Cap XX.*

(69) Aul. Gell. *Lib. XV, Cap. XX.*

(70) Barnes. pag. 19.

married [*M*], not only before he had experienced at Home the Truth of his theatrical Common-Places, but alſo after the diſorderly Life of his firſt Wife had forced him to repudiate her: The ſecond he married was at leaſt as lewd as the firſt (*e*). I know not which of the two it was, he found one Day with one of his own Actors, but probably it was the laſt, ſince the Ignominy this expoſed him to, and the frequent Raillery of the Comic Poets on this account, made him leave *Athens* (*f*). Some ſay, that making uſe of the Permiſſion they had at *Athens*, of having two Wives, he took two together, and made ſo unlucky a Choice, that they exerciſed his Patience to the utmoſt, cauſing him to conceive an Averſion for the whole Sex (*g*). However he met with a very good Reception at the Court of *Archelaus*. That Prince was a lover of learned Men, and, by his Bounty, drew many to him. He raiſed *Euripides* to great Honours [*N*]. The Age of this Poet, and the Chaſtity which many aſcribe to him, ſhould

(*e*) Suidas, in Εὐριπίδης, whose Words, Thomas Magiſter, in *Vita Euripidis*, ſeem to be taken from him, ſay, Ἐγάμησε δὲ τὸν αὐτὸ ὄνομα τῇ προτέρᾳ γυναικὶ καὶ τὴν ἐπίτευξιν μὴ θείων αὐτὸν χόλων, σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Κωμικῶν ἀφείς τὴν Ἀθήνησι διὰ τριῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπῆλθε. Ceterum quum ſuum proprium hiſtrionem Cephiſophontem cum uxore deprehendiſſet & contumeliam ejus patiam minime ferret, ſæpe taxatus a Comicis relictis Athenis in Macedoniam ſe contulit. *Vide etiam Magiſt. in Vita Euripid.*

(*f*) Φυάδας δὲ τὸν αὐτὸ ὄνομα τῇ προτέρᾳ γυναικὶ καὶ τὴν ἐπίτευξιν μὴ θείων αὐτὸν χόλων, σκωπτόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Κωμικῶν ἀφείς τὴν Ἀθήνησι διὰ τριῶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἀπῆλθε.

(*g*) Aulus Gellius, *Lib. XV. Cap. XX.*

'ſhall ſoon prove, namely, that the Origin of this Name 'was owing to another Cauſe. For Euripides was not 'ſo much diſtinguiſhed by the Name of Woman-hater, 'for introducing ſo many vicious Women, ſo many Sor'cereſſes, Adultereſſes, Murtherers of Husbands, and 'inceſtuous Characters of that Sex, as for thoſe ſevere 'Reflexions wherewith he had ſo frequently laſhed the 'whole Female Part of the Creation. . . . . Beſides, 'a great Number, if not all, of his Tragedies, where'in he treats them with ſo much Severity, were acted 'before he ever thought of going into Macedonia.' It muſt be remembered, that if *Euripides* has brought ſome very wicked Women upon the Stage, he has alſo brought Heroines upon it, making an honourable mention of the Fair Sex upon many occaſions: but this did not efface the Character he had obtained; the Remembrance of an Injury deſtroying that of a Benefit. Let us obſerve the ſame in *Latin* with Mr *Barnes*. 'Quamquam idem cum res ferret haud 'minus honorificis fœminas teſtimoniis ornaverit, 'plurimas Heroïnas ob virtutem eximias fabulis ſuis 'populo exhibendo, ut oſtendimus plus ſemel in *an'notationibus* noſtris *, manſit tamen affixum Poëtæ 'vocabulum, quis plus mordent paucæ offenſiunculæ, 'quam multa beneficia (71).' Let it be remembered alſo, that *Ariſtophanes*, by ſeeming to defend the Fair Sex againſt *Euripides*, has abuſed them more than *Euripides* did. I ſpeak of the Comedy wherein *Ariſtophanes* ſuppoſes the Women to bring their Action againſt *Euripides*. 'Fatendum eſt in *Theſmophoriazuſis* non tam 'Euripidem, adverſus quem Drama illud inſtitutum 'putatur, quam totum fœmineum genus hunc Comi'cum perſtringere videri, peculiari ſibi cavillandi gha'ractere uſum, & quaſi genio ſuo obſecundatum. Dum 'enim Euripidem à mulieribus condemnatum fingit, 'quod de his male eſſet in ſuis tragœdiis locutus, 'multo plura iſtius ſexus flagitia in unica illa Comœ'dia proferi, quam in omnibus ſuis Tragœdiis Euri'pides unquam memoraverit, atque ita Euripidem ac'cuſando abſolvit, mulieres vero laudando excuſando'que maxime denigrat (72). —— *It muſt be allowed, 'that, in the* Theſmophoriazuſæ, *the Poet does not 'ſeem ſo much to laſh Euripides, againſt whom the 'Plot of that Piece is thought to be laid, as the whole 'Female Sex, indulging his peculiar Fondneſs for find'ing fault, and forwarded therein by the Strength of 'his Fancy. For, at the ſame time that he ſuppoſes 'Euripides was condemned by the Ladies, for ſpeaking 'diſreſpectfully of them in his Tragedies, he publiſhes 'more Enormities of that Sex in that ſingle Comedy, 'than Euripides had ever mentioned in all his Tra'gedies. Thus by arraigning Euripides, he acquits him, 'and by ſeeming to declare himſelf an Advocate for 'the Women, he blackens their Characters the more.' But would you ſee a Man, who has ſaid more againſt the Fair Sex in three Words than ever *Euripides* had done in fifty Tragedies, conſider this Anſwer of *Sophocles*. Being asked one day, why the Women he brought upon the Stage were good and honeſt Women, whereas *Euripides* introduced none but what were very bad. He anſwered, *Euripides repreſents them as they really are, and I as they ought to be.* 'Fer'tur Sophocles non nihil de hac queſtione haud 'mlaus in fœminas aculeatum ſtrinxiſſe, interrogatus 'enim quandoquidem Euripidis perſonæ mulieres malæ 'eſſent, cur ipſius è contra forent bonæ. Αὐτὸς μὲν ἔφη ποιεῖν οἵας δεῖ, Εὐριπίδης δὲ οἵας εἶ'σιν (73).' Note, that *Ariſtotle* relates in general, and without any Diſtinction of Sexes, that *Sophocles* ſaid, *I repreſent Perſons ſuch as they ought to be, and Euripides repreſents them ſuch as they are* (74).

[*M*] *Neverthleſs he married.*] This very Man, who ſhunned a Female Commerce ſo much (75), grew tractable betimes, and engaged himſelf by Contract at the Age of Twenty three Years (76), in order to ſecure his Chaſtity. *Ut caſtitati quam unice colebat melius conſularet* (77).' The Woman he married was named *Chœrina* (78): he had three Sons by her. After he had repudiated her, he married another, whoſe Name I know not. The Author of the Index to the *Athenæus* of *Delechamp*, ſays, that *Euripides* loſt, in one Day, his Wife, two Sons and a Daughter, and refers to Page 60, where no ſuch thing is to be found; but at Page 61, it appears, that *Euripides*, going to *Icara* made an Epigram upon a Diſaſter, that happened at the Houſe of a Countryman, where a Woman, two Sons and a Daughter, died by eating Muſhrooms. Judge to what a Man is expoſed, that depends upon the makers of Indexes. If *Athenæus* is to be believed, we ſhould have no very good opinion of *Euripides*'s Chaſtity. He aſſures us, that this Poet was a great lover of Women (79), and that *Sophocles* hearing ſome body ſay, *Euripides* hated them furiouſly, *In his Tragedies*, replied he, *I grant he does, but, in Bed, he loves them paſſionately.* 'Ἱερώνυμος γὰρ ἱστορεῖ ὑποκριτικὸς ὑπομνήμασι φησί τινας, ἐπιβοῆσαι Σοφοκλεῖ τινὰς ὅτι μισογύνης ἐστὶν Εὐριπίδης, ἔφησε ταῖς τραγῳδίαις· ἐν δὲ Σοφοκλῆς ἐκεῖ, ἔγγε τῇ κλίνῃ φιλογύνης. *Hieronymus in hiſtoricis Commentariis ſcribit, cum Sophocli diceret quidam Euripidem fœminas oderſari, eum reſpondiſſe, in tragœdiis quidem, at in cubili eſſe illarum amentiſſimum* (80). *Stobæus* (81) ſays the ſame, and borrows it from *Sarinus*'s Books. See the Remark [*R*]. I have cited a Paſſage of *Aulus Gellius*, which informs us, that *Euripides* had two Wives at the ſame time. It is the twentieth Chapter of the fifteenth Book.

[*N*] *Archelaus raiſed him to great Honours.*] He made him, according to *Solinus*, firſt Miniſter of State. 'Hic Archelaus in tantum literarum mire amator fuit, 'ut Euripidi tragico Conſiliorum ſummam concrederet: 'cujus ſuprema non contentus proſequi ſumptu fu'neris, crines tonſus eſt, & mœrorem quem animo 'conceperat vultu publicavit (82). —— *This Arche'laus was ſo paſſionate an Admirer of Learning, that 'he entruſted Euripides, the tragic Poet, with the ſole 'Adminiſtration of Affairs, whoſe Funeral he did not 'only ſolemnize in the moſt magnificent manner, but 'likewiſe cut his Hair, and by his dreſs outwardly 'declared to the World the concern which he inwardly 'felt.' Thomas Magiſter* ſays very near the ſame, tho' not ſo expreſſly. *Ab illo* (Archelao) *honeſtiſſime ſuſceptus eſt, honoribuſque auctus ad ſummam dignitatem pervenit* (83). Can there be a clearer Demonſtration of a great Eſteem, than what *Archelaus* did to a Man who had affronted *Euripides*? the Man's Name was *Decamnichus*: He had offended the Poet, by telling him that he had a ſtinking Breath. *Euripides* was not at a loſs for a reply; he aſſigned a glorious Cauſe to this fault of his Breath, viz. the Fidelity with which he had kept the Secrets that had been entruſted with him. Εὐριπίδης ἀναπιζόντος αὐτῷ τινος, ὅτι τὸ στόμα δυσῶδες ἦν, πολλὰ γάρ, ἔφησεν, αὐτῷ ἀπόῤῥητα ἐγκατέκειτο. Euripides quum oris graveolentia illi à quodam objiceretur, multa enim, dixit, ſecreta in eo computrescunt (84). —— *Euripides, being reproached by a certain Perſon, with having a ſtinking Breath, anſwered, it might*

(71) Barnes, pag. 4.

(72) Ibid. p. 27.

(73) Ariſtot. de Poet. *Cap. XXV, pag. m. 518, E.*

(74) Φεύγουσι τὰς συνουσίας, qui congreſſus fugiebat. *Suidas, in Εὐριπίδης.*

(75) It is Barnes's Conjecture, *pag. 24.*

(76) Barnes, ubi ſupra, *pag. 24.*

(77) Suidas, ubi ſupra.

(78) Φιλογύνης δ' ἦν καὶ Εὐριπίδης ὁ ποιητής. Fuit & mulierioſus Euripides. *Athen. Lib. XIII, pag. 557. See alſo pag. 603.*

(79) Athen. Lib. XIII, pag. 557.

(80) Sermone de Intemperantia.

(81) Scalig. exp. ix, pag. m. 586.

(82) Thom. Magiſter, ubi ſupra.

(83) Sermon. Serm. XXXIX, περὶ ἀναιδείας.

(84) Barnes, pag. 4.

ſhould prevent us from affording too eaſy a Belief to the Story of his Adventures in *Macedonia* [O]. Here he came to a tragical End; for as he was walking in a Wood, and, according to his Cuſtom, in a deep Meditation, the Intenſeneſs of his Thoughts, no doubt, led him on too far, till he was met alone by the Prince's Dogs, who was then out a hunting. Thoſe curſed Dogs tore him in pieces. *Archelaus* buried him in a magnificent manner [P]. The *Athenians* were ſo grieved at the News of his Death, that the whole City went into Mourning (*b*). *Philemon*, a Friend of his, was ſo moved with it, that he declared, if he thought, as ſome aſſured him, that the dead preſerve a ſenſe of

(*b*) Thom. Magiſt. ubi ſupra.

might well be ſo, when ſuch a number of Secrets had lain ſo long buried in his Mouth. Archelaus, not thinking him ſufficiently revenged by this anſwer, delivered up *Decamnichus* to him, that he might attone for the Offence, by being ſoundly laſhed. It is pretended, that *Euripides* made uſe of the King's Permiſſion accordingly, and there is no doubt of it, if the Teſtimony of *Ariſtotle* may be relied on: his Words are: Τῆς Ἀρχελάου δ' ἐπιβέσεως Δεκάμνιχος ἡγεμὼν ἐγένετο παροξύνων τοὺς ὑπομένοντας πρῶτος. ἀτιμον δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ὅτι, αὐτὸν ἐξέδωκε μαστιγῶσαι Εὐριπίδῃ τῷ ποιητῇ· ὁ δ' Εὐριπίδης ἐχαλέπαινεν εἰπόντός τε αὐτῷ εἰς δυσωδίαν τῷ σώματος: That is to ſay, *Decamnichus was at the Head of the Conſpiracy formed againſt Archelaus, for he was the firſt to provoke and irritate thoſe who murdered that Prince; the cauſe of his Rage was, that Archelaus had delivered him up to Euripides to be ſcourged, and the cauſe of Euripides's anger was, that Decamnichus had ſaid ſomething of the diſagreeableneſs of his Breath* (85). Mr *Barnes* would have no Credit given to *Ariſtotle*: his reaſon is, that *Archelaus* was not killed till ſix Years after *Euripides*'s Death (86). This reaſon has no weight with me; for it is eaſy to conceive, that the Death of the Poet might not extinguiſh the reſentment of *Decamnichus* againſt the King. Suppoſe as much as you pleaſe, tho' *Ariſtotle* does not ſay ſo, that *Decamnichus* was the cauſe of poor *Euripides*'s Death; this will not hinder it from being very probable, that the anger of this Man againſt the Prince, who had ſubjected him to ſo grievous an affront, was kept in full Vigour, and prompted him at the end of ſix Years to improve the opportunities of Revenge, which preſented themſelves. We ſhall ſee, below, whether he was the Cauſe of *Euripides*'s Death (87).

(85) Ariſtot. lib. v, de Republica, *cap. x, pag. m.* 305, *F.*

(86) Barnes. ubi ſupra, *num.* 30, *ſub fin.*

(87) In the Remark [R], where he is not named among thoſe who are charged with the death of that Poet.

We muſt not forget the golden Cup, which was given this Poet by *Archelaus*, with an honourable Encomium. That Prince, having refuſed it to one who had begged it, ſent it to *Euripides*, telling the other: Thou art fit to aſk, but unworthy to receive; but as for him, he deſerves to receive without aſking. Σὺ μὲν (εἶπεν) αἰτεῖν ἀπιτήδειος εἶ καὶ μὴ λαμβάνειν. ἔτος δὲ λαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ αἰτεῖν. *Tu quidem, inquit, ad petendum idoneus es, non ad accipiendum: ille autem ad accipiendum etiam non petens* (88).

(88) Plutarch. de vitioſo Pudore, *pag.* 531, *D.*

[O] *We muſt not eaſily believe the Story of his Adventures in Macedonia.*] He was Seventy two Years of Age when he went to the *Macedonian* Court, and it is acknowledged that he was always free from criminal Amours, Σκοῖνος Κυπρίδος ἀλλότριος (89). However, let us relate what is ſaid of him. It is pretended (90), that at an Entertainment of the *Macedonian* King with his Friends, *Euripides*, having drank too freely, fell a kiſſing the Poet *Agathon*, who ſat by him, and who was about forty Years of Age, and that, upon the Prince's asking him, if he thought *Agathon* was ſtill an agreeable Object, he anſwered, Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ γὰρ μόνον τὸ ἔαρ τῶν καλῶν κάλλιστον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ μετόπωρον. Per Jovem, inquit, omnino, non enim ver ſolum formoſorum eſt pulchrum, verum etiam autumnus (91). —— *By Jupiter, I think he is very amiable, for the Autumn of beautiful Perſons has ſomething lovely in it.* *Plutarch* pretends, that it was *Archelaus* who ſaid this, in order to excuſe *Euripides* for careſſing a Man with a good Beard (92); but in other places (93) he imputes this Thought to *Euripides*: So true it is, that it was his Practice to make the ſame Hiſtory ſerve ſeveral ends. He fathered it ſometimes upon one, ſometimes upon another, made uſe of it more ways than one, and even makes Alterations in it as there is occaſion (94). ' Neque enim inuſitatum Plutarcho eſſe

(89) Dionyſius Byzantinus, in Anthologia, *Lib. III, fobio* 274.

(90) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. *Lib. XIII, cap. iv.*

(91) Idem, ibid.

(92) Plutarch. in Apophth. p. 177, *A.*

(93) *Idem, in* Vita Alcibiadis, p. 192, *A*; & *in* Amatorio, pag. 770, *C.*

(94) See, before, Remark [M] of the Article *ACHILLES*, between the Citations (137) and (138).

' dem res & ſententias aliquando ſtrando variare, aliquando diverſis authoribus tribuere, non memoria lapſus, ſed ut in rem ſuam quam præſens ornat, torqueat (95). —— *It is no uncommon thing with Plutarch to vary, in the Narration, the ſame Circumſtances and Sayings, aſcribing them ſometimes to one Perſon, and ſometimes to another, as may beſt tally to his preſent Purpoſes, which Variation ought not to be conſtrued a Slip of the Memory.*' The learned *Schefferus* was ignorant of *Plutarch*'s Variations concerning the Autumn of handſome Perſons; he thinks that *Plutarch* always aſcribed that Thought to *Archelaus*; and yet, in one of the places cited by him (96), it is plain *Euripides* pronounced that Saying on account of his kiſſing *Agathon*. See *Cœlius Rhodiginus* (97), who has cenſured one of *Plutarch*'s Tranſlators for miſunderſtanding a Place in the Life of *Alcibiades*, where this Saying of *Euripides* is related. The Adventure at this Feaſt is not the worſt Fault of our Poet. It is ſaid (98), that he was in love with *Agathon*, and that to pleaſe him he compoſed the Tragedy of *Chryſippus*. It is alſo ſaid, that he had lewd Commerce with the Minion of *Archelaus*; and that as he was going to him by night he was met by the Women, and torn to pieces. Others ſay he was going to meet the Wife of *Nicodamus* the *Arethuſian*. Οἱ δὲ, ἰσοῤῥοπαν γὰρ ὑπὸ κυνῶν ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γυναικῶν νύκτωρ διασπασθῆναι, πορευόμενον ἄωρι πρὸς Κρατεροῦν τὸν ἐφόμενον Ἀρχελάῳ, καὶ γὰρ σχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τὰς τοιάτας ἕρωτας. οἱ δὲ, πρὸς τὴν γαμετὴν Νικοδήμου τοῦ Ἀρεθουσίου. *Alii vero non à canibus, ſed à mulieribus noctu laceratum fuiſſe tradunt, dum intempeſta nocte ad Craterum Archelai delicias iret. Nam illum & hujuſmodi amoribus addictum fuiſſe ferunt. Alii vero, ad uxorem Nicodemi Arethuſii* (99). Theſe are the things I intended in the Text of this Remark.

(95) Barnes. ubi ſupra, pag. 30.

(96) Schefferus, in Ælian. lib. xiii, cap. iv, *cited* Plutarch *in* Amatorio, *(where it is Saying is attributed to* Euripides*) and in* Apophth. Lacon. *This is not found in the* Apoph thegms of the Lacedemonians.

(97) Ant'q. Lect. *Lib. XXIV, cap. viii.*

(98) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. II, cap xxi.

(99) Suidas, ubi ſupra.

[P] *Archelaus made a magnificent Funeral for him.*] Without doubt the following words in an Epitaph of *Euripides*, Ἀλλ' ἐμολες Πελλαῖον ὑπ' ἠρίον, cæſpite Pellæo aſt tegeris, —— *Beneath Pellæan Earth thy Body lies*, induced Mr *Barnes* to ſay, that the *Macedonian* King would have this Poet buried in his Capital City. ' Deſignaverat inter Macedonicorum regum tumulos Euripidem reponere, atque ita paulo poſt in urbe Pella quam nonnulli Bercœam putant, Macedoniæ metropoli nobile illi extructum ſepulchrum (100). —— *He intended to bury Euripides amongſt the Tombs of the Macedonian Kings, and accordingly ſoon after a magnificent Tomb was erected for him in the City Pella, which ſome take to be Berœa, the Metropolis of Macedonia.*' See, above, the Paſſage out of *Solinus* (101), and add to it the words of *Aulus Gellius* which I am going to quote. He declares at the ſame time the veneration they had for *Euripides* at *Athens*, and in *Macedonia*. The *Athenians* ſent Embaſſadors into *Macedonia* to have his Bones, and could not obtain them. ' Sepulcrum autem ejus & memoriam Macedones eo dignati ſunt honore, ut in gloriæ quoque loco prædicarent, ἕκοτα σὸν μνῆμα. Euripidis ἄλαστο ναῖ, quod egregius poëta morte obita ſepultus in eorum terra foret. Quamobrem quum legati ad eos ab Athenienſibus miſſi petiſſent, ut oſſa Athenas in terram illius patriam permitterent transferri; maximo conſenſu Macedones in ea re deneganda perſiteruerunt (102). —— *The Macedonians had that veneration for his Tomb and Memory, as to declare to his Honour, that after his Death that excellent Poet ſhould be buried, and lie for ever amongſt them; wherefore when the Athenian Embaſſadors came to deſire leave to tranſfer his Bones to Athens, his native Country; the Macedonians with one conſent determined to refuſe them.*' It appears by a Paſſage in *Vitruvius* (103), that the Tomb of *Euripides* was in the

(100) Barnes. ubi ſupra, pag. 32.

(101) Citation (82).

(102) Aul Gell. lib. xv. cap xii.

(103) *Lib. VIII, cap. iii, pag. m.* 163.

of things, he would hang himself to enjoy the Sight of *Euripides* [Q]. This great Poet was near Seventy five Years of Age when he died; the Circumstances of his Death are variously reported [R], he never was with *Plato* in *Egypt* [S], whatever Mr *le*

the open Country, at the Confluence of two little Rivers whose Waters were far unlike each other. The Water of one was mortal, whilst that of the other was so good that Travellers chose that place to dine at. Now could this have been said, if the Tomb of *Euripides* had been in the Capital City of *Macedonia*? And in that case would not *Vitruvius* and *Pliny* (104) have better described the Situation of those two Rivers? Would they not have said, either that they run through the City of *Pella*, or very near it? And would *Plutarch* have said that this Poet was interred near *Arethusa* (105)? Lightening fell upon the Tomb of *Euripides*, which was looked upon as a glorious accident, *Lycurgus* being the only Person to whom such thing had ever happened: 'Ὡς ἀπολόγημα καὶ μαρτύριον μέγα ἔσται τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸν Εὐριπίδην, τὸ μόνῳ συμπεσεῖν αὐτῷ μετὰ τοσαύτην, καὶ γενέσθαι ἃ τῷ θεοφιλεστάτῳ καὶ δικαιοτάτῳ πρώτῳ συνέπεσε. Hoc quidem suppetit magnum argumentum & testimonium studiosis Euripidis, quod soli ei post fata evenerit & delatum fuerit illud, quod Dis gratissimo, & sanctissimo viro ante evenerat (106). — *The admirers of Euripides have this convincing Proof and Testimony of his worth; that to him alone after Death the same thing happened, which before had happened to a most virtuous Man, and distinguished by the favour of the Gods.* The *Athenians*, not being able to get the Bones of *Euripides*, they erected a stately *Cenotaphium* to him (107) which was standing in *Pausanias*'s time. Those are grossly mistaken who have said that the *Argians* also erected one to him. ' Cœlius Rhodiginus, & ab eo deceptus ' Lilius Giraldus, aliud Euripidis sepulchrum memorat ' in medio Argivorum foro, & Paliuthum nuncupatum ex Strabone refert: sed optandum est ut inter ' tot lectiones antiquas nullos novos errores proseminaret Cœlii incuria, nam Strabo (108) hoc sepulchrum Dansi fuisse ait, quanquam eodem loco Euripidem ' authorem laudat (109). — *Rhodiginus, and Giraldus, who by him was led into the same mistake, mentions another Sepulchre of Euripides in the Forum at Argos; and says that Strabo calls it Palinthum; but it were to be wished that amongst so many lucubrations, Rhodiginus had not through want of care interspersed new blunders, for Strabo says this was Danaus's Sepulchre, though he mentions Euripides in the same place.*

[Q] *Philemon* ..... *declared* ..... *that he would hang himself to enjoy the Sight of Euripides.*] The Verses of this tender, but a little too unbelieving, Friend, deserve a place here. ' Tantopere autem Philemon eum admavit, ut hæc de eo dicere non dubitaverit

Εἰ ταῖς ἀληθείαισι τεθνηκόσιν
Αἰσθησις ἦν τις ἦδρας, ὡς φασὶν τινες,
Ἀπηγξάμην ἄν, ὡς ἰδὼν Εὐριπίδην.

Si sensum haberent mortui, ut quidam volunt,
Finire vitam mihi laqueo meam vellem,
Ut pascerem oculos intuendo Euripidem (110).

' *Philemon loved him to that excess that he did not scruple to say*

If Shades have Sense, as some pretend,
I friendly end my Life should end,
That I once more might see my Friend.

[R] *The Circumstances of his Death are variously reported.*] The Reader may have seen in the Body of this Article, that the King being a hunting, some of the Dogs fell upon *Euripides* who was musing (111) in a Wood, and tore him to pieces. This is taken from *Thomas Magister* in the Life of this Poet. See also *Diodorus Siculus*, chap. 103 of the 13th Book. Others say it was not by accident he was exposed to the fury of the Dogs, but that they were purposely let loose upon him, and that by the Artifices of two Poets (112) who were jealous of his Glory, who hired the keeper of the King's Dogs with a Sum of Money to do it (113). *Valerius Maximus* only says that *Euripides* having supped with the King, and returning home, was so torn by Dogs, that he died of his Wounds (114). *Aulus Gellius* says expressly, that this ill-turn was done him by some envious Person. ' Is cum in Macedonia apud Archelaum regem esset ' utereturque eo rex familiariter, rediens nocte ab ' ejus cœna canibus à quodam æmulo immissis dilace- ' ratus est, & ex his vulneribus mors secuta est (115). — *Being in Macedonia with Archelaus, who treated him with great familiarity, as he returned from supping with the King, he was miserably torn by Dogs let loose by some envious Person, and died of the Wounds.*' I shall not repeat what I have touched upon in the Remark [O], that it is said, as he was going at an unseasonable Hour to visit a Man or Woman with an ill Design, he fell into the Hands of certain Women, who struck him down, and killed him; but I may very well insert here Mr *le Fevre*'s Reflexion upon it. ' Others, *says he* (116), would make us ' believe, that he was torn to pieces by Women to ' revenge the Honour of their Sex, whom he never ' mentioned without reproach. But it is very probable this History was copied from the Fable of *Orpheus*.'

Let us finish this Remark with a little piece of Learning which *Erasmus* will furnish us with (117). There was in *Macedonia* a Village called the *Thracian* Village, because it was inhabited by People of that Nation. A Dog of *Archelaus* happening one day to stray, came to this Village, where he was sacrificed and eat according to the Custom of the Inhabitants. The King, being informed of it, condemned them to pay a Talent as a Fine. Not being in a Condition to raise this Sum, they begged *Euripides* to get it remitted, and by his intercession they obtained their Request. But he was punished for it not long after, for he was killed in a Forest by the King's Dogs (118), and they were persuaded that the Dogs which destroyed him were descended from the Dog that the *Thracians* sacrificed. This gave rise to a Proverb among the *Macedonians* (119). Here is another piece of Erudition of the same *Erasmus*; he pretends (120) that the Proverb, *Promeri canes*, owes its Original to the revenge which *Promerus*, an Officer of *Archelaus*, took upon *Euripides* for an ill turn that Poet had done him. He set the Dogs upon him, which tore him to pieces. *Erasmus* forgot to tell us what we learn from *Stephanus Byzantinus*. The unfortunate *Euripides* being very ill used by Dogs in a place of *Macedonia* called *Bormiscus*, He did not die upon the spot, but never recovered of those Wounds. Βορμίσκος χωρίον Μακεδονίας ἐν ᾧ συνεσπάσθη ὑπὸ κυνῶν Εὐριπίδης ..... ἐκ δὲ τῶν τραυμάτων ἀρρωστήσας ἐνθάδε ἐτελεύτησεν. *Bormicus, oppidum (regiuncula, according to* Berkelius) *Macedoniæ, ubi à canibus dilaceratus fuit Euripides* ..... *ex morsibus vero, quum ægrotaret, ajunt obiisse.* I make no doubt but the 597th and 598th Verses of *Ovid*'s *Ibis*, upon which Mr *de Boissieu* had no Observations to make, refer to the tragical end of our Poet:

Utque cothurnatum vatem tutela Dianæ
Dilanet, vigilum te quoque turba canum.

Thus be the Fate of that fam'd buskin'd Bard
Butcher'd by Dogs, Diana's surly Guard.

[S] *He never was with Plato in Egypt.*] Authors are not agreed upon the Year of *Plato*'s Birth, but one may without fear of erring place it in the LXXXVIIIth or LXXXIXth Olympiad. I would advise no body to contradict Mr *Barnes*, who assures us (121) that *Plato* was but seventeen Years of Age when *Euripides* went into *Macedonia*; and but twenty, at *Euripides*'s Death. How absurd is it to say, as *Laertius* has done, that *Euripides* followed *Plato* in his Travels into *Egypt* (122)! If they had been there together, it would have been just and decent that *Euripides*, a venerable old Man should have been the Leader, and that *Plato*, who was but a young Man, should follow him as his Disciple, just as the young *English* Lords, and the young *German* Counts, go beyond the Alps with a Governour.

(104) *Lib. xxxi, cap. ii, sub fin.*

(105) Plut. in Lycurgo, *sub fin. pag. 59.*

(106) Plut. ibid.

(107) Pausan. lib. i. pag. 80.

(108) Lib. viii. Pag. 256.

(109) Barnes. ubi supra, pag. 33. *He cites* Cœlius Rhodigin. Antiq. Lect. lib. xxiii, cap. x; & Gyraldus Poet. Hist. dial. vii. pag. 268. *I have not found this in my edition of Rhodiginus (which is of* Francfort 1666) *at the place put down. He should have cited* lib. xxiv, cap. x.

(110) Thom. Magister, ubi supra.

(111) Ἐσυλήθη ὑπὸ τινων ἄκρων Φρυγίων κυνῶν. Quando fortè fortuna per necessitudinem quoddam cognitabundus ambularet.

(112) Aristom, a Macedonian, and Craterus, a Thessalian.

(113) Suidas, in Εὐριπίδης; & Manuel Moschopul. in vita Euripidis.

(114) Val. Max. lib. ix, cap. xii, ext. 4.

(115) A. Gellius, lib. xv, cap. xx.

(116) Vie des Poet. Grecs, pag. 98, 99.

(117) Vide Erasmum Kuhnium, Canis vindictam. *Adag. Chil. I. Cent. viii.* p. 47. & p. 245.

(118) Cum Euripides in sylvam quandam solus esset, & Archelaus à venatu revertentur, canes, Euripidem cunctum discerpserunt, devoraverunt que. *Eras. Adagior. ubi supra.* He is wrong to say they devoured him, this is confuted by what we have said of the Tomb of *Euripides*.

(119) See, above, Citation (117).

(120) Chil. III. Cent. viii. n. 88, pag. 561. Apostolius *says in general the same thing*, Cent. xvi, num. 70.

(121) In vita Euripidis, p. 27.

(122) Οὐ φασὶ καὶ Εὐριπίδην αὐτῷ συναποδημῆσαι. Quo & Euripidem usu sequutum esse aiunt. *Diog. Laert. lib iii, in* Platone, n. 6.

Mr *le Fevre* may say to the contrary. We have but twenty of his Tragedies remaining, though he composed Ninety two (*i*), he loved to intermix Sentences [*T*], full of good Morality, by which he gives his own Character; for he was a severe, grave Man, and indifferent to Pleasure. He used to shut himself up in a dismal Cave, to compose his Works [*U*]. However all his Maxims were not good. He broached one upon the Sanctity of an Oath [*X*], which seemed so unguarded, that they called him to an Account

(*i*) *Suidas*, who relates this, says also that according to others he made but 75. Mr *Barnes* found the titles of 84 Pieces of *Euripides*. See his Edition, *pag.* 55.

Governour. But let us leave the absurd inconsistency of maintaining, that *Plato* and *Euripides* were together in *Egypt*. *Euripides* went out of *Athens* harrassed by the Jests of the comic Poets, and retired to the Court of *Archelaus*: when he was about seventy two Years of Age. It is certain his Journey into *Egypt* was not posterior to that of *Macedonia*: therefore, it must either be a Chimera, or it was before the seventy second Year of *Euripides*. Now it cannot be denied, that during the five or six Years preceding this Journey into *Macedonia*, *Euripides* was in his own Country. He exhibited his *Oreſtes* when he was sixty nine Years old (123). He received at *Athens* at the Age of sixty seven (124) the acknowledgments of those who had saved their Lives in *Sicily*, by repeating his Verses. Is it credible that at seventy Years of Age he should undertake to travel into *Egypt*? And if that absurdity will go down with some, let them tell me then how it is possible that *Plato*, who was not yet twenty Years of Age, should accompany him into *Egypt*, he who did not take this Journey till after (125) the Death of *Socrates* (126), which was some Years after that of *Euripides*; he, in a word, who did not undertake a Journey, into *Egypt* till after he had seen *Italy* (127), and who did not leave *Athens* till he was twenty eight Years of Age (128)? Though *Diogenes Laërtius* should swear to the Journey in question, he would deserve no Credit against the clear and solid reasons that are borrowed from Chronology. With much more reason ought such a Fable to be rejected, which he relates only upon *hearsay*. And nevertheless you see *Joseph Scaliger*, Mr *le Fevre*, Mr *Menage*, very positive of this Journey of *Euripides* into *Egypt* in Company with *Plato*. I do not pretend to excuse *Laërtius*; for when a *hearsay* is manifestly false, it ought not to be told without contradicting it. *Laërtius* furnishes me with a proof against his *hearsay*. He observes that *Euripides* fell sick in *Egypt*, and that the Priests cured him by Sea Medicines; which made him say some time after,

(123) Barnes. pag. 28. ex Scholiaste Eurip. & Joan. Meurſio.

(124) Barnes. ibid.

(125) Diog. Laert. in Platone, num. 6.

(126) See Remark [*DD*].

(127) Diog. Laërt. in Platone, n. 6. Cicero, V de Finibus, *says the contrary; but as* Apuleius *observes that* Plato *went twice into* Italy, *and the second time after his journey into* Egypt, *it is easy to reconcile* Cicero *with* Hermodorus *in* Diogenes Laërtius.

(128) Diogen. Laert. in Platone, num. 6.

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

Mare universa proluit hominum mala.

The briny Waves all human Ills dispel.

This is the 1193d Verse of his Tragedy of *Iphigenia in Tauris*, which was prior to the sixty ninth Year of *Euripides*'s Life, since the Tragedy of *Oreſtes* which he exhibited in his sixty ninth Year was the last Piece he composed at *Athens* (129). Therefore his Journey into *Egypt* must necessarily be before his sixty ninth Year, and so *Plato* would have gone into *Egypt* before he was fourteen Years of Age; which is absurd. The learned Men of *England* (130) have not been so easily imposed upon as those of *France*: they have not affirmed, as the great *Scaliger* does: 'Plato, Eudoxus, Euripides profectionis in Ægyptum socii planetarum cursum ab Ægyptiis didicere; & primi omnium Græcorum populares suos id docuerunt, Plato quidem in Timæo, Eudoxus ἐν ἐνόπτρῳ, Euripides in Thyeste. Verba sunt magni Scaligeri in Notis ad Sphæram Manilii (131). —— *Plato, Eudoxus, and Euripides, made a Voyage together into Egypt, and from the Egyptians learned the Course of the Planets, and were the first of all the Grecians, who taught the same to their Countryman, Plato in his Timæus, Eudoxus in his ἐνόπτρῳ, Euripides in his Thyeſtes. These are the words of the great Scaliger in his Remarks on the Sphere of Manilius.* They do not say as Mr *le Fevre* (132), that *Euripides* after he had learned Rhetoric from *Prodicus*, 'travelled into 'Egypt with *Plato*, to enjoy the Conversation of the 'Priests of that Country, who had at that time a little 'more Reputation of good Literature than the Priests 'of Spain or *Italy*.' There had passed above thirty Years between *Euripides*'s learning Rhetoric, and the Birth of *Plato*. Which aggravates the Error of Mr *le Fevre*.

(129) Barnes. ubi supra, p. 30.

(130) *See* Barnes. ibid. pag. 27.

(131) Menagius ad Diog. Laërt. lib. iii, num. 6. pag. 140. *Since he cites this without finding fault with it, he is an accomplice with* Scaliger *and* le Fevre *of* Saumur, *in their error.*

(132) Vies des Poet. Grecs, pag. 97.

[*T*] *He loved to deliver moral Sentences.*] The thing needs no proof: it is but reading what is still extant of his. But if any one is desirous of Testimonies for it, let him add to the Passage of *Quintilian* cited before (133) these words of *Cicero* (134): *Cui* (*Euripidi*) *tu quantum credas nescio: ego certe singulos ejus versus singula ejus testimonia puto.* As many Verses of *Euripides*, so many Maxims and Sentences in *Cicero*'s Opinion. Can it be thought strange after this, that That illustrious Orator should prepare himself for Death by reading *Euripides*? It is observed (135) that the Assassins who pursued him, and murdered him, found him reading in his Litter the *Medea* of *Euripides*. Now as the best things spoil a Book if they are not managed with discretion, there may perhaps have been great reason to condemn in this Poet the too frequent use of Philosophical Aphorisms. Particularly his *Hecuba* is found to philosophize to excess and unseasonably. Τὸν Εὐριπίδην καταμεμφόμεθα ὅτι παρὰ καιρὸν αὐτῷ Ἑκάβη φιλοσοφεῖ. *Euripidem vituperare solemus, quod intempestivius apud illum philosophatur Hecuba* (136).

(133) Rem. [*T*] Citation (39).

(134) Epist. viii, lib. xvi ad Famil.

(135) Ptolemæus Hephæst. lib. v. Variæ Histor. apud Photium, pag. m. 485.

(136) Theo, in Progymnasmatis, cap. i, pag. 4.

[*U*] *He shut himself up in a dismal Cave to compose his Works.*] It was in the Isle of *Salamis*: *Aulus Gellius* had the curiosity to enter into it. 'Philochorus 'refert, *says he* (137), in insula Salamine spelunCam 'esse tetram & horridam quam nos vidimus, in qua 'Euripides tragœdias scriptitavit. —— *Philochorus reports, that there is in the Island Salamis a gloomy dismal Cave, that we have seen, in which Euripides composed his Tragedies.*'

(137) Lib. xv, cap xx.

[*X*] *He broached one Maxim upon the Sanctity of an Oath.*] He introduces *Hippolytus* guarded with a distinction, when he was put in mind of his Oath:

Ἡ γλῶσσ' ὀμώμοχ', ἡ δὲ φρὴν ἀνώμοτος (138).

Lingua juravit, mens vero manet injurata.

I swore with my Tongue, not with the Mind (139).

(138) It is the 612th verse of *Hippolytus*.

(139) *See* Balzac's Prince, n. 468, pag. 192.

This is exactly the Sophistry, or rather the Treason of mental Reservations. There was one *Hygiænon* who could not bear this Verse, he charged *Euripides* with impiety, as a teacher and protector of perjury. The Poet demanded to be tried by his proper Judges, appealing to the jurisdiction of the Judges appointed over all Theatrical Controversies, declaring that he had given, or was ready to give, an account of his Faith and Doctrine, before that Tribunal; and that it was there, and not before the usual Courts, that he ought to be accused. Ἔφη γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖν τὰς ἐν τῇ Διονυσιακῇ ἀγῶνι κρίσεις εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἄγοντα· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸν δικάσεσθαι λόγον ἢ δώσειν εἰ βέλτιστα κατηγορεῖτ. *Dixit enim injuste agere ex Dionysiace certamine judicia in forum trahentem, ibi enim se reddidisse rationem aut redditurum si voluerit accusare* (140). *Aristotle*, who informs us of this Circumstance, goes no farther: his subject not permitting him to tell us what followed, or what was the issue of the Cause: but if *Euripides* got off by contesting the jurisdiction of the Court, and had nothing better to alledge in his defence, it must be confessed his Cause was bad enough, and he has found Friends and Advocates who have pleaded much better for him than he did himself. I do not reckon *Cicero* as one of his Apologists; for he has not taken the pains to justify that the distinction of *Hippolytus* was within the limits of the Rule he (*Cicero*) had just laid down; he is content to mention that distinction in general with an adverb of praise: 'Non falsum jurare 'perjurare est, *says he* (141), sed quod ex animi tui 'sententia juraris, sicut verbis concipitur more nostro, 'id non facere perjurium est. Scitè enim Euripides, *juravi lingua, mentem injuratam gerè.* —— *To fal-*

(140) Aristot. Rhetor. lib. xiii, cap. xv, pag. m. 464.

(141) Cicero, Officior. lib. iii, cap. 29.

Account for it. Upon another Occasion he dogmatized so gravely in Defence of covetous Men, that the whole Audience were moved at it [*Y*]. Another time they were offended to such a Degree at the two first Verses of his *Menalippus*, which seemed to attack the Existence of the greatest of all the Gods [*Z*], that he was forced to alter them. He has vented some impious Propositions, which made him pass with some for an *Atheist* [*AA*]. I shall not enter into the Examination of this Point, but shall only observe in general, that it is altogether absurd to charge the Author of

' fifty one's Oath is not always perjury; but when a ' Man swears to the performance of any thing purely ' from his own choice, and in form, he is then perjured ' if he does not perform it. The distinction therefore of ' Euripides is ingenious enough.

What tho' my Tongue was bound, my Mind was free.

The Scholiast upon *Euripides* has given a much better explanation of it; he pretends the Poet's intention was this. When *Hippolytus* was sworn, he did not well understand the thing in question: Matters were disguised to him; he understood them in a certain manner, and swore according to the best of his Understanding. After this the affair was shewn him in another Light, and it was pretended that he was bound by his Oath: he answered that it was never his intention to swear to that, and therefore his Tongue only had sworn. This case seems to me to be very different from Equivocations, and mental Reservations. According to this Hypothesis *Hippolytus* ought to enjoy the prerogatives of Ignorance, which clears a Man in Law. ' Si certum est eum qui juravit, aliquod factum suppo- ' suisse, quod revera se ita non habeat, ac nisi id cre- ' didisset non fuisse juraturum, non obligabit juramen- ' tum [142].' But nevertheless the Maxim of *Euripides*, generally speaking, is a very bad one: there is no sort of perjury but may be excused by it. May not those who use Equivocations say, that their Heart and Tongue did not agree; that one swore, but the other did not swear? Mr *Barnes* to justify *Euripides* observes (143) among other things, that *Hippolytus* chose rather to die than to violate this verbal Oath.

(142) Grotius, de Jure Belli & Pacis, l. b. ii, cap. xiii, n. 4. *In the Note he applies his Maxim to Hippolytus.*

(143) In vita Euripid. p. 22.

[*Y*] *He dogmatized so gravely in defence of covetous Men, that the whole Audience were moved at it.*] The Actor would have been driven off the Stage, if *Euripides* had not come himself, and begged the People to have a little patience, assuring them they should soon see the miserable end of that Miser, whose Maxims had so much shocked the Audience. We owe this Particular to *Seneca*. He relates in Latin Verse the Maxims of that covetous Man, and then adds. ' Cum hi novissi- ' mi versus in tragœdia Euripidis pronunciati essent, ' totus populus ad ejiciendum & actorem & carmen ' consurrexit uno impetu: donec Euripides in medium ' ipse prosiluit, petens, ut exspectarent, viderentque ' quem admirator auri exitum faceret. Dabat in illa ' fabula pœnas Bellerophontes, quas in sua quisque ' dat. Nulla enim avaritia sine pœna est, quamvis sa- ' tis sit ipsa pœnarum (144). —— *These last Verses be- ing spoke in a Tragedy of Euripides, the whole Au- dience rose with one consent to expel the Actor, and condemn the Passage, till Euripides appeared on the Stage, and intreated them to wait with patience the exit of this admirer of Gold. Bellerophontes in that Play suffered the same Punishment which is usually in- flicted on others of that stamp. For Avarice never escapes without Punishment, although it is a sufficient Punishment of itself.* We ought in Equity to be satisfied with such an Apology as this. The same Poet makes use of it for his *Ixion*. Some Persons found fault with him for bringing so wicked and impious a Man as that upon the Stage; *Take notice*, replied he, *that before I let him go off I will tie him to a Wheel.* Ὅσοις ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐπιφέρει λέγουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἰξίονα λοιδορίαν ὡς ἀσεβῆ καὶ μιαρὸν, Οὐ μὴν τοι πρότερόν γ' αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξάγαγον πρὶν τροχῷ περιπλῶσαι. *Quemadmodum Euripides fertur Ixionem ut impium flagitiosumque con- vicientibus dixisse, Enimvero non ante eum è scena eduxi, quam rotæ affigerem* (145). This was the finest part of Tragedy; persecuted Virtue was seen to be triumphant, and wicked Men were at last punished: but nevertheless it was to be feared, that certain Examples, and certain Discourses should become infectious. See the Reflexion *Aristophanes* throws upon our *Euripides* (146) on account of his *Phædra*. Note, that in the *Menagiana* the two charges against *Euripides* are con-

(144) Seneca, Epist. cxv. pag. m. 452.

(145) Plutarch. de audiendis Poëtis, pag. 29.

(146) In Ranis, Act. IV, Sc. II, pag. m. 243.

founded together; for there it is said (147), ' that the ' five Judges appointed by the *Athenians* to regulate ' the differences which might arise concerning the ' Stage ..... having (148) one day summoned *Euri- ' pides* to give an account of a Verse in one of his ' Plays, wherein he makes the Actor say he had sworn ' with his Tongue, but not with his Mind; *Euripides* ' defended himself by saying, that they should wait ' till the end of his Play, when they would see that ' Actor broke upon the Wheel.'

(147) Menagiana, pag. m. 119.

(148) Ibid. pag. 220.

[*Z*] *They were so offended at the two first Verses of his Menalippus ..... that he was forced to alter them.*] The proof of this may be seen in *Plutarch*: I shall relate his words at length, because they shew us what weight the Pagans laid upon Tradition (149), when they were to prove the existence of a Deity. *Plutarch* confesses openly that it was dangerous not to insist upon that proof, and difficult to find one more certain. The Philosophers of this Age are not reduced to such a strait; they give evident proofs, and much more demonstrative than can be furnished from Tradition. But let us hear *Plutarch* (150): ' You seem to me to ' start a great and bold question, or rather to touch ' upon a point, which ought not to be meddled with, ' *viz.* the Opinion and Belief we have of the Gods, ' by demanding the proof and reason of each Particu- ' lar. For the ancient Faith, we have derived down ' from our ancestors, ought to be sufficient, nor can we ' imagine, or find out a better, or more convincing ' proof.

(149) *See the* Pensées diverses sur les Cometes, num. 137.

(150) Plut. in Amatorio, pag. 756.

For surely all the Wit of human Brain
This part of Knowledge never could attain.

' So that Tradition being the Foundation and common ' Basis of all Religion, if once the Authority and Be- ' lief of it be shaken in one respect, it becomes uncer- ' tain and suspected in all others. No doubt you ' have heard how *Euripides* was hissed and insulted ' for beginning his Tragedy of *Menalippus* in these ' words,

..... Jupiter, if his Name be so,
For 'tis by hearsay only that I know.

' He was mighty fond of this Tragedy, as being ex- ' quisitely well writ, but was forced, by the Clamour ' and Complaints of the People, to alter the first Lines ' into what it is at present,

Jove, for we own he has received that Name
From Truth alone, and not from common Fame.

[*AA*] *Some represent him as an Atheist.*] In this manner *Plutarch* among the Ancients, and *Brocon* (151) among the Moderns, speak of *Euripides*. See the Remark [*H*] of the Article CRITIAS. *Aristophanes* says one thing which puts me in mind of the fear some were under at *Ephesus*, from the preachers of the Gospel (152). He introduces (153) a Widow who got her living by selling holy Nosegays; but, says she, since *Euripides* by his impious Verses has persuaded People that there are no Gods, I sell hardly any thing at all. Let it be remembered that the Pagan Gods were so ridiculous, that a Man might laugh at them without being an Atheist. So that the Passage of *Euripides*, quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, proves nothing: I mean that in which the Poet says, if the Gods were called to an account for their Adulteries, *Neptune* and *Jupiter* himself would be forced to leave their Temples, pursuant to the sentence which would be pronounced against them; but he adds, I do not suppose it will ever come to this pass (154): Ἥδη δὲ ἐν Ἴωνι τῷ δράματι γυμνὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐγκυκλεῖ τῷ θεάτρῳ τὰς θεάς.

(151) Relig. Medici, § xlvi. Vide Notas in eum locum.

(152) Acts xix, 24, *and following.*

(153) In Thesmophoriaz, pag. m. 777.

(154) Clem. Alexandrin. Admon. ad Gentes, pag. 50.

Πῶς δ' δίκαιον, τὰς νόμῳ σὺ μὴ βροτοῖς
Πράξαντας, αὐτὰς ἀδικίας ὀφλισκάνειν;

Εἰ,

of a Tragedy with the Sentiments he makes his Actors expreſs upon the Stage [*BB*]. The manner in which *Euripides* received the Advice of the People, about the Correction of a Paſſage in one of his Tragedies, and his Anſwer to a Poet who boaſted of his eaſy way of compoſing, are capable of a good and ill Conſtruction [*CC*]: He was accuſed

Εἰ, δ' ὃ γάρ ἔσαι, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρήσομαι·
Δίκας βιαίαν δώσετ' ἀνθρώποις γάμου,
Σὺ καὶ Ποσειδῶν, Ζεὺς θ' ὃς ὑφ' ἕρκῃ κρατεῖ,
Ναὸς τίνοντες ἀδίκῳ κενώσετε.

Jam verò in dramate, cui nomen eſt Ion, capite nudo Deos in theatrum inducit.

An hoc videtur, qui datis mortalibus
Leges, ut ipſi criminis ſitis rei?
Quod ſi (futurum quod quidem nunquam reor)
Reddenda vobis ratio ſit ſtupri & probri:
Neptunus, & tu, rexque Jupiter poli,
Templis relictis jure abibitis foras.

In his Tragedy, named Ion, *he introduces the Gods bareheaded.*

Ought you who Laws preſcribe thoſe Laws tranſgreſs?
O ſhould the Hour but come, tho' vain the Thought,
Yet in Imagination let it come,
When all your Rapes ſhould meet a righteous doom;
Thou, Neptune, and the mighty thunderer Jove,
Might mourn your Temples, and your Altars, loſt.

Father *Thomaſſin* (155) reaſons juſtly upon the Contradiction which appears in the Conduct of the Pagans. They adored the ſame Deities in their Temples, which were ridiculed with impunity upon the Stage.

Obſerve a groſs Miſtake of *Theophilus Raynaud*. He ſays that *Euripides* the Atheiſt attacked the Philoſopher *Anaxagoras* upon the Doctrine of the Unity of God (156); and he cites the ſixth Chapter of the fourteenth Book of *Euſebius's Preparatio Evangelica*. He ſhould have cited the ſixteenth Chapter; but that would not have mended the Matter; for *Euſebius*, abridging the account *Plutarch* has given us concerning the Opinions of the Ancients upon the nature of God, ſays only that *Euripides* not daring to give his Opinion, for fear of the Court of *Areopagus*, inſinuates it by introducing *Siſyphus* who denied that there were any Gods. *Plutarch* afterwards makes *Anaxagoras* the firſt who had orthodox ſentiments of the Deity. This is all *Euſebius* ſays (157).

[*BB*] *It is abſurd to charge the Author of a Tragedy with the Sentiments he makes his Actors expreſs upon the Stage.*] Mr *Barnes* obſerves that, to ſupport the Character of *Siſyphus*, it was neceſſary *Euripides* ſhould make him reaſon like an Atheiſt, and therefore that *Plutarch* had no reaſon to find there the Trick of an Author; the Trick, I ſay, of ſafely delivering his own opinion under the name of another (158).

'Miror autem plurimum quid tanto viro perſuaſerit 'hæc vafre ab *Euripide* dicta ſub *Siſyphi* perſona, & 'poëtæ ipſius eſſe ſenſus, cum nemo unquam extitit 'noſtro poëta pientior, ut ex innumeris ejus locis 'colligi poteſt, & *Siſyphi* characterem maxime decuit 'impie loqui: ut obſervavimus ad *Bellerophont.* (159).

'—— *I am much ſurprized what could perſuade ſo great a Man, that Euripides had uſed a vicious cunning in ſpeaking his own opinion in the Perſon of Siſyphus, when there never was a Man who paid a greater regard to Religion, as may be gathered from an infinite number of Paſſages in his Works, and it was highly agreeable to the Character of Siſyphus to ſpeak prophanely, as I have obſerved on Bellerophon.*' *Grotius* has judicioully ſaid (160), 'Multa tragœdiis ſunt non 'ex poëtæ ſenſu dicta, ſed congruenter perſonæ quæ 'loquens inducitur. —— *There are many things in Tragedies which are not agreeable to the Senſe of the Poet, but to the Character of the Perſon introduced.*' See *la Chimere de la Cabale de Rotterdam demontrée* (161), and what I have already ſaid in the Remark [2] of the Article ERASMUS.

[*CC*] *Two things . . . . which are capable of a good or ill Conſtruction.*] One day the People of *Athens* deſiring him to ſtrike out a certain Paſſage in a Tragedy of his: he came upon the Stage and told the People, *I do not compoſe my Works to learn of you but to teach you.* He complained once to the Poet *Aceſtis*, that for the laſt three Days he had not been able to make above three Verſes, tho' he had ſtudied with great Application; the other anſwered with an Air of Vanity, that he had made a hundred with eaſe: *But*, replied *Euripides*, *there is this difference between your's and mine, that mine will continue thro' the utmoſt extent of time, and your's will periſh in three Days.* *Valerius Maximus* puts a favourable Interpretation upon all this. He can ſee no Footſteps of Pride in it. He finds nothing but that reaſonable Confidence which a great Man ought to have in his own Merit. Nay, he aſſures us that, as to the firſt particular, they judged of it in *Athens* juſt as he judges. *EURIPIDES made Verſes with difficulty.*

'Nec Euripides quidem Athenis, *ſays he* (162), arro- 'gans viſus eſt, cùm poſtulante populo, ut ex tragœ- 'dia quandam ſententiam tolleret, progreſſus in ſcenam 'dixit: Se, ut eum doceret, non ut ab eo diſceret, 'fabulas componere ſolere. Laudanda profecto fidu- 'cia eſt, quæ æſtimationem ſui certo pondere exami- 'nat, tantum ſibi arrogans, quantum à contemptu & 'inſolentia diſtare ſatis eſt. Itaque etiam quod Al- 'ceſtidi tragico poëtæ reſpondit, probabile: apud 'quem cum quereretur, quòd eo triduo non ultra 'tres verſus maximo impenſo labore deducere potu- 'iſſet, atque is ſe centum perfacilè ſcripſiſſe gloriare- 'tur: Sed hoc, inquit, intereſt, quod tui in triduum 'tantummodo, mei verò in omne tempus ſufficient. 'Alterius enim fœcundi curſus ſcripta intra primas me- 'moriæ metas corruerunt, alterius cunctante ſtylo e- 'lucubratum opus per omne ævi tempus plenis glo- 'riæ velis feretur. —— *Nor did Euripides appear inſolent at Athens, who, when the People demanded that he ſhould ſtrike out ſuch a Sentence from one of his Tragedies, came on the Stage, and told them, that he wrote to teach, and not to learn. That aſſurance is certainly commendable which carefully weighs a Man's own worth, and aſſumes ſo much as will ſecure him from Contempt on one hand, or Inſolence on the other. For which reaſon, the anſwer, which he gave to Aceſtides, the Tragic Poet, ought by no means to be condemned. Euripides had complained to him that in three Days he had not been able to write above three Verſes, tho' he had laboured to his utmoſt; Aceſtides boaſted that he had wrote a hundred with the greateſt eaſe. But here, ſays Euripides, is the difference; your's will only live three Days, but mine to Eternity. For the over haſty Writings of the one periſhed in an Age; but the elaborate Works, and mature Productions of the other will be carried on the Wings of Fame for ever.*' No body is obliged to ſubmit his own opinion to the Judgment of this Latin Writer, or to believe upon his Word, that the inſulting Declaration of *Euripides* was well received at *Athens*. Therefore it is no wonder that *Giraldus*, following his own Judgment, finds too much Haughtineſs and Self-love, in theſe anſwers of the Greek Poet. He is only to be blamed, in pretending, that the Latin Author has produced them as a proof of Pride. At leaſt, this is the fault Mr *Barnes* has reproached him with (163): after which, he makes this Reflexion upon the latter part of the Paſſage in *Valerius Maximus*: 'Vere 'hæc quidem *Valerius*, nam quum hodie ne tres qui- 'dem verſus nedum unicus ullus ex innumeris jacta- 'bundi iſtius poëtæ extemporanei verſibus ſupereſſe 'videatur, ſed neque ullum illorum veſtigium ad *Valerii* 'ætatem perduravit, ad quam tamen omnia *Euripidis* 'opera ſalva & integra permanſerunt, etiam poſt *Vale- 'rii* tempora jam mille & octingentos annos ſuperſunt 'plures iſtius fabulæ integræ quam omnes *Æſchyli*, 'Sophoclis, & *Ariſtophanis* tragœdiæ & comœdiæ ſi- 'mul ſumptæ. —— *Valerius had reaſon to make this Aſſertion, ſince at this Day there are not three, not even one, of that vain-glorious Poet's extemporaneous Lines extant, not did any Marks of them reach the times of Valerius, to which however all the Works of Euripides were conveyed ſafe and entire: nay, eighteen hundred Years after the Age of Valerius, there ſtill ſurvivi more entire Plays of that Poet, than all the Tragedies and Comedies of Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Ariſtophanes taken together.*' Methinks, there are two things

(162) Val. Max. lib. iii, cap vii, ext. num. 1.

(155) Methode de lire chrétiennement les Poëtes, Tom. I, pag. 273.

(156) Quin etiam Euſeb. 14 Præp. cap. 6, refert Anaxagoram ab Euripide Atheo idcirco impugnatum. *Theoph. Raynaud. Theol. Natur. Diſtinct. V, num.* 155, *pag. m.* 525.

(157) Euſeb. Præp. *Libr. xiv, cap. xvi, p.* 753.

(158) Barnes. Not. in Euripid. Siſyphi Fragm. *pag.* 492.

(159) The Fragments of this Piece contain the Diſcourſe of a Man who poſitively denies a Providence, under pretence that wicked men are richer than good men.

(160) In Præfat. ad *Excerpta*, apud *Barnes.* in *Vita Euripidis*, pag. 22.

(161) In the Preface, *p.* 110.

(163) *Lilius Giraldus* inconſtanter nimis dixit quod Poëtam noſtrum arrogantem & ſuperbum *Valerius Maximus* prodat, quum tamen nobilis in author in eo capite & loco quem *Giraldus* deſignat, nihil omnino tale imo plane contrarium ſtatuat. *Barnes.* in *Vita Euripid.* pag. 20.

accused of abusing *Medea*, out of Complaisance to the *Corinthians* [DD]. It is not true that in his *Palamedes* there is a tacit Insinuation of Reproach concerning the Death of *Socrates* [EE]. I wonder that a Particular we find in *Eusebius*, is mentioned by so few Authors [FF]. *Morery* has committed some gross Mistakes [GG] in this Article. [illegible] Edition

things, which deserve censure in this Discourse. One is, that *Valerius Maximus* having lived under *Tiberius*, it cannot be said in the Year 1694. that he lived 1800 Years ago. The other, that there are still extant seven Tragedies of *Æschylus*, as many of *Sophocles*, and eleven Comedies of *Aristophanes*. All which together exceed in number the twenty Tragedies of *Euripides*, which we have left.

[DD] *He is charged with having injured Medea out of Complaisance to the Corinthians.*] It is said the Corinthians killed *Medea*'s Sons, and a long time after got *Euripides* to suppose that she had killed them herself. They add, that, by the great Reputation of this Poet, such a Fiction prevailed over the Truth (165), and that the City of *Corinth* discharged itself of the Infamy of their Crime, upon the Memory of the innocent *Medea*. The Author I cite does not say, this Translation of Scandal cost the Corinthians any thing but a Request, but others affirm it cost them five Talents. Which Sum they paid *Euripides*, if *Parmeniscus* is to be believed (165). There are several Authors who say *Medea* did not kill her Children, and on the contrary that not being able to carry them with her, when she fled from *Corinth*, she took care to secure them in a Temple, where she hoped they would find an inviolable Sanctuary; but that the Corinthians murdered them there (166). It is alledged (167) in defence of *Euripides*, that he was not the first that charged *Medea* with the murder of her Children, since *Carcinus* (168) introduces her pleading her Cause against those who accused her of it, and *Apollodorus* (169) says positively that she killed the two Sons she had by *Jason*. Of these two Witnesses the first only can be of any service, for the latter lived 250 Years after *Euripides*. As to *Carcinus* he was before that Poet; he had a Son named *Xenocles*, who disputed the Tragic Prize with *Euripides* (170).

[EE] *Is it not true that in his Palamedes, there is a tacit Reproach concerning the Death of Socrates?*] The most uniform opinion in Authors, concerning the time of *Euripides*, is that he was born the first Year of the LXXVth Olympiad, and lived about Seventy five Years. So that his Death must be placed in the XCIIId Olympiad, as *Suidas* has done. Now it is certain that *Socrates* did not die till the XCVth Olympiad; so then it is not true that *Euripides* reproached the Athenians with the punishment of that Philosopher. Note, that *Diodorus Siculus* having said, that *Apollodorus* placed the Death of *Euripides* in the same Year with the Death of *Sophocles*, that is to say, in the third Year of the XCIII Olympiad, adds, that, according to others, *Euripides* had been torn in pieces by Dogs in *Macedonia* some time before (171). Observe also, I beseech you, these Words of Mr *le Fevre* (172): *I am very well assured that Aristophanes exhibited the Comedy called* Frogs *in that same Olympiad XCII, and in that Play he speaks of Euripides as one who was already dead.* *Samuel Petit* pretends to prove (173), that this piece appeared in the third Year of XCIIId Olympiad. That is enough for me. I add, that the anonymous Author, who has given a Description of the Olympiads, puts under the XCIst the Contest between *Euripides* and *Xenocles*, in which Contest *Palamedes* was one of the four Tragedies produced by *Euripides* (174). Add to this the Authority of *Philocorus*, who wrote a particular Book upon the Life of *Euripides* (175). He says, in direct Terms, that the Execution of *Socrates* happened after the Death of that great Poet (176); and yet they had the boldness to publish, and that a great while ago, that *Euripides* drew Tears from all the Spectators by two Verses in his *Palamedes* pointing at the Death of *Socrates*. The Story is as follows. [illegible]

(164) Ælian. Var. Histor. lib. v, cap. xxi.

(165) *Apud Schol. Euripidis in Medeam*, ver. 9. Mr *Barnes*, pag. 23, assures us that *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Alexander*, relates the same thing from *Parmeniscus*. I cannot find this in *Plutarch*.

(166) *Parmeniscus apud Scholiastem Euripidis*, ubi supra. *Diligenter vero Cleophanes*, *de Urbibus*, *apud* Ælian. Var. Histor. lib. xiii, cap. xxi. & Apollodorus, Bibliothec. lib. i.

(167) Barnes in vita Euripid. pag. 23.

(168) Apud Aristot. Rhetor. lib. ii cap. xxiii, pag. 447.

(169) Bibliothec. lib. i.

(170) Barnes, ubi supra.

(171) Diodor. Sicul. lib xiii, cap. ciii, pag. m. 334.

(172) *Vie des Poetes Grecs*, pag. 85.

(173) Miscellan. lib. i, cap. xiv.

(174) Ælianus, Var. Hist. lib. ii, cap. viii. *where it should be read* Ἀνυσιοχίᾳ, *and not* Ἀντιοχίᾳ, *and then it will be found the XCIst Olympiad.* See Scheffius, in hunc locum Ælian.

(175) Suidas, in Φιλόχορος.

(176) Apud Diog. Laert. lib. ii, in Socrate, n. 44.

(177) Ancyranus, in Argumento Orationis Isocratis cui titulus Busiris, pag. m. 322.

(178) Lib. ii, in Socrate, n. 44.

(179) Daniel Heinsius, *among others*, in Dedic. Traged. Senecæ, apud Baruet. pag. 25.

(180) Antiq. Lection lib. xx, cap. xxvii, pag. m. 1136. Mr Barnes, pag. 23, *has observed this blunder, which he attributes not only to* Rhodiginus, *but also to* Eustathius in Homer fol. 1289, lin. 61.

(181) Oenomaus, apud Euseb. de Præp. Evang. lib. v, cap. xxxiii, pag. 228.

(182) See the Remark [A].

(183) In the Remark [B].

Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἐπὶ τῷ δράματι τούτῳ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀναιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει τρεφομένων· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Σωκράτην ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἀναιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Παλαμήδει, ἵνα μὴ τότε σχολὴν παρέχῃ τοῖς κατηγόροις τοῦ Σωκράτους, καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἀθηναίους ἐκβοᾶν τὸν Ἕλληνα τὸν ἄριστον, ὃ ἐστιν, ἀνωνύμως καὶ κρύβδην, τὸν Σωκράτην ἀπεκτόνατε· ἀπρόφατον ἐποίησε τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Σωκράτους. Ἐν

(177) Ancyranus, in Argumento Orationis Isocratis cui titulus Busiris, pag. m. 322.

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accused of abusing Medea, out of Complaisance to the Corinthians [DD]. *It is not true that in his Palamedes there is a tacit Insinuation of Reproach concerning the Death of Socrates* [EE]. *I wonder that a Particular we find in Eusebius, is mentioned by so few Authors* [FF]. *Morery has committed some gross Mistakes* [GG] *in this Article.* [illegible] *Edition*

things, which deserve censure in this Discourse. One is, that Valerius Maximus having lived under Tiberius, it cannot be said in the Year 1694. that he lived 1800 Years ago. The other, that there are still extant seven Tragedies of Æschylus, as many of Sophocles, and eleven Comedies of Aristophanes. All which together exceed in number the twenty Tragedies of Euripides, which we have left.

[DD] He is charged with having injured Medea out of Complaisance to the Corinthians.] It is said the Corinthians killed *Medea*'s Sons, and a long time after got *Euripides* to suppose that she had killed them herself. They add, that, by the great Reputation of this Poet, such a Fiction prevailed over the Truth (165), and that the City of *Corinth* discharged itself of the Infamy of their Crime, upon the Memory of the innocent *Medea*. The Author I cite does not say, this Translation of Scandal cost the Corinthians any thing but a Request, but others affirm it cost them five Talents. Which Sum they paid *Euripides*, if *Parmeniscus* is to be believed (165). There are several Authors who say *Medea* did not kill her Children, and on the contrary that not being able to carry them with her, when she fled from *Corinth*, she took care to secure them in a Temple, where she hoped they would find an inviolable Sanctuary; but that the Corinthians murdered them there (166). It is alledged (167) in defence of *Euripides*, that he was not the first that charged *Medea* with the murder of her Children, since *Carcinus* (168) introduces her pleading her Cause against those who accused her of it, and *Apollodorus* (169) says positively that she killed the two Sons she had by *Jason*. Of these two Witnesses the first only can be of any service, for the latter lived 250 Years after *Euripides*. As to *Carcinus* he was before that Poet; he had a Son named *Xenocles*, who disputed the Tragic Prize with *Euripides* (170).*

[EE] Is it not true that in his Palamedes, there is a tacit Reproach concerning the Death of Socrates?] The most uniform opinion in Authors, concerning the time of *Euripides*, is that he was born the first Year of the LXXVth Olympiad, and lived about Seventy five Years. So that his Death must be placed in the XCIIId Olympiad, as *Suidas* has done. Now it is certain that *Socrates* did not die till the XCVth Olympiad; so then it is not true that *Euripides* reproached the Athenians with the punishment of that Philosopher. Note, that *Diodorus Siculus* having said, that *Apollodorus* placed the Death of *Euripides* in the same Year with the Death of *Sophocles*, that is to say, in the third Year of the XCIII Olympiad, adds, that, according to others, *Euripides* had been torn in pieces by Dogs in *Macedonia* some time before (171). Observe also, I beseech you, these Words of Mr *le Fevre* (172): *I am very well assured that Aristophanes exhibited the Comedy called* Frogs *in that same Olympiad XCII, and in that Play he speaks of Euripides as one who was already dead.* *Samuel Petit* pretends to prove (173), that this piece appeared in the third Year of XCIIId Olympiad. That is enough for me. I add, that the anonymous Author, who has given a Description of the Olympiads, puts under the XCIst the Contest between *Euripides* and *Xenocles*, in which Contest *Palamedes* was one of the four Tragedies produced by *Euripides* (174). Add to this the Authority of *Philocorus*, who wrote a particular Book upon the Life of *Euripides* (175). He says, in direct Terms, that the Execution of *Socrates* happened after the Death of that great Poet (176); and yet they had the boldness to publish, and that a great while ago, that *Euripides* drew Tears from all the Spectators by two Verses in his *Palamedes* pointing at the Death of *Socrates*. The story is as follows.* [illegible]

Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἐπὶ τῷ δράματι τούτῳ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀναιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ ἄστει τρεφομένων· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν Σωκράτην ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἀναιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν κυνῶν ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Παλαμήδει, ἵνα μὴ τότε σχολὴν παρέχῃ τοῖς κατηγόροις τοῦ Σωκράτους, καὶ εἰς τὸν Ἀθηναίους ἐκβοᾶν τὸν Ἕλληνα τὸν ἄριστον, ὃ ἐστιν, ἀνωνύμως καὶ κρύβδην, τὸν Σωκράτην ἀπεκτόνατε· ἀπρόφατον ἐποίησε τὸν θάνατον τοῦ Σωκράτους. Ἐν

Edition of *Euripides*, is that which a Doctor of *Cambridge* published in Folio, in the Year 1694 [*HH*].

lympiad, is to be ignorant of the Rudiments of his own Business as well as of Arithmetic. The worst Historians would never say, that a Man who lives in the LXXVth Olymdiad, (that is, who is then in his flourishing State) and who dies in the XCIIId Olympiad, dies almost at the Age of Seventy five Years. Such a Man would at least have lived one entire Century. IX. He should not have said that this Poet retired *after the Year of Rome 338, to Archelaus King of Macedonia*: for since it must be affirmed that he died in *the Year 348 of Rome*, he was obliged to prove that he lived about ten Years at the *Macedonian* Court: a falsity condemned by all Authors, seeing they make *Euripides* stay but about three Years at *Archelaus*'s Court. And we have already seen (184), that at Sixty nine Years of Age he exhibited his Orestes at *Athens*. X. The Citation of *Diodorus Siculus l.* 13. and that of *Aulus Gellius l.* 11. *c.* 4. are altogether unnecessary.

(184) *Above, in Remark* [S], *Cuas.* (185).

[*HH*] *The best Edition . . . is that which a Doctor of Cambridge, published in Folio in* 1694.] His Name is *Joshua Barnes*. He has added *Scholia* to it, and all the Fragments he could meet with. Many things he has illustrated by very learned Notes, and has prefixed to the Book a Life of *Euripides* full of Erudition

(185) Gesner. in Biblioth. folio 229, verso.

I shall say a word or two of some of the former Editions. *Gesner* (185) observes that the first Edition of eighteen Tragedies of *Euripides*, is that of *Venice* by *Aldus Manutius*. It is in Greek only: he sets down neither the Year nor the size of it. I know from another Hand that *Aldus* printed this Poet without a Latin Version in the Year 1503, in 8vo. *Hervagius* renewed this Edition at *Basil* in 1537, in 8vo, and in the Years 1544, and 1551 (186). They added to it a Latin Translation, word for word, in the *Basil* Edition by *Robert Winter* in the Year 1541 (187). The Translator conceals himself under the borrowed Name of *Dorotheus Camillus* (188). *John Oporin* printed an Edition of *Euripides* in Folio, in 1562, in Greek and Latin, containing the Notes and Prefaces of *Gaspar Stiblinus*, the Prolegomena of *James Micellus*, and some Remarks of *John Brodæus*. The Edition of *Plantinus*, in 16mo, at *Antwerp*, 1571, contains one thing which was wanting in the preceding Editions: the Verses are there distinguished, each being placed in it's Line, according to its measure and length. *William Canterus* made this Division. *Paul Stephens* published *Euripides* in Greek and Latin, with the ancient Scholiast, and the Commentaries of *Brodæus*, *Canterus*, *Stiblinus*, and *Portus*, in the Year 1602, in 4to. The Edition I use is of *Heidelberg*, by *Jerom Commelinus*, 1597, in 8vo. It is in Greek and Latin: the Verses are ranged according to the order which *Canterus* assigned them: the Translation was revised by *Æmilius Portus*: they added to the nineteen Tragedies of *Euripides*, the beginning of the twentieth intituled *Danaë*. Some Tragedies have been published separately, which were translated by different Hands. They printed four (189) at *Antwerp*, in 1581, translated into Latin Verse by *Ratallerus*. *Erasmus* translated into Iambic Verse, *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and this Version was printed at *Venice*, by *Aldus*, in 1507, in 8vo. *Florent Christianus* has translated into Latin Verse, *Andromacha* and the *Cyclop.*

(186) See the Catalogue of the Library of Nicolas Heinsius, Part II, pag. 128.

(187) Gesner. Biblioth. folio 229, verso.

(188) Id. ibid.

(189) Viz. Phœnisse, Hippolytus Coronatus, & Andromacha.

EUROPA, the Daughter of *Agenor* (*a*), King of *Tyre*. The Poets have feigned that *Jupiter* disguised himself in the Shape of a Bull to carry off this Princess, and that he conveyed her into the Isle of *Crete* (*b*), where he had three Sons by her. Those who reduce the poetical Fictions, as near as possible, into historical Truths, say, that *Taurus*, General of the Troops of *Asterius*, King of *Crete*, having taken the City of *Tyre*, pillaged it, and carried away a great Number of the Female Inhabitants Prisoners, and among the rest *Europa* the King's Daughter [*A*]. She married *Asterius*, who, having no Children by her, adopted those she had had by her Lover [*B*]. They pretended that *Jupiter* enjoyed her the first time under a Plane Tree [*C*], which, from

(*a*) Others make her the Daughter of Phœnix. *Apollodorus, Interpret.*

(*b*) See Ovid. Metam. lib. II. Fab. XIII. vers. 833, &c. &c.

[*A*] *Taurus General of the Troops . . . . carried away . . . . . Europa the King's Daughter.*] I have followed the opinion of *Meursius*, though it is confirmed only by the single Testimony of *Tzetzes* (1), and though a great number of Authors maintain that *Taurus* was King of *Crete*. This is the Title that is given him by the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, *Eusthatius*, and *Cedrenus* (2). Be that as it will, *Taurus*, either King of *Crete*, or only Commander of the Troops of the Cretan King, made War with *Agenor*, and took from him the City of *Tyre*, and his Daughter *Europa* (3). He was a Native of *Gnossus* a City of *Crete* (4), and built in that Island the City of *Gortys* (5). Giving it the Name of his Mother.

(1) In Lycophron. apud Meurs. in Creta, pag. 125.

(2) Apud Meurs. ibid. pag. 251.

(3) Chronicon Alexandrinum: Palæphatus, (cap. XVI.) Eustathius ad Dionysium: Cedrenus, apud Meursium, ibid.

(4) Palæphat. & Tzetzes, ibid.

(5) Chronic. Alexandr. Eustathius, Cedrenus, apud Meursium, ibid.

[*B*] *Asterius . . . not having Children by her, adopted those she had had by her Lover.*] It is justly suspected (6), that he was but a Child when *Europa* was carried away by *Jupiter*. When he married her, she was the Mother of *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus*, and *Sarpedon*, three Boys of *Jupiter*'s begetting. *Asterius* adopted them, and left his Kingdom to *Minos*. This is what we find in *Diodorus Siculus* (7). *Apollodorus* says very near the same in his third Book. It is true the Prince who married her is not called there *Asterius*, but *Asterion*. In *Eusebius*'s *Chronicon*, those three Children are not the Sons of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, but *of Asterius* and *Europa*, of *Asterius*, I say, who married her after *Jupiter* had enjoyed her. St. *Austin* says that it was *Xanthus*, King of *Crete*, who carried away *Europa*, and had by her *Rhadamanthus*, *Sarpedon*, and *Minos*. He owns they give that Monarch other Names: 'Per eos annos, *says he* (8), 'a Rege 'Xantho Cretensium, cujus apud alios aliud nomen 'invenimus, rapta perhibetur Europa, & inde geniti 'Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon & Minos, quos magis ex 'eidem muliere filios Jovis esse vulgatum est. . . . 'About *that* time, *says he*, *Europa is reported to have been carried away by Xanthus, King of Crete, (the) his Name, I find, is changed by some Authors) and had by her Rhadamanthus, Sarpedon, and Minos, tho' they are more commonly taken for the Sons of Jupiter and Europa.*' *Nonnus* pretends that *Jupiter* having got *Europa* with Child, married her, big as she was, to a very rich Person, *viz.* to *Asterius*,

(6) Meursius, ibid. pag. 124.

(7) Diod. Sicul. lib. IV, lib. Ixii.

(8) August. de Civit. Dei, lib. XVIII, cap. XII.

(9) Nonnus, Dionys. lib. I, ver. 353.

Καὶ ζαθέης ἀδίνας ἀν' ἐγκύμονα νύμφην
Κάλλιπεν Ἀστερίωνι βαθυκλήτῳ παρακοίτῃ
Ζεὺς ἀθανάτοις.

Et sancti partus suam gravidam Nymphan
Reliquit Asterioni opulento conjugi
Jupiter maritus (9).

Big with immortal Seed and Birth Divine,
To rich Asterion Jove the Fair resign'd.

This is the frequent practice of Kings: they marry to wealthy Men the Fair they have enjoyed as long as they pleased. *Lycophron* (10) insinuates, that it was for *Asterion*'s sake that *Europa* was carried away.

(10) In Cassandr. ver. 1300.

[*C*] *It was pretended that Jupiter enjoyed her under a Plane Tree.*] I think *Theophrastus* and *Pliny* are the only ancient Authors that can be cited for it. *Pliny* says (11): 'Est Gortynæ in insula Creta, juxta 'fontem Platanus una, insignis utriusque linguæ mo- 'numentis, nunquam folia dimittens: fatumque ei 'Græciæ fabulositas superfuit, Jovem sub ea cum 'Europa concubuisse: ceu vero non alia ejusdem 'generis esset in Cypro. Sed ea res primum in ipsa 'Creta fot est naturæ hominum novitatis avida). Pla- 'tani fatæ regentesque vitam: quandoquidem com- 'mendatio arboris ejus non alia major est quam lo- 'cum esse tutum arcere, hiemi admittere. . . .

(11) Plin. lib. XII, cap. I.

'There

from that Time, had a particular Privilege, *viz.* of preserving it's fine Leaves all the Year. It was also said that *Europa*, having lost her Maidenhead, immediately went and washed herself in a certain Water, which had a wonderful Property [*D*].

'*There is, at Gortyna, in the Island of Crete, near a Fountain, one Plane Tree, which never loses it's Leaves, and which is famous in the Monuments of both Languages. The fabulous Greeks immediately pretended, that Jupiter lay with Europa under this Tree, as if there had not been another of the same nature in Cyprus. But, as Mankind is naturally fond of Novelty, they planted slips of this Tree in Crete, which still retained the fault of that from whence they were derived; for the greatest Recommendation of the Plane Tree is, that it keeps off the Sun in Summer, and admits it in the Winter.*' Theophrastus's words seem to imply that *Europa* was upon the Tree, when *Jupiter* diverted himself with her the first time; and it is said, there are Medals which favour this Explication. Ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ λέγουσι πλάτανόν τινα εἶναι ἐν τῇ Γορτυνίᾳ πρὸς πηγῇ τινι ἣ ὑ φυλλοβολεῖ. μυθολογοῦσι δὲ ὡς ὑπὸ ταύτῃ ὁμίλησε τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὁ Ζεύς. *In Creta insula ager Gortynusi platanum apud fontem quendam ferre asseverant quæ nunquam folia deperdit. Jovem sub ea cum Europa versatum fabulantur* (12). But to pass this by, let us consider *Pliny*'s Expression. I confess I do not understand the entire Force of it. He observes very ingeniously that fabulous *Greece* was not wanting to itself upon seeing a Plane Tree of so singular a Nature: it presently laid hold of this opportunity to build Fictions upon it, and supposed that this Tree was not possessed of such a Privilege, but for affording it's shade to the greatest of the Gods, whilst he took possession of a Maidenhead. *Pliny* confutes this Chimera for this reason, that, in the Isle of *Cyprus*, there was a Plane Tree of the same nature. So far every thing is plain: but he adds, that they were desirous to have Plants from this Plane Tree, first in divers Places of the Island of *Crete*, and then in *Italy*, and that the Planes, which were derived from this Tree, propagated the same Defects; for what is most valuable in this kind of Trees, is to keep off the Sun in Summer, and to admit him in Winter. Here is a thought of *Pliny* which seems to me very confused. Probably it is because I do not understand it: tho' perhaps it may be a very fine and delicate one. The most natural Sense that I can find is this. All the Planes derived from this had the same fault of never losing their Leaves; they were deprived of the chief Perfection of the Trees of this kind, that is to say, *they had lost the property of giving Refuge against the* Sun in Winter, and of being impenetrable to his Rays in Summer. I find two great Inconveniences in taking *Pliny*'s Text in this manner: one is, that there is no probability that, in the Isle of *Crete* and in *Italy*, there were many Planes which preserved their Verdure all the Year: the other is, that it cannot be conceived to be a Perfection in a Tree to lose it's Leaves in the Winter. Is not the Laurel the Symbol of Victory, because it has not this pretended Perfection? What Service can it be, that a Tree is without Leaves in the cold Season? Is it that one may sit under it's Branches without losing the warmth of the Sun? but what People are so simple, as to go into the Sun in cold weather under a Tree full of Branches? do they not look out for a Wall or a Hedge, which on one side guards them from the Winds, and on the other receives the Rays of the Sun? No doubt, *Du Pinet*, was sensible of this difficulty: but instead of endeavouring to solve it, he skips over it. His Version is as follows. '*At Cortina*, a City in the Isle of *Crete*, is to be seen another Plane Tree near a very fine Fountain, on which account it is celebrated both by Greeks and Latins. For this Plane Tree is always green Summer and Winter: so that the Poets, who leave nothing untouched, say, it was under this Plane Tree that *Jupiter* deflowered the Princess *Europa*: as if there were no other Plane Trees in *Cyprus* of the same nature with this. But as Men are always curious of new things, the Cretans, desiring to have Plants from this Plane Tree, set sayons from it in many Places, and finding that these replanted Plane Trees served only to keep off the heat of the Sun in Summer, but lost their leaves in Winter; they were confirmed in their opinion concerning the deflowering of *Europa*.

(12) Theophr. Histor. Plantar. lib. 1, cap. xv, pag. m. 16. 'Επὶ ταύτῃ, *Here is the Sense of Father Hardouin*, Ubi Jovi τῷ ὑπὸ dictum: etsi arbori insidere ipsi Europa videtur in nummo ΓΟΡ TYNIΩN apud Ant. August. Digl. iii, pag. 8c. *Hardouin. in Plin. lib. xii, cap. 1, pag. 7. Tom. III.*

[*D*] *It is said she went to wash herself in a certain Water, which had a wonderful Property.*] I have been forced to use the Word *Water*, because the Authors who tell us this Story neither use the Words River nor Fountain: and therefore the learned *Meursius* speaks of this Water, after he has mentioned all the Rivers and Fountains of the Isle of *Crete*. '*Et hi, says he* (13), 'quidem fontes pariter fluvilque in hac insula memorantur, præter quos & aqua fuit, cui si qui pluviæ tempore insiderent, illi sinci permanebant. Solion, 'De Fluv. Ἐν Κρήτῃ ὑγιεῖς ὕδατος ἐόντος, ὃν οἱ διαβαίνοντες, ὄντος τοῦ Διὸς, ἀδρόχοι διαμένουσιν, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν τοῦ ὑγιοῦς εἶσιν. *In Creta aquarium os, quem qui transeunt, pluente Jove, sicci transeunt, quamdiu quidem sunt in rivo.* Et 'Europa, post concubitum cum Jove, ea lota ferebatur. 'Antigonus Carystius, Hist. Mirab. cap. 129. Καὶ περὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ὑδαρείας, ἣ οἱ ὑπαρχόντες διέφυγον, ὅταν ὕσῃ ἔνδοθι ἦ, διαμένουσιν ἀδρόχοι. παραδεδόσθαι δὲ τοῖς Κρησὶν, ὅτι ἐκείνη λάσασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἀφ' ἧς τοῦ Διὸς μίξεως. *Item de aqua in Creta, cui insidentes, dum pluit, sicci manent: ac tradi apud Cretenses, eâ se Europam quandam abluisse, postquam cum Jove rem habuisset.* —— '*These are the Fountains and Rivers taken notice of in Crete, besides which there was a Water, into which they who entered, whilst it rained, remained dry. Europa is said to have washed there, after she had lain with Jupiter.*' In favour of those who do not understand Latin, I must tell them the Privileges of this Water. Those who went into it, whilst it rained, did not wet themselves. The Authors, cited by *Meursius*, do not say, that *Jupiter* bestowed this Privilege in consideration of the Service this Water did *Europa*, or rather in consideration of the Honour *Europa* condescended to do the Water; but without doubt the Inhabitants of *Crete* had recourse to that Cause. I wonder they have not given us the exact Situation of that Water; for since they know where the Plane Tree stood, under which the amorous Mystery was celebrated (14), they must have known also where *Europa* bathed herself, when the Sport was over. To conclude, I observe that *Europa* entered the Isle of *Crete*, by the Mouth of the River that ran through *Gortyna*. 'Gortynam amnis Lethæus præterfluit: quo Europam tauri dorso Gortynii ferunt vectitatam (15). —— '*The River Lethe runs by Gortina, through which Europa is said to have been carried upon a Bull's Back.*'

(13) Meursius, in Creta, pag. 92.

(14) Est Gortynia in insula Creta JUXTA FONTEM platanus, &c. *Plin. lib. xii, cap. 1; See, above, the Remark* [*C*]. *Cret.* (12).

(15) Solin. cap. xi.

EUSTACHE (David), a Minister of the Protestant Church at *Montpellier*, and a Native of *Daupbiné* (*a*), published some Sermons, and some controversial Writings [*A*], which gained him Reputation. He assisted at the National Synod at *London*, as Deputy of the Province of *Lower Languedoc*, in the Year 1659, and was nominated, by the Assembly, to carry to the King the Letter they had written to his Majesty. He harangued that Monarch, who was then at *Toulouse*, and also the Queen-Mother, and Cardinal *Mazarin*, and came off with Applause. He died some Years after, leaving only two Daughters.

(*a*) Allard, Bibliothe. de Dauphiné, p. 94.

[*A*] *He published some Sermons, and some controversial Writings.*] He published *Les Remedes salutaires contre la separation d'avec Dieu*, in the Year 1645. *La Victoire de la Foy. An Answer to Father Meynier, a Jesuit, his Conference with Diffier Raconis, Curate of Entrevignes* (1). This is all the *Bibliotheque of Dauphiné* says of him. I add to this, that *David Eustache* is the Author of a Book divided into two Parts, which serves for an Answer to the Question that was asked the Protestants, *Where was your Church before*

(1) Allard, Bibliothe de Dauphiné, p. 94.

before Luther? He published, in 1660, a little anonymous Book, intitled, *L'Orateur Tertulle convaincu:* it is an Answer to the Harangue supposed to be made by the *wise Men of the pretended Reformed Religion,* to the Queen *Maria Theresa,* upon her Entrance into the Kingdom, wherein they declared, that being informed she had expressed a great concern, that part of the King her Husband's Subjects were Heretics, they came to lessen that concern by embracing her Majesty's Religion, and that this they did after having been satisfied, by the Testimony of their most famous Authors, that one may be saved in the *Romish* Religion. It was not doubted but the Jesuit *Meynier* was the Author of that Harangue. He took great delight in that common Topic, and pushed it much farther some time after, in a Book which he intituled *Montauban justifié* (2).

(2) See the Remark of the Article *MONTAUBAN.*

EXPERIENS (PHILIP CALLIMACHUS), was one of those learned *Italians* who formed an Academy in the XVth Century, and gave themselves a new Name: He changed that of *Geminianus* (*a*), into *Callimachus.* Pope *Paul* II suspected some great Mystery in it: and looking upon that Company of learned Men, as a Gang of Conspirators, he commited them to Prison, and put them to the Rack, with great Cruelty (*b*). It was upon this Occasion that *Platina* was so severely treated, as we shall see in his Article. *Callimachus* was reckoned the Head of the Conspiracy, and in vain did *Platina* argue the Incapacity of that Man for such an Enterprize [*A*], and also the Hatred that there was between him and *Callimachus:* he was treated as one of the Conspirators. When they had sufficiently tormented these unfortunate Men, and discovered the Chimera of the pretended Plot, they were set at Liberty. *Callimachus,* full of Rage, abandon'd *Italy,* and retired into *Poland,* where the Court was extreamly dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Pope (*c*). King *Casimir* gave him an honourable Reception, and made him Preceptor to his Son *Albert*; he also employed him in several Embassies (*d*). *Callimachus* insinuated himself, in such a manner, into the good Opinion of his Pupil, that he had great Credit in his Reign. This was very grievous to the *Poles,* and especially after the Battle they lost in *Moldavia.* They imagined *Callimachus*

(a) This Surname fitted him, because he was born at Sangemignan in Tuscany.

(b) See Platina, in the Life of Paul II.

(c) Jovius, Elog. cap. xli.

(d) Spondan. Annal. ad ann. 1496, num. 6.

[*A*] *In vain did Platina urge the Incapacity of that Person.*] *Platina* speaks very contemptuously of *Callimachus:* he represents him, both for Body and Mind, as a Man void of the Qualifications necessary for a Conspirator. He is, says he, a fat unwieldy Fellow, that can hardly stir, and besides, has lost his Sight. It is hard to reconcile this with the Credit of *Callimachus* at the *Polish* Court, and with the Intrigues which made him so odious to the *Poles.* It is not improbable that *Platina* speaks like a Rhetorician and an Enemy. I mean that he cries down *Callimachus,* to confute the Accusation that was brought against himself, and because he hated him. 'Respondeo me nunquam consiliorum Callimachi participem fuisse, quippe cum inter nos simultas esse haud parva (1). —— *I answer, that I had never been associated with Callimachus in any design, there being a considerable misunderstanding betwixt us.*' *Spondanus* (2) cannot believe that a Man, such as *Platina* describes *Callimachus* to be, could have made himself so acceptable at the Court of the *Polish* Kings. Let the Reader determine this. *Platina*'s Words are. 'Tum ego cum viderem omnia armis & tumultu circumsonare, veritus ne quid gravius ob formidinem & iram in nos consuleretur, rationes attuli quamobrem crederem Callimachum nil tale aliquid unquam moliturum nedum meditatum fuisse, qui cum consilio, lingua, manu, sollicitudine, opibus, copiis, clientelis, armis, pecuniis, oculis postremo careret. Cæculus enim & P. Lentulo somniculosior, ac L. Crasso ob adipem tardior (3). —— *When I saw therefore, that all was in an uproar, and that we were in the utmost danger from all Parts, fearing least amidst this Alarm, and in the Height of Passion, we should have found a more severe Usage, I gave my Reasons why I thought that Callimachus never would nor ever had designed to engage in such Attempts, having neither Conduct, Elocution, Courage, Foresight, Substance, Forces, Friends, nor Money: in short, that he was half blind; that he was more drowsy than P. Lentulus, and more unwieldy than M. Crassus.*' I wonder at one thing, that *Platina,* who names several of those who were put to the Torture for this Conspiracy, does not say whether *Callimachus* was one of the Number. According to *Paul Jovius* he was one of them. 'Ipse ante alios defuncti Græci nominis reus tormentis & carcere pœnas daret (4). —— *He particularly was condemned for assuming a Greek Name, put to the Rack, and imprisoned.*' *Ostavius Ferrarius* may incline us to believe, that *Callimachus* was not imprisoned, though he assures the contrary (5): for he observes that *Callimachus* was not at *Rome* when the News of this pretended Conspiracy was carried to the Pope. 'Nam cum falso rumore delatus fuisset Callimachus Umbraticus vir, inermis & abdomine tardus adversus Sacrorum Regem conspirasse, jamque multos affectas habere, & ad urbem perdendam resque immutandas festinare, iterum Platina in vincla conjectus est tanquam conjurationis conscius (6). —— *A false Rumour being spread, that Callimachus, a harmless, weak, unwieldy Man, had conspired against the Pope, had got together a great number of Followers, and was marching in all haste to lay waste the City, and subvert the Government, Platina was again put in Irons as an Accomplice.*' I am very much afraid that *Ferrarius* gives us here a falsified Relation. The reason of my Suspicion is, that *Platina* speaks of two false Alarms given at the same time: one was the pretended Conspiracy of *Callimachus*; the other was a pretended Insurrection not far from *Rome.* It was reported that *Luke Totius* (7), who had been driven out of *Rome,* and had retired to *Naples,* was coming back, accompanied with many other Exiles. Whereupon the Pope was apprehensive of being oppressed both within and without. It is plain, that he who was said to be advancing with all speed to lay waste *Rome,* could not be *Callimachus,* and consequently *Ferrarius* seems to be under a Mistake. A better Judgment may be formed of this if the following Words of *Platina* are considered. 'Nunciatur ei (*Paulo*) quosdam adolescentes duce Callimacho in eum conspirasse; cui præ timore vix respiranti, nescio quo fato novus etiam terror additur. Advolat etiam quidam cognomento philosophus homo facinorosus & exul, qui vitam primo & reditum in patriam deprecatus nunciat, ac falso quidem, Lucam Totium Romanum civem Neapoli exulantem, cum multis exulibus in nemoribus Velliterinis à se visum, ac paulo post affuturum. Timere Paulus ac magis trepidare tum cepit: veritus ne domi & foris opprimeretur (8). —— *The Pope being informed, that some young Men, under the Command of Callimachus, had formed a Conspiracy against him, was thereby struck half dead with fear, and by some ill Fate or other his Fright was doubled. There came in also in great haste a notorious wicked Fellow, surnamed the Philosopher, one that had been banished; who having first sued for his Life, and Liberty to return into his Country, declared, and that falsely, that he had seen, in the Woods of Velitræ, Totius, a Citizen of Rome, banished to Naples, with many other Exiles, and that he would be at Rome immediately. Paul began then to be seized with terror, fearing he should be attacked both within the Walls and without.*' It is plain from this, that, according to the false Alarm, the danger they feared from *Callimachus* was already in the City itself, and that it was *Totius* who was advancing towards the City. Logicians make too much use of the Art of *distinguo,* and Orators are in the other extream.

(1) Platina, in Paulo II, fol. m. 357, verso.

(2) Spondan. ad ann. 1496, sub fin.

(3) Platina, ubi supra, fol. 356, verso.

(4) Jovius, Elog. cap xli.

(5) Ea nominum novitate populorum animos offensos, quasi occultæ conspirationis tesseræ effet, Platinam & Callimachum tanquam impios & maleficos tormentis excruciavit. *Ostav. Ferrarius, Præfat. pag.* 88.

(6) Idem, ibid.

(7) Other Editions say Tortius.

(8) Platina, ubi supra.

limachus was the Cause of that bloody Loss, and that he had advised the King to expose the greatest part of the Nobility to Slaughter [B]; that he had advised it, I say, as the most effectual Means to establish an arbitrary Government in *Poland*. The Indignation they conceived against him, on this account, alarmed him to such a Degree, that, not daring to appear abroad, he concealed himself at the House of an intimate Friend in a Village. He died in this Retirement, they durst not divulge his Death, but dried his Body by the heat of a Furnace, and kept it in a Cupboard. King *Albert*, being informed of this, ordered it to be carried to *Cracow*, and to be buried in the Church of the Trinity, where he erected a brazen Tomb over him (e). This is the Account given by *Paul Jovius* [C]; but the *Polish* Historians say nothing like it. They assure us, that *Callimachus* died in Peace and Quietness at *Cracow*, the first of *November*, 1496 (f), and was honourably interred there. Mr *Konig* (g) supposes, without Reason, that *Philip Callimachus*, and *Callimachus Experiens*, were two Authors. *Callimachus* composed some Histories, which are tolerably good [D].

There is a Letter of his, in which he complains that the Diet of *Petricow* had resolved to deliver him up to the Pope, and in which he affirms that his Enemies could not have treated him with so much Cruelty, if *Andrew Sborow* (b) had been at the Diet (i). This he wrote to that *Polish* Lord. Those who pretend to say, with *la Popeliniere*, that he lived about the Year 1552, are grossly mistaken (k).

(c) Ex Jovio Elogior. cap. xli.

(f) *And not* 1490, *as Moreri says.*

(g) In Biblioth. vet. & nova, pag. 235.

(b) He was successively Palatine, and Castellan of Cracow, and Great Marshal of Poland. *Joh. Mich. Brutus, cit. infra.*

(i) Joh. Mich. Brutus, Epistol. lib. iv, pag. 546, Edit. 1698.

(k) Popelin. Hist. des Hist. p. 480.

[B] *The Poles .... imagined .... he had advised the King to expose the greatest part of the Nobility to slaughter.*] *Paul Jovius* mentions it as a certain Matter of Fact. 'Callimachus *ab Alberto* .... post Casimiri patris interitum, ad summum familiaritatis, atque potentiæ locum evectus est, tanta Polonorum consternatione, odioque ut eum tanquam impium, & Moldaviæ cladis authorem, tyrannidemque impotenti imperio exercendam Regi suaderet, aula extruserint. Maligno enim judicio nobilitatem, quod imperatæ pecuniæ, & suscepto bello adversa esset, sævo hosti objectandam esse censuerat, ut nemo demum superesset, qui libertatis per manum traditæ jura tueretur (9). —— *After the Death of Casimir, this Sect. Albert raised Callimachus to the highest degree of Familiarity and Power; whereat the Poles were so surprized and exasperated that they expelled him the Court, as a wicked Man, who had been the Cause of that dreadful Loss which they had sustained in Moldavia, and had counselled the King to render himself arbitrary. For he had, in the most iniquitous manner, advised the exposing to the Fury of the Enemy those who had opposed the levying of Money, and the undertaking of the War, that none might survive to defend the Cause of Liberty.*' This is giving a black Idea of this Person, and whoever could be guilty of such Wickedness might also have done what *Paul* II suspected.

(9) Jovius, ubi supra, p. m. 97.

[C] *This is the Account given by Paul Jovius.*] It has been justly said, that he is not sufficient to balance the *Polish* Writers, and that he took too much Pleasure in collecting together popular Traditions (10). 'Ejus obitum Jovius in Elogiis, ex vulgi fabulis, ut solebat, Vilnæ (11) in exilio contigisse refert: quem auctores Poloni quibus magis credendum placide Cracoviæ contigisse, & amplo funere honestatum, esse asserunt. —— *Jovius, from vulgar Reports, according to his custom, says that Callimachus died at Vilna in exile; but the Polish Writers, whose Authority ought rather to be credited, affirm, he died at Cracow in peace, and was there enter'd with great Magnificence.*' *Vossius* (12) makes the same Judgment of *Paul Jovius*.

(10) Sciopius, ad ann. 1496, n. 6.

(11) Paul Freher *has read also* Vilnæ; *but my Edition of* Paul Jovius, *which is of Basil* 1561, *says* Semi exul in villa Sarmatica apud veterem amicum occultus fato cessit.

(12) Vossius, de Hist. Lat. p. 849.

[D] *He composed some Histories which are tolerably good.*] The Relation of what the *Venetians* did to engage the *Persians* and *Tartars* in a War with the *Turks*, the Life of *Attila*, and the History of *Ladislaus*, King of *Hungary*, killed at the Battle of *Varnes*, are the principal Works of *Callimachus*. In this latter History he has excelled all those, who since *Tacitus* have set up for Historians. This is the Judgment of *Paul Jovius*. 'Adeo eleganter ejus gravissimi muneris legis impleviss existimatur, ut omnes qui a Cornelio Tacito per tot secula id scribendi genus attigerint meo judicio superarit (13).' This History of *Ladislaus* was written at the Desire of *Matthias Hunniades*, King of *Hungary*, who magnificently rewarded the Author of it (14).

(13) Jovius, ubi supra.

(14) Vossius, ubi supra, pag. 619.

This Man managed his Affairs successfully in those cold Countries. He went thither poor, and grew very rich there. 'Ad hos Callimachus Geminianensis meus familiaris penetravit, ubi & literis & ingenii solertia ex paupere dives magnopere apud eos reges quibus erat dilectus ante hos annos decessit (15). —— *Callimachus, my intimate Friend, made his way thither, where, by his Learning and his Address, he raised himself a plentiful Fortune from mean Circumstances, and died greatly esteemed by the Kings that employed him.*' Consult the Thirtieth Book of *Martin Cromerus*'s History of *Poland*.

(15) Volaterranus, lib vii, cap. de Polonis, pag. mihi 257.

EZEKIEL, one of the four great Prophets, whose Writings make a part of the Old Testament, was the Son of *Buzi* the Priest (a), and descended from a High-Priest (b). He was carried to *Babylon* with King *Jechonias*, and began to prophesy five Years after (c), which he continued to do for twenty Years together (d). He was killed by the Commander of the Jews in those Parts, an idolatrous Man who could not bear the Reproofs of the Prophet (e). *Ezekiel* was buried in the Sepulchre of *Sem* [A], to which great Crowds of People resorted, from a Principle of Devotion. One Day the *Chaldeans* formed a Design of cutting these devout People to pieces; but they found in *Ezekiel* another *Moses* [B]. This is what is inferted in the Life of this great Prophet;

(a) Ezek. I, 3.

(b) Epiphanius, in vita Ezechielis.

(c) Ezek. I, 2.

(d) Epiphanius, ubi supra.

(e) Idem, ibid.

[A] *Ezekiel was buried in the Sepulchre of Sem.*] The Author I cite (1) assures us, that this Tomb is still to be seen, composed of two Caves; but an Author who lived under the Reign of *Constantius* (2) relates, that *Ezekiel*'s Sepulchre was the same with that of *Job*, *Jesse*, and *David*, near *Bethlehem*. *Benjamin Tudelensis* (3) says, that King *Jechoniar*, having been set at Liberty, went with Thirty five thousand Jews, to build a magnificent Vault upon *Ezekiel*'s Tomb, between the Chobar and the Euphrates. He pretends that *Jechoniar*, and all those who had followed him, were to be seen painted on the Walls of the Vault. The Picture of *Jechoniar* was the first, and that of *Ezekiel* the last. We shall mention, below, what that Author says of the Pilgrimages and Devotions which were performed at that Monument.

(1) Epiphanius, (aut qui sub nomine Epiphanii scripsit Vitas Prophetarum) in vita Ezechielis.

(2) Scriptor Itinerarii Hierosolymitani, *apud* Huet. Demonstr. Evangel. p. 458, *Edit. Lipsi.* 1694.

(3) In Itinerario, pag. 78, & seq.

[B] *The Chaldeans found in Ezekiel another Moses.*] The Chaldeans were under some Apprehensions at the sight of such a concourse of Pilgrims; wherefore they resolved one Day to put an end to those Assemblies, by putting all those to the Sword who were about the Tomb; but the Prophet stopt the Waters of the River, and ordered it so, that when the *Israelites* had gained the farther side, all the Chaldeans that durst follow them were drowned. He obtained also for the same Devotees, who were dying for hunger, a great multitude of Fish. It is pretended that, during his Life, he was transported out of *Chaldea* into *Judea*, in

Prophet, attributed to St *Epiphanius*. He also mentions some other Miracles of the same Prophet. The Jews, infatuated with their Superstitions, and absurd Whims, have told a thousand strange things about his Tomb [C]. Some of their Doctors have given out,

in order to convince the Unbelievers (4). If *Abrabaniel* had depended upon that, he might have said that *Ezekiel* prophesied both in *Canaan* and *Chaldea*; he might, I say, have maintained it without fear of being refuted in the manner that Mr *Huet* refutes him. 'Facessat etiam Abrabaniel qui Ezechielem & in terra Chanaan, & extra eam vaticinatum esse docet, cum quinto demum post deportationem suam anno futura prædicere agressus sit (5). —— *Little Credit deserves Abrabanel, who says that Ezekiel prophesied both in Canaan and out of it, since he did not begin till the fifth Year after he had been taken Captive.*'

(4) *Ex* Epiphanio, *in vita* Ezechielis.

(5) Huet. Dem. Evang p. 458.

[C] *The Jews tell a thousand strange things about Ezekiel's Tomb.*] *Benjamin Tudelensis*, who lived in the XIIth Century, assures us (6), that even to his time the Tomb of that Prophet had been looked upon as a holy Place; that they came thither to pray out of the most distant Countries; that those devout Pilgrimages began with the Year and continued till the Feast of Expiation; that the chief of the Jewish People did not fail to come from *Bagdat* to that Sanctuary, and pitch their Tents twelve Miles round it; that the Arabian Merchants held a Fair there; that upon the Day of Expiation they exposed to view a great Book written with the Prophet's own Hand, and read it; and that after the Prophet himself had lighted a Lamp upon his Sepulchre, they had never suffered it to go out, taking great care to supply it with Oil and Cotton, as often as there was occasion; that there was a very fine Library there, to which all those, who died without Children, bequeathed their Books; that even the Sons of the Mahometan Lords went thither to pray, such Veneration had they for *Ezekiel*; that all the Arabians did the same; and so much was this holy Place respected on account of the blessed *Ezekiel*, that even in time of War, neither Mahometans nor Jews would do any Body there an Injury.

(6) In Itinerario, pag. 78, & seq.

Another Rabbi (7) tells us still more wonderful things: A King of *Babylon* being desirous to see the Relics of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, that great worker of Miracles, they answered him that it was impossible: As he was a Saint, you cannot, said they, dig him up. This answer not satisfying him, they desired him to make a Trial upon the Sepulchre of *Baruch* the Disciple of *Ezekiel*. Therefore he gave orders for *Baruch* to be dug up; but all those who attempted it fell down dead. By the advice of an *Ismaelite*, he commanded the Jews to dig him up; they prepared themselves for the work by a fast of three days, and effected it without any Damage; the King, finding that it was too much for one place to have the Sepulchre of *Ezekiel* and that of *Baruch*, ordered the Coffin of the latter to be carried elsewhere. When they had carried it one mile, the Bearers had not strength to go a step farther: the Horses and Mules they would have made use of were under the same Incapacity (8). The Rabbin *Salomon* explained in this manner the Prodigy: It is here, said he, this is the place the Prophet chuses to be buried in. They acquiesced in his Interpretation, and built there a fine Monument to *Baruch*. What follows, relates to the Tomb of *Ezekiel*. It is situated in a Wood at a Day's Journey, or half a Day's Journey, from *Bagdat*, surrounded with a Wall, and accompanied with a fine Edifice: there is only one small Door in the Wall which the Jews keep the Key of: when they would go in by this Door, they are forced to creep upon all four, the Door is so low; but the day of the Feast of Tabernacles, a Day when prodigious Crowds of People throng thither (9), the Gate enlarges and rises of itself, so as Persons, mounted on Camels, may enter in by it; as soon as the Feast is over, the Door returns to it's former Condition, and that in the sight of all the People, who are there to bring their Offering to *Ezekiel's* Tomb. There are no Evils, against which they recommended themselves with greater Devotion, or more frequently to the Intercession of this Prophet, than that of Barrenness. A Man who finds himself unable to beget Children, or a Woman who perceives herself not able to conceive, generally have recourse, and make their Vows at the Tomb of this Prophet. They also have recourse to it for the Barrenness of their Cattle (10). A Prince who had a barren Mare, and who lived four Days Journey from this Sepulchre, engaged himself by a Vow to consecrate the Colt to the Prophet, if his Mare should have one. The Mare brought a Colt, which the Prince kept himself, finding it a very fine one. But the Colt ran away, and went of himself directly to *Ezekiel's* Tomb, where the Door in the Wall opened also of itself to let him enter. The Prince not being able to find his Colt, tho' he had searched every where with the utmost Diligence for him, his Vow suggested to him, that perhaps he should hear of him at the Prophet's Tomb. He found him there accordingly, but could not get him out, the Door being too narrow to let him pass through. Whereupon, by the advice of a Jew, he laid pieces of Silver upon the Tomb, and when he had laid to the value of the Colt, the Door widened as much as was requisite. 'Pauxillatim successive eousque Argentum monumento ingessit quoad pretium æquavit, & dilatata porta, pullus egressus est (12).' All the *Ismaelites*, who go to *Mahomet's* Sepulchre, pass by that of *Ezekiel*, and there leave their Offerings, making this Prayer to him, *My Lord Ezekiel, if I return in good Health I will give you such or such a thing* (12). Those, who undertake a long Journey, deposit upon this Tomb what they have most valuable, and say, *My Lord Ezekiel, keep for me this precious Deposit till I return, and suffer none but my Heirs to touch it.* Many of these Deposits have had time to rot there. They also leave Books at the same Tomb: a Man was struck blind for having attempted to steal one away. This place is richly adorned; and thirty Lamps are kept in it burning Night and Day. The money, arising from Vows, is laid out in the Reparation of the Synagogue, and to marry Orphans, and for the Maintenance of certain poor Scholars. The Presents and the *ex voto's* are so numerous, that there are two hundred Persons appointed to keep them by turns. Formerly there was a Pillar of Fire upon the Prophet's Tomb; but some prophane Persons having mixed themselves with the eighty thousand devout Pilgrims that were assembled at the Feast of Tabernacles, the fiery Column disappeared (13).

(7) R. Petachias Ratisbonensis. *He lived in the XII Century: his Travels were publish'd in Hebrew and Latin by Mr* Wagenseil, *in* 1687.

(8) *Compare this with what is said of the Image of our Lady of Czenstochow in Poland. Ladislaus Duke of Opolia would remove it in* 1328 *into his Duchy*; but when it was come to Clermont near Czenstochow, it would not stir from that mountain, where it grew so heavy that he began to guess at the Image's desire, which was afterwards revealed to him in a dream. He built a Church there. *Le Labourtur, Voiage de la Reine de Pologne, III Partie pag.* 22.

On Palm Sunday 1430, the Hussites of Bohemia plundered *that Church* . . . . and were carrying the Image towards Silesia; but 400 paces from the mountain it fixed itself so firmly that they could not stir it, tho' they did their utmost with fresh horses. *Ibidem.*

(9) *The number of the Jews that come there is from* 60 *to* 80000 *men.* Peregrin. R. Petachiæ, *apud* Joh. Christoph. Wagenseilium, Exercitat. IV, pag. 279.

(10) Compare with this what is read in Dr Burnet's Supplement to his Travels, pag. 192, of Beasts blessed at Rome upon St Anthony's Day.

(11) Petach. Peregrin. pag. 180.

(12) Domine Ezechiel si (sanus salvusque) rediero dabo tibi hoc aut illud. *Ibid. pag.* 181.

(13) Taken from the Travels of the Rabbi Petachias, pag 181.

Here are a great many Fables; but from hence we may certainly infer this Truth: that the Invocation of the Saints has been long since a Practice of the Jews; for not to insist upon other Proofs, we see here the *Rabbi Petachias* making Offerings and Prayers to *Ezekiel*, and pretending they wrought a great Miracle. 'Ipse R. Petachias ad Ezechielis sepulchrum se contulit, obryzum, sive auri grana manibus secum asserens. Ea cum ex manibus forte fortuna excidissent, Domine Ezechiel, inquit, tui honoris causa excessi, (*& ceu facere me par erat, dona mea quæ tibi literem, mecum attuli.*) Sed amissi grana (*aurea, huic rei destinata, improvide*) & perierunt illa, nihilominus ubicunque locorum jacent, tua sunto. (*Dixerat hæc*) & mox conspicit oculis suis, e longinquo, aliquid sideris instar micare: cum gemmam esse suspicaretur, eo se contulit, & rem scrutatus est, reperitque grana sua aurea, ac proinde Ezechielis sepulchro illa dedicavit (14). —— *Rabbi Petachias himself went to the Sepulchre of Ezekiel, carrying in his Hand some grains of fine Gold; as they had accidentally dropt out of his Hand, Lord Ezekiel, says he, for thy sake came I hither, and according to my Duty I brought with me a present for an Offering; but through my negligence have I lost the grains of Gold destined for that purpose: they indeed are lost; but wheresoever they be, be they thine. Having thus spoke, he turned his Eyes, and at a great distance beheld something glitter like a Star, imagining it to be a Gem he directed his way thither, and having examined it found it to be his grains of Gold, and dedicated them to the Sepulchre of Ezekiel.*' They would not publish these Fables among the Jews, if they looked upon the Invocation of Saints as a thing prohibited. The Protestants have reason to lament the shameless Credulity of this People, and the confidence of their Writers in publishing a hundred thousand foolish Stories; but every one ought to learn by what passes in his own Party, that in this place the Declivity is very slippery. How many things are practised by the Protestants now-a-days, which would not have been

(14) Ibid. pag. 180, 181.

Reflections upon the Inclination of People to Credulity.

out, that an Assembly of their Rabbies, deliberating upon the Book of his Prophecies, were very near concluding to exclude it out of the Canon of the Scriptures [*D*]. It has been said that *Pythagoras* was his Disciple [*E*]. The most learned and laborious Commentary, which has hitherto appeared, upon *Ezekiel*, is that of two *Spanish* Jesuits (*f*), in three Volumes in Folio. We must not confound this Prophet with one EZEKIEL, a Jewish Poet, of whom there is a *Greek* Tragedy still extant [*F*].

(*f*) Pradus & Villalpandus.

† Mr Jurieu.

been approved a hundred Years ago? I am satisfied the Author of the *Pastoral Letters* † has published more false Miracles than he ought to have done; but I am as certain he had many more sent him than what are in his Letters. Now consider a little that, excepting a very small number of People, most of whom are Laics, none have expressed their being offended at the publishing of mysterious Events. Where should we have been by this time, if the Predictions which the Author founded upon them had had any manner of success? Generally speaking, what lengths should we run, were we not checked by the spirit of Contradiction, at the sight of what passes in the *Roman* Catholic Church?

[*D*] *It has been given out, that an Assembly of their Rabbins were very near excluding the Book of Ezekiel out of the Canon of the Scriptures.*] The *Talmud* contains a Treatise (15), wherein we read, that the Rabbins, considering that, in the Prophecies of *Ezekiel*, there are some Passages which seem contrary to the Doctrine of *Moses*, took into deliberation whether it would not be proper to reject the Work of that Prophet. The Votes having been taken, they were going to pronounce the sentence of Degradation, when one *Ananias* represented that he would undertake to reconcile the differences between *Ezekiel* and *Moses*: and as he proposed upon the spot a Method to do it, which was to their satisfaction, they left *Ezekiel* among the Canonical Books. See what Mr *Huet* (16) has answered to this Remark of *Spinoza*.

(15) De Sabbatho. *See* Huetii Demonstrat. Evangel. p. 462.

(16) Ubi supra.

[*E*] *It has been said that Pythagoras was his Disciple.*] They ground this upon a Passage of *Clemens Alexandrinus*; but that is but a weak Foundation, since that Father rejects himself what he relates. These are his words (17): Ἀλεξανδρος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγορείων συμβόλων, Ναζαρατῳ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ μαθητεῦσαι ἱστορεῖ τὸν Πυθαγόραν. Ἰέσεκιήλ τοῦτον ἡγοῦνταί τινες· ὃν ἔστι δὲ, ὡς ἔστιτα διελωθησόμεθα. Alexander autem in libro de symbolis Pythagoricis refert Pythagoram fuisse discipulum Nazarati Assyrii quidam eum existimant Ezechielem, sed non est, ut ostendetur postea —— *Alexander in his Treatise of the Pythagorean Symbols relates, that Pythagoras was a Disciple of Nazaratus the Assyrian, whom some imagine to be Ezekiel, but the contrary shall be shewn hereafter.* Those are to be excused (18) who pretend, that *Clemens Alexandrinus* means that *Pythagoras* is *Ezekiel*, according to the Opinion of some: for if the Laws of Grammar are only consulted, this Explication is as good as the other. All Greek and Latin Books are full of these Equivocations: in which are Periods, wherein are two or three Persons, and at the end of it a Pronoun, which may relate equally to all three. One must guess, by considering well what precedes or follows, where to fix the relation. I believe I have observed more than once, that our Language, regularly writ, is not subject to those inconveniences. But though we may excuse those who take this Passage in *Clemens Alexandrinus* wrong, yet it is certain, if the series of the Discourse be maturely weighed, it will appear that the word τοῦτον relates to *Nazaratus*, and not to *Pythagoras*. ‘ Sunt qui hæc Clementis verba ita interpretentur, quasi Ezechielem non Zaratum, sed Pythagoram habuerit à quibusdam, voluerit, quod non ita esse cognoscet, quisquis locum totum attente lustraverit (19).’

(17) Clem. Alexandr. Stromat. lib. i, pag. 304.

(18) *Father* Rapin *is one of them.* Clemens Alexandrinus, *says he, p. m. 287 of the Comparison of Plato and Aristotle, pretends that Pythagoras passed, in the opinion of some learned Men of his time, for the Prophet Ezekiel, but without any foundation.*

[*F*] *There is one Ezekiel a Jewish Poet, of whom there is a Greek Tragedy still extant.*] The Tragedy we have of his is intituled Ἐξαγωγή; it turns upon the going out of *Egypt*. They say, he was one of the Interpreters who translated the Bible of the Septuagint. Chronology will bear this; for he is cited by Authors preceding the Christian Æra, who do not mention him as lately dead. ‘ Certe non Eusebium solum & ‘ Clementem Alexandrinum præcessit ætate, sed & ‘ Alexandrum Polyhistorem qui fuit L. Sullæ æqualis, ‘ & Demetrium Judæum qui ex ejus scriptis fragmenta ‘ depromit apud Eusebium. Vixisse autem Demetrium ‘ hunc inter Ptolemæos, Philopatora & Lathyrum ‘ paulo post patefaciam (20). —— *It is certain he not only lived before Eusebius and Clemens Alexandrinus, but also before Alexander Polyhistor, who was cotemporary with Lucius Sulla; and before Demetrius Judæus, who quotes some Fragments of his Works; and I shall presently shew, that this Demetrius lived between the Ptolemys Philopator and Lathyrus.*’ I read lately in the Journal of *Hamburgh* a thing which persuades me that they do not always distinguish one from the other, the Prophet *Ezekiel* from the Poet *Ezekiel*. These are the words of the Journalist (21). ‘ The example of the *Greeks* and *Romans* is not the only one by which this Author (22) pretends to shew the esteem the Ancients had for dramatic Poems. He adds to it that of the *Hebrews*, who did not think it contrary to the purity of God's Worship, and believed they might make use of it to represent the most memorable Events of their History. To prove this, he cites the Fragment of a Tragedy intituled, *The going out of Egypt*, which he attributes to *Ezekiel*. There are very few, in my Opinion, who are acquainted with this Fragment, and I confess I never heard it mentioned before, no not by the late Mr *Fremond d'Ablancourt* who found dramatic Poems all over the Old Testament, by which he made himself a Key to explain many difficult places, particularly that of the Canticles, and the Book of Psalms (23).’ As I have not the Book of which the Journalist gives this Extract, I cannot say whether the Author has expressed himself in such a manner, as to give room to pretend that this Tragedy was attributed to the Prophet *Ezekiel*.

(19) Huet. Demonst. Evangel. pag. 450. *He reads in that Father not* Ναζαρατος, *but* Ζαρατος. *See* Seldenus, de Dia Syria, lib. ii, cap. i.

(20) Idem, Huet. pag. m. 99. *Et vide* Euseb. de Præpar. Evangel. lib. ix, cap. xxij & Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. i.

(21) *He is a French Minister, named Mr* Durtis, *a man of parts, and the Author of some very good books.*

(22) *That is, the Author of the* Dissertation sur la Condemnation du Theatre.

(23) Journal of Hamburgh *of the* 18 *of Oct.* 1694, pag. 68, 69.

The End of the Second Volume.

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